PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS

A Political Science Public Sphere

apsa AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION



Special Section: Migrant Acceptance and Inclusion

DECEMBER 2024 | VOLUME 22 | NUMBER 4

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627

apsa PREPRINTS

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION



APSA Preprints is a free prepublication platform for early research outputs in political science and related disciplines.



Key Benefits

- Obtain a DOI
- Comment on papers
- Track metrics & share on social media
- Rapid turnaround (3-5 days)
- Prepare your paper for peer review
- Free to post and browse

Upload your 2024 Annual Meeting paper today!

NEW

Submit the latest version of your preprint directly to a journal!



Visit preprints.apsanet.org to learn more

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Philosophy of *Perspectives on Politics*

Perspectives seeks to nurture a political science public sphere, publicizing important scholarly topics, ideas, and innovations, linking scholarly authors and readers, and promoting broad reflexive discussion among political scientists about the work that we do and why this work matters.

A full-length copy of the journal's editorial philosophy appears in *Perspectives on Politics* 8(1): 7–10 and also on the web at https://www.apsanet.org/perspectivessubmissions.

Submission and Review

For submission guidelines, please see https://www.apsanet.org/perspectivessubmissions.

Our editorial team discusses all submissions. Those that seem promising are evaluated by several external reviewers—with full confidentiality on both sides—and then accepted, returned for further revisions, or declined with suggestions of more appropriate venues for publication.

Perspectives on Politics

Editors
Ana Arjona, Northwestern University, USA
Wendy Pearlman, Northwestern University, USA

Associate Editor
Shmuel Nili, Northwestern University, USA

Book Review Editors
Anne Wolf, University of Oxford, UK
Kathrin Bachleitner, University of Salzburg, Austria
Sarah Bufkin, University of Birmingham, UK

Managing Editor
Jennifer C. Boylan, APSA

Assistants to the Editors
Jinxue Chen, Northwestern University
Elizabeth Good, Northwestern University
Jack McGovern, Northwestern University
Sarah E. Moore, Northwestern University

Editors Emeriti
Michael Bernhard & Daniel I. O'Neill, University of Florida, 2017-2023
Jeffrey C. Isaac, Indiana University, 2009-2017
James Johnson, University of Rochester, 2005-2008
Jennifer Hochschild, Harvard University, 2002-2005

Editorial Board
Reşat Bayer, Koç University
Cristina Beltrán, New York University
Richard Bensel, Cornell University
Ruth Berins Collier, University of California at Berkeley
Nancy Bermeo, Oxford University
Cara Wong, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Charli Carpenter, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Simone Chambers, University of California, Irvine
Simone Dietrich, University of Geneva
Omar Encarnación, Bard College
Zsolt Enyedi, Central European University
Michael Fortner, Claremont Mckenna College
Mneesha Gellman, Emerson College
Michael Goodhart, University of Pittsburgh
Anna Grzymala-Busse, Stanford University
Michael Hanchard, University of Pennsylvania
Juliet Hooker, Brown University
Jane Junn, University of Southern California
Sung Eun Kim, Korea University
Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan
Douglas Lemke, Pennsylvania State University
Julia Lynch, University of Pennsylvania
Marc Lynch, George Washington University
Samantha Majic, John Jay College, CUNY
John Medearis, University of California, Riverside
Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University
Melissa Michelson, Menlo College
Jørgen Møller, Aarhus University
Anja Neundorf, University of Glasgow
Daniel Nexon, Georgetown University
Christopher Parker, University of California, Santa Barbara
Trisha Phillips, West Virginia University
Ed Schatz, University of Toronto
Alexandra Siegel, University of Colorado, Boulder
Dan Slater, University of Michigan
Paul Staniland, University of Chicago
Paul Steinberg, Harvey Mudd College
Joan C. Tronto, University of Minnesota
Ashutosh Varshney, Brown University
Vesla Weaver, Johns Hopkins University
Cara Wong, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Deborah J. Yashar, Princeton University

