

the best and worst of the united states

By Andrew Leigh and Justin Wolfers

From World War II, when Franklin D. Roosevelt responded to John Curtin's call for help, to this year, when the largest street demonstrations in Australia's history protested our involvement in Iraq, the United States has been alternately the source of admiration and admonition. And in the next decade, our countries seem destined to grow ever more closely together, with a Free Trade Agreement in the offing, and a visit by President Bush.

In the cultural sphere, Australians are proud when American movies showcase our country and feature our local talent, but many are uneasy about the fact that two-thirds of the movies that grace our screens are made in Hollywood.¹ In fact, we watch so much U.S. fare that American and Australian filmgoers have the same favourite actor (Mel Gibson) and actress (Julia Roberts).² In foreign affairs, we are similarly apprehensive – more Australian people believe that American foreign policy has a negative effect than a positive effect, though only by a modest margin.³

Our aim in this essay is to explore the best and worst of America. Too often uni-dimensional discussions of U.S. ignorance fail to acknowledge her strong national culture, abundant educational opportunities, vibrant non-profit sector, and the absence of long-term unemployment. Yet equally America-philes often seem reluctant to consider at length the costs of this culture. America is a country of enormous inequality, growing political disengagement, inequitable healthcare,

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expanding waistlines, and is stunningly inward-looking for a world power.

We are confident that readers who aren't irritated when we discuss America's weaknesses will be annoyed when we move to her strengths. But the lessons that Australia can learn from the U.S. are too fine-grained to be summarized by a simple pro- or anti-American slogan. At its best, Australia should look across the Pacific for leadership in specific domains. But too often we instead adopt America's failures and shun her successes.

National Values

Topping our list of the best features of the United States is the strong set of national values that undergird its polity. Born from an eight-year war of independence, and exuding the confidence of a free nation, America's founding text opens boldly:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

One hundred and thirteen years later, the Australian constitution came into effect. It timidly began:

"Whereas the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, have agreed to unite in one indissoluble federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and under the Constitution hereby established:"

Since the 1958 publication of Russel Ward's *The Australian Legend*, a restless debate over national identity testifies to our desire to forge a common set of values. In part, this reflects the inadequacy of our present national symbols. While the American national anthem refers to "broad stripes and bright stars" and the "land of the free and the home of the brave", its Australian counterpart notes with geographical precision that our island-nation is "girt by sea". And while Americans

celebrate Presidents' Day and Martin Luther King Day, Australians still take the Queen's Birthday holiday (a holiday that is not celebrated in Britain, and does not coincide with the date of Her Majesty's birth).⁴

U.S. Presidents frequently refer to the values of freedom, opportunity, and responsibility, and to the ideals espoused by Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson. Meanwhile our Prime Minister has all but abandoned rhetoric, and exhorts us to become more "relaxed and comfortable". The first time you watch an American presidential speech in full, the talk of values seems forced, but its effect is to ensure that national debates take place in a commonly agreed framework. Is this vision or hubris? If the same President who was willing to ignore the UN Security Council is able to pull off a democratic transformation in Iraq, and broker peace between Israel and Palestine, we may have to conclude that it is both.

The main effect of America's national values is a powerful binding force, of the sort that we Australians enjoy while watching cricket, but rarely observe in our political discourse. Moreover, by emphasizing her strengths, America fosters a culture that emphasizes achievement and innovation.

