

# American Political Science Review

MAY 2015  
VOLUME 109  
NUMBER 2



203 Religious Social Identity, Religious Belief, and Anti-Immigration Sentiment

*Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Güzem Arıkan, and Marie Courtemanche*

222 Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus

*Monica Duffy Toft and Yuri M. Zhukov*

239 Poverty and Immigration Policy

*Kieran Oberman*

252 Party Activists as Campaign Advertisers: The Ground Campaign as a Principal-Agent Problem

*Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh*

279 Nation-Building through War

*Nicholas Sambanis, Stergios Skaperdas, and William C. Wohlforth*

297 The Guardianship Dilemma: Regime Security *through* and *from* the Armed Forces

*R. Blake McMahon and Branislav L. Slantchev*

314 The Paradox of "Just War" in Rousseau's Theory of Interstate Relations

*Blaise Bachofen*

326 Philosophy and Poetry: A New Look at an Old Quarrel

*Timothy W. Burns*

339 The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust

*Evgeny Finkel*

354 Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?

*Lars-Erik Cederman, Simon Hug, Andreas Schädel, and Julian Wucherpfennig*

371 Informal Institutions, Collective Action, and Public Investment in Rural China

*Yiqing Xu and Yang Yao*

392 Persistent Policy Pathways: Inferring Diffusion Networks in the American States

*Bruce A. Desmarais, Jeffrey J. Harden, and Frederick J. Boehmke*

## LEAD EDITOR

John Ishiyama  
*University of North Texas*

## CO-EDITORS

Marijke Breuning

Steven Forde  
*University of North Texas*

Valerie Martinez-Ebers

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Kees Aarts  
*University of Twente, Netherlands*

