

## Contents

Acknowledgments		page xi
Int	roduction	1
1	The rule of law: a basic account	7
	I Opening technicalities	8
	II The weak version of the rule of law in two principles	12
	A Regularity	12
	B Publicity	15
	III Vertical equality	18
	A Respect and hubris	19
	B Terror	20
	C Normative robustness	22
	IV Closing technicalities	24
2	The strong version of the rule of law	28
	I Generality and the idea of a relevant distinction	29
	A Many conceptions of generality	29
	B Against the formal conception of generality	29
	C Public reason as relevance criterion	33
	II How to apply the public reason conception of generality	33
	A Public reason: expressive	33
	B Finding the expressive content of a law	35
	1 Reasons and meanings	35
	2 Proof of concept	38
	III Generality as egalitarian principle	40
3	Generality and hierarchy	42
	I The literacy tests: a model of nongeneral law	42
	II The rule of law and social facts	45
	A The disjunctive character of rule of law commands	45



viii Contents

	III The rule of law and the criminalization of poverty	45
	A The rule of law critique of economic injustice	47
	IV Is this still the rule of law?	48
	V Private power and ordinary citizens	51
	A Does the rule of law require ordinary citizens to obey the law?	51
	B The Jim Crow challenge	53
4	Egalitarian liberty and reciprocity in strategic context	58
	I The rule of law as a technology of constraint	59
	II Some arguments for the liberty thesis	62
	A The incentives argument	62
	B The chilling effects argument	63
	The problem of complexity	66
	C The planning argument	68
	D Neorepublican liberty	70
	E Democratic liberty	73
	III Libertarian equality	74
5	Isonomia: The dawn of legal equality	78
	I How was the rule of law implemented in Athens?	79
	A An overview of the Athenian legal system	79
	B The rule of law and the oligarchy	80
	C The Athenian rule of law	80
	1 Regularity	81
	2 Publicity	83
	3 Generality	84
	II Equality and the Athenian rule of law	85
	A A catalog of Athenian evidence	86
	1 Forensic evidence for the Athenian equality thesis	86
	2 Evidence from poets, philosophers, and historians	89
	III But is the rule of law really consistent with egalitarian democracy?	91
	A The conceptual objection: constitutionalism as the rule of law B The practical objection: arbitrary democracy and the trial of the	91
	generals	93
	C The problem of informality	94
	IV Law contra oligarchy	95
	V Appendix: A brief time line of the late-fifth-century Athenian	,,
	upheavals	95
6	The logic of coordination	97
	I The strength <i>topos</i> and the amnesty	97
	A The struggle between oligarchs and democrats, an overview	97 98
	B The puzzle of the amnesty	99
		,,



	Contents	ix
	C Did the Athenians learn from experience?	103
	D The problems of commitment: disagreement	
	and temptation	105
	E Athens as a case of transitional justice	108
	II Formalizing and generalizing Athens	109
	A The model	112
	1 Proof	117
	2 Analysis	117
7	Parliament, Crown, and the rule of law in Britain	120
	I The British rule of law: illusory?	121
	A Hobbesian sovereignty and the absolute-power coalition	123
	B Constraint, coordination, custom, and the constitution	124
	C A historical precedent: customary manorial courts	128
	II The rule of law and equal status in seventeenth-century England	129
	A Magna Carta as egalitarian text	130
	B The parliamentary debates of 1628	134
	1 Villeins and status	136
	2 Dishonor, fear, and contempt	137
	3 Political liberty and coordination	139
	4 Reviewing the evidence	140
	III Civic trust and the British rule of law in later years	141
8	The logic of commitment	143
	I The rule of law's teleology of equality?	145
	A Commitment, full generality, and the internal point of view	151
	II Commitment and institutions	154
	A Democracy and the rule of law	158
	III Diversity, generality, and democracy	160
	IV Simulating legal stability	161
9	The role of development professionals: measurement	
	and promotion	168
	I Rule of law development	168
	A Persuasive commitment-building	171
	B Generality development	172
	C Radical localism	172
	Locally driven project design	175
	II Studying the rule of law: new empirical directions	176
	A The new measure: methods	179
	Structure and scaling	179
	2 Item selection and scale-fitting	181
	B Limitations	183
	C Behavior of the measure	183



X	Contents

<ul><li>III Appendix: Scores and states</li><li>A Rule of law scores</li><li>B The rule of law and other measures of political well-being</li></ul>	184 185 186
Conclusion: a commitment to equality begins at home	189
Notes	197
References	249
Index	271