

APSR

American
Political
Science
Review



https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003715824000686 Published online by Cambridge University Press

AUGUST 2024 | VOLUME 118 | NUMBER 3

LEAD EDITORS

John Gerring
University of Texas at Austin, USA
Monika Nalepa
University of Chicago, USA

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Marissa Abrajano
University of California, San Diego, USA
Laia Balcells
Georgetown University, USA
Pablo Beramendi
Duke University, USA
Carles Boix
Princeton University, USA
Scott de Marchi
Duke University, USA
Alexandre Debs
Yale University, USA
Andrew Eggers
University of Chicago, USA
Gregory Huber
Yale University, USA
Sebastian Karcher
Syracuse University, USA
Isabela Mares
Yale University, USA
Alison McQueen
Stanford University, USA
Daniel Pemstein
North Dakota State University, USA
Julie Rose
Dartmouth College, USA

MANAGING EDITOR

Dragana Svraka

ADVISORY BOARD FOR ETHICAL RESEARCH

Catherine Boone
London School of Economics and Political Science, UK
Scott Desposato
UC San Diego, USA
Macartan Humphreys
WZB Berlin, Germany, and Columbia University, USA
Lauren M. MacLean
Indiana University, USA
Trisha Phillips
West Virginia University, USA
Peregrine Schwartz-Shea
University of Utah, USA

EDITORIAL BOARD

Sarah Anzia
University of California, Berkeley, USA
Kevin Arceneaux
Sciences Po Paris, France
P. M. Aronow
Yale University, USA
Katharine Baldwin
Yale University, USA
Teresa Bejan
University of Oxford, UK
Christopher Berry
University of Chicago, USA
Lisa Blaydes
Stanford University, USA
David Brookman
University of California, Berkeley, USA
Sarah Bush
University of Pennsylvania, USA
Brandice Canes-Wrone
Stanford University, USA
Taylor Carlson
Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Allison Carnegie
Columbia University, USA

David Carter
Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Devin Caughey
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Charlotte Cavallé
University of Michigan, USA
Joseph Chan
Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
Fotini Christia
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Mark Copelovitch
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Katherine Cramer
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Cesi Cruz
University of California, Los Angeles, USA
Lauren Davenport
Stanford University, USA
Lisa Disch
University of Michigan, USA
Kevin Duong
University of Virginia, USA
Wioletta Dziuda
University of Chicago, USA
Roxanne Euben
University of Pennsylvania, USA
Matthew Fuhrmann
Texas A&M University, USA
Scott Gehlbach
University of Chicago, USA
Adam Glynn
Emory University, USA
Sanford Gordon
New York University, USA
Andrew Guess
Princeton University, USA
Hahrie Han
Johns Hopkins University, USA
Mai Hassan
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Clarissa Hayward
Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Chad Hazlett
University of California, Los Angeles, USA
Gretchen Helmke
University of Rochester, USA
Daniel Hidalgo
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Seth Hill
University of California, San Diego, USA
Shigeo Hirano
Columbia University, USA
Alisha Holland
Harvard University, USA
Macartan Humphreys
WZB Berlin Social Science Center, Germany
Nahomi Ichino
Emory University, USA
Murad Idris
University of Michigan, USA
Alan Jacobs
University of British Columbia, Canada
Amaney A. Jamal
Princeton University, USA
Jennifer Jerit
Dartmouth College, USA
Saumitra Jha
Stanford University, USA
Joshua Kalla
Yale University, USA

