

APSR

American
Political
Science
Review



MAY 2025 | VOLUME 119 | NUMBER 2

LEAD EDITORS

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

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Marisa 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
Sharece Thrower
Vanderbilt University, 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 Broockman
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 Cavaillé
University of Michigan, USA
Joseph Chan
Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan
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
Lanny Martin
Bocconi University, Italy
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+, \$352; \$135,000–\$199,999, \$299; \$100,000–\$134,999, \$266; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$230; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$206; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$190; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$157; \$30,000–\$39,999, \$106; under \$30,000, \$85; life member, \$4,000; associate member (can select only one journal for print or online), \$82; K–12 educator, \$54; 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 (2025) is US \$1859 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1066 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 (2025) 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 2025.

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 119, Number 2, May 2025

Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS: ADVICE TO AUTHORS. v

ARTICLES

Civil Service Adoption in America: The Political Influence of City Employees Sarah F. Anzia and Jessica Trounstein	549
Crediting Invisible Work: Congress and the Lawmaking Productivity Metric (LawProM) Mandi Eatough and Jessica R. Preece	566
Senate Countermajoritarianism C. Lawrence Evans	585
To Report or Not to Report on Research Ethics in Political Science and International Relations: A New Dimension of Gender-Based Inequality Eleanor Knott and Denisa Kostovicova	603
Separate but Unequal: Ethnocentrism and Racialization Explain the “Democratic” Peace in Public Opinion Brian C. Rathbun, Christopher Sebastian Parker, and Caleb Pomeroy	621
Peer Effects and Recidivism: Wartime Connections and Criminality among Colombian Ex-Combatants Mateo Vásquez-Cortés	637
Legacies of Wartime Sexual Violence: Survivors, Psychological Harms, and Mobilization Summer Lindsey and Carlo Koos	653
Bribes and Bombs: The Effect of Corruption on Terrorism Daniel Meierrieks and Daniel Auer	670
Are Firms Gerrymandered? Joaquín Artés, Aaron R. Kaufman, Brian K. Richter, and Jeffrey F. Timmons	687
Who Knows How to Govern? Procedural Knowledge in India’s Small-Town Councils Adam Michael Auerbach, Shikhar Singh, and Tariq Thachil	708
Measurement That Matches Theory: Theory-Driven Identification in Item Response Theory Models Marco Morucci, Margaret J. Foster, Kaitlyn Webster, So Jin Lee, and David A. Siegel	727
Liberals and Conservatives Rely on Very Similar Sets of Foundations When Comparing Moral Violations Jack Blumenau and Benjamin E. Lauderdale	746
A Turn Against Empire: Benito Juárez’s Liberal Rejoinder to the French Intervention in Mexico Tom Long and Carsten-Andreas Schulz	763
Traceability and Mass Policy Feedback Effects Brian T. Hamel	778
Field of Education and Political Behavior: Predicting GAL/TAN Voting Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, and Jonne Kamphorst	794
Can Party Elites Shape the Rank and File? Evidence from a Recruitment Campaign in India Saad Gulzar, Durgesh Pathak, Sarah Thompson, and Aliz Tóth	812
Trading Diversity? Judicial Diversity and Case Outcomes in Federal Courts Ryan Copus, Ryan Hübert, and Paige Pellaton	832
Policy Impact and Voter Mobilization: Evidence from Farmers’ Trade War Experiences Jake Alton Jares and Neil Malhotra	847
Elite Cues and Noncompliance Zachary P. Dickson and Sara B. Hobolt	870
Do Local Roots Impact Washington Behaviors? District Connections and Representation in the U.S. Congress Jesse Crosson and Jaclyn Kaslovsky	887
Democratic Equality Beyond Deliberation Justin Pottle	905
The American Viewer: Political Consequences of Entertainment Media Eunji Kim and Shawn Patterson Jr.	917
Tradition and Disruption in Latinx and Latin American Political Thought Inés Valdez, Raymond Rocco, and Arturo Chang	932
Misinformation and Support for Vigilantism: An Experiment in India and Pakistan Sumitra Badrinathan, Simon Chauchard, and Niloufer Siddiqui	947

The Influence of Partisanship on Assessments of Promise Fulfillment and Accountability Tabitha Bonilla	966
Improving Probabilistic Models In Text Classification Via Active Learning Mitchell Bosley, Saki Kuzushima, Ted Enamorado, and Yuki Shiraito	985
Guilt and Guilty Pleas Andrew T. Little and Hannah K. Simpson	1003
Geo-Political Rivalry and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment: A Conjoint Experiment in 22 Countries Andreas Wimmer, Bart Bonikowski, Charles Crabtree, Zheng Fu, Matt Golder, and Kiyoteru Tsutsui	1018
Confronting Core Issues: A Critical Assessment of Attitude Polarization Using Tailored Experiments Yamil Ricardo Velez and Patrick Liu	1036
On Political Misogyny Suzanne Dovi	1054
LETTER	
Conditional Enfranchisement: How Partisanship Determines Support for Noncitizen Voting Rights Hannah Alarian and Stephanie Zonszein	1068
CORRIGENDA	
Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobbehavior in Electoral Fraud – CORRIGENDUM German Gieczewski, Ashlea Rundlett, Mehdi Shadmehr, and Milan W. Svolik	1076
Who Punishes Extremist Nominees? Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in U.S. Elections — CORRIGENDUM Andrew B. Hall and Daniel M. Thompson	1081

