

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW

February 2020
Volume 114, Issue 1
ISSN: 0003-0554

LEAD EDITOR

Thomas König
University of Mannheim, Germany

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Kenneth Benoit
London School of Economics
and Political Science
Thomas Bräuninger
University of Mannheim
Sabine Carey
University of Mannheim
Leigh Jenco
London School of Economics
and Political Science
Benjamin Lauderdale
University College London
Ingo Rohlfing
University of Cologne

EDITORIAL BOARD

Fiona Adamson
SOAS, University of London, UK
Elisabeth Anker
George Washington University
Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat
University of Connecticut
Amrita Basu
Amherst College
Janet Box-Steffensmeier
The Ohio State University
Nancy Burns
University of Michigan
Andrea Louise Campbell
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Kanchan Chandra
New York University
Wendy K. Tam Cho
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Nazli Choucri
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Lynette J. Chua
National University of Singapore,
Singapore
Romand Coles
Australian Catholic University, Australia
Kathy Cramer
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Brian F. Crisp
Washington University in St. Louis
Justin Crowe
Williams College
Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham
University of Maryland
Xinyuan Dai
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Laura Dugan
University of Maryland
John Duggan
University of Rochester
Tulia G. Falletti
University of Pennsylvania
Songying Fang
Rice University

Jennifer Gandhi
Emory University
Claudine Gay
Harvard University
John Gerring
University of Texas, Austin
Sona N. Golder
Pennsylvania State University
Ruth W. Grant
Duke University
Julia Gray
University of Pennsylvania
Mary Alice Haddad
Wesleyan University
Peter A. Hall
Harvard University
Mary Hawkesworth
Rutgers University
Gretchen Helmke
University of Rochester
D. Sunshine Hillygus
Duke University
Juliet Hooker
University of Texas, Austin
Valerie M. Hudson
Texas A&M University
Macartan Humphreys
Columbia University
Ana María Ibáñez
Universidad de los Andes, Colombia
Diana Kapiszewski
Georgetown University
Gary King
Harvard University
David Leheny
Princeton University
Jack S. Levy
Rutgers University
Evan S. Lieberman
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Melanie Frances Manion
Duke University
Elizabeth K. Markovits
Mount Holyoke College
Helen V. Milner
Princeton University
Sara McLaughlin Mitchell
University of Iowa
Kristen Renwick Monroe
University of California, Irvine
Rebecca B. Morton
New York University, Abu Dhabi
Michael A. Neblo
The Ohio State University
Elizabeth Maggie Penn
University of Chicago
Lynda W. Powell
University of Rochester
Markus Prior
Princeton University
Melvin L. Rogers
University of California, Los Angeles

Andreas Schedler
Centro de Investigación y Docencia
Económicas, Mexico
Frank Schimmelfennig
ETH Zürich, Switzerland
Carsten Q. Schneider
Central European University,
Budapest, Hungary
Sanjay Seth
Goldsmiths, University of London, UK
Carl K. Y. Shaw
Academia Sinica, Taiwan
Betsy Sinclair
Washington University in St. Louis
Beth A. Simmons
University of Pennsylvania
Dan Slater
University of Chicago
Rune Slothuus
Aarhus University, Denmark
Jeff Spinner-Halev
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Etel Solingen
University of California, Irvine
Tavneet Suri
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Margit Tavits
Washington University in St. Louis
Michelle Taylor-Robinson
Texas A&M University
Vera E. Troeger
Warwick University, UK
Karine Van der Straeten
Toulouse School of Economics, France
Jennifer N. Victor
George Mason University
Barbara F. Walter
University of California, San Diego
Leonard Wantchekon
Princeton University
S. Laurel Weldon
Purdue University
Stephen K. White
University of Virginia
Christina Wolbrecht
University of Notre Dame
EDITORIAL STAFF
Managing Editor
Alyssa Taylor
Editorial Assistants
Brittney Bolin
Samuel Müller
Felix Olsowski
Ivana Popovic
Guido Ropers
Paola Romero
Arduino Tomasi
Marta Wojciechowska
Student Assistants
Sandra Dill
Felicitas Eigenbrodt
Eashani Krishna