Innovation

Americans are among the most optimistic people on the planet. Only about one in twenty believes that things will be worse in five years' time.⁵ More than half of those under 30 expect to become a millionaire during their lifetime.⁶ From this sense of boundless optimism flows a strong spirit of innovation. The U.S. has garnered 270 Nobel Prizes (about one per million people), while Australia has just six (less than one per three million people). And each year, America files one patent per 3000 people, while Australia files only one per 9000 people.⁷

One way in which America encourages innovation is by lessening the cost of failure. Bankruptcy in America does not carry the same social stigma as in Australia. Indeed, it can even be a positive attribute in some contexts. Journalist John Mickelthwaite argues that in Silicon Valley, bankruptcy "is treated like a duelling scar in a Prussian officer's mess".⁸ And America's more benign insolvency laws allow companies to continue trading in receivership – part of the reason why United

The biggest difference in access to universities is in their entry criteria. Institutions like Harvard and Stanford actively seek young students from disadvantaged backgrounds, interpreting their test scores in light of their disadvantage when making admissions decisions

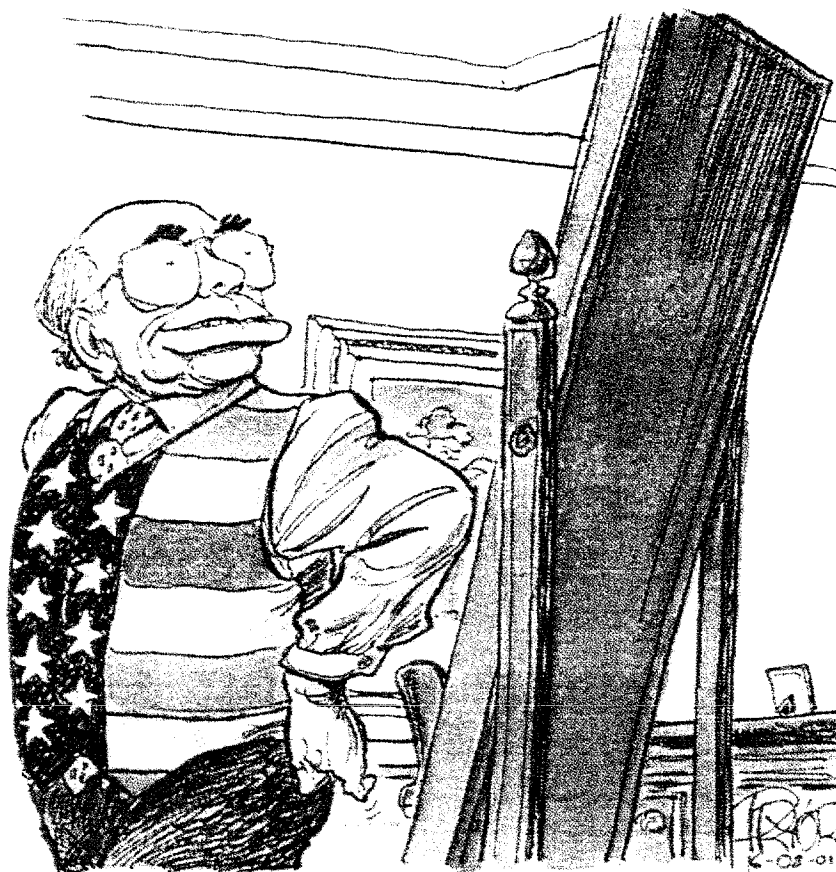
is still in the skies, while Ansett has long since departed.

This spirit of restless innovation spills over from the business sector to the world of government. The American policy process – for all its flaws – fosters a fiercely competitive market for ideas. A vibrant think-tank sector is supported by philanthropists of both political persuasions, ensuring real scrutiny of policy proposals. In turn, this encourages U.S. politicians to insist on randomised trials of policy innovations, while their Australian counterparts too often regard policy analysis as a political tool to be used by the government (the Federal Government's 1999 decision not to publicly release Treasury's analysis of the effects of the GST is a particularly egregious example).⁹ With policy ideas the centre of political discourse, it is not surprising to see our colleagues readily pass between teaching at leading universities and plum policy posts in Washington D.C.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Australia earned itself a reputation as "the social laboratory of the world", as the first country to use the secret ballot, the second (after New Zealand) to give women the vote, and one of the earliest to implement minimum wages and pensions.¹⁰ Yet today, the mantle for social policy experimentation is on the other side of the Pacific.

