

# Comparing Power—

## An Appraisal of Comparative Government and Politics

AP Comparative and Politics Curriculum  
Fall, 2023

Big Ideas in AP Comparative Government and Politics\*

1. POWER AND AUTHORITY (PAU)\*
2. LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY (LEG)\*
3. DEMOCRATIZATION (DEM)\*
4. INTERNAL/EXTERNAL FORCES (IEF)\*
5. METHODS of POLITICAL ANALYSIS (MPA)\*

### Unit 1: Political Systems, Regimes, and Governments\*

**MPA**— Enduring Understanding: Empirical data is important in identifying and explaining political behavior of individuals and groups.\*

Explain how political scientists construct knowledge and communicate inferences and explanations about political systems, institutional interactions, and behavior\*

Analysis of **quantitative** and **qualitative** information (including charts, tables, graphs, speeches, foundational documents, political cartoons, maps, and political commentaries) is a way to make comparisons between and inferences about course countries.\*

Analyzing empirical data using quantitative methods facilitates making comparisons among and inferences about course countries.\*

One practice of political scientists is to use empirical data to identify and explain political behavior of individuals and groups.

Empirical data is information from observation or experimentation.

By using empirical data, political scientists can construct knowledge and communicate inferences and explanations about political systems, institutional interactions, and behavior. Empirical data such as statistics from sources such as governmental reports, polls, questionnaires, and surveys are a core aspect of scientists' quantitative methods that use objective measurements.

Examples of this practice include analysis of quantitative data from charts, tables and graphs to make comparisons between and inferences about course countries in areas such as:

- the evaluation of political systems as democratic or authoritarian;
- the comparison of policy making in governments that use presidential systems and parliamentary systems;
- interactions between institutions of government including the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government;
- voting and political participation behavior of groups from different ethnic and religious cleavages in course countries.

**Qualitative data** is information that is difficult to measure including sources such as speeches, foundational documents, political cartoons, maps and political commentaries. But qualitative data can also be used to make comparisons between and inferences about course countries in all of the above areas.

Comparative political research requires differentiation between **empirical** (factual/objective) and **normative** (value) **statements**.\*

Political scientists most often use empirical information to apply concepts, support generalizations, or make arguments.\*

Comparative political scientists compare different political systems to derive conclusions about politics.\*

Arguments and conclusions in political science often center on relationships between variables.

**Correlation** exists when there is an association between two or more variables.\*

**Causation** is difficult to determine with certainty in comparative politics, as often there are numerous variables that potentially influence political policies and/or regime stability, with no way to isolate and demonstrate which is producing the change.\*

Comparative political scientists could be interested in comparing different political systems to derive conclusions about politics such as correlations between different countries' judicial decisions and the impact on policy making by the different national legislatures.

Political scientists could also be interested in comparing different political systems by evaluating correlations between a government's stability with a country's economic performance and average quality of life in a country.

A number of data collection resources are used to investigate relationships among course countries, including—  
The Human Development Index (HDI); Gross domestic product (GDP) and GDP per capita; GDP growth rate; Gini index (coefficient); Freedom House; Transparency International; Failed States Index.\*

The **Human Development Index (HDI)** which comes from the United Nations Development Programme as “a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development” including statistics about life expectancy, amount of schooling, and income.

**HDI** (Human Development Index)

The Human Development Index can be accessed at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data> for more in-depth country analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries.

Income should not be confused with **Gross domestic product (GDP)** which is the market value of goods and services produced over a certain time in a country. GDP can depict the overall size of a national economy, but **GDP per capita** can reflect the size of the national economy in comparison with the population size, while **GDP growth rate** shows the rate of national economic expansion.

## GDP

(International Monetary Fund)

| Country         | U.S. \$ Million<br>(2017) | U.S. \$ Million<br>(2022 est) |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| United States** | \$19,390,600              | \$25,035,164                  |
| China           | \$12,014, 610             | \$18,321,197                  |
| United Kingdom  | \$2,624,529               | \$3,198,470                   |
| Russia          | \$1,527,469               | \$2,133,092                   |
| Iran            | \$431,920                 | \$1,973,738                   |
| Mexico          | \$1,149, 236              | \$1,424,533                   |
| Nigeria         | \$376.284                 | \$504,203                     |

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2001rank.html>

The International Monetary Fund and CIA World Factbook provide up-to-date GDP by country data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>

and

## GDP per capita

(International Monetary Fund 2017 — U.S. \$)

| Country         | U.S. \$<br>(2017) | U.S. \$<br>(2022 est) |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| United States** | \$59,792          | \$75,180              |
| United Kingdom  | \$39,800          | \$47,320              |
| Iran            | \$5,289           | \$23,030              |
| Russia          | \$10,955          | \$14,670              |
| China           | \$8,643           | \$12,970              |
| Mexico          | \$9,318           | \$10,118              |
| Nigeria         | \$1,994           | \$2,330               |

The International Monetary Fund and CIA World Factbook provide up- to-date GDP per capita data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm> and

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>

## GDP growth rate

(International Monetary Fund)

The International Monetary Fund and CIA World Factbook provide up-to-date GDP Growth Rate data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm> and

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/210rank.html>

The **Gini index** shows income inequality within a country. A Gini of 100% indicates perfect inequality whereas a Gini of 0% indicates perfect equality.

## Gini (World Bank)

The World Bank and CIA World Factbook provide up-to-date GINI data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.P.OV.GINI> and

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html>

Trade liberalization and economic globalization affects the GDP composition by economic sector over time:

### GDP Composition by Economic Sector

|             | China<br>(2017) | Iran<br>(2016) | Mexico<br>(2017) | Nigeria<br>(2016) | Russia<br>(2017) | United<br>Kingdom<br>(2017) | United<br>States**<br>(2017) |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Agriculture | 7.9%            | 9.6%           | 3.6%             | 21.1%             | 4.7%             | .7%                         | .9%                          |
| Industry    | 40.5%           | 35.3%          | 31.9%            | 22.5%             | 32.4%            | 20.2%                       | 19.1%                        |
| Service     | 51.6%           | 55%            | 64.5%            | 56.4%             | 62.3%            | 79.2%                       | 80%                          |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

### GDP Composition by Economic Sector (1995)

|             | China<br>(1995) | Iran<br>(1995) | Mexico<br>(1995) | Nigeria<br>(1997) | Russia<br>(1995) | United<br>Kingdom (1995) | United<br>States** (1995) |
|-------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Agriculture | 19%             | 21%            | 8.5%             | 33%               | 6%               | 1.7%                     | 2%                        |
| Industry    | 48%             | 37%            | 28.4%            | 42%               | 41%              | 27.7%                    | 23%                       |
| Service     | 33%             | 42%            | 63.1%            | 25%               | 53%              | 70.6%                    | 75%                       |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

**Freedom House** scores are reported by a non-governmental organization (Freedom House) that ranks countries based on scores for political rights (0-40) and civil liberties (0-60.) Scores of 0 indicate the least freedom. Their overall Freedom Score ranges from 0 (Least Free) to 100 (Most Free.) Freedom House ranks countries as Free, Partially Free or Not Free based on these scores in political rights and civil liberties.

### Freedom of the World 2021 (survey by Freedom House)

The measurements of the different components of political rights and civil liberties allow for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at <https://freedomhouse.org/>

**Governmental transparency** is the ability of citizens to access information about a government's policy making and policy implementation to help hold officials accountable. Increased transparency is an indicator of democracies that have consolidated and are more stable. Increased transparency can lead to believing that **governmental corruption** — in which public officials abuse power for personal benefit— is less problematic.

**Corruption Perception Index** scores are reported by Transparency International which is a non-governmental organization that assesses and ranks the perception of corruption in different countries. Higher scores on the 0-100 scale on this index indicate lower perceptions of corruption.

**Corruption Perception Index** by Transparency International

These scores allow for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries, and this index is available at <https://www.transparency.org/en/>

**The Fragile States Index** (formerly called the Failed States Index) is reported by The Fund for Peace which is a non-governmental organization that assesses and ranks countries based on their potential to weaken due to conflicts and domestic turmoil. The index is comprised of 12 indicators grouped as cohesion indicators, economic indicators, political indicators and social / cross cutting indicators. Countries scoring higher on the 0- 120 point scale are recognized as more fragile states susceptible to instability than countries that score lower in the index.

**2022 Fragile States Index** by The Fund for Peace

These scores allow for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries, and this index is available at <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/>

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

\*\*The United States is not one of the six core countries of AP Comparative Government and Politics. It is added as an example for students to gain a fuller understanding of comparison with these data points.

**PAU— Enduring Understanding:** Political systems and regimes reflect the dynamic balance of power between the government and its citizens.\*

Describe differences between regimes, states, nations, and governments\*

**Political systems** comprise the laws, ideas, and procedures that address who should have authority to rule and what the government's influence on its people and economy should be.\*

- The political system of the People's Republic of China (China) clearly establishes that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has the ultimate power to rule. Its constitution says, "The leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics." Political scientists categorize China as an authoritarian regime as its constitution does not call for national elections and gives the CCP much more influence on its people and its economy than the government in a democratic political system such as the United Kingdom (UK.) After Xi Jinping became China's paramount leader in 2013, Xi was able to consolidate much governing power under his control including when almost all of the 2,980 members of the National People's Congress approved the removal of the presidential term limit rule from its constitution in 2018 allowing Xi to act as president of this authoritarian system indefinitely.
- Iran's political system is categorized as a theocracy since its constitution mandates that a religious leader of Shi'a Islam be its head of state (supreme leader) and that the directly elected president (head of government) also be of the Shi'a faith. Like Russia, Iran is also viewed as a more authoritarian political system despite holding national elections for its president and national legislature (Majles). Iran's unelected (but appointed) supreme leader has tremendous control over guiding policies to uphold the principles of Shi'a Islam which includes powers to limit competition for elected positions in the government of this authoritarian political system.
- Russia's political system centers on a constitution its citizens ratified with a referendum after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. This constitution empowers both a president (head of state) and a national legislature that is led by a prime minister (head of government) to shape Russia's policies. But under the presidencies of Vladimir Putin (1999-2008 + 2012-) the president gained much more authoritarian power to govern than what was established in its constitution. The president also came to lead a dominant political party (United Russia) that faced little competition for governmental positions.
- Nigeria's political system has existed as a constitutional democracy since 1999 with a directly elected president acting as both head of state and head of government as well as an elected national legislature. Even with elections and presidents limited to two terms in office, Nigeria's political system was categorized as leaning toward authoritarianism with a party system dominated by elected presidents from only one party and these presidents having strong control of governing with minimal checks on their executive powers by the legislative and judicial branches. Nigeria's political system had weak protections for journalists and civil society groups that investigated governmental corruption. But Nigeria has had an opposition political party win control of the executive and legislative branches through elections signifying an electoral system that was more democratic than that in Russia or Iran.
- Mexico's constitution of 1917 established a directly elected president acting as both head of state and head of government as well as an elected national legislature. Even with direct, popular elections and presidents limited to a single six-year term in office, Mexico's political system was categorized as leaning toward authoritarianism with a party system dominated by elected presidents from only one party and these presidents having strong control of governing with minimal checks on their executive powers by the legislative and judicial branches. During more authoritarian periods, Mexico's political system had weak protections for journalists and civil society groups that investigated governmental corruption. But Mexico has had two opposition political parties win control of the executive and legislative branches through elections signifying an electoral system that was more democratic than that in Russia or Iran.
- For the United Kingdom, political scientists categorize the UK's political system as being democratic with direct, popular elections determining control of the House of Commons. This elected legislative chamber then selects the UK's prime minister who acts as the country's head of government and its most powerful political leader. But the UK does not have a constitution that establishes its government as a democratic political system. In fact, British governmental ceremonies highlight the role of its unelected monarch as having ultimate authority to rule and to confer powers to the prime minister. The British monarch's actual

powers have been greatly diminished by laws passed by the House of Commons which is actually the most powerful political institution in the UK's system. The reality of how each political system actually governs in the six core countries in AP Comparative Government and Politics can be quite complicated.

**States** are political organizations that combine a permanent population with governing institutions to exercise control over a defined territory with international recognition. \*

**Regimes** refer to the fundamental rules that control access to and the exercise of political power. Regimes typically endure from government to government. A regime can be characterized as democratic or authoritarian based on how it sets rules or makes decisions about how to exercise power. \*

**Government** is the set of institutions or individuals legally empowered to make binding decisions for a state. A government's authority is derived from the state's legitimate right to use power to enforce policies and decisions; the right and power to govern itself without outside interference is a crucial aspect of a state's **sovereignty**. A sovereign state has independent legal authority over a population in a particular territory.\*

| Country         | Regime established                    | Regime type               | Example of governmental change   |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| United Kingdom  | By tradition and Magna Carta (1215)   | Democratic                | PM Johnson to PM Truss (2022) by voluntary resignation   |
| United States** | By revolution and constitution (1789) | Democratic                | President Trump to President Biden (2021) by election  |
| Mexico          | By revolution and constitution (1917) | Democratic / Illiberal    | President Peña Nieto to President López Obrador (2019) by election                                     |
| China           | By revolution (1949) and constitution | Authoritarian             | President Hu to President Xi (2012) by party mandate   |
| Russia          | By constitution (1993)                | Illiberal / Authoritarian | President Putin to President Medvedev (2008) then to President Putin (2012) by term limit and election |
| Iran            | By revolution and constitution (1979) | Authoritarian             | President Rouhani to President Raisi (2021) by term limit and election                                 |
| Nigeria         | By constitution 1999                  | Democratic / Illiberal    | President Buhari to President Tinubu (2023) by election  |

A **nation** is a group of people with commonalities including race, language, religion, ethnicity, political identity and aspirations.\*

Examples of distinct nations within the six core countries in AP Comparative Government and Politics include:

- China: Uighurs, Tibetans, and Han Chinese
- Iran: Persians, Azeris, and Kurds
- Mexico: Mestizo and indigenous peoples
- Russia: Russian, Chechen, Tatar
- Nigeria: Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo
- United Kingdom: Scottish, Irish, English, and Welsh.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)





**PAU— Enduring Understanding:** Political systems and regimes reflect the dynamic balance of power between the government and its citizens.\*

## Describe democracy and authoritarianism\*

Factors that indicate the degree of **democracy** or **authoritarianism** of states include the extent of state adherence to rule of law, such as\*—

- The principle that a state should be governed by the **rule of law** and not arbitrary decisions made by individual government officials.\*

| Country        | Democratic rule of law  | Country | Authoritarian arbitrary decision  |
|----------------|---|---------|---|
| Mexico         | President Peña Nieto leaves office due to constitutional term limits. López Obrador, of a rival party, wins presidency through election (2019)                                | China   | President Xi ends constitutional term limit with nearly unanimous legislative support that allows Xi to extend his rule past 10 years   |
| Nigeria        | National legislature rejected president's attempt to allow third term (2006)  | Iran    | Brute coercion and violent suppression of 2009 election protestors  |
| United Kingdom | Commons voted to prohibit govt's intent to conduct military airstrikes against Syria (2013); Commons rejected prime ministers' initial Brexit EU withdrawal policies in 2019. | Russia  | Support of 2020 referendum that changed constitution allowing Putin to extend his rule; Courts rule that groups supporting dissenter Alexei Navalny are illegal extremist groups. |

- Democracies and authoritarian governments can be distinguished by the degree of state influence on or **control of the media**.\*

| Country        | Influence on media in democracy  | Country | Influence on media in authoritarianism  |
|----------------|--|---------|---|
| Mexico         | Government runs some broadcast outlets but allows political dissent in some privately controlled broadcast and print media. But accusations of inadequate protections for journalists that investigate governmental corruption | China   | Government blocks Internet content of political dissent with the Great Fire Wall; the government owns and controls most broadcast media. Consistent harassment and persecution of journalists that investigate government corruption.   |
| Nigeria        | Government runs some broadcast outlets but allows political dissent in some privately controlled broadcast and print media. But accusations of inadequate protections for journalists that investigate governmental corruption | Iran    | Government blocks Internet content of political dissent; the government owns and controls most broadcast media. Consistent harassment and persecution of journalists that investigate government corruption.  |
| United Kingdom | Government runs some broadcast outlets but allows political dissent in a wide variety of privately controlled broadcast and print media.   | Russia  | Rules regulating the Internet diminish political dissent; the government owns and controls most broadcast media that promote govt policies such as the 2022 invasion of Ukraine. Consistent harassment and persecution of journalists that investigate government corruption. |

- Democracies and authoritarian governments can be distinguished by the degree and practice of **free and fair elections** that allow competition so that an opposition candidate and party can defeat the ruling candidate and party.\*

| Country        | Democratic free and fair elections   | Country | Authoritarian restrictions of free and fair elections  |
|----------------|--|---------|--|
| Mexico         | Vicente Fox of National Action Party (PAN) wins the presidency in 2000 after decades of electoral domination by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI.) Mexico's first transfer of power from one party to a rival party due to election results. | China   | No direct elections for national governmental positions.   |
| Nigeria        | Muhammadu Buhari defeats incumbent president in 2015. This was Nigeria's first transfer of power from one party to a rival party due to election results.  | Iran    | Supreme leader directly and indirectly appoints all of Guardian Council; GC vets (filters) candidates to prevent moderates and political dissidents from running for the national legislature. |
| United Kingdom | Conservative Party won Commons elections in 2010 after 13 years of Labour Party control.   | Russia  | Vladimir Putin was never forced into a second round runoff election by a rival. Won majority of vote in first round in all four presidential elections.  |

- Democracies and authoritarian governments can be distinguished by the degree of **transparency** of governmental decision making for citizens to be able to discover how policies are made and implemented.\*

This transparency can include the treatment of journalists who seek to investigate and report news critical of governmental officials.

- The United Kingdom passed a Freedom of Information Act in 2000 that establishes public access to a wide array of information held by governmental officials. This wide freedom to both access and publish such information contributes to the UK's favorable global rankings by [Transparency International](#).

- Nigeria's government has many media outlets that freely criticize public policies. Nigeria also protects access to public information with its 2011 Freedom of Information Act but many public officials refuse to comply with few ramifications on these refusals. The [Committee to Protect Journalists](#) reports that several journalists were detained, arrested and prosecuted by the national and local governments for their reporting during the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic. In 2021, Nigeria's government attempted to shut down Twitter after President Buhari's tweet about a secessionist movement was removed by the social media platform. The government also threatened to prosecute journalists and activists whose tweeted information was deemed to be critical of the government. An ECOWAS court ruled that such prosecutions would be unlawful interferences on human rights.

- The use of investigative journalism by civil society groups to uncover governmental corruption in China had been growing from 2000-2010. But this form of journalism has been in a noticeable decline during the Xi Jinping presidency. Investigative journalists have found it much more difficult to get their work published, and many have quit the profession as many activists have been harshly punished for not maintaining a "correct political orientation" as ordered by President Xi.

- Journalists can even be endangered in countries, like Mexico, that are trending toward more electoral democracy. From 1992-2020, the [Committee to Protect Journalists](#) reports that 54 journalists were killed in

Mexico and many of these murders were never solved by government officials unwilling to confront violent drug cartels.

- Russia's government has also moved toward a more authoritarian approach to transparency. In addition to tolerating the harassment, assault, and murders of dozens of journalists in Russia, the government has implemented laws to imprison journalists who publish "fake news" and news that "disrespects" the state.

From 1992-2020, the [Committee to Protect Journalists reports](#) that 58 journalists were killed in Russia and many of these murders were never solved by government officials

- Iran uses authoritarian tactics to squash political dissent. [According to the CPI](#), Iran's government has jailed more than 200 journalists since the government's 2009 use of brute repression against advocates of political reforms. Iran's government has also forced the closure of print media outlets for reporting that is deemed critical of the religious rule of Iran.

- The degree of political participation by citizens also differentiates democracies and authoritarian governments.

### Citizen Participation Across Nations (percentages)

| Type of Participation                          | Great Britain | Russia | China | Mexico | Nigeria | Iran   | USA   |
|--|---------------|--------|-------|--------|---------|--------|-------|
| Voter turnout in most recent national election | 67.3%         | 67.54% | -     | 63.43% | 34.75%  | 76.25% | 55.7% |
| Discussed politics with others                 | 46%           | 75%    | 70%   | 58%    | 74%     | 69%    | 74%   |
| Participated in a political party activity     | 3%            | 1%     | 10%   | 5%     | -       | -      | 18%   |
| Participated in an interest group              | 7%            | 2%     | 3%    | 11%    | -       | -      | 36%   |
| Signed a petition                              | 81%           | 12%    | -     | 19%    | 7%      | -      | 81%   |

**Sources:** Election turnout data is percent of registered public for most recent national election. Downloaded from [www.idea.org](http://www.idea.org); 2000-2002 World Values Survey and the 1999 European Values Survey for other statistics. Some of the participation questions were not asked in each survey, and these missing items are noted by a dash in the table. (<https://www.slideshare.net/mardelblue/interest-articulation>)

- The branches of national government in democratic regimes are more likely to be independent of one another than in authoritarian regimes. **Independence of governmental branches** can serve to prevent any one branch from controlling all governmental power.\*

| Country        | Examples of independent branches  | Country | Examples of non-independent branches  |
|----------------|---|---------|---|
| Mexico         | Supreme court has the power of judicial review and constitutional amendments have been implemented to make the system more independent* | China   | National legislature acts as a rubber stamp for expansion of executive power; National People's Congress approved ending term limits for President Xi (2018)  |
| Nigeria        | National legislature rejects president's attempt to allow third term (2006)   | Iran    | National legislature acts as a rubber stamp for expansion of supreme leader's power   |
| United Kingdom | Commons votes against PM Cameron's intent for UK military actions in Syria (2013) and against PM May's Brexit plans (2019)              | Russia  | National legislature acts as a rubber stamp for expansion of executive power; Federation of Council approved military intervention in Crimea (2014) and invasion of Ukraine (2022) with little dissent. |

- Authoritarian regimes include:

**Illiberal democracies** and **hybrid regimes** that hold elections with little competition toward the ruling party and that tend to have diminished civil liberties.

**One-party states** like China in which rival parties are prohibited from controlling governmental power.

**Theocracies** such as Iran that require the state be controlled by leaders of a particular religion.

**Totalitarian governments** that severely limit citizens' rights to movement and free choice of employment.

**Military regimes** such as those that were common in Nigeria between the country's independence and the ratification of its 1999 constitution in which military leaders hold top positions of governing authority.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU— Enduring Understanding:** Political systems and regimes reflect the dynamic balance of power between the government and its citizens.\*

## Explain the process and goals of democratization\*

**Democratization** is the expansion of a population's ability to shape its government's policies. Democratization can also be a transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic regime; while this process can start or temporarily change direction, the process aims to result in the following over time—\*

As part of their democratic transition, Mexico and Nigeria have created **independent election commissions** that attempt to reduce voter fraud and manipulation and enhance electoral competition.\*

- More competition, fairness, and transparency in elections and universal **suffrage** for adult citizens.\*
  - Both Mexico and Nigeria have multiple parties that compete in elections. Both countries have had opposition parties take control after an electoral defeat of the ruling party. Both have guaranteed voting rights for citizens 18 and older.
  - Both Mexico and Nigeria have created **independent election commissions** in their democratic transitions that attempt to reduce voter fraud and manipulation and enhance electoral competition.\* Mexico's National Elections Institute (INE), Nigeria's Independent Electoral Commission (NIEC), and the United Kingdom's Electoral Commission are examples of independent election commissions. China, Iran, and Russia do not have independent election commissions.

Mexico's President López Obrador was upset with the INE after it certified him as losing a close presidential election in 2006 and supported the national legislature's 2023 move to reduce the INE's budget and weaken its enforcement of election laws. This legislation is seen as López Obrador's attempt to reduce the independence and effectiveness of the INE.

- Increased citizen participation in policy-making processes.\*
  - Mexico had a more authoritarian **corporatist system** of interest groups in which the government created organizations for citizens to participate politically. Corporatist interest group systems—similar to what China has created—allow more authoritarian governments to manage participation by citizens. These forms of corporatism limit participation by citizens and any uncertainties about policy advocacy that can come with a more pluralist interest group system. Mexico has transitioned to a **pluralist system** in which citizens can affiliate with more independent interest groups to attempt to shape public policies in national and local government. The United Kingdom's democratic political system features a pluralist system of interest groups. Nigeria's political system also allows a wide degree of pluralism, while interest group activities in Russia and Iran are much more limited because those governments stifle advocacy by groups that criticize those respective governments.
- Greater governmental transparency.\*
  - Both Mexico and Nigeria have passed national Freedom of Information Acts (FOIA) to allow citizens access to more public information. Governmental compliance with providing information based on FOIA is mixed in both countries. Both countries have many media outlets that are allowed to criticize government officials. Journalists in Mexico investigating connections between governmental officials and the international trade of illicit drugs have been at risk of harassment and violence. Journalists in Nigeria faced increased governmental harassment and threats of prosecution while reporting on news stories related to the government's responses to the Covid-19 pandemic and the #EndSARS protests in 2020.
- Protected civil rights and liberties and equal treatment of citizens.\*
  - Both Mexico and Nigeria have national courts and constitutional protections of rights and liberties. However, violence related to drug cartels in Mexico with inadequate governmental responses has reduced the protection of political rights and civil liberties. Journalists in both countries have seen diminished government protection from violence. Nigeria's government has also had difficulty stopping violence

between religious factions in Nigeria that diminish political rights and liberties. Nigeria also allows Sharia law religious courts in northern Nigeria where a majority of citizens practice Islam.

- Establishment of the rule of law.\*

- Both Mexico and Nigeria have had ruling officials replaced by rival party leaders based on electoral defeats. Nigeria's legislature also blocked a president's attempt to allow a third term in office in 2006. These events indicate that both Nigeria and Mexico have political systems with a wider degree of establishing the rule of law than more authoritarian governments like China, Iran and Russia. But significant challenges to the rule of law exist in both Mexico and Nigeria due to pervasive corruption and those governments' inability to prevent violence related to organized crime (Mexico and Nigeria) and violence between different ethnic and religious groups (Nigeria).

**Democratic electoral systems** can accommodate ethnic diversity and increase multiparty competition with rule adjustments, including gender or cultural quotas, proportional representation, and changes in vote thresholds and district boundaries.\*

- Both Nigeria and Mexico have legislative election systems that guarantee representation of different regions and multiple parties. Mexico's political parties also have **gender quotas** to increase female representation in the legislature.\*

In Mexico, political parties began promising to run at least 30% women as candidates in 2003. This quota was increased to 40% in 2009 but parties fell well below this goal until the IFE mandated the quota rules and Mexico's courts supported this mandate. In 2014, the constitution was amended to require the 30% gender quotas for national and local elections. In 2019, women's rights activists in Mexico led a grassroots campaign to have their constitution amended to move toward gender parity in all three branches of government with the hashtag campaign of #ParidadEnTodo (parity in everything.) After Mexico's 2018 legislative elections, women held nearly 50% of the seats in both chambers of the Congress. In 2021, women won a record 7 of the 32 regional governor positions.

Mexico uses a mixed election system for its legislative elections. Its district and state elections guarantee representation for different regions. Its proportional system for some legislative seats guarantees that multiple parties are represented in both its chambers.

Nigeria uses single-member-district systems for each of its two legislative chambers that guarantee representation for different regions in the country.

- Russia also has a mixed electoral system in the Duma that is similar to Mexico's. The Duma's district elections guarantee representation for different regions while its proportional system for some legislative seats guarantees that multiple parties are represented in this legislative chamber. But, unlike Mexico and Nigeria, no opposition party in Russia has ever taken majority control of the national legislature through elections.

Political corruption inhibits democratization—independent judiciaries can reduce such corruption while protecting individual liberties and civil rights.\*

- Reducing corruption can also be connected to the degrees to which countries abide by the rule of law. But some countries, like China, have used courts to crack down on corrupt officials from factions that rival those in charge of China's Communist Party's (CCP) Politburo. The CCP uses the courts to address corruption in this manner to protect political legitimacy but in a manner that has made China's judiciary less independent from the CCP's authority.

Democratization can stall or be reversed; policy changes regarding election rules and civil liberties can support or impede democratization.\*

- The governments of both Mexico and Nigeria struggle to address violence and corruption within their respective countries despite increased democratization of elections and increased media freedoms.

Governmental corruption, along with violence between ethnic and religious factions (Nigeria) and consistent violence by drug cartels (Mexico,) substantially reduces political legitimacy, political rights and civil liberties in countries transitioning from authoritarianism to democracy.

**Democratic consolidation** refers to the process by which a democratic regime matures in terms of election rules, separation of powers, and protection of civil liberties, making it unlikely to revert to authoritarianism without an external shock.\*

- Both Nigeria and Mexico have a degree of democratic consolidation in that both countries had a dominant party that lost power in the executive and legislative branches to a rival party. While the protection of civil liberties can be inconsistent in both countries, this electoral democratic consolidation has been a sign of some increased democratization in the election systems of both Mexico and Nigeria.

Consensus among competing cultural and political groups about governmental policies associated with democratization and economic development can advance the process and make democratization sustainable.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU— Enduring Understanding:** Political systems and regimes reflect the dynamic balance of power between the government and its citizens. \*

Explain sources of power and authority in political systems\*

**Sources of power** and **authority** include constitutions, religions, military forces, political parties, legislatures, and popular support; over time course country (China, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, or the United Kingdom) regimes have been affected by such sources, represented by—\*

The Communist Party's control over China's military, which provided power and authority to maintain regime stability.\*

- The CCP's People's Liberation Army (PLA) won a civil war in 1949 in which Mao Zedong emerged as the revolutionary leader of the People's Republic of China. The PLA is considered to be a political army as its members swear allegiance to the CCP. The General Secretary of the CCP is also designated as the Chair of China's Central Military Commission signifying the CCP's control of the PLA. This is considered to establish civilian control of the military.

China's military has been used in efforts to suppress public dissent such as in the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests and in the dissent by Uighur peoples in the region of Xinjiang during the last 20 years. China, Russia and Iran spend a significantly larger amount of public expenditures toward the military than do Mexico and Nigeria.

The transition of power from dictatorial rule in Iran to a theocracy based on Sharia law after the 1979 Revolution.\*

- After Iranian revolutionaries deposed the Shah of Iran in 1979, the Ayatollah Khomeini guided the creation of a new constitution in which he, as Iran's supreme leader, would implement the Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Vilayat-e Faqih.) This religious oversight of the government ensured Iran as an Islamic theocracy even with the direct election of some government officials.

Another source of power and authority in Iran is the supreme leader's control over Iran's military. This provides power and authority to maintain regime stability including the violent suppression of public dissent against Iran's government in the Green Movement after the 2009 presidential election and in the 2022 violent suppression of a major dissent movement that arose after Mahsa Amini was detained for violating Iran's hijab mandate and died in the law enforcement custody.

Iran, Russia, and China spend a significantly larger amount of public expenditures toward the military than do Mexico and Nigeria.

The transition of power in Nigeria and Mexico to multiparty republics following military rule and single-party dominance, respectively.\*

- After independence from British colonization in 1963, Nigeria struggled to consolidate power in democratically elected leaders. Repeated coups resulted in two extended periods of military rule until the ratification of Nigeria's current constitution. The first peaceful transfer of power from one elected president to another occurred in 2007. Nigeria's first peaceful transfer of power from a president of one party to a president of a rival party occurred in 2015.

Nigeria's military can be a source of the government's power and authority to maintain regime stability including the suppression of political violence related to religious cleavages and environmental degradation of oil production. Nigeria spends a significantly smaller amount of public expenditures toward the military than in Russia, China and Iran.

- After Mexico's revolution, the government created by Mexico's 1917 constitution was dominated by a single party. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) allowed opposing parties to win some legislative elections. But the president is the most powerful figure in Mexico's government, and the PRI did not lose a presidential election to a rival party until 2000. By 2018, three different parties had won power with elected presidents and plus majority control of the national legislature.

Mexico's military can be a source of the government's power and authority to maintain regime stability including the suppression of violence related to drug production and trafficking. Mexico spends a significantly smaller amount of public expenditures toward the military than in Russia, China and Iran.

The political elite's backing of a strong president in Russia, creating a managed democracy with election rules favoring one dominant party—United Russia.\*

- When Vladimir Putin became Russia's president in 1999, there were dozens of parties elected to a highly fractured national legislature. Within eight years of his first two terms as president, Putin helped create United Russia as the dominant party and only three other parties that consistently won some legislative elections. Similar to PRI's dominance in Mexico, none of these other parties has actually rivaled United Russia for power.

Russia's military can be a source of the government's power and authority to maintain regime stability including the invasion of Ukraine and the suppression of violence related to religious cleavages such as terrorism by Islamist separatists in the Caucasus region. Russia, China, and Iran spend a significantly larger amount of public expenditures toward the military than do Mexico and Nigeria.

Constitutional reforms in the United Kingdom that devolved power to multiple parliaments allowing the regime to maintain stability.\*

- The United Kingdom's prime minister is its most powerful governing official who gains office through appointment by the majority party of the House of Commons. Yet, without a constitution, British governmental ceremonies highlight the role of its unelected monarch as having ultimate authority to rule and to confer powers to the prime minister. The British monarch's actual powers have been greatly diminished by the House of Commons due to laws passed by Commons and different historical events that have cemented Commons as the most powerful political institution in the UK's system. Similarly, since 1997, the House of Commons has increasingly devolved local governing powers to regional parliaments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland even without a constitution to guide the division of powers within this unitary system.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)



**PAU**— Enduring Understanding: Political systems and regimes reflect the dynamic balance of power between the government and its citizens.\*

### Change in Power and Authority\*

How a regime chooses to use power in support of sovereignty is determined in large part by its democratic or authoritarian characteristics—democratic regimes can maintain sovereignty using less power than authoritarian regimes.\*

Changes in regimes occur when rules and institutions are replaced either incrementally or suddenly, as a result of elections, coups, or revolutions in which a large portion of the population supports a change in the political system.\*

Governments, including political officeholders, can be changed more frequently and easily than regimes through the relatively peaceful process of elections, appointments, and line of succession. However, governments also change by more violent means, such as revolutions or coups d'état, represented by such violent transitions in Iran and Nigeria.\*

| Country         | Regime established                    | Example of governmental change  |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| United Kingdom  | By tradition and Magna Carta (1215)   | PM Johnson to PM Truss and PM Truss to PM Sunak (2022) by voluntary resignation                       |
| United States** | By revolution and constitution (1789) | President Trump to President Biden (2021) by election   |
| Mexico          | By revolution and constitution (1917) | President Peña Nieto to President López Obrador (2019) by term limit + election                       |
| China           | By revolution (1949) and constitution | President Hu to President Xi (2012) by party mandate  |
| Russia          | By constitution (1993)                | President Putin to President Medvedev (2008) then Medvedev to Putin (2012) by term limit and election |
| Iran            | By revolution and constitution (1979) | President Rouhani to President Raisi (2021) by term limit and election                                |
| Nigeria         | By constitution 1999                  | President Buhari to President Tinubu (2023) by term limit and election                                |

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU—** Enduring Understanding: Distribution of power and authority and the influence of internal and external actors affect regime stability.\*

Describe federal and unitary systems among course countries; Explain the purposes of adopting a federal or unitary system\*

**Federal states** like Mexico, Nigeria, and Russia divide power among different levels of government to confer a degree of local autonomy in supplying social and educational services, while also reserving powers for the national government. **Unitary states** like China, Iran, and the United Kingdom concentrate power at the national level with more uniform policies and potentially more efficient policy making.\*

- Both the constitutions of Nigeria and Mexico establish systems of federalism since both guarantee state governments in the respective countries certain powers like state tax revenue. In Nigeria during the Covid-19 pandemic, activists tried to highlight the widely different relief efforts that different state governments in Nigeria made available (or didn't make available) to their respective populations.

In Mexico, policies related to the legalization of abortion and the criminal enforcement of abortion laws had varied by state. Mexico City's government decriminalized some abortion procedures starting in 2007 by allowing women to access abortion up to the first 12 weeks of a pregnancy. But in more conservative states in Mexico, abortion was illegal and only allowed for pregnancies that resulted from rape. In 2021, Mexico's Supreme Court of Justice ruled that state governments cannot sentence people to jail for accessing or providing abortion procedures.

- The United Kingdom has no constitutional guarantee of distributing powers to regional governments. Any powers devolved to regional governments of the United Kingdom have been granted by enacted policy of the national legislature. This establishes the United Kingdom as a unitary government although devolution of power to regional governments means that different regions can have policy differences in areas such as education and local transportation.

The 2023 dispute about gender recognition policies between Scotland's regional government and the central government of the UK is an example of policy tensions that can be created by devolving powers to regional governments. Scotland's parliament overwhelmingly approved a bill creating an expedited process of governmental recognition of a person's changed gender that was different from policies in other regions of the UK. The UK's central government then used its power to block the bill from gaining "royal ascent" to become law expressing a preference for a consistent and equitable gender recognition policy across the different regions of the UK.