Association Office Address and Membership Information: American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: Regular members with income of \$200,000+, \$325; \$135,000–\$199,999, \$276; \$100,000–\$134,999, \$246; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$212; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$191; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$175; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$145; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$98; under \$30,000, \$78; life member, \$4,000; associate member (can select only one journal for print or online), \$75; family member, \$34; K-12 educator, \$50; 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, One Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006; and (outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press, 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 (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 (2020) is US \$1642 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £943 elsewhere. Annual institutional print-and-electronic subscription rate (2020) is US \$1903 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1080 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 (2020) is US \$201 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £114 elsewhere. Send address changes in the USA, Canada, and Mexico to: *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006. Send address changes elsewhere to *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006.

© American Political Science Association 2019.

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. 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 114, Number 1, February 2020

Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS	v
ARTICLES	
Representative Democracy as Defensible Epistocracy Dimitri Landa and Ryan Pevnick	1
A Formal Theory of Democratic Deliberation Hun Chung and John Duggan	14
In the Mood for Democracy? Democratic Support as Thermostatic Opinion Christopher Claassen	36
Plato's Myth of Er and the Reconfiguration of Nature Tae-Yeoun Keum	54
What Is Spontaneous Order? Daniel Luban	68
Self-Rule and the Problem of Peoplehood in Colonial India Nazmul S. Sultan	81
Reconceiving Immigration Politics: Walter Benjamin, Violence, and Labor Inés Valdez	95
How Saudi Crackdowns Fail to Silence Online Dissent Jennifer Pan and Alexandra A. Siegel	109
Can Economic Assistance Shape Combatant Support in Wartime? Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan Jason Lyall, Yang-Yang Zhou, and Kosuke Imai	126
Does Public Support for Judicial Power Depend on Who is in Political Power? Testing a Theory of Partisan Alignment in Africa Brandon L. Bartels and Eric Kramon	144
Theoretical Foundations and Empirical Evaluations of Partisan Fairness in District-Based Democracies Jonathan N. Katz, Gary King, and Elizabeth Rosenblatt	164
Strategic Legislative Subsidies: Informational Lobbying and the Cost of Policy Christopher J. Ellis and Thomas Groll	179
Race and Representation in Campaign Finance Jacob M. Grumbach and Alexander Sahn	206
How Partisan Is Local Law Enforcement? Evidence from Sheriff Cooperation with Immigration Authorities Daniel M. Thompson	222
Noisy Retrospection: The Effect of Party Control on Policy Outcomes Adam M. Dynes and John B. Holbein	237
How Empathic Concern Fuels Political Polarization Elizabeth N. Simas, Scott Clifford, and Justin H. Kirkland	258
Exit Strategy: Career Concerns and Revolving Doors in Congress Michael E. Shepherd and Hye Young You	270

LETTERS

Spatial Voting Meets Spatial Policy Positions: An Experimental Appraisal Tanja Artiga González and Georg D. Granic	285
Understanding Delegation Through Machine Learning: A Method and Application to the European Union L. Jason Anastasopoulos and Anthony M. Bertelli	291
List of Reviewers	302

About APSA

Founded in 1903, the American Political Science Association is the leading professional organization for the study of political science and serves more than 12,000 members in over 80 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

Paula D. McClain
Duke University

PRESIDENT-ELECT

Janet Box-Steffensmeier
Ohio State University

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Kerstin Hamann
University of Central Florida

PAST PRESIDENT

Rogers Smith
University of Pennsylvania

Leonard Wantchekon
Princeton University

TREASURER

Thomas Pepinsky
Cornell University

Melissa Williams
University of Toronto

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Steven Rathgeb Smith

Council

2017–2020

Joseph Carens
University of Toronto

Lisa Garcia-Bedolla
University of California, Berkeley

Lilly J. Goren
Carroll University

Simon Jackman
University of Sydney

Matthew Kocher
Johns Hopkins University

Erin Richards
Cascadia College

Valeria Sinclair-Chapman
Purdue University

Laura Sjoberg
University of Florida

2018–2021

Adam J. Berinsky
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Ann O'M. Bowman
Texas A&M University

