

Summer Term 2017

Dr. Jan Sauermann

(14335.0109) The Limits of Democracy: Social Choice Theory and its Critics

PO 2015: Basismodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft I (9 Leistungspunkte)

PO 2007/08: Hauptseminar Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft (6 Leistungspunkte)

Time: Mondays 10:00 – 11:30

Room: Gottfried-Keller-Str. 6, Hörsaal des Forschungsinstituts

First Session: 24 April 2017

Course description

Is there a public good? Can it be revealed by democratic procedures? The course will focus on these fundamental questions through the lens of social choice theory. In his highly influential book *'Liberalism against Populism'* William Riker argues that democratic decisions are chaotic, meaningless, and arbitrary. The seminar consists of two parts. In the first part of the seminar we will examine Riker's line of argumentation in detail. In the second part we will analyse alternatives from democratic theory trying to defend democracy against Riker's pessimistic interpretation of social choice theory.

Prerequisites

Students should have a good knowledge of political science concepts, basic qualitative and quantitative methods, some math skills, and an interest in current research. Since nearly all reading assignments are in English, this will be the general classroom language as well. Participants therefore must know enough English to be able to participate actively. Perfection is not required – you just need to understand and make yourself understood.

Relevance for study programmes

The course is open to all master students and doctoral students of the WiSo-Faculty with an interest in political science.

Registration

The course will be taught on a weekly basis (first session 24 April 2017). Students should register via KLIPS.

Reading assignments

Required readings for the first session can be found on ILIAS.

After the first session of the seminar a reader with the required texts for the other can be bought at Copy-Star (Zülpicher Straße 184, 50937 Köln).

Working requirements and assessment method

All participants are expected to:

- attend the seminar on a regular basis
- complete assigned readings according to schedule
- actively contribute to class discussions
- give a 10 to 15 minutes presentation in the seminar
- write a research paper of 15-20 pages in length
 - PO 2015: about 6.000 words
 - PO 2007/08: about 5000 words

Submission of the research paper

Please hand in two versions of your research paper:

- **Electronic version**
(pdf- or Word file) via email to jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
Deadline: 11 September 2017, 10:00am
- **Paper version**
You can hand in the paper version personally at the secretary of the Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (*IBW Gebäude, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2, 1st floor, Room 1.09*) or send it by mail to:
Jan Sauermann, Universität zu Köln, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics,
Postfach 411020, 50870 Köln

The paper version must contain the following signed statement:

<http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/sites/cccp/Lehre/EidesstattlicheErklaerung.pdf>

Teilnahme- und Prüfungsbedingungen

- Regelmäßige Teilnahme an den Seminarsitzungen
- Gründliche Vorbereitung der angegebenen Grundlagenliteratur
- Aktive Beteiligung an den Diskussionen im Seminar
- Referat (10-15 Minuten)
- Hausarbeit von 15-20 Seiten
 - PO 2015: ca. 6.000 Wörter
 - PO 2007/08: ca. 5000 Wörter

Abgabe der Hausarbeit

Bitte reichen Sie zwei Versionen Ihrer Hausarbeit ein:

- **Elektronische Version**
(pdf- oder Word-Dokument) per Email an jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
Deadline: 11. September 2017, 10:00 Uhr
- **Papierversion**
Sie können die ausgedruckte Version Ihrer Hausarbeit entweder persönlich während der Öffnungszeiten im Sekretariat des Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (IBW-Gebäude, Herbert-Lewin-Str.2, 1. Stock, Raum 1.09) abgeben oder per Post an folgende Adresse senden:
Jan Sauermann, Universität zu Köln, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics,
Postfach 411020, 50870 Köln

Die Papierversion muss folgende unterschriebene Erklärung beinhalten:

<http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/sites/cccp/Lehre/EidesstattlicheErklaerung.pdf>

General readings:

- Hinich, Melvin J., and Michael C. Munger. 1997. *Analytical Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. *Analyzing Politics. Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company.

Schedule

1) 24 April 2017 Introduction: Riker I

Required readings:

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism. A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1-40.

2) 8 May 2017 Riker II: The Arrow-problem

Required readings:

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism. A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 41-136.

Optional readings:

- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 582-596.

3) 15 May 2017 Riker III: Strategic voting and agenda control

Required readings:

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism. A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 137-195.

Optional readings:

- Mueller, Dennis C. 2003. *Public Choice III*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 79-127.

4) 22 May 2017 Riker IV: Political disequilibrium

Required readings:

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism. A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 197-232.
- Riker, William H. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 74: 432-446.

5) 29 May 2017 Riker's view on democracy

Required readings:

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism. A Confrontation between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove: Waveland Press, 233-253.
- Radcliff, Benjamin. 1993. "Liberalism, Populism, and Collective Choice." *Political Science Quarterly* 46 (1): 127-42.

6) 12 June 2017 Mackie I: Defending democracy from social choice

Required readings:

- Mackie, Gerry. 2003. *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-71. (Only skim Chapter 1, pp. 1-22)

7) 19 June 2017 Mackie II: Unrestricted domain of preferences

Required readings:

- Mackie, Gerry. 2003. *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 95-122.
- Sauermann, Jan, and André Kaiser. 2010. "Taking Others into Account: Self-Interest and Fairness in Majority Decision Making." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 667-685.

Optional readings:

- Frohlich, Norman, and Joe A. Oppenheimer. 2007. "Justice Preferences and the Arrow Problem." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 19 (4): 363-390.

8) 26 June 2017 Mackie III: Strategic voting

Required readings:

- Mackie, Gerry. 2003. *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 158-172.
- Dowding, Keith, and Martin van Hees. 2007. "In Praise of Manipulation." *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (1): 1-15.

9) 3 July 2017 Mackie IV: Multidimensional chaos

Required readings:

- Fiorina, Morris P., and Charles R. Plott. 1978. "Committee Decisions under Majority Rule: An Experimental Study." *American Political Science Review* 72 (2): 575-598.
- Bianco, William T., Michael S. Lynch, Gary J. Miller, and Itai Sened. 2006. "'A Theory Waiting to Be Discovered and Used': A Reanalysis of Canonical Experiments on Majority Rule Decision-Making." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 838-51.

Optional readings:

- Mackie, Gerry. 2003. *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 173-196.
- Miller, Gary J. 2011. "Legislative Voting and Cycling." In *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science*, eds. James N. Druckman, Donald P. Green, James H. Kuklinski and Arthur Lupia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 353-368.

- Sauermann, Jan. 2016. "Committee Decisions under Majority Rule Revisited." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* doi:10.1017/XPS.2015.16.

10) 10 July 2017 Mackie vs. Riker

Required readings:

- Mackie, Gerry. 2003. *Democracy Defended*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 378-431.

Optional readings:

- Dowding, Keith. 2006. "Can Populism Be Defended? William Riker, Gerry Mackie and the Interpretation of Democracy." *Government and Opposition* 41 (3): 327-46.

11) 17 July 2017 Social choice and deliberation

Required readings:

- Goodin, Robert E. 1986. "Laundering Preferences." In *Foundations of Social Choice Theory*, eds. Jon Elster and Aanund Hylland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 75-101.
- Dryzek, John S., and Christian List. 2003. "Social Choice Theory and Deliberative Democracy: A Reconciliation." *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (1): 1-28.

12) 24 July 2017 Social choice and pluralism

Required readings:

- Miller, Nicholas. 1983. "Pluralism and Social Choice." *American Political Science Review* 77 (3): 734-747.
- McGann, Anthony J. 2004. "The Tyranny of the Supermajority. How Majority Rule Protects Minorities." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 16 (1): 53-77.