The degree to which power is centralized or decentralized can change over time in both federal and unitary states, and in many cases reflects a state response to internal and external actors that include ethnic cleavages and operations of supranational organizations and other countries.\*

- **Multiethnic states** are countries that are comprised of a population of a variety of ethnic backgrounds

- Although Russia's constitution establishes federalism with protected powers of regional governments, President Putin and Russia's national government centralized powers after a 2004 terrorist attack on school children in the North Caucasus region of Russia. As a result of this terrorist attack, the national government strengthened control over security in Russia's regions and ended the direct election of the heads of Russia's regional governments in favor of a process that appointed these leaders with the approval of the national government. For example, Russia's central government allowed the multiethnic region of the Chechen Republic to be ruled by an authoritarian leader Ramzan Kadyrov since 2011. Russia's central government has allowed Kadyrov to implement Sharia Law in the Chechen Republic and use brute repression to maintain his authority in this republic in order for this multiethnic republic to stay as part of the Russian state.

- Russia returned to allow regional governors to start being elected in 2012. The 2018 governor election of the Liberal Democratic Party's Sergei Furgal in Khabarovsk (a region in Siberia) showed that these elections could result in governors from parties other than the dominant United Russia winning power. But in 2020,

The region was the least supportive of the 2020 referendum on constitutional changes that allowed for the extension of Putin's leadership. Furgal was arrested by authorities of the central government due to his suspected connection with several businessmen who were murdered in 2004 and 2005. In response, mass demonstrations took place in 2020 in this region to oppose Putin and the central government's intervention in the region's politics.

- In 2022, Putin announced the partial military mobilization in Russia after the military's initial invasion of Ukraine failed and resulted in heavy casualties among Russia's soldiers. Hundreds of thousands of men were forced into conscription based on this partial mobilization with regional governments (and some employers) responsible for significant portions of this policy implementation.

- China is a unitary government but supposedly has autonomous regions and constitutional protections of language and religious rights of ethnic minority residents in those regions such as for Uighur Muslims in Xinjiang and Tibetan Buddhists in Tibet. Despite stated regional autonomy, China's national government maintains its sovereignty in those regions and uses coercion and brute repression to minimize the chances that separatist movements will threaten China's sovereignty in those multiethnic regions. China's Communist Party (CCP) often promotes young leaders in national government offices based on how they govern in regional government offices. The Covid-19 pandemic offered a glimpse of this dynamic with CCP leaders of different municipal governments in charge of implementing strict covid-zero policies with brute coercion used in forced lockdowns of major cities like Shanghai for weeks-long periods. Major protests erupted against these strict lockdown policies in different cities and industrial areas in 2022 that resulted in the national CCP relaxing its strict covid precautionary policies such as mandatory covid testing before entering shopping malls and traveling between different regions in China.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**— Enduring Understanding: Political legitimacy reinforces the sovereignty of the state.\*

Describe the sources of political legitimacy for different types of regimes among course countries\*

**Legitimacy** refers to whether a government's constituents believe their government has the right to use power in the way they do. Legitimacy confers authority on and can increase the power of a regime and government.\*

**Sources of legitimacy** for both democratic and authoritarian regimes can include popular elections, as well as constitutional provisions. Other sources of legitimacy include nationalism, tradition, governmental effectiveness, economic growth, ideology, religious heritage and organizations, and the dominant political party's endorsement. \*

- Examples of primary sources of political legitimacy in the core countries of AP Comparative and Politics include:

- In China, the role of its Communist Party (CCP) in its 1949 revolution and the increase of societal order, economic growth and nationalism from the CCP's rule.

- In Iran, the role of Shi'a Islam and its religious leaders in its 1979 revolution and its constitution's feature of an elected theocracy that is supposed to ensure its policies uphold the principles of Shi'a Islam. The National Iranian Oil Company's (NIOC) full nationalization of the petroleum industry without international partners starting after the revolution in 1979 can also be considered as a source of political legitimacy in Iran.

- In Mexico, its constitution has provided the framework for Mexico's government and election of federal officials since 1917. The full nationalization of Mexico's petroleum industry with PEMEX starting in 1938 can also be considered as a source of political legitimacy in Mexico.

- In Nigeria, its 20<sup>th</sup> century independence movement from British colonialism and its constitution has provided the framework for Nigeria's government and election of federal officials since 1999.
- In Russia, Vladimir Putin built a stronger state that increased societal order, economic growth and nationalism since he gained power in 1999.
- In the United Kingdom, a centuries-long tradition of a constitutional monarchy in which a democratically elected House of Commons makes policies and limits the powers of the monarch.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**— Enduring Understanding: Political legitimacy reinforces the sovereignty of the state.\*

### Explain how governments maintain legitimacy\*

Governments maintain legitimacy through a variety of processes or factors, including policy effectiveness, **political efficacy**, tradition, charismatic leadership, and institutionalized laws.\*

- In Iran, the 1979 revolution empowered a religious leadership and its constitution features an elected theocracy that is supposed to ensure its policies uphold the principles of Shi'a Islam. Under the theory of vilayet-e- faqih, Iran's supreme leader ensures that all aspects of the government uphold Shi'a Islam. The National Iranian Oil Company's (NIOC) full nationalization of the petroleum industry without international partners starting after the revolution in 1979 can be seen as an example of how government officials have used economic policy to maintain legitimacy.
- In Mexico, the government promotes nationalism and pride in Mexico's early 20<sup>th</sup> century revolution that is seen as a precursor to the socialist revolutions in Russia and China. Governmental leaders of Mexico's different parties use this revolutionary history to tout policies intended to make Mexico's economy stronger against the influence of the economy and governmental influence of the United States. The nationalization of oil with PEMEX in 1938 can be seen as an example of how government officials have used economic policy to maintain legitimacy.
- In Nigeria, the country has the largest population (200+ million) and the largest economy in Africa. Despite widespread poverty and violence related to religious cleavages, Nigeria maintains relatively sophisticated healthcare and public service infrastructures as compared to neighboring countries in West Africa. Nigeria's 20<sup>th</sup> century independence movement from British colonialism continues to be used as a source of legitimacy. Despite a history of coups and military governments after its independence, the continuation of its 1999 constitution and the 2015 election of President Buhari as the first peaceful transfer of power from one party to a rival party have been used to maintain legitimacy in Nigeria.
- In Russia, Vladimir Putin has been considered as an example of a charismatic leader who has increased regime stability by consolidating power and consistently invoking Russian nationalism for policy changes that have reduced civil liberties and democratic competition since he came to power in 1999. This increased political stability that emerged from the chaotic transition after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the image of Russia standing up to outside influences have been used to maintain legitimacy in Russia.

- In the United Kingdom, a centuries-long tradition of a constitutional monarchy in which a democratically elected House of Commons makes policies and limits the powers of the monarch helps maintain legitimacy. But the monarch has also been used as a symbol of legitimacy as seen in 2023 with the coronation of King Charles III who ascended to the monarchy upon the 2022 death of Queen Elizabeth II. This symbolic legitimacy was also evident in 2020 when Queen Elizabeth II delivered a televised speech intended to ease British concerns about the Covid-19 pandemic as Prime Minister Boris Johnson was hospitalized with the disease.

Peaceful resolution of conflicts, peaceful transfer of power, reduced governmental corruption, and economic development can reinforce legitimacy.\*

- In China, the Communist Party has tried to position at least one delegate from each of China's 55 officially recognized ethnic groups in the 2,980-member National People's Congress as a symbol of equitable representation intended to bolster political legitimacy.
- In the United Kingdom, the death of Queen Elizabeth II in 2022 and the ascension of King Charles III as the new monarch featured different ceremonies in the UK's four nations to maintain legitimacy by signifying the transfer of the monarch's power as sovereign ruler in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

An increase in corruption, reduced electoral competition, and serious problems (such as a poor economy or social conflicts) can all undermine legitimacy.\*

- Examples of undermined political legitimacy in the core countries of AP Comparative and Politics include:

- Mass protests against electoral fraud in Iran (2009) and Russia (2011-12.)
- In Iran, major protests erupted in 2022 against enforcement of government mandates for women to wear hijabs after Mahsa Amini was detained for violating Iran's hijab mandate and died in the law enforcement custody. These protests resulted in Iran's president and head of the judiciary both expressing public condolences about Amini's death and pledging to investigate the allegations of illegal abuse by the Guidance Patrols that monitor public spaces for violations of religious dress mandates. But law enforcement authorities used violence against protestors with reports of hundreds killed and dozens of prominent women's right activists arrested in the government's response to try to prevent its legitimacy from being undermined.
- Wave of Boko Haram terrorist violence starting in 2009 that led to the electoral defeat of incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan in 2015.
- At least 5,000 people died in the 1985 earthquake in Mexico City revealing the effects of PRI corruption and inadequacy to respond to natural disasters. PRI used blatant electoral fraud to win the next presidential election as competition from rival parties increased.
- President Xi Jinping has used courts and corruption charges to punish nearly 1,000,000 government officials from rival factions within the CCP since 2013. Officials have also increased punishment of activists and dissidents due to concerns about social unrest resulting from slowing economic growth.
- In China, major protests erupted in 2022 against strict covid-19 lockdown policies in different cities and industrial areas. These protests resulted in the national CCP relaxing some of its strictest covid precautionary policies such as mandatory covid testing before entering shopping malls and traveling between different regions in China.
- Majority of UK citizens voted to leave the European Union in the 2016 referendum. Also known as Brexit, the government led by the Conservative party struggled with how to accomplish this policy outcome until Commons passed Prime Minister Boris Johnson's withdrawal agreement in Jan., 2020 and the government settled on the EU-U.K. Trade and Cooperation Agreement that started on Jan. 1, 2021.

**Devolution** and delegation of power to regional governments can enhance or weaken legitimacy, creating both opportunities for and obstacles to resolving social, political, and economic issues by—\*

Promoting policy innovation, matching policies to local needs, improving policies through competition, increasing political participation, checking central power, and allowing better representation of religious/ethnic/minority groups.\*

Creating contradictory policies, potentially making policy implementation more complicated and inefficient, allowing inequality between regions, increasing competition for resources, and exacerbating ethnic and local tensions.\*

Questions about the integrity of election results across countries can lead to protests that may weaken legitimacy and any ongoing democratization processes.\*

- Mexico's dominant party (PRI) used blatant electoral fraud to win the 1988 presidential election as competition from rival parties increased. This led to reforms including secret balloting, national voter ID cards, independent electoral commission and presidential debates that increased electoral competition against PRI.
- Mass protests "Green Movement" against electoral fraud in Iran (2009) resulted in sweeping oppression by Iran's government toward protestors and rival political leaders. The government also increased its monitoring of the Internet as a way to quash political dissent.
- Mass protests against electoral fraud in Russia (2011-12) resulted in many arrests of leaders and violent confrontations with police and security personnel. Russia's government passed laws to suppress the criticism of the government and organization of protests with the Internet. The scale of protests against the government diminished as Russia's military intervention in Ukraine increased and along with increased national support for President Putin's opposition to foreign interference with Russia's regional influence. Large protests appeared in 2020 regarding the referendum on constitutional changes that allowed for the extension of Putin's leadership. Also in 2020, major regional protests occurred in Siberia when a popularly elected governor (Sergei Furgal) was arrested and removed from office by authorities of Russia's central government.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**— Enduring Understanding: Political legitimacy reinforces the sovereignty of the state.\*

Explain how internal actors influence and interact with state authority and either enhance or threaten stability\*

Internal actors can interact with governments to bolster or undermine regime **stability** and rule of law, represented by—\*

Contrasting methods to combat political corruption among the six course countries. \*

- The governments of the United Kingdom, Mexico and Nigeria have all attempted to address and reduce corruption by passing freedom of information acts to allow the public and journalists to access governmental information even if that information could be used by critics of the government.

In 2021, Nigeria's government attempted to shut down Twitter after President Buhari's tweet about a secessionist movement was removed by the social media platform. The government also threatened to prosecute journalists and activists whose tweeted information was deemed to be critical of the government. An ECOWAS court ruled that such prosecutions would be unlawful interferences on human rights.

Mexico's President López Obrador canceled contracts for the construction of Mexico City's new international airport when he became president in 2019. The airport construction was more than half completed. But López Obrador was highly critical of the multi-billion dollar project that he had categorized as corrupt business deals made by his predecessor that were enriching powerful business leaders. López Obrador ordered that new governmental monies be directed to expand a military airport near Mexico City that could be used for commercial purposes. This exemplified the trust that López Obrador believed Mexico's population trusted the military being in charge of a large infrastructure project rather than the public-private partnership his predecessor had initiated for the airport expansion.

- President Xi Jinping has used courts and corruption charges to punish nearly 1,000,000 government officials from rival factions within the CCP since 2013. This has allowed Xi to both build an image of the government working to reduce corruption by public officials and to consolidate his power by facing less internal opposition from rivals on the CCP Politburo

State responses to separatist group violence, drug trafficking, and discrimination based on gender or religious differences in Iran, Mexico, and Nigeria.\*

- Iran's constitution mandates the reservation of a few seats in the national legislature (Majles) for candidates from certain religious minority groups. Christians and Jews are two of the groups that have guaranteed representation as a way for the government to show it protects some groups' religious freedoms as stated in its constitution.

- While allowing women to vote and be licensed drivers long before some other countries in the Middle East, Iran still draws criticism by human rights activists against its gender discrimination policies. Women had grown to be a significantly higher proportion of university students and were earning higher grades than male students. In response, Iran's government has pressured universities since 2013 to limit women from studying STEM majors at university. Some universities, like Iran's Oil Industry University, ban women from attending.

- Major protests erupted in 2022 against enforcement of government mandates for women to wear hijabs after Mahsa Amini was detained for violating Iran's hijab mandate and died in the law enforcement custody. Law enforcement authorities used violence against protestors with reports of hundreds killed and dozens of prominent women's right activists arrested in the government's response.

- In Mexico, the national government and local governments have struggled to reduce high-profile violence by drug cartels since 2006. This undermines governmental stability and rule of law in Mexico. In 2018, Mexico had more than 33,000 murders which was a 33% increase in murders from 2017 with the previous record of more than 25,000 murders. A 2014 mass kidnapping and murders of more than 40 college students ("Missing 43") in Iguala, Mexico revealed collusion between local law enforcement officials and drug cartels



to kidnap, kill, and cover up the murders. Mass protests took place against national governmental officials for not addressing the corruption and crime of local governments working with drug cartels in response to this 2014 mass kidnapping and murders in Iguala. A deputy police chief was prosecuted and imprisoned for his role in the disappearances but the drug boss was arrested then later released by the local court.

- In Nigeria, Boko Haram and Islamic separatist groups have killed tens of thousands of Nigerians since 2009. Boko Haram's intent was to create an Islamic theocracy in northern Nigeria and used acts of terrorism to try to accomplish this goal. While Nigeria's national military and President Buhari claimed that Boko Haram had been defeated in 2015, the group is still linked to violent terrorist acts that continue in Nigeria.

- Instability related to significant domestic violence is reflected in the relatively high Fragile State Index scores of Mexico and Nigeria as compared to the United Kingdom.

**2012 Fragile States Index** by The Fund for Peace

| Country         | Fragile States Index (1-120) | Change from previous year | Fragile States Index (Rank of 179) |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| United Kingdom  | 40.6                         | -.9                       | 150                                |
| United States** | 46.6                         | 2                         | 140                                |
| Mexico          | 70.3                         | .4                        | 84                                 |
| China           | 66.9                         | -2                        | 98                                 |
| Russia          | 72.6                         | -1                        | 75                                 |
| Iran            | 84.1                         | -.4                       | 39                                 |
| Nigeria         | 97.2                         | -.8                       | 16                                 |

<http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/>

Varied state responses to mass protest movements that oppose governmental policies or their equal enforcement.\*

- Mass protests "Green Movement" against electoral fraud in Iran (2009) resulted in sweeping oppression by Iran's government toward protestors and rival political leaders. The government also increased its monitoring of the Internet as a way to quash political dissent. Government security forces allowed counter protests in support of the government to harass and attack opponents.

In 2019, Iran's government reduced government spending on fuel subsidies meant to lower fuel prices. When gas prices increased between 50-200%, mass protests took place against this austerity policy. Some reports indicate that up to 1,500 Iranians were killed as the government moved to suppress these protests in 2019 and into 2020.

- Nigeria's #EndSARS social movement started in 2020 as protests against the abusive tactics by Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squads that have been often accused of violence and corrupt practices. President Buhari pledged to dismantle the special police teams that had been created in 1992 to lower acts of street crime but several organizers of the protests were accused of financial terrorism and had their bank accounts frozen by Nigeria's government. And more than 100 people were killed by security group attacks on protestors in Lagos.

- Mass protests against electoral fraud in Russia (2011-12) resulted in hundreds of arrests of leaders and violent confrontations with police and security personnel. Government security forces allowed counter protests in support of the government to harass and attack opponents. In response to large protests, Russia's government has passed laws to suppress the criticism of the government and organization of protests with the Internet.

- The 1989 Tiananmen Square protest movement in China started with students calling for democratic reforms following the government's movement toward neoliberal economic reforms in some of China's economic sectors. As the size of the protests grew, factions within the CCP opposed to democratic reforms chose to violently suppress the protests. Estimates of the death toll from the crackdown on protests range from 300 to more than 10,000 in what some Chinese call the "June 4<sup>th</sup> Incident." Any discussions of democratic political reforms in China were halted and CCP Politburo members who supported the protests were removed from power. China's current leadership denies that the protests occurred and blocks any reference to the protests and crackdown on the Internet in China.

After the 2009 protests and riots in Xinjiang by Uighurs, China implemented re-education camps in this predominantly Muslim province for political re-education and political socialization. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim Uighurs are detained in these camps that a government official has described as being similar to "boarding schools." While detained, Muslim Uighurs are given vocational training while they are indoctrinated on learning the Chinese language and obeying laws to avoid becoming involved in terrorism and protest movements related to Uighur separatists seeking the region's independence from China.

- In the United Kingdom, tens of thousands of students engaged in mass protests in 2010 against the Conservative Party's budget austerity cuts that included tuition increases for some university students. The government did not reverse its budget policies. The protests took place across the United Kingdom and there were instances of violence initiated by both police and protestors. No deaths resulted. Some injured citizens were able to win lawsuits for injuries from police abuse during these protests.

In 2020, thousands of protestors marched in cities across the UK in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter protests in the United States.

State authorities of different regime types attempt to limit the influence of divisive and violent actors in their countries to attract more private capital and foreign direct investment and to improve economic growth.\*

- Inability to reduce crime related to drug cartels can diminish political legitimacy in Mexico as well as impact vital economic industries. Mexico's tourism centers grow increasingly worried that crime related to drug cartels will reduce visits by foreigners. And drug cartels have increasingly targeted Mexico's gas and oil lines to steal fuel.

Across the course countries, internal reform pressure from citizen protest groups and civil society can lead to the creation of new political institutions or policies to protect civil liberties, improve transparency, address election fairness and media bias, limit corruption, and ensure equality under law. \*

- The governments of the United Kingdom, Mexico and Nigeria have all attempted to address and reduce corruption by passing freedom of information acts to allow the public and journalists to access governmental information even if that information could be used by critics of the government.

- Mexico's government created its National Electoral Institute (INE) in 1990 to try to ensure fair elections after PRI used widespread electoral fraud to steal the 1988 presidential election from a rival party. Nigeria has had its Independent National Electoral Commission since 1998 prior to elections under its current constitution.

Mexico's President López Obrador was upset with the INE after it certified him as losing a close presidential election in 2006 and supported the national legislature's 2023 move to reduce the INE's budget and weaken its enforcement of election laws. This legislation is seen as López Obrador's attempt to reduce the independence and effectiveness of the INE.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

# AP CompGov: Glossary

## Unit 1: Political Systems, Regimes, and Governments

**Empirical data** is fact-based information from observation or experimentation\*

**Normative statement** is a value or opinion statement that cannot be proven or disproven. For example, a normative statement about Russian politics is that “Putin should not have returned to become Russia’s president in 2012.”

**Quantitative data** information that can be measured with numbers

**Qualitative data** is information that is difficult to measure including sources such as speeches, foundational documents, political cartoons, maps and political commentaries.\*

**Correlation** exists when there is an association between two or more variables\*

**Causation** Causal relationships are difficult to determine with certainty in comparative politics, as often there are numerous variables that potentially influence political policies and/or regime stability, with no way to isolate and demonstrate which is producing the change

**Human Development Index (HDI)** which comes from the United Nations Development Programme as “a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development” including statistics about life expectancy, amount of schooling, and income\*

**Gross domestic product (GDP)** which is the market value of goods and services produced over a certain time in a country. GDP can depict the overall all size of a national economy\*

**GDP per capita** can reflect the size of the national economy in comparison with the population size.\*

**GDP growth rate** shows the rate of national economic expansion.\*

**The Gini index** shows income inequality within a country. A Gini of 100% indicates perfect inequality whereas a Gini of 0% indicates perfect equality.\*

**Freedom House** scores are reported by a non-governmental organization (Freedom House) that ranks countries based on scores for political rights and civil liberties\*

**Governmental transparency** is the ability of citizens to access information about a government’s policy making and policy implementation to help hold officials accountable.

**Governmental corruption** —when public officials abuse power for personal benefit

**The Fragile States Index** (formerly called the Failed States Index) is reported by The Fund for Peace which is a non-governmental organization that assesses and ranks countries based on their potential to weaken due to conflicts and domestic turmoil.\*

**Political systems** comprise the laws, ideas, and procedures that address who should have authority to rule and what the government’s influence on its people and economy should be.\*

**States** are political organizations that combine a permanent population with governing institutions to exercise control over a defined territory with international recognition\*

**Regimes** refer to the fundamental rules that control access to and the exercise of political power. Regimes typically endure from government to government\*

**Government** is the set of institutions or individuals legally empowered to make binding decisions for a state\*

**Sovereignty** is the independent legal authority over a population in a particular territory.\*

**Nation** is a group of people with commonalities including race, language, religion, ethnicity, political identity and aspirations\*

**Rule of law** is the principle that a state should be governed by known laws and not arbitrary decisions made by individual government officials\*

**Free and fair elections** allow competition so that an opposition candidate and party can defeat the ruling candidate and party\*

**Independence of governmental branches** prevents any one branch from controlling all governmental power\*

**Independent election commissions** attempt to reduce voter fraud and manipulation and enhance electoral competition\*

**Suffrage** is a synonym for voting rights. Universal suffrage means that every citizen above a certain age is legally eligible to vote.\*

**Civil Rights** is the protection of groups of citizens from discrimination by the government or other individuals

**Civil Liberties** is an individual's protection against abuse of powers by the government

**Corporatist system** government created and supported interest groups (typically for labor groups, business owners, and agricultural workers) that become the government's preferred linkage institutions for citizen participation\*

**Pluralist system** citizens can affiliate with more independent interest group to attempt to shape public policies\*

**Democratic electoral systems** accommodate ethnic diversity and increase multiparty competition with rule adjustments, including gender or cultural quotas, proportional representation, and changes in vote thresholds and district boundaries.\*

**Gender quotas** governmental or party rules intended to increase female representation in legislatures

**Democracy** or **authoritarianism** of states include the extent of state adherence to rule of law; the degree of governmental influence on or control of the media; degree and practice of free and fair elections; degree of transparency of governmental decision making; the degree of political participation by citizens; and the degree of independence of governmental branches.\*

**Illiberal democracies** and **hybrid regimes** hold elections with little competition toward the ruling party and that tend to have diminished civil liberties.\*

**One-party states** when rival parties are prohibited from controlling governmental power.\*

**Theocracies** require the state to be controlled by leaders of a particular religion.\*

**Totalitarian governments** authoritarian governments that severely limit citizens' rights to movement and free choice of employment.\*

**Military regimes** when military leaders hold top positions of governing authority.\*

**political efficacy** citizens' belief that their political participation impacts the shaping of governmental policies

**Democratization** is a transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic regime; the transition process can start or temporarily change direction, but typically moves toward more competition, fairness, and transparency in elections; increased citizen participation in policy-making processes; universal suffrage for adult citizens; greater governmental transparency; protected civil rights and liberties; equal treatment of citizens; and establishment of the rule of law.\*

**Coup** a sudden and illegal removal of a government and seizure of its powers by an elite faction typically allied with military and security leaders.

**Revolution** the overthrow and replacement of a political system with the support of a large portion of the country's population

**Democratic consolidation** is the process by which a democratic regime matures in terms of election rules, separation of powers, and protection of civil liberties, making it unlikely to revert to authoritarianism without an external shock\*

**Power** ability of the state to influence the conduct of individuals and organizations within the state

**Authority** state's legitimate right to enforce a power

**Sources of power** and **authority** include constitutions, religions, military forces, political parties, legislatures, and popular support\*

**Federal states** divide power among different levels of government to confer a degree of local autonomy in supplying social and educational services, while also reserving powers for the national government.\*

**Unitary states** concentrate power at the national level with more uniform policies and potentially more efficient policy making\*

**Devolution** is the delegation of power to regional governments that can enhance or weaken legitimacy; can create both opportunities for as well as obstacles to resolving social, political, and economic issues\*

**Multiethnic states** are countries that are comprised of a population of a variety of ethnic backgrounds

**Legitimacy** refers to whether a government's constituents believe their government has the right to use power in the way they do. Legitimacy confers authority on and can increase the power of a regime and government\*

**Sources of legitimacy** can include popular elections, constitutional provisions, nationalism, tradition, governmental effectiveness, economic growth, ideology, religious heritage and organizations, and the dominant political party's endorsement\*

**Political stability** – the ability of a government to consistently provide services that meet the basic needs of most of the population to foster the public's confidence in the institutions of the state

**Coercion** – the use of government force to guide citizen behavior and actions. Can be as small as a citation and small fine to as large as brute force and violence.

Citizen U Presents:

## **Comparing Power— An Appraisal of Comparative Government and Politics**

AP Comparative and Politics Curriculum (Fall, 2023)

**The AP 6 Countries:** The six countries students are expected to study in AP Comparative Government and Politics each have distinct political institutions that have changed with the political history of each country.

### **The People's Republic of China**

Studying China's political system offers students an opportunity to see how an authoritarian political system governing a country with the world's largest population has adapted its economic policies to help lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty.

The history of government in China goes back more than 2,000 years with imperial rule and the first Qin dynasty from which the name China originates. The Qing Empire was the last imperial dynasty and established a territory for what is much of the contemporary People's Republic of China. When dynastic rule in China ended with the 1912 establishment of the Republic of China, it was the most populated country in the world with more than 400 million people. Today, China is still the world's most populated country with more than 1.4 billion people.

China's Communist Party (CCP) was first established in 1921 when the dominant party in the Republic of China was the Nationalist Party of China (Kuomintang or KMT). Leadership of the Nationalist Party increasingly saw the CCP as a threat to its power and used brute repression to try to eliminate the CCP as an opposing party. In these militaristic struggles between the Nationalists and CCP, Mao Zedong rose in leadership status within the CCP. During the 1930s Long March military retreat of the CCP's People's Liberation Army (PLA) away from Nationalist forces, Mao gained the title of Chairman of China's Communist Party and would retain that title until he died in 1976. Both the Nationalist and PLA forces fought against Japan's military occupation of northern China and the Manchuria region from 1937-1945.

In 1949, when the PLA defeated the Nationalists in a civil war, the CCP established mainland China as the People's Republic of China ruled by Mao, mandated one-party rule by the Communist Party, and held no direct elections for any national office. (The Nationalists maintained political control over the island of Taiwan while the People's Republic of China still prioritized its territorial claims to the island of Taiwan.) The structure of the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) was formally established with its first constitution in 1954 that called for the National People's Congress (NPC) as a unicameral legislature to be the government's most powerful institution. But the NPC never did really hold this top level of governing power despite its supposed constitutional authority. Mao held the ultimate power in this system in his role as Chairman of the CCP leading the ultra powerful Communist Party's Politburo Standing Committee until his death. In this position, Mao directed the CCP's PLA and was more powerful than both the constitution's president who acted as head of state and the constitution's premier who acted as head of government in charge of the bureaucracy's implementation of policies.

Mao's power within the CCP was reduced as a result of his Great Leap Forward program from 1958-1962 that attempted to radically consolidate agricultural production and move the masses of China's population into industrial production. Tens of millions of deaths in China were later attributed to this totalitarian economic program. But Mao was able to return to heightened powers in the CCP during China's Cultural Revolution that lasted from 1966 until his death in 1976. This was a period in which Mao inspired Chinese students and other young followers to organize mobs of Red Guard units to punish CCP leaders, teachers, doctors and millions of other people deemed to be promoters of capitalism and not supportive enough of Mao's radical vision for totalitarian socialism. Deng Xiaoping was one of the leaders who had survived being punished and purged during this Cultural Revolution. After Mao's death, Deng rose to become the paramount leader in the CCP and embraced some moderation of economic policies that allowed some economic liberalization to ease strict policies against private ownership, foreign direct investment, and global trade. (These economic policies that allowed some economic liberalization while retaining heavy state controls over most of the economy helped lift hundreds of millions of people in China out of abject poverty.) Deng did not hold the title of president but was China's commander in chief as the Chair of the Central Military Commission during a portion of his role as the highest leader of the CCP. Deng supported the use of military force by the army to violently suppress mass protests during the 1989 Tiananmen social movement when hundreds of thousands of Chinese activists publicly called for more democratization reforms of China's authoritarian political system to coincide with economic reforms.

After Deng retired from power in 1992, more limits were placed on the power of the subsequent paramount leaders. The constitution made it apparent that the National People's Congress (NPC) would select the president, but these top leadership changes were decided behind closed doors among members of the CCP's Politburo and the Politburo's elite Standing

Committee members. A top leader would be selected as General Secretary of the CCP then named as president by the NPC and then appointed Chair of the Central Military Commission to be commander in chief over the course of a year to up to three years if the Politburo trusted him to become the paramount leader. The constitution established a 10-year limit (two 5-year terms) for presidents. Two different men —Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao— acted as paramount leaders with the three titles and then stepped down from this role adhering to the constitution's term limit for president.

Then Xi Jinping became China's paramount leader in 2013. Xi was able to heighten his governmental and party powers as Xi and his allies used governmental courts to punish nearly 1,000,000 government officials with accusations of corruption. This process greatly diminished the power of rival factions within the CCP against Xi and his political allies. An example of this consolidation of Xi's powers was that in 2018 almost all of the 2,980 members of the National People's Congress approved the removal of the presidential term limit rule from its constitution allowing Xi to act as president indefinitely.

The NPC has the constitutional power to remove a president, but this has never been done. The NPC approves the president's nomination of a premier of the State Council as China's head of government to lead the civil service bureaucracy's implementation of policies. The NPC is a legislature with little evidence of independence as the NPC has never rejected a president's nominee to be premier and always approves a president's legislative agenda to legitimize the executive's policies. The NPC only meets for two weeks a year. During the other times, the NPC's Standing Committee sets the legislative agenda, supervises NPC member elections, and interprets the constitution and laws when needed.

The PRC does have courts, but these are not considered to be part of an independent judiciary because the CCP controls most judicial appointments and judges don't use power to curtail real power of the CCP or the central government. This means that China is considered to be a rule by law system (instead of rule of law) in which the legal system is used to suppress political opponents to the CCP and its leaders.

The PRC's constitution does guarantee a one-party system with the CCP as the sole holder of political powers. The constitution includes a mandate that, "The leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics." China's government allows eight other political parties to exist and hold a relatively few seats in the NPC to give an image of broader political discussions and consultation in China. But the constitution is clear that the CCP is superior with the statement that, "The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation led by the Communist Party of China will exist and develop for a long time to come."

Efforts for democratization reforms of China's authoritarian system have not been allowed by China's government since the violent suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen Movement. China's constitution still prohibits any direct elections to national office and the government has tremendous ability to restrict civil liberties of the population such as suppressing protests against the CCP, expanding a social credit system that links financial incentives to social behaviors the government prefers, and by suppressing the rights of Uyghur peoples to freely assemble in the predominantly Muslim region of Xinjiang.

China's policies to restrict family size reflect how its authoritarian government implemented then changed some policies. From 1980-2015, China had a one-child policy to reduce its rapid population growth partially as a way to decrease poverty. The CCP and the government enforced this policy to varying degrees sometimes with forced sterilizations and abortions for women who got pregnant without approval and with penalties for unapproved second child who could not access government schools and health care. Partially because of greatly lowered birth rates and a disproportionately larger population of males to females by the 21st century, the CCP moved to a two-child policy by 2015. When this policy change did not result in a noticeable increase for birth rates in China, the CCP moved to a three-child policy by May, 2021 then removed all limits and penalties on family size by July, 2021.

### **Unitary system**

While China does have regional and municipal governments, China is considered to be a unitary system in which the national government and the CCP has overriding powers over regional and municipal governments. This means that China's national government can give (and take away) powers to regional and municipal governments with no constitutional guarantees of federalism. The CCP controls the appointment of governmental leaders in its regional and local governments and often uses the success (or failure) of these appointed regional leaders to determine promotions and demotions of CCP officials.

### **Military**

China's commander in chief holds the title of Chair of the Central Military Commission and is considered to be a system with civilian control of the military. China's army (People's Liberation Army) is unique as an army to uphold the power of China's Communist Party (CCP). China's government has spent significantly to build one of the largest and most sophisticated militaries in the world. China's estimated military budget in 2021 was more than \$209 billion compared to around \$66 billion for Russia, \$68 billion for the United Kingdom, \$24 billion for Iran, \$8 billion for Mexico, and \$4 billion for Nigeria.

## **The Islamic Republic of Iran**

Studying Iran's political system offers students an opportunity to see how a 1979 political and social revolution led to the creation of a theocratic authoritarian political system that governs a country that has enormous oil production and the world's largest population of Shiite Muslims.

Like China, Iran can trace its governmental history back for thousands of years as one of the world's first and largest civilizations. Before it was called Iran, it was known as Persia and has long been at the crossroads of regional and global trade. Zoroastrianism had been established in Persia as one of the world's oldest monotheistic religions and later influenced Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Islam replaced Zoroastrianism as the primary religion in Persia nearly 1,000 years ago. Iran reports that more than 99% of its population is Islamic.

Persia was also at the center of the split between Sunni Islam and Shia Islam after the Mongol invasion and occupation of Persia subsided. Both Islamic sects believe in a legal code of Sharia law that is based on Quranic principles. Unlike Sunnis, Shiites believe that Islamic leaders have to be able to trace their ancestry back to the Prophet Muhammad. Thus, Sunni imams are usually viewed as prayer leaders, while Shia imams are viewed as faith leaders who are part of a family lineage that makes them highly respected community leaders as well. Practitioners of Sunni Islam comprise 90-95% of the world's Muslim population. But Shiism is the dominant sect of Islam in both Iran and Iraq. About 90% of Iran's population follows Shia Islam.

Foreign influence has been a part of the history of Persia for the last 800 years including invasion by the Mongol Empire, and colonial takeover of significant parts of Persia by Afghans, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey), Russia, Britain, and France. The United States also had large policy influence with the last shah of Iran who was deposed in 1979.

British influence in Persia rose in the early 1900s with the discovery of vast oil fields there. Britain supported the rise of authoritarian leader Reza Pahlavi through a coup. Reza went on to appoint himself with the monarch's title of shah. His authoritarian rule emphasized nationalism as he changed the official name of the country to Iran. His forceful rule also brought a move to modernize to a more secular culture with more emphasis on health and education, banning of Islamic attire and the integration of genders in public places. This style of rule brought him into conflict with traditional Islamists.

Reza Shah broke off his relationship with the British in the 1930s and allied himself with the Germans. The British and Soviets invaded Iran during World War II and forced him to abdicate so that his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, would become shah. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was not initially an authoritarian leader since Iran's parliamentary democracy featured a national legislature (Majles) that held significant powers. But in the 1950s, the Majles under Prime Minister Mosaddegh Mosaddegh attempted to nationalize Iranian oil away from British control. Some leaders in Britain and the U.S. feared that if Iranian oil was nationalized, Iran's oil supply would fall under the influence of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. In 1953, Mosaddegh Mosaddegh's government was overthrown in a coup allowing Mohammad Reza Pahlavi to become Iran's preeminent leader. Iranian officials today claim the U.S. cannot be trusted because the American CIA played a role in subverting Iran's democracy in the 1950s. The United States developed a very strong military alliance with Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The U.S. sold him billions of dollars of military equipment helping Iran to become one of the world's largest militaries by the 1970s. Like his father, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi ruled with force and pushed Iran to become more culturally western. He emphasized a secular education system, promoted women's suffrage, urban infrastructure projects and recognized the State of Israel. He cemented his authoritarian rule by abolishing rival political parties and using torture and secret police to persecute rivals. These decisions were greatly opposed by Shiite leaders like the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (who was living in exile in France) and business merchants as well as students and intellectuals. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was shah until his ouster in the 1979 revolution.