Lawrence Baum  
*The Ohio State University*

Cristina Beltran  
*New York University*

Kenneth Benoit  
*London School of Economics  
and Political Science*

Carles Boix  
*Princeton University*

Catherine Boone  
*University of Texas, Austin*

Shaun Bowler  
*University of California, Riverside*

Janet Box-Steffensmeier  
*The Ohio State University*

James Ceaser  
*University of Virginia*

Kanchan Chandra  
*New York University*

Wendy Tam Cho  
*University of Illinois, Urbana  
Champaign*

Nazli Choucri  
*Massachusetts Institute of  
Technology*

Susan Clarke  
*University of Colorado, Boulder*

Cathy Cohen  
*University of Chicago*

Christian Davenport  
*University of Michigan*

Kris Deschouwer  
*Free University of Brussels, Belgium*

Mary Dietz  
*Northwestern University*

Larry Dodd  
*University of Florida*

Roxanne Euben  
*Wellesley College*

Francis Fukuyama  
*Stanford University*

Sumit Ganguly  
*Indiana University, Bloomington*

Elisabeth Gerber  
*University of Michigan*

Nils Petter Gleditsch  
*PRIO, Norway*

Kerstin Hamann  
*University of Central Florida*

Mary Hawksworth  
*Rutgers University*

Rodney Hero  
*University of California, Berkeley*

Vicki Hesli Claypool  
*University of Iowa*

Harry Hirsch  
*Oberlin College*

William Howell  
*University of Chicago*

Leonie Huddy  
*Stony Brook University*

Valerie Hudson  
*Texas A&M University*

Vincent Hutchings  
*University of Michigan*

Patrick James  
*University of Southern California*

Jane Junn  
*University of Southern California*

Timothy Kaufmann-Osborn  
*Whitman College*

Gary King  
*Harvard University*

Joy Langston  
*CIDE, Mexico*

Jack Levy  
*Rutgers University*

Stephen Macedo  
*Princeton University*

Daniel Mahoney  
*Assumption College*

Richard Matland  
*Loyola University, Chicago*

Kenneth Meier  
*Texas A&M University*

Andrei Melville  
*Higher School of Economics,  
Moscow*

Alex Mintz  
*IDC Herzliya, Israel*

Sara Mitchell  
*University of Iowa*

Shaheen Mozaffar  
*Bridgewater State University*

Terry Nardin  
*National University of Singapore*

Cary Nederman  
*Texas A&M University*

Mary Nichols  
*Baylor University*

Julie Novkov  
*University at Albany*

Mustapha Kemal Pasha  
*Aberystwyth University*

Diane Pinderhughes  
*University of Notre Dame*

Todd Sandler  
*University of Texas at Dallas*

Andreas Schedler  
*CIDE, Mexico*

Kay Schlozman  
*Boston College*

Ron Schmidt Sr.  
*California State University,  
Long Beach*

Gary Segura  
*Stanford University*

Norman Schofield  
*Washington University in  
St. Louis*

Reginald Sheehan  
*Michigan State University*

Olga Shvetsova  
*Binghamton University*

Kathryn Sikkink  
*Harvard University*

Beth Simmons  
*Harvard University*

Etel Solingen  
*University of California, Irvine*

Manfred Steger  
*University of Hawaii*

Alex Tan  
*University of Canterbury, New  
Zealand, National Sun Yat-Sen  
University, Taiwan*

Katherine Tate  
*Brown University*

Nicolas Van De Walle  
*Cornell University*

Craig Volden  
*University of Virginia*

Barbara Walter  
*University of California,  
San Diego*

Carol Weissert  
*Florida State University*

Linda Zerilli  
*University of Chicago*

Christopher Zorn  
*Pennsylvania State University*

## EDITORIAL STAFF

Senior Editor/Managing Editor  
Meagan Williams

Assistant Managing Editor/Post Doctoral Research Associate  
Ramesh Sharma

Lead Editorial Assistant  
Benjamin Gross

Editorial Assistants  
Eric Keels  
Michael Marshall  
Elliot Montagano  
Lynsey Parsons

**Association Office Address and Membership Information:** American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: \$200,000+, \$320; \$35,000–\$199,999, \$271; \$100,000–\$134,000, \$241; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$207; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$186; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$170; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$145; less than \$40,000, \$98; Student members, \$45; Retired members with income \$25,000+, \$66; Retired members with income less than \$25,000, \$40; Life members: \$3,000; Unemployed members: \$45; Associate member with one journal selection, \$62. The amount of the dues allocated for a subscription is \$8 for an individual membership. 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, 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473; and (outside the United States, Canada, and Mexico) Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, 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 for the American Political Science Association. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2015) is US\$1119 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£625 elsewhere. Annual institutional print-and-electronic subscription rate (2015) is US\$1297 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£716 elsewhere. *American Political Science Review* is sold only as part of a joint subscription with *Perspectives on Politics* and *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Single part rate (2015) is US\$173 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£97 elsewhere. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. Institutional subscription orders and address changes should be sent to: *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press, 100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, NY 10994-2133, USA.

**Postmaster:** Send address changes to *American Political Science Review*, Cambridge University Press, 100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, NY 10994-2133.

© the American Political Science Association 2015.

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](mailto:info@copyright.com).

# American Political Science Review

Volume 109, Number 2, May 2015

## Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR .....	iii
ARTICLES	
Religious Social Identity, Religious Belief, and Anti-Immigration Sentiment <b>Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom, Gizem Arikan, and Marie Courtemanche</b> .....	203
Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus <b>Monica Duffy Toft and Yuri M. Zhukov</b> .....	222
Poverty and Immigration Policy <b>Kieran Oberman</b> .....	239
Party Activists as Campaign Advertisers: The Ground Campaign as a Principal-Agent Problem <b>Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh</b> .....	252
Nation-Building through War <b>Nicholas Sambanis, Stergios Skaperdas, and William C. Wohlforth</b> .....	279
The Guardianship Dilemma: Regime Security <i>through</i> and <i>from</i> the Armed Forces <b>R. Blake McMahon and Branislav L. Slantchev</b> .....	297
The Paradox of "Just War" in Rousseau's Theory of Interstate Relations <b>Blaise Bachofen</b> .....	314
Philosophy and Poetry: A New Look at an Old Quarrel <b>Timothy W. Burns</b> .....	326
The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust <b>Evgeny Finkel</b> .....	339
Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late? <b>Lars-Erik Cederman, Simon Hug, Andreas Schädel, and Julian Wucherpfennig</b> .....	354
Informal Institutions, Collective Action, and Public Investment in Rural China <b>Yiqing Xu and Yang Yao</b> .....	371
Persistent Policy Pathways: Inferring Diffusion Networks in the American States <b>Bruce A. Desmarais, Jeffrey J. Harden, and Frederick J. Boehmke</b> .....	392

# 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 15,000 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 expand awareness and understanding of politics.

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 three distinguished journals: *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *PS: Political Science and Politics*.

