Political Science & Politics





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 paper today!

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

Visit preprints.apsanet.org to learn more



CONTENTS

July 2025, Volume 58, Number 3

POLITICS

ARTICLE

The Power of Trump's Big Lie: Identity Fusion, Internalizing Misinformation, and Support for Trump
Philip Moniz and William B. Swann

SPECIAL ISSUE ON CONTEMPORARY AND FUTURE LGBTQ+ SCHOLARSHIP IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

ARTICLES	369	Legitimating LGBTQ+ Scholarship in Political Science and Making It Flourish Jerry Thomas and Scott N. Siegel
	375	Beyond Hetero-Modernity: Queering Universal Emancipation for Sexual Liberation Derefe Kimarley Chevannes
	386	Measuring Gender in Comparative Survey Research Oscar Castorena, Eli G. Rau, Valerie Schweizer-Robinson, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister
	393	The Substantive Effects of Descriptive Representation: Gay and Lesbian Members of Congress Are More Supportive of Gay Rights Benjamin G. Bishin and Nicholas Weller
	400	Redesigning the Political Science Curriculum to Incorporate LGBTQ+ Issues James M. McQuiston
	406	Measuring Transgender and Nonbinary Identities in Online Surveys: Evidence from Two National Election Studies <i>Quinn M. Albaugh, Allison Harell, Peter John Loewen, Daniel Rubenson, and Laura B. Stephenson</i>
	413	Rainbow Consciousness? Exploring the Political Outcomes and Dynamics of Queer Linked Fate Nicholas C. D'Amico
	419	The Alphabet Mafia: Effectiveness of LGBTQ+ Interest Groups in Congress Robert Anstett
	424	Norm Localization and Democratic Backlash: Taiwan Marriage-Equality Debates in 2017–2019 <i>Christina Lai</i>
	431	The Representation of LGBTQ+ People in the US Labor Movement Andrew Proctor, Camille Cypher, Scarlett Ackeley, and Morgana Warner-Evans
	438	Centering LGBTQ+ Political Behavior in Political Science Patrick J. Egan
	447	LGBTQ+ Victimization by Extremist Organizations: Charting a New Path for Research Jared R. Dmello, Mia Bloom, and Sophia Moskalenko
	456	Grooming Authoritarianism: Anti-Trans/Queer Panic as Pedagogy for Democratic Decline Aylon Cohen and Samuel R. Galloway
	461	Moral Reframing and Transgender Athlete Bans: In-groups, Out-groups, and a Future Research Agenda Kimberly Martin and Elizabeth Rahilly
	466	Gender Ideology, the Far Right, and LGBTQ Politics Zein Murib
	472	Manifesting a Shift in the "Overton Window": The Threat of Project 2025 on the LGBTQ+ Community in Higher Education Athena M. King and Sara Sanatkar
	483	Increasing Public Support for Transgender Rights through Superordinate LGBT+ Rights Framing: Evidence from a US Survey Experiment on Transgender Participation in Sports Sam Whitt, Alixandra B. Yanus, Mark Setzler, Brian McDonald, Gordon Ballingrud, and Tyler Coleman

490	Politics Should Be a Drag: Why Political Science Needs to Take Drag Seriously Edward F. Kammerer Jr., Melissa R. Michelson, and Brian F. Harrison
496	Transgender Bodies are the Battleground: Backlash, Threat, and the Future of Queer Rights in the United States Kaitlin Kelly-Thompson and Amber Lusvardi
501	I'm Coming Out! How Voter Discrimination Produces Effective LGBTQ Lawmakers Jacob M. Lollis and Mackenzie R. Dobson
	Rethinking China-Africa Engagements in the Age of Discontent Guest Editor: Obert Hodzi
511	Introduction: Rethinking China–Africa Engagements in the Age of Discontent Obert Hodzi
514	The Study of Agency in Africa–China Relations: The Case for Typologies Folashadé Soulé
520	Actors, Agency, and Localization: The Making of an African Belt and Road Initiative $\it Obert Hodzi$
527	Uncovering African Agency: Non-State Actors and Sino–Ghana Relations <i>Isaac Nunoo</i>
533	Exporting the China Model? Two Chinese Technology Firms in Kenya's Digital Development <i>Yabo Wu</i>
538	China–Ethiopia Relations and Industrial Development: A Brief Evaluation John H. S. Åberg and Haftom Bayray Kahsay
544	The Development Bank and the Developmental State Strategy based on a Comparison of China and South Africa <i>Xiaochen HOU</i>
550	From Political Resource to Political Liability? International Student Mobilization in China Heidi Østbø Haugen
556	The Afro-Asiatic Resilience to the Global Color Line: Revisiting Du Bois and Pearson in the Context of BRICS and the Alliance of Sahel States <i>Richard Atimniraye Nyelade</i>
N	
561	Reviewing and the State of the Discipline Paul A. Djupe and Brooklyn Evann Walker
569	Elite Interviewing as an In-Betweener Loic Menzies
574	A Global Ranking of Research Productivity of Political Science Departments Joan Barceló, Christopher Paik, Peter van der Windt, and Haoyu Zhai
587	The Role of Artificial Intelligence in Higher Education: The Case of Armenia Vardan Atoyan, Logan Brosius, Nane Movsisyan, Sofya Ohanyan, and Vahram Hovyan
593	Data and Code Availability in Political Science Publications from 1995 to 2022 – ADDENDUM Carlisle Rainey, Harley Roe, Qing Wang, and Hao Zhou
595	A Global Ranking of Research Productivity of Political Science Departments –
	496 501 511 514 520 527 533 538 544 550 556 N 561 569 574 587