Julia S. Jordan-Zachery
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Lori J. Marso
Union College

Alberto Simpser
Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

Charles Smith
University of California, Irvine

Rocío Titiunik
Princeton University

Lisa Wedeen
University of Chicago

2019–2022

Ben Ansell
University of Oxford

Erik Bleich
Middlebury College

Alexandra Filindra
University of Illinois at Chicago

Rebecca Gill
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Soo Yeon Kim
National University of Singapore

David Leal
University of Texas, Austin

Suzanna Linn
Penn State University

Melanye Price
Prairie View A&M 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

Carl J. Friedrich

C. Herman Pritchett

David B. Truman

Gabriel A. Almond

Robert A. Dahl

Merle Fainsod

David Easton

Karl 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

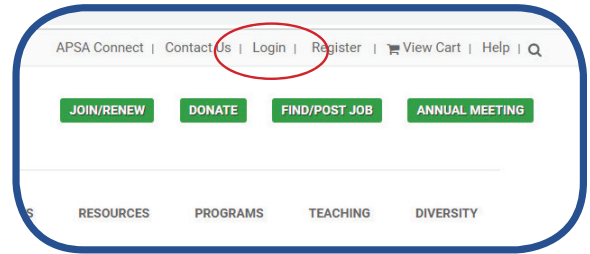
Kathleen Thelen

Rogers Smith

Access Your Journals through the APSA Website

1

Go to apsanet.org and click "Login" in the upper right corner

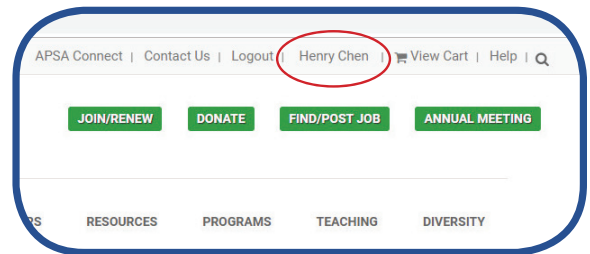
A screenshot of the 'Sign In' form on the APSA website. The form has a title 'Sign In' and a subtitle 'Sign in below if you have a website account.' There are two input fields: one for 'yourAPSUsername' and one for a password (represented by dots). A green 'Sign In' button is located at the bottom left of the form.

Enter your APSA username and password

2

3

Click your name in the upper right corner



A screenshot of the APSA user home page for Henry Chen. The page is divided into several sections. At the top left is a profile card for Henry Chen, Publishing Associate at APSA, with an 'Upload Photo' button. To the right is the 'Membership Info' section, showing 'Type: Individual Memberships', 'SubType: Regular Member A', 'Expires: 7/31/2020', and 'Joined: 2019'. Below this are three buttons: 'Join or Renew Your Membership', 'Add a Section', and 'Journal Delivery Preferences'. A red arrow points from the 'Join or Renew Your Membership' button to the 'APSA Journals' section. The 'APSA Journals' section lists various journals such as 'American Political Science Review', 'PS: Political Science and Politics', 'Perspectives on Politics', 'JSTOR', 'Journal of Political Science Education', 'American Political Thought', 'Journal of Experimental Political Science', 'Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law', 'Journal of Information Technology and Politics', and 'Journal of Law and Courts'. To the right of the journals is the 'Demographics' section, which includes fields for 'Gender: Male', 'Ethnicity: East Asian or Asian American', 'Primary Academic Fields of Interest: Prefer not to disclose', 'Secondary Academic Fields of Interest: Prefer not to disclose', and 'Special Fields Of Interest: Africa'. At the bottom is the 'Section Membership' table, which has columns for 'Name', 'Start', and 'Expiration'. The first entry is '01. Federalism and intergovernmental Relations' with a start date of '07/19/19' and an expiration date of '07/31/20'. The page footer indicates 'Page 1 of 3: 25 Journals'.

Access your APSA and Section Journals from the User Home page

4