In 1979, a revolution by a multitude of factions forced the shah to flee Iran. The Ayatollah Khomeini returned to Iran, but the revolution was initially guided by a secular (nonreligious) government. Khomeini loyalists were able to forcefully take control of revolutionary forces and establish a theocratic government with Khomeini installed as supreme leader. The student takeover of the American embassy (taking 66 Americans hostage for nearly 18 months) was part of a cultural revolution in which Shiite leaders were ensuring that Iran's revolution would be an Islamic revolution. Thousands of Iranians were executed during this time that Shiite leaders established full control of the political system in the 1980s.

Iran's 1979 constitution created the Islamic Republic of Iran. This constitution claims checks and balances and protection of the freedom of religion (except for Bahai and non-Islamic missionaries), and features direct elections for president and members of the Majles legislature. But the supreme leader is the most powerful institution in this constitution ensuring religious rule in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

### **Supreme Leader / Assembly of Experts**

As supreme leader, Ayatollah Khomeini cemented the idea of *velayat-e faqih* otherwise known as the Guardianship of Islamic Jurists. In short, this establishes that regardless of its form of governing institutions, Shiite religious leaders need to always be in a position to guide the government. This concept ensures that Iran continues as a theocracy with a supreme leader setting the political agenda for all aspects of Iran's political system. According to the constitution, the supreme leader is chosen by 86 high-ranking clerics that are part of the Assembly of Experts. This Assembly of Experts institution wrote the 1979 constitution and is directly elected every 10 years. Members must be clerics and are selected for election with guidance by the supreme leader and his political and religious allies. In addition to appointing a supreme leader, the constitution says the Assembly of Experts can dismiss a president but the process is not clear. Upon Khomeini's death in 1989 it was somewhat surprising that the Assembly of Experts selected Ayatollah Khamenei as supreme leader because he was not the top-ranking Shia cleric at the time.

Some of the supreme leader's responsibilities are to mediate disputes between the executive, legislature, and judiciary. He is also Iran's commander in chief and can nominate Iran's chief judge and lower tribunals. The supreme leader appoints half of Guardian Council and he appoints an Expediency Council that forms compromises between the Guardian Council and Iran's Majles legislature. The supreme leader also appoints the head administrator of national media, leaders for the top governmental ministries plus the leaders of religious endowments that are used to manage Iran's large economic sectors. The supreme leader also has the final power to approve presidential candidates and to remove the president. In essence, the supreme leader supervises all politics to ensure conformity with Sharia law according to the concept of *velayat-e faqih*.

Since 1989, when Ayatollah Khamenei was appointed supreme leader, Khamenei worked to cement his authority. This included the use of brute repression of a 2009 social movement in Iran known as the Green Movement. Khamenei approved the government's use of violence to suppress that movement of protestors who were calling for political reforms following the controversial presidential election result of 2009. Some speculate that Ebrahim Raisi's election as Iran's president in 2021 could indicate that Raisi is the Ayatollah Khamenei's preferred successor to be supreme leader.

### **President**

With the supreme leader acting as head of state, Iran's president is chief executive and head of government. This creates a dual executive system but with significant differences from Russia's dual executive featuring a president and a prime minister.

Iran's president is directly elected to but is limited to 2 consecutive four-year terms. The presidential election system features a 2-round system in which a winning candidate must win an absolute majority of the national vote to be elected. According to Iran's constitution, the president must be a Shiite Muslim. Four of the five most recent presidents have been Muslim clerics. The only non-cleric president since 1989 was Mahmoud Ahmadinejad who was mayor of Tehran before being elected as president from 2005-2013.

Some of the president's formal duties include signing treaties and proposing budgets. The president has the power of appointment for regional governors as well as directors of the national oil company.

Ebrahim Raisi was elected president in 2021 in an election with only 48% turnout of voters largely because of the perception that there was no real competition to defeat Raisi who was thought to be Supreme Leader Khamenei's preferred candidate.

### **Majles (National legislature)**

Even before Iran's 1979 revolution, the Majles served as Iran's national legislature. The Majles continues to be a unicameral legislature with a constitutional call to represent the nation as the Iranian Consultative Assembly. It has 290 members and enacts and changes law only with the approval of the Guardian Council. The Majles can remove cabinet members as well as withhold approval of budgets and treaties. The Majles can request to remove a president with approval by the supreme leader. The Majles also approves a chief judge's list of Guardian Council members and can request the removal of the president.

The 290 members are directly elected to 4-year terms in a combination of single-member districts and multi-member districts. About 8% of Majles members are women. 14 Majles seats are reserved for non-Muslim minorities including at least one Jewish member. During the last two decades, the Guardian Council, which approves the candidates eligible to campaign in an election, has increasingly prevented candidates who do not express hard line support for the theocratic leaders of the government from even running for Majles seats. The Majles has lost most independent characteristics that it once had as hard line supporters for the theocratic leaders of the government dominate the Majles with votes overwhelmingly in support of the preferred interests of the supreme leader and the Guardian Council.

Iran lacks formal political parties. Political factions tend to form around different leaders, but moderate candidates who challenge the hard-line authority of religious leaders are no longer allowed to run for elected office.



## **Guardian Council**

Iran's constitution created a unicameral national legislature and also features an institution that ensures the Majles uphold both theocracy and Sharia law. Six members of the Guardian Council are appointed by supreme leader and six are appointed by the chief judge with Majles approval.

The Guardian Council determines the qualifications for candidates who would like to run for president, Majles seats, and the Assembly of Experts. The Guardian Council filters ballot access for these elections. In addition, the Guardian Council supervises the conduct of elections and interprets the constitution. The Guardian Council must also approve all bills passed by the Majles. In short, the Guardian Council ensures that elections and the elected officials will uphold Iran's theocratic political system with a leader of Shia Islam acting as supreme leader of the government to guide its actions. Because the Guardian Council blocks candidates who are less supportive of the theocracy from running for office, Iran does not have a formal system of parties. Iran's party system is more accurately described as a set of changing allegiances to different political figures whom the Guardian Council approves to run for elected office.

## **Expediency Council**

The Expediency Council is appointed by the supreme leader and was created in 1988 to resolve differences between the Guardian Council and Majles. As the Guardian Council filtered out moderate members of the Majles, there were not as many policy conflicts between the Majles and Guardian Council. In the last 10 years, the Expediency Council took on the role of advisory council to the supreme leader.

## **Judiciary**

Iran's judiciary is not independent of political or religious elements and works to ensure that the legal system is based on religious law. Its judges are trained in Islamic Sharia law. Sharia law is a legal code based on principles from the Koran and was incorporated into state law after the 1979 revolution. Sharia law includes the Law of Retribution that allows equal punishment for a crime. There are regional disparities for how Sharia law is implemented in Iran, and state (national government) courts still control the appeals process. There are also disparities with how political moderates are treated by courts as opposed to those more affiliated with hard-line religious factions.

Iran's chief judge is appointed by the supreme leader and leads Iran's four-member Supreme Court. This chief judge must be a cleric and have expertise in Sharia law. He serves a 5-year term and appoints half of the Guardian Council. Revolutionary Courts are where the government prosecutes crimes against national security including political activists. Immediately following the 1979 revolution, thousands of political prisoners were executed following trials that were notoriously short and lacked adequate defense attorneys. Women were removed as judges after 1979, but women can serve as attorneys and as secondary judges to assist the primary judge. The death penalty is used by Iran in cases of murder, rape, major drug trafficking, treason and for acts of homosexuality. In 2011, there were more than 250 executions.

## **Unitary system**

While Iran does have regional and municipal governments with some elections for local governmental officials, Iran is considered to be a unitary system in which the national government has overriding powers over regional and municipal governments. This means that Iran's national government can give (and take away) powers to regional and municipal governments with no constitutional guarantees of federalism.

## **Military**

As an authoritarian government, Iran still maintains a system in which key military leaders are appointed by the supreme leader. This means that Iran's elite Islamic clergy controls the military. Iran's Revolutionary Guard is an elite force with the purpose of defending the regime. The Revolutionary Guard has existed since the 1979 revolution to prevent a military coup from unseating Iran's theocratic regime. The Revolutionary Guard has taken charge of Iran's nuclear program as well as many of Iran's economic industries. The Quds Force is a special forces group from the Revolutionary Guard with a purpose of exporting the Islamic revolution to other countries in the region such as during wars in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen.

The Basij is a volunteer militia of mostly younger members first employed by Iran in its war against Iraq in the 1980s. The Basij is responsible for internal security and enforcement of cultural codes. When President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's government prioritized stricter dress for women, the Basij was empowered to enforce these codes. The Basij was first employed by Iran in its war against Iraq in the 1980s. It is estimated that Iran spends about \$8 billion annually for military expenditures. Another law enforcement group, known as Guidance Patrols, also enforces religious dress codes for women to wear hijabs in public spaces. In the Fall of 2022 and into 2023, hundreds of thousands joined different protests against the Guidance Patrols in cities across Iran after a young woman (Mahsa Amini) was detained for violating Iran's hijab mandate and died in law enforcement detention. By January of 2023, nearly 60 Iranian protestors were put on trial and sentenced to death after convictions.

## The United Mexican States

Studying Mexico's political system offers students an opportunity to see a democratizing political system emerge from authoritarianism along with analyzing how a government's embrace of globalization has led to both successes and challenges.

Mexico's history includes the three major pre-Columbian civilizations of the Mayans, Toltecs, and Aztecs that developed in what is now southern Mexico and into Central America for more than 1,000 years. Spanish colonization of Mexico ended in 1821 when Mexico was first established as a federal republic. This government became a dictatorship by the 1870s after war with the United States and occupation by the French military. Then Mexico's 20<sup>th</sup> century revolution established the constitution that still provides the framework for Mexico's government and emerging democracy today.

Spanish colonization left a legacy of Catholicism as the majority religion in Mexico, but the Roman Catholic Church plays a smaller role in Mexican politics than it does in some other countries with large Catholic populations. More than 80% of its population identifies as Roman Catholic, but Mexico had a history of anti-clerical laws in the 19th century and a war in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that reduced the Roman Catholic Church's power to influence politics and to own land.

Mexico's relationship and tensions with the United States have also played a significant role in the development of Mexico's political system. The structure of Mexico's constitution and its presidential system is strikingly similar to the constitution of the United States. But suspicion of U.S. imperialism also led Mexico to create protectionist economic policies from the 1930s through the 1970s that attempted to prevent Mexico's economy from becoming too reliant upon the much larger economy of the U.S. While some of Mexico's leaders have utilized nationalism to help achieve their political agendas, other Mexican leaders became North America's strongest advocates for free trade with reduced tariffs between Mexico, the U.S., and Canada.

The most significant aspect of Mexico's political history was its revolution (1910-1924) that ousted the dictator Porfirio Diaz and installed a constitutional government in 1917 to include several seemingly democratic institutions. Mexico's public school curriculum has depicted this revolution as the 20th century's first great social revolutions that paved the way for social revolutions in Russia, China, and Cuba.

The political party that emerged as the leader of Mexican politics after the revolution was the National Revolutionary Party (PNR) which became the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in 1946. The PRI became the dominant party of Mexico's politics until losing in Mexico's 2000 presidential election.

The most notably socialist president who emerged from Mexico's Revolution was Lazaro Cardenas (1934-1940). Cardenas is known for creating the ejido agricultural system that redistributed large tracts of land to rural peasants. Cardenas also nationalized Mexico's oil sector into the state-controlled PEMEX oil and gas company. Cardenas is also given credit for cementing PRI as Mexico's dominant party and creating the PRI's internal power structure.

Mexico installed Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) policies to protect its domestic industries from the 1930s through the 1970s. These policies seemed to work as Mexico experienced a rapid rate of industrialization with sustained economic growth. The government invested in public education and poverty reduction policies as well as major infrastructure projects. But as Mexico's state-owned enterprises grew less efficient and as oil prices dropped in the 1980s, Mexico fell into indebtedness to international lenders. By the 1990s, some saw that protectionist ISI policies had led Mexico to become more susceptible to economic busts and even more dependent on the U.S. economy.

Mexico's leaders looked to more fully bring neo-liberal, free market reforms to Mexico's economy by the 1990s. By joining the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA), Mexico agreed to reduce tariffs on imported goods from the U.S. and Canada. Mexico also became more open to foreign direct investment (FDI) and the privatization of the telecommunications and banking industries. Mexico's government still controls the energy sector with its state-controlled petroleum company PEMEX and has allowed only limited partnerships with privately-owned international oil companies. But the implementation of neo-liberal policies such as NAFTA has seen Mexico diversify its economy away from being overly reliant on revenues from PEMEX. Mexico has significantly increased its manufacturing sectors with the building of appliances, automobiles and high-tech components especially in the zone of factories (maquiladora zones) along its northern border with the U.S. But income inequity within Mexico has increased as the government has moved toward expanding its economic globalization policies. There has also been a sense that more agricultural areas of southern Mexico with a more significant population of Amerindian indigenous peoples have been left out of economic growth from these neo-liberal economic policies. The Zapatista uprising of 1994 in the southern state of Chiapas highlighted accusations that Mexico's government had neglected these less affluent rural areas with northern Mexico benefiting from economic development because of policies such as NAFTA.

Signs of PRI's downfall from presidential power were evident in the aftermath of the 1985 Mexico City earthquake. In that 8.1 magnitude earthquake, an estimated 10,000 people were killed, and shoddy construction due to governmental corruption was to blame for much of the damage. The government also failed expectations of helping in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. New civil society groups emerged to help with providing services needed to rebuild communities. This organization of civil society groups in Mexico City led to more organized opposition to PRI's dominant party system that ended by 2000.

Many say the PRD candidate in the 1988 presidential election defeated the PRI candidate, but election results were not immediately released by the PRI-controlled government. When the results were finally released by PRI-controlled election supervisors indicating that the PRI candidate had narrowly won, much of the public was suspicious that the results were fraudulent. Mexico's government began implementing different electoral reforms such as the 1990 formation of an independent electoral commission (Institute of National Elections- INE). Mexico had its first alternation of power to a non-PRI president in 2000 with the victory of Vicente Fox of the National Action Party (PAN). Since then, three different political parties (including PRI and MORENA) have won the presidency and a majority of seats in both chambers of Mexico's bicameral Congress of the Union. In 2018, Andrés Manuel López Obrador's MORENA coalition of left-leaning political groups won the presidency and the majority of both chambers of Congress for the first time. Elections that result in this type of alternation of party control are a sign of significant electoral democratization in Mexico in the last 30 years. In 2023, López Obrador supported the national legislature's move to reduce the INE's budget and weaken its enforcement of election laws. This legislation is seen as López Obrador's attempt to reduce the independence and effectiveness of the INE after the INE certified him as the losing candidate in the close 2006 presidential election.

Of the countries studied in AP Comparative Government, Mexico has the oldest written constitution. One of its most unique features of this constitution was the mandate of no re-election for any national governmental official. This created a strict 1-term policy for all presidents and national legislators and a constant turnover of elected officials until a 2014 constitutional change allowed lawmakers in the Chamber of Deputies to be elected up to four consecutive times for a total of 12 years. Senators are now able to serve two terms — also up to 12 years, but presidents are still limited to 1 six-year term known as a *sexenio*.

### **Presidential system with a separation of powers**

Mexico's constitution establishes a presidential system with a president who serves as both head of state and head of government elected separately from members of its bicameral national legislature. In this presidential system, the president selects cabinet members to implement the laws and the president's policy agenda. The president serves as commander in chief and leader of the bureaucracy, and can approve domestic legislation and lead foreign policy.

Mexico's Congress of the Union is bicameral with an elected lower house—the Chamber of Deputies—that approves legislation, levies taxes, and verifies outcomes of elections. The elected upper house, the Senate, also approves legislation and holds the unique power to confirm presidential appointments to both the cabinet and Mexico's Supreme Court, approve treaties, and approve federal intervention in state matters. Mexico's Congress can remove cabinet members from their positions by impeachment. The constitution also allows the Congress to impeach a president, but the process of the Congress removing the president from office is unclear in the document. Because of its separate presidential and legislative elections and the separation of the executive and legislative branches, a divided government with at least one chamber of the Congress controlled by a party opposed to the president has occasionally occurred in Mexico since the alternation of party control in 2000. These occasional occurrences of divided government are when the independence of the legislature in Mexico have been most apparent.

Mexico's judiciary is in transition with the Supreme Court having the power of judicial review to interpret the constitution. Several constitutional amendments have been implemented with the intent to make the system more independent and effective with less potential for corruption and political influence. Supreme Court magistrates in Mexico serve for a term of 15 years.

### **Elections**

Mexico's president is elected in a direct, national election every six years. Multiple parties nominate a candidate for the national election, and the presidential winner is the candidate who wins the most votes. This means that the presidential winner can win the most votes (plurality) without winning a majority (more than 50%) of the national vote as what resulted in the 2006 and 2012 presidential elections. Presidents of three different parties (PAN, PRI and MORENA) have won the presidency since 2000.

Mexico's Chamber of Deputies has 500 members. 250 Deputies are directly elected in single-member district elections and 250 Deputies are elected in proportional representation of party list votes. Deputies have a four-term limit of 3 years each which was changed from a strict one term limit in 2015.

Mexico's Senate has 128 members. 96 of these Senators are directly elected in multi-member state elections (3 senators per state) and 32 Senators are elected through proportional representation of party list votes. Senators have a two-term limit of six years each which was changed from a strict one term limit in 2015.

The mixed election system in both of these chambers that features direct elections and proportional (party list) elections allows for a multi-party system in Mexico. Three different parties (PAN, PRI and MORENA) have won majority control of both chambers of the Congress since 2000 under this hybrid election system indicating an increase of electoral democratization in Mexico. PRI had led a dominant party system for 70 years until other parties were able to win presidential elections and majority control of the legislature in the 21st century when a multi-party system emerged in Mexico.

### **Military**

Mexico's military is civilian controlled and the president is commander in chief. But the power of Mexico's military has increased as domestic law enforcement bodies have struggled with the scale of violence and corruption related to the growing influence of organized criminal groups and international drug cartels based in Mexico. With the influence of some local governments increasingly eclipsed by the power and influence of these organized criminal groups, the federal government has tasked the national military with growing responsibilities related to public safety that local law enforcement used to manage. This growing power of Mexico's military risks decreasing the ability of civilian controlled oversight panels to hold the powerful military accountable.

In 2023, the military was responsible for the battle to arrest Ovidio Guzman who was thought to have taken control of the Sinaloa organized crime group after his father (El Chapo) had been tried and imprisoned in the U.S. The military claimed that no civilians had been killed in the fierce battle with cartel militants, but townspeople later protested claiming that dozens of young men were missing from the town after the battle and arrest.

### **Federal system**

Federal states like Mexico divide power among different levels of government to confer a degree of local autonomy in supplying social and educational services, while also reserving powers for the national government. Until a 2021 ruling by Mexico's Supreme Court, Mexico's system of federalism allowed abortion laws to vary in its 32 states. Mexico City had the least restrictive abortion laws in the country after 2007 when Mexico City's government decriminalized some abortions by allowing women to access abortion up to 12 weeks of a pregnancy. But in more conservative states in Mexico, abortion was only allowed for pregnancies that resulted from rape and some local governments have criminally prosecuted women caught getting illegal abortions. In 2021, Mexico's Supreme Court ruled that access to abortion would be decriminalized throughout all of Mexico's states so that women could not be criminally prosecuted for women caught getting abortions during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.

### **Gender equity**

The International Women's Day commemorated in March each year has become an annual event of massive grassroots activism and protest by women's rights advocates in Mexico. Mexico's government has protected the right to protest at these events, but the protective fencing placed outside Mexico's palace in 2021 became a place where activists posted artwork to protest and memorialize women killed in murders that the government has not solved.

In terms of representation of women in elected office, Mexico's political parties began promising to run at least 30% women as candidates in 2003. This quota was increased to 40% in 2009 but parties fell well below this goal until the IFE mandated the quota rules and Mexico's courts supported this mandate. In 2014, the constitution was amended to require the 30% gender quotas for national and local elections. After the 2018 legislative elections, women held nearly 50% of the seats in both chambers of the Congress. In 2019, women's rights activists in Mexico led a grassroots campaign to have their constitution amended to move toward gender parity in all three branches of government with the hashtag campaign of #ParidadEnTodo (parity in everything.) In 2021, women won a record 7 of the 32 regional governor positions.

## **The Federal Republic of Nigeria**

Studying Nigeria's political system offers students an opportunity to see a country that has been shaped by colonization, by attempts to strengthen democratization despite coups and periods of military rule, and shaped by the challenges of governing diverse peoples in a country with the largest economy and population in Africa.

Nigeria's history includes occupation of the lands in what is now Nigeria by many of the diverse peoples from across the continent of Africa. Nigeria today has a population of about 250 ethnic groups with more than half of its population made of the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Yoruba in the southwest, and the Igbo in the southeast. The religious diversity of Nigeria with a large Muslim population mostly in its northern states and a large Christian population mostly in its southern states also reflects the expansion of both Christianity and Islam across the African continent.

Different empires and kingdoms of these groups ruled and developed many languages across the region for more than 1,000 years prior to colonization of West Africa by European powers in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. So, the importance of local governance was established long before British colonization that began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the British started using a version of "indirect rule" to supervise the governance of the different regions by local chiefs and leaders. This importance of local governance is still evident in Nigeria that uses a system of federalism to divide powers between its national, state, and local governments to help represent and govern the different ethnic and religious diversity there. But this also led to difficulties when Nigeria gained independence in 1960 and worked to establish a national government that could unify its regions since British colonization purposefully ruled to prevent widespread coordination against its authority.

British colonization also established an economic system that became overly dependent on the export of specific commodities like palm oil and then petroleum. And Nigeria's government continues to struggle implementing economic policies intended to promote overall economic growth with more economic diversity away from its over reliance on revenues from its petroleum industry that partners with many multinational corporations (MNCs).

Britain also had influence in the creation of a parliamentary government in Nigeria's first constitution. But a parliamentary government was unable to successfully balance the demands and needs of Nigeria's diverse regions. This first attempt at independent, democratic governance fell to multiple coups led by military leaders who enforced military rule in Nigeria from 1966 to 1977. This period also included a civil war over an attempt at secession of the Biafra region and the oil-rich Niger River delta led by Igbo leaders. An estimated one million Biafrans died during a genocide in which Nigeria's military blocked food shipments to the region and millions of others were displaced during the conflict.

Nigeria's Second Republic was an attempt to create a presidential system of government with separate elections for the president and national legislature. This government also increased the number of Nigeria's states from four to 12 to increase representation of Nigeria's diverse peoples in the national government. This presidential government only lasted four years before military General Muhammadu Buhari (later elected as president in 2015 + 2019) led a military coup which led to the second period of military rule. This second period of military rule exemplified how military rule can sometimes be used as an attempt to prepare a country for democratization. This occurred from 1983-1993 when military rulers allowed more press freedoms. This military government also allowed more public dissent against unpopular economic policies like the government's budget cuts that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) required for its structural assistance programs for Nigeria to get emergency financing during fiscal crises. This military rule also increased the number of Nigeria's states from 12 to 21 to provide more representation to ethnic factions.

But the attempts to elect a civilian government to lead Nigeria's Third Republic failed due to another coup and military rule led by Sani Abacha. Abacha's authoritarian military rule commonly punished the political activities of opposition leaders. Abacha used violence and brute repression to suppress the work of labor unions, other civil society groups, and environmental activists like Ken Saro-Wiwa, leader of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). After Abacha suddenly died in 1999, the constitution of Nigeria's Fourth Republic was implemented and has been the framework of government that helped guide some prominent examples of democratization in Nigeria even amid some of the government's authoritarian tendencies.

### **Fourth Republic's presidential system**

Nigeria's 1999 constitution establishes a presidential system with a president who serves as both head of state and head of government elected separately from members of its bicameral National Assembly legislature. In this presidential system, the president selects cabinet members to implement the laws and the president's policy agenda. The president serves as commander in chief and leader of the bureaucracy, and can approve domestic legislation and lead foreign policy.

The constitution establishes a two-term limit on the president. The first president under the 1999 constitution, Olusegun Obasanjo, tried to get the National Assembly to approve an extension of this term limit to three terms. But in a sign of legislative independence and adherence to the rule of law, the National Assembly refused to grant this extension. When

Obasanjo stepped down from power in 2007 after the election of Umaru Yar'Adua, this was another example of democratization being the first time in Nigeria's political history that executive power passed from one civilian to another. Yar'Adua died in office in 2010, and Vice President Goodluck Jonathan succeeded into the office without intervention by military leaders. President Jonathan won a full presidential term in the 2011 election. President Jonathan struggled to contain the political violence committed by Boko Haram, a secessionist Islamist group in northern Nigeria. President Jonathan lost his re-election attempt to Muhammadu Buhari in 2015. This election's transfer of power from one political party to a rival party in both the executive and legislature exemplified growing electoral democratization in Nigeria. But some authoritarian tendencies are still evident in Nigeria with President Buhari directing the government to block Twitter in 2021 and to sanction journalists who publish unflattering news about the government on Twitter.

Nigeria's National Assembly is bicameral with an elected lower chamber (the House of Representatives) and an elected upper chamber (the Senate) that approve legislation and governmental budgets. The Senate also holds the unique power to confirm presidential appointments and can remove impeached cabinet members and presidents from power. A president of Nigeria has never been removed from power by the legislature.

Nigeria's judiciary is in transition with the Supreme Court having the power of judicial review to interpret the constitution. Supreme Court judges are recommended by a judicial council and are appointed by the president with confirmation by the Senate. Efforts had been made to reestablish the legitimacy and independence of the courts by reducing corruption. Supreme Court justices have life tenure but are mandated to retire at the age of 70. In 2019, President Buhari ordered the removal of the Supreme Court's Chief Justice after allegations of corruption arose against the judge. This removal took place without the 2/3 majority of the Senate voting to remove the judge as required by Nigeria's constitution. In 2023, Nigeria's Supreme Court rejected a lawsuit brought by President Buhari who wanted to nullify a section of a 2022 electoral law in which the National Assembly called for changes to how parties nominate candidates for national office. The Supreme Court ruled that Buhari had signed the bill to make it a law and could not file a lawsuit to challenge the section.

### **Election system**

Nigeria's National Independent Electoral Commission was established in 1998 and helps build the legitimacy of election results. Nigeria conducts a direct election for president on a fixed term of every 4 years. Presidential candidates in Nigeria must win the most votes (plurality) and secure at least 25% of the vote in two-thirds of Nigeria's states otherwise a 2<sup>nd</sup> round of elections occurs between the top two candidates. This reflects the federal characteristic of this regime. Every winning candidate has secured victory in the first round of balloting. Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate are elected regularly on fixed terms of every four years separate from presidential elections. Members of the House of Representatives are directly elected in single-member districts with representatives from each of Nigeria's states; the number of representatives elected from each state is based on population size. The Senate has 3 members directly elected from 3 districts in each state.

Two major parties have alternated control of the National Assembly. Similar to Mexico's electoral system, Nigeria's system of single-member districts allows the representation from all of Nigeria's diverse regions to the national legislature. Nigeria is now considered to be primarily a two-party system. While Nigeria has 30 registered political parties, two strong parties, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress of Nigeria (APC) have won presidential elections and majority control of the National Assembly's two chambers. Prior to Buhari's (APC) presidential win in 2015, the PDP had been considered to be Nigeria's dominant political party. In the 2023 presidential election, APC candidate Bola Tinubu won with 36.6% of the vote compared to 29% for the PDP's candidate and 25% for the Labour Party (LP) candidate.

### **Federal system**

The 1999 constitution increased the number of states in their federal republic from 21 to 36 in order to provide more representation to ethnic factions. Representatives in Nigeria's bicameral National Assembly are elected from districts in each of these states to ensure representation from many different parts of Nigeria. Nigeria's federalism also allowed its northern states to implement Sharia law courts where a majority of citizens practice Islam.

### **Military**

Nigeria's military is civilian controlled and the president is commander in chief. But the military and other domestic security forces are commonly accused of using excessive force in response to protests and other political demonstrations. Nigeria's #EndSARS social movement started in 2020 as protests against the abusive tactics by Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squads that have been often accused of violence and corrupt practices. President Buhari began the process of dismantling the special police teams that had been created in 1992 to lower acts of street crime, but several organizers of the protests were accused of financial terrorism and had their bank accounts frozen by Nigeria's government. More than 100 people were killed by security group attacks on protestors in Lagos. Nigeria's government had been placing few restrictions on news coverage critical of accusations of the governmental use of violence in responding to protests, but police harassment of journalists increased during coverage of the Covid-19 pandemic and the #EndSARS protests.

## The Russian Federation

Studying the Russian Federation's political system offers students an opportunity to see a country in which efforts to democratize stalled and reversed back to authoritarianism. Predating contemporary Russia, the Soviet Union was a classic authoritarian regime that featured little democratization and highly restricted individual liberties. Since Russia's regime change from the Soviet Union's political system, democratization efforts in Russia have stalled then have reversed since 1999 when Vladimir Putin came to power in the Russian political system.

At first, Russia looked to be an emerging democracy or transitional democracy in the early 1990s as it discarded the Soviet Union's command economy that had a central government try to control prices and production and with the Soviet Communist Party's one-party political state that did not allow direct elections of governmental officials. Despite widespread corruption and political scandals, the early years of President Boris Yeltsin's first government of Russia in the 1990s did feature attempts at free-market reforms, federalism with heightened local powers, competitive elections, and a move to protect individual liberties such as free speech and freedom of the press. Putin's rise to the presidency started in 1999 and resulted in more economic and political power being concentrated in the central government's executive branch. Private companies like Yukos oil and independent media channels were re-nationalized, investigative journalists are frequently the victims of unsolved violence, and electoral changes halted democratization as elections became less competitive with the emergence in 2001 of a dominant party system led by Putin's United Russia. By 2021, democratic backsliding culminated in Russia's authoritarian actions to outlaw dissident political groups that supported Putin opponent Alexei Navalny. In 2022, this move toward governmental authoritarianism in Russia was even more evident as the government passed laws to restrict how independent news websites could report on the invasion of Ukraine by mandating usage of the term "special operation" instead of invasion or attack.

Russia's government continues to hold elections for the presidency and the Duma as the lower chamber of the national legislature. Putin campaigned for president to win votes and had followed Russia's constitutional call for no more than 2 consecutive presidential terms. But unlike liberal democracies that hold democratic elections and protect individual liberties and political rights, in Russia no candidate has come close to challenging Putin to unseat him from power. By 2021, Russia's national courts had been used to not just invalidate electoral challenges by opposition candidates like Alexei Navalny, but to also outlaw organizations that support Navalny by categorizing these political groups as extremist groups. In 2020, Putin backed efforts that led to the successful amendment of Russia's constitution so that he could extend his presidency for an additional 12 years beyond when his 4<sup>th</sup> term as president was supposed to end in 2024.

As Putin took greater control of Russia's government with less competitive elections and reduced the protection of civil liberties, his government was categorized by some political scientists as an *illiberal democracy* or a *hybrid regime* that mixed authoritarianism with democratic principles in a way for the state to manage political competition. But both Freedom House and the Economist's Democracy Index now evaluate Russia's government as a fully authoritarian government because of the degree to which democratization has been reversed with the absence of significant electoral competition and with the lack of protected civil liberties for opponents of those in power.

### President

Russia's 1993 Constitution was patterned a great deal on the constitution of France in which a president, directly elected with a majority of the national vote, acts as the head of state with foreign policy and commander in chief powers. The prime minister is selected by the president and approved by the legislature and acts as the head of government in charge of implementing the government's policies. This model of government with a president and prime minister who share executive powers is called a semi-presidential system with the president as the country's lead official.

According to Russia's 1993 Constitution, the president can submit draft legislation to the legislature and can sign or veto bills. The president has nomination powers for the "power ministries" such as the Defense Ministry and the Federal Security Service (FSB) which reports directly to the office of the president. The president also has the power to nominate the chair of the central bank and members of the Constitutional Court. These nominations must be approved by the Federation Council.

According to the constitution, the President of Russia can be impeached only for crimes of high treason by a 2/3 vote of the Federal Assembly led by the Federation Council and approved by the Constitutional Court. This impeachment procedure has never been used in Russia.

The president has the added power over the legislature of being able to dissolve the Duma and scheduling new elections within a five-year legislative term. The president can also announce the holding of national referenda such as the referendum in which Russians approved the new constitution in 1993 and constitutional changes in 2020.

With the 2020 changes to Russia's constitution, the president has the power to dismiss top justices and the legislature's successful override of a presidential veto of legislation is now less likely. The 2020 changes to Russia's constitution also

formally empower the State Council to be made up of Russia's regional governors, executive ministers and other members at the president's discretion. The newly empowered State Council can advise the President as the head of the State Council and directly implement Russia's foreign and domestic policy. These are changes that reflect how much the presidency of Vladimir Putin that began in 1999 has seen an increase in power for Russia's president.

### **Prime Minister**

One of the president's greatest powers is to nominate the Prime Minister of the Duma. (Russia uses the term Chairman of the Government instead of Prime Minister.) A prime minister is supposed to lead domestic policy making and implementation in Russia, but a president can shape domestic policy with the use of presidential decrees that are also known as executive orders.

A prime minister is responsible to both the president and Duma as the Duma has to approve the nomination of the prime minister. The prime minister is not an elected member of the Duma and does not have to be the leader of a political party. A president can dismiss the prime minister at any time. The Duma has very limited powers to remove a prime minister. The Duma cannot directly force a prime minister to resign, but can pressure the president to dismiss a prime minister by censuring a prime minister two times within three months. The president also has the upper hand in the process of appointing a prime minister because if the Duma rejects a president's nominee for prime minister three times, this dissolves the legislative body and triggers new Duma elections.

### **Selection of the President**

Originally the president was limited to two consecutive terms in office that were four years in length. Putin first served as president from 2000-2008. Putin returned to the presidency after serving one term as prime minister from 2008-2012. Before the 2012 presidential election, the length of a presidential term was extended to six-years meaning that Putin could have been president (with his non-competitive 2018 re-election) until 2024. The 2020 constitutional amendments approved in the national referendum allows Putin to run for president, again, in 2024 and serve another 2 six-year terms. (Also, in 2012, the term length for Duma members was extended from four years to five years.)

Putin came to the office of the president at the end of 1999 based on the rules of succession. As the prime minister, Putin automatically succeeded to the office of president when Boris Yeltsin resigned. He first ran for election in 2000 and won an absolute majority in the 1<sup>st</sup> round of balloting.

In the 2-round balloting system, a winner must secure a majority of the national popular vote in either the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> rounds. If no candidate wins a majority in round 1, the top two vote winners face off in a 2<sup>nd</sup> election held at a later date. None of Putin's election wins has ever gone to a 2<sup>nd</sup> round indicating a lack of competitive democracy. (Yeltsin's 1996 election win was the only Russian presidential election to have ever gone to a 2<sup>nd</sup> round.)

### **Legislature**

Russia's bicameral legislature is known as the Federal Assembly. The upper chamber, the Federation Council, has the greatest power to approve a president's decision to use troops and to declare martial law. (In 2022, the Federation Council approved the deployment of troops for the invasion of Ukraine.) The Federation Council also approves the president's nominees to the Central Bank and Constitutional Court.

The Federation Council is meant to represent Russia's multitude of regions. Each regional government appoints two members to the Federation Council. After the 2004 Beslan school massacre involving Islamist terrorists, this process of appointing Federation Council members became more heavily influenced by Russia's central government. In 2014, the constitution was changed to allow a president to appoint 17 of the 170 Federation Council members. The 2020 changes to Russia's constitution also took away the Federation Council's power to reject a president's nominee of a foreign minister. According to the changes, the Federation Council merely has to be consulted about a president's pick for foreign minister.

The most powerful chamber of the Russian legislature is the lower chamber called the State Duma.

All bills must be reviewed first by the Duma. A special reconciliation committee is formed for bills rejected by the Federation Council to try to work out legislative differences. Only the Duma votes to approve any revised bill at this stage. The Federation Council can only send a bill to the president without Duma approval if 2/3 of the Federation Council approves. Because of this, the Federation Council resembles the House of Lords as a chamber that consults and reviews legislation rather than writing legislation.

Prior to 2007, the 450 Duma members were elected through a combined proportional and single-member district (First Past the Post—FPTP) election system. There were dozens of parties elected to the Duma under this system with no party controlling a majority of seats until the creation of Putin's Unity Party in the 2000s.