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press

CONTACT INFO
Perspectives on Politics
American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20036
Perspectives: perspectives@apsanet.org
Book Reviews: popbookreviews@apsanet.org

Association Office Address and Membership Information:
American Political Science Association individual membership dues are as follow: Regular members with income $200,000+, $345; $135,000-$199,999, $293; $100,000-$134,000, $261; $80,000-$99,999, $225; $60,000-$79,999, $202; $50,000-$59,999, $186; $40,000-$49,999, $154; $30,000-39,000, $104; less than $30,000, $83; Retired members with income $25,000+, $66; Retired members with income less than $25,000, $40; Targeted international member (TIM), $45; Life member, $4,000; K-12 educators (*PS* only), $53; Unemployed members, $45; Student members, $52; Associate member with one journal selection, $80. Changes of address for members should be completed online or mailed to the APSA membership office at: APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Subscription, Publishing, and Advertising Office Address:
Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006; and (for correspondents outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

Subscription Information: *Perspectives on Politics* (ISSN 1537-5927) is published quarterly, in March, June, September, and December, by Cambridge University Press & Assessment, (One Liberty Plaza, 20th floor, New York, NY 10006) for the American Political Science Association. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2024) is US$1642 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £943 elsewhere. Annual institutional print and electronic subscription rate (2024) is US$1903 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1080 elsewhere. *Perspectives on Politics* is sold only as part of a joint subscription with the *American Political Science Review* and *PS: Political Science & Politics*. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: Send address changes to *Perspectives on Politics*, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, Journals Fulfillment Department, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, U.S.A.

© American Political Science Association 2024.

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 from: http://www.cambridge.org/rights/permissions/permission.htm

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

Advertising: *Perspectives on Politics* has a circulation of 16,000. For information on advertising rates and mechanical requirements, contact Advertising Coordinator, Cambridge University Press & Assessment, One Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006. (212) 337-5000.

Composition: Straive.

Printing and Distribution: The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA.

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

VICE-PRESIDENTS
Juliet Hooker
Brown University

Vincent Hutchings
University of Michigan

Caroline Tolbert
University of Iowa

PRESIDENT -ELECT
Susan Stokes
University of Chicago

TREASURER
Sara Wallace Goodman
University of California, Irvine

PAST PRESIDENT
Mark Warren
University of British Columbia

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Kimberly A. Mealy
APSA

COUNCIL

2022 – 2025

Jason Casellas
University of Houston

Pearl Dowe
Emory University

Leigh Jenco
London School of Economics

Susan McWilliams Barndt
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 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
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 Hoeber 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

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Perspectives on Politics
December 2024/Vol. 22, No. 4 | American Political Science Association

Table of Contents

From the Editors

955 Editorial Note
Ana Arjona, Jinxue Chen, Elizabeth Good, Jack McGovern, Sarah Moore, and Wendy Pearlman

Special Section: Migrant Acceptance and Inclusion

Reflection

961 Morality in the Refugee Regime? Arguing for More (Political) Realism in Admitting Refugees
Felix Bender

Articles

975 From Openness to Inclusion: Toward a Democratic Approach to Migration Policy
Nathan Pippenger

989 The Ukrainian Refugee Crisis and the Politics of Public Opinion: Evidence from Hungary
Thomas B. Pepinsky, Ádám Reiff, and Krisztina Szabó

1015 Embracing the Status Hierarchy: How Immigration Attitudes, Prejudice, and Sexism Shaped Non-White Support for Trump
Jessica R. Geiger and Tyler T. Reny

Special Section: Law & Politics

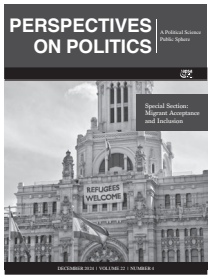
1031 Courts-First Federalism: How Model Legislation Becomes Impact Litigation
Dylan L. Yingling and Daniel J. Mallinson