Kimuli Kasara
Columbia University, USA
Samara Klar
University of Arizona, USA
Carl Henrik Knutsen
University of Oslo, Norway
Nazita Lajevardi
Michigan State University, USA
Melissa Lane
Princeton University, USA
Benjamin Lauderdale
University College London, UK
Alexander Lee
University of Rochester, USA
Gabriel Lenz
University of California, Berkeley, USA
Jacob Levy
McGill University, Canada
Keisha Lindsay
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Catherine Lu
McGill University, Canada
Ellen Lust
University of Gothenburg, Sweden
Edmund Malesky
Duke University, USA
Gregory Martin
Stanford University, USA
Daniel Mattingly
Yale University, USA
Benjamin McKean
Ohio State University, USA
Tali Mendelberg
Princeton University, USA
Anne Meng
University of Virginia, USA
Marc Meredith
University of Pennsylvania, USA
Jacob Montgomery
Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Richard Nielsen
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Kieran Oberman
London School of Economics and Political Science, UK
Jack Paine
Emory University, USA
Efrén Pérez
University of California, Los Angeles, USA
Rachel Potter
University of Virginia, USA
Stephanie Rickard
London School of Economics and Political Science, UK
Margaret E. Roberts
University of California, San Diego, USA
Amanda Robinson
Ohio State University, USA
Melvin Rogers
Brown University, USA
Jennifer Rubenstein
University of Virginia, USA
David Rueda
University of Oxford, UK
Frederic Schaffer
University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA
Kenneth Scheve
Yale University, USA
Eric Schickler
University of California, Berkeley, USA
Christina Schneider
University of California, San Diego, USA
Kenneth Schultz
Stanford University, USA

Melissa Schwartzberg
New York University, USA
Jason Seawright
Northwestern University, USA
Maya Sen
Harvard University, USA
Erica Simmons
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Joel Simmons
Georgetown University, USA
Paul Staniland
University of Chicago, USA
David Stasavage
New York University, USA
Susan Stokes
University of Chicago, USA
Milan Svobik
Yale University, USA
Lucas Swaine
Dartmouth College, USA
Christopher Tausanovitch
University of California, Los Angeles, USA
Tariq Thachil
University of Pennsylvania, USA
Jakana Thomas
University of California, San Diego, USA
Shatema Threadcraft
Vanderbilt University, USA
Rocio Titunik
Princeton University, USA
Michael Tomz
Stanford University, USA
Georg Vanberg
Duke University, USA
Lynn Vavreck
University of California, Los Angeles, USA
Stefanie Walter
University of Zurich, Switzerland
Yuhua Wang
Harvard University, USA
Leonard Wantchekon
Princeton University, USA
Lisa Wedeen
University of Chicago, USA
Jessica Weeks
University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Jessica Weiss
Cornell University, USA
Rachel Wellhausen
University of Texas at Austin, USA
Sean Westwood
Dartmouth College, USA
Kurt Weyland
University of Texas at Austin, USA
Ariel White
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Ismail White
Princeton University, USA
Amber Wichowsky
Marquette University, USA
James Lindley Wilson
University of Chicago, USA
Andreas Wimmer
Columbia University, USA
Deva Woodly
Brown University, USA
Teppei Yamamoto
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA
Hye Young You
Princeton University, USA
Yuri Zhukov
Georgetown University, USA

Association Office Address and Membership Information: American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: Regular members with income of \$200,000+, \$345; \$135,000–\$199,999, \$293; \$100,000–\$134,999, \$261; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$225; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$202; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$186; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$154; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$104; under \$30,000, \$83; life member, \$4,000; associate member (can select only one journal for print or online), \$80; K–12 educator, \$53; student member, \$52; unemployed member, \$45; retired, \$25,000+, \$66; retired under \$25,000, \$40; targeted international member, \$45. The amount of the dues allocated for a subscription is \$8.00 for an individual membership. Institutional members: level one, \$900; level two, \$1,250; level three, \$1,750. Changes of address for members should be completed online or mailed to APSA Member Services, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036-1206.

Subscription, Publishing, and Advertising Office Address: Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006; and (outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

Subscription Information: *American Political Science Review* (ISSN 0003-0554) is published quarterly in February, May, August, and November by Cambridge University Press & Assessment (One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006) for the American Political Science Association. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2024) is US \$1846 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1059 elsewhere. *American Political Science Review* is sold only as part of a joint subscription with the *Perspective on Politics* and *PS: Political Science & Politics*. Single part rate (2024) is US \$317 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £180 elsewhere. POSTMASTER: Send all address changes to: *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006.

