## BEST DEMOCRACY



## Bringing Pluralism to the United States

## BEST DEMOCRACY



## Jesse Kumin

Founder: Best Democracy BFA, U. of Colorado

## Strategy: Dr. King's 5 Step Protocol



# Dr. Martin Luther King's proven method for overcoming 100 years of Jim Crow. 

1) Observation
2) Understanding
3) Remedies
4) Attention
5) Action

## step 1: Observation



- Stepping into the puddle in stocking feet.
- Acknowledging a problem exists.
- Deciding to address the problem.
- Identifying the problem correctly.
- Correct diagnosis is critical to the correct solution.

I'm a very inexperienced plumber. I misdiagnosed the source of the leak as the hose, which was wet. I spent two hours, 10 miles driving and $\$ 7.87$ USD draining the toilet tank, buying a new hose, replacing the hose, only to discover I had made the leak worse.

I didn't stop at the apparent, first, dysfunctional solution. It was a poor diagnosis and a poor outcome. I asked my friend Steve for help.

Steve correctly identified a loose nut connecting the tank to the base causing a drip-drip-drip onto the hose below. Steve quickly tightened the nut for $\$ 0$. I owe a payback favor to Steve for helping me out.

# Stepping into the puddle Acknowledging the problem exists 

| Rank＊ | Country | ＊ | Score＊ | Electoral process and pluralism | Functioning of government | Political participation | Political culture |  | Regime type |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 밤 Norway |  | 9.87 | 10.00 | 9.64 | 10.00 | 10.00 | 9.71 | Full democracy |
| 2 | 브므․ Iceland |  | 9.58 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 8.89 | 10.00 | 9.71 | Full democracy |
| 3 | －${ }^{\text {a }}$ Sweden |  | 9.39 | 9.58 | 9.64 | 8.33 | 10.00 | 9.41 | Full democracy |
| 4 |  |  | 9.26 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 8.89 | 8.13 | 10.00 | Full democracy |
| 5 | Iti Denmark |  | 9.22 | 10.00 | 9.29 | 8.33 | 9.38 | 9.12 | Full democracy |
| 6 | －1｜Ireland |  | 9.15 | 9.58 | 7.86 | 8.33 | 10.00 | 10.00 | Full democracy |
|  | －+1 Canada |  | 9.15 | 9.58 | 9.64 | 7.78 | 8.75 | 10.00 | Full democracy |
| 8 | ＋Finland |  | 9.14 | 10.00 | 8.93 | 8.33 | 8.75 | 9.71 | Full democracy |
| 9 |  |  | 9.09 | 10.00 | 8.93 | 7.78 | 8.75 | 10.00 | Full democracy |
| 10 | $\pm$ Switzerland |  | 9.03 | 9.58 | 9.29 | 7.78 | 9.38 | 9.12 | Full democracy |
| 11 | ＝Netherlands |  | 8.89 | 9.58 | 9.29 | 8.33 | 8.13 | 9.12 | Full democracy |
| 12 | ＝Luxembourg |  | 8.81 | 10.00 | 8.93 | 6.67 | 8.75 | 9.71 | Full democracy |
| 13 | E Germany |  | 8.68 | 9.58 | 8.57 | 8.33 | 7.50 | 9.41 | Full democracy |
| 14 | 困 United Kingdom |  | 8.53 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 8.33 | 8.13 | 9.12 | Full democracy |
| 15 | $\xlongequal{\circ} \mathrm{=}$ Uruguay |  | 8.38 | 10.00 | 8.57 | 6.11 | 7.50 | 9.71 | Full democracy |
| 16 | EAustria |  | 8.29 | 9.58 | 7.86 | 8.33 | 6.88 | 8.82 | Full democracy |
| 17 | EMauritius |  | 8.22 | 9.17 | 8.21 | 5.56 | 8.75 | 9.41 | Full democracy |
| 18 | －Malta |  | 8.21 | 9.17 | 8.21 | 6.11 | 8.75 | 8.82 | Full democracy |
| 19 | 工 Spain |  | 8.08 | 9.17 | 7.14 | 7.78 | 7.50 | 8.82 | Full democracy |
| 20 | 三 Costa Rica |  | 8.07 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 6.67 | 7.50 | 9.12 | Full democracy |
| 21 | ：\％South Korea |  | 8.00 | 9.17 | 7.86 | 7.22 | 7.50 | 8.24 | Flawed democracy ${ }^{\text {［a］}}$ |
| 22 | －Japan |  | 7.99 | 8.75 | 8.21 | 6.67 | 7.50 | 8.82 | Flawed democracy |
| $=23$ | ［－Chile |  | 7.97 | 9.58 | 8.57 | 4.44 | 8.13 | 9.12 | Flawed democracy |
|  | －Estonia |  | 7.97 | 9.58 | 8.21 | 6.67 | 6.88 | 8.53 | Flawed democracy |
| 25 | 塈 United States |  | 7.96 | 9.17 | 7.14 | 7.78 | 7.50 | 8.24 | Flawed democracy |
| 26 | ECape Verde |  | 7.88 | 9.17 | 7.86 | 6.67 | 6.88 | 8.82 | Flawed democracy |
| 27 | －Portugal |  | 7.84 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 6.11 | 6.88 | 9.12 | Flawed democracy |
| 28 | ＝Botswana |  | 7.81 | 9.17 | 7.14 | 6.11 | 7.50 | 9.12 | Flawed democracy |
| 29 | －${ }^{\text {France }}$ |  | 7.80 | 9.58 | 7.50 | 7.78 | 5.63 | 8.53 | Flawed democracy |
| 30 | 흐 Israel |  | 7.79 | 9.17 | 7.50 | 8.89 | 7.50 | 5.88 | Flawed democracy |

> The United States is a Flawed Democracy and getting worse.