1045 Lawyers as Lobbyists: Regulatory Advocacy in American Finance
Brian Libgober and Daniel Carpenter

1065 Litigating Policy Drift: Frozen Categories and Thresholds in Court
Ursula Hackett

Special Section: Crisis and Belief Formation

1077 Geosocietal Support for Democracy: Survey Evidence from Ukraine
Mikhail A. Alexseev and Serhii Dembitskyi



Sign welcoming refugees on City Hall of Madrid. Aygul Sarvarova/GettyImages.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1100 Social Disruption, Gun Buying, and Anti-System Beliefs
Matthew J. Lacombe, Matthew D. Simonson, Jon Green, and James N. Druckman

1118 How to Stay Popular: Threat, Framing, and Conspiracy Theory Longevity
Courtney Blackington and Frances Cayton

1140 Populist Attitudes among Teenagers: How Negative Relationships with Socialization Agents Are Linked to Populist Attitudes
Sebastian Jungkunz and Julia Weiss

Special Section: Addressing Transnational Challenges

1157 "Fit for Purpose?" Assessing the Ecological Fit of the Social Institutions that Globally Govern Antimicrobial Resistance
Isaac Weldon and Steven J. Hoffman

1179 Dimensions of Transnational Feminism: Autonomous Organizing, Multilateralism and Agenda-Setting in Global Civil Society
Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson, Amber Lusvardi, Summer Forester, and S. Laurel Weldon

1203 The Decarbonization Bargain: How the Decarbonizable Sector Shapes Climate Politics
Nils Kupzok and Jonas Nahm

1224 Perceptions of a Global Democratic Deficit: An International Survey Experiment
Farsan Ghassim

The Johan Skytte Prize Lecture

1248 When "Old" Constructivism Was New: Reflections on Classical Constructivism
Martha Finnemore and Alexander Wendt

From the Editors

1269 Our Reflections on our First Months as the New Book Review Editors
Anne Wolf, Kathrin Bachleitner, and Sarah Bufkin

1271 Rumors, Propaganda, and Conspiracies: New Insights on the Ideological Dimensions of Democratic Backsliding and Autocratization
Anne Wolf, Kathrin Bachleitner, and Sarah Bufkin

Review Symposium

1275 A Discussion of Adam Berinsky's *Political Rumors: Why We Accept Misinformation and How to Fight It*
Bethany Albertson
Matthew Motta
Hugo Leal
Emily Thorson
Thomas Julian Wood

Book Review Essays

1285 The Radical Right Goes Global (and Local)
David Art

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1291 The Self-Orientalizing Republic of Iran
Charles Kurzman

1297 China's Governance in the "New Era" of Xi Jinping
Elizabeth J. Perry

Critical Dialogues

1304 Reviews and Responses
Asad L. Asad
Engage and Evade: How Latino Immigrant Families Manage Surveillance in Everyday Life
———
Yalidy Matos
Moral and Immoral Whiteness in Immigration Politics

1310 Reviews and Responses
Russ Castronovo
American Insecurity and the Origins of Vulnerability
———
Mark Maguire and Setha Low
Trapped: Life under Security Capitalism and How to Escape It

1315 Reviews and Responses
Josep M. Colomer
Constitutional Polarization: A Critical Review of the U.S. Political System
———
Maxwell L. Stearns
Parliamentary America: The Least Radical Means of Radically Repairing Our Broken Democracy

1321 Reviews and Responses
Joseph Masco and Lisa Wedeen, Eds.
Conspiracy/Theory
———
Matthew Rhodes-Purdy, Rachel Navarre, and Stephen Utych
The Age of Discontent: Populism, Extremism, and Conspiracy Theories in Contemporary Democracies

1327 Reviews and Responses
Dylan M.H. Loh
China's Rising Foreign Ministry: Practices and Representations of Assertive Diplomacy
———
Ketian Zhang
China's Gambit: The Calculus of Coercion