## Officers

### **PRESIDENT**

Rodney E. Hero  
University of California, Berkeley

### **PRESIDENT-ELECT**

Jennifer Hochschild  
Harvard University

### **VICE-PRESIDENTS**

E. J. Dionne, Jr.  
Georgetown University  
Brookings Institution

Joanne Gowa  
Princeton University

Fredrick C. Harris  
Columbia University

### **TREASURER**

Kathleen Thelen  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

### **SECRETARY**

Linda L. Fowler  
Dartmouth College

### **PROGRAM CO-CHAIRS**

Layna Mosley  
University of North Carolina,  
Chapel Hill

Alvin Bernard Tillery  
Northwestern University

### **EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, APSR**

John Ishiyama  
University of North Texas

### **EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,**

#### **PERSPECTIVES**

Jeffrey C. Isaacs  
Indiana University

### **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

Steven Rathgeb Smith  
American Political Science Association

## Council

### **2013–2015**

Amrita Basu  
Amherst College

Kenneth R. Benoit  
London School of Economics

Christine Di Stefano  
University of Washington

James N. Druckman  
Northwestern University

Hank C. Jenkins-Smith  
University of Oklahoma

David C. Kang  
University of Southern California

John M. Sides  
George Washington University

Evelyn M. Simien  
University of Connecticut

### **2014–2016**

Michelle D. Deardorff  
University of Tennessee,  
Chattanooga

Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon  
Texas A & M University

Frances E. Lee  
University of Maryland, College  
Park

David Lublin  
American University

Marc Lynch  
George Washington University

Tasha Philpot  
University of Texas, Austin

David Stasavage  
New York University

Mark E. Warren  
University of British Columbia

## Former APSA Presidents

Frank J. Goodnow	Emmette S. Redford
Albert Shaw	Charles S. Hyneman
Frederick N. Judson	Carl J. Friedrich
James Bryce	C. Herman Pritchett
A. Lawrence Lowell	David B. Truman
Woodrow Wilson	Gabriel A. Almond
Simeon E. Baldwin	Robert A. Dahl
Albert Bushnell Hart	Merle Fainsod
W. W. Willoughby	David Easton
John Bassett Moore	Karl W. Deutsch
Ernst Freund	Robert E. Lane
Jesse Macy	Heinz Eulau
Munroe Smith	Robert E. Ward
Henry Jones Ford	Avery Leiserson
Paul S. Reinsch	Austin Ranney
Leo S. Rowe	James MacGregor Burns
William A. Dunning	Samuel H. Beer
Harry A. Garfield	John C. Wahlke
James W. Garner	Leon D. Epstein
Charles E. Merriam	Warren E. Miller
Charles A. Beard	Charles E. Lindblom
William Bennett Munro	Seymour Martin Lipset
Jesse S. Reeves	William H. Riker
John A. Fairlie	Philip E. Converse
Benjamin F. Shambaugh	Richard F. Fenno
Edward S. Corwin	Aaron B. Wildavsky
William F. Willoughby	Samuel P. Huntington
Isidor Loeb	Kenneth N. Waltz
Walter Shepard	Lucian W. Pye
Francis W. Coker	Judith N. Shklar
Arthur N. Holcombe	Theodore J. Lowi
Thomas Reed Powell	James Q. Wilson
Clarence A. Dykstra	Lucius J. Barker
Charles Grove Haines	Charles O. Jones
Robert C. Brooks	Sidney Verba
Frederic A. Ogg	Arend Lijphart
William Anderson	Elinor Ostrom
Robert E. Cushman	M. Kent Jennings
Leonard D. White	Matthew Holden, Jr.
John Gaus	Robert O. Keohane
Walter F. Dodd	Robert Jervis
Arthur W. MacMahon	Robert D. Putnam
Henry R. Spencer	Theda Skocpol
Quincy Wright	Susanne Hoerber Rudolph
James K. Pollock	Margaret Levi
Peter H. Odegard	Ira Katznelson
Luther Gulick	Robert Axelrod
Pendleton Herring	Dianne M. Pinderhughes
Ralph J. Bunche	Peter Katzenstein
Charles McKinley	Henry E. Brady
Harold D. Lasswell	Carole Pateman
E. E. Schattschneider	G. Bingham Powell, Jr.
V. O. Key, Jr.	Jane Mansbridge
R. Taylor Cole	John H. Aldrich
Carl B. Swisher	