The US is down from \＃21 to \＃25 in the EIU Democracy Index since 2016.

The EIU Rating of 9.17 on Pluralism is overly generous．Most of the United States does not have Pluralism，therefore does not have democracy．

Identifying the source of the problem
"Meet the new boss, same as the old boss."

- Peter Townshend
"Around 1776, certain important people in the English colonies made a discovery that would prove enormously useful for the next two hundred years. (Now 244 years). They found that by creating a nation, a symbol, a legal unity called the United States, they could take over land, profits, and political power from favorites of the British Empire. In the process, they could hold back a number of potential rebellions, and create a consensus of popular support for the rule of a new, privileged leadership."
"When we look at the American Revolution this way, it was a work of genius, and the Founding Fathers deserve the awed tribute they have over the centuries. They created the most effective system of national control devised in modern times, and showed future generations of leaders the advantages of combining paternalism with command."
- A People's History of the United States - Howard Zinn.


## The Founders had competing views on Representation



## John Adams <br> Second President <br> In 1776 John Adams wrote an influential pamphlet "Thoughts on Government".

"It should be in miniature, an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, feel, reason, and act like them."

## Elbridge Gerry

## Father of Gerrymandering

on property justifying greater representation, at the 1787 Constitutional Convention.


When the rules on representation were being argued at the Constitutional Convention, slavers wanted extra representation based on "property".
"The idea of property ought not to be the rule of representation. Blacks are property, and are used to the southward as horses and cattle to the northward: and why should their representation be increased to the southward on account of the number of slaves, than horses or oxen to the north?"

Gerry's argument against slavers having extra representation based on property was overruled by high wealth individuals.

## John Jay

First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Second Governor of New York Owner of 8 slaves
Co-author of the Federalist Papers with James Madison and Alexander Hamilton


## "The people who own the country ought to govern it."

$\mathbf{2 \% - 3 \%}$ of the residents of the Colonies in 1776 owned slaves. $\mathbf{7 3 \%}$ of the signers of the Declaration of Independence owned slaves.


## Who was in the driver's seat?

## James Madison

## Father of the Constitution

## Fourth US President <br> Third Virginia Slaver President <br> Third generation slaver Owner of 121 slaves

"In England, at this day, if elections were open to all classes of people, the property of landed proprietors would be insecure. An agrarian law would soon take place. ... our government ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation (Article V in the Constitution). Landholders ought to have a share in the government, ...ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority."

## Founding Fathers



55 white male delegates to the Constitutional Convention, all property owners over the age of 25, got the last word on US government and election system design, which they accomplished in three months. 17 left before the vote on passage.

They were not an exact portrait of the people at large. They represented a slim minority, $6 \%$ of the US population. The voting majority at the end owned slaves. They decided to exclude everyone else.

## Slaver Design for Slaver Control

James Madison came prepared with an outline "The Virginia Plan", which formed the basis for the "United States Constitution".

Slavers accomplished their objective, protected their "property" for 93 years after slavery was abolished in England and Wales by "Somerset v. Stewart" (1772).

4 of the first 5 Presidents were Virginia Slavers spanning 32 of 36 years.

10 of the first 12 US Presidents owned slaves.

Madison made his plan extremely difficult to change by inserting Article V in the Constitution, giving slavers veto power.



## "The price of apathy towards public affairs

 is to be ruled by evil men." - PlatoThe problem started when only $6 \%$ of the country, a privileged elite controlled the Constitutional Convention. 2\% to 3\% of the country owned slaves. Slavers controlled the US government for nearly all of the first 84 years from 1776-1860, the formative years of the country. What if Adams had prevailed?

We need to acknowledge past mistakes and move on, not drag the baggage of the past behind us.

## step 1: Observation - Identifying Election Issues

- From inception, electoral systems in the US have been designed to exclude people, distort representation and election outcomes.
- Most electoral systems are still designed to exclude large blocks of the electorate from representation.
- Voter Intent isn't accurately reflected in outcomes.
- Government is the only industry which writes its own rules, resulting in a Cartel that concentrates power and excludes competition.
- Voting for representatives is conflated with decision making.


## A More Beautiful Question

An ambitious, actionable question can serve as a catalyst for change.

## Step 2: Understanding. What is a Cartel?

## Cartels collude to exclude competition

"In politics, a cartel party or cartel political party is a party which uses the resources of the state to maintain its position within the political system. Katz and Mair argue that "parties in Western Europe have adapted themselves to declining levels of participation and involvement in party activities by not only turning to resources provided by the state but by doing so in a collusive manner"

- Wikipedia


## Election Issues

## Most district elections are predetermined by the Cartel

Predetermined districts, uncontested races lack Pluralism.

- 88\% of Congressional seats nationally are in safe or likely, predetermined districts (Cook Political Report).
- 98\% of incumbents running for reelection in US House and Senate races won in 2016.
- 82\% of Colorado counties are One Party Dominant counties.
- 83\% of Georgia state House districts were uncontested in 2016.

Most Americans live in predetermined districts, but the Cartel doesn't keep stats on Pluralism. When a problem is invisible and unacknowledged, it's not a problem; no solution necessary. See the Best Democracy Index on the site.
step 2: Understanding. How are elections predetermined?

Most elections are predetermined through institutionalized Distortions and Exclusions implemented by variables design.

Distort who votes: voter suppression, gerrymandered districts, off-year and non-November elections.

Ballot Access Suppression: Suppress who and what voters can vote for: candidate and party suppression, initiative suppression.

Distorted Representation: Single Member Districts, At Large "Block" voting, the US Senate.

Distortions through vote counting: First Past the Post (FPTP, aka plurality), Spoiler Effect, Electoral College.

## How are most elections predetermined?

The \#1 means of excluding large electoral blocks is through

## Single Member Districts

- Single Member Districts concentrate power in one individual who supposedly represents all points of view in his/her district.
- Only the two Cartel ideologies allegedly represent everyone in the state and country.
- Single Member Districts discourage minority (ethnic, ideology, race, religion, social class) from participation.
- Single Member Districts lead to Gerrymandering.
- Create barriers to entry for candidates, limiting voter choice.
- As used in combination with First Past the Post (FPTP), create a "Spoiler Effect".


## At Large Winner Take All systems

At Large Plurality elections are designed to diminish or exclude minority representation, whatever that minority might be.

At Large Plurality elections, aka "Block Voting" appear to be Multi Member Districts, but behave like Single Member "Winner Take All" Districts. At Large Plurality has been repeatedly found in violation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for discrimination against minorities.

- Dillard v. Crenshaw County 1987, forced 183 jurisdictions throughout Alabama to abandon their discriminatory At Large method of elections.
- Brown v. Board of Commissioners 1989, At Large was described as a tool of white supremacists in Chattanooga, TN.
- Charleston County v. United States 2004 the US Supreme Court decided At Large violates the Voting Rights Act.
- Jones County, NC was forced to drop At Large in 2017 by a lawsuit over the same racist violation as Charleston County.


## Few Debates Impair our Decision Making

## The Truth shall emerge from a free debate. <br> - John Stuart Mill

- Democrats and Republicans frequently collude to exclude minor party participation at debates.
- Exclusion further marginalizes minor parties.
- Many or most incumbents limit debate appearances.
- Without debates, how do voters decide whose priorities we agree with most? Which candidate is the best qualified? Who has the best solutions?


## Low voter turnout

## Large blocks of the American electorate are disengaged

Only 54.5\% of the electorate voted in the 2016 Presidential election. Most local and state elections have even lower turnout, often ranging from $\mathbf{3 5 \%}$ to $50 \%$. Compare this to $\mathbf{8 7 . 3 \%}$ voter turnout in the 2018 Swedish General Election, which includes regional and local elections. Sweden has 59\% higher participation than the US.

People aren't motivated to vote when their votes don't count and become "wasted votes". When most elections are predetermined, when people have candidates they like and their votes rarely count toward outcomes, they have much less motivation to participate.

## Institutionalized Distortion of Power favoring land over people



The US Senate is the least representative elected body in the world. Institutionalized distortions and concentrated power are tools of obstruction of change and should be abolished.

- 9 states have over half the population, but only $18 \%$ of the representation.
- 41 states have less than half the population, and $82 \%$ of the representation. 4 X as many Senators with fewer people.
- The state of Wyoming (pop. 578,759) has the same number of Senators as California (pop. 39,512,223). California has 68.3 times as many people, but the same representation as Wyoming.
- Due to the Senate's bizarre filibuster rules, forty-one senators representing less than 11 percent of the population can prevent any bill from even coming to a vote.
- Thirty-four senators from states representing just 5 percent of the US population can veto any constitutional change, no matter how minor.
- The same goes for treaties, which also require two-thirds approval.
- The Senate "hold" system allows a single senator representing as little as one citizen in a thousand to stall a bill or executive appointment almost indefinitely.
www.bestdemocracy.org


## Concentrated Power

## Subject to Repression, Abuse \& Corruption

Throughout history, the governments with the worst human rights records, fewest civil liberties, most corrupt, hated, murderous tyrannical leaders, have all had concentrated, unaccountable power, and are characterized as "Authoritarian" regimes. Recent examples from the 20th Century are Hitler, Stalin and Mao.

All Authoritarian regimes have systems that concentrate power; limit political pluralism; suppress anti-regime activities; jail and eliminate opponents (Lock her up); and extend the powers of the executive beyond previous limits.

Authoritarians "rig" elections to predetermine results. ..."an authoritarian government lacks free and competitive direct elections to legislatures, free and competitive direct or indirect elections for executives, or both." - Milan W. Svolik (2012). The Politics of Authoritarian Rule

## step 3: Remedies

The cure to concentrated, corrupt, unaccountable power is dispersed, transparent, accountable power.

The cure to exclusion is to include everyone.

The cure to distorted representation is accurate representation.
The cure to predetermined elections are competitive elections in every district.

The cures to distortions in vote counting are to identify all distortions, remove them, count all votes in outcomes and retain voter intent throughout the vote counting process.

## Step 3: Remedies

## What better models exist? How do they work?

## Why adopt the remedies?

## What better models exist?



Which election system worldwide, results in the most equitable representation of the electorate, greatest level of accountability, easiest ballot access for candidates and greatest voter choice?

## Proportional Representation



Everyone gets a seat at the table.
Everyone's interests are represented.

What shouldn't be adopted? Systems that do not remedy the major issues.

## Why not Ranked Choice Voting?

If there's something old, moldy and stinky in your fridge, do you keep it and try to make it into a new dish, or do you move it into the compost pail?

As promoted in the US, RCV is a misnomer. It's actually Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) in Single Member Districts. Without Multi Member Districts, IRV/RCV isn't proportional.

When a problem has been misidentified, poor solutions result. The big problem is Single Member Districts, not the Spoiler Effect. Any Single Member District system still excludes large blocks of voters from representation.

## Why not Ranked Choice Voting?

- There is no history of IRV/RCV becoming a steppingstone to full proportionality.
- IRV/RCV prolongs the delusion that Single Member Districts are a real democracy.
- IRV/RCV solves only one issue: the Spoiler Effect.
- IRV/RCV doesn't solve all the issues solved by all Pro Rep systems.
- Any Single Member District system like IRV leads to a restrictive two party system.
- Nearly half the votes in IRV/RCV systems can be "wasted" votes.
- Any Single Member District offers opportunities to Gerrymander map drawing.
- IRV/RCV maintains concentration of power, shutting out minority viewpoints.
- Discourages minority (race, ethnic, religion, party, social class) participation.
- Maintains many of the barriers to entry for candidates, limiting voter choice.


## What's the best, most efficacious solution?

## Multi Member Districts

Multi Member Districts solve most major issues, offer the best solutions on the "Inclusiveness v. Exclusiveness" test.

- Pro Rep systems represent nearly everyone.
- Completely disrupt any possibility of gerrymandering.
- Eliminate the "Spoiler Effect".
- Very few "wasted" votes.
- Offer the easiest candidate ballot access and greatest amount of voter choice.
- Make parties and candidates far more accountable.

All Proportional Representation systems are designed to disperse power and include nearly everyone.

- Faithfully translate votes cast into seats won.
- Encourage or require the formation of political parties or groups of like-minded candidates to put forward lists.
- When thresholds are low, almost all votes cast elect a candidate of choice, faithfully preserving voter intent.
- Facilitate minority parties' access to representation.


## All Proportional Representation systems are designed

 to disperse power and include nearly everyone. (2)- Encourage parties to campaign beyond the districts in which they are strong or where the results are expected to be close.
- Restrict the growth of 'regional fiefdoms'.
- Lead to greater continuity and stability of policy.
- Eliminate any need for taxpayer funded primaries and runoff elections, saving taxpayer money, shortening election campaigns.
- Make power-sharing between parties and interest groups more transparent.


## Which system remedies issues best?

## How does a Single Member Districts systems like First Past the Post compare to Pro Rep in Multi Member Districts?

|  | FPTP | Pro Rep |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Always Reflects Voter Intent | Distorts | Accurate |
| Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymandering | Yes, enables | Impossible |
| Wastes a large percentage of voter's votes | Up to $49.9 \%$ | As low as 2\% |
| Facilitates Compromise in Decision Making | No! | Required |
| Holds Elected Officials Accountable | Rarely | Yes |
| Holds Parties Accountable | Occasionally | Always |
| Voter Participation | Low | High |
| Full Spectrum of Diverse Representation | Excludes Voters | Always Inclusive |
| More Women Elected | $23 \%$ | $45 \%$ |
| Government Policies Closer to Median Views | No! | Yes |
| Endorsed by Minority Parties in US and Canada | No! | Yes! |
|  | www.bestdemocracy.org |  |

## Competition is Good!

Which do you prefer?
Two clunky old phones that don't have today's features?


Or, unlimited sizes, vendors, colors, price points, with up to date functionality?


## How do Pro Rep systems work?

## 3 variations of Proportional Representation All require Multi Member Districts

## Party List (Closed Lists)

Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) (Open Lists)

Single Transferable Vote (STV)

## Party List Proportional Representation

- Party centric; the voter has 1 vote for a party. Parties usually determine the list order, not voters (closed lists).
- Most popular system, 85 of the world's 94 countries that use Pro Rep, use Party List.
- Party bosses can maintain discipline, control within party ranks.
- Depending on the threshold, usually results in 7-10 parties.
- Greatest amount of party accountability.


## Party List Proportional Representation

Used by 4 of the top 5 democracies in the world as defined by the "EIU Democracy Index".
Norway ( $4 \%$ threshold, 169 members, 8 parties)
Iceland (3\% threshold, 63 members, 7 parties)
Sweden (4\% threshold, 349 members, 8 parties) *New Zealand (5\% threshold, 120 members, 6 parties)

Finland (No threshold, 200 members, 8 parties)
*New Zealand uses Mixed Member Proportional

## Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) with "Open Lists"

- Balanced, 2 votes: 1 for the party, 1 for candidates.
- Enables the greatest level of party and candidate accountability.
- Offers the easiest candidate ballot access and most voter choice.
- The only system that allows voters the choice of voting for a party, a candidate, both candidate and party, or voting for a candidate different from the party vote.
- Voters can reorder open party lists, support candidates they like, withhold support from candidates they dislike.
- With "Additional Members" or "Adjustment Seats", MMP is the most fully proportional and accurate representation of voter intent.


## Mixed Member Proportional (ММР)

Bolivia: since 1994 (3\% threshold, except when overthrown by US backed coup).

Germany: Bundestag and most state parliaments (5\% threshold).
New Zealand: Parliament since 1996 (5\% threshold). Now the \#4 EIU Democracy in the world. 56\% voted for retention of MMP in 2011.

South Africa: All local elections.
United Kingdom:
London: London Assembly.
Scotland: National Assembly.
Wales: National Assembly.

## Single Transferable Vote (STV)




Watch the short STV video.

- Based on a system developed by British lawyer Thomas Hare in 1857.
- First used in the Tasmanian House of Assembly 1896 (called Hare-Clark).
- Renamed by H.G. Wells as "Proportional Representation by Single Transferable Vote".
- Used by 20+ US cities in the early to mid 20th C. - Boulder, Cleveland, Cincinnati, New York City.
- STV can be implemented where state law precludes candidate party affiliation.
- STV ranking and counting techniques can be applied to Party List systems to enable participation of minor parties not able to clear a set minimum threshold.
http://www.bestdemocracy.org/single-transferable-vote.html


## Single Transferable Vote (STV)

- Every demographic is represented.
- Preserves Voter Intent.
- Impossible to Gerrymander.
- Eliminates the Spoiler Effect.

- Enables the greatest amount of voter choice in nonpartisan muni elections.
- Candidate Centric, easy ballot access for candidates. Facilitates candidates running independently of slates and parties.
- Eliminates the need for caucuses and primaries. Saves taxpayer money and shortens the elections process.
- Nearly every vote counts toward the final outcome. Very few wasted votes.
- STV is more easily implemented than Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) where state laws (Dillon's Rule) prohibit candidates in municipal elections from declaring party affiliations.
- With multiple districts, guarantees geographic distribution while representing the diversity of the electorate in each district.
- With multiple districts, guarantees geographic distribution while representing the diversity of the electorate in each district.
- STV in Multi Member Districts solves far more issues than Instant Runoff Voting (aka Ranked Choice Voting RCV) or Approval Voting in Single Member Districts.
- STV is also appropriate for non-partisan offices such as County Coroner and Judges.


## Single Transferable Vote (STV)

Australia: Tasmania since 1896: Adopted since in Senate, state legislatures and local elections, called "Hare-Clark" system.
Ireland since 1921: Parliament, EU and local elections.
Malta since 1921: Parliament, EU and local elections.
New Zealand: Most local governments.
UK: Northern Ireland: Parliament, EU and local elections.
Scotland: Parliament, EU and local elections.
United States:
Cambridge, Massachusetts: City Council.
Minneapolis, MN: Municipal Board At Large seats, Park Board.
50+ US universities, student government: Caltech, Harvard, MIT, Stanford, Texas.

## Limited use of Proportional Representation in the U.S.

The National Municipal League, an urban reform proponent in the early 20th Century, included Pro Rep in its model city charter in 1914.

Ashtabula, OH was the first US city to adopt Pro Rep in 1915. This sparked a boom. Pro Rep was adopted in about two dozen US cities including Boulder, CO from 1917 to 1947, but it worked too well.

In 1947 the Red Scare caused New York City and Boulder to repeal STV due to the fear communists and minorities would get representation. Repeal followed elsewhere. Cincinnati, OH, repealed Pro Rep in 1957.

Cambridge, MA has used Single Transferable Vote since 1941.

## Fine Grain Proportional Representation



More members from Multi Member Districts enables far greater diversity and more accurate representation of the electorate.

Helsingborg, Sweden a city of 142,793 has 65 members in their Kommunfullmäktige, from 8 parties.
http://www.bestdemocracy.org/proportional-representation.html

## Remedy: Design electoral systems to meet today's needs.

- Government officials should accurately reflect the people they represent.
- More members per district enables greater diversity of representation.
- A hybrid system of Mixed Member Proportional with Single Transferable Vote counting in districts is the most accurate system to represent the electorate. It is both candidate friendly and gives the most voter choice.
- Single Transferable Vote is legal in districts which preclude party affiliation.
- Both MMP and STV disperse concentrated power.
- MMP and STV make government and government officials much more accountable.


## What better models exist?



United States

United States' FPTP electoral system is exclusive, Germany's Mixed Member Proportional system is inclusive.


## Germany

| $328,239,523$ | Population | $83,149,300$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Congress | Legislative Body | Bundestat |
| House 435, Sen: 50 | Districts | 16, each with subdivisions |
| 1 each in 435, Sen. $50 \times 2$ | Members per District | 1 each in 598 districts (FPTP) |
| 0 | Leveling Seats | 111 |
| 535 | Total Representatives | 709 |
| First Past the Post | Electoral System | Mixed Member Proportional |
| $50 \%$ | Threshold | $5 \%$ |
| Yes/Possible | Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymander | Negligible Impact |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | Parties Represented | 7 |
| $\mathbf{5 4 . 5 \%}$ | Voter Turnout | $\mathbf{8 4 . 1 \%}$ |
| $\mathbf{2 5}$ (Flawed Democracy) | ElU Democracy Index | \#13 (Full Democracy) |

## Remedies: United States MMP/STV Formula for 330 million population

## - Unicameral People's House of Representatives. Abolish the Senate. <br> - 2 votes per elector, candidate and party. Mix candidates \& parties. Greatest voter choice.

- Ranked ballots for both candidates and party. Retains voter intent.

- Conjoin three Congressional House Districts' boundary lines = 145 districts. Elections every two years, even years as is currently.
- Districts will extend over state lines. Adjust district boundary lines along county lines for equity in matching population per district.
- 7 members per district X 145 districts $=1,015$ directly elected district members. Include territories, Washington D.C. and Puerto Rico.
- Single Transferable Vote counting in districts, candidate centric.
- Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) features 20\% Leveling Seats (202). 1,217 seats total. Leveling seats come from the Runner-Up pools from each party's candidates in district elections. Seats match votes. Vacancies can be filled the same way without special elections.
- 3\% party threshold. Retain voter intent for small parties through ranking. Almost no wasted votes.
- 7X greater diversity of representation in every district.
- Much greater diversity of representation nationally, about 9 parties elected.
- The President will be elected by the People's House, becomes accountable to all coalition partners in real time, not every 4 years.
- Input matches outcomes accurately, with ranking perhaps 1\% to $2 \%$ wasted votes v. 2016 Presidential election 53.9\% wasted votes.
- MMP makes gerrymandering and spoilers impossible. No more swing districts receiving targeted campaign dollars to sway elections.
- Much easier candidate ballot access.
- Reduces concentrated power and the potential for corruption, mitigates campaign finance targeted dollars in swing districts.
- Much greater voter choice, candidate and party accountability.
- Eliminates the financial, time costs and the severe exclusions of caucuses and primaries.
- Would improve the United States status in the EIU Democracy Index.


## What better models exist?



California

| $39,512,223$ | Population | $10,333,456$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Assembly \& Senate | Legislative Body | Riksdag |
| Assembly 80, Sen: 40 | Districts | 29 |
| $\mathbf{1}$ each in 120 districts | Members per District | (10.7 ave.) 310 total |
| 0 | Leveling Seats | 39 |
| 120 | Total Representatives | 349 |
| First Past the Post | Electoral System | (Open) Party List proportional |
| $50 \%$ | Threshold | $4 \%$ |
| Yes/Possible | Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymander | Not Possible |
| $\mathbf{2}$ | Parties Represented | $\mathbf{8}$ |
| $75.3 \%$ | Voter Turnout | $87.3 \%$ |
| $\# 25(U S)$ | ElU Democracy Index | $\# 3$ |

## Remedies: California MMP/STV Formula for 40 million population

- Unicameral California State Legislature.
- 2 votes per elector, candidate and party. Mix candidates \& parties.
- Ranked ballots for both candidates and party. Retains voter intent.
- Use the current 40 Senate Districts' boundary lines.
- 40 districts $\times 7$ members each $=280$. Multi Member districts.
- 3\% party threshold. Retain small party votes through ranking.
- 20\% Leveling Seats (55). 335 seats total. Seats match votes.
- STV counting in districts, candidate centric.
- Much greater diversity of representation in every district.
- Much greater diversity of representation statewide, 8-9 parties elected.
- Governor elected by legislature, becomes accountable to all coalition partners in real time, not every 4 years.
- Input matches outcomes accurately, fewer than $3 \%$ wasted votes.
- MMP makes gerrymandering and spoilers impossible.
- Much easier candidate ballot access.
- Much greater voter choice, candidate and party accountability.
- Eliminates the financial and time costs of caucuses and primaries. Removes the severe exclusions of the Jungle Primary.
- Would make California the \#1 democracy in the United States.
- Prototype Pro Rep for the rest of the United States.


Diversity is nature's greatest strength.
www.bestdemocracy.org

## What better models exist?



Massachusetts

| $6,939,373$ | Population | $5,528,390$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| General Court | Legislative Body | Suomen Eduskunta |
| 2 | Chambers | 1 |
| 40 Senate +160 House | Districts | 13 |
| 1 | Members per District | 15.4 ave. |
| 0 | Leveling Seats | 0 |
| 200 | Elected Representatives | 200 |
| First Past the Post | Electoral System | (Open) Party List Pro Rep |
| $50 \%$ | Threshold | $0.5 \%$ |
| Yes/Possible | Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymander | Not Possible |
| 3 to 5 | Steps to Election (w. caucuses, primaries) | 1 |
| 2 | Parties Represented | 8 |
| $\# 25$ (US) | ElU Democracy Index | $\# 5$ |

## Remedies: Massachusetts MMP/STV Formula for districts 7-9 million population

- Unicameral Massachusetts State Legislature.
- 2 votes per elector, candidate and party. Voters can mix candidates \& parties.
- Ranked ballots for both candidates and party.
- 3\% party threshold. Voter intent retained for <3\% party and less popular candidates through ranking.
- Conjoin every 6 House Districts adjusted to 25 districts.
- 25 districts $\times 7$ members each $=175$ district seats.
- 20\% Leveling Seats (36). 211 seats total. Seats match votes.

- STV counting in districts, candidate centric.
- Much greater diversity of representation in every district.
- Much greater diversity of representation statewide, 7-9 parties elected.
- Governor elected by legislature, becomes accountable to all coalition partners in real time, not every 4 years.
- Input matches outcomes accurately, fewer than 3\% wasted votes.
- MMP makes gerrymandering and spoilers impossible.
- Much easier candidate ballot access.
- Much greater voter choice, candidate and party accountability.
- Eliminates the financial and time costs of primaries. Removes exclusions of Primaries.
- Would make Massachusetts the \#1 democracy in the United States.
- Prototype Pro Rep for the rest of the United States.


## What better models exist?



Colorado's FPTP electoral system is exclusive. Denmark's Party List system is inclusive.


Denmark

| $5,540,545$ | Population | $5,748,769$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| General Assembly | Legislative Body | Folketing |
| 2 | Chambers | 1 |
| 35 Senate +65 House | Districts | 12 |
| 1 | Members per District | 13.5 ave. from 10 districts |
| 0 | Leveling Seats | 40 |
| 100 | Elected Representatives | 179 |
| First Past the Post | Electoral System | Party List Pro Rep |
| $50 \%$ | Threshold | $2 \%$ |
| Yes/Possible | Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymander | Not Possible |
| 3 to 5 | Steps to Election (w. caucuses, primaries) | 1 |
| 2 | Parties Represented | 10 |
| $\# 25$ (US) | ElU Democracy Index | $\# 7$ |

## Remedies: Colorado MMP/STV Formula for districts 5-7 million population

- Unicameral Legislature.
- 2 votes per elector, candidate and party.
- Ranked ballots for candidates and party.
- Conjoin 3 House Districts.
- 22 districts, ave. 7 members each $=154$.
- 3\% party threshold.


Diversity is nature's greatest strength.

- 20\% Leveling Seats (31). 185 seats total.
- STV counting in districts, candidate centric.
- Much greater diversity of representation in every district.
- Much greater diversity of representation statewide, 7-8 parties elected.
- Governor elected by legislature, becomes accountable to all coalition partners in real time, not every 4 years.
- Input matches outcomes accurately, fewer than 3\% wasted votes.
- MMP makes gerrymandering and spoilers impossible.
- Much easier candidate ballot access.
- Much greater voter choice, candidate and party accountability.
- Eliminates the financial and time costs of caucuses and primaries.
- Would make Colorado the \#1 democracy in the United States.
- Prototype Pro Rep for rest of the United States.


## What better models exist?



Montgomery County MD's FPTP electoral system is exclusive. Stockholm's Party List system is inclusive.


Riksdag, National Parliament

Montgomery County

| $1,052,567$ | Population | 972,647 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| County Council | Legislative Body | Kommunfullmäktige |
| 1 | Chambers | 1 |
| 5 Districts + 4 At Large | Districts | 14 |
| 1 | Members per District | 7.2 average |
| 9 | Elected Representatives | 101 |
| First Past the Post | Electoral System | (Open) Party List Proportional |
| $50 \%$ | Threshold | $3.3 \%$ |
| Yes/Possible | Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymander | Not Possible |
| $\mathbf{1}^{*}$ | Parties Represented | 9 |
| $54.8 \%$ | Voter Turnout | $87.3 \%$ |
| $\# 25$ (US) | ElU Democracy Index | \#3 (Sweden) |

[^0]www.bestdemocracy.org

## Montgomery County MMP/STV Formula for districts 1 million population

## - Unicameral County Council.

- 2 votes per elector, candidate and party. Mix candidates \& parties.
- Ranked ballots for both candidates and party.
- 3\% party threshold. Retain <3\% party and less popular candidate votes through ranking.
- Use current 5 district boundary lines.
- 5 districts $\times 7$ members each $=35$ district seats.
- 23\% Leveling Seats (8). 43 seats total. Seats match votes.
- STV counting in districts, candidate centric.

- Much greater diversity of representation in every district.
- Much greater diversity of representation countywide, 7-8 parties elected.
- County President elected by Council, accountable to all coalition partners in real time, not every 4 years.
- Input matches outcomes accurately, fewer than $3 \%$ wasted votes.
- MMP makes gerrymandering and spoilers impossible.
- Much easier candidate ballot access.
- Much greater voter choice, candidate and party accountability.
- Eliminates the financial and time costs of primaries. Removes exclusions of Primaries.
- Would make Massachusetts the \#1 democracy in the United States.
- Prototype Pro Rep for the rest of the United States.


Boulder County

| 326,078 | Population | 360,390 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| County Commissioners | Legislative Body | Alpingi |
| 3 | Districts | 6 |
| 1 | Chambers | 1 |
| 1 | Members per District | 9 |
| 0 | Leveling Seats | 9 |
| 3 | Elected Representatives | 63 |
| First Past the Post | Electoral System | Party List Pro Rep |
| $50 \%$ | Threshold | $5 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1}^{*}$ | Parties Represented | 7 |
| Yes/Possible | Spoiler Effect \& Gerrymander | Impossible |
| 4 | Steps to Election (w. caucuses \& primary) | 1 |
| $\# 25$ (US) | ElU Democracy Index Rank | $\# 2$ |

* 1 Party Rule since 1998, no Pluralism


## Remedies: Boulder County MMP/STV

 Formula for districts 250K - 400K population- 2 votes per elector, candidate and party.
- Ranked ballots for candidates and party.
- 3\% party threshold.
- 4 districts, 7 members each ave. (27).
- 20\% Leveling Seats (6). 33 seats total.
- STV counting in districts, candidate centric.
- 5-7 parties elected.
- A full spectrum of diversity in every district.

- Input matches outcomes accurately, <3\% wasted votes.
- MMP makes gerrymandering and spoilers impossible.
- Much easier candidate ballot access.
- Much greater voter choice. Much greater office holder accountability.
- Would make Boulder County the \#1 democracy in Colorado.
- Prototype Pro Rep for the rest of Colorado and the United States.


## Remedies: Why adopt Proportional Representation?

## "...the right of decision belongs to the majority, but the right of representation belongs to all."

- Improved ballot access for candidates.
- Much more voter choice.
- Fairest system of representation: $39 \%$ of the vote $=39 \%$ of the seats.
- Includes nearly everyone at the table.
- Facilitates government based on coalitions and cooperation.
- Eliminate gerrymandering and safe districts.


## Democratize the US Supreme Gourt

The solution to lifetime, บnबccountable concentrated powerg is ferm limited, ఏ๔counfable dicpersed power。 Leffs inffooduce Denocracy to the Supreme Gourip using Single Thansferable Vofe (STV); 4 gegional Districts, 7 searseach

www.bestdemocracy.org/remedies/supreme-court.htmil

Step 4 Attention: Target Audience - Excluded Minorities

- Unaffiliated voters (39\% of United States).
- Unrepresented and disenchanted Republicans.
- Unrepresented and disenchanted Democrats.
- Minor party members: Libertarians, Greens.
- Think Globally, Act Locally. Start with local governments, 22,000+ Home Rule cities and counties, then states.
- Spread knowledge of Issues and Pro Rep remedies.


## Step 5: Action, Achieving Social Change

Proportional Representation and Range Voting are great remedies. How do we realize them into working electoral systems?

- Management by Objective; step by step.
- Marketing 101: innovators and early adopters first.
- Local governments, 22,000+ Home Rule cities and counties, then states.
- Create YouTube videos.
- Ask your local city council to create a "Good Governance" Board, to implement the "Best Democracy Index", to examine political accountability.
- Identify the low hanging fruit. Which local governments need change most?
- Write Charter Amendment templates. Clear legal tests.
- Introduce change incrementally by conducting winning campaigns, $50 \%+1$, in the low hanging fruit local governments, giving voters tangible Pro Rep examples to examine and emulate.


## Step 5: Action, Achieving Social Change

## Think Globally, Act Locally.

- Ask friends, neighbors and your cranky uncle, if they would rather be excluded or included in decision making. When/IF they decide they want to be included, explain how Pro Rep guarantees everyone a seat at the table.
- Introduce your state legislator and city council member to the concept of Pro Rep.
- Communicate with candidates for local, state and Congressional offices. Explain how fixing our democracy, taking a platform position for inclusion of everyone, can be a compelling advantage over their competition.
- Contact your elected representatives. Ask them what they're doing to make elections more fair and politicians more accountable. Ask them if they know about Proportional Representation. Educate them if they don't.
- Ask your Congressional Representative to support the "Fair Representation Act" HR 4000.
- Host a "Town Hall" on election reform.

Best Democracy was started in Colorado on Facebook 09/ 2015. As of May/2020 we have 475 FB members from 21 US states, Washington D.C., 3 Canadian provinces, in 15 countries.

- Join Best Democracy on Facebook.
- Go to the www.bestdemocracy.org website to learn more about election issues and remedies.
- Contact your elected representatives. Ask them what they're doing to make elections more fair and politicians more accountable. Ask them if they know about Proportional Representation. Host a "Town Hall" on election reform.
- Contact jesse@bestdemocracy.org; volunteer to work on charter campaigns, the web site and to organize events.


## Bringing Pluralism to the United States v1 Credits 19 May 2020

Writing, research, photography in the US \& Europe, and presentation design. - Jesse Kumin

Photos of Colorado Columbines, me, Helsingborg Kommunfullmäktige, Golden Gate Bridge, Muir Woods, Finland's Eduskunta, Colorado State Capitol, Danish Folketing, Maroon Bells, Sweden's Riksdag, Boulder County Courthouse and Reykjavik © 2017-2019 Jesse Kumin, All Rights Reserved.

Dr. Martin Luther King Memorial photo - © 2016 Robert R. Gerlits, All Rights Reserved. US Supreme Court - © 2019 Robert R. Gerlits, All Rights Reserved.

Montgomery County Court House, Bundestat, Massachusetts State House - Wikipedia Commons

Some language and conceptual content provided by Robert Burns McDonald, Ontario, Canada; Celeste Landry, Boulder, Colorado; Will Plank, Knoxville, TN, and Gary Swing. Thank you Gary Swing for introducing me to Pro Rep and sourcing some of the quotes included. Thank you for your help!

Plumbing help, feedback and moral support. - Steve Friedman.

Patience, feedback, excellent nourishment and understanding. - Margaret Look Kumin
More info, candidate resources at www.bestdemocracy.org


[^0]:    * 1 Party Rule since 2006, no Pluralism