In 2007, Putin supported the change to a party list ballot (proportional election) in which voters vote for one of the approved parties, and those seats are distributed proportionally based on this party list vote. The threshold for parties to qualify for seats was raised from 5% to 7% at this time. Only four parties qualified for Duma seats under that format.

Claiming a support for renewed democratization, Putin supported a change back to the previous system for the 2016 Duma elections. This means Duma went back to a mixed FPTP, proportional (party list) election for its 450 members. The party threshold was also lowered back to 5% for a party to qualify for seats in the Duma. But this 2016 change has made little difference in the party composition of the Duma, and United Russia has extended its dominance of the chamber. Russia is considered to be a dominant party system led by Putin's United Russia party since 2001. Three other parties consistently win sizable numbers of legislative seats but are always in the minority without governing power as United Russia's majority party status is unchallenged. United Russia's presidential candidate (Putin – 2004, 2012, 2018; Medvedev- 2008) has always won elections with a majority of the vote in Round 1, and United Russia holds an unwavering majority control of the seats in the Duma.

### **Constitutional Court**

Russia's Constitutional Court has the power of judicial review to determine whether laws and presidential laws contradict the constitution. This court also has the power to review any proposed international treaties. The Constitutional Court has 19 members, all of whom are nominated by the president and approved by the Federation Council. A different high-ranking court hears criminal and civil appeals.

The independence of courts in Russia is questionable as courts have increasingly suppressed opponents to Putin's rule. The Constitutional Court has not constrained the growth of central government authority under Putin. With the 2020 changes to Russia's constitution, the president has the power to dismiss top justices. In 2003, Russia's wealthiest business owner, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, was arrested for crimes related to tax evasion and other financial crimes. Khodorkovsky, had been a large owner of privately controlled Yukos oil and was reportedly interested in opposing Putin in Russia's 2004 presidential election. Khodorkovsky was prosecuted and served nearly a 10-year prison sentence. In 2012, Russia's courts acted on behalf of the ruling party by invalidating electoral challenges by opposition figures like Alexei Navalny and outlawing organizations that supported Navalny by categorizing these political groups as extremist groups.

### **Federal system, but...**

Although Russia's constitution establishes federalism with protected powers of regional governments, it operates more as a unitary system under Putin's control. President Putin and Russia's national government centralized powers after a 2004 terrorist attack on school children in Beslan (a North Caucasus region of Russia). As a result of this terrorist attack, the national government strengthened control over security in Russia's regions and ended the direct election of the heads of Russia's regional governments in favor of a process that appointed these leaders with the approval of the national government. For example, Russia's central government allowed the multiethnic region of the Chechen Republic to be ruled by an authoritarian leader Ramzan Kadyrov since 2011. Russia's central government has allowed Kadyrov to implement Sharia Law in the Chechen Republic and use brute repression to maintain his authority in this republic in order for this multiethnic republic to stay as part of the Russian state.

### **Military and Intelligence Service**

Russia's president acts as commander in chief of the military and nominates the head of the Federal Security Service (FSB) which reports directly to the president. In recent years, Russia's military has increased spending on nuclear weapons technology including higher powered delivery rockets and warheads. Russia's intelligence services have also been linked to influence on international elections such as the 2016 U.S. presidential election and to cyberattacks that have seized private information and have shut down the technological infrastructure of major American companies unless those companies paid ransom to unfreeze their computer systems.

Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine revealed flaws in its military and intelligence services. Intelligence services vastly underestimated the capability for Ukraine's military to defend its capital (Kyiv) from invasion. The war in 2022-2023 also revealed Putin's reliance on paramilitary organizations such as the Wagner (PMC) Group operated as private militias around the world by wealthy Russian men with loyalty to Putin looking to extend Russia's influence beyond its borders. The war also caused Putin to turn to both China and Iran for help in supplying Russia's military with armaments such as drones from Iran's Quds force and ammunition from China.

## The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Studying the United Kingdom's political system offers students an opportunity to understand how a monarchy can also be considered to be a full democracy. The United Kingdom's political system can be described as the most democratic of the AP6 core countries in Comparative Government because of the government's consistency in holding competitive elections and in protecting civil liberties like the freedoms of speech, press, petition, and assembly. But students may be confused because some traditions of the UK's political system make it appear as a non-democratic state.

The UK's government operates under laws and traditions that evolved for more than two centuries to create democratic culture for the operation of its political system. But the political system operates as a democracy under a constitutional monarchy and has no written constitution. The monarch's power has become restricted by an elected House of Commons over the last 200 years to become mostly an image as the ceremonial head of state. But democratically elected officials pay homage to "the Crown" as the sovereign leader of the government at those ceremonies.

The UK is a bicameral parliamentary government with its democratically elected lower chamber (the House of Commons) holding most power to write legislation. But members of its upper chamber (the House of Lords) are not elected, dress in fancy regalia for ceremonies, and serve for life tenure.

Even with several governmental features that are the opposite of democratic, Freedom House and the Economist's Democracy Index consistently rank the UK's government as being fully democratic. The political system gradually expanded the right to vote to guarantee universal suffrage for all citizens over the age of 18 in elections monitored by an independent commission that has helped maintain fair and competitive elements so that candidates in parties out of power can win elections and gain influence over policy making. In the last 30 years, majority governing power in the House of Commons has alternated between the two major parties twice when the Labour Party gained majority control of Commons in 1997 then when the Conservative Party gained majority control of Commons in 2010.

A key component of the UK's political system is its *parliamentary sovereignty*. Under the concept of *parliamentary sovereignty*, the national legislature has authority to make or overturn any law without judicial oversight. Parliament —mostly the democratically elected House of Commons— can really create any policy. It can create a Supreme Court (2005,) it can restructure the House of Lords (1999), and can limit civil liberties of suspected terrorists (2005) without much check by the executive or judicial. The most prominent check of Parliament's power is the election of members to Commons that now occurs once every 5 years.

The upper chamber (Lords) has very limited power to delay and amend legislative bills. The lower chamber (Commons) has most of the legislative power to draft, research, and pass proposed legislative bills. There are 650 Members of Parliament in Commons (MPs) who are elected. Most of the 792 members of the House of Lords (sometimes called the House of Peers) are appointed to their positions by the prime minister and the party with majority control of Commons, but there is not a fixed number of Lords.

The UK is a constitutional monarchy with the monarch appearing to be in charge of the government. The monarch is the head of state and is the representative for the UK in foreign and domestic ceremonies. The military swears an oath to the monarch, and the monarch technically invites a selected prime minister to take up that role as the head of government. But the UK's military is civilian controlled with a prime minister as the de facto commander in chief and a government run under the administration of the prime minister and prime minister's executive cabinet.

### Parliamentary system

The legislative and executive branches of the UK are fused with the prime minister acting as both chief legislator, chief of party, and executive head of government. The cabinet of top executive ministers is a prime minister's selection of senior party advisors. A cabinet is in control of the government by recommending almost all policies and coordinating the civil service's implementation of these policies that are part of the agenda of the majority party in Commons.

Since the late 1970s and through the 1980s when Margaret Thatcher was prime minister, the prime minister has gained increasing power within this cabinet structure with an expectation of party members staying loyal to a prime minister's policy agenda. This loyalty to a prime minister's decisions is known as the doctrine of *collective responsibility* which means all members of the cabinet should publicly support cabinet decisions. If a cabinet member publicly disagrees with a prime minister's policy (as occurred when the Conservative Party was trying to pass the Brexit policy of withdrawing the UK from the European Union — EU), it is expected that the cabinet member will resign their position.

A prime minister is typically the leader of the party that controls a majority of seats in the House of Commons after a general election. So, a prime minister gets power in a similar process as the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Because of

tradition and heightened party loyalty in Commons, a prime minister usually gets Commons to approve legislative ideas and policy recommendations for the national government even in contemporary periods of coalition government where multiple parties must form an alliance to create majority control of Commons.

This dynamic of expecting Commons to approve every one of a prime minister's recommended policies was challenged by the UK's membership in the EU and with the UK's involvement in 21<sup>st</sup> century wars in the Middle East. Commons grew to regret its approval of PM Tony Blair's decision to take Britain to war in Iraq in 2003 and ended up rejecting PM David Cameron's attempt to get the UK's military to attack the Syrian government along with U.S. forces in 2013. Getting a majority of Commons to pass a Brexit policy to formally adopt what a majority of 2016 national referendum voters preferred also proved quite difficult. Commons rejected policy proposals from both PM Theresa May and PM Boris Johnson before its final approval of Johnson's proposal in 2020. This kind of policy approval delay is quite rare in a parliamentary system like the UK's where the prime minister usually gets support from the majority party to pass the PM's legislative agenda.

The national 2016 Brexit vote also offers a helpful way to look at how the tradition of leadership change works in the UK. PM Cameron had supported the idea of an In-Out referendum in which UK voters could vote to recommend whether the UK should stay in the EU or withdraw its membership. Cameron supported the "Stay" side of the Brexit vote, but a majority of voters cast ballots to "Leave." The day after the vote, Cameron announced he would resign as prime minister. Within a week, Theresa May emerged as the favored leader within the majority Conservative Party and took over responsibilities as prime minister within 3 weeks of the Brexit vote and announcement of Cameron's intention to resign from leadership.

There is no written constitutional authority detailing the selection and responsibilities of a prime minister. Like much of British governing, this authority arose through a variety of laws and traditions from the last 300 years. For more than 100 years, tradition has mandated that a prime minister be an elected member of the Commons. Most cabinet members also serve as elected MPs, but Lords can also be asked to serve on a cabinet. A prime minister can be removed by a vote of no confidence by the majority party in the House of Commons which would force the dissolution of Parliament by a call for new elections. This process of voting for no confidence is very rare. It is more typical for a prime minister to resign as the PM, but there is no rule about PM resignations. In 2022, Johnson won a majority of a Conservative Party "Confidence" vote but later resigned as prime minister amid a sexual harassment scandal by a Cabinet minister that Johnson allegedly ignored. Liz Truss was selected as the next Conservative Party leader in September, 2022 but was replaced as PM within 50 days by Rishi Sunak due fellow Conservative Party members mistrusting her leadership as PM.

The UK's judicial system is classified as independent because judges interpret laws to uphold the rule of law and these judges are outside of undue influence by political parties to advance a particular political agenda. The nomination process for judges on the UK's Supreme Court involves recommendation of nominees by an independent judicial commission in which sitting judges have a role to guard against overt political influence. The UK's judicial system uses a common law system which means its judges have more power to interpret laws in accordance with long-held judicial precedent. The Supreme Court of the UK was established by an act of Parliament in 2005 and, in 2009, began hearing criminal and civil appeals cases that relate to human rights and civil liberties from throughout the UK. The UK's Supreme Court also hears issues related to devolution in the UK. Courts have grown in importance with some estimating that more than 80 percent of rules governing economic life now originate from the British judiciary. Supreme Court justices must retire at age 70 and can be removed by acts of both chambers of Parliament.

### **Party system**

The UK's party system is usually classified as a two-party system or as a two-party plus. Only the Conservative Party and the Labour Party have controlled a majority of Commons for the last 70 years as other smaller alternative parties (Liberal Democrats) and regional parties (Scottish National Party) have consistently won only relatively small shares of Commons seats. Political scientists often attribute this two-party system to being a result of the UK's plurality winner-takes-all election rules (First Past the Post) for its Commons elections. In the last 30 years, majority governing power in the House of Commons has alternated between the two major parties twice when the Labour Party gained majority control of Commons in 1997 then when the Conservative Party gained majority control of Commons in 2010.

### **Unitary system**

The United Kingdom is a unitary political system that has subnational governments but grants its national (central) government based in London all sovereignty. In this unitary system, the national government can devolve powers to regional and local governments or can restrict those powers with no constitutional guarantee of reserved powers for subnational governments. Since 1997, the House of Commons has increasingly turned to devolution to gradually grant local governing powers to regional parliaments in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This devolution can also apply to municipal governments as exemplified when Commons voted to allow the Mayor of London to be directly elected into office starting in 2000. This shows the relative ease that a unitary government with a fusion between its parliament and executive can implement major policy changes.

Each of those three regional countries of the UK has been allowed by Commons to have elected regional parliaments. Those regional governments have increased local governing of roads, education policies, health care management, and some localized taxation policies. Commons even allowed Scotland to hold a referendum in 2014 about the question of whether Scotland should be an independent country. More than 55% of Scottish voters expressed a preference to remain part of the UK at that time, but the UK's withdrawal from the European Union in 2020 renewed independence calls in Scotland because of the EU's popularity in that region.

The 2023 dispute about gender recognition policies between Scotland's regional government and the central government of the UK is an example of policy tensions that can be created by devolving powers to regional governments. Scotland's parliament overwhelmingly approved a bill creating an expedited process of governmental recognition of a person's changed gender that was different from policies in other regions of the UK. The UK's central government then used its power to block the bill from gaining "royal ascent" to become law expressing a preference for a consistent and equitable gender recognition policy across the different regions of the UK.

### **Economic policy**

The United Kingdom moved toward the privatization of state-owned enterprises under the leadership of PM Thatcher starting in the late 1970s. UK citizens showed support of policies to privatize state-owned enterprises by voting for the Conservative Party's control of the House of Commons with Margaret Thatcher as prime minister. Thatcher supported neoliberal reforms to reduce the UK's ownership and management of its major industries such as airlines, telecommunications, auto manufacturing and energy. Thatcher's policy goal was to allow the free market to make the newly private companies more cost effective and profitable while reducing the state's cost of employing and providing benefits to workers in these industries. While the UK still has some socialism in its government-run health care, education system and public housing subsidies for the poor, the government allows the private control of most major industries like airlines, telecommunications, auto manufacturing and energy. This change toward more neo-liberal, free market economic policies showed the relative ease that a unitary government with a fusion between its parliament and executive can implement major policy changes.

Citizen U Presents:

# Comparing Power—

## An Appraisal of Comparative Government and Politics

AP Comparative and Politics Curriculum  
Fall, 2023

Big Ideas in AP Comparative Government and Politics\*

1. POWER AND AUTHORITY (PAU)\*
2. LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY (LEG)\*
3. DEMOCRATIZATION (DEM)\*
4. INTERNAL/EXTERNAL FORCES (IEF)\*
5. METHODS of POLITICAL ANALYSIS (MPA)\*

### Unit 2: Political Institutions\*

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

Describe parliamentary, presidential, and semi-presidential systems \*

**Parliamentary systems**, such as the United Kingdom, combine the lawmaking and executive functions, which allows the national legislature to select and remove the head of government and cabinet.\*

- The UK's parliamentary system has fused powers between the executive and national legislature. The executive almost always secures approval of policies by a majority of parliament. The House of Commons occasionally rejects the cabinet's policy proposals (ie. 2019 votes rejecting the prime ministers' initial Brexit EU withdrawal policies.) The House of Lords can review and suggest amendments with the possibility of slight delay (up to 30 days for budgets) in passage of legislation.

**Presidential systems**, such as Mexico and Nigeria, feature a cabinet that is mostly responsible to the elected executive, with legislatures that confirm cabinet members and that can remove cabinet members through impeachment. These systems have separate fixed-term, popular elections for the national legislature, and a top executive leader serving as both head of state and head of government.\*

**Semi-presidential systems**, such as Russia, feature separate popular elections for the president and for the national legislature, allowing the president to nominate a prime minister (who must be confirmed by the legislature); members of the cabinet are held accountable by both the president and legislature.\*

- Russia is a semi-presidential system created by its 1993 constitution that is often compared to France's semi-presidential system that was created in its 1958 constitution.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

Compare institutional relations among parliamentary, presidential, and semi-presidential systems.\*

Although parliamentary systems have fewer institutional obstacles to enact policy than presidential systems (presidential systems have divided branch powers), parliamentary systems have their own checks on the executive branch.\*

- The UK's parliamentary system has fused powers between the executive and national legislature that can expedite the executive's plans for making complicated and controversial policies with limited delay such as the steady devolution of central government powers to the UK's regional governments since 1997. The executive almost always secures approval of policies by a majority of parliament but several failed attempts to withdraw the United Kingdom from the European Union in 2019 showed that the House of Commons can occasionally reject the cabinet's policy proposals. While the House of Lords is the upper chamber, it has less power to check the executive than Commons. Lords can only review and suggest amendments to policies with the possibility of slight delay (up to 30 days for budget making.)

In 2023, the House of Lords proceeded with a detailed legislative review and offered amendments to the Sunak government's Illegal Migration Bill that required the forced removal of persons arriving in the UK without legal documentation. PM Sunak pledged to override changes to the legislation made by Lords.

Parliaments may censure cabinet ministers, refuse to pass executive proposed legislation, question the executive and cabinet ministers, and impose time deadlines on calling new elections.\*

- The House of Commons holds a regular Question Time in which members of Commons can question the **prime minister** and other cabinet members about governmental policies and implementation of those policies by the **executive bureaucracy**. This **Question Time** allows majority members to indicate representation of the interest of their constituencies (districts) and allows the opposition party to verbally challenge the majority party governance and policy making. The Commons passed a law in 2011 that created a **fixed-term election system** in which Commons elections would take place every 5 years on a fixed date. But the legislation allowed the prime minister to ask for snap elections to force all members to campaign for re-election within 30 days with a supermajority of support. This legislative approval of a snap election happened in 2017, just two years after the 2015 fixed-term Commons election. A snap election also occurred in 2019 when Prime Minister Boris Johnson requested an election to try to gain Conservative Party members to approve his proposed Brexit policies. But the Fixed-term Parliaments Act was repealed by an act of Commons in 2022 so the majority party of Commons can now call for an election to take place any time (30 days after approval) within a 5-year period.

- Presidential and semi-presidential systems have divided powers among government branches which allows the legislature to more commonly change or reject executive policy proposals. For instance, Nigeria's Senate rejected the president's proposed budget in 2016 that relied too heavily on borrowing from foreign sources.

- Russia's constitution was changed in 2020 to make the override of a presidential veto of legislation less likely. This change enhanced the president's power to the detriment of the legislature's power. Rejection of the president's pick for prime minister still results in new legislative elections which maintains the president's enhanced powers over the legislature. The 2020 changes also took away the upper chamber's (Federation Council) power to reject a president's nominee of a foreign minister. According to the changes, the Federation Council merely has to be consulted about a president's pick for foreign minister.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

Explain the structure, function, and change of executive leadership in course countries.\*

Governments have executive institutions, including chief executives and **cabinets** that formulate, implement, and enforce policy through different methods and agencies.\*

Titles, powers, structure, and functions vary in executive leadership across the six countries—

- China's president serves as **commander in chief**, chair of China's Military Commission, and General Secretary of the Chinese Communist party (National Party Congress); the president nominates the premier of the State Council who in turn serves as head of government overseeing the civil service; changes in top leadership are accomplished behind closed doors.\*

- Top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party determine top governing officials from within the ranks of the party leaders without input from the public.

- Iran's supreme leader sets the political agenda, serves as commander in chief, and appoints top ministers, the Expediency Council, half of the Guardian Council, and the head of the judiciary. The president is elected for up to two 4-year terms, oversees the civil service, and conducts foreign policy.\*

- Iran's supreme leader acts as head of state and under the theory of vilayet-i-faqih, the supreme leader ensures all aspects of the government uphold Shi'a Islam. The supreme leader appoints top intelligence officials, military officials, media ministers and advisors on the Expediency Council without needing approval from the Majles. The supreme leader must be a top-ranking cleric of Shi'a Islam. He is appointed by the Assembly of Experts for 10-year terms. There have only been two supreme leaders since Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979. The Assembly of Experts, which appoints the supreme leader, is directly elected every 8 years.

Iran's president acts as head of government responsible for the implementation of policies including foreign policies that have been approved by the supreme leader.

Iran's president is directly elected for fixed terms of 4 years. The winning candidate must secure a majority of the national vote in either the first or the second round of balloting.

- Mexico's elected president, as both head of state and head of government, serves as commander in chief and leader of the bureaucracy, and can approve domestic legislation and lead foreign policy; the president is restricted to one term.\*

- The president appoints members of the cabinet with some positions needing approval of Mexico's Senate.

Mexico conducts a direct election for president on a fixed term of every 6 years. The winning candidate must secure a plurality of the national vote.

- Nigeria's elected president, as both head of state and head of government, serves as chief executive, commander in chief, and head of **civil service**, and can approve domestic legislation and conduct foreign policy.\*  
-The president appoints members of the cabinet with the approval of Nigeria's Senate.

Nigeria conducts a direct election for president on a fixed term of every 4 years. Presidential candidates in Nigeria must win the most votes (plurality) and secure at least 25% of the vote in two-thirds of Nigeria's states otherwise a 2<sup>nd</sup> round of elections occurs between the top two candidates. This reflects the federal characteristic of this regime. Every winning candidate has secured victory in the first round of balloting.

- Russia's prime minister, the head of government, oversees the civil service. The elected president, head of state and commander in chief, appoints top ministers, conducts foreign policy, and presides over the Duma under certain conditions.\*

- Russia's president oversees the power ministries like the Federal Security Service (FSB) and the Foreign Intelligence Service. The president nominates a prime minister who serves as head of government and must

be approved by the legislature. The president also appoints top judges and can dissolve the Duma to call for new legislative elections. With the 2020 changes to Russia's constitution, the president has the power to dismiss top justices and made the legislature's successful override of a presidential veto of legislation less likely.

The 2020 changes to Russia's constitution also formally empower the State Council made up of Russia's regional governors, executive ministers and other members at the president's discretion. The newly empowered State Council can advise the President as the head of the State Council and directly implement Russia's foreign and domestic policy.

Russia conducts a direct election for president on a fixed term of every 6 years. The winning candidate must secure a majority of the national vote among several candidates in the first round of balloting or in the second round of balloting between the top two vote-earning candidates. Every winning candidate since Putin in 2000 has secured victory in the first round of balloting.

- The United Kingdom's monarch serves ceremonially as **head of state** and formally appoints as prime minister the leader of the party or coalition holding the largest number of seats in the House of Commons. As **head of government**, the prime minister leads the cabinet's formulation of policy, and implementation and enforcement of policy through different methods and bureaucratic agencies. The prime minister can call elections, set the foreign policy agenda, and serve as *de facto* commander in chief and chief executive over the **civil service**.\* A civil service manages the day-to-day implementation of laws and policies through different departments and agencies of the executive bureaucracy.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)



**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

Explain the advantages and disadvantages of executive term limits in course countries\*

Executive term limits have advantages and disadvantages with regards to promoting stability and effective policies in a country.

- Advantages of executive term limits are that they check executive power by and inhibit the emergence of dictators and personality rule; help to focus the officeholder on governing rather than winning elections; and provide opportunities for new leaders with new ideas, policies, or goals.\*

- Disadvantages of executive term limits are that they force good executives to leave office; allow insufficient time for an office holder to achieve goals; impede policy continuity; weaken accountability; create a lame-duck period for the officeholder; prevent the officeholder from building experience as chief executive; and can cause poorly designed policy.\*

- In China, presidents had operated with 10-year term limits until President Xi. During Xi's presidency, the National Party Congress (NPC) changed the constitution in 2018 to allow the president to serve an unlimited number of 5-year terms. The NPC appointed Xi to his third term as president in 2023.

- In Iran, the supreme leader serves 10-year terms but neither of Iran's two supreme leaders has ever been removed from office by the Assembly of Experts. Iran's president cannot serve more than two consecutive terms in office.

- In Mexico, the president has a one-term limit of 6 years called the sexenio.

- In Nigeria, the president has a two-term limit of 4 years for each term.

- In Russia, the 1993 constitution stated that a president had a constitutional term limit of no more than two consecutive terms of 4 years for each term. Vladimir Putin served his first two terms from 1999 until 2008. Putin was then named as prime minister by President Medvedev. When Putin ran for president again in 2012, the 1993 constitution had been changed to increase a president's term to 6 years. Putin was re-elected in 2018. Then the 2020 constitutional changes were approved by public referendum that allowed Putin to run as president again in 2024 then be re-elected to another 6-year term in 2030. In 2021, the Duma and Federation Council passed legislation that officially allows Putin to run for two more terms as president in 2024.

- In the United Kingdom, the head of state has no formal term limit. The monarch serves until death (Queen Elizabeth II in 2022) or abdication. The prime minister also has no formal term limit as head of government but can be removed through the result of an election in which the prime minister's party loses majority control of Commons or in which the prime minister's party votes to remove that PM and replace with a new party leader who becomes the new PM.

It is more typical for a prime minister to resign as the PM, but there is no rule about PM resignations. In 2022, Prime Minister Boris Johnson won a majority of a Conservative Party "Confidence" vote but later resigned as prime minister amid a sexual harassment scandal by a Cabinet minister that Johnson allegedly ignored. Liz Truss was selected as the next Conservative Party leader in September, 2022 but was replaced as PM within 50 days by Rishi Sunak due fellow Conservative Party members mistrusting her leadership as PM.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

Describe procedures for the removal of executive leadership by other institutions.

Across the course countries, executive leaders can be removed by the legislative branch through different procedures that control the abuse of power.\*

- In the United Kingdom, the head of state is the monarch who serves until death or abdication; there is no removal process. The prime minister serves until ousted as party leader, voted out by Commons in a **no confidence vote**, or until a rival party wins control of the House of Commons through election. A successful no confidence vote by Commons is very rare, but forces the prime minister and the cabinet to resign allowing the majority party of Commons to select a new prime minister and cabinet to act as the government.
- In Russia, the president can be removed through **impeachment** by the legislature, but no president has been removed through impeachment in Russia.
- In China, the National People's Congress has the power to remove a president. Since China's constitutional changes in 1982, no president has been removed through this process in China.
- In Nigeria, the president can be removed through impeachment by the legislature, but no president has been removed through impeachment in Nigeria.
- In Mexico, the constitution mentions the legislature's impeachment of the president (Article 108). But the process of the legislature removing the president from office is unclear (Article 111,) and no president has been removed through impeachment in Mexico.
- In Iran, the constitution mentions the Assembly of Experts ability to dismiss the supreme leader (Article 111,) but the process of removing the supreme leader is unclear (Article 108.) Neither of Iran's supreme leaders has ever been removed from office by the Assembly of Experts. Iran's president can be removed from office by the legislature and supreme leader, but no president has been removed through this process in Iran.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

## Describe legislative structures and functions in course countries\*

Legislative institutions of course countries include the following structures and functions—

- China's party-controlled system is **unicameral** and consists of an indirectly elected National People's Congress that the constitution recognizes as the government's most powerful institution that elects the president, approves the premier, and legitimizes policies of the executive.\*
  - China's National People's Congress (NPC) members serve 5-year terms and are indirectly elected through a series of regional legislative assemblies. The NPC elects the president (head of state) and approves the appointment of the premier (head of government.) The NPC is typically seen as a rubber stamp of executive policy decisions. It meets for a two-week session each year.
- Iran's theocracy is unicameral; the Majles is elected and holds the power to approve legislation, oversee the budget, and confirm presidential nominees to the Cabinet. This body acts under the supervision of the Guardian Council to ensure compatibility with Islam and Sharia law.\*
  - Majles members are elected on fixed terms of every four years separate from presidential elections. Elections are partially multi-member districts and partially single-member districts.

The Guardian Council also vets (filters) candidates for office. Half of the Guardian Council are appointed by the supreme leader. Half are appointed by the head of the judiciary. Majles votes to approve these appointments.
- Mexico's congressional-presidential system is **bicameral**. It consists of an elected lower house—the Chamber of Deputies—that approves legislation, levies taxes, and verifies outcomes of elections. The elected upper house, the Senate, holds the unique power to confirm presidential appointments to the supreme court, approve treaties, and approve federal intervention in state matters.\*
  - Mexico's Chamber of Deputies is partially directly elected in single-member district elections and partially elected in proportional representation of party list votes. Deputies have a four-term limit of 3 years each which was changed from a strict one term limit in 2015.

Mexico's Senate is partially directly elected in multi-member state elections (3 senators per state) and partially elected in proportional representation of party list votes. Senators have a two-term limit of six years each which was changed from a strict one term limit in 2015.
- Nigeria's congressional-presidential system is bicameral, consisting of an elected upper and lower chamber (Senate and House of Representatives). Both chambers hold the power to approve legislation, and the Senate possesses unique impeachment and confirmation powers.\*
  - Nigeria's House of Representatives—lower chamber — is directly elected in single-member district elections. The House can approve legislation and hold the cabinet accountable for policy implementation.

Nigeria's Senate—upper chamber — Three senators per state are directly elected from three districts in each state. The Senate approves legislation and can also hold the cabinet accountable for policy implementation with impeachment and confirmation powers.
- Russia's **parliamentary-hybrid system** is bicameral, and consists of an elected state Duma, which passes legislation and confirms the prime minister. An appointed Federation Council approves budget legislation, treaties, judicial nominees, and troop deployment.\*
  - Russia's Duma—stronger lower chamber — is partially elected in party list elections and partially directly elected in single-member district, plurality winner elections (First-Past-the-Post, FPTP.) The Duma can hold the cabinet accountable for policy implementation.

Russia's Federation Council—weaker upper chamber— is appointed.

- The United Kingdom's parliamentary system is bicameral, consisting of an elected House of Commons—which approves legislation—and selects the prime minister who is formally confirmed by the monarch, whereas an appointed House of Lords reviews and amends bills from the Commons, effectively delaying implementation as a power check.\*

- The UK's House of Commons—stronger lower chamber— is directly elected in single-member districts, plurality winner elections (First-Past-the-Post, FPTP.) Commons can remove the prime minister and cabinet (very rare) with a vote of no confidence.

The UK's House of Lords—weaker upper chamber — is appointed. Lords can review and suggest amendments with the possibility of slight delay (up to 30 days for budgets) in passage of legislation.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

Explain how legislative powers are constrained by other institutions and/or processes, which can affect **legislative independence** \*

Legislative powers can be constrained by other governmental institutions, including—

- China's Politburo Standing Committee, which is the actual center of power in the Chinese state.\*
- China's Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), which assumes legislative duties most of the year when the NPC is not in session, sets NPC legislative agenda, supervises NPC member elections, and interprets the Constitution and laws.\*
- China's NPC is not considered to be independent as seen in 2018 when the NPC voted to drop executive term limit rules for Xi Jinping by a vote of 2,958 yes votes to 2 no votes and 3 abstentions.
- Iran's Expediency Council, which is selected by the supreme leader as an advisory committee to resolve disputes between the Majles and the Guardian Council.\*
- Iran's Guardian Council, which vets legislative and presidential candidates and oversees the Majles to make sure laws comply with Islamic law.\* Because of the Supreme Leader's influence to directly and indirectly appoint the entire Guardian Council, the Majles is not considered to be an independent legislature because candidates opposed to the theocratic rulers are not allowed to run for election as Majles candidates.
- Russia's Federation Council is not considered to be independent as members are appointed to these legislative positions with approval by leaders loyal to Putin. In 2014 and 2022, the Federation Council voted unanimously to approve annexation of territories formerly controlled by Ukraine.
- Even with elections, Russia's Duma is not considered to be an independent legislature because members of the majority United Russia Party regularly vote for legislative proposals supported by Putin's government. Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022, the Duma has regularly passed bills favored by Putin's government that restricted free speech rights and punished Russians who publicly criticized the military invasion.
- While Mexico's legislature grew in independence after the PRI lost its dominance over presidential elections in 2000, the national legislature during the presidency of López Obrador supported the national legislature's move to reduce the INE's budget and weaken its enforcement of election laws. This legislation is seen as López Obrador's attempt to reduce the independence and effectiveness of the INE after the INE certified him as the losing candidate in the close 2006 presidential election. The legislation reflected the strong executive power over the national legislature in Mexico.
- Nigeria's legislature is designed to be able to be independent of executive power with separate elections, but is often controlled by the majority party allied with the president and acts on his behalf. However, in 2022, the National Assembly passed a bill to change how parties nominate candidates for national office. President Buhari signed this legislation despite disapproval of this section. Nigeria's Supreme Court later ruled that Buhari had signed the bill to make it a law and could not file a lawsuit to challenge the section.
- The House of Commons typically acts to support the government's legislative proposals because Commons is controlled by the same majority party that appoints majority party leaders as the prime minister and the cabinet. But Commons occasionally rejects the cabinet's policy proposals as evidenced by the 2019 votes rejecting the prime ministers' initial Brexit EU withdrawal policies.

In Mexico, Nigeria and Russia, presidents have the executive power to issue decrees and directives shape how the executive bureaucracies enforce and implement policies. These executive decrees are common in presidential systems and can have the power of lawmaking without needing the approval of the legislative branch.

Legislatures have the potential to reinforce legitimacy and stability by responding to public demand, openly debating policy, facilitating compromise between factions, extending civil liberties, and restricting the power of the executive.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

## Describe the structure and functions of judiciaries \*

Judiciaries in course countries have different functions and use various methods to appoint judges to interpret and apply laws and resolve disputes, represented by—

- In China, rule by law (instead of rule of law) means the judicial system is subservient to the decisions of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), which controls most **judicial appointments**.\* The CCP controls most appointments of judges and courts are used to enforce party decisions.
- The Iranian judiciary's major function is to ensure that the legal system is based on religious law, so judges must be trained in Islamic Sharia law. The head of the judiciary is appointed by the supreme leader and can nominate half of the Guardian Council with approval by the Majles.\*

-There are civil courts in Iran for some crimes. Revolutionary courts handle more serious crimes like national security trials.

-In Iran, the rule of law is weaker because its judiciary is not independent.

The civil liberties of artists in Iran can also be severely restricted by Iran's courts. Since 2015, government authorities have prosecuted at least two Iranian heavy metal rock bands (Confess in 2015 and Arsames in 2020) for producing music that promotes blasphemy that is "[insulting to the sanctity of Islam](#)." Members of Arsames could face up to 15 years in prison. Members of Confess were sentenced to more than 14 years in prison by the Islamic Revolutionary Court and the lead singer was sentenced to be lashed 74 times. Confess band members escaped to Norway before the sentence was carried out.

- The Mexican judiciary is in transition—the supreme court has the power of judicial review and subsequent constitutional amendments have been implemented with the intent to make the system more independent and effective. In Mexico, supreme court magistrates are nominated by the president and approved by the Senate for a term of 15 years.\* In 2019 a supreme court justice resigned after being charged with money laundering. The justice was replaced by a López Obrador (AMLO) appointee and the criminal charges were later dropped adding suspicion that the investigation was politically motivated to increase AMLO's influence in the judiciary.

- The Nigerian judiciary has the power of judicial review, and an effort has been made to reestablish its legitimacy and independence by reducing corruption; under the system of federalism, Islamic Sharia courts have been established in the north. In Nigeria, supreme court judges are recommended by a judicial council and are appointed by the president with confirmation by the Senate \*

- Russia's government uses the judicial system to target opposition, and although constitutionally the courts have the power of judicial review, this power has not been used to limit the authority of the governing branches. In Russia, judges are nominated by the president and approved by the Federation Council.\*

-Although its 1993 constitution intended for the judiciary to become independent, the stronger executive branch has controlled the judiciary for its purpose of keeping preferred leaders in power while targeting political opponents with legal persecution. The 2020 changes to the constitution, approved by public referendum, allow the president to demand that the upper chamber, the Federation Council, dismiss justices in Russia's supreme and constitutional courts. This creates a legal method for the president to erode judicial independence with the power to remove justices that rule against a president's preferences.

- The United Kingdom's judicial system uses common law and an independent judiciary to enforce the rule of law; major functions of the supreme court include its serving as the final court of appeals, protecting human/civil rights and liberties, and ruling on devolution disputes.\*

- Top judges are recommended by an independent judicial selection committee and nominated by the prime minister. Top judges use the UK's common law system to interpret vague laws to establish judicial precedent for other judges to follow. The UK Supreme Court was established by an act of Parliament in 2009. This

The supreme court also hears cases related to disputes about the distribution of central powers to regional authorities (devolution.)

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The structure and function of political institutions reflect the allocation of power within a political system.\*

**Explain the importance of independent judiciaries relative to other political institutions\***

The degree of the judiciary's independence from other branches of government depends on the amount of authority the courts have to overrule executive and legislative actions, the process by which judicial officials acquire their jobs, the length of judicial terms, the professional and academic backgrounds that judicial officials are expected to have, and the processes used to remove judges from their posts.\*

Independent judiciaries can strengthen democracy by maintaining checks and balances, protecting rights and liberties, establishing the rule of law, and maintaining separation of powers.\*

- In China, there is no independence of courts even though judges sometimes make rulings against the government in lawsuits by citizens. These rulings against the government are seen as superficial without the power of judicial review. This is evident in the use of the courts to punish human rights activists viewed as undermining the authority of China's Communist Party. The 2023 sentencing of Weiquan movement leader and human rights lawyer Guo Feixiong (Yang Maodong) to 8 years in prison for subverting state power is evidence of how China's courts are not independent of the CCP.