© American Political Science Association 2024.

Printed by Sheridan, a CJK Group Company.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press & Assessment. Policies, request forms, and contacts are available at <http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/permission.htm>

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from Copyright Clearance Center, <http://www.copyright.com>, email: info@copyright.com

American Political Science Review

Volume 118, Number 3, August 2024

Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS	v
ARTICLES	
Engineering Territory: Space and Colonies in Silicon Valley Alina Utrata	1097
Autocratic Policy and the Accumulation of Social Capital: The Moscow Housing Renovation Program Ekaterina Borisova, Regina Smyth, and Alexei Zakharov	1110
Publius' Proleptic Constitution Connor M. Ewing	1131
Anarchy, Scarcity, Nature: Rousseau's Stag Hunt and the Arctic Walrus Hunt Compared Mark B. Salter	1145
Anger and Political Conflict Dynamics Keith E. Schnakenberg and Carly N. Wayne	1158
Don't Look Back in Anger: Cooperation Despite Conflicting Historical Narratives Yoshiko M. Herrera and Andrew H. Kydd	1174
International Rewards for Gender Equality Reforms in Autocracies Sarah Sunn Bush, Daniela Donno, and Pär Zetterberg	1189
Litigation for Sale: Private Firms and WTO Dispute Escalation Ryan Brutger	1204
Bloc Voting for Electoral Accountability Alicia Dailey Cooperman	1222
Bureaucratic Quality and the Gap between Implementation Burden and Administrative Capacities Xavier Fernández-I-Marín, Christoph Knill, Christina Steinbacher, and Yves Steinebach	1240
Deliberation and Ethical Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Campaign Experiment in Benin Leonard Wantchekon and Jenny Guardado	1261
Does Victim Gender Matter for Justice Delivery? Police and Judicial Responses to Women's Cases in India Nirvikar Jassal	1278
Financial Crises and the Selection and Survival of Women Finance Ministers Brenna Armstrong, Tiffany D. Barnes, Daina Chiba, and Diana Z. O'Brien	1305
From Rents to Welfare: Why Are Some Oil-Rich States Generous to Their People? Ferdinand Eibl and Steffen Hertog	1324
How to Get Coal Country to Vote for Climate Policy: The Effect of a "Just Transition Agreement" on Spanish Election Results Diane Bolet, Fergus Green, and Mikel González-Eguino	1344
<i>Instrumentally</i> Inclusive: The Political Psychology of Homonationalism Stuart J. Turnbull-Dugarte, and Alberto López Ortega	1360
Making Sense, Making Choices: How Civilians Choose Survival Strategies during Violence Aidan Milliff	1379
Refugee Networks, Cooperation, and Resource Access Daniel Masterson	1398
Representation from Below: How Women's Grassroots Party Activism Promotes Equal Political Participation Tanushree Goyal	1415
Segregation and the Spatial Externalities of Inequality: A Theory of Interdependence and Public Goods in Cities Alice Z. Xu	1431
Serious Conflicts with Benign Outcomes? The Electoral Consequences of Conflictual Cabinet Terminations Florence So	1449
The Polarizing Effect of Partisan Echo Chambers Sara B. Hobolt, Katharina Lawall, and James Tilley	1464
Wealth of Tongues: Why Peripheral Regions Vote for the Radical Right in Germany Daniel Ziblatt, Hanno Hilbig, and Daniel Bischof	1480
What Politicians Do Not Know Can Hurt You: The Effects of Information on Politicians' Spending Decisions Ryan Jablonski and Brigitte Seim	1497

