

APSR

American
Political
Science
Review



MAY 2024 | VOLUME 118 | NUMBER 2

LEAD EDITORS

Michelle L. Dion
McMaster University, Canada
 Julie Novkov
University at Albany, SUNY, USA

EDITORS

Sharon Wright Austin
University of Florida, USA
 Clarissa Hayward
Washington University in St. Louis, USA
 Kelly M. Kadera
University of Iowa, USA
 Celeste Montoya
University of Colorado, Boulder, USA
 Dara Strolovitch
Yale University, USA
 Alli Mari Tripp
University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA
 Denise M. Walsh
University of Virginia, USA
 Elisabeth Jean Wood
Yale 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

Claire Adida
UC San Diego, USA
 Phillip Ayoub
University College London, UK
 Lisa Baldez
Dartmouth College, USA
 Lawrie Balfour
University of Virginia, USA
 Karen Beckwith
Case Western Reserve University, USA
 Catherine Boone
*London School of Economics and
 Political Science, UK*
 Janet Box-Steffensmeier
Ohio State University, USA
 Pamela Brandwein
University of Michigan, USA
 David Brookman
UC Berkeley, USA
 Nadia E. Brown
Purdue University, USA
 Renee Buhr
University of St. Thomas, USA
 Pradeep Chhibber
UC Berkeley, USA
 Scott Clifford
University of Houston, USA

Cathy Cohen
University of Chicago, USA
 Katherine Cramer
University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA
 Sarah Croco
University of Maryland, USA
 Paisley Currah
CUNY, USA
 Christian Davenport
University of Michigan, USA
 Alexandre Debs
Yale University, USA
 Jacqueline H. R. DeMeritt
University of North Texas, USA
 Scott Desposato
UC San Diego, USA
 Shirin Deylami
Western Washington University, USA
 Simone Dietrich
University of Geneva, Switzerland
 James N. Druckman
Northwestern University, USA
 Thad Dunning
UC Berkeley, USA
 Elisabeth Ellis
University of Otago, New Zealand
 Tanisha Fazal
University of Minnesota, USA
 Evgeny Finkel
Johns Hopkins University, USA
 Jason Frank
Cornell University, USA
 Jill Frank
Cornell University, USA
 Robert J. Franzese
University of Michigan, USA
 Lorrie Frasure
UCLA, USA
 Elisabeth Jay Friedman
University of San Francisco, USA
 Lisa Garcia-Bedolla
UC Berkeley, USA
 Andrew Gelman
Columbia University, USA
 Daniel Gillion
University of Pennsylvania, USA
 Farah Godrej
UC Riverside, USA
 Stephan Haggard
UC San Diego, USA
 Kerry Haynie
Duke University, USA
 Errol Henderson
Pennsylvania State University, USA
 Yoshiko Herrera
*University of Wisconsin–Madison,
 USA*
 Macartan Humphreys
*WZB Berlin, Germany,
 and Columbia University, USA*
 Vince Hutchings
University of Michigan, USA
 Kosuke Imai
Harvard University, USA
 Turkuler Isikel
Columbia University, USA
 Alan Jacobs
*University of British Columbia,
 Canada*
 Amaney Jamal
Princeton University, USA

Juliet Johnson
McGill University, Canada
 Michael Jones-Correa
University of Pennsylvania, USA
 Joshua Kalla
Yale University, USA
 Luke Keele
University of Pennsylvania, USA
 Helen M. Kinsella
University of Minnesota, USA
 Yanna Krupnikov
University of Michigan, USA
 Ines Levin
UC Irvine, USA
 Jacob T. Levy
McGill University, Canada
 Pei-te Lien
UC Santa Barbara, USA
 Sheryl Lightfoot
*University of British Columbia,
 Canada*
 Jinee Lokaneeta
Drew University, USA
 Catherine Lu
McGill University, Canada
 Juan Pablo Luna
Pontificia Universidad Catolica, Chile
 Ellen Lust
University of Gothenburg, Sweden
 Marc Lynch
*George Washington University,
 USA*
 Lauren M. MacLean
University of Indiana, USA
 Samantha Majic
CUNY - John Jay College, USA
 Melanie Manion
Duke University, USA
 Isabela Mares
Yale University, USA
 Valerie Martinez-Ebers
University of North Texas, USA
 Seth Masket
University of Denver, USA
 Peace A. Medie
University of Bristol, UK
 Jamila Michener
Cornell University, USA
 Michael Minta
University of Minnesota, USA
 Sara McLaughlin Mitchell
University of Iowa, USA
 Tamir Moustafa
Simon Fraser University, Canada
 Zein Murib
Fordham University, USA
 Diana Z. O'Brien
*Washington University in
 St. Louis, USA*
 Byron D'Andrea Orey
Jackson State University, USA
 Elizabeth Maggie Penn
Emory University, USA
 Ravi Perry
Howard University, USA
 Justin Phillips
Columbia University, USA
 Trisha Phillips
West Virginia University, USA
 Mark Pickup
Simon Fraser University, Canada