- Iran's constitution states the judiciary is an independent power but the courts are commonly used to prosecute opposition figures. This creates a culture of rule by law (as contrasted to rule of law in an independent judiciary.) After the 2022 protests of Mahsa Amini's death while she was detained for violating Iran's hijab mandate, nearly 60 Iranian protestors were put on trial and sentenced to death. Hundreds of other prisoners were executed in the Fall of 2022, many for drug-related offenses, as executions rose in Iran by 75%. Some observers of Iranian politics said this was an indication of Iran's government using its court system and the death penalty to communicate warnings to the wider group of protestors challenging governmental authority.

- In Mexico, the judiciary has improved its independence with constitutional amendments, but independence of courts has been threatened by the growing influence of organized criminal groups. Mexico's supreme court has judges who are recommended by the president with confirmation by Mexico's Senate and with a 15 year term limit.

- Nigeria's judiciary has tried to improve its independence by reducing corruption. Nigeria uses a common law legal system that gives more power to judges to interpret laws. The supreme court has the power of judicial review. But President Buhari's suspension of Nigeria's chief justice prior to the 2019 presidential election can be an indicator of reversing independence / democratization. But, in a sign of judicial independence in 2023, Nigeria's Supreme Court rejected a lawsuit brought by President Buhari who wanted to nullify a section of a 2022 electoral law in which the National Assembly called for changes to how parties nominate candidates for national office. Nigeria's Supreme Court ruled that Buhari had signed the bill to make it a law and could not file a lawsuit to challenge the section.

- Russia's judiciary is not viewed as independent because the government has used courts in the targeting of political opponents and dissidents. Although its 1993 constitution intended for the judiciary to become independent, the stronger executive branch has controlled the judiciary for its purpose of keeping preferred leaders in power while targeting political opponents with legal persecution. The 2020 changes to the constitution, approved by public referendum, allow the president to demand that the upper chamber, the Federation Council, dismiss justices in Russia's supreme and constitutional courts. This creates a legal method for the president to erode judicial independence with the power to remove justices that rule against a president's preferences.

In 2023, opposition politician Vladimir Kara-Murza was sentenced to 25 years in prison for treason and denigrating Russia's military for speeches he made supporting international economic sanctions against Russia and for criticizing Putin's decision to invade Ukraine.

- The judicial branch in the UK is viewed as independent from partisan influence and from control by the legislative and executive branches. This allows for rule of law as a democracy and some degree of judicial checks and balances even though the UK has no written constitution and no power of judicial review. 2019 was an example of the UK's judicial independence when the UK Supreme Court ruled against PM Boris Johnson's suspension of Parliament. Johnson attempted this in order to expedite his policy to withdraw the UK from the European Union. While Johnson claimed he respected the judicial decision that went against his preference, he also suggested that the supreme court judges be able to be held more accountable for their decisions.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

## AP CompGov: Glossary

### Unit 2: Political Institutions

**Legislative branch**- part of government responsible for writing laws and major policies

**Executive branch**- part of government responsible for implementing laws through the government's bureaucracy

**Judicial branch**- part of government responsible for hearing cases, and applying and interpreting laws to resolve legal disputes

**Head of State**- executive leader who represents a nation in ceremonial functions; in some governments can also have formal powers to shape foreign policy

**Head of Government**- executive leader sometimes known as a chief executive who formulates, implements and enforces policies through the cabinet and different agencies

**Parliamentary systems** when a national legislature has combined lawmaking and executive functions with the power to select and remove a prime minister who acts as head of government\*

**Presidential systems** when separate election processes are used in the selection of the president and the national legislature; the president serves as head of state and head of government who oversees the bureaucratic implementation of executive regulations and laws written by the legislature.\*

**Semi-presidential systems** when separate election processes are used in the selection of the president and the national legislature; the president serves as head of state and selects the head of government, with the legislature's approval, to shape policies and implement the legislature's laws.

**Executive term limits** institutional constraints on the length of time a head of state or head of government can serve in office. The United Kingdom is the only AP Comparative country with no formal executive term limit on its head of state and head of government.

**No-confidence vote** used in parliamentary systems as a method for the legislature to remove the prime minister as head of government

**Impeachment** used in presidential systems as a method for the legislature to remove the president and other executive officials from office.

**Fixed-term election system** in which elections for public officials take place on a regularly announced established date

**Executive bureaucracy** is the system of governmental agencies that implement executive regulations and laws written by the legislature



**Question Time** allows majority members of a legislature to indicate representation of the interest of their constituencies (districts) and allows the opposition party to verbally challenge the majority party governance and policy making.\*

**Executive cabinet**- top government officials in charge of formulating, implementing, and enforcing policy through different methods and bureaucratic agencies

**Commander in chief**- top governmental official in charge of decisions pertaining to the military

**Unicameral**- a legislature consisting of one chamber

**Bicameral**- a legislature consisting of two chambers (one upper, one lower)

**Legislative independence**- ability of a legislature to openly debate policies, facilitate compromises between different factions and to hold an executive accountable by restraining growth and abuse of executive power.

**Prime minister**- when the leader of the national legislature is also the head of government who is in charge of formulating, implementing, and enforcing policy through different methods and bureaucratic agencies

**Civil Service** – permanent members of bureaucratic agencies who implement laws and governmental regulations

**Parliamentary hybrid** term that describes Russia's semi-presidential system in which a directly elected president appoints the prime minister of the national legislature's lower chamber (Duma)

**Judicial appointment** process of nominating and approving judges in a judicial system.

**Judicial independence: ability** of judges to interpret the law with minimal influence by other political and governmental officials to maintain a separation of powers; ability of judges to restrain abuse of governmental power by executives and legislators and uphold civil liberty protections.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

Citizen U Presents:

# Comparing Power—

## An Appraisal of Comparative Government and Politics

AP Comparative and Politics Curriculum  
Fall, 2023

Big Ideas in AP Comparative Government and Politics\*

1. POWER AND AUTHORITY (PAU)\*
2. LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY (LEG)\*
3. DEMOCRATIZATION (DEM)\*
4. INTERNAL/EXTERNAL FORCES (IEF)\*
5. METHODS of POLITICAL ANALYSIS (MPA)\*

### Unit 3: Political Culture and Participation \*

**IEF**— Political culture, including core beliefs and values that address the tension between order and liberty, shapes the relationship between a state and its citizens.\*

Describe civil society and explain the role of civil society among course countries \*

**Civil society** comprises a range of voluntary associations that are autonomous from the state, including local religious and neighborhood organizations, news media, business and professional associations, **and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**.\*

Civil society groups provide an opportunity for citizens with common interests to associate together. Civil society groups can range from voluntary membership in a local church down the street to a community's recreational basketball league. In some cases, civil society groups provide services that governments can also provide. These types of civil society groups are called nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and can include groups like volunteer fire departments to groups that provide advocacy for foster children. Some of these NGOs are international groups such as the international Red Cross and Red Crescent groups that have millions of volunteers helping to provide emergency relief and health assistance to areas of crisis around the world.

The strength and variety of civil society organizations differs depending on the regime type in which they operate. Civil society organizations can be limited by government registration and monitoring policies.\* Across countries, the placing of restrictions on NGOs and civil society tends to highlight violations of civil liberties protected under foundational documents.\*

Freedom of assembly protections are the most fundamental civil liberty to protect the existence and strength of civil society groups within a country. Each of the core countries studied in AP Comparative Government and Politics, both democratic and authoritarian, has written protections of the freedom to assemble and association either in its constitution or in laws. (Students can research these stated rights at the National Constitution Center's "Rights Around the World" webpage. <http://constitutionalrights.constitutioncenter.org/app/home/world>) But in democratic regimes, the culture of civil society tends to be pluralistic with citizens free to join a wider variety of groups that have fewer governmental restrictions as compared with authoritarian regimes that are more likely to monitor and restrict these groups.

- China's constitution states that assembly and association are protected rights, but the government strictly monitors civil society groups and uses coercive tactics and restrictions against groups that China's Communist Party perceives as a threat to its monopoly on power. China's government has been particularly

restrictive of human rights groups that criticize conduct by the government. Leaders of these human right groups have been imprisoned and reportedly tortured for their political activism.

In terms of the treatment of religious groups, China's constitution claims that the "state protects normal religious activities" but the constitution goes on to state "No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order". The government sponsors a variety of religious groups and funds churches, temples, mosques and other places of worship that government officials monitor. These types of government-sponsored religious groups are not civil society groups since they are not independent of the government. There are a number of religious groups (Buddhist, Christian, Muslim and Jewish) that have attempted to create groups independent of sponsorship and monitoring, but members of these independent groups risk persecution including imprisonment by the government. Wang Li was one of those leaders of an unapproved Christian church (with about 500 members) in China who was sentenced to serve nine years in prison after he was charged with "subverting state power" in 2019.

- Russia's constitution cites protections of assembly by stating, "Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to gather peacefully, without weapons, and to hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches and pickets." Russia does allow some groups to protest policies, but Russia's government has also enacted a series of laws since 2012 that criminalize the organization of protests that are not approved of by the government. Russia allows citizens to form independent nongovernmental organizations, but a law passed in 2012 requires any groups that are politically involved and receive funding from international sources to register as "foreign agents." The finances of these groups are then able to be monitored more closely by government officials. By 2021, Russia's national courts had been used to not just invalidate electoral challenges by opposition candidates like Alexei Navalny, but to also outlaw organizations supporting Navalny by categorizing these political groups as extremist groups. This allowed for greater restrictions against anti-war groups in Russia after Russia's military invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

In terms of the treatment of religious groups, Russia's constitution states "the right to profess individually or collectively any religion". While many government officials have a close relationship with leaders of the Russian Orthodox church, Russia allows more independent membership in different religious groups as compared with the restrictions of these independent religious groups in China. However, some religious groups face persecution by the government. Russia passed antiterrorism laws in 2016 that greatly restricts public missionary work by some religious groups such as Mormons from the Latter-day Saints Church. Under this law, Jehovah Witnesses have been labeled by the government as an "extremist organization," and leaders of the religious group who have continued public missionary work have been imprisoned.

- Iran's constitution cites protection of assembly by stating "Public gatherings and marches may be freely held, provided arms are not carried and that they are not detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam." In 2014, Iran's President Rouhani publicly stated that some independent nongovernmental organizations in Iran helped its government improve the provision of services. But Iran's government has used laws against domestic terrorism and coercive tactics to restrict some independent groups. These restrictions of independent groups increased after the government used coercion and violence to suppress the widespread protests related to Iran's 2009 presidential election. Similar to China, human rights groups—including groups that advocate against Iran's use of the death penalty—have been especially restricted by these laws and coercive tactics.

In terms of the treatment of religious groups, Iran's constitution grants Islam (specifically Shi'a Islam) status as the country's official religion. But the constitution also cites protected rights to other schools of Islam and specifies that

"Zoroastrian, Jewish and Christian Iranians are the only recognized religious minorities, who, within limits of the law, are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education."

Iran has had a sizable Jewish population for more than 2,500 years. While there is an estimate of fewer than 20,000 Jewish Iranians and approximately 35 synagogues, this is the largest population of Jewish citizens in the Middle East region outside of Israel. There have been reports of intimidation of these religious minorities to comply with government protocols.

Members of the Baha'i faith in Iran are persecuted by the government of Iran as the government views Baha'is as apostates from Islam. Some human rights activists have been jailed in Iran just for advocating to end the persecution of those who are Baha'i.

- Nigeria's legislature declined to pass legislation in 2018 that would have required more government monitoring of the finances and approval of projects by some civil society groups and NGOs. The legislation was never passed after civil society groups and NGOs organized pressure to reject the proposed legislation.

However, when Amnesty International reported in 2018 that the government was inadequately protecting religious groups from Boko Haram attacks in central Nigeria, military leaders in Nigeria threatened to shut the group's main office in Nigeria. Also reports in 2020 indicated that governmental authorities in Nigeria's national and local governments, used lockdowns related to the Covid-19 pandemic to harass and assault civil society groups that have been working to hold officials accountable for the government's response to the pandemic.

Though civil society organizations are not necessarily political; a robust civil society serves as an agent of democratization.\*

The freedom to join civil society groups is as fundamental to the establishment of a democracy as competitive elections are. Governments that have less restrictions on free association and free assembly choices by its citizens tend to have greater tolerance and protection of free speech rights that allow citizens to speak out and ask governments to change policies and allow citizens to hold government officials accountable for their conduct in office and their policy choices. The United Kingdom would be an example of a more democratic government that has some registration requirements for different civil society groups but that doesn't strictly monitor and restrict the actions of civil society groups like more authoritarian governments do.

Political scientists have also documented that citizens who belong to civil society groups are more likely to participate politically. Examples of this increased participation can be related to elections such as group members campaigning for preferred candidates and helping to increase voter turnout for those candidates. This increased political participation among group members can be seen in increased grassroots political activism such as the organization of protests or a large group presence at a governmental meeting. Political scientist Robert Putnam wrote extensively about how civil society groups heighten political participation and are a necessary foundation in democratic political culture. As Putnam concluded, citizens participate more in large and small political efforts when they are more involved in civil society groups. It doesn't matter if these groups are international NGOs like Amnesty International or the church down the street or a recreational sports league like a weekly bowling group. When citizens belong to civil society groups, it is more likely those citizens will have conversations that lead to complaints about the government. These complaints often lead to group members contacting government officials to address these complaints which can be just as important to a democracy as holding a competitive election.

Across the course countries, civil society organizations, to varying degrees, can monitor and lobby the government, expose governmental malfeasance, represent the interests of members, and provide members with organizational experience.\*

- In Mexico, some political scientists trace the origins of Mexico's democratization to the role that civil society groups played in the aftermath of Mexico City's 1985 earthquake that killed about 5,000 residents. The government, run by the PRI dominant party, was incapable of addressing the devastation of thousands of survivors trapped under destroyed buildings in the megacity where an estimated 5 million residents were left with no electricity or drinkable water. Civil society groups formed in which citizen volunteers coordinated efforts to try rescuing those trapped in the rubble and to help address the lack of electricity and drinking water. Months after the earthquake, these local groups began organizing pressure on the PRI government to address housing and reconstruction efforts for the poor in Mexico City. These efforts led to the creation of the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) whose candidate is widely thought to have won the 1988 presidential election over the PRI dominant party candidate in 1988 until PRI stole the victory away through election fraud. This set off a chain of public movements to pressure PRI to reform Mexico's elections and resulted in a non-PRI candidate being elected president three times since 2000. Civil society groups stepping in to organize and address a crisis rather than waiting for a governmental response started the political reform effort in Mexico.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, the pluralism that had developed in Mexico with the organization and work of many different civil society groups allowed civil society groups to advocate for and work to implement different social and health policies when the government was strained due to the increase of citizens' needs during the pandemic. Similarly, organized crime groups in Mexico also took on some responsibilities of delivering some aid services during the Covid-19 pandemic.

- Nigeria's labor unions are a good example of civil society groups that advocate for governmental policies more favorable for the workforce. The Nigeria Labour Congress is an umbrella organization for nearly 30 labor unions in Nigeria that represent the interests of about 4 million workers.

Civil society groups and NGOs in Nigeria organized pressure in 2018 to reject proposed national legislation that would have required more government monitoring of the finances and approval of projects by some civil society groups and NGOs. Nigeria's #EndSARS social movement started in 2020 and was led by young activists against the abusive tactics by Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squads that have been often accused of abusive actions and corrupt practices. President Buhari pledged to begin the process of dismantling the special police teams that had been created in 1992 to lower acts of street crime but several organizers of the protests were accused of financial terrorism and had their bank accounts frozen by Nigeria's government. And more than 100 people were killed by security group attacks on protestors in Lagos.

- The United Kingdom is the headquarters to some of the best known international NGOs that attempt to shape policies and change governmental behaviors both in the UK and around the world. Oxfam and Save the Children are groups that address issues related to poverty. Amnesty International works to address issues related to human rights and advocates for the abolishment of the death penalty in every country.

The British Medical Association (BMA) would be an example of a civil society pressure group that attempts to influence health care policy in the United Kingdom.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, local governments in the United Kingdom (like the City of London) initiated efforts to offer financial aid to help sustain civil society groups during this healthcare and economic crisis.

But not all civil society groups are civil. Groups can form out of a common interest by citizens that are intent to shape policies to oppress other groups or with the use of violence to hurt other groups and attempt to shape policy. In more democratic countries, the freedom of association can result in the organization of groups that resort to tactics of oppression and violence to try to accomplish their agendas. The freedom of association can be used by some criminal and terrorist groups to organize some of their activities which can make governments focus on how to best balance the protection of both liberty and order.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)\*

**IEF**— Political culture, including core beliefs and values that address the tension between order and liberty, shapes the relationship between a state and its citizens.\*

Explain how political culture relates to citizen behavior and the role of the state.\*

**Political culture** is the collective attitudes, values, and beliefs of the citizenry and the norms of behavior in the political system. It sets expectations about the exercise of power to establish a balance between social order and individual liberty.\*

Examples of questions about political culture from country to country include:

- What role do citizens expect to play in the selection of government officials?
- What individual freedoms and liberties do citizens expect to be protected by the government?
- What role do citizens think they should be able to play in influencing governmental policy making?
- How limited should the powers of government be?

Political culture is influenced by factors of geography, religious traditions, and history, forming a population's values and beliefs about the role of government, the rights of the individual, and the extent and role of citizens in controlling government policymaking.\*

- Nigeria's political culture has been significantly shaped by its political history connected to British colonialism. In creating boundaries of Nigeria that contained such diversity of ethno-religious groups, British colonial rulers divided powers between these different groups that still influences the tensions between these groups that Nigeria's current governments still address. Before Nigeria secured independence in 1960, colonialism also shaped the development of Nigeria's economy in the different regions — notably its oil industry in the south. And some of Nigeria's political institutions, like the use of a common law legal system and the development of an independent judiciary, can be traced back to British colonial governments.
- In Iran, the political culture of its theocracy is shaped by the principle of the Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (Vilayat-e Faqih.) This religious oversight of the government ensures Iran as an Islamic theocracy even with the direct election of some government officials.
- In Russia, political culture was shaped with the fall of the USSR and economic chaos that this created in the early 1990s. Russian politicians can often gain more popular support with policies that reassert Russia's regional influence in defiance of NATO such as the takeover of Crimea from Ukraine in 2014 when nationalism in Russia led to more popular support for President Putin and diminished support for groups opposed to Putin then.

Political culture is transmitted through the process of **political socialization**, which is the lifelong process of acquiring one's beliefs, values, and orientations toward the political system. Family, schools, peers, religious institutions, media, and social environments, including civic organizations, play a crucial role in the socialization process and help develop political attitudes and values.\*

Social **cleavages** greatly influence the political socialization in the core countries of AP Comparative Government and Politics:

- Nigeria has ethnic and geographical social cleavages between Igbos in the east, Hausa-Fulani in the north, and Yoruba in the west. Nigeria has religious and geographical social cleavages between Muslims in the north, Christians in the south, and a diverse mix of Muslims, Christians and animists in central Nigeria known as the middle belt. North and south are also divided by economic prosperity with the country's oil industry mostly located in the wealthier south while the agrarian north is less affluent.



- Urban-rural cleavages are prominent in China, Russia, Iran, Mexico with urban areas in these countries having more industry and affluence and rural areas having more agriculture and less wealth.

In Iran, the urban-rural social cleavage shaped citizen responses to the 2009 presidential election with urban citizens more likely to support relaxing Iran's gender disparity laws as compared with rural citizens who were more likely to support the government's strict regulations of gender disparity such as more stringent dress requirements for females to cover their skin.

In Mexico, the urban-rural social cleavage shaped rural participation in the Zapatista uprising of the 1990s with less affluent and indigenous peoples of southern Mexico (Chiapas) protesting and attacking government buildings to demand land rights and economic benefits in opposition to the government's implementation of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement.)

- In the United Kingdom, social class cleavages still play a crucial role in shaping political socialization. Class distinctions were at the basis of the division between the House of Lords which had been originally reserved mostly for upper class members who had inherited these seats and the House of Commons which was composed by "commoners" who were not in the upper class. In the UK's traditional social class cleavages, the upper-elite class favored the Conservative Party as the laborers in the working class favored the Labour Party with the middle class often split between these two parties. As the UK's economy has evolved into a growing and diverse service economy (jobs ranging from financial service consultants to retail cashiers) the categorization of the major social classes has also become more diverse. Regardless of the changes, social class in the United Kingdom is still a major role in the political socialization of citizens that shapes everything from party preference, political participation rates, and policy preference for the UK's withdrawal from the European Union (Brexit.)

Though many agents of socialization (e.g., family, school, peers, media, and government) are similar across regime types, authoritarian regimes apply more concerted governmental pressures to socialize their citizens around conforming beliefs than do democratic regimes.\*

- China's government uses its compulsory attendance at public schools as an agent of political socialization. Required school curricula have always emphasized the accomplishments of Mao Zedong as China's revolutionary leader. This curriculum is not critical of the Communist Party's policy failures such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. Since Xi Jinping became president in 2013, the government has increasingly used public education to promote Xi Jinping's policy accomplishments. President Xi has said that "Children should memorize the core socialist values by heart, have them melt in their hearts, and carve them into their brains." CCP members have also been expected to demonstrate study of "Xi Jinping Thought" to show their loyalty to China's paramount leader.

China also uses re-education camps in the Xinjiang province for political socialization. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim Uighurs have been detained in these camps that a government official has described as being similar to "boarding schools." While detained, Muslim Uighurs are given vocational training while they are indoctrinated on learning the Chinese language and obeying laws to avoid becoming involved in terrorism related to Uighur separatists seeking the region's independence from China.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**IEF**— Political culture, including core beliefs and values that address the tension between order and liberty, shapes the relationship between a state and its citizens.\*

Describe political ideologies.\*

A **political ideology** is a set of values and beliefs about the goals of government, public policy, or politics, as represented by—  
**Individualism**—belief in individual civil liberties and freedom over governmental restrictions.\*

**Neoliberalism**—belief in limited governmental intervention in the economy and society; supports privatization, free trade, deregulation, and the elimination of state subsidies.\*

Neoliberal beliefs support privatization of government controlled industries, free trade to lower tariffs on imported goods, deregulation of governmental controls on business, and the elimination of state subsidies for industries.

**Communism**—belief in the abolition of private property with near total governmental control of the economy.\*

**Socialism**—belief in the reduction of income disparities and the nationalization of major private industries.\*

**Fascism**—extreme nationalist ideology that favors authoritarian rule and the rights of the ethnic majority over that of ethnic minorities and the political opposition.\*

**Populism** —political philosophy that supports the interests and rights of the common people over that of the elites.\*

Populism can be evident in policies and/or political rhetoric promoting the will of ordinary people. Many policies in the AP6 Countries can fit this description including:

Xi Jinping’s policies to reduce income inequality by attempting to shut down private tutoring academies that were thought to give affluent families advantages from success on national tests.

Iran’s Mahmoud Ahmadinejad who spoke out against the corruption of Iran’s elite families who controlled the bonyad charities that manage much of Iran’s oil production businesses.

Mexico’s President López Obrador canceled contracts for the construction of Mexico City’s new international airport when he became president in 2019. The airport construction was more than half completed. But López Obrador was highly critical of the multi-billion dollar project that he had categorized as corrupt business deals made by his predecessor that were enriching powerful business leaders. López Obrador ordered that new governmental monies be directed to expand a military airport near Mexico City that could be used for commercial purposes. This exemplified the trust that López Obrador believed Mexico’s population trusted the military being in charge of a large infrastructure project rather than the public-private partnership his predecessor had initiated for the airport expansion.

Nigeria’s President Buhari commonly used campaign rhetoric supporting policies to try to reduce the influence of wealthy elites in Nigeria.

Russia’s President Putin immediately targeted oligarchs who opposed his power in the early 2000s with rhetoric of needing to reduce the power of those who obtained wealth corruptly during the years of President Yeltsin. Some of these oligarchs faced criminal allegations of corruption and were punished, some others fled Russia in exile. Putin’s populism can also be seen in the changes to Russia’s constitution that were approved in a 2020 public referendum restricting same-sex marriages by making marriages in Russia legally restricted between one man and one woman.

In the United Kingdom, Boris Johnson’s support for the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union was characterized as standing up for the well-being of the common person against the elites who profited from the EU’s free-trade policies. The PM’s Rishi Sunak government supported the Illegal Migration Bill that required the forced removal of persons arriving in the UK without legal documentation.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)



**IEF**— Political culture, including core beliefs and values that address the tension between order and liberty, shapes the relationship between a state and its citizens.\*

Explain how political values and beliefs frame policy choices to address particular political problems\*

Contrasting political ideologies, including rule by law as opposed to **rule of law**, affect how the state treats its citizens and deals with specific problems, such as political corruption.\*

- In terms of corruption, China uses its legal system with tough punishments (including the death penalty) against government officials and business people convicted of violating China's laws against corruption. Since coming to power, President Xi has cemented his power by promoting his allies and punishing his rivals. He has used China's courts and police to ensnare nearly 1,000,000 government, party and business officials (including rival high-ranking party leaders) in local and national corruption probes. China's Communist Party had been using the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection to carry out many of these corruption prosecutions, but a new powerful governmental body (National Supervisory Commission) was created in 2018 to more thoroughly prosecute party members accused of corruption.
- Russia's government also uses its courts to prosecute rivals to President Putin's power. In 2003, Russia's wealthiest business owner, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, was arrested for crimes related to tax evasion and other financial crimes. Khodorkovsky, had been a large owner of privately controlled Yukos oil and was reportedly interested in opposing Putin in Russia's 2004 presidential election. Khodorkovsky was prosecuted and served nearly a 10-year prison sentence until Putin allowed his early release in 2013. Shortly after Khodorkovsky's conviction, the government forced Yukos to be sold at auction to an energy company (Gazprom) mostly owned by Russia's government. Russia's government has used its courts in other high-profile cases against business owners and investors who have threatened to uncover financial corruption by high-ranking government officials in Russia.

In 2012, Russia's national courts had been used to not just invalidate electoral challenges by opposition candidates like Alexei Navalny, but to also outlaw organizations that support Navalny by categorizing these political groups as extremist groups. This allowed for greater restrictions against anti-war groups in Russia after Russia's military invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

In the summer of 2020, there were major protests against Putin's rule in Khabarovsk (a region in Siberia) due to the arrest of the region's governor (Sergei Furgal). Furgal—of the opposition Liberal Democratic Party—was democratically elected as the region's governor in 2018, but the region was the least supportive of the 2020 referendum on constitutional changes that allowed for the extension of Putin's leadership. Furgal was arrested due to his suspected connection with two businessmen who were murdered in 2004 and 2005. In 2023, Furgal was sentenced to a 22 year prison sentence after his conviction for a double murder.

- In Mexico, the López Obrador administration brought corruption charges against the former head of PEMEX in 2019 who was a political ally of former president Peña Nieto whose administration knew about the allegations of corruption but refused to pursue criminal charges during the 2018 presidential campaign. With the Peña Nieto administration's decision not to pursue criminal charges against a political ally, this example shows how Mexico can struggle upholding the rule of law.
- In Nigeria, President Buhari fired a political ally and his top civil servant appointee, Babachir Lawal, after he was accused of inflating the costs of humanitarian aid projects in 2017. Lawal was investigated, charged and expected to face trial in 2019.

These corruption allegations in Mexico and Nigeria have some similarities and differences with Mikhail Khodorkovsky's case in Russia. But all of these cases stand in contrast with China's court system which can rush trials against the accused in relatively quick prosecutions. Mikhail Khodorkovsky was convicted nearly a year and half after his arrest and his trial lasted nearly a year in Russia's criminal court. China's criminal prosecutions and trials occur much more quickly and with the possibility of the death penalty in some corruption cases. The concept of rule of law includes the protection of due process rights so that all citizens are treated fairly when accused of a crime and have an opportunity to fully defend themselves in court from criminal accusations. These comparisons show how much more limited due process rights of the accused can

be in China's courts as compared to Russia's courts and other countries that have high-profile corruption investigations.

- Political beliefs associated with authoritarian regimes tend to rely on rule by law, in which the state uses the law to reinforce the authority of the state.\*

**Authoritarian regimes** are more likely than democratic regimes to employ agents of political socialization that help shape citizens' political beliefs to support the use of the law and government coercion to establish social order.

- China's government prohibits Muslim Uighur men from wearing long beards and women veiling their faces. Most recently, some reports indicate that China has begun using its growing technology of facial recognition and artificial intelligence to track Uighurs in cities throughout the country. The government has rationalized that these coercive methods are necessary to prevent acts of terrorism related to Uighur separatists seeking the region's independence from China.

Since Xi Jinping became president in 2013, the government has increasingly used public education to promote Xi Jinping's policy accomplishments. President Xi has said that "Children should memorize the core socialist values by heart, have them melt in their hearts, and carve them into their brains." CCP members have also been expected to demonstrate study of "Xi Jinping Thought" to show their loyalty to China's paramount leader.

China used a large-scale protest movement in Hong Kong to extend its authoritarian rule in the governance of Hong Kong in 2020. In 1997, China's government took control of Hong Kong as a special administrative region (SAR) of China after the United Kingdom relinquished control of Hong Kong as a colony. As China's government increased its influence on the governance of Hong Kong, large groups of protestors voiced opposition to restricted electoral policies and due process rights intended to increase the influence of China's government over residents of Hong Kong. These protest movements in 2014 and 2019 were met with violence by Hong Kong security forces attempting to suppress the protests. In 2020, the National People's Congress passed a law allowing the NPC's Standing Committee to make national security laws that prohibited separatist and subversive activities that interfere with the Hong Kong SAR. Thus, China's central government used national security and the need for increased societal order as excuses to extend its authoritarian rule in the governance of Hong Kong. In 2020-2021, pro-democracy activist and publisher Jimmy Lai was detained then jailed for publication of reports that violated the national security law. By the end of 2021, Lai's pro-democracy newspaper ended operations and the National People's Congress passed a law mandating that only "patriotic" candidates could run for office in Hong Kong. Lai was still in prison in 2023 after receiving an extended sentence in 2021 for organizing what the government deemed to be an illegal assembly in 2019.

- In Iran, former presidential candidate Mir-Hossein Mousavi, and his wife have been under house arrest since 2011. Mousavi was a former prime minister of Iran when he ran for president in 2009 against incumbent president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Mousavi was seen as a moderate reformer by Iranian voters. The government's quick reporting of an electoral victory by Ahmadinejad triggered speculation of electoral fraud and wide scale protests against Ahmadinejad's forces and calls for the removal of supreme leader Khamenei by some protestors. The government used violent force with reports of more than 150 protestors killed and mass incarcerations of protests and opposition leaders. Iran greatly increased its restrictions of the Internet and monitoring of social media to catch and punish citizens it deemed as trying to overthrow Iran's Islamic theocracy. When the former candidate, Mousavi, publicly supported the 2011 Arab Spring protests against authoritarian governments in the middle east, he and his wife were detained under house arrest and have not been released.

In 2019, Iran's government reduced government spending on fuel subsidies meant to lower fuel prices. When gas prices increased between 50-200%, mass protests took place against this austerity policy. Some reports indicate that up to 1,500 Iranians were killed as the government moved to suppress these protests in 2019 and into 2020.

In the Fall of 2022 and into 2023, hundreds of thousands joined different protests in cities across Iran against government mandates for women to wear hijabs after a young woman (Mahsa Amini) was detained for

violating Iran's hijab mandate and died in the law enforcement custody. In response, Iran's president and head of the judiciary both expressed public condolences about Amini's death and pledged to investigate the allegations of illegal abuse by the Guidance Patrols that monitor public spaces for violations of religious dress mandates. This was likely done to reduce tensions and protests against the government's law enforcement officers. But law enforcement authorities used violence against protestors. Thousands of protestors were arrested and detained with hundreds of protestors killed by government forces. By January of 2023, nearly 60 Iranian protestors were put on trial and executed after convictions. Many prominent women's right activists were arrested in the government's response to try to protect its stability.

- Nigeria's legislature declined to pass legislation in 2018 that would have required more government monitoring of the finances and approval of projects by some civil society groups and NGOs. The legislation was never passed after civil society groups and NGOs organized pressure to reject the proposed legislation.

However, when Amnesty International reported in 2018 that the government was inadequately protecting religious groups from Boko Haram attacks in central Nigeria, military leaders in Nigeria threatened to shut the group's main office in Nigeria. Also reports in 2020 indicated that governmental authorities in Nigeria's national and local governments, used lockdowns related to the Covid-19 pandemic to harass and assault civil society groups that have been working to hold officials accountable for the government's response to the pandemic.

- In Russia, the constitutional changes adopted by popular referendum in 2020 grant Russia's president legal immunity upon leaving office indicating a change in Russia's law to prevent holding a government official legally accountable for corruption while in power.

- Political beliefs associated with democratic regimes tend to rely on rule of law, in which the state is limited to the same rules as its citizens.\*

- When government officials violate the law or abuse their powers, citizens in the United Kingdom have more freedoms than authoritarian regimes grant for citizens to speak out against these governmental actions to attempt to hold the government accountable. In cases of alleged governmental corruption, citizens in democratic regimes have more trust that elections can be used to oust corrupt governmental officials.

Citizens in Mexico and Nigeria have more freedom to protest government policies than citizens in China, Iran and Russia. But as compared to the rights of protestors in the United Kingdom, protests in Mexico and Nigeria are more likely to be harassed and assaulted by security forces in those countries where the rights of protestors are not as protected as in a fuller democracy like the United Kingdom.

Beliefs about social and economic equality can be held by citizens in both democratic and authoritarian regimes but can be contrasted by the amount of enforcement responsibility transferred to the government and the amount of choice afforded to citizens to protect their health and material well-being (ranging from limited governmental social protections to a **welfare state**).

- The governments of the United Kingdom and China both moved toward the more neo-liberal economic policies starting in the late 1970s. In the United Kingdom, citizens showed support of policies to privatize state-owned enterprises by voting for control of the House of Commons with Margaret Thatcher as prime minister through the 1980s. Thatcher supported neoliberal reforms that would reduce the UK's ownership and management of its major industries such as airlines, telecommunications, auto manufacturing and energy. Thatcher's policy goal was to allow the free market to make the newly private companies more cost effective and profitable while reducing the state's cost of employing and providing benefits to workers in these industries. While the UK still has some socialism in its government-run health care, education system and public housing subsidies for the poor, the government still allows the private control of most major industries like airlines, telecommunications, auto manufacturing and energy.

- Without direct elections to show public support for his policy goals, China's Deng Xiaoping also moved forward with neoliberal policies that reduced some government controls on parts of the economy. Deng supported China's transition to a more mixed economy with state-managed capitalism. Before Deng's leadership, China had been a traditional communist economy with heavy central government control over all economic sectors. Urban industrial workers worked exclusively in state-owned-enterprises (SOEs) that

provided welfare known as the Iron Rice Bowl. This metaphor describes a low wage job with guaranteed job security and work benefits including housing and pensions in addition to the public education and health care that the government provides most citizens. But because of the rising costs of these benefits and the lack of worker productivity that can characterize some of China's state-owned-enterprises, Deng supported a neoliberal transition. Under his leadership, China began reducing the role of SOEs and increasing the role of privately controlled companies in China's economy. This resulted in more privately-owned factories that paid workers more but with fewer costs of Iron Rice Bowl benefits and less job security for workers. Unlike the UK, China's economy can be described as state-managed capitalism because—even with increased private ownership—the state still controls the major economic institutions such as energy, auto making, airlines, telecommunications and steel manufacturing. China has seen many worker protests related to job layoffs and poor working conditions in some of these privately controlled factories. But China lacks direct elections to shape governmental policies. The CCP continues to support state-managed capitalism and uses agents of political socialization to try to shape public support for these policies.

- In Iran, there is a widely held public expectation, strongly based on Islamic beliefs, in the role of charity to provide social services for the poor. Iran's government sponsors nearly 100 para-governmental economic organizations called bonyads that are intended to direct government revenues (including profits from the oil industry) and charitable giving to charitable causes to help Iran's poor. These bonyad organizations are run by elite families in Iran and have played a growing role in domestic investments across many economic sectors in recent decades. These organizations have been suspected of having too large a role in Iran's economic decisions and for delivering too little financial benefit for these intended causes while they benefit wealthy Iranian families and their allies. But any public or governmental disfavor of bonyad operations has little impact as only Iran's supreme leader can hold these organizations accountable.

**Post-materialism** refers to social valuing of self-expression and quality of life that lead to applying pressure on governments to address environmental issues and social and economic equality.\*

Activism by citizens supporting more protected rights for lesbian, gay and transgender persons provides an example of how governments respond to political participation to shape these types of post-materialist policies:

- In Iran, any sexual activity outside of heterosexual marriage is a crime. For same-sex sexual activities, gay men can face harsher penalties (including the death penalty) than lesbian women. But a group of Iranian transgender activists were able to convince Shi'a religious leaders in the 1980s that Iran's government should subsidize gender reassignment surgery for both men and women. Maryam Khatoon Molkara's story of advocacy for transgender rights is a unique story of successful political activism in an authoritarian government. She was later the founder of the Iranian Society to Support Individuals with Gender Identity Disorder. Because of these efforts, high ranking Shi'a clerics have endorsed the rationale that gender reassignment promotes heterosexual sex relations. While Iran's government subsidizes gender reassignment surgery, Iran has no laws that prohibits discrimination against trans citizens who have gone through gender reassignment.

- In Russia, the government decriminalized homosexuality in 1993 and gay men and lesbian women can serve openly in the military. But gay-rights activists in Moscow and St. Petersburg has been blocked by the local government from organizing gay pride parades in those cities despite those cities having large and vibrant LGBT communities. Citizens' attempts to hold unsanctioned gay pride parades have been restricted by police action. LGBT activists tried to pressure national legislators to defeat a law that restricted websites for the LGBT community. Russian legislators claimed the law was to prevent the recruitment of Russian youth into homosexuality, but LGBT activists contend the law has been used to restrict their rights of political participation. Transgender citizens are allowed to change their gender on government documents after gender reassignment, but there are no national or local laws protecting the LGBT community from discrimination. Changes to Russia's constitution that were approved in a 2020 public referendum restricted same-sex marriages by making marriages in Russia legally restricted between one man and one woman.

- In the United Kingdom, proponents of same-sex marriage rights pressured parliamentary leaders to adopt legal protection of same-sex marriage rights in 2013. This effort followed legal rulings in UK courts that failed to recognize marriage rights of same sex couples that have been married under common law legal systems in former British colonies. While same-sex couples have protected marriage rights due to legislation in England, Wales and Scotland, the regional government of Northern Ireland has not approved same-sex marriage rights beyond civil partnerships.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**DEM**— The way a regime uses power and authority to support or suppress its citizens establishes a balance between order and individual liberty.\*

Explain the nature and role of political participation as related to a regime's use of **authority** and **power**.\*

Political participation can be voluntary or coerced and may occur at the individual or group level. Political participation can range from behavior supportive of a regime (either independently or under state direction) to oppositional behavior that seeks to change governmental policies or overthrow the regime. \*

- Voting is an example of political participation by individuals. In many countries that have elections, an individual has the freedom to not vote as an individual choice. Some groups, like political parties, interest groups and other NGOs, might organize efforts to get large numbers of individual voters to turnout to support a favored candidate in an election. Some individuals view not voting as political participation to send a message to the government that they are unhappy with the candidates or the election process. If a large number of citizens believes that the government is imposing rules that reduce an election's legitimacy, some groups within that country might attempt to organize a boycott of voting as a form of political participation. In some countries, voting is coerced through compulsory voting. In some authoritarian governments, citizens can face serious punishments if they are not recorded as voting. In some democracies, like Mexico, there are laws that require citizens to vote but these laws are not enforced. In other democracies, voting is mandated and enforced with fines for citizens who skip participating in an election. These fines can differ for missing national or local elections.

- Protest is another form of political participation that can be voluntary or coerced and may occur at the individual or group level. An individual can protest a government policy in hopes of shaping the policy or drawing attention and support from interest groups and other NGOs to build wider support for the cause. Democracies tend to have fewer restrictions on public protests, but all governments institute rules to maintain security and order at some level. Authoritarian governments are more likely to use coercion to restrict public protests under the justification of maintaining security and order. Some authoritarian governments, such as China and Iran, view any protest against central government policy as an attempt to overthrow the regime. In some authoritarian governments, the government mandates that citizens attend mass demonstrations and political rallies that the government organizes in an attempt to build their political legitimacy. This coerced participation was a feature of policies in China during Mao Zedong's leadership as he consolidated power after their revolution and regime change to a communist government in 1949. Forced participation in protests movements have not been expected of China's government since Mao's rule ended with his death in the 1970s.

In some authoritarian governments, government officials might help coordinate groups supportive of the government to counter-protest against demonstrators criticizing the government. This can be a common occurrence in both Russia and Iran where government authorities have responded to some critical demonstrations by using government resources to coordinate much larger groups supporting government policies to drown out and possibly intimidate the critics.

Other examples of political participation not related to elections include: discussing politics with others, distributing petitions, attending governmental meetings, speaking with government officials, publishing opinions about governmental policies, displaying art intended to convey a message about policies or government behavior, and joining groups that support a common policy viewpoint.

Certain political conditions make it more likely that citizens will engage in violent political behavior, including when citizens feel that more conventional options for political participation are ineffective or unavailable. \*

Some acts of violent political behavior have been committed by groups seeking to gain sovereignty over territory within a country as a **separatist movement**. Some acts of violent political behavior have been committed by groups claiming that the government has ignored or minimized nonviolent efforts to shape governmental policies and try to rationalize that violence is needed to gain attention for more substantial changes.

- One shared reason that some democratic and authoritarian governments hold elections is to try to provide a safety valve of public discontent in order to prevent violent political behavior. One shared reason that some democratic and authoritarian governments create governmental systems that attempt to distribute powers to local and regional governments is to provide a way for regions to create policies that minimize the desire for local groups to resort to violent political behavior. Democratic governments are more likely to grant authentic powers to regional governments to allow local officials to shape policy. An example of this was when the United Kingdom agreed in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement (Belfast Agreement) to grant more regional power to the local government in Northern Ireland that would share executive powers between their Protestant and Catholic governmental leaders to help reduce violent political behavior related to religious social cleavages there.

- Authoritarian governments are less likely to grant authentic powers to regional governments to allow local officials to shape policy. Even though China's government recognizes Tibet and Xinjiang as special autonomous regions with unique land and language rights for ethno-religious minorities in those regions, China's government does not allow local leaders to vary from policies approved by China's Communist Party and often uses coercive tactics with a heavy internal security presence to keep order and to prevent violent political behavior.

In 2020, the National People's Congress passed a law allowing the NPC's Standing Committee to make national security laws that prohibited separatist and subversive activities that interfere with the Hong Kong Special Autonomous Region (SAR). Thus, China's central government used national security and the need for increased societal order as excuses to extend its authoritarian rule in the governance of Hong Kong.

Formal political participation (including casting ballots in elections) can be encouraged across regime types to enhance legitimacy, gather input, act as a safety valve, or apply a check on governmental policies, though authoritarian regimes are more likely to use citizen participation to intimidate opposition or give an illusion of influence, while democratic regimes hold elections to allow citizen control of the policy-making process. \*

**Referendums** allow citizens to vote directly on policy questions and are used for a variety of reasons, including as a means to promote democratic policy-making, to allow a chief executive to bypass the legislature, and to oblige citizens to make difficult and potentially unpopular decisions on public policy issues. The United Kingdom has used referenda to decide questions about the devolution of powers to regional assemblies, the separation and creation of an independent nation-state, and their withdrawal from the European Union. \*

**Should Scotland be an independent country? 2014**

|     |       |
|-----|-------|
| YES | 44.7% |
| NO  | 55.3% |

**Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union? 2016**

|        |        |
|--------|--------|
| LEAVE  | 51.89% |
| REMAIN | 48.11% |

Changes to Russia's constitution that were approved in a 2020 public referendum restricted same-sex marriages by making marriages in Russia legally restricted between one man and one woman. These constitutional changes also granted the president greater governing authority and allowed Vladimir Putin to extend his presidency past the limit created by Russia's previous constitution.

**Do you approve amendments to the Constitution of the Russian Federation? 2020**

|     |        |
|-----|--------|
| YES | 78.56% |
| NO  | 21.44% |

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**DEM**— The way a regime uses power and authority to support or suppress its citizens establishes a balance between order and individual liberty.\*

Explain how political participation affects and is affected by democratic or authoritarian regime types\*

Authoritarian and democratic regimes support similar forms of participation to influence policy-making (including casting votes in public elections) but differ in how much impact citizens have on policies and policy-making based on how open and competitive elections are. In many elections in authoritarian regimes there are few if any opposition candidates—those advocating differing views from that of the controlling party/elite—who are allowed to run for office. The government often intervenes in these elections to ensure that its preferred candidates and parties win. \*

- Iran and Russia both hold regularly scheduled elections for national governmental leaders as stated in both of their constitutions and to try to establish some political legitimacy from results that seemingly show majority support in their governments. But both are regimes that demonstrate authoritarian tendencies to limit competition from opposition candidates and limit the impact that citizens have on policies. For presidential elections, both have direct elections for president in which the winning candidate must secure a majority of the vote among multiple candidates or between the top two candidates in a second round of balloting if no candidate won a majority in the first round of the election. But both Iran and Russia restrict who can run in opposition to the government's preferred candidate. Iran's Guardian Council vets candidates and restricts those who support relatively moderate viewpoints in opposition to the supreme leader. Russia's government has a central election commission that approves which candidates can run for president. In some cases, the government has prevented candidates who support more liberal democratic reforms, such as free speech and rule of law reforms, from running for president. High-profile human rights activist Alexei Navalny submitted the required number of signed petitions to run for president in the 2018 election but was prohibited by the commission from running due to a previous corruption conviction that Navalny contends was politically motivated. Russia's government controls almost all broadcast outlets, and only approved candidates get news coverage during elections. Neither Vladimir Putin nor his political ally Dmitry Medvedev, have faced enough competition to force a second round of balloting against a single opponent. Since Putin's first election in 2000, the government has used coercive tactics to make his party, United Russia, a dominant party that really faces no serious challenge for power in elections. By 2021, Russia's national courts had been used to not just invalidate electoral challenges by opposition candidates like Navalny, but to also outlaw organizations that support Navalny by categorizing these political groups as extremist groups. Iran has had more presidential elections go into second round elections between two candidates, but in 2009 the government was widely suspected of declaring a fraudulent election result in favor of the government's preferred candidate, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The government used violence to suppress the widespread protests against the election result. The closest opponent in the 2009 election was put under house arrest when he communicated support of anti-government protests as a valid form of political participation.

- Since 2000, both Mexico and Nigeria moved toward competitive elections in which citizens had a growing impact on shaping policies. Both had dominant party systems that did not face competitive opposition in presidential contests. But both regimes moved toward democratization with electoral rules enforced by independent regulatory organizations empowered to prevent electoral fraud that helped the dominant party. One similar change in both countries was a move to provide all voters with tamper-proof voter identification cards intended to reduce voter fraud that benefited the dominant party. Mexico has had two other parties (PAN and MORENA) defeat the former dominant party (PRI) for the presidency and take control of the national legislature since 2000. Nigeria has seen one other party (All Progressive Congress) defeat the former dominant party (People's Democratic Party) for the presidency and take control of the national legislature since 2015.

In 2023, López Obrador supported the national legislature's move to reduce the INE's budget and weaken its enforcement of election laws. This legislation is seen as López Obrador's attempt to reduce the independence and effectiveness of the INE after the INE certified him as the losing candidate in the close 2006 presidential election.



Informal participation, such as protests, and political criticism expressed through social media, is treated differently across regime types. In authoritarian systems there is less tolerance of critical viewpoints that may challenge authoritarian regimes.\*

- In the United Kingdom, tens of thousands of students engaged in mass protests in 2010 against the Conservative Party's budget austerity cuts that included tuition increases for some university students. The government did not reverse its budget policies. The protests took place across the United Kingdom and there were instances of violence initiated by both police and protestors. No deaths resulted. Some injured citizens were able to win lawsuits for injuries from police abuse during these protests.

In 2020, thousands of protestors marched in cities across the UK in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter protests in the United States.

- In Mexico, the government is usually protective of the right to protest such as the large women's rights protests in Mexico City. The International Women's Day commemorated in March each year has become an annual event of massive grassroots activism and protest by women's rights advocates in Mexico. Mexico's government has protected the right to protest at these events, but the protective fencing placed outside Mexico's palace in 2021 became a place where activists posted artwork to protest and memorialize women killed in murders that the government has not solved.

But a 2014 mass kidnapping of 43 college students trying to travel to Mexico City to protest abuse by police and security forces highlighted how corruption of local police and the influence of drug cartels can challenge civil liberty protections. The mass kidnapping ("Missing 43") took place in 2014 in Iguala, Mexico. It remains highly controversial since the kidnapping and suspected murders remain unsolved even though the Iguala police chief at the time of the kidnapping was convicted and sentenced to prison in 2021 for likely being part of the crimes against the students.

Social media on the Internet has sometimes played a major role in protests against authoritarian regimes. Authoritarian governments began to place heavy restrictions on social media and Internet usage in their countries after social media was used to help organize large anti-government demonstrations by Iranians angered by the 2009 presidential election results and by Arab Spring protests from 2010 to 2012 demonstrating against authoritarian governmental systems in the middle east. Freedom House's Freedom on the Net reports provides a report that documents the status of Internet freedoms in most countries including the following examples about these AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries.

## **2022 Freedom on the Net Index by Freedom House**

These scores allow for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries, and this index is available at <https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-net/scores>

- In China, the government frequently uses surveillance technology to catch and punish those who use the Internet and social media platforms to criticize China's Communist Party. The government has begun to sell this technology to other governments. The government increasingly demands Internet publishers register with the government for permits. These requirements reduce the amount of news content available on the Internet



and social media. The government uses “Great Firewall” technology to censor Internet content and images that are critical and unflattering to the CCP and its leaders.

- In Iran, the government slows down Internet connections during times of large protests and has increasingly placed demands on outside social media providers to gain access to their data. The government uses surveillance technology to catch and punish those who use the Internet and social media to promote protests against the government and to promote rights for gay citizens. Iran’s government uses technology to block websites and some social media platforms that are critical of the government and its leaders.

- In Russia, the government allows more access to the Internet to a wider population than is available in China or Iran. But the government has reduced information that is critical of the government by increasingly demanding that Internet publishers reduce the anonymity of their users and registering as “foreign agents” if they receive funding from sources outside Russia. The government has blocked some social media platforms that have refused to provide governmental intelligence agencies with encryption data. In 2022, Russia’s government demanded that all media outlets (including independent newspapers) call its invasion of Ukraine a “special military operation.” Media sources that did not correct their labeling of the invasion as a “special military operation” faced being blocked on Russia’s internet and a substantial fine as a penalty.

Both authoritarian and democratic regimes regulate formal political participation by placing restrictions on voting access and disallowing disruptive and violent protests, but authoritarian regimes manage and limit citizen participation to a much greater extent. Authoritarian regimes tolerate mass political protests and movements less than democratic regimes do, valuing public order more than individual liberties and civil rights.\*

- In China, unlike all of the other countries studied in AP Comparative Government and Politics, there are no direct elections for national governmental leaders. Protests directed at challenging the CCP’s authority are not tolerated by the government and are punished. Protests in China against local corruption, local environmental conditions and labor disputes at privately controlled factories are common and allowed to a degree in order to let the public voice concerns to prevent wider instability. In some of these demonstrations, the government offers some small compensation to appease the larger group of protestors while the organizers of the protests are more likely to be punished for their dissent.

Large-scale protests have not taken place in mainland China since the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests supporting liberal democratic reforms by the CCP and the 1999 protest in Beijing by followers of the Falun Gong spiritual practice demonstrating against coercive force the government had used against their group of followers. Both of these protests were suppressed with force and follow up measures by the government to find and punish organizers in order to prevent additional large protests against the CCP.

Hong Kong has been the site of more recent large protests against CCP policies that impact residents in Hong Kong. In 1997, China’s government took control of Hong Kong as a special administrative region (SAR) of China after the United Kingdom relinquished control of Hong Kong as a colony. As China’s government increased its influence on the governance of Hong Kong, large groups of protestors voiced opposition to restricted electoral policies and due process rights intended to increase the influence of China’s government over residents of Hong Kong. These protest movements in 2014 and 2019 were met with violence by Hong Kong security forces attempting to suppress the protests. In 2020, the National People’s Congress passed a law allowing the NPC’s Standing Committee to make national security laws that prohibited separatist and subversive activities that interfere with the Hong Kong SAR. Thus, China’s central government used national security as an excuse to extend its authoritarian rule in the governance of Hong Kong. In 2020-2021, pro-democracy activist and publisher Jimmy Lai was detained then jailed for publication of reports that violated the national security law. By the end of 2021, Lai’s pro-democracy newspaper ended operations and the National People’s Congress passed a law mandating that only “patriotic” candidates could run for office in Hong Kong. Lai was still in prison in 2023 after receiving an extended sentence in 2021 for organizing what the government deemed to be an illegal assembly in 2019.

- Iran’s constitution mandates holding elections for the public to choose some government officials including the president and representatives to Iran’s national legislature. Iran holds these elections on a regular basis but the Guardian Council vets candidates who are eligible to run and often blocks relatively moderate candidates who might be more critical of the supreme leader’s policies. Iran’s government used coercion and violence to suppress the widespread protests related to its 2009 presidential election. The government has used surveillance technology and coercive force to restrict the organization of mass protests against the

government since 2009. Ebrahim Raisi was elected president in 2021 in an election with only 48% turnout of eligible voters largely because of the perception that there was no real competition to defeat Raisi who was thought to be Supreme Leader Khamenei's preferred candidate.

- Mexico has been transitioning toward a more democratic government, and large protests have occurred in different regions about governmental policies. In large 1968 protests critical of the government's treatment of the poor in Mexico City, government security forces shot firearms into crowds to suppress demonstrations.

Unlike the government of China's response to the use of violence to suppress the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, Mexico's government has attempted to investigate this 1968 violence by government forces that lead to the deaths of hundreds of protestors. Since investigations began in 1998, various governmental leaders have been accused of approving violent tactics to suppress the demonstrations in legal proceedings and in media reports. While no governmental leaders of Mexico have been convicted in court as being responsible for the 1968 murders, the government does allow commemorative marches to take place by protestors who call for accountability of the governmental leaders who approved of the violent tactics against the 1968 demonstrators. These types of commemorative marches about the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests are strictly prohibited by China's government.

- In Nigeria's transition toward a more democratic government, the government allowed some large protests to occur in different regions regarding the government's attempts to cut fuel subsidies that keep the price of gasoline low and about accusations of human rights abuses against religious groups in Nigeria. But there have been consistent reports of Nigeria's security forces using excessive violence to shoot firearms into crowds to suppress demonstrations —particularly related to protests about human rights abuses against religious groups in Nigeria. Nigeria's #EndSARS social movement started in 2020 and was led by young activists against the abusive tactics by Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squads that have been often accused of abusive actions and corrupt practices. President Buhari pledged to begin the process of dismantling the special police teams that had been created in 1992 to lower acts of street crime but several organizers of the protests were accused of financial terrorism and had their bank accounts frozen by Nigeria's government. And more than 100 people were killed by security group attacks on protestors in Lagos. Nigeria's government had been placing few restrictions on news coverage critical of accusations of the governmental use of violence in responding to protests, but police harassment of journalists increased during coverage of the Covid-19 pandemic and the #EndSARS protests. The Special Anti-Robbery Squads were disbanded in October of 2020 due to the nationwide protest movement.

- Russia's constitution cites protections of assembly by stating, "Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to gather peacefully, without weapons, and to hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches and pickets." Russia does allow some groups to protest policies, but Russia's government has also enacted a series of laws since 2012 that criminalize the organization of protests that are not approved of by the government. Mass arrests of demonstrators are common at protests of the central government's policies. Another common tactic used by Russia's government is to coordinate the organization of large counter protests that harass critics of the government. These counter protests are commonly treated more favorably by Russia's security forces.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**DEM**— The way a regime uses power and authority to support or suppress its citizens establishes a balance between order and individual liberty.\*

Explain the extent to which **civil rights** and **civil liberties** are protected or restricted in different regimes \*

Protection of key civil liberties differs across the six course countries. \*

Freedom of assembly protection is a fundamental civil liberty that is often connected to the protection of citizens' rights to petition and free speech in order for citizens to try to shape governmental policies. Each of the core countries studied in AP Comparative Government and Politics, both democratic and authoritarian, has written protections of the freedom to assemble and association either in its constitution or in laws. (Students can research these stated rights at the National Constitution Center's "Rights Around the World" webpage.

<http://constitutionalrights.constitutioncenter.org/app/home/world>) But democratic regimes have fewer governmental restrictions on the ability to associate with different groups as compared with authoritarian regimes that are more likely to monitor and restrict groups viewed as critical of their governments.

- China's constitution states that assembly and association are protected rights, but the government strictly monitors civil society groups and uses coercive tactics and restrictions against groups that China's Communist Party perceives as a threat to its monopoly on power. China's government has been particularly restrictive of human rights groups that criticize conduct by the government. Leaders of these human right groups have been imprisoned and reportedly tortured for their political activism.

China experienced mass protests in different cities related to the continuation of the government's strict enforcement of Covid-19 testing and quarantine rules at the end of 2022. In this case, China's government did greatly relax its strict covid-19 testing and quarantine policies at the end of 2022 into 2023.

- Iran's constitution cites protection of assembly by stating "Public gatherings and marches may be freely held, provided arms are not carried and that they are not detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam." In 2014, Iran's President Rouhani publicly stated that some independent nongovernmental organizations in Iran helped its government improve the provision of services. But Iran's government has used laws against domestic terrorism and coercive tactics to restrict some independent groups. These restrictions of independent groups increased after the government used coercion and violence to suppress the widespread protests related to Iran's 2009 presidential election. Similar to China, human rights groups—including groups that advocate against Iran's use of the death penalty—have been especially restricted by these laws and coercive tactics.

The civil liberties of artists in Iran can also be severely restricted. Since 2015, government authorities have prosecuted at least two Iranian heavy metal rock bands (Confess in 2015 and Arsames in 2020) for producing music that promotes blasphemy that is "[insulting to the sanctity of Islam](#)." Members of Arsames could face up to 15 years in prison. Members of Confess were sentenced to more than 14 years in prison by the Islamic Revolutionary Court and the lead singer was sentenced to be lashed 74 times. Confess band members escaped to Norway before the sentence was carried out.

- Russia's constitution cites protections of assembly by stating, "Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to gather peacefully, without weapons, and to hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches and pickets." Russia does allow some groups to protest policies, but Russia's government has also enacted a series of laws since 2012 that criminalize the organization of protests that are not approved of by the government. Russia allows citizens to form independent nongovernmental organizations, but a law passed in 2012 requires any groups that are politically involved and receive funding from international sources to register as "foreign agents." The finances of these groups are then able to be monitored more closely by government officials.

By 2021, Russia's national courts had been used to not just invalidate electoral challenges by opposition candidates like Alexei Navalny, but to also outlaw organizations that support Navalny by categorizing these political groups as extremist groups. This allowed for greater restrictions against anti-war groups in Russia after Russia's military invasion of Ukraine in 2022.

- Nigeria's legislature declined to pass legislation in 2018 that would have required more government monitoring of the finances and approval of projects by some civil society groups and NGOs. The legislation was never passed after civil society groups and NGOs organized pressure to reject the proposed legislation.

However, when Amnesty International reported in 2018 that the government was inadequately protecting religious groups from Boko Haram attacks in central Nigeria, military leaders in Nigeria threatened to shut the group's main office in Nigeria. There have been reports of Nigeria's security forces using excessive violence to shoot firearms into crowds to suppress demonstrations by groups —particularly related to protests about human rights abuses against religious groups in Nigeria. Nigeria's #EndSARS social movement started in 2020 and was led by young activists against the abusive tactics by Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squads that have been often accused of abusive actions and corrupt practices. President Buhari pledged to begin the process of dismantling the special police teams that had been created in 1992 to lower acts of street crime but several organizers of the protests were accused of financial terrorism and had their bank accounts frozen by Nigeria's government. And more than 100 people were killed by security group attacks on protestors in Lagos. While Nigeria's government sometimes allowed much of the news coverage critical of accusations of the governmental use of violence in responding to protests, police and governmental harassment of journalists increased during coverage of the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic and the #EndSARS protests. In 2021, Nigeria's government attempted to shut down Twitter after President Buhari's tweet about a secessionist movement was removed by the social media platform. The government also threatened to prosecute journalists and activists whose tweeted information was deemed to be critical of the government. An ECOWAS court ruled that such prosecutions would be unlawful interferences on human rights.

- Both Mexico and the United Kingdom regularly protect the rights of protest groups to demonstrate peacefully in public. Just like in more authoritarian regimes, security forces in more democratic regimes are used to keep public order. But accusations of the government using violence to suppress non-violent demonstrators are not as common in more democratic regimes as reports of violence against protestors from within authoritarian regimes. It is common that in more democratic regimes, protestors who do accuse government security forces of using excessively violent tactics are more likely to be allowed legal measures to gain compensation for damages and injuries sustained by the use of excessive governmental force against protestors.

Both democratic and authoritarian regimes impose constraints on the media to protect citizens and maintain order, but democratic regimes generally tolerate a high degree of media freedom to encourage citizen control of the political agenda and check political power and corruption.\*

- The United Kingdom, Mexico and Nigeria all have some form of government run broadcast and have government regulations that impact privately owned radio and TV broadcast stations. But more democratic regimes are more likely to allow a wider range of information to be broadcast — even information that is critical of the government's performance and policies. As more authoritarian regimes, China, Iran and Russia all have more control over content on government owned broadcast stations and on content of private broadcast stations than in democratic regimes. Broadcasts about news pertaining to the governments of China, Iran and Russia are rarely critical of governmental leaders unless it is news that portrays rival factions and leaders in the government in a negative light.

Stronger authoritarian regimes monitor and restrict citizens' media access to a greater degree to maintain political control, as represented by—

- The Chinese Communist Party's use of the Great Firewall to limit political criticism on social media.\*
- The Iranian court's suspension or revocation of media licenses when a jury finds owners guilty of publishing anti- religious material or information detrimental to the national interest.\*
- The Russian government's nationalization of most broadcast media and rigid controls on opposition news segments.\* In 2022, Russia's government demanded that all media outlets (including independent newspapers) call its invasion of Ukraine a "special military operation." Media sources that did not correct their labeling of the invasion as a "special military operation" faced being blocked on Russia's internet and a substantial fine as a penalty.

A government is transparent when it allows information about government and policymaking to circulate openly; authoritarian regimes tend to prefer secret or closed proceedings to maximize order. \*

- The United Kingdom passed a Freedom of Information Act in 2000 that establishes public access to a wide array of information held by governmental officials. Nigeria's government also protects access to public information with its 2011 Freedom of Information Act but many public officials in Nigeria refuse to comply with few ramifications on their refusals.
- More authoritarian regimes such as China, Iran, and Russia have no guarantees on citizens and journalists accessing information about governmental performance or policies that can be used to criticize the government. It is rare for more authoritarian governments to admit policy weakness unless such transparency is needed to confirm failures that are already public knowledge. For example, governmental health officials in China admitted in 2021 that Covid-19 vaccines created by China's government needed to be improved to increase the effectiveness as compared with the more effective vaccines employed in other countries like the United States.

Competitive authoritarian regimes act as a hybrid of democratic and authoritarian regimes; Russia is characterized as a competitive authoritarian regime or illiberal democracy, holding contested elections but with limited degrees of competitiveness, and providing minimal civil liberty protections and governmental transparency.\*

Comparing data that show the extent to which governments protect or restrict civil liberties over time can determine regime placement on an authoritarian/democratic scale.\*

**Freedom House** scores are reported by a non-governmental organization (Freedom House) that ranks countries based on scores for political rights (0-40) and civil liberties (0-60.) Scores of 0 indicate the least freedom. Their overall Freedom Score ranges from 0 (Least Free) to 100 (Most Free.) Freedom House ranks countries as Free, Partially Free or Not Free based on these scores in political rights and civil liberties.

**Freedom of the World 2022** (survey by Freedom House)

The measurements of the different components of political rights and civil liberties allow for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at <https://freedomhouse.org/>

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**—How governments respond to social and political divisions affects interactions between citizens and long-term regime stability.\*

Describe politically relevant social cleavages in course countries and explain how these affect citizen relationships and **political stability** \*

Social and political cleavages can be described as internal divisions that structure societies and may be based on class, ethnicity, religion, or territory, as represented by—

- In China, ethnic and regional divisions between the majority Han ethnic group and at least 55 recognized ethnic minorities, such as the Uighurs in the northwest and the Tibetans in the southwest, and between areas that have developed at different rates. \*

-In China, the government has attempted to address these social cleavages with policies that include:

Regulating the migration of peoples from less economically developed areas to more economically developed areas— China's hukou system only provides services like government housing, health care and education to internal immigrants who have been granted approval to move to cities within the hukou system.

Sponsoring religious organizations— With large populations of religious peoples in Tibet (Buddhist) and Xinjiang (Muslim Uighurs,) China's government sponsors approved Buddhist and Muslim religious associations in an attempt to guide religious peoples into groups that are supervised by the government rather than religious groups that are independent. China's government is commonly reported to use brute repression of ethno-religious minorities in these regions who express opinions supportive of separatism.

- In Iran, religious divisions between the Shi'a Muslim majority and members of other religions, such as Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism, have resulted in a threatening atmosphere despite official recognition; within practitioners of Islam there are divisions between the Shi'a majority and those who are Sunni. There are also ethnic cleavages between the majority Persians and several ethnic minorities, including Azerbaijanis and Kurds.\*
- In Mexico, ethnic divisions between the Amerindian (indigenous) population and whites and mestizos, and regional divisions between the north and the south.\*

-In Mexico, the government has attempted to address these social cleavages with policies that include:

Implementing more poverty reduction policies for poorer peoples of southern Mexico which is less economically developed than northern Mexico. The Zapatista uprising of 1994 in the southern state of Chiapas highlighted accusations that Mexico's government had neglected these less affluent rural areas as northern Mexico benefited from economic development as symbolized by the government's implementation of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement.)

Recognizing more than 60 indigenous languages of the Amerindian population in Mexico.

- In Nigeria, ethnic divisions among more than 250 ethnic groups (including Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo), and religious and regional cleavages between the north (predominantly Muslim) and the south (where Christians and animists are concentrated).\*

-In Nigeria, the government has attempted to address these social cleavages with policies that include:

- Installing federalism with the 1999 constitution that creates a strong central government that distributes powers to Nigeria's diverse states and allows Sharia law in northern states. Nigeria's diversity includes ethnic and geographical social cleavages between Igbos in the east, Hausa-Fulani in the north, and Yoruba in the west. Nigeria has religious and geographical social cleavages between Muslims in the north, Christians in the south, and a diverse mix of Muslims, Christians and animists in central Nigeria known as the middle belt. North and south are also divided by economic prosperity with the country's oil industry mostly located in the wealthier south while the agrarian north is less affluent.

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- Boko Haram: kidnappings, 27,000+ killed and 1.8 million displaced from 2009-2019. Nigerian and regional response to seize territory from affiliated Islamist separatist groups.



- In Russia, cleavages between ethnic Russians, who are more than 80 percent of the population and tend to be Russian Orthodox, and minority, non-Russian populations (including the Chechens in the Caucasus region, who are predominantly Muslim).\*
  - In Russia, the government has attempted to address the Russian-Chechen social cleavage with a wide range of policy responses. Russia's government fought two wars in Chechnya in the 1990s to prevent Chechen Muslim separatists from breaking away from Russia. After the second war, President Putin allowed Russia's Chechen Republic to be ruled by authoritarian leader Ramzan Kadyrov. Kadyrov has suppressed the separatist movement in Chechnya as he has used funding from Russia's government to rebuild mosques in Chechnya and has supervised the implementation of Sharia law in this republic.
- 2010-2015: 300+ killed in bombings and other acts of terrorism (including a 2015 airline bombing) connected to Islamist groups from the Caucasus region and ISIS.
- In the United Kingdom, ethnic and regional differences between nations such as the Scottish, English, Welsh, and Irish; religious differences between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland; and racial tensions between whites and non-European minorities whose heritage is related to the United Kingdom's colonial history.\*
  - In the United Kingdom, the government has attempted to address the English-Irish social cleavage (3,500+ killed in acts of terrorism and sectarian violence from 1969-1998) with a wide range of policy responses.

An example of this was when the United Kingdom agreed in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement (Belfast Agreement) to grant more regional power to the local government in Northern Ireland that would share executive powers between their Protestant and Catholic governmental leaders. This agreement ended the UK's military presence in Northern Ireland and helped reduce violent political behavior related to Catholic-Protestant religious social cleavages there.

Major social and political cleavages differ across countries, and affect voting behavior and party systems, as well as informal political networks.\*

Course countries have responded differently to social cleavages and their political consequences.

- Even stable regimes are increasingly dealing with radical/terrorist religious elements that have sprung from long-standing cleavages.\*
  - In Nigeria, Boko Haram and Islamist separatist groups have killed tens of thousands of Nigerians since 2009. Boko Haram's intent was to create an Islamic theocracy in northern Nigeria and used acts of terrorism to try to accomplish this goal. While Nigeria's national military and President Buhari claimed that Boko Haram had been defeated in 2015, the group is still linked to violent terrorist acts that continue in Nigeria—especially in the northeast region.
- State responses can range from **brute repression** to recognition of ethnic/religious minorities and creation of autonomous regions and/or representation of minorities in governmental institutions.\*

## Significant ethnic cleavages and conflicts in AP Comparative Government and Politics

| Country        | Ethnic Cleavages                                | Conflict Examples                          | Responses   |
|----------------|---|--|---|
| China          | Han, Uighur, Tibetan                            | Tibetan independence, Uighur autonomy      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-- China gives official protection to 56 recognized ethnic groups with the protection of language rights and some areas of regional autonomy.</li> <li>-- China also uses affirmative action with quotas to ensure access to education and employment for minority groups.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Repression <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--The government's use of force and coercion to suppress separatist movements by some Tibetan Buddhists and Uighur Muslims.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-- The selection process for the National People's Congress attempts to recruit members from throughout China's regions and official minority groups.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
| United Kingdom | English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Asian, African | Northern Ireland and Scottish Independence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Government funding for some religious schools</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Repression <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use of force and coercion to suppress the separatist movement by some Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Allows for the election of local governing bodies such as regional parliaments in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales</li> </ul> </li> <li>Formal power sharing agreement for the governing of Northern Ireland between Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders.</li> </ul>   |
| Iran           | Persian, Azeri, Kurd                            | Azeri autonomy                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Iran's constitution guarantees religious liberty for minorities and gives further rights to the officially recognized religious minority groups of Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Repression <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Baha'i practitioners have been persecuted for heresy.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recognized religious minorities like Jews and Zoroastrians are guaranteed a few seats in the national legislature.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>   |
| Mexico         | Mestizo, Amerindian                             | Chiapas                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mexico has no official language but legally recognizes more than 60 indigenous languages.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Repression <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Used its military to respond to an ethnic uprising of indigenous peasants in Chiapas.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Representation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Both chambers of the Mexican Congress have a sizable membership elected to represent local communities.</li> </ul> </li> <li>Mexico officially has a federal form of government that allows state governments to enforce policies that are not uniform throughout the country.</li> </ul>   |



|         |                          |                     |   |
|---------|--------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Nigeria | Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo      | Biafra, Niger Delta | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition<br/>Despite having hundreds of different spoken languages, the Nigerian government recognizes English as its official language.</li> <li>Nigeria's executive branch uses ethnic quotas for hiring to recognize and address different ethnic and religious cleavages.</li> <li>• Repression<br/>The governmental persecution of the leaders of MOSOP in the 1990s.<br/>The use of military special forces to stop acts of terrorism by Boko Haram.</li> <li>• Representation<br/>Nigeria's National Assembly has a bicameral legislature elected entirely through single-member district systems.</li> <li>Nigeria expanded the number of its states from 3 (1960) to 36 (1996) to help prevent separatist movements by empowering more ethnic groups.</li> </ul> |
| Russia  | Russian, Tartar, Chechen | Chechen autonomy    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition<br/>More than 185 designated ethnic groups</li> <li>• Repression<br/>Since 1992, Russia twice used its military to respond to ethno-religious uprisings by Chechen separatists.</li> <li>• Representation<br/>Russia's Federal Assembly is a bicameral legislature, but changes to the legislative election systems have diminished the role of local voices.</li> <li>21 national republics (Chechnya) 5 ethnic okrugs; 1 autonomous oblast for Russian Jews.</li> </ul>  |

Examples of the use of social and political cleavages to strengthen legitimacy and hold onto power can be found in all countries. Such cleavages may also lead to conflict and undermine legitimacy.\*

Social cleavages have different impacts in coarse countries.