An education culture

Received wisdom caricaturing the under-educated American is a lot like the stereotype of the Ugly Australian; while each has a grain of truth, neither is particularly accurate. Nine in ten Americans finish year twelve, compared to only seven in ten of Australians (or eight in ten if we include equivalent vocational training).¹¹ Indeed, Americans have always had higher school completion rates than Australians. In the 1930s,



the average young American in most parts of the country had completed year ten – a standard not attained in Australia until the 1960s.

Critics of America's school system rightly point to international achievements tests, showing that U.S. high schools tend to lag behind those in other countries (Australian schools do comparatively well on these tests).¹² Yet it is also worth noting that the education debate is more robust in America than anywhere else in the world. In an innovation-driven culture, experimental education interventions are at the top of the policy agenda, and it is a sure bet that the 2004 Presidential election will feature a livelier debate about the future of education than candidates Howard and Crean will offer.

Another critical issue is access to tertiary education. About one-third of both young Americans and Australians are in university,¹³ and average annual tuition is only a little pricier in America (about one-seventh of median family income¹⁴) than HECS in Australia (about one-tenth of median family income).¹⁵ Although the U.S. has a variety of needs-based scholarships and low-interest loans, HECS is clearly superior – and the latest research indicates that its introduction did not reduce the participation rates of poor students.¹⁶

But in our view, the biggest difference in access to

universities is in their entry criteria. Institutions like Harvard and Stanford actively seek young students from disadvantaged backgrounds, interpreting their test scores in light of their disadvantage when making admissions decisions. To take just one example, young Native Americans are about fifty percent more likely to attend university than young indigenous Australians, despite arguably comparable levels of disadvantage.¹⁷ Having ourselves attended Ivy League universities in the U.S. and their "sandstone" counterparts in Australia, we believe that there is a risk that the simplistic test score-based admissions criteria used in Australia effectively lock out those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Egalitarianism requires more of our university admissions offices than merely ranking students on their UAI, ENTER or TER.¹⁸

Beyond teaching, U.S. universities are currently producing much of the world's cutting edge research. In our field, for example, a recent study suggested that close to two-thirds of the world's leading 1000 economics researchers were working in American universities.¹⁹ Yet beyond culture, resources matter. While Australian and American universities have roughly comparable tuition bases, the large differences in resources reflect both greater government support (a natural outcome for a large country), and massive char-

itable donations received by leading universities, a topic to which we now turn.

Charitable donations

Touring America in 1831, French writer Alexis de Tocqueville observed that it gives Americans "great pleasure to point out how an enlightened self-love continually leads them to help one another and disposes them freely to give part of their time and wealth for the good of the state."²⁰ Today, while Americans give two percent of their income to charity, Australians give less than half of one percent.²¹ America's philanthropic spirit has created some of the world's best medical research foundations, policy think-tanks, arts organisations, and universities. One in thirty Americans continue to give a tithe - one tenth of their income - to their church.²²

At the top, the contrast is at its most stark. America's richest man, Bill Gates, has given away one-third of his wealth - a cool \$33 billion - primarily towards addressing global health challenges.²³ Moreover he plans to give most of the rest away, in short order. By comparison, while Australia's richest man, Kerry Packer, is coy about his donations, we estimate that he has given away less than one-twentieth of his money - with the largest donations going to Australian hospitals.²⁴ Frank Lowy's bold decision to fund a new think-tank is sadly atypical of the Australian super-rich. Enlightened self-interest for affluent Americans means leaving a better society. Australian silvertails generally prefer to leave behind rich children instead.

Low rates of long-term unemployment

Most Australian labour economists thought that they would never see our unemployment rates approach those in the U.S. The purported trade-off was that America's labour market yielded unacceptable inequality, while our higher unemployment rate reflected a gentler, fairer society. Yet today, our unemployment rates are exactly equal, at 6.2 percent.

But while the headline rates are similar, the burden of unemployment is shared much less equitably in Australia. The average duration of unemployment in Australia is ten months, with one in five of the unemployed having been out of a job for more than a year, and one in eight for more than two years.²⁵ As anyone

who has spent time looking for work knows, spells like this can be a bitter, dispiriting experience, destroying families, communities, hope, and creating further scars on the children of the unemployed. Yet this is not the only way. In the U.S. the burden of unemployment is shared more widely, and the typical unemployment spell is around three months. Less than one in sixteen of the American jobless have been searching for more than a year.²⁶

These two facts - similar jobless rates and shorter unemployment spells - means that in total, Americans are spending as many days out of work, but that this burden is being shared around more equally. Partly this is because America has more carrots to encourage low-wage workers to find work - a program called the Earned Income Tax Credit provides up to a 40 percent top-up for some low-wage families, which can amount to as much as \$6300 per year.²⁷ The U.S. system also has more sticks - unemployment benefits typically expire after six months, and family assistance expires after three years. And finally, low firing costs ensure much more turnover in the American job market.

As we will argue, this policy is not without its costs - which have come largely in the form of growing inequality. But it should not be forgotten that work is shared more equally in the U.S. than Australia. Beyond the social and equity issues, there are macroeconomic implications: having only been unemployed for a few months, the American jobless are more "job ready", and our research suggests that this is a key factor explaining the resilience of the U.S. economy.²⁸ While Australian policymakers show signs of hubris, we should remember that it has taken well over a decade for the unemployment rate to return to levels last seen prior to the 1991 recession.

Now, we turn our focus to some of the worst aspects of American life.

Inequality

Across the world, the U.S. is certainly not the most unequal country - that unfortunate title probably goes to Brazil. But within the developed world, the U.S. has the largest gaps of any country between rich and poor. According to the Luxembourg Income Survey, a widely recognised international income distribution study, households at the 90th percentile of the income distrib-

ution have 5.5 times the income of those at the 10th percentile. Over the past two decades, the richest of the American rich have been getting even wealthier. In 1980, the top 1 percent of Americans earned 8 percent of all personal income – in 2000, they earned 17 percent.²⁹ F. Scott Fitzgerald's observation that "the rich are not like you and me" is truer today than at any time since the Great Depression.

Yet Australia is not far behind the U.S. in the inequality stakes. According to the Luxembourg Income Survey, those at the 90th percentile in Australia have 4.3 times the income of those at the 10th, a figure that has risen dramatically over recent decades. Our own research shows that the income share of the top 1 percent of Australians has grown by more than a half since 1980.³⁰ And despite claims that this is somehow inevitable, the driving forces of Australian inequality – relative declines in minimum wages, falling union membership, decentralization of industrial relations, dismantling of the welfare state, reductions in the tax burden for the rich and soaring executive salaries – have all received either a push by government policy or have been altogether neglected. Left unchecked, Australian egalitarianism will soon give way to U.S.-style inequality.

Lack of Access to Healthcare

In the United States, most people get health insurance through their workplace. While government programs provide free healthcare for the elderly and young families, low-wage workers often miss out. Around one in seven Americans are without coverage, with the problem most acute for high school dropouts, Hispanics and blacks.³¹ Without health coverage, Americans are left to queue in the public hospital waiting room when they want to see a doctor.

Over the past decade, campaigns to provide healthcare to all Americans have foundered. In 1994, President Clinton's plan to provide universal coverage was derailed by Republicans and the health insurance industry, some of whom described it as a form of "socialism". In the last presidential election, providing healthcare to the poor was largely ignored by both major candidates, who chose to focus instead on providing more generous benefits to retirees. While the rich receive the best healthcare money can buy, scant medical care is provided to America's low-wage workers.

On both sides of the Pacific, compassion for the poor and sick seems to be in short supply

Yet while Australia still has a universal healthcare system, public spending on health has increasingly become skewed towards the rich over the past few years. The 30 percent private healthcare rebate, introduced in 1998, is perhaps the most poorly designed social policy measure in a decade. Most of its cost (a whopping \$2 billion per year) goes to wealthier Australians, who are more likely to be able to afford private cover,³² and more likely to choose gold-plated health schemes. Indeed, one study estimates that four-tenths of the total cost of the scheme went to the richest ten percent of Australians.³³ The rebate has also produced some gross inequities. Although Medicare provides no dental coverage, around \$300 million per year of the private healthcare rebate goes to subsidise the dental health plans of affluent Australians.³⁴

If that were not enough, recent months have seen new proposals by the Howard Government to deregulate doctors' fees, which are likely to result in high co-payments. If left uncapped, excessive up-front fees may discourage low-income Australians from visiting the doctor.³⁵ On both sides of the Pacific, compassion for the poor and sick seems to be in short supply.

Disengagement with politics

In 1960, nearly two-thirds of eligible Americans went to the polls to choose between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. Forty years later, only half turned out to choose between George Bush and Al Gore.³⁶ Declining voter turnout has been matched by a fall in the number of Americans who say they follow politics, and a fall in confidence in politicians. In the 1960s, three-quarters of Americans believed that you could "trust the government in Washington to do what is right all or most of the time". By the 1990s, roughly three-quarters *didn't* trust the government to do what is right.³⁷ And today, a

majority say that they would prefer their child to grow up a professional athlete than a future President (and recall that this is not only the country of Bill Clinton, but also the home of O.J. Simpson, Mike Tyson and Tonya Harding.)³⁸

As political parties have become more professionalised, the fraction of U.S. voters who work on campaigns, attend political rallies, or write to their representative has dropped markedly. Political participation has been replaced by big money, which buys stage-managed consultant-driven campaigns. This has affected both sides of politics. In 2000, former Goldman Sachs CEO Jon Corzine spent around \$50 million, or around \$200 per vote, in winning the Democratic *nomination* for the New Jersey senate race.³⁹ Not surprisingly, he eventually won the senate race too.

Yet despite the fact that our elections remain relatively free from the pernicious influence of big money, Australia has witnessed some of this decline in engagement too. In the 1970s, one-fifth of us gave our politicians a high rating for ethics and honesty. Today, just half that number are willing to do so.⁴⁰ Anecdotal, many Australians comment on the behaviour of politicians as the cause of their disenchantment. "If I wouldn't allow my kids to behave like that", they say after watching Question Time, "why should I accept it from our leaders?" In both countries, disenchantment with politics has led to large protest votes for splinter groups emerging to both the left and the right of the major parties, with our own Pauline Hanson matched by Pat Buchanan, and the Australian Greens paralleled by the rise of Ralph Nader.

Ignorance about the rest of the world

"America", said Oscar Wilde, "is the only country that went from barbarism to decadence without civilization in between." In the process, its citizens have developed a certain myopia about the world around them. Only a quarter of U.S. citizens hold a passport. By contrast, even though we have to cross an ocean to visit another country, Australians are twice as likely to hold a passport.⁴¹

In an attempt to measure how well young Americans understand the world around them, the Roper polling organisation last year asked 18-24 year olds in nine countries (not including Australia) a number of questions about geography. They found that:⁴²

- In their geography skills, Americans ranked second-last. The only country trailing the U.S. was its considerably poorer neighbour, Mexico.
- Only 36 percent of young Americans speak a second language – well below the rates in mainland Europe
- 11 percent could not find the U.S. on a world map. In no other country were so many young people unable to find their own country. In fact, only half as many *French* youngsters failed to find the U.S. on a world map.
- Nearly three times as many young Americans knew the region where the last season of the television show "Survivor" was filmed (34%) than could locate either Iraq (13%) or Afghanistan (12%).

Much of this ignorance flows from media reporting. As anyone who's ever visited the U.S. and tried to get some

news from home can attest, the American media is firmly focused on America. In an article analysing the media coverage of last year's Bali bombing, we estimated that a tragedy that takes place outside America is likely to receive somewhere between one-tenth and one-hundredth of the coverage that it would if it happened inside the U.S.⁴³

And of course, no discussion of ignorance about the world is complete without a mention of George W. Bush, the President who had only left the U.S. on three occasions before taking office. While on the campaign trail, Bush was left stumbling when asked in an interview to name the leaders of Chechnya, Taiwan, India and Pakistan. In another incident, comic Rick Mercer, posing as a journalist, informed Bush that Canadian Prime Minister, "Jean Poutine", had just endorsed his candidacy for the presidency (poutine is a Quebec dish of potato chips, gravy and cheese curds). Bush said that he was honoured to receive the support.

Of course, Australians shouldn't laugh too hard. How many of us could name the last three Prime Ministers of New Zealand?

Obesity

America has the highest fraction of fat people of any country in the world – as you might guess if you contemplated the great Southern dish of double fried steak, looked at the size of the seats in the average American car, or spoke with the "International Size Acceptance Association" (slogan: *It's a BIG world, after all!*).⁴⁴ The obesity problem has become so serious that Americans airlines have developed policies on whether big people should be required to buy two seats; the home stadium of the San Francisco Giants advertises larger seats; and several unhappy burger eaters are suing a fast food giant for not warning them that excess consumption could cause obesity.

But before Australians offer a thin smile to the country that author Eric Schlosser has dubbed "Fast Food Nation", we should take a moment to reflect on the size of our collective waistlines. There are nearly as many McDonald's restaurants per capita in Australia as in the U.S.⁴⁵ Nearly a fifth of Australians are obese, and across the OECD, only Britain, Germany and the U.S. are weightier countries.

We end on this fat note, not because it is the most

important of our ten "best and worst" features, but rather most illustrative of our broader thesis. The McDonald's-ization of America is an unmistakably ugly part of the country. We often look across the Pacific with disdain for the country that regards the Triple Cheeseburger as a natural culinary evolution. Yet America is a country of many amazing achievements, and not just waistlines. This is the country that won the space race, catalysed the technology boom, and through the Cold War reshaped the world's economic and political structures. While inequality strains the cohesion of America's citizenry, she can still boast a powerful set of national values, whose persistent optimism yields thriving philanthropy and education sectors – and where a commitment to equal opportunity still burns bright.

Still, when feasting from the U.S. smorgasbord, it would behoove us to be a little pickier. As we look at America's least attractive features, we see a list from which we have amply sampled. Our waistlines are expanding. Our voters are becoming disengaged from the major parties. Inequality is rising, and healthcare funding is being skewed to the rich. And as our engagement with America has risen, our engagement with our Asian neighbours is withering.

This is not to suggest that the way forward is to set ourselves apart from America, as our friends across the Tasman have done. Greater engagement with the U.S. will help unleash Australia's dormant innovation. The education imperative will only be enhanced by learning from those who lead the world in so many technological domains. And we hope that careful study will lead our politicians to better understand the best features of the U.S. labour market, while putting her worst features to the side.

Our advice is simple: trade between the nations is a good thing, but we should import only the best from the U.S. Alas, over the past decade, we have systematically embraced the worst. At its heart, perhaps the challenge is one of national values. American values are no substitute for a home-grown sense of identity. But America does provide the evidence that forging our own national ideals will fundamentally affect everything that we do.

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 25. In February 2003 (the most recent survey), the average unemployment duration was 44.9 weeks: 20.9% of the jobless had been out of work for over 52 weeks; and 11.7% of the unemployed had been jobless for over 104 weeks: Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2003. *Labour Force*. Cat 6203.0. Canberra: ABS, Table 25.
 26. OECD Labour Market Statistics database (figure is for 2001)
 27. In 2002, the maximum federal EITC rate was 40%. The maximum benefit was U.S.\$140 - this went to families with two children who earned between U.S.\$10,350 and U.S.\$14,520. Converted to A\$ at an exchange rate of 66c.
 28. Olivier Blanchard and Justin Wolfers. 2000. "The Role of Shocks and Institutions in the Rise of European Unemployment: The Aggregate Evidence", *Economic Journal* 110(462): C1-33
 29. Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez. 2001. "Income Inequality in the United States, 1913-1998 (series updated to 2000 available)". National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 8467. Cambridge, MA: NBER
 30. In the 1979-80 tax year, the income share of the top 1% was 4.8%. By 1998-99 (the most recent year for which data is available) this had grown to 7.8%: Anthony Atkinson and Andrew Leigh. 2003. "Top Incomes in Five Anglo-Saxon Countries", forthcoming
 31. In 2001, the fraction of the U.S. population without health insurance was 14.6% overall, 19.0% for blacks, 33.6% for Hispanics, and 27.6% for high school dropouts. U.S. Census Bureau. "Health Insurance Coverage, Table 1. People Without Health Insurance for the Entire Year by Selected Characteristics: 2000 and 2001". Washington, DC: Census Bureau. For more on those without health care in the U.S., see this document.
 32. According to Australian Bureau of Statistics figures released in May 1998, only 22 percent of people earning below \$20,000 had private health insurance. Yet 60 percent of those earning \$50,000-60,000 had private cover, as did 72 percent of those earning over \$70,000.
 33. The share of private health insurance subsidies going to the top decile rose from 28 percent in 1998 (the last year before the rebate came into effect) to 42 percent in 1999: Smith, J. 2001. *How fair is health spending? The distribution of tax subsidies for health in Australia*. Australia Institute Discussion Paper Number 43. Canberra: Australia Institute
 34. Spencer, A. 2001. *What Options Do We Have for Organising, Providing and Funding Better Public Dental Care?*. Australian Health Policy Institute at the University of Sydney in collaboration with The Medical Foundation University of Sydney. Australian Health Policy Institute, Commissioned Paper Series 2001/02. For more detail on the private health care rebate, see Greg Ford. 2002. "The 30% Rebate for Private Health Insurance: A Critical Review". Health Issues Centre, mimeo
 35. On the risk of overly high co-payments, see Richard Holden and Andrew Leigh. 2003. "Health's price must be right", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April
 36. Andrew Leigh and Robert Putnam. 2002. "Reviving Community: What Policymakers can do to Build Social Capital in Britain and America", *Renewal* 10(2): 15-20
 37. Robert Putnam. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, p.47
 38. Kariyn Bowman. 1997. "Do You Want To Be President?". *The Public Perspective*, February/March 1997, pp.39-41
 39. Corzine spent U.S.\$33 on the primary race, or U.S.\$140 per vote: Pacifica Radio. 2000. "Democracy NOW!" 7 June. Converted to A\$ at an exchange rate of 66c.
 40. David Burchell and Andrew Leigh. 2002. *The Prince's New Clothes: Why do Australians Dislike their Politicians?* Sydney: UNSW Press
 41. About half of all Australians hold a passport. The figures are calculated as follows. In Australia, 986,316 passports were issued in 2002 (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. *Annual Report 2001-02*). In the U.S., 7,001,462 passports were issued in 2002 (Department of State, Passport Statistics). In both countries, adult passports are valid for ten years, so we multiply each figure by 10 (we ignore the fact that child passports are only valid for 5 years, though this seems unlikely to bias the results substantially). There have not been any major spikes in passport numbers in either country over recent years, so this method seems likely to be accurate.
 42. National Geographic Education Foundation. 2002. *National Geographic Literacy Survey 2002 Global Geographic Literacy Survey*
 43. Andrew Leigh and Justin Wolfers. 2002. "Coverage of Bali tragedy shows how Australia misses the bus in America", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November
 44. See Andrew Leigh. 2003. "Slim hopes for a culture that lacks self-control", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 May
 45. There are 45.6 McDonald's restaurants per 1 million people in the U.S., and 35.9 per 1 million people in Australia. Source: Website of Kenji Suzuki, who has compiled data from McDonalds. Figures are for 2000.