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

Taeku Lee

Harvard University

PRESIDENT-ELECT

Susan Stokes

University of Chicago

PAST PRESIDENT

Mark Warren

University of British
Columbia

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Juliet Hooker

Brown University

TREASURER

Sara Wallace Goodman

University of California,
Irvine

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Kimberly A. Mealy

Vincent Hutchings

University of Michigan

Caroline Tolbert

University of Iowa

COUNCIL

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

2024 – 2027

Lonna Atkeson

Florida State University

Nadia Brown

Georgetown University

Stacie Goddard

Wellesley

Anna Grzymala-Busse

Stanford University

Julie Mueller

Southern Maine
Community College

Melissa Rogers

Claremont Graduate
University

Sara Rushing

Montana State University

Cherie Strachan

University of Akron

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 Herrington

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

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 Hoebel 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

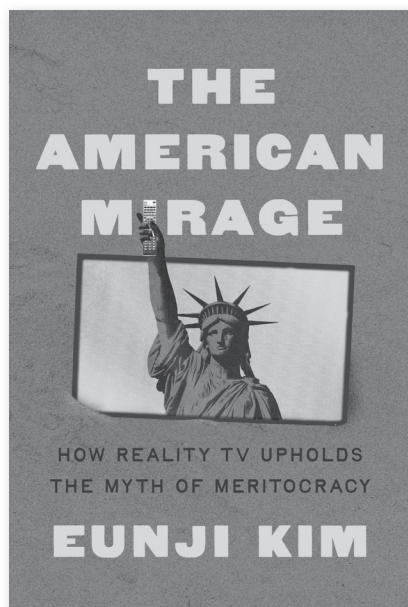
Rogers Smith

Paula D. McClain

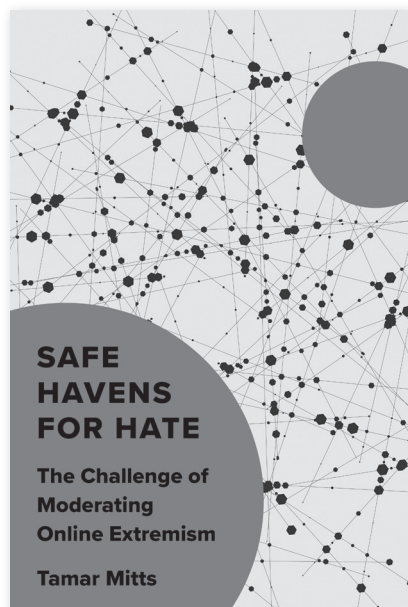
Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier

John Ishiyama

Mark Warren



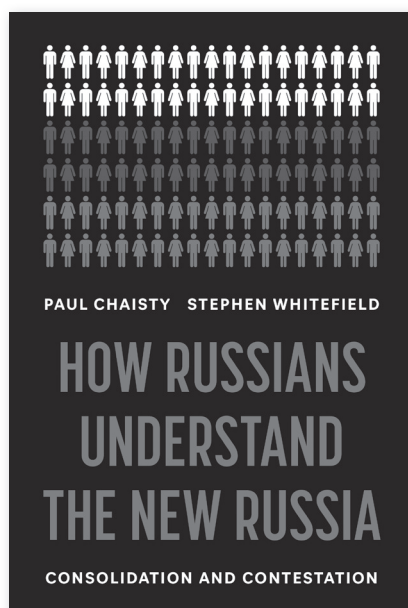
How the entertainment narrative of upward mobility distorts the harsh economic realities in America



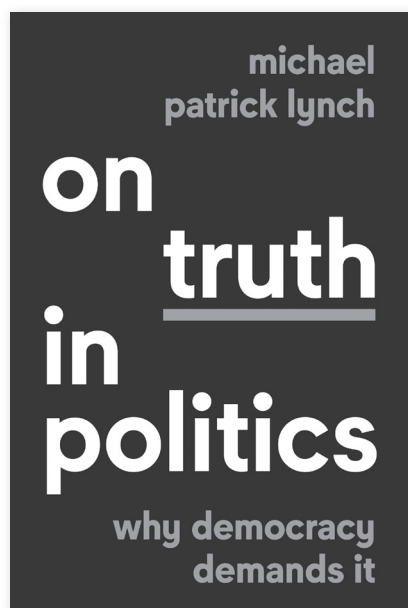
Why efforts to moderate harmful content on social media fail to stop extremists



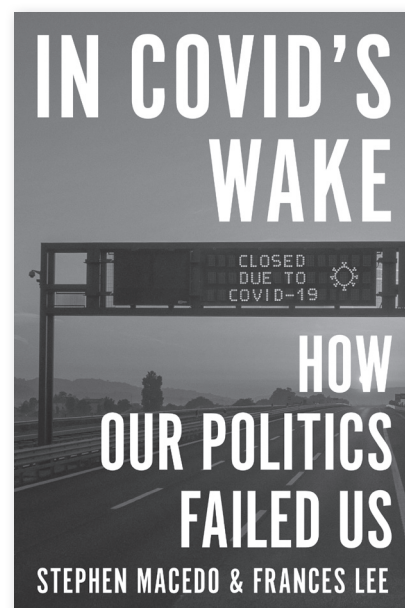
How large American retailers outgrew the capacity of government to regulate them



The issues that are the most and the least divisive in Russia



The “philosopher of truth” (Jill Lepore, *The New Yorker*) shows why truth is an essential democratic value—and how it can be strengthened



What our failures during the pandemic cost us, and why we must do better