- Separatist movements have emerged in China, Iran, Nigeria, Russia, and the United Kingdom as a result of the social cleavages.\*
- Other groups demanding **autonomy**, but not independence, have emerged in Mexico and the United Kingdom.\*
- Ethnicity has played a more significant role in Nigeria than in Mexico because of different colonial histories and a greater diversity and politicization of ethnic/religious identities in Nigeria.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**—How governments respond to social and political divisions affects interactions between citizens and long-term regime stability.\*

Describe politically relevant social cleavages in course countries and explain how these affect citizen relationships and political stability \*

Challenges governments face in securing stability in multinational states include—

- Conflicting interests and competition among groups and political parties.\*
- Perceived lack of governmental authority and legitimacy.\*
- Pressure for autonomy/secession, intergroup conflict, terrorism, and civil war.\*

Encroachment of neighboring states that sense government weakness and vulnerability.\*

Examples of foreign policy conflicts that impact countries in AP Comparative Government and Politics include:

- China's creation of islands and a large naval military presence in the South China Sea to gain sovereignty in those sea lanes has created conflict with countries in that region.
- Iran's conflicts with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in efforts to gain power in the middle east region. These conflicts have taken place in Yemen and in the Persian Gulf oil transport lanes.
- Mexico's relations with the United States about policies related to trade, immigration and illegal drugs.
- Nigeria's relations with neighboring countries to contain the separatist movements related to Boko Haram and similar groups.
- Russia's annexation of Crimea and Russia's support of military force in Ukraine to block the expansion of NATO military and American influence in Eastern Europe.
- United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union (Brexit) and adoption of the EU- U.K. Trade and Cooperation Agreement in 2021 to demonstrate sovereignty of its trade and economic policies.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

# AP CompGov: Glossary

## Unit 3: Political Culture and Participation

**Civil Society** - voluntary associations independent from the state, including local religious and neighborhood organizations, news media, business and professional associations, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)\*

**Nongovernmental organizations** — civil society groups that provide services governments can also provide such as volunteer fire departments to groups that provide advocacy for foster children.

**Political culture** - the collective attitudes, values, and beliefs of the citizenry and the norms of behavior in the political system\*

**Political socialization** - the lifelong process of acquiring one's beliefs, values, and orientations toward the political system\*

**Political ideology** - is a set of values and beliefs about the goals of government, public policy, or politics\*

**Individualism** - belief in individual civil liberties and freedom over governmental restrictions.\*

**Neoliberalism** - referring to the removal of barriers and restrictions on what internal/external economic actors can do; beliefs in limited governmental intervention in the economy; privatization of government controlled industries, free trade to lower tariffs on imported goods, deregulation of governmental controls on business, and the elimination of state subsidies for industries.\*

**Communism**- belief in the abolition of private property with near total governmental control of the economy.\*

**Socialism** - belief in the reduction of income disparities and the nationalization of major private industries.\*

**Fascism** - extreme nationalist ideology that favors authoritarian rule and the rights of the ethnic majority over that of ethnic minorities and the political opposition.\*

**Populism** - political philosophy that supports the interests and rights of the common people over that of the elites\*

**Liberal Democracy** or **authoritarianism** of states include the extent of state adherence to rule of law; the degree of governmental influence on or control of the media; degree and practice of free and fair elections; degree of transparency of governmental decision making; the degree of political participation by citizens; and the degree of independence of governmental branches.\*

**Power** ability of the state to influence the conduct of individuals and organizations within the state

**Authority** state's legitimate right to enforce a power

**Rule of law** is the principle that a state should be governed by known laws and not arbitrary decisions made by individual government officials

**Civil Rights** is the protection of groups of citizens from discrimination by the government or other individuals

**Political Rights** is the protection of citizens' ability to run for office in free, fair and competitive elections.

**Civil Liberties** is an individual's protection against abuse of powers by the government

**Welfare state** – a government that takes responsibility for providing key social services such as healthcare, education, housing and retirement benefits.

**Post-materialism** - social values of self-expression and quality of life issues such as environmental issues and social and economic equality such as LGBT rights and abortion rights.

**Political participation** - ways citizens can attempt to shape government policy. Can be formal (casting a ballot in a government election) or informal (protests and political criticism expressed through social media)

**Formal political participation** - Government controlled methods of individuals voicing political opinions that are regulated by set laws such as casting a ballot in a government election

**Informal political participation** - Voluntary individual actions intended to shape governmental policies with less regulation by the government such as protests and political criticism expressed through social media

**Referendums** allow citizens to vote directly on policy questions as exemplified by the United Kingdom's 2016 national vote about whether citizens preferred leaving or remaining in the European Union.

**Competitive authoritarian regimes (Illiberal democracies and hybrid regimes)** hold elections with little competition toward the ruling party and that tend to have diminished civil liberties.

**Political stability** – the ability of a government to consistently provide services that meet the basic needs of most of the population to foster the public's confidence in the institutions of the state

**Cleavages** - Social and political cleavages are internal divisions that structure societies and may be based on class, ethnicity, religion, or territory\*

**Separatist movement** – when a group's actions to gain greater **autonomy** from a government diminishes the sovereignty of that government.

**Brute repression** - use of coercive force by the government to suppress actions the government opposes

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

Citizen U Presents:

# Comparing Power—

## An Appraisal of Comparative Government and Politics

AP Comparative and Politics Curriculum  
Fall, 2023

Big Ideas in AP Comparative Government and Politics\*

1. POWER AND AUTHORITY (PAU)\*
2. LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY (LEG)\*
3. DEMOCRATIZATION (DEM)\*
4. INTERNAL/EXTERNAL FORCES (IEF)\*
5. METHODS of POLITICAL ANALYSIS (MPA)\*

### Unit 4: Party and Electoral Systems and Citizen Organizations \*

**DEM**— The rules of electoral systems reflect party and legislative control and level of democratization.\*

Describe electoral systems and election rules among course countries.\*

In some regimes, electoral rules and systems are structured to allow for the competitive selection of representatives, while in other regimes rules are frequently changed to advance different political interests. \*

- The National People's Congress of China selects members indirectly through a series of local and regional elections. \*
  - While China's constitution indicates that these lower level elections allow citizens to shape the upper tiers of China's Communist Party, the reality of politics in China is that the CCP leadership plays a significant role in the selection of candidates for these elections. The CCP allows eight other parties to operate in China, but this creates a façade of a multiparty system. China's constitution states that this supposed multiparty system will be led by China's Communist Party. No party, other than the CCP, is allowed governing power.
- Iran's Majles members are directly elected in single-member and multi member districts, which sometimes requires a second round of voting; candidates are vetted by the Guardian Council, and the legislative body lacks formal political party structures; a small number of the 290 seats in the Majles are reserved for non-Muslim minorities, such as Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. \*
  - Iran reserves seats in the legislature for these religious minorities as these groups are viewed as monotheistic religions within Shi'a Islam. Baha'is are not granted a seat in the legislature because members of this group are persecuted as apostates to Islam by Iran's government.
- Mexico's Congress of the Union has two chambers: the Chamber of Deputies, which has 300 members directly elected in single-member districts by plurality and an additional 200 members elected by a proportional representation, party-list system conducted in five districts of 40 members each; and the Chamber of Senators, which has 96 members elected in three-seat constituencies that guarantee two senators for the winning party and 1 senator for the 2<sup>nd</sup> place party and 32 by proportional representation conducted at the national level; gender quotas in the party list system have helped increase female representation in the legislature. \*

- Even when PRI was the dominant party in Mexico until 2000, the proportional representation system that is part of Mexico's legislative elections guaranteed that minor parties would win some seats in the legislature.

This gave Mexico the appearance of being a competitive democracy even when PRI dominated the other electoral contests including for president.

Gender quotas are requirements that a certain percentage of candidates in single member district elections or representatives placed in seats in proportional representation systems be women in an effort to promote the ideal of gender equity.

In Mexico, political parties began promising to run at least 30% women as candidates in 2003. This quota was increased to 40% in 2009 but parties fell well below this goal until the IFE mandated the quota rules and Mexico's courts supported this mandate. In 2014, the constitution was amended to require the 30% gender quotas for national and local elections. After the 2018 legislative elections, women held nearly 50% of the seats in both chambers of the Congress. In 2021, women won a record 7 of the 32 regional governor positions. In 2019, women's rights activists in Mexico led a grassroots campaign to have their constitution amended to move toward gender parity in all three branches of government with the hashtag campaign of #ParidadEnTodo (parity in everything.)

- Members of the Nigerian House of Representatives are directly elected in single-member districts with representatives from each of Nigeria's states; the number of representatives elected from each state is based on population size, whereas the Senate has three members directly elected from three districts in each of Nigeria's 36 states; two major parties have alternated control of the National Assembly. \*

- Similar to Mexico's electoral system, Nigeria's system of single-member districts allows the representation from all of Nigeria's diverse regions to the national legislature.

- Changes to state Duma elections in Russia have returned it to a system in which half of the 450 representatives are directly elected from single-member districts and the other half are chosen through elections that use proportional representation with a threshold. \*

- After the election system was changed to accelerate the move of United Russia as the country's dominant party, Russia's electoral system is now similar to Mexico's electoral system for its national legislature.

Russia's mix of single-member district and proportional representation allows the representation from all of Russia's diverse regions along with a guarantee that multiple parties will have representatives elected to the national legislature. This gives Russia the appearance of being a competitive democracy even when United Russia dominates electoral contests including for president.

- The United Kingdom's House of Commons 650 members are directly elected under single-member district, first-past-the-post rules. \*

- While governing power in the legislature alternates between two major parties, the UK's single member district system allows the representation from members of other parties in the UK's different regions.

**Proportional representation** relies on multimember districts that promote multiparty systems.\*

In proportional representation election systems, parties appoint legislative members proportional to the election results. This system promotes multiple parties being represented in the legislative branch and is sometimes called party list elections. Some proportional systems feature multimember districts. With the appointment of representatives by party leaders, proportional representation systems can help increase the number of women and minority community representatives to apportioned legislative seats.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**DEM**— The rules of electoral systems reflect party and legislative control and level of democratization.\*

Explain how election rules serve different regime objectives regarding ballot access, election wins, and constituency accountability.\*

Proportional representation can result in an increase in the number of political parties represented in national legislatures, as well as an increase in the election of minority and women candidates. \*

In **proportional representation election** systems, parties appoint legislative members proportional to the election results. This system promotes multiple parties being represented in the legislative branch and is sometimes called party list elections. Some proportional systems feature multimember districts. With the appointment of representatives by party leaders, proportional representation systems can help increase the number of women and minority community representatives to apportioned legislative seats.

**Hypothetical proportional election system for a legislative chamber of 200 seats**

| Political Parties | Votes Earned | Result        |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Left Party        | 20%          | 40 seats won  |
| Center Party      | 60%          | 120 seats won |
| Right Party       | 20%          | 40 seats won  |

**Single-member district plurality systems** tend to promote two-party systems. They provide voters with strong constituency service and accountability because there is a single representative per district, and they ensure geographic representation. \*

In single-member district plurality systems, one candidate with the most votes (not required to earn a majority of more than 50%) in a district wins the sole representative seat.

**Hypothetical single-member district, plurality system for a legislative seat**

| Candidates             | Votes Earned | Result                                     |
|------------------------|--------------|--|
| Left Party Candidate   | 20%          | Loses                                      |
| Center Party Candidate | 60%          | Wins with plurality<br>(and with majority) |
| Right Party Candidate  | 20%          | Loses                                      |

**Hypothetical single-member district, plurality system for a legislative seat**

| Candidates             | Votes Earned | Result                                   |
|------------------------|--------------|--|
| Left Party Candidate   | 30%          | Loses                                    |
| Center Party Candidate | 40%          | Wins with plurality<br>(but no majority) |
| Right Party Candidate  | 30%          | Loses                                    |

Different presidential election systems have different rules for determining election winners; some systems employ **second round or runoff elections** to obtain a majority vote, while others decide elections based on a plurality of most votes cast among candidates in the race. \*

In a second round, runoff election system, a candidate for a sole executive position or legislative positions must win a majority of the vote (more than 50% of the vote.) In a multi-candidate race, the winning candidate must win a majority of the vote either in the first round of balloting or in the second round of balloting that features the top two vote earners in the first round.

- Presidential candidates in Nigeria must secure a plurality (most) of the national vote and win at least 25% of the vote in 2/3 of the states otherwise a 2<sup>nd</sup> round of elections occurs between the top two candidates. Every winning candidate has secured victory in the first round of balloting. \*



- Presidential candidates in Iran and Russia must win an absolute majority of the popular vote in either the first or second round of national voting. If no candidate wins an absolute majority in the first round, the second round is conducted between the top two vote earners in the first round. \*
- **Majoritarian rules** in Iran and Russia provide the winners with a national mandate.\*

In majoritarian rules elections, the winning candidate must win a majority of the vote (50% + at least 1 vote.)

**Hypothetical second round, runoff election system with majoritarian rules**

| Candidates             | 1 <sup>st</sup> Rd Votes Earned | Result             |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| Left Party Candidate   | 20%                             | Loses              |
| Center Party Candidate | 60%                             | Wins with majority |
| Right Party Candidate  | 20%                             | Loses              |

**Hypothetical second round, runoff election system with majoritarian rules**

| Candidates             | 1 <sup>st</sup> Rd Votes Earned | Result                          |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Left Party Candidate   | 40%                             | Runoff in 2 <sup>nd</sup> Round |
| Center Party Candidate | 35%                             | Runoff in 2 <sup>nd</sup> Round |
| Right Party Candidate  | 25%                             | Loses                           |

**Hypothetical second round, runoff election system with majoritarian rules**

| Candidates             | 2nd Rd Votes Earned | Result             |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Left Party Candidate   | 40%                 | Loses              |
| Center Party Candidate | 60%                 | Wins with majority |

- Mexico's president is elected by a plurality of the national popular vote, not an absolute majority. \*

In an executive election plurality system, one candidate wins the election as the sole executive by winning the most votes (not necessarily a majority of at least 50% of the vote.)

**Hypothetical plurality winner system for an executive position**

| Candidates             | Votes Earned | Result                                |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| Left Party Candidate   | 30%          | Loses                                 |
| Center Party Candidate | 40%          | Wins with plurality (but no majority) |
| Right Party Candidate  | 30%          | Loses                                 |

Different political systems use electoral regulatory organizations to set various rules about ballot access and competition. \*

- Guardian Council excludes reform-minded candidates or those who do not support Islamic values from the ballot, which limits the number of candidates and reduces electoral competition and representation. \*
- As part of their democratic transition, Mexico and Nigeria have created independent election commissions that attempt to reduce voter fraud and manipulation and enhance electoral competition. \*
  - In Mexico, the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) regulates elections.
  - In Nigeria, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) regulates elections.

Both countries have seen dominant parties (PRI in Mexico-2000 and PDP in Nigeria-2015) lose governing power to a rival party in both executive and legislative elections since 2000. Mexico has had three different parties win national governing power since 2000.

Some regimes use an appointment system for membership in legislative bodies to promote a diversity of viewpoints, while other regimes use it to advance the political agenda of governing elites. \*

- Appointments for the United Kingdom's House of Lords are approved by the monarch with recommendations made by the prime minister and an independent commission. \*
- Half of Iran's Guardian Council members are selected by the supreme leader, and half are nominees from the judiciary with Majles approval. \*
- The appointment process for positions in Russia's Federation Council is done by regional governors and the regional legislature. The creation of nine federal districts (with the annexation of Crimea) has reasserted federal power under the Russian president by allowing him to appoint presidential envoys to the districts, and allowing regional legislatures to forgo elections and appoint a governor from a list of candidates approved by the president.\*
  - But Russia has allowed for the direct election of some governors since 2012. Most governors are now directly elected with some governors indirectly elected by regional legislatures.

Election rule changes affect the representation of different religious, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups.\*

In proportional representation election systems, multiple parties representing a wider variety of viewpoints can get elected to legislative offices as compared with a single-member district system that often results in two major parties winning most legislative elections. In proportional representation election systems, party leaders have more power to appoint women and minority community representatives to apportioned legislative seats.

In single-member district systems, districts can be drawn to guarantee that citizens within different geographic areas gain legislative representation as compared to proportional representation systems that do not ensure geographic representation.

The timing of legislative elections across the six countries can vary among systems based on term limit policies.\*

- In China, National People's Congress (NPC) members serve five-year terms and are indirectly elected through a series of regional legislative assemblies.
- In Iran, Majles members are elected regularly on fixed terms of every four years separate from presidential elections.
- In Mexico, members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected to fixed-terms of three years with a four-term limit. Mexico's Senators are elected to fixed-terms of six years and have a two-term limit of six years each. Term limits for both of these offices were increased from a strict one-term limit in 2015.
- In Nigeria, members of the House of Representatives and the Senate are elected regularly on fixed terms of every four years separate from presidential elections.
- In Russia, members of the Duma are elected regularly on fixed terms of every five years separate from presidential elections. Prior to 2008, the term length for members of the Duma was four years.
- In the United Kingdom, the Commons passed a law in 2011 that created a fixed-term election system in which Commons elections would take place every five years on a fixed date. The UK's first fixed-term election for Commons took place in 2015. But the legislation allowed the prime minister to ask for snap elections to force all members to campaign for re-election within 30 days with a supermajority of support. Commons approved snap elections in 2017 and 2019.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The power, influence, and strength of political parties and the degree of competition between parties reflect the values of the regime or type of government.\*

Describe characteristics of political party systems and party membership.\*

Party systems and membership differ among course countries, ranging from **dominant party systems** to **multi party systems**.\*

- Elections in dominant party systems, like in Russia after 2000 and in Mexico prior to 2000, allow multiple parties to run in elections, but one major party inevitably wins governing power.
- Russia is considered to be a dominant party system led by Putin's United Russia party since 2001. Three other parties consistently win sizable numbers of legislative seats but are always in the minority without governing power as United Russia's majority party status is unchallenged. United Russia's presidential candidate (Putin – 2004, 2012, 2018; Medvedev- 2008) has always won elections with a majority of the vote in Round 1, and United Russia holds an unwavering majority control of the seats in the Duma.
- Elections in multi-party systems feature more than two parties that can compete for governing power. PRI had led a dominant party system in Mexico for 70 years until other parties were able to win presidential elections and majority control of the legislature in the 21st century when a multi-party system emerged in Mexico.

China has rules that allow only one party, the Communist Party of China, to control governing power to maintain the values of centralism and order, while allowing eight other parties to exist to broaden discussion and consultation.\*

- The PRC's constitution does guarantee a one-party system with the CCP as the sole holder of political powers. The constitution includes a mandate that, "The leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics." China's government allows eight other political parties to exist and hold a relatively few seats in the NPC to give an image of broader political discussions and consultation in China. But the constitution is clear that the CCP is superior with the statement that, "The system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation led by the Communist Party of China will exist and develop for a long time to come."

Rules ensuring one-party dominance in Russia include increasing party registration requirements, allowing only legally registered parties to run for office, using selective court decisions to disqualify candidates, limiting the ability of political opposition to present their viewpoints in the media, increasing threshold rules to limit party access to the ballot, and eliminating gubernatorial elections.\*

Rules that facilitate Mexico's transition away from one-party dominance include eliminating ***el dedazo***, privatizing state-owned corporations to decrease **patronage**, decentralizing and reducing one-party power at the subnational level, and establishing and strengthening the National Electoral Institute (IFE).\*

- *El dedazo* translates as "the point" and was a metaphor used in Mexico to describe the nomination process of a new PRI candidate (who would become the expected presidential winner during PRI dominance until 2000) by the outgoing PRI president. As PRI presidents stopped personally choosing the next PRI presidential nominee, other parties, like PAN and MORENA, had more success in competing to win presidential elections. This helped Mexico transition from a dominant party system to a competitive multiparty system. The mixed election system in both of Mexico's legislative chambers feature direct elections and proportional (party list) elections. This allows for a multi-party system in Mexico. Three different parties (PAN, PRI and MORENA) have won majority control of both chambers of the Congress since 2000 under this hybrid election system indicating an increase of electoral democratization in Mexico.
- Patronage is also known as patron-client relationship or clientelism. Patronage allows government officials to distribute government jobs and services in return for voter loyalty. Patronage institutionalized a quid pro quo ("this for that") relationship between elected officials and voters is often viewed as examples of corruption by those not benefitting from the patronage relationship. As PRI's influence in distributing patronage to loyal voters was reduced, nominee, other parties, like PAN and MORENA, had more success in

competing to win elections. This helped Mexico transition from a dominant party system to a competitive multiparty system.

The degree of competition within multiparty systems can influence representation and formal political participation by citizens.\*

- Nigeria's multi party system includes 30 registered political parties, with two strong parties, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress of Nigeria (APC), and a third party having a degree of electoral success. \*
  - Two major parties have alternated control of the National Assembly. In 2015, Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress of Nigeria (APC) became the first president elected who was not from the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Tinubu from the APC won Nigeria's presidential election in 2023. Tinubu won with 36.6% of the vote compared to 29% for the PDP's candidate and 25% for the Labour Party (LP) candidate. Similar to Mexico's electoral system, Nigeria's system of single-member districts allows the representation from all of Nigeria's diverse regions to the national legislature. Nigeria is now considered to be primarily a two-party system. While Nigeria has 30 registered political parties, two strong parties, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress of Nigeria (APC) have won presidential elections and majority control of the National Assembly's two chambers. Prior to Buhari's (APC) presidential win in 2015, the PDP had been considered to be Nigeria's dominant political party.
- The United Kingdom's party system features competition primarily between two major parties, the Conservative and Labour parties, which control the legislature and executive (with first-past-the-post election rules favoring the major parties). But minor parties with regional representation are also able to win some legislative representation. \*
  - The UK's party system is usually classified as a two-party system or as a two-party plus. Only the Conservative Party and the Labour Party have controlled a majority of Commons for the last 70 years as other smaller alternative parties (Liberal Democrats) and regional parties (Scottish National Party) have consistently won only relatively small shares of Commons seats. Political scientists often attribute this two-party system to being a result of the UK's plurality winner-takes-all election rules (First Past the Post) for its Commons elections. In the last 30 years, majority governing power in the House of Commons has alternated between the two major parties twice when the Labour Party gained majority control of Commons in 1997 then when the Conservative Party gained majority control of Commons in 2010.
  - In the 2015 election for seats in the House of Commons, the Scottish National Party won 56 seats and became the most electorally successful regional party in Commons elections.

**Catch-all political parties** can earn support from groups with different characteristics, attracting popular support with ideologically diverse platforms. \*

- Catch-all political parties, like Russia's United Russia, are often the dominant party in a dominant party system that earns wide support from different and tends to support popular, pragmatic policies rather than ideological policies that face significant opposition.

Some legislatures, such as the United Kingdom's House of Commons, are highly organized by political parties, with voting based on strict party discipline that influences policy-making.\*

- In the United Kingdom, free votes on approving the 2013 legalization of same-sex marriage and on Brexit alternative policies in 2019 represented rare votes in which party members were allowed to vote against the preferences of party leadership without penalties by the party.

Because the Guardian Council blocks candidates who are less supportive of the theocracy from running for office, Iran does not have a formal system of parties. Iran's party system is more accurately described as a set of changing allegiances to different political figures whom the Guardian Council approves to run for elected office.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**PAU**— The power, influence, and strength of political parties and the degree of competition between parties reflect the values of the regime or type of government.\*

Explain how political party systems and memberships link citizen participation to policy-making.\*

Party systems vary across the course countries in terms of rules governing elections, party structure, and laws regulating political parties, as represented by—

- In China, one party (Communist Party of China) has controlled the government (and military) since 1949, while minor parties have limited power to fill minor political offices. \*
- Iran lacks formal political party structures; parties operate as loosely formed political alliances with questionable linkage to constituents. \*
- In Mexico, the major parties in this multiparty system are the National Action Party (PAN), the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), Pres. López Obrador’s new MORENA party, and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI.) PRI had been the dominant party prior to democratization of elections; parties are allowed to form coalitions to nominate candidates for any particular election.\*
  - MORENA (National Regeneration Movement) was formed as an official political party in 2014 by Andrés Manuel López Obrador as a political alliance of PRD and other parties on the ideological left. In 2018, López Obrador won the presidential election as a MORENA candidate, and MORENA party candidates won a majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies and plurality of seats in the Senate.
- In Nigeria, multiple parties with ethnic quotas affect representation in the country’s federal legislature. \*
- In Russia, one party has been dominating recent elections; diminished representation of smaller parties occurs because of changing threshold rules; the elimination and then reinstatement of single member districts has affected regional parties and the representation of independent candidates. \*
- In the United Kingdom, two large parties (Labour and Conservative) dominate the House of Commons. \*
- In the United Kingdom, single member district plurality elections diminish minor party representation. \*
  - The diminishing of minor party representation in the UK’s single-member district system can best be seen in the national vote results of the Liberal Democrat Party that are historically larger than the percent of seats that the Liberal Democrats win in Commons elections.

**Liberal Democrat Election Results 1992-2019**

| YEAR | NATIONAL VOTE | COMMON SEATS |
|------|---------------|--------------|
| 1997 | 16.8%         | 46 (7.1%)    |
| 2001 | 18.3%         | 52 (8%)      |
| 2005 | 22%           | 62 (9.5%)    |
| 2010 | 23%           | 57 (8.8%)    |
| 2015 | 7.9%          | 8 (1.2%)     |
| 2017 | 7.4%          | 12 (1.8%)    |
| 2019 | 11.6%         | 11 (1.7%)    |

- In the United Kingdom, single member districts (SMDs) allow regional parties to win legislative seats. \*

- In the 2015 election for seats in the House of Commons, the Scottish National Party (SNP) won 56 seats and became the most electorally successful regional party in Commons elections. In subsequent Commons elections, the SNP won 35 seats (2017) and 48 seats (2019) out of the 650 seats in the chamber.

Party systems across the course countries vary in how they affect and are affected by citizen participation.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**IEF-** Strong and varied citizen organizations and movements foster and are reinforced by democratization.\*

Explain how social movements and interest groups affect social and political change.\*

**Social movements** involve large groups of people pushing collectively for significant political or social change. \*

**Interest groups** are explicitly organized to represent and advocate for a specific interest or policy issue, while social movements represent multiple groups and individuals advocating for broad social change. \*

Social movements across course countries have put pressure on the state to promote indigenous civil rights, redistribute revenues from key exports such as oil, conduct fair and transparent elections, and ensure fair treatment of citizens of different sexual orientations, including—\*

- The Green Movement in Iran that protested corruption in the 2009 election. \* The mass protests “Green Revolution” against electoral fraud in Iran (2009) resulted in sweeping oppression by Iran’s government toward protestors and rival political leaders. The government also increased its monitoring of the Internet as a way to quash political dissent.

In the Fall of 2022 and into 2023, hundreds of thousands joined different protests in cities across Iran against government mandates for women to wear hijabs after a young woman (Mahsa Amini) was detained for violating Iran’s hijab mandate and died in the law enforcement custody. Thousands of protestors were arrested and detained with hundreds of protestors killed by government forces. By January of 2023, nearly 60 Iranian protests had been put on trial and sentenced to death after convictions.

- Zapatistas or Chiapas uprising in Mexico in response to socioeconomic inequality and the negative impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). \* The Zapatista uprising of 1994 in the southern state of Chiapas highlighted accusations that Mexico’s government had neglected these less affluent rural areas as northern Mexico benefited from economic development as symbolized by the government’s implementation of NAFTA.

- In Mexico, the International Women’s Day commemorated in March each year has become an annual event of massive grassroots activism and protest by women’s rights advocates in Mexico. A major appeal by protestors is for the national and local governments to be more active in investigating and prosecuting femicide and the disappearance of women during the upsurge in violence related to organized criminal groups since 2006. In 2019, women’s rights activists in Mexico led a grassroots campaign to have their constitution amended to move toward gender parity in all three branches of government with the hashtag campaign of #ParidadEnTodo (parity in everything.)

- Movements in Nigeria (often militant), including the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), which have emerged to advocate for the rights of an ethnic minority or protest against unjust methods of extraction and distribution of oil in the Niger Delta region. \*

- The Boko Haram movement attempted to establish an Islamic State in northern Nigeria.\* Boko Haram and Islamist separatist groups have killed tens of thousands of Nigerians since 2009. Boko Haram’s intent was to create an Islamic theocracy in northern Nigeria and used acts of terrorism to try to accomplish this goal. While Nigeria’s national military and President Buhari claimed that Boko Haram had been defeated in 2015, the group is still linked to violent terrorist acts that continue in Nigeria—especially in the northeast region.

- Nigeria’s #EndSARS social movement that started in 2020 and was led by young activists against the abusive tactics by Nigeria’s Special Anti-Robbery Squads that have been often accused of abusive actions and corrupt practices. In 2020, President Buhari announced the dismantling of the special police teams that had been created in 1992 to lower acts of street crime but several organizers of the protests were accused of financial terrorism and had their bank accounts frozen by Nigeria’s government. And more than 100 people were killed by security group attacks on protestors in Lagos.

- In Russia, domestic protests over the Russian state Duma’s passage of legislation against same-sex couples. \* There were extensive protests against perceived corruption of legislative and presidential elections in 2011 and 2012 and regarding the 2020 referendum on constitutional changes that allowed for the extension of Putin’s leadership. In the summer of 2020, there were major protests against Putin’s rule in Khabarovsk (a region in Siberia) due to the arrest of the region’s governor (Sergei Furgal). Furgal—of the opposition Liberal Democratic Party— was democratically elected as the region’s governor in 2018, but the region was the least supportive of the 2020 referendum on constitutional changes that

allowed for the extension of Putin's leadership. Furgal was arrested due to his suspected connection with several businessmen who were murdered in 2004 and 2005.

In 2022, the government imposed quick and strong restrictions against anti-war groups in Russia after Russia's military invasion of Ukraine. In 2023, opposition politician Vladimir Kara-Murza was sentenced to 25 years in prison for treason and denigrating Russia's military for speeches he made supporting international economic sanctions against Russia and for criticizing Putin's decision to invade Ukraine.

**Grassroots social movements** exert their power up from the local level to the regional, national, or international level. \*

With limited organizational hierarchies, such movements are difficult for state-run military or law enforcement to suppress, but some social movements also have difficulty in attracting and mobilizing support among fellow citizens or negotiating with governmental representatives.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**IEF-** Strong and varied citizen organizations and movements foster and are reinforced by democratization.\*

Describe pluralist and corporatist interest group systems..\*

Pluralism and corporatism are systems of interest group representation. Pluralist systems promote competition among autonomous groups not linked to the state, whereas in a corporatist system the government controls access to policy making by relying on state-sanctioned groups or **single peak associations (SPAs)** to represent labor, business, and agricultural sectors. The state retains more control over citizen input in a corporatist system than it does in a pluralist system. \*  
Interest group systems can change over time, as represented by Mexico's moving from a corporatist system toward a pluralist system.\*

- Mexico had a more authoritarian **corporatist system** of interest groups in which the government created organizations in which citizens could participate. Mexico has transitioned to a **pluralist system** in which citizens can affiliate with more independent interest groups to attempt to shape public policies in national and local government.
- Some political scientists classify China as a corporatist system because the government and China's Communist Party sponsors groups to draw citizen participation. This creates the image that these groups link citizens to the shaping of government policies. But the reality is that this form of corporatism limits participation by citizens and any uncertainties about policy advocacy that can come with a more pluralist interest group system.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)



# AP CompGov: Glossary

## Unit 4: Party and Electoral Systems and Citizen Organizations

**Proportional representation** - election system in which the party appoints legislative members proportional to the election results. This system promotes multiple parties being represented in the legislative branch and is sometimes called party list elections and often features multimember districts. With the appointment of representatives by party leaders, proportional representation systems can help increase the number of women and minority community representatives.\*

**Gender quotas** – requirements that a certain percentage of candidates or representatives placed in seats in proportional representation systems be women in an effort to promote the ideal of gender equity as seen in Mexico.

**Single-member district, plurality system** - election system in which one candidate with the most votes (not necessarily a majority of 50% + at least 1 vote) in a district wins the sole representative seat. Tends to promote two- party systems. These provide voters with strong constituency service and accountability because there is a single representative per district. This type of system ensures geographic representation.\*

**Hybrid (mixed) election system** – the use of a combination of single-member district and proportional (party list) elections for legislative elections. Mexico and Russia use this type of election system for their lower chambers. And Mexico also uses this mixed/hybrid system for its senate elections. The single member district elections guarantee representation for different regions. The proportional elections allow for multiple parties to be represented in the legislatures. Scotland’s regional parliament uses a similar type of system called an Additional Member System.

**Executive election plurality system** - election system in which one candidate wins the election as the sole executive by winning the most votes (not necessarily a majority of 50% + at least 1 vote.)

**Second round, runoff election system** - election system in which a candidate for a sole executive position or legislative positions must win a majority of the vote (50% + at least 1 vote.) In a multi-candidate race, the winning candidate must win a majority of the vote either in the first round of balloting or in the second round of balloting that features the top two vote earners in the first round.

**Majoritarian rules** – winning candidate must win a majority of the vote (50% + at least 1 vote.)

**Multi-party system** – when elections feature more than two parties competing for governing power.

**Two-party system** – when elections feature two major parties competing for governing power.

**Dominant party system** – when elections allow multiple parties to run in elections, but one major party inevitably wins governing power.

**One party system** – when only one party is allowed to control governing power even if other parties exist.

**Catch-all political parties** – often the dominant party in a dominant party system that earns support from groups with different characteristics, attracting popular support with ideologically diverse platforms\*

**El dedazo**- translates as “the point,” metaphor from Mexico describing the nomination process of a new PRI candidate (who would become the expected presidential winner during PRI dominance until 2000) by the outgoing PRI president

**Patronage**- also known as patron-client relationship or clientelism; this allowed government officials to distribute government jobs and services in return for voter loyalty; institutionalized a quid pro quo (“this for that”) relationship between elected officials and voters is often viewed as examples of corruption by those not benefitting from the patronage relationship

**Social movements** - involve large groups of people pushing collectively for significant political or social change such as indigenous civil rights, redistribute revenues to different classes, conduct fair and transparent elections, and ensure fair treatment of citizens of different sexual orientations.\*

**Interest groups** – groups organized to represent and advocate for a specific interest or policy issue.

**Grassroots social movements** - exert their power up from the local level to the regional, national, or international level\*

**Single peak associations (SPAs)** – a type of interest group that commonly represents professional or commercial groups and helps establish standards for that profession or industry.

**Political access** – ability to contact government officials to shape policies.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

Citizen U Presents:

# Comparing Power—

## An Appraisal of Comparative Government and Politics

AP Comparative and Politics Curriculum  
Fall, 2023

Big Ideas in AP Comparative Government and Politics\*

1. POWER AND AUTHORITY (PAU)\*
2. LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY (LEG)\*
3. DEMOCRATIZATION (DEM)\*
4. INTERNAL/EXTERNAL FORCES (IEF)\*
5. METHODS of POLITICAL ANALYSIS (MPA)\*

## Unit 5: Political and Economic Changes and Development

**IEF**— Economic globalization and economic liberalization have positively and negatively affected political policies and behaviors.\*

Explain how global economic and technological forces influence political policies, behaviors, and culture.\*

**Economic globalization**—including economic networks that are growing more interconnected, a worldwide market with actors unconstrained by political borders, and a reduction in state control over economies—has deepened cross-national connections among workers, goods, and capital and has caused challenges for regime and cultural stability. \*

Neo-liberal policies are economic liberalization policies that generally reduce the role of governmental direction in an economy and allow more free-market forces to shape the direction of a country's economy. Examples of neo-liberal economic policies include the privatization of previously nationalized companies such as oil and energy companies (British Petroleum was privatized by the UK in 1979).

Economic liberalization also includes the reduction of tariffs (taxes on imports) along with reduced governmental funding for domestic companies to allow these domestic industries to compete economically with more imports from private MultiNational Corporations (MNCs). Neo-liberal international trade deals like NAFTA have allowed Mexico to increase manufacturing of tech goods, appliances, and automobiles that are then exported to countries like the United States. These trade deals also put pressure on domestic industries that have difficulty competing against more efficiently produced goods like increased agricultural products from the U.S. into Mexico.

State membership in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) has promoted economic liberalization policies. \*

- China and Nigeria have enacted economic liberalization policies and a majority of respondents in recent studies said that they expect children in their countries to be better off than their parents. \*

China became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. While China relaxed some of its trade restrictions to allow more imports, the country also greatly increased its exports because of its trade liberalization of joining the WTO. In 2001, China's GDP was \$1.339 trillion and its per capita GDP was \$1,053. In 2019, China's GDP was \$14.34 trillion and its per capita GDP was \$10,261.

Iran has not become a full member of the WTO due to economic sanctions and measures used by the United States to block its full membership. China's National Petroleum Company (CNPC), China's Railway Engineering Corporation, and Volkswagen are some of the large international companies that do business in Iran.

