

PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICS

A Political Science
Public Sphere



Special Section:
Labor and
Collective Action





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 2025 TLC conference paper today!



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

Visit preprints.apsanet.org to learn more



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 Bense, Cornell University

Ruth Berins Collier, University of California at Berkeley

Nancy Bermeo, Oxford University

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

Melissa Michelson, Menlo College

Jørgen Møller, Aarhus University

Anja Neundorff, 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

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+, \$352; \$135,000–\$199,999, \$299; \$100,000–\$134,000, \$266; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$230; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$206; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$190; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$157; \$30,000–\$39,000, \$106; less than \$30,000, \$85; 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), \$54; Unemployed members, \$45; Student members, \$85; Associate member with one journal selection, \$82. 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 (2025) is US\$1859 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1066 elsewhere. Annual institutional print and electronic subscription rate (2025) is US\$2828 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico; £1605 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 2025.

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: Strive.

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 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
Mark Warren

Table of Contents

From the Editors

- 1** Note from the Editors
Wendy Pearlman and Ana Arjona

Presidential Address

- 7** Democratic Innovation and Representative Democracy
Mark E. Warren

Struggles For and Over Representation

Articles

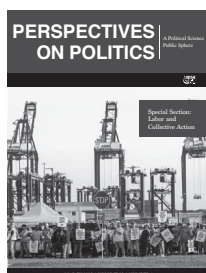
- 15** Federalism and Democratic Backsliding in Comparative Perspective
Robert R. Kaufman, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Burcu Kolcak
- 35** Sweden's Peculiar Adoption of Proportional Representation: The Overlooked Effects of Time and History
Marcus Kreuzer and Runa Neely
- 55** Estimating Disenfranchisement in US Elections, 1870–1970
Thomas R. Gray and Jeffery A. Jenkins
- 76** Polarization and the Democratic System: Kinds, Reasons, and Sites
Christian F. Rostbøll

Reflection

- 93** Deepening or Endangering Democracy: Demonstrations and Institutions under Representative Government
Robert M. Fishman

Article

- 103** The Process of Revolutionary Protest: Development and Democracy in the Tunisian Revolution
Christopher Barrie



Members of the International Longshoremen's Association have decided to strike after their contract expired on Tuesday, October 1, 2024, outside the Bayport Container Terminal in Seabrook, Texas. GettyImages/Houston Chronicle/Hearst Newspapers.

Labor & Collective Action

Reflection

- 122** When Do Mass Labor Strikes Reshape the Public? New Findings and a Research Agenda for Political Science
Alexander Hertel-Fernandez

Article

- 137** Power in a Union: How Unexpected Group Partnerships Form
Boris Heersink and Matthew J. Lacombe

State & Non-State Political Violence

- 154** Extremism and Terrorism: Rebel Goals and Tactics in Civil Wars
Renanah Miles Joyce and Virginia Page Fortna
- 175** Jihadist Terrorist Attacks and Far-Right Party Preferences: An “Unexpected Event During Survey Design” in Four European Countries
Tim Vlandas and Daphne Halikiopoulou
- 195** Anti-Black Political Violence and the Historical Legacy of the Great Replacement Conspiracy
Andrew Ifedapo Thompson, Maxwell Beveridge, Stefan McCabe, Molly Ahern, Fryda Cortes, Noah Axford, and Jacqueline Martinez Franks
- 213** Deviant Cohesion and Unauthorized Atrocities: Evidence from the American War in Vietnam
Marek Brzezinski
- 234** Voting with Their Guns: An Integrated Framework of How Police Politically Administer Violence
Hernán Flom

Articles

- 250** Finding Meaning in Politics: When Victims Become Activists
Regina Bateson
- 270** Republican Policing: From Consent to Contestation
William Smith
- 286** From Gender Gap to Gender Gaps: Bringing Nonbinary People into Political Behavior Research
Quinn M. Albaugh, Allison Harell, Peter John Loewen, Daniel Rubenson, and Laura B. Stephenson

