By Arend Lijphart
Professor Emeritus of Political Science

One of the two book projects that I am still working on in my retirement is a collaborative effort with Bernard Grofman and Matthew Soberg Shugart, respectively Professors at UC Irvine and UCSD’s Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. It is tentatively entitled A Different Democracy: American Government and Politics in Comparative Perspective.

Bernie came up with the idea for such a book after reading my Democracies (Yale U.P., 1984) in which I compare 21 democratic countries. Bernie was struck by the fact that all these democracies nicely fit the classificatory scheme that I used – with the exception of the United States. This raised the question of exactly how and why the U.S. is so different from other democracies. We devoted two joint UCSD-UCI graduate seminars to this topic in the Winter Quarters of 1996 and 1999, with two seminar meetings at UCSD, two at UCI, and six by videoconference. (As these dates make clear, the project has been moving forward at a very slow pace, and it is still far from completion.)

Our comparison entails a systematic comparison of all of the major political institutions, rules, and practices in the United States with those in 28 other democracies: all of the countries that have been continuously democratic since the early 1990s and that have a minimum population of 5 million. (We exclude the many very small democracies in today’s world because it does not make sense to compare a large democracy like the United States with countries that are so much smaller.) Of the 28 other democracies, five are in the Americas: Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. Six are in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific: South Africa, India, Japan, South Korea, Israel, and Australia. The others are in Europe: the five large West European countries (United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain), three Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark, Finland), six other smaller West and South European countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Portugal, Greece), and three countries in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic).

We hope that our book will have a wide appeal and, in particular, that it will be used as a supplementary textbook in introductory courses on U.S. government and politics offered at American colleges and universities. The most important goal of these courses is, of course, to acquaint undergraduate students with the operation of their own governmental system.

A second goal is to teach them about democracy in general by analyzing one example of it in depth – on the implicit assumption that American democracy is representative of democratic practices elsewhere. The basic thrust of our book will be that nothing could be farther from the truth: in most respects, the rules and practices of American democracy are either completely unique or highly unusual in comparison with other democracies.

The older and wiser readers to which this brief essay is addressed are probably more aware of these differences than undergraduate students, but even they may be surprised to hear how very different the U.S. is. These differences are especially striking with regard to political parties and elections – one of the topics assigned

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to me to prepare draft chapters on. I have identified 43 features of American parties and elections that are unique or unusual – too many to present here – but let me give a few examples.

1. A good first example is the Electoral College because it is probably the most controversial institution of American democracy. In comparative terms, it is also a unique institution. Most democracies do not have popularly elected presidents at all, and the ten that do all use direct elections. Two use the plurality method (according to which the candidate with the most votes wins, even though his or her votes may not be an absolute majority): Mexico and South Korea. Seven use the majority-runoff method: Brazil, Chile, France, Poland, Finland, Austria, and Portugal. Argentina uses a mixture of the two. In the recent past, both Argentina and Finland used presidential electoral colleges, too, but these were abolished in 1991 and 1994 respectively – leaving the American Electoral College as the only institution of this kind in the world.

2. A unique feature of the U.S. House of Representatives is the two-year term to which its members are elected. The lower or only houses of the legislatures of all of our other 28 democracies have longer terms: three years in Australia and Mexico, four years in 20 countries, and five years in six countries. These longer terms are usually maximum terms, and premature dissolution of the legislatures in parliamentary systems may shorten them considerably. The actual average for the other 28 democracies is somewhere between three and four years – still much longer than the two-year term served by U.S. Representatives.

3. An unusual, but not unique, characteristic of the U.S. House of Representatives is that its members are elected by plurality in single-member districts (SMDs). Only three other democracies use the same method for the election of their lower houses: Canada, the United Kingdom, and India. France and Australia also use SMDs but not the plurality method. By far the most common electoral method is proportional representation (PR), used by 18 of our 28 comparison democracies. The remaining five have hybrid electoral systems.

4. A persistent problem in SMD systems is malapportionment: districts that are unequal in terms of population or number of voters. Compared with the other SMD countries, the United States presents two big contrasts. Before the 1962 Supreme Court decision in Baker v. Carr, election districts were unusually unequal. As a result of the Court’s intervention from 1962 on, the opposite extreme has come about: districts have become equal with an almost perfect mathematical precision. All of the other SMD countries have greater discrepancies in the population sizes of their districts, usually because of the conflicting requirements that their districts be drawn not only as equally as possible but also in such a way that local boundaries are respected. The loosening of the latter requirement has led to an unprecedented wave of partisan and pro-incumbent gerrymandering in the U.S. – unique in the world. In PR systems, malapportionment and gerrymandering are never significant issues, because their multi-member election districts are usually defined in terms of existing regions or provinces and population shifts can be accommodated by varying the number of seats allocated to each district, and because it is virtually impossible to effectively gerrymander multi-member districts.

5. Another unique feature of American democracy is that the Democratic and Republican parties dominate the party system to the virtual exclusion of all other parties. Third parties and independent candidates are hardly ever represented. The presence of two independent Senators in the current U.S. Senate represents an exceptional situation, but both caucus with the Democrats and Bernie Sanders, although nominally a Socialist, can be regarded as a Democrat for most practical purposes. The British party system can also be called a two-party system, because Labour and Conservatives dominate the system, but some eight other parties are usually represented in the House of Commons, too. And in British elections, many more voters cast their ballots for third parties than American voters do. A partial, and incomplete, explanation of the strict two-party system in the U.S. is the plurality SMD election system, which favors the larger parties. But Britain uses the same system. Moreover, the other two countries with plurality SMD do not have two-party systems at all: Canada has a moderate multi-party system and India has one of the world’s most extreme multi-party systems. An additional and generally accepted explanation is the presidential system. The fact that the presidency is the biggest political prize to be won and that only the largest parties have a chance to win it gives a considerable advantage to the larger parties in legislative elections, too. This mechanism operates to some extent even when legislative elections are conducted by PR, as in Latin America, by reducing the degree of multipartism. The final explanation is the use of direct primary elections in the United States – our next topic.

6. Primary elections play a crucial role in maintaining our system of two dominant parties and no significant third parties. It is much more attractive for dissidents from the mainstream of the two dominant parties to try to gain office by running in one of their primaries than to establish or join a minor party. Primaries take the selection of candidates for elective office out of the hands of the party organizations and their formal memberships and give it to the entire electorate. Their first distinctive characteristic is that they allow any voter who declares himself of herself to be a member of a party to vote in that party’s primary. Their second crucial characteristic is that they are imposed on the parties by the state and are conducted by public officials; that is, they are not adopted voluntarily by the parties and run by party organizations. Selection procedures in other countries are sometimes referred to as primaries but fail to conform to one or both of the criteria. For instance, so-called primary elections in France, Belgium, and Israel are restricted to formal dues-paying party members and are conducted by the parties. In Mexico, some parties have held “primaries” in which all eligible voters, not just their own formal party members, could vote for one of several presidential candidates, but their decision to do so was
purely voluntary and the process of voting was completely party-run. The United States is the only country that uses true primary elections.

7. The fact that voter turnout in the U.S. is very low is well-known. In the 1990-2003 period, turnout in presidential elections was only about 50 percent (and below 40 percent in mid-term congressional elections). The only democracy with a worse turnout in its most important national elections is Switzerland: about 37 percent. Canada’s turnout is just below 60 percent. The 26 other democracies have turnouts above 60 percent: between 60 and 70 percent in six countries, between 70 and 80 percent in eleven countries, and between 80 and 90 percent in nine countries. Of the many explanations for the low turnouts in the U.S., three have to do with unusual or unique aspects of American democracy. One is that turnout is generally lower in SMD elections than in PR or partly PR (mixed) elections. The other two are voter fatigue and weekday voting – our last two topics.

8. As a result of the large number of elected officials (including judges), short terms of office, direct primary elections, recall elections, and frequent referendums, American voters have to make many choices, and elections have to be held very often: on average, two to three times a year. The only country with even more frequent dates on which elections and referendums are conducted, about six or seven times per year, is Switzerland – the one country with an even lower voter turnout than the U.S. However, the United States is the only democracy that uses the “long ballot” on which the voter has to decide on as many as 30 or 40 different elections and referendums. In all other democracies, including Switzerland, most ballots contain just one, or at most two or three, choices to be made in a single day.

9. With few exceptions, American elections are held on Tuesdays. Denmark also has a preference for Tuesdays, and six countries use other weekdays. Most democracies – 21 of our 28 – conduct their elections on Sundays or on a weekday that is declared a holiday. Weekend or holiday voting tends to promote turnout.

Much more briefly (because I am running out of space), let me point out three other usual features of American democracy: (a) affirmative gerrymandering to promote the representation of African-Americans and Hispanics (only India has a comparable system); (b) legislative term limits at the state and local levels (Mexico is the only other major example); and (c) our highly decentralized system of election rules and administration (in contrast with the uniform rules in all other democracies, with the slight exception of Switzerland). And two additional unique features: (a) extremely long presidential election campaigns, starting well before the first primary, and the many months between the first presidential primary in January and the election in November (in contrast with all other democracies that use two-stage elections, like majority-runoff elections, in which the two stages are usually only two weeks and at most five weeks apart); and (b) the fact that we are the only democracy where many ex-felons are denied the right to vote even after they have completed their sentences – an especially serious limitation of voting rights because we put more people in prison than any other democracy.

We hope that our book will stimulate undergraduate students to think more critically about their own democratic system. It is quite possible, of course, that we are politically smarter and wiser than other democracies when we do things differently. But it is also possible, and perhaps more likely, that we can learn some useful lessons from those other democracies.
Part I. Making it into Med School

When I was two and a half, father died suddenly and my world fell apart. Mother was only 21, and I had a six-month-old sister, so our grandparents came to live with us. We were totally unprepared for the loss, and it came in the midst of the Great Depression. To make matters worse, grandfather, who couldn’t bear being retired from his job as a railroad engineer, committed suicide a year later. We became a complete matriarchy: two women and two little girls. Fortunately, we owned our home and a big Studebaker car, so as a child I never knew we had anything to worry about.

Mother found work and grandma ran the house. That turned out to be important for my choice of a career. At seven, I developed a very bad ear infection, which became a mastoid infection and then a brain abscess. At the hospital there was some question as to whether I would survive. In haste to operate, they cut off half my hair but never got around to the other half so I was a sad sight. But the nurses were good to me. They gave me as much ice cream and ginger ale as I wanted! Arriving home, I told granny that I was going to become a nurse. She pulled herself up to her full five-feet-two and said that no one in our family could ever be a nurse: “They do scut work and our family does not do scut work! You are going to become a teacher or a librarian.” I cried for days, but she wouldn’t relent.

After seeing the doctor for a post-op checkup, I reconsidered and told grandmother that if I couldn’t be a nurse, I’d become a doctor. “That’s fine, dear,” she replied. That night, I later learned, she told mother what I had said. Mother gasped and said, “No! You didn’t tell her she could be a doctor, did you?” Grandma reassured her: “She’s smart and will study hard and when she finds out she can’t become a doctor, she will become a very fine librarian or teacher!” Reluctantly, mother joined the conspiracy and no one ever told me I couldn’t be a doctor. I was set on my career path while I was all of seven!

Ten years later, with mother re-married, my high school physics and chemistry teachers, both men, suggested I apply to Park University in Missouri, a small school similar to Antioch except that instead of working in the summer or part of the year and attending class the rest of the time, you worked during the entire school year, 20 hours a week. The college had been started by a minister-farmer named George Shepard Park who taught his own children at night after they worked the farm during the day. When the neighbors learned of his teaching, they bartered to have their children help with the household chores and farming in exchange for instruction at night. In 1875, it became Park University. The school was good at training ministers, sending missionaries all over the world, so the campus always had foreign students who had been sent back by the missionaries. Coming from New York, where it is thought that the sun rises and sets on the Hudson River, I found Missouri itself a great change. I had never met mid-westerners and found them sturdy, gentle, and kind – a delightful surprise!

By my junior year, I had taken my biology comprehensive exams and was anticipating a fulfilling social senior year. I wanted to take literature instead of the required grammar, some history, some Bible, and art, and go to the symphony in Kansas City; I was going to live! In May, however, the dean informed me that I had to graduate in June. I called home to report the news, adding that I intended to stay on at Park. When I gave this news to my stepfather, he said, after a long silence, in a low pitched voice and even slower cadence, “Well, my dear, you went to college to get a degree, you’ll have a degree. Come home. Goodbye.” In those days, a dutiful daughter did not have much choice, so I went home!

I grieved for weeks, but knew I had to find work. Unfortunately, a newly minted biology major wasn’t very well prepared for most of the jobs then available. I finally learned that the Life Extension Institute of New York had an opening and signed on in the urine lab, where I examined liquid specimens for eight hours a day, along with an overly generous number of stools. I swore I would never look at excrement again.

At night I took a course in comparative anatomy at NYU, hoping that the military might help me go to medical school. I rejected the Army but agreed to consider the Navy – if I could get an officer’s commission. Mother went with me for the Navy interview, as was necessary in 1944. The woman recruiting officer was dubious about my small college background but grudgingly offered to give me the exam.
As I marked the first page of the multiple-choice test, I decided I would be more valuable to my country as a doctor than an officer, so I deliberately blacked in only every other question and returned it. After a considerable wait the officer called us in, looking very severe. “My dear,” she said solemnly, “I have to tell you the truth. You did not even pass this exam. Medical school will be much harder, and you’d just better get some counseling to find out what you are capable of doing, because you cannot be an officer or a doctor.”

After we left, mother cried all the way to the railroad station. “How could she be so wrong?” she sobbed. I told her of my decision and shameful behavior. Horrified, she said, “We can’t tell your father that!” I pleaded, “Mom…I’ve just got to go medical school, I just know it. Please, tell him that we were told that they had just cut off enlistment for officers since the war was beginning to wind down.” I was miserable having to lie, but as a woman I knew timing was essential. I had to persevere. I kept searching for scholarships.

Finally it came time to interview at medical schools. Mother went with me, because she didn’t consider me old enough to go alone; I was about 19. My parents would only consider Downstate New York, in Brooklyn, because I could commute. We boarded the train to Jamaica, and changed trains there for Brooklyn. At that time, Manhattan and Brooklyn buildings were covered with soot from years of coal burning. As we walked from the station to D.S.U.N.Y., we passed drunks on the sidewalks, bars everywhere, and garbage in the streets. When we reached the front door of the Medical School, mother grabbed my arm and said, “No child of mine is going to a school in this neighborhood.” Back we went to the train station and home without an interview.

I took advantage of this setback to send out applications elsewhere and finally was granted interviews at Harvard and at McGill in Montreal. I had applied to McGill because a physician who had found me my “urine lab” job had studied there and told me it had always accepted women. I had applied to Harvard on a lark. They were accepting their first class with women, so I thought I would see what interviewing was like.

In the interview room in Cambridge, I faced six unfriendly looking older men. They asked polite questions, one after another, until finally, one of them looked up suddenly and asked, “Young woman, why should we accept you?” I replied, “I don't know what reason you might have, but I think I am a good student, I have made good grades, worked hard at studying, I am very healthy, and I have had great teachers in high school and college. So I think I am as good a candidate as anyone else you might have” To which he responded, “What proof do you have that you are not going to get pregnant?” I was dumb-founded and mortified, especially since in my family of all females sex was a topic that had never been addressed. I gasped for breath, incredulous that anyone would be as rude and audacious as to ask such a question. I blushed a fiery red but fortunately stalled long enough to think of an answer. “As far as I know from my biology class,” I said, “I probably have been fertile since I was twelve years old and I've never had a problem, so why should you worry?” He was furious, but the other examiners were trying to hide their laughter. Finally, the Chairman rescued me, saying “I thank you very much and we appreciate your coming and having this interview and we'll be in touch with you.” I walked out thinking, “I sure blew that.”

I thought that if they are all going to be like that, I was not sure I would ever be admitted to a medical school. At McGill, however, I was treated no differently from the men. They did a good job of keeping me waiting almost an hour, sitting on a hard bench behind a counter, where you could not see anything except the ceiling. On the other side, was Gertrude Mudge, the Dean's female factotum. Busily working, Miss Mudge was all knowing. Every so often, she would get up and sort of look at you, then sit down again. I was paralyzed. I just sat there, quietly waiting, no book to read, nothing to do. Finally, Miss Mudge disappeared, went into the Dean's Office, and must have told the Dean I had passed the Stress Test. When I entered, this nice gentleman, as warm as he could be, said, “I've looked through your records and you have done very well in your small school, but since it is a good school, I think that you should be able to compete. Tell me a little bit about yourself.” I went through my litany and at the end he replied, “I think we would be very happy to have you.” I departed there on wings. When I got home I told my parents I had been accepted at McGill. My stepfather, who was vice president of the Remington Rand typewriter company, came home the next night and handed me a 50% scholarship from his company board! I had made it into med school – to prepare for the career I had decided on at the age of seven!
Familiar Faces

A gallery of portraits by Manuel Rotenberg, Professor of Physics Emeritus
(For more of his fine photos, in color, see his website: Manuel Rotenberg – Photographs)
Anecdotage

By Sandy Lakoff

All Things Bright and British

Colonials may grouse about “perfidious Albion,” but give the Brits credit for wit, on exhibit in the little letters to the editor of the Times of London. Some samples culled over the years:

Don’t Ask: A propos the “old New York Jewish habit” of answering a question with another question, a letter writer noted that that the trait is much older than New York or even America. In Genesis 4:9 when the Lord asks Cain, “Where is Abel thy brother?” Cain answers, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” As the letter writer observed, “This must be the first recorded instance of breathtaking chutzpah. God might have counter-retorted with, ‘Who do you think you’re kidding?’”

Leaven in the Lump: A series of minimsives addressed the curiously neglected question, “What was the best thing before sliced bread?” One writer recalled that when sliced bread began to fill the shops, she asked the owner of a large bakery what he thought of the innovation. Pointing out the care needed by the baker to produce a loaf of bread perfect in body and crust, he answered solemnly, “If you want my view, a cut loaf is a good job spoiled.” She concluded, logically, “If you want my view, a cut loaf is a good job spoiled.”

Sominex or Sermonex? In a discussion of the sleep-inducing character of sermons, one vicar noted that the phenomenon was hardly new. In the Acts of the Apostles, a youth named Eutychus is said to have been sitting on a window ledge listening to a talk by St. Paul, gotten sleepy, and fallen from the third story. Picked up for dead, he was found still breathing, for which the parishioners were “immensely comforted.” Less fortunate, an Oxford dean wrote, was the church attendee subjected to a three-hour sermon by a certain preacher in the early nineteenth century. At the end of his prolix pronouncement, “the only member left was found to be dead.” Another writer suggested that in view of his own experience, it was hardly surprising people fell asleep in church. At Winchester school, he recalled, one chaplain greeted new students on their first Sunday by remarking: “Few of us can deny ourselves the intellectual pleasure of speculating on the precise nature of the Pentecostal gift.” Few indeed...

Burnt Offering: Was crème brulée invented at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1879, based on a recipe from Aberdeen, Scotland for “Burnt Cream?” So one writer claimed, but this assertion was promptly put to the blowtorch (scotched?) by a reference to “Cresme Brulée” from a cookbook dated 1738 prepared for King Louis XV, with the recipe set to music! French patent rights were further confirmed by a woman who cited the ultimate authority of Betty Crocker’s Picture Cook Book (1950) prefacing a recipe for the dessert with a note mentioning that it had been brought from France in 1790 by Thomas Jefferson, who served it at Monticello.

A Sterling Performance: Lamenting the fall in the value of British currency (lately reversed!) a writer noted that the cost of a ticket to a performance at the Haymarket Theatre on February 21, 1765 – for a mere piano recital, not an opera – was half a guinea. That worked out in modern debased currency to be 107 pounds, 35 pence. The pianist, he added, was one Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

Not to be outdone by the Times, a few of the wickedly clever entries from They Call Me Naughty Lola: Personal Ads from the London Review of Books (ed. David Rose, Scribner, 2006) – thanks to Dr. Raquel Arostegui:

Bald, short, fat and ugly male, 53, seeks short-sighted woman with tremendous sexual appetite. Box no. 9612.

Narcissistic man, 32. If you’re better looking than me (and I doubt it), why not write? Box. No. 6511.

I like my women the way I like my kebab. Found by surprise after a drunken night out and covered in too much tahini. Before long I’ll have discarded you on the pavement of life, but until then you’re the perfect complement to a perfect evening. Man, 32. Rarely produces winning metaphors.

Mark Your Calendar!

Wednesday, October 10
Joe Bookstein
Professor Emeritus of Radiology
“Climate Change: The Population Connection”
3:30 - 5:30 pm

--- The Faculty Club ---

Wednesday, November 14
David Freedman
Endowed Chair in Hebrew Biblical Studies
“The Dead Sea Scrolls”
3:30 - 5:30 pm

--- The Faculty Club ---

Join Chancellor Fox at the Ribbon Cutting of our New Home, University Center 400, Wednesday, Sept. 26, 11 am. Reception to follow. RSVP 858-534-4724; Emeriti@ucsd.edu.

--- The Faculty Club ---

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