Melanye Price
Prairie View A&M University, USA
 Karthick Ramakrishnan
UC Riverside, USA
 Gina Yannitell Reinhardt
University of Essex, UK
 Andrew Reynolds
Princeton University, USA
 Emily Hencken Ritter
Vanderbilt University, USA
 Molly Roberts
UC San Diego, USA
 Melvin Rogers
Brown University, USA
 Nicholas Sambanis
University of Pennsylvania, USA
 Burcu Savun
University of Pittsburgh, USA
 Ken Scheve
Yale University, USA
 Melissa Schwartzberg
New York University, USA
 Peregrine Schwartz-Shea
University of Utah, USA
 Maya Sen
Harvard University, USA
 Elizabeth Sharrow
*University of Massachusetts Amherst,
 USA*
 Kathryn Sikkink
Harvard University, USA
 Laura Sjöberg
*University of Florida, USA/Royal
 Holloway, UK*
 Anand Sokhey
University of Colorado, Boulder, USA
 Sarah Song
UC Berkeley, USA
 Dietland Stolle
McGill University, Canada
 Kathleen Thelen
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology,
 USA*
 Cameron Thies
Arizona State University, USA
 Jakana Thomas
Michigan State University, USA
 Erica Townsend-Bell
Oklahoma State University, USA
 Ethel Tungchan
York University, Canada
 Antonio Y. Vázquez-Arroyo
Rutgers University, USA
 Lisa Wedeen
University of Chicago, USA
 Jessica Weeks
University of Wisconsin–Madison, USA
 Ismail K. White
Princeton University, USA
 Jennifer Wolak
University of Colorado, Boulder, USA
 Janelle Wong
University of Maryland, USA
 Deborah J. Yashar
Princeton 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 2, May 2024

Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS: POST-PUBLICATION CRITIQUES v

ARTICLES

State Violence, Party Formation, and Electoral Accountability: The Political Legacy of the Marikana Massacre

Daniel De Kadt, Ada Johnson-Kanu, and Melissa L. Sands 563

Repression and Dissent in Moments of Uncertainty: Panel Data Evidence from Zimbabwe

Adrienne LeBas and Lauren E. Young 584

Identifying the Rich: Registration, Taxation, and Access to the State in Tanzania

Jeremy Bowles 602

Bringing in the New Votes: Turnout of Women after Enfranchisement

Mona Morgan-Collins 619

Buying a Blind Eye: Campaign Donations, Regulatory Enforcement, and Deforestation

Robin Harding, Mounu Prem, Nelson A. Ruiz, and David L. Vargas 635

Patterns of Affective Polarization toward Parties and Leaders across the Democratic World

Andres Reiljan, Diego Garzia, Frederico Ferreira Da Silva, and Alexander H. Trechsel 654

Military Repression and Restraint in Algeria

Sharan Grewal 671

Movement versus Party: The Electoral Effects of Anti-Far Right Protests in Greece

Antonis A. Ellinas and Iasonas Lamprianou 687

Regime Support and Gender Quotas in Autocracies

Yuree Noh, Sharan Grewal, and M. Tahir Kilavuz 706

Consolidating Progress: The Selection of Female Ministers in Autocracies and Democracies

Jacob Nyrup, Hikaru Yamagishi, and Stuart Bramwell 724

Drinking Tea with the Neighbors: Informal Clubs, General Trust, and Trustworthiness in Mali

Jaimie Bleck, Jacopo Bonan, Philippe Lemay-Boucher, and Bassirou Sarr 744

Representation and Forest Conservation: Evidence from India's Scheduled Areas

Saad Gulzar, Apoorva Lal, and Benjamin Pasquale 764

The Composition of Descriptive Representation

John Gerring, Connor T. Jerzak, and Erzen Öncel 784

Global Slavery in the Making of States and International Orders

J.C. Sharman and Ayşe Zarakol 802

Civilian Protest in Civil War: Insights from Côte d'Ivoire

Sebastian Van Baalen 815

Sisters Are Doing It for Themselves: How Female Combatants Help Generate Gender-Inclusive Peace Agreements in Civil Wars

Jakana L. Thomas 831

The Right to Hunger Strike

Candice Delmas 848

Activism versus Criticism? The Case for a Distinctive Role for Social Critics

Lisa Gilson 862

The View from the Future: Aurobindo Ghose's Anticolonial Darwinism

Inder S. Marwah 876

Discrimination Without Traits: From Social Construction to the Politics of Discrimination