LETTERS

A Group-Based Approach to Measuring Polarization Isaac D. Mehlhaff	1518
Unreported Realities: The Political Economy of Media-Sourced Data Sarah E. Parkinson	1527
Going Local: Public Attitudes toward Municipal Offices of Immigration Affairs Tomás R. Jiménez and César Vargas Nuñez	1533
Heterogeneous Naturalization Effects of Dual Citizenship Reform in Migrant Destinations: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Europe Floris Peters and Maarten Vink	1541
Taking Stock of Solidarity between People of Color: A Mini Meta-Analysis of Five Experiments Efrén Pérez, Bianca Vicuña, and Alisson Ramos	1549
Turnout Turnaround: Ethnic Minority Victories Mobilize White Voters Stephanie Zonszein and Guy Grossman	1556
Media Reflect! Policy, the Public, and the News Christopher Wlezien and Stuart Soroka	1563
Testing the Robustness of the ANES Feeling Thermometer Indicators of Affective Polarization Matthew Tyler and Shanto Iyengar	1570
They're Still There, He's All Gone: American Fatalities in Foreign Wars and Right-Wing Radicalization at Home Richard J. McAlexander, Michael A. Rubin, and Rob Williams	1577

CORRIGENDA

Segregation and the Spatial Externalities of Inequality: A Theory of Interdependence and Public Goods in Cities – CORRIGENDUM Alice Z. Xu	1584
Democracy, Public Support, and Measurement Uncertainty – CORRIGENDUM Yuehong 'Cassandra' Tai, Yue Hu, and Frederick Solt	1585
Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression – CORRIGENDUM Emily Hencken Ritter and Courtenay R. Monroe	1589

On the Cover. Following shot of astronaut confidently walking on Mars to Earth, a big moment for the human race. Getty Images/Nzoka John.

ABOUT THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION (APSA)



Founded in 1903, the **American Political Science Association (APSA)** is the leading professional organization for the study of political science and serves more than 11,000 members in over 100 countries. With a range of programs and services for individuals, departments, and institutions, APSA brings together political scientists from all fields of inquiry, regions, and occupational endeavors within and outside academe in order to deepen our understanding of politics, democracy, and citizenship throughout the world. The direct advancement of knowledge is at the core of APSA activities. We promote scholarly communication in political science through a variety of initiatives including publishing four distinguished journals: *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, and the *Journal of Political Science Education*.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT

Mark Warren
University of British Columbia

VICE-PRESIDENTS

James Druckman
Northwestern University

Lilly Goren
Carroll University

Cameron Thies
Michigan State University

PRESIDENT-ELECT

Taeku Lee
Harvard University

TREASURER

Sara Wallace Goodman
University of California, Irvine

PAST PRESIDENT

Lisa Martin
University of Wisconsin-Madison

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Steven Rathgeb Smith

COUNCIL

2021-2024

Khalilah L. Brown-Dean
Quinnipiac University

Scott Desposato
University of California, San Diego

Raymond Foxworth
Henry Luce Foundation

Terri E. Givens
McGill University

Eileen M. Hunt
University of Notre Dame

Mary McHugh
Merrimack College

Sara Mitchell
University of Iowa

Costas Panagopoulos
Northeastern University

2022-2025

Jason Casellas
University of Houston

Pearl Dowe
Emory University

Leigh Jenco
London School of Economics

Susan McWilliams
Pomona College

Aseem Prakash
University of Washington

Bassel Salloukh
Doha Institute

Christina Schneider
University of California, San Diego

Erica Townsend-Bell
Oklahoma State University

2023-2026

Julia Azari
Marquette University

Michael Goodhart
University of Pittsburgh

Alice Kang
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Alison McCartney
Towson University

Tamir Moustafa
Simon Fraser University

Daniel Nielson
University of Texas at Austin

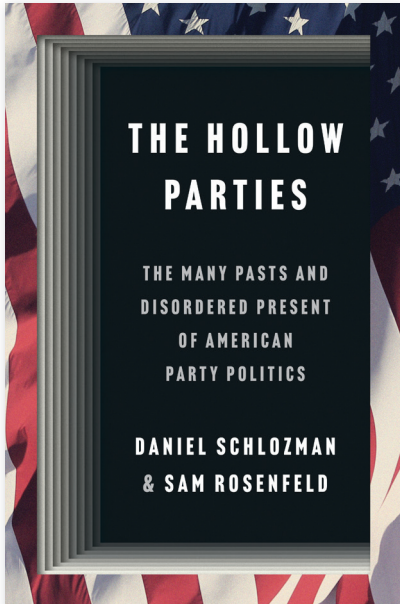
Candice Watts Smith
Duke University

Shatema Threadcraft
Vanderbilt University

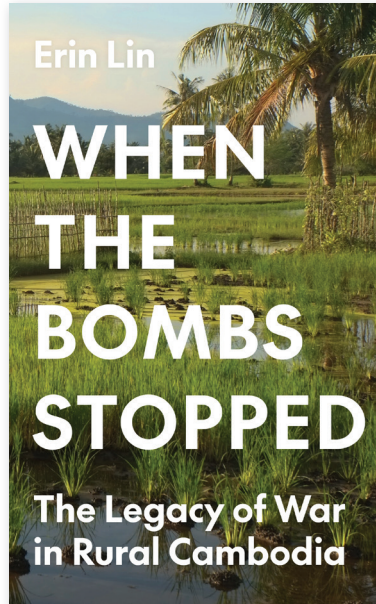
FORMER APSA PRESIDENTS

Frank J. Goodnow
Albert Shaw
Frederick N. Judson
James Bryce
A. Lawrence Lowell
Woodrow Wilson
Simeon E. Baldwin
Albert Bushnell Hart
W. W. Willoughby
John Bassett Moore
Ernst Freund
Jesse Macy
Munroe Smith
Henry Jones Ford
Paul S. Reinsch
Leo S. Rowe
William A. Dunning
Harry A. Garfield
James W. Garner
Charles E. Merriam
Charles A. Beard
William Bennett Munro
Jesse S. Reeves
John A. Fairlie
Benjamin F. Shambaugh
Edward S. Corwin
William F. Willoughby
Isidor Loeb
Walter Shepard
Francis W. Coker
Arthur N. Holcombe
Thomas Reed Powell
Clarence A. Dykstra
Charles Grove Haines
Robert C. Brooks
Frederic A. Ogg
William Anderson
Robert E. Cushman
Leonard D. White
John Gaus
Walter F. Dodd
Arthur W. MacMahon
Henry R. Spencer
Quincy Wright
James K. Pollock
Peter H. Odegard
Luther Gulick
Pendleton Herring
Ralph J. Bunche
Charles McKinley
Harold D. Lasswell
E. E. Schattschneider
V. O. Key, Jr.
R. Taylor Cole
Carl B. Swisher
Emmette S. Redford
Charles S. Hyneman
Charles J. Friedrich

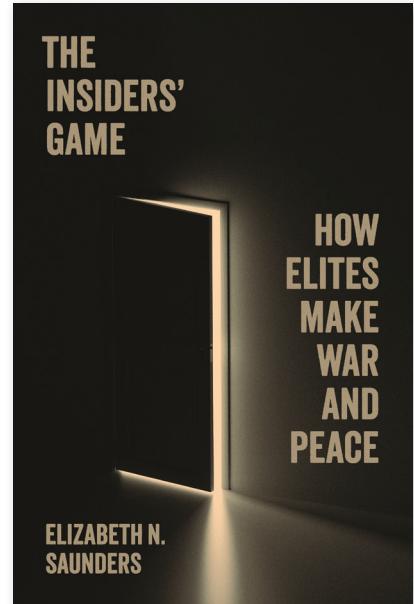
C. Herman Pritchett
David B. Truman
Gabriel A. Almond
Robert A. Dahl
Merle Fainsod
David Easton
Carl W. Deutsch
Robert E. Lane
Heinz Eulau
Robert E. Ward
Avery Leiserson
Austin Ranney
James MacGregor Burns
Samuel H. Beer
John C. Wahlke
Leon D. Epstein
Warren E. Miller
Charles E. Lindblom
Seymour Martin Lipset
William H. Riker
Philip E. Converse
Richard F. Fenno
Aaron B. Wildavsky
Samuel P. Huntington
Kenneth N. Waltz
Lucian W. Pye
Judith N. Shklar
Theodore J. Lowi
James Q. Wilson
Lucius J. Barker
Charles O. Jones
Sidney Verba
Arend Lijphart
Elinor Ostrom
M. Kent Jennings
Matthew Holden, Jr.
Robert O. Keohane
Robert Jervis
Robert D. Putnam
Theda Skocpol
Susanne Hoerber Rudolph
Margaret Levi
Ira Katznelson
Robert Axelrod
Dianne M. Pinderhughes
Peter Katzenstein
Henry E. Brady
Carole Pateman
G. Bingham Powell, Jr.
Jane Mansbridge
John H. Aldrich
Rodney E. Hero
Jennifer Hochschild
David Lake
Kathleen Thelen
Rogers Smith
Paula D. McClain
Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier
John Ishiyama