Book Reviews

POLITICAL THEORY

1332 **Alan S. Kahan,** *Freedom from Fear: An Incomplete History of Liberalism*
Review by Paul Kelly

1333 **Michael Sonenscher,** *After Kant: The Romans, the Germans, and the Moderns in the History of Political Thought*
Review by Paul T. Wilford

1335 **Kevin J. Elliott,** *Democracy for Busy People*
Review by Steven L. Taylor

1336 **Richard Bourke,** *Hegel's World Revolutions*
Review by Terry Pinkard

AMERICAN POLITICS

1337 **Paul M. Rego,** *Lyman Trumbull and the Second Founding of the United States*
Review by Robert C. Lieberman

1339 **Andrew C. McKevitt,** *Gun Country: Gun Capitalism, Culture and Control in Cold War America*
Review by Robert J. Spitzer

1340 **Jeff Spinner-Halev and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse,** *Respect and Loathing in American Democracy: Polarization, Moralization, and the Undermining of Equality*
Review by Daniel F. Stone

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1342 **John C. Green, David B. Cohen, and Kenneth M. Miller,** *State of the Parties 2022: The Changing Role of American Political Parties*
Review by Daniel Schlozman
1343 **Susan Gluck Mezey and Megan A. Sholar,** *Chasing Equality: Women's Rights & U.S. Public Policy*
Review by Anna Mahoney

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

1344 **Leonardo R. Arriola, Lise Rakner, and Nicolas van de Walle, Eds.,** *Democratic Backsliding in Africa? Autocratization, Resilience, and Contention*
Review by Rachel Beatty Riedl
1345 **Erin Baggott Carter and Brett L. Carter,** *Propaganda in Autocracies: Institutions, Information, and the Politics of Belief*
Review by Haifeng Huang
1347 **Paul Whiteley, Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, and Marianne C. Stewart,** *Brexit Britain: The Consequences of the Vote to Leave the European Union*
Review by Gylfi Zoega
1349 **Matthias Thiemann,** *Taming the Cycles of Finance? Central Banks and the Macro-Prudential Shift in Financial Regulation*
Review by Leah Rose Downey
1350 **Marianna Griffini,** *The Politics of Memory in the Italian Populist Radical Right: From Mare Nostrum to Mare Vostrum*
Review by Alessia Donà
1352 **Goran Hyden,** *Theorizing in Comparative Politics: Democratization in Africa*
Review by Jonathan Fisher
1353 **Marie-Eve Desrosiers,** *Trajectories of Authoritarianism in Rwanda: Elusive Control before the Genocide*
Review by Omar Shahabudin McDoom
1355 **Johannes Gerschewski,** *The Two Logics of Autocratic Rule*
Review by Kurt Weyland

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1356 **Michael Haas,** *Professionalization of Foreign Policy: Transformation of Operational Code Analysis*
Review by James Strong
1358 **Christina L. Davis,** *Discriminatory Clubs: The Geopolitics of International Organizations*
Review by Tamar Gutner
1359 **Christopher S. Browning,** *Nation Branding and International Politics*
Review by Felix Berenskötter
1361 **Andrew Wilson,** *Political Technology: The Globalisation of Political Manipulation*
Review by Lucas Kello
1363 **Kseniya Oksamytna,** *Advocacy and Change in International Organizations: Communication, Protection, and Reconstruction in UN Peacekeeping*
Review by Richard Caplan
1364 **Tomasz P. Woźniakowski,** *Fiscal Unions: Economic Integration in Europe and the United States*
Review by Tobias Tesche
1365 **William R. Thompson,** *American Global Pre-Eminence: The Development and Erosion of Systemic Leadership*
Ayşe Zarakol, *Before the West: The Rise and Fall of Eastern World Orders*
Review by Carla Norrlöf

Erratum

1368 Lawyers as Lobbyists: Regulatory Advocacy in American Finance – ERRATUM

1369 Review Index

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592724002627 Published online by Cambridge University Press