Diana Popescu-Sarry 890

Women Also Know Stuff: Challenging the Gender Gap in Political Sophistication	
Patrick W. Kraft	903
The Geography of Racially Polarized Voting: Calibrating Surveys at the District Level	
Shiro Kuriwaki, Stephen Ansolabehere, Angelo Dagonel, and Soichiro Yamauchi	922
Can Racial Diversity among Judges Affect Sentencing Outcomes?	
Allison P. Harris	940
How Partisan Is Local Election Administration?	
Joshua Ferrer, Igor Geyn, and Daniel M. Thompson	956
Civic Responses to Police Violence	
Desmond Ang and Jonathan Tebes	972
The Long-Term Effects of Neighborhood Disadvantage on Voting Behavior: The “Moving to Opportunity” Experiment	
Elizabeth Mitchell Elder, Ryan D. Enos, and Tali Mendelberg	988
The <i>Slaughter-House</i> Dissents and the Reconstruction of American Liberalism	
Pamela Brandwein	1005
What Do Americans Want from (Private) Government? Experimental Evidence Demonstrates that Americans Want Workplace Democracy	
Soumyajit Mazumder and Alan N. Yan	1020
LETTERS	
Do Politicians Outside the United States Also Think Voters Are More Conservative than They Really Are?	
Jean-Benoit Pilet, Lior Sheffer, Luzia Helfer, Frederic Varone, Rens Vliegthart, and Stefaan Walgrave	1037
Endogenous Popularity: How Perceptions of Support Affect the Popularity of Authoritarian Regimes	
Noah Buckley, Kyle L. Marquardt, Ora John Reuter, and Katerina Tertychnaya	1046
Demographic Regulation and the State: Centering Gender in Our Understanding of Political Order in Early Modern European States	
Michelle D’Arcy	1053
Misclassification and Bias in Predictions of Individual Ethnicity from Administrative Records	
Lisa P. Argyle and Michael Barber	1058
Who Shapes the Law? Gender and Racial Bias in Judicial Citations	
John Szmer, Laura P. Moyer, Susan B. Haire, and Robert K. Christensen	1067
Social Capital, Institutional Rules, and Constitutional Amendment Rates	
William D. Blake, Joseph Francesco Cozza, David A. Armstrong II, and Amanda Friesen	1075
Introducing HiSCoD: A New Gateway for the Study of Historical Social Conflict	
Cédric Chambru and Paul Maneuvrier-Hervieu	1084
CORRIGENDA	
The Right to Hunger Strike – CORRIGENDUM	
Candice Delmas	1092
The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation – CORRIGENDUM	
Claudine Gay	1093
Does State Repression Spark Protests? Evidence from Secret Police Surveillance in Communist Poland – CORRIGENDUM	
Anselm Hager and Krzysztof Krakowski	1094

On the Cover. Mgcineni Noki, with the striking platinum miners on 16 August 2012 by Gallo Images.

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

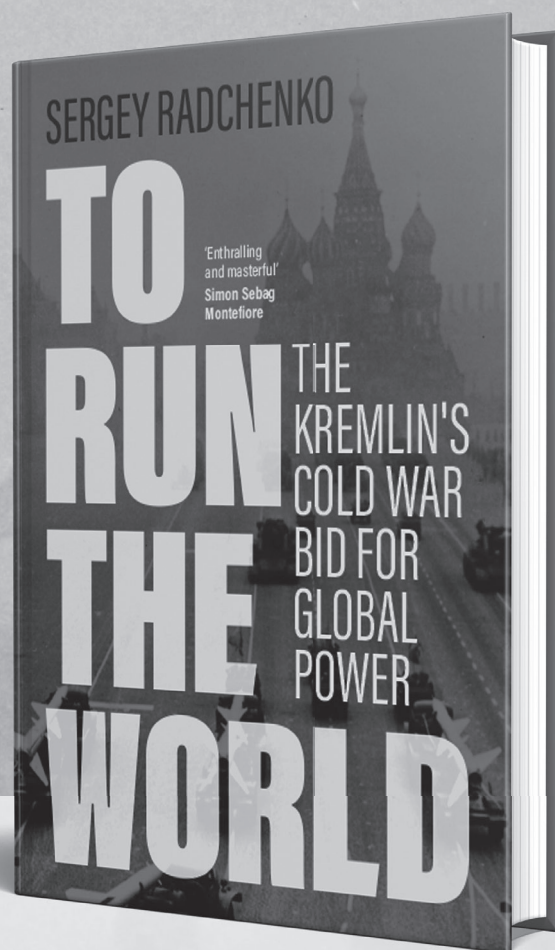
Candice Watts Smith
Duke University

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
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



**"... a model of historical writing:
scrupulously researched and elegantly
presented"**

Niall Ferguson, author of *Kissinger, vol. I: The Idealist, 1923-1968*

**"A tour de force... To Run the World is
a thought-provoking, comprehensive
narrative of the Soviet Union's place
and aspirations in the global Cold War."**

Kristina Spohr, author of *Post Wall, Post Square: Rebuilding the world after 1989*

**"... an invaluable and
'magisterial' book"**

Fiona Hill, author of *There is Nothing for You Here: Finding Opportunity in the 21st Century*

**"Drawing on new archival material,
insightful analysis, and brilliant
writing, Radchenko's book will
instantly become the go-to source for
understanding Soviet behavior during
the Cold War."**

Michael McFaul, author of *From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia*

**"... magisterial world history at
its finest."**

Simon Sebag Montefiore, author of *The World: A Family History of Humanity*

Save 20% with code TRTW20

9781108477352 | HB | £30/ \$34.95 | May 2024

[cambridge.org/toruntheworld](https://www.cambridge.org/toruntheworld)



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS