

American Political Science Review

AUGUST 2012
VOLUME 106
NUMBER 3



471 The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood

Jacob Gerner Hariri

495 Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic
Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman

517 Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural
Consciousness and the Power of Perspective

Katherine Cramer Walsh

533 Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation

*Christopher F. Karpowitz, Tali Mendelberg,
and Lee Shaker*

548 The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change:
Combating Violence against Women in

Global Perspective, 1975–2005
Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon

570 Crime Victimization and Political Participation

Regina Bateson

588 Collective Action, Clientelism, and Connectivity

Mahvish Shami

607 Competing for Liberty:
The Republican Critique of Democracy

Nadia Urbinati

622 Rule Creation in a Political Hierarchy

Clifford J. Carrubba and Tom S. Clark

644 Socratic Method and Political Science

Christopher Meckstroth

661 Benchmarking across Borders: Electoral
Accountability and the Necessity of Comparison

Mark Andreas Kayser and Michael Peress

CO-EDITORS

Kirstie McClure

Ronald Rogowski (Managing)
University of California, Los Angeles

Arthur Stein

Gregory A. Caldeira
Ohio State University

Gary W. Cox
David D. Laitin
Stanford University

Jennifer L. Hochschild
Harvard University

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Seyla Benhabib, *Yale University*
Colin Elman, *Syracuse University*
Claudine Gay, *Harvard University*
Peter A. Gourevitch, *University of California, San Diego*

David Held, *London School of Economics & Political Science*
Michael A. Jones-Correa, *Cornell University*
Eileen L. McDonagh, *Northeastern University*
James Scott, *Yale University*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Christopher H. Achen
Princeton University
Deborah D. Avant
University of California, Irvine
Lisa Baldez
Dartmouth College
Larry M. Bartels
Princeton University
Amrita Basu
Amherst College
Nathaniel Beck
New York University
Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier
Ohio State University
Charles M. Cameron
Princeton University
Lars-Erik Cederman
Swiss Federal Institute of Technology–Zurich
Michael Doyle
Columbia University
James N. Druckman
Northwestern University
Cynthia Enloe
Clark University
Roxane Euben
Wellesley College
Lisa Garcia Bedolla
University of California, Berkeley
Elisabeth R. Gerber
University of Michigan
Robert E. Goodin
Australian National University and University of Essex (UK)
Robert Gooding-Williams
University of Chicago
Victoria Hattam
New School for Social Research
Michael C. Herron
Dartmouth College
Vicki L. Hesli
University of Iowa
Torben Iversen
Harvard University

Simon D. Jackman
Stanford University
Timothy V. Kaufman-Osborn
Whitman College
Gary King
Harvard University
Atul Kohli
Princeton University
Michael J. Laver
New York University
Taeku Lee
University of California, Berkeley
Gregory B. Lewis
Georgia State University
Isabela Mares
Columbia University
Patchen Markell
University of Chicago
Pratap Bhanu Mehta
Centre for Policy Research, Delhi (India)
Gary J. Miller
Washington University in St. Louis
Helen Milner
Princeton University
Timothy P. Mitchell
New York University
Melissa Nobles
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Scott Page
University of Michigan
Robert A. Pape
University of Chicago
Carole Pateman
University of California, Los Angeles
Paul Pierson
University of California, Berkeley
Paul J. Quirk
University of British Columbia (Canada)
Karen L. Remmer
Duke University

Susan Rose-Ackerman
Yale University
Mark Q. Sawyer
University of California, Los Angeles
Arlene W. Saxonhouse
University of Michigan
Eric Schickler
University of California, Berkeley
Kenneth A. Schultz
Stanford University
Howard Schweber
University of Wisconsin–Madison
Curtis S. Signorino
University of Rochester
Susan S. Silbey
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Stephen Skowronek
Yale University
Miriam Smith
York University (Canada)
Rogers M. Smith
University of Pennsylvania
James M. Snyder Jr.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Hendrik Spruyt
Northwestern University
Joan C. Tronto
Hunter College, CUNY
James Tully
University of Victoria (Canada)
Margaret Weir
University of California, Berkeley
Stephen K. White
University of Virginia
Elisabeth Jean Wood
Yale University
Dali L. Yang
University of Chicago
Dvora Yanow
University of Amsterdam (Netherlands)

EDITORIAL STAFF

Joseph Riser
Senior Editor

Ruth D. Carlitz
Lauren Peritz
Karl Striepe
Editorial Assistants

Association Office Address and Membership Information: American Political Science Association individual membership dues are: Regular Members with income \$100,000+, \$208; \$80,000–\$99,999, \$178; \$60,000–\$79,999, \$160; \$50,000–\$59,999, \$148; \$40,000–\$49,999, \$126; Under \$40,000, \$84; Student Members, \$40; Retired over \$25,000, \$57; Retired under \$25,000, \$35; Life Members, \$3,000.00; Unemployed members, \$40; Associate Member with one journal selection, \$52. The amount of the dues allocated for a subscription is \$6 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, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, 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 (2012) is US\$932 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£512 elsewhere. Annual institutional print-and-electronic subscription rate (2012) is US\$1054 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£573 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 (2012) is US\$116 in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, UK£63 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 2012.

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.

American Political Science Review

Volume 106, Number 3, August 2012

Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS	iii
ARTICLES	
The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood Jacob Gerner Hariri	471
Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman	495
Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective Katherine Cramer Walsh	517
Gender Inequality in Deliberative Participation Christopher F. Karpowitz, Tali Mendelberg, and Lee Shaker	533
The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence against Women in Global Perspective, 1975–2005 Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon	548
Crime Victimization and Political Participation Regina Bateson	570
Collective Action, Clientelism, and Connectivity Mahvish Shami	588
Competing for Liberty: The Republican Critique of Democracy Nadia Urbinati	607
Rule Creation in a Political Hierarchy Clifford J. Carrubba and Tom S. Clark	622
Socratic Method and Political Science Christopher Meckstroth	644
Benchmarking across Borders: Electoral Accountability and the Necessity of Comparison Mark Andreas Kayser and Michael Peress	661

Cover image: BERLIN, Germany: The Ishtar Gate, built during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BCE) was the eighth gate to ancient Babylon’s inner city, granting entrance from the north. Reconstructed, as seen, at Berlin’s Pergamon Museum from material excavated in the early 1900s, the ornate gate was part of the famed, impenetrable walls of a Mesopotamian city-state founded nearly 4,000 years ago in what is now a province of Iraq. Copyright: bpk Berlin; Pergamon Museum. Photo by Klaus Goeken; Art Resource, NY. Used with permission.

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

G. Bingham Powell, Jr.
University of Rochester

PRESIDENT-ELECT

Jane Mansbridge
Harvard University

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Morris Fiorina
Stanford University

Kerstin Hamann
University of Central Florida

Niraja Gopal Jayal
Jawaharlal Nehru University

SECRETARY

Lisa L. Martin
University of Wisconsin, Madison

TREASURER

Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado
University of Nebraska, Omaha

PROGRAM CO-CHAIRS

John M. Carey
Dartmouth College

Lynn Vavreck
University of California, Los Angeles

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, APSR

Ronald Rogowski
University of California, Los Angeles

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, PERSPECTIVES

Jeffrey Isaac
Indiana University

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Michael Brintnall
American Political Science
Association

Council

2010-2012

Jeffrey M. Berry
Tufts University

Michael C. Desch
University of Notre Dame

Christopher F. Gelpi
Duke University

Simon Hix
London School of Economics and
Political Science

Mala Htun
University of New Mexico

Anne Norton
University of Pennsylvania

Laura Katz Olson
Lehigh University

Dara Z. Strolovitch
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

2011-2013

Paul Gronke
Reed College

Ange-Marie Hancock
University of Southern California

David A. Lake
University of California, San Diego

Taeku Lee
University of California, Berkeley

Kenneth J. Meier
Texas A&M University

Kathleen Thelen
Massachusetts Institute
of Technology

Stephen M. Walt
Harvard University

Angelia R. Wilson
University of Manchester

Former APSA Presidents

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