

PS

Political Science & Politics



FEATURING: The Special Issue on
Democratic Backsliding



APRIL 2024 | VOLUME 57 | NUMBER 2

POLITICAL SCIENCE TODAY

THE MEMBER NEWS MAGAZINE OF THE APSA



FEATURING:

- + PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP***
- + MEMBER SPOTLIGHTS***
- + NEWS OF THE DISCIPLINE***
- + IN MEMORIAMs***
- + ASSOCIATION UPDATES***
- + AND MORE!***

Political Science Today publishes every February, May, August, and November in print and online.

Digital editions are available at www.apsanet.org/today.

Update your mailing address at:

www.apsanet.org/userhome

www.apsanet.org/today 

CONTENTS

April 2024, Volume 57, Number 2

COMMENT AND CONTROVERSY: SPECIAL ISSUE ON DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING

COMMENT AND CONTROVERSY

- 149** Measuring Democratic Backsliding
Andrew T. Little and Anne Meng
- 162** Conceptual and Measurement Issues in Assessing Democratic Backsliding
Carl Henrik Knutsen, Kyle L. Marquardt, Brigitte Seim, Michael Coppedge, Amanda B. Edgell, Juraj Medzihorsky, Daniel Pemstein, Jan Teorell, John Gerring, and Staffan I. Lindberg
- 178** Difficult to Count, Important to Measure: Assessing Democratic Backsliding
Yana Gorokhovskaia
- 184** Expert Bias and Democratic Erosion: Assessing Expert Perceptions of Contemporary American Democracy
Olivier Bergeron-Boutin, John M. Carey, Gretchen Helmke, and Eli Rau
- 194** Psychological Biases and Democratic Anxiety: A Comment on Little and Meng (2023)
Daniel Treisman
- 198** The Resilience of Democracy's Third Wave
Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way
- 202** How Little and Meng's Objective Approach Fails in Democracies
Michael K. Miller
- 208** An Events-Based Approach to Understanding Democratic Erosion
Hannah Baron, Robert A. Blair, Jessica Gottlieb, and Laura Paler
- 216** Measuring Backsliding with Observables: Observable-to-Subjective Score Mapping
Daniel Weitzel, John Gerring, Daniel Pemstein, and Svend-Erik Skaaning
- 224** What We Do and Do Not Know about Democratic Backsliding
Andrew T. Little and Anne Meng

POLITICS

ARTICLES

- 231** The Invincible Gender Gap in Political Ambition
Richard L. Fox and Jennifer L. Lawless
- 238** Escalating Political Violence and the Intersectional Impacts on Latinas in National Politics
Anna Sampaio

SYMPOSIUM

- Constitution-Making in the 21st Century: Lessons from the Chilean Process**
Guest Editors: Claudia Heiss and Julieta Suárez-Cao
- 245** Introduction to the Symposium, "Constitution-Making in the 21st Century: Lessons from the Chilean Process"
Claudia Heiss and Julieta Suárez-Cao
- 248** Shifting Electorates and Preferences in Chile's Constitutional Process
Philip Keefer and Gabriel L. Negretto
- 253** Lawmaking and Presidential Attributes in the Chilean Constitution: What's the Urgency?
Sergio Huertas-Hernández and Valeria Palanza
- 259** Three Fallacies Undermining Participatory Constitution Making
Yanina Welp

- 263** The Puzzle of Chile’s Resilient Support for Gender Parity
Catherine Reyes-Housholder, Julieta Suárez-Cao, and Javiera Arce-Riffo
- 267** Indigenous Voices and Votes: Assessing the Dynamics of Indigenous Politics in Chile’s Constitutional Referendum of 2022
Rodolfo Disi Pavlic
- 274** Between Hope and Disaffection: The Chilean Constitution-Making Process and the Intermediation Crisis
Joaquín Rozas-Bugueño
- 282** Constitution-Making in the 21st Century: Lessons from the Chilean Process
Claudia Heiss and Julieta Suárez-Cao

THE PROFESSION

SYMPOSIUM

Fieldwork Methods and Experiences of Sexual Harassment and Assault

Guest Editor: Stacey Leigh Hunt

- 287** Introduction: Sexual Harassment and Gender-Based Violence in Political Science Fieldwork
Stacey Leigh Hunt
- 292** On Research Ethics and Ethical Responsibilities: Facing Up to Sexual Harassment and Assault During Field Research
Carol Mershon
- 297** Combatting Sexual Harassment in the Field Is Fundamental to the Research Enterprise
Rosalee A. Clawson
- 302** Field Closeting: Navigating Fieldwork as a Queer Scholar
Campbell M. Stevens
- 306** Methodological Impasses: Facing Interrogation and Silence While Gathering Data on Sexual Violence in India
Aditi Malik and Poulami Roychowdhury
- 310** Integrating Ethics, Methods, and the Dynamics of Power in Political Science Fieldwork
Virginia Sapiro

THE TEACHER

ARTICLES

- 315** Logging in to Learn: The Effects of Online Civic Education Pedagogy on a Latinx and AAPI Civic Engagement Youth Conference
Matt Lamb

CORRIGENDA

- 323** Is Graduate School Worth It? Harassment and Graduate Student Satisfaction in Political Science – CORRIGENDUM
Dana El Kurd and Calla Hummel
- 325** The Realities Facing Graduate Students: Before, During, and After the 2020 COVID-19 Pandemic – CORRIGENDUM
Angela R. Pashayan, E. Stefan Kehlenbach, Huei-Jyun Ye, Grace B. Mueller, and Charmaine Willis
- 327** COVID-19 Direct Relief Payments and Political and Economic Attitudes among Tertiary Students: A Quasi-Experimental Study – CORRIGENDUM
Mathew Y. H. Wong and Ying-Ho Kwong
- 328** Combatting Sexual Harassment in the Field Is Fundamental to the Research Enterprise – CORRIGENDUM
Rosalee A. Clawson

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

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:

Nick Aime
David Asiedu
Geraldine Guzman

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, *Nebraska 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+, \$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; \$30,000–39,999, \$104; under \$30,000, \$83; retired members \$25,000+, \$66; retired under \$25,000, \$40; targeted international member (TIM), \$45; life member, \$4,000; associate member, one journal, \$80; K–12 educator (*PS* only), \$53; 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 (2024) is US\$1846 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£1059 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 © 2024 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

Designed by Tia Gracey. The original image was a stock illustration by teddyandmia on Getty Images. Protestors holding signs representing different nations across the world.

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*.

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