From the Editors

- 305** Political Science in the Afterlife of Empire: New Reckonings with Racism and Racialization
Sarah Bufkin, Anne Wolf, and Kathrin Bachleitner

Review Symposium

- 310** A Discussion of David W. Blight’s *Yale and Slavery: A History*
Kirt von Daacke
Hilary Green
Catherine Hall
Michael Vorenberg
Sabine F. Cadeau
Sharon Stein
Simon P. Newman

Critical Dialogues

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 324 Reviews and Responses
Andrés Fabián Henao Castro
<i>The Militant Intellect: Critical Theory's Conceptual Personae</i> | ————— | Malte Frøslee Ibsen
<i>A Critical Theory of Global Justice: The Frankfurt School and World Society</i> |
| 330 Reviews and Responses
Margaret Perez Brower
<i>Intersectional Advocacy: Redrawing Policy Boundaries Around Gender, Race, and Class</i> | ————— | Kaitlin N. Sidorsky and Wendy J. Schiller
<i>Inequality Across State Lines: How Policymakers Have Failed Domestic Violence Victims in the United States</i> |
| 336 Reviews and Responses
MT Howard
<i>Black Soldiers in the Rhodesian Army: Colonialism, Professionalism and Race</i> | ————— | Timothy Lewis Scarnecchia
<i>Race and Diplomacy in Zimbabwe: The Cold War and Decolonization, 1960–1984</i> |
| 341 Reviews and Responses
T.V. Paul
<i>The Unfinished Quest: India's Search for Major Power Status from Nehru to Modi</i> | ————— | Anuradha Sajjanhar
<i>The New Experts: Populist Elites and Technocratic Promises in Modi's India</i> |
| 347 Reviews and Responses
Christopher McIntosh
<i>The Time of Global Politics. International Relations as Study of the Present</i> | ————— | Benjamin Ginsberg and Jennifer Bachner
<i>Warping Time: How Contending Political Forces Manipulate the Past, Present, and Future</i> |
| 352 Reviews and Responses
David Keen
<i>Shame: The Politics and Power of an Emotion</i> | ————— | Rochelle Terman
<i>The Geopolitics of Shaming: When Human Rights Pressure Works—and When It Backfires</i> |

Book Reviews

POLITICAL THEORY

- 358 **Ella Myers**, *The Gratifications of Whiteness: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Enduring Rewards of Anti-Blackness*
Review by Jonathan Masin-Peters
- 359 **Robbie Shilliam**, *Decolonizing Politics: An Introduction*
Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò, *Against Decolonisation: Taking African Agency Seriously*
Review by Neil Roberts
- 361 **David Myer Temin**, *Remapping Sovereignty: Decolonization and Self-Determination in North American Indigenous Political Thought*
Sheryl Lightfoot and Elsa Stamatopoulou, Eds., *Indigenous Peoples and Borders*
Review by Arturo Chang
- 363 **Gillian Brock**, *Corruption and Global Justice*
Review by Seumas Miller
- 365 **David Lay Williams**, *The Greatest of All Plagues: How Economic Inequality Shaped Political Thought from Plato to Marx*
Review by Dennis C. Rasmussen
- 366 **Paul Sagar**, *Basic Equality*
Review by Pablo Gilabert
- 368 **Claudia Leeb**, *Contesting the Far Right: A Psychoanalytic and Feminist Critical Theory Approach*
Review by Nica Siegel

AMERICAN POLITICS

- 370 **Patrick Rafail and John D. McCarthy**, *The Rise, Fall, and Influence of the Tea Party Insurgency*
Review by Theda Skocpol