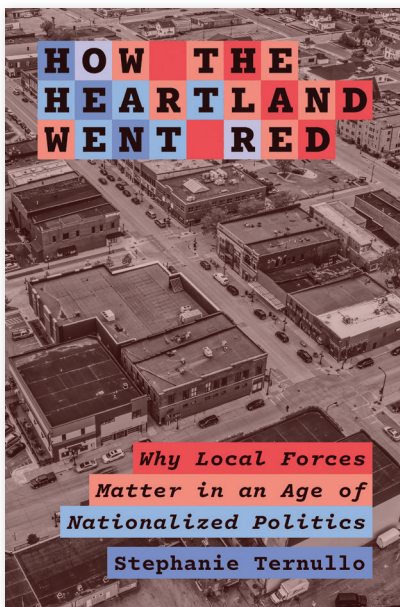
A major history of America's political parties from the Founding to our embittered present



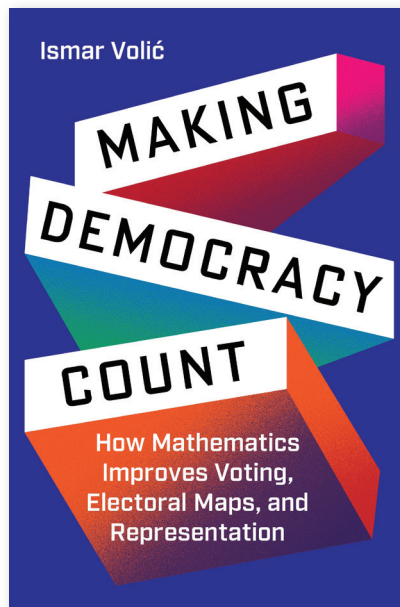
How undetonated bombs from a war that ended more than fifty years ago still affect Cambodian farmers and their land



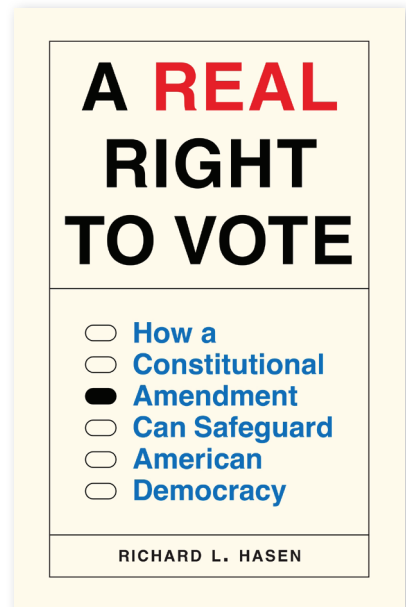
How elites shape the use of force in American foreign policy



How local contexts help us understand why White voters in America's heartland are shifting to the right



How we can repair our democracy by rebuilding the mechanisms that power it



Why it's time to enshrine the right to vote in the Constitution