CO-EDITORS: Lina Benabdallah,

Wake Forest University
Justin Esarey, Wake Forest University
Peter M. Siavelis, Wake Forest University
Betina Wilkinson, Wake Forest University

MANAGING EDITOR: Marah Schlingensiepen

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION Political Science & Politics

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:

Molly Linker Catarina Laufer Salazar Yue (Emily) Wang

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Candis Watts Smith, Duke University; Austin Strange, University of Hong Kong; Zaynab El Bernoussi, International University of Rabat; Michelle Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University; Lena Wängnerud, University of Gothenburg; Arthur Spirling, New York University; Rebecca Reid, University of Texas at El Paso; Kristina Mitchell, San Jose State University; Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, Universidad Diego Portales (Santiago de Chile); Jane Sumner, University of Minnesota; Julieta Suarez Cao, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile; Oumar Ba, Cornell University; Nazita Lajevardi, Michigan State University; Andrew Szarejko, Wartburg University; Zachariah Mamphilly, City University of New York; Jennifer Cyr, Universidad Torcuato di Tella; Adam Levine, Johns Hopkins University; Rebecca Glazier, University of Arkansas, Little Rock; Bernard Fraga, Emory University; Andrea Benjamin, University of Oklahoma; Kelly Bauer, Nebraksa Wesleyan University; Amy Niang, The Africa Institute; Murad Idris, University of Michigan; Chris Sabatini, Chatham House; Peter Verovšek, University of Groningen; Karla Mundum, John Jay College, CUNY; Sara Polo, University of Essex; Scott de Marchi, Duke University; J. Cherie Strachan, Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics; Catherine Reyes-Housholder, Instituto de Ciencia Política, Pontificia Universidad Católica

ASSOCIATION OFFICE ADDRESS AND MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION:

American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: 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; \$30,000-39,999, \$106; under \$30,000, \$85; retired members \$25,000+, \$66; retired under \$25,000, \$40; targeted international member (TIM), \$45; life member, \$4,000; associate member, one journal, \$82; K-12 educator (PS only), \$54; student member, \$52; unemployed member, \$45. The amount of the dues allocated for a subscription is \$5.75 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, NW, Washington, DC 20036-1206.

SUBSCRIPTION, PUBLISHING, AND ADVERTISING OFFICE ADDRESS:

Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006; and (outside North America) Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, England.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION: PS: Political Science & Politics (ISSN 1049-0965) is published in January, April, July, and October by Cambridge University Press for the American Political Science Association. PS: Political Science & Politics is sold only as part of a joint subscription with American Political Science Review and Perspectives on Politics. Annual institutional electronic-only subscription rate (2025) is US\$1859 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£1066 elsewhere. Periodicals postage rate paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Address changes should be sent to: PS: Political Science & Politics, Cambridge University Press, One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006.

Copyright © 2025 by the American Political Science Association. 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. Photocopying information for users in the USA: The Item-Fee Code for the publication (1049-0965/17 \$15.00 1 \$.10) indicates that copying for internal or personal use beyond that permitted by Sec. 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law is authorized for users duly registered with the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transaction Reporting Service, provided that the appropriate remittance of \$15.00 per article is paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. Specific written permission must be obtained for all other copying.

ADVERTISING: Please contact our Advertising Sales Team at USAdSales@cambridge.org for full advertising information including rates and specs.

COMPOSITION: Straive

PRINTING: Sheridan, a CJK Group Company

On the Cover

Group of People Celebrating Gay Pride Parade- Pride Month and Parade-People marching with the rainbow LGBTQ+ flag (chuchart duangdaw/GettyImages). Designed by Tia Gracey.

.....

Contact

PS: Political Science & Politics
American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036-1206
Email: ps@apsanet.org
Website: www.apsanet.org/PS

Submissions

Guidelines for submitting articles are posted online at www.apsanet.org/pssubmissions.

PS Reprint Permissions

Reprints of *PS* articles for class use are available through the Academic Permissions Service of the Copyright Clearance Center, 2322 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923; phone: (978) 750-8400; fax: (978) 750-4744; or online at www.copyright.com.

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*.



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 DIRECTORKimberly A. Mealy



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 SchneiderUniversity of California,
San Diego

Erica Townsend-Bell Oklahoma State University <u>2023 – 2026</u>

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 <u>2024 – 2027</u>

Lonna Atkeson Florida State University

Nadia Brown Georgetown University

> Stacie Goddard Wellesley

Anna Grzymala-Busse Stanford University

Julie MuellerSouthern Maine
Community College

Melissa Rogers Claremont Graduate University

Sara Rushing Montana State University

> **Cherie Strachan** University of Akron



FORMER APSA PRESIDENTS



David B. Truman

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 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

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