- 372 **Joseph Mello**, *Pot for Profit: Cannabis Legalization, Racial Capitalism, and the Expansion of the Carceral State*
Review by David Pozen
- 373 **Anand Edward Sokhey and Paul A. Djupe**, Eds., *Trump, White Evangelical Christians, and American Politics: Change and Continuity*
Review by James L. Guth
- 374 **Ann Southworth**, *Big Money Unleashed: The Campaign to Deregulate Election Spending*
Review by Timothy K. Kuhner
- 376 **Daniel Schlozman and Sam Rosenfeld**, *The Hollow Parties: The Many Pasts and Disordered Present of American Party Politics*
Review by John McGowan
- 378 **Deborah R. McFarlane and Wendy L. Hansen**, *Regulating Abortion: The Politics of US Abortion Policy*
Review by Simone M. Caron
- 379 **Marsha E. Barrett**, *Nelson Rockefeller's Dilemma: The Fight to Save Moderate Republicanism*
Review by Neil A. O'Brian
- 379 **Austin Sarat**, Ed., *Death Penalty in Decline? The Fight against Capital Punishment in the Decades since Furman v. Georgia*
Review by Jeffrey L. Kirchmeier

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

- 381 **Jonah Levy**, *Contested Liberalization. Historical Legacies and Contemporary Conflict in France*
Review by Bruno Amable
- 383 **Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson and Nehemia Geva**, Eds., *The Image of Gender and Political Leadership: A Multinational View of Women and Leadership*
Review by Gwynn Thomas
- 384 **Rachel H. Brown**, *Unsettled Labors: Migrant Care Work in Palestine/Israel*
Arjun Shankar, *Brown Saviors and Their Others: Race, Caste, Labor, and the Global Politics of Help in India*
Review by Desh Girod
- 386 **David Kuehn and Aurel Croissant**, *Routes to Reform: Civil-Military Relations and Democracy in the Third Wave*
Review by Sharan Grewal
- 388 **Elliott D. Green**, *Industrialization and Assimilation: Understanding Ethnic Change in the Modern World*
Review by Henry E. Hale
- 389 **Luciano Da Ros and Matthew M. Taylor**, *Brazilian Politics on Trial: Corruption and Reform under Democracy*
Sandra Botero, Daniel M. Brinks, and Ezequiel A. Gonzalez-Ocantos, Eds., *The Limits of Judicialization: From Progress to Backlash in Latin America*
Review by Matthew C. Ingram
- 392 **Maria de Los Angeles Torres**, *Democracy and Time in Cuban Thought: The Elusive Present*
Review by Danielle Pilar Cleland

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- 394 **Joselyn N. Barnhart and Robert Trager**, *Suffragist Peace: How Women Shape the Politics of War*
Review by Sabrina Karim
- 396 **Paul Kirby and Laura J. Shepherd**, *Governing the Feminist Peace: The Vitality and Failure of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda*
Review by Columba Achilleos-Sarll
- 398 **Van Jackson**, *Grand Strategies of the Left: The Foreign Policy of Progressive Worldmaking*
Review by Inderjeet Parmar
- 399 **Andrew Yeo and Isaac Kardon**, Eds., *Great Power Competition and Overseas Bases: Chinese, Russian, and American Force Posture in the Twenty-First Century*
Review by Una A. Bērziņa-Čerenkova
- 400 **Marlies Glasius**, *Authoritarian Practices in a Global Age*
Stephen G. F. Hall, *The Authoritarian International: Tracing How Authoritarian Regimes Learn in the Post-Soviet Space*
Review by Alexander Dukalskis
- 402 **Benoît Challand**, *Violence and Representation in the Arab Uprisings*
Review by Adélie Chevé

Corrigendum

- 404 *Authoritarian Practices in a Global Age*. By Marlies Glasius. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023. 240p. \$82.00 cloth.
The Authoritarian International: Tracing How Authoritarian Regimes Learn in the Post-Soviet Space. By Stephen G. F. Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023. 271p. \$110.00 cloth. – CORRIGENDUM

Erratum

- 405 *Regulating Abortion: The Politics of US Abortion Policy*. By Deborah R. McFarlane and Wendy L. Hansen. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2024. 294p. \$54.95 cloth – ERRATUM
- 406 Review Index