Nigeria is a large supportive member of the West African free trade alliance ECOWAS that lowers tariffs and allows more trade between countries in West Africa.

While Russia has re-nationalized some oil/natural gas industries, Russia has embraced some economic liberalization policies such as trade liberalization to be able to join the WTO in 2012.

- In Mexico, in part as a result of these policies, the number of people in the middle class has grown. \*

#### Per Capita GDP since joining the World Trade Organization (WTO)

| COUNTRY | PER CAPITA GDP upon joining WTO | Current PER CAPITA GDP |
|---------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| China   | \$1,053 (2001)                  | \$8,826 (2017)         |
| Mexico  | \$3,828 (1995)                  | \$8,902 (2017)         |
| Nigeria | \$264 (1995)                    | \$1,968 (2017)         |

\*\* Source World Bank

Trade liberalization and economic globalization affects the GDP composition by economic sector over time:

#### GDP Composition by Economic Sector

|             | China (2017) | Iran (2016) | Mexico (2017) | Nigeria (2016) | Russia (2017) | United Kingdom (2017) | United States** (2017) |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Agriculture | 7.9%         | 9.6%        | 3.6%          | 21.1%          | 4.7%          | .7%                   | .9%                    |
| Industry    | 40.5%        | 35.3%       | 31.9%         | 22.5%          | 32.4%         | 20.2%                 | 19.1%                  |
| Service     | 51.6%        | 55%         | 64.5%         | 56.4%          | 62.3%         | 79.2%                 | 80%                    |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

#### GDP Composition by Economic Sector (1995)

|             | China (1995) | Iran (1995) | Mexico (1995) | Nigeria (1997) | Russia (1995) | United Kingdom (1995) | United States** (1995) |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Agriculture | 19%          | 21%         | 8.5%          | 33%            | 6%            | 1.7%                  | 2%                     |
| Industry    | 48%          | 37%         | 28.4%         | 42%            | 41%           | 27.7%                 | 23%                    |
| Service     | 33%          | 42%         | 63.1%         | 25%            | 53%           | 70.6%                 | 75%                    |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

**Trade liberalization** affects the growth of domestic and foreign business, the amount of direct foreign investment, foreign exchange rates, population movement, and often the quality of the environment. Reducing tariffs may lower consumer costs at the expense of domestic industry, while increasing tariffs may protect domestic industry against foreign imports but at the expense of higher consumer prices. \*

The Heritage Foundation is an American NGO that promotes free market policies and a limited role of government in the economy outside of the protection of property rights. It publishes an Index of Economic Freedom that ranks every country with categories for the Rule of Law including the protection of property rights, Regulatory Efficiency including business freedom, Government Size including government spending and tax burden, and Open Markets including trade freedom.

## Index of Economic Freedom 2023

The Index of Economic Freedom can be accessed at <https://www.heritage.org/index/> for more in-depth country analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries.

**Multinational corporations (MNCs)** increasingly dominate global markets and pose challenges to, and sometimes conflict with, domestic economic policies regarding labor, the environment, land rights, taxation, and the budget. \*

Multinational corporations (MNCs) are businesses with a large presence in countries in different regions of the world. MNCs play a larger role in global economics as more countries have embraced economic liberalization policies that reduce tariffs and eliminate other obstacles to the movement of goods and financial services across borders.

Examples of MNCs that operate within AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries include:

- ExxonMobil (oil and energy)
- Shell Global (oil and energy)
- Lukoil (oil and energy)
- Google (technology)
- British Petroleum (oil and energy)
- Sinopec Group (oil and energy)
- America Movil (telecommunications)
- Boeing (aviation)

China's National Petroleum Company (CNPC), China's Railway Engineering Corporation, and Volkswagen are some of the large multinational corporations (MNCs) that do business in Iran.

Shell Oil, Mobil Oil, Nestle Foods are among large multinational corporations (MNCs) that do business in Nigeria.

General Electric, 3M, FedEx, JP Morgan, Amazon, Apple and DuPont chemicals are among large multinational corporations (MNCs) that do business in Mexico.

Toyota, Japan Tobacco International, Phillip Morris, Volkswagen, PepsiCo, Kia Motors, and IKEA are among large multinational corporations (MNCs) that do business in Russia.

Globalization and neoliberalism can provoke conflicts within states, including—

- Increased demands being placed on governments by civil society groups. \*
- Protests by students and disenfranchised groups. \*
- Arrests of protesters and imposition of social media restrictions. \*

Issues that can provoke these types of conflicts with governments related to globalization and neoliberalism include:

- Income inequality between the wealthy and poor in a country
- Environmental degradation related to economic development
- Gentrification of the poor and replacement
- Access to clean water
- Access to education and other government services

Empowerment of once-marginal, nationalist, and populist groups that blame the government for changes in culture and economic conditions. \*

Issues related to globalization and neoliberalism have been linked with the following groups within AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries:

- Boko Haram, MOSOP and MEND in Nigeria
- Zapatista uprising in Mexico
- Scottish independence movement in Brexit supporters in the United Kingdom

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**IEF**— Economic globalization and economic liberalization have positively and negatively affected political policies and behaviors.\*

Compare political responses to global market forces.\*

In response to market forces, some countries continue to experiment with policies regarding private ownership of industry and capital, including—

- **Special economic zones** along the coast of China. \*

- In China, special economic zones are areas (particularly along China's east coast) designated by the government as regions where private businesses can attract foreign direct investment. Policies allowing these special economic zones and experimentation with other economic reforms to attract foreign direct investment began with Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s.

- **Privatization** and increased competition in Mexico's oil industry (PEMEX) to increase competition and revenues. \*

- In Mexico, PEMEX was created as the state oil company in 1938 as the country's constitution mandates that the state control all oil and mineral rights within the country. PEMEX helped turn Mexico into the world's 6<sup>th</sup> largest oil exporter. But PEMEX oil production dropped significantly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and Mexico dropped to the 10<sup>th</sup> largest oil exporter. The government approved privatization reforms intended to increase Mexico's oil production by allowing some private investment and partnerships with foreign MNCs starting in 2015. Since 1938, Mexico's government has only allowed PEMEX to produce and sell fuel in Mexico. After the 2016 neo-liberal reforms of the PRI government, private energy MNCs like Exxon and BP were providing roughly 20% of Mexico's fuel sales. PEMEX is still government controlled and is still Mexico's largest energy company, but President López Obrador pledged to reduce privatization reforms to PEMEX during his 2018 election campaign. López Obrador's MORENA government attempted to respond to these private energy MNCs with governmental funding of billions of dollars to PEMEX to upgrade its oil and fuel production capacities. In 2020, López Obrador suspended new partnerships between PEMEX and private energy companies.

- Nigeria's state-owned Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) collaborating with foreign companies in joint ventures to extract and produce oil. \*

- The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) often partners with oil and energy MNCs like Shell Global and British Petroleum.

- Putin's re-**nationalization** of oil/natural gas industries and imposition of foreign investment limitations. \*

- Russia's government prosecuted Yukos Oil business owner Mikhail Khodorkovsky then forced his former oil company to be sold at auction to an energy company (Gazprom) mostly owned by Russia's government. Russia does also have some privately-owned energy companies such as Novatek in which Gazprom has a minority ownership stake. Russia does allow partnerships between international MNCs and its government-controlled companies. International sanctions can greatly affect the status of these partnerships with international MNCs.

Course countries allow varying degrees of private control of natural resources, with the United Kingdom allowing the most private control of natural resources and China allowing the least. \*

- The UK government of PM Margaret Thatcher implemented neo-liberal policies to privatize industries in the late 1970s and 1980s that had been under significant national control including British Petroleum, British Telecom, British Airways, and Jaguar + Rover automobiles.

In 2011, the Conservative party moved to privatize a majority of the government's shares in the Royal Mail. This ended nearly 500 years of state ownership of the primary source of mail delivery in the UK.

Governments respond to global market forces in order to—

- Improve domestic economic conditions. \*
- Respond to domestic demands. \*
- Control or influence domestic political debates to maintain or increase their own power. \*
- Extend national influence regionally and internationally.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**IEF**— Economic globalization and economic liberalization have positively and negatively affected political policies and behaviors.\*

Explain how globalization creates challenges to regime sovereignty.\*

Many aspects of globalization can challenge regime sovereignty, including—

- **Foreign direct investment** and multinational corporations from originating regimes can pose a challenge to a government's foundational economic and political ideas and principles. \*
- Cultural influences (often Western) that accompany investment and trade with a given regime can provoke a domestic backlash. \*
  - In Mexico, President López Obrador won the 2018 presidential election partly due to his campaign pledges to reduce privatization reforms to PEMEX that the previous PRI president had initiated.
- Increased economic development can cause **environmental degradation** and accompanying health issues that alienate citizens. \*
  - In China, citizens regularly protest local environmental conditions. In some of these demonstrations, the government offers some small compensation to appease the larger group of protestors while the organizers of the protests are more likely to be punished for their dissent.

In 2015, a documentary ("Under the Dome") about air and water pollution in China received 300 million views within 4 days on government approved Internet before government authorities in China blocked the video.
  - Iran has some of the cities with the world's worst air pollution. Parts of the country are also reportedly facing the prospects of severe water shortages. Some environmental activists have been detained and one has died under suspicious circumstances in government custody after being accused of using research in an attempt to undermine Iran's theocratic regime.
  - In Mexico, interest group pluralism allows many environmental groups to actively seek changes to national and local environmental policies. Some of this activism is met with violence when the goals of environmentalists conflict with the interests of private companies and drug cartels.
  - In Nigeria, environmental groups and other groups affiliated with MOSOP and MEND have a long history of seeking compensation and environmental reforms as a result of the degradation of the Niger River delta because of oil production there.

Bunkering (illegal siphoning of oil from pipelines) of oil in both Nigeria and Mexico can lead to greater environmental degradation from oil spills as local peoples and organized criminal groups attempt to gain economic benefits that are seen as going disproportionately to governmental elites.
  - In Russia, environmental activism in the spirit of Russian nationalism has been successful in altering governmental policy. In 2010, Russia's government planned construction of a major highway to connect Moscow and St. Petersburg through a large, nationally famous Khimki Forest. Environmental activists protested the removal of trees by a MNC construction firm. The protests in the name of protecting a symbol of Russia's strength forced leaders to ask the government to stop the construction. The government developed an alternative plan to replace parts of the forest lost to construction.
  - In the United Kingdom, interest group pluralism allows many environmental groups to actively seek changes to national and local environmental policies.
- Foreign governments can bring political and economic pressures (including treaty reversals, public condemnation at intergovernmental organizations like the United Nations, and economic sanctions) to bear on countries whose actions (including human rights violations) offend them. \*
  - Since 2014, Russia has faced economic sanctions by foreign countries protesting Russia's annexation of Crimea from Ukraine and Russia's invasion into Ukraine in 2022.

- Iran faced United Nations approved international economic sanctions from 2006-2016 related to Iran's enrichment of uranium. These sanctions were lifted after Iran agreed to reduce its enrichment of uranium, but the United States government renewed its economic sanctions against Iran in 2018 when President Donald Trump's administration decided to use economic sanctions to pressure Iran's government to reduce its support of militant groups and the development of ballistic missiles.

In response to global market forces, governments frequently strive to respond to internal demands for domestic reform. Governments also work to control domestic policy debates and attempt to extend their influence regionally to deflect criticism and improve economic conditions.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)



**IEF**— Economic globalization and economic liberalization have positively and negatively affected political policies and behaviors.\*

Explain the adoption of and consequences associated with economic liberalization policies.\*

Political-economic systems in the course countries can be compared by measuring levels of economic development, economic growth, human development, wealth, and inequality. \*

A number of data collection resources are used to investigate relationships among course countries, including—  
The **Human Development Index (HDI)** which comes from the United Nations Development Programme as “a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development” including statistics about life expectancy, amount of schooling, and income

**HDI (Human Development Index)**

| Country         | HDI (2016) | HDI (2018) | 2018 Rank | HDI (2021) | 2021 Rank |
|-----------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| United Kingdom  | .920       | .920       | 15        | .929       | 18        |
| United States** | .922       | .920       | 15        | .921       | 21        |
| Russia          | .815       | .824       | 49        | .822       | 52        |
| Iran            | .796       | .797       | 65        | .774       | 76        |
| Mexico          | .772       | .767       | 76        | .758       | 86        |
| China           | .748       | .758       | 85        | .768       | 79        |
| Nigeria         | .530       | .534       | 158       | .535       | 163       |

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>

Income should not be confused with **Gross domestic product (GDP)** which is the market value of goods and services produced over a certain time in a country. GDP can depict the overall size of a national economy, but **GDP per capita** can reflect the size of the national economy in comparison with the population size, while **GDP growth rate** shows the rate of national economic expansion.

**GDP**

(International Monetary Fund)

| Country         | U.S. \$ Million (2017) | U.S. \$ Million (2022 est) |
|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| United States** | \$19,390,600           | \$25,035,164               |
| China           | \$12,014, 610          | \$18,321,197               |
| United Kingdom  | \$2,624,529            | \$3,198,470                |
| Russia          | \$1,527,469            | \$2,133,092                |
| Iran            | \$431,920              | \$1,973,738                |
| Mexico          | \$1,149, 236           | \$1,424,533                |
| Nigeria         | \$376.284              | \$504,203                  |

The International Monetary Fund and CIA World Factbook provide up-to-date GDP by country data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>

and

### GDP per capita

(International Monetary Fund 2017 — U.S. \$)

| Country         | U.S. \$<br>(2017) | U.S. \$<br>(2022 est) |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| United States** | \$59,792          | \$75,180              |
| United Kingdom  | \$39,800          | \$47,320              |
| Iran            | \$5,289           | \$23,030              |
| Russia          | \$10,955          | \$14,670              |
| China           | \$8,643           | \$12,970              |
| Mexico          | \$9,318           | \$10,118              |
| Nigeria         | \$1,994           | \$2,330               |

The International Monetary Fund and CIA World Factbook provide up- to-date GDP per capita data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm> and <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html>

### GDP growth rate

(International Monetary Fund)

| Country         | Growth Rate<br>(2017) | Growth<br>Rate (2022) |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| United Kingdom  | 1.2%                  | 3.6%                  |
| China           | 6.7%                  | 3.2%                  |
| Nigeria         | .8                    | 3.2%                  |
| Iran            | 3.5%                  | 3%                    |
| Mexico          | 2.1%                  | 2.1%                  |
| United States** | 2.2%                  | 1.6%                  |
| Russia          | 1.8%                  | -3.4%                 |

The International Monetary Fund and CIA World Factbook provide up- to-date GDP Growth Rate data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

<https://www.imf.org/external/index.htm> and <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/210rank.html>

### Per Capita GDP since joining the WTO

| COUNTRY | PER CAPITA<br>GDP upon<br>joining WTO | 2017 PER<br>CAPITA GDP |
|---------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| China   | \$1,053(2001)                         | \$8,826 (2017)         |
| Mexico  | \$3,828(1995)                         | \$8,902 (2017)         |
| Nigeria | \$264 (1995)                          | \$1,968 (2017)         |

\*\* Source World Bank

The **Gini index** shows income inequality within a country. A Gini of 100% indicates perfect inequality whereas a Gini of 0% indicates perfect equality.

### Gini (World Bank)

| Country              | GINI |
|----------------------|------|
| Nigeria 2018         | 35.1 |
| United Kingdom 2017  | 35.1 |
| Russia 2020          | 36   |
| China 2019           | 38.2 |
| Iran 2019            | 40.9 |
| United States 2019** | 41.5 |
| Mexico 2020          | 45.4 |

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.P.OV.GINI> and <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html>

The World Bank and CIA World Factbook provide up-to-date GINI data for more in-depth analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries and are available at

Course countries of all regime types adopt economic liberalization policies with the goals of remedying undesirable domestic circumstances, such as rising unemployment and reduced productivity, and undesirable external situations, such as trade deficits with other states and decreasing demand for raw materials like petroleum, natural gas, and rare earth metal. \*

[Economic responses to the 2019-2020 Covid-19 pandemic](#) reflected how—instead of utilizing economic liberalization policies—governments can intervene during emergencies to stabilize markets and reduce the effects of drastic economic slowdowns related to lockdowns and quarantines to slow the spread of the disease. All 6 AP Comparative countries increased government spending for healthcare treatments of Covid-19 patients and to prevent the spread of the disease. The governments offered tax relief to help individuals and businesses through the difficult economic times. All extended unemployment and social welfare benefits to more citizens and families in need. And all 6 countries had their government-controlled banks take steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets.

Neoliberal economic policies (referring to the removal of barriers and restrictions on what internal/external economic actors can do) have had mixed effects, including reduction in inflation and increases in national income, as well as growing inequality in wealth distribution, persistent political corruption, and the exacerbation of existing social tensions as governments attempt to balance economic freedom with policies that promote economic and political equality. \*

Economic prosperity tied to liberalization policies has affected the power of ruling political parties among course country political systems. \*

- In China, the Communist Party initiated some neoliberal reforms to attract foreign direct investment starting in the 1970s to increase the country's economic strength. Despite these reforms, the government and the CCP still control the major industries of the economy in a system known as state-managed capitalism.
- In Mexico, neoliberal economic reforms initiated by the dominant party (PRI) in the 1990s were followed by electoral reforms that allowed multiple parties to compete for governing power after 2000. Three parties with different policies regarding economic growth have won governing power in elections since 2000.
- In Nigeria, the ruling parties have faced pressure from groups upset with the impact of globalization in both the areas impacted by oil production in the Niger River delta region and northern states with larger populations of Nigerian Muslims opposed to the influx of western culture.
- In the United Kingdom, the Conservative Party faced pressure from groups of citizens upset with the impact of the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union. This led to the 2016 national referendum in which a majority of voters supported a withdrawal from the EU (Brexit.) The Conservatives had two party leaders (David Cameron in 2016 and Theresa May in 2019) step down as prime minister because of their inability to lead Commons to resolve policies related to withdrawing the UK's membership from the EU. Prime Minister Boris Johnson's government got the EU Withdrawal Agreement passed by Commons in Jan., 2020 and negotiated the official withdrawal as the EU-U.K. Trade and Cooperation Agreement took effect on Jan. 1, 2021.

While often stimulating growth, economic liberalization has contributed to environmental pollution, urban sprawl, and uneven economic development in course countries, as a result of—\*

- Increased consumption and use of automobiles and other engines using fossil fuels. \*
- Poor infrastructure and lack of government regulation. \*
- Regional migration patterns (including west to east in China; south to north in Mexico; rural to urban in both).\*

- In all countries, decisions about implementing environmental policies are balanced with considerations of how new environmental policies might impact and constrain economic growth.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**— A government bolsters regime stability by adapting its policies to environmental, political, economic, and cultural conditions.\*

Explain how international and supranational organizations influence domestic policy-makers and national sovereignty.\*

**International organizations** like the **International Monetary Fund** (IMF) and the **World Bank** exert great influence through preconditions for financial assistance; countries that receive IMF assistance often must agree to **structural adjustment programs** requiring privatization of state-owned companies, reduced **tariffs**, and reduced governmental **subsidies** of domestic industries.\*

To bolster their own developing industries, some countries pass **import substitution industrialization (ISI)** policies aimed at reducing foreign dependency by raising tariffs and encouraging local production of industrialized products.\*

- Mexico, Nigeria and the United Kingdom have all used import substitution industrialization (ISI) policies to protect domestic businesses. All had to reduce governmental ISI protections of these industries as they joined free trade agreements such as NAFTA (Mexico) and free trade organizations such as ECOWAS (Nigeria,) the EU (United Kingdom) and the WTO.

**Supranational organizations** such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union (EU), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) have sovereign powers over the national governments that are member states and can apply pressure on policymakers to reduce tariffs and otherwise liberalize trade.\*

- As a member of the World Trade Organization since 2001, China has had to relinquish a degree of its sovereign powers on tariffs to liberalize its trade policies to help increase China's GDP through increased international trade.
- As a member of OPEC since 1960, Iran coordinates its oil production policies with other OPEC members to stabilize oil markets and help increase Iran's GDP from oil exports. Unlike a supranational organization, OPEC policies do not necessarily infringe on member countries' sovereignty over their states' oil production policies.
- As a member of the World Trade Organization since 1995 and a participant in NAFTA/USMCA since 1995, Mexico has had to relinquish a degree of its sovereign powers on tariffs to liberalize its trade policies to help increase Mexico's GDP through increased international trade. The United States, Mexico, Canada Agreement (USMCA) replaced the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 2019. The new trade agreement incentivized that autoworkers in Mexico make higher wages (at least \$16/hour), enforces more labor protections for workers in Mexico's manufacturing factories, and protects tech firms from being sued for digital content that might violate laws of the other countries.
- As a member of the World Trade Organization since 1995 and a participant in ECOWAS since 1975, Nigeria has had to relinquish a degree of its sovereign powers on tariffs to liberalize its trade policies to help increase Nigeria's GDP through increased international trade. As a member of OPEC since 1972, Nigeria coordinates its oil production policies with other OPEC members to stabilize oil markets and help increase Nigeria's GDP from oil exports. In 2021, an ECOWAS court ruled that Nigeria's prosecutions of journalists and activists who tweeted information deemed to be critical of Nigeria's government would be unlawful interferences on human rights.

International and supranational organizations have pressured Nigeria to reduce government spending on fuel subsidies that lower fuel prices for consumers. Although it is a major oil exporter, Nigeria imports most of its fuel because it lacks adequate fuel refining infrastructure. In 2022, Nigeria's national government spent nearly \$9 billion (15% of the national budget) on fuel subsidies which was more than the national government funding for both education and healthcare. When the government has moved to end these subsidies allowing fuel prices to increase, citizens regularly take to the streets in major protests and the government reverses its policy to cut the fuel subsidies. In response to the economic crisis related to the Covid-19 pandemic, Nigeria allowed for more government spending on these subsidies to keep fuel prices lower. But in his first address as president in 2023, Bola Tinubu announced a market-driven reform that the national government would end spending on fuel subsidies.

- As a member of the World Trade Organization since 2012, Russia has had to relinquish a degree of its sovereign powers on tariffs to liberalize its trade policies to help increase Russia's GDP through increased international trade.
- As a member of the European Union until 2020 and the World Trade Organization since 1995, the United Kingdom has had to relinquish a degree of its sovereign powers on tariffs to liberalize its trade policies to help increase the UK's GDP through increased international trade.

In the United Kingdom, citizens' concerns about giving up trade policy sovereignty to the EU and using UK tax revenue to fund the EU led the Conservative Party government to hold a national referendum on the UK's future membership in the EU. A majority of voters in the UK supported withdrawal from the EU in the 2016 Brexit vote. After the Brexit vote, the Conservatives had two party leaders (David Cameron in 2016 and Theresa May in 2019) step down as prime minister because of their inability to lead Commons to resolve policies related to withdrawing the UK's membership from the EU. Prime Minister Boris Johnson's government got the EU Withdrawal Agreement passed by Commons in Jan., 2020 and negotiated the official withdrawal as the EU-U.K. Trade and Cooperation Agreement took effect on Jan. 1, 2021.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG—** A government bolsters regime stability by adapting its policies to environmental, political, economic, and cultural conditions.\*

Explain how governments adapt social policies to address political, cultural, and economic changes.\*

In response to political, cultural, and economic changes, governments create new social policies, including **gender equity**, healthcare, and education policies, as represented by— \*

- Gender equity rules in Iran with voting, the election of Majles, and appointment to cabinet positions. \*

- In Iran, women were allowed to vote, get elected as representatives in the legislature and serve as cabinet ministers both before and after the 1979 revolution in which the government became an Islamic theocracy.

In the Fall of 2022 and into 2023, hundreds of thousands joined different protests in cities across Iran against government mandates for women to wear hijabs after a young woman (Mahsa Amini) was detained for violating Iran's hijab mandate and died in the law enforcement custody. Thousands of protestors were arrested and detained with hundreds of protestors killed by government forces. By January of 2023, nearly 60 Iranian protests had been put on trial and sentenced to death after convictions.

- Disputes in Iran about female access to certain university degree programs and attendance at and participation in sporting events. \*

- Prior to its 1979 revolution, women in Iran were allowed to attend schools from primary levels through university. After the revolution, Iran's theocratic government continued to adopt policies that encouraged attendance at primary schools by females. By the 2010s, a trend was evident that more women than men enrolled in Iran's universities. Starting in 2012, during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the government announced a policy that restricted women from studying certain fields (including chemistry and engineering) at dozens of Iranian universities. Universities have continued to impose these types of gender restrictions on university studies during the presidency of Hassan Rouhani.

- In Iran, women are typically restricted from attending sports events as spectators in the same stadiums as men. From the start of the Islamic theocracy, gender integration at sports stadiums was prohibited. Presidents of Iran have expressed support for lifting the ban on female attendance at sporting events since 2001, and there have been a few examples of select groups of women being allowed to attend stadiums (seated in separate sections from men) since 2001. But religious hardliners who control most stadium attendance policies still restrict female attendance inside almost all public arenas. In terms of participation in athletics, Iranian women have steadily increased their participation in international athletic contests like the Olympics. In the 1990s, the then-president's daughter (Faezeh Hashemi) used her political influence to empower sports organizations to recruit more Iranian women as athletes despite criticism from some religious conservatives who viewed women competing in sports as detrimental to strict religious values. Iranian women who do compete in athletics, both domestically and internationally, are required to dress according to the standards mandated by government dress code regulations.

- Varied abortion policies in Mexico's local and state governments. \*

- In Mexico, federalism allows abortion laws to vary by local government. Mexico City has the least restrictive abortion laws in the country. In 2007, the Mexico City's government decriminalized some abortions by allowing women to access abortion up to 12 weeks of a pregnancy. But in more conservative states in Mexico, abortion was only allowed for pregnancies that result from rape. Some local governments criminally prosecuted women caught getting illegal abortions. In 2021, Mexico's Supreme Court ruled that access to abortion would be decriminalized throughout all of Mexico's states so that women could not be criminally prosecuted for women caught getting abortions during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.

- Gender quotas in Mexico. \*

- In Mexico, political parties began promising to run at least 30% women as candidates in 2003. This quota was increased to 40% in 2009 but parties fell well below this goal until the IFE mandated the quota rules and Mexico's courts supported this mandate. In 2014, the constitution was amended to require the gender quotas for national and local elections. After the 2018 legislative elections, women held nearly 50% of the seats in both chambers of the Congress. In 2019, women's rights activists in Mexico led a grassroots campaign to have their constitution amended to move toward gender parity in all three branches of government with the hashtag campaign of #ParidadEnTodo (parity in everything.) In 2021, women won a record 7 of the 32 regional governor positions.

- Femicide in Mexico.

The International Women's Day commemorated in March each year has become an annual event of massive grassroots activism and protest by women's rights advocates in Mexico. The protective fencing placed outside Mexico's palace in 2021 became a place where activists posted artwork to protest and memorialize women killed in murders that the government has not solved.

- Unequal gender access to education in the north and south of Nigeria. \*

- In Nigeria, women have more access to formal education in the south of Nigeria than in the north.

- China's response to a #MeToo social movement to prohibit sexual harassment.

- In China, women had been protesting that China's government did not outlaw actions of sexual harassment. Some women involved in this movement and these protests had been arrested for their calls on the National People's Congress to pass a law prohibiting sexual harassment. Social media outlets in China were used by women rights activists in 2018 to bring attention to accusations by women against powerful men who had harassed them. In 2020, the National People's Congress passed its first law allowing lawsuits "for speech, words, images or bodily actions that have been used to carry out sexual harassment against a person's wishes."

Governments implement social welfare policies to reduce poverty, increase literacy, and improve public health, both to improve citizens' lives and to maintain or bolster political legitimacy.\*

- The UK and China both provide government social security pensions to many retired workers and elderly. Both also provide government health care along with housing and subsidies for poor citizens along with government schools. Both the UK and China have aging populations that will increase the government's cost of providing health care to an aging population and an increasing number of citizens eligible to receive government social security pensions and relatively fewer workers to help the government fund programs.

While the UK, and any country that provides social services, has eligibility rules to follow in order to receive benefits, China also uses government provided services such as public education and health care as incentives for citizens to adhere to certain policies. China has attempted to restrict unfettered internal immigration from China's rural areas to its cities. This restrictive policy is called the hukou system and it rewards many approved city residents with government provided education, housing subsidies and health care. Those internal immigrants move to cities without approval within the hukou system forfeit these types of government provided services. When China restricted families from having more than one child, some regional enforcers prohibited an unapproved second child in a family from government schools and health care. Partially because of greatly lowered birth rates and a disproportionately larger population of males to females by the 21st century, the CCP moved to a two-child policy by 2015. When this policy change did not result in a noticeable increase for birth rates in China, the CCP moved to a three-child policy by May, 2021 then removed all limits and penalties on family size by July, 2021.

- In Iran, health care is provided by a combination of government service, private enterprise and NGOs. The government does subsidize some housing for poorer residents, but these public housing efforts are commonly slowed by Iran's economic struggles related to lower oil prices and economic sanctions enforced by the United States government. Iran's government also sponsors para-governmental charities called bonyads. These bonyad organizations are mostly funded by oil revenues and run by elite families in Iran. The purpose of bonyads is to direct oil profits into financial benefits for Iran's poor. But these organizations are often

suspected of delivering too little financial benefit for these intended causes while they are run by wealthy Iranian families.

[Economic responses to the 2019-2020 Covid-19 pandemic](#) reflected how—instead of utilizing economic liberalization policies— governments can intervene during emergencies to stabilize markets and reduce the effects of drastic economic slowdowns related to lockdowns and quarantines to slow the spread of the disease:

- In China, the government increased spending on prevention and control of the coronavirus disease and on the production and the distribution of personal protective equipment (PPE). The government offered tax relief to individuals and businesses and sped the delivery of unemployment payments. Migrant workers became eligible for these unemployment payments. China's government-controlled banks also took steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets.

At the end of 2022, China experienced mass protests in different cities related to the continuation of the government's strict enforcement of Covid-19 testing and quarantine rules. In this case, China's government did greatly relax its strict covid-19 testing and quarantine policies at the end of 2022 into 2023.

- In Iran, the government increased spending on healthcare and its unemployment fund. Cash payments were made to vulnerable households. The government offered tax relief to individuals and businesses. Iran's government-controlled banks also took steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets. Iran's government did make some liberalized reforms by initiating some privatization efforts for 18 of its state-controlled firms that allowed the public to buy shares in these companies as a way to increase government revenues from these purchases of shares.

- In Mexico, the government increased spending on healthcare and its funds for the old-aged, disabled and unemployed homeowners. Emergency loans were made to businesses to keep employees on payrolls.

Mexico's government-controlled banks also took steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets. Mexico's government did make some liberalized reforms by making some austerity budget cuts of non-priority budget items and salary reductions by high-ranking government officials.

- In Nigeria, the government increased spending on healthcare and government spending to help allow fuel prices to drop. The government increased funding for vulnerable households from 1 million households to 3.6 million. The government increased spending on a stimulus package meant to create jobs for infrastructure and the development of new housing. Nigeria's government-controlled banks also took steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets.

- In Russia, increased pay for healthcare workers and funding for paid sick leave for workers forced to quarantine. Increased funding for unemployment benefits and a one-time payment for children under the age of 16. The government offered tax relief to individuals and businesses and emergency loans were made to businesses to keep employees on payrolls. Russia's government-controlled banks also took steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets.

- In the United Kingdom, the government increased spending on healthcare and its unemployment fund. The government made payments to businesses to maintain furloughed employees on payrolls and made payments to self-employed and furloughed workers. Increased funding for social safety net programs for vulnerable households. The UK's government-controlled banks also took steps to ease lending standards between financial institutions and to businesses to help stabilize markets. The UK's government also paid the minimum wage for six months for up to 25 hours for younger workers to prevent their long-term unemployment.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)



**LEG**— A government bolsters regime stability by adapting its policies to environmental, political, economic, and cultural conditions.\*

Explain how rapid **industrialization** and economic development have produced radical changes in governmental policies.\*

Rapid industrialization and increasing dependence on energy from fossil fuels have created a variety of environmental and political problems that governments must address to protect citizens. Such government solutions include—\*

- Physically moving factories, implementing green technologies with subsidies for industry compliance, and engaging in increased infrastructure development and environmental regulation. \*
  - Passing laws that require nationwide conversion to hybrid and battery-powered autos to address air pollution problems in major cities from auto and industrial emissions. \*
  - Developing infrastructure and other mechanisms to respond to health crises related to systemic pollution. \*
- \* Trade liberalization and economic globalization affects the GDP composition by economic sector over time:

#### **GDP Composition by Economic Sector (2016/2017)**

|                    | <b>China<br/>(2017)</b> | <b>Iran<br/>(2016)</b> | <b>Mexico<br/>(2017)</b> | <b>Nigeria<br/>(2016)</b> | <b>Russia<br/>(2017)</b> | <b>United<br/>Kingdom (2017)</b> | <b>United<br/>States** (2017)</b> |
|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Agriculture</b> | 7.9%                    | 9.6%                   | 3.6%                     | 21.1%                     | 4.7%                     | .7%                              | .9%                               |
| <b>Industry</b>    | 40.5%                   | 35.3%                  | 31.9%                    | 22.5%                     | 32.4%                    | 20.2%                            | 19.1%                             |
| <b>Service</b>     | 51.6%                   | 55%                    | 64.5%                    | 56.4%                     | 62.3%                    | 79.2%                            | 80%                               |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

#### **GDP Composition by Economic Sector (1995/1997)**

|                    | <b>China<br/>(1995)</b> | <b>Iran<br/>(1995)</b> | <b>Mexico<br/>(1995)</b> | <b>Nigeria<br/>(1997)</b> | <b>Russia<br/>(1995)</b> | <b>United<br/>Kingdom (1995)</b> | <b>United<br/>States** (1995)</b> |
|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Agriculture</b> | 19%                     | 21%                    | 8.5%                     | 33%                       | 6%                       | 1.7%                             | 2%                                |
| <b>Industry</b>    | 48%                     | 37%                    | 28.4%                    | 42%                       | 41%                      | 27.7%                            | 23%                               |
| <b>Service</b>     | 33%                     | 42%                    | 63.1%                    | 25%                       | 53%                      | 70.6%                            | 75%                               |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

**Trade liberalization** affects the growth of domestic and foreign business, the amount of direct foreign investment, foreign exchange rates, population movement, and often the quality of the environment. Reducing tariffs may lower consumer costs at the expense of domestic industry, while increasing tariffs may protect domestic industry against foreign imports but at the expense of higher consumer prices. \*

The Heritage Foundation is an American NGO that promotes free market policies and a limited role of government in the economy outside of the protection of property rights. It publishes an Index of Economic Freedom that ranks every country with categories for the Rule of Law including the protection of property rights, Regulatory Efficiency including business freedom, Government Size including government spending and tax burden, and Open Markets including trade freedom.

## Index of Economic Freedom 2023

The Index of Economic Freedom can be accessed at <https://www.heritage.org/index/> for more in-depth country analysis and comparisons of the different AP Comparative Government and Politics core countries.

Governments concerned with budget deficits resulting from world market fluctuations often must adopt **austerity measures**, which result in funding cuts to state programs.\*

- In the United Kingdom, after the recession of 2008, the Conservative Party implemented budget austerity measures when it came to power in 2010. Public spending decreases in healthcare (National Health Service) and education were among the social welfare program areas affected. For instance, tuition for higher income college students were increased as part of these austerity measures. Taxes were also increased to reduce budget deficits by 2016.
- In Nigeria, international and supranational organizations have pressured Nigeria to reduce government spending on fuel subsidies that are meant to lower fuel prices. This is meant to lower Nigeria's borrowing as part of budget austerity measures. The government has moved to spend less on subsidizing lower fuel prices several times, but often backed down when faced with major public protests against these policies. In response to the 2020 economic crisis related to the Covid-19 pandemic, Nigeria changed its policy away from this austerity measure to allow for more government spending on these subsidies to keep fuel prices lower.
- In Iran, the government moved toward budget austerity measures due to economic pressure from international sanctions. One 2019 measure was to reduce government spending on fuel subsidies meant to lower fuel prices. When gas prices increased between 50-200%, mass protests took place against this austerity policy. Some reports indicate that up to 1,500 Iranians were killed as the government moved to suppress these protests in 2019 and into 2020. The Covid-19 pandemic reduced the protests and the government made further budget austerity cuts by initiating some privatization efforts for 18 of its state-controlled firms that allowed the public to buy shares in these companies as a way to increase government revenues from these purchases of shares. The revenues were meant to pay for increased social welfare benefits for vulnerable families.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**— Demographic changes have political causes and consequences, and they can present challenges to a government’s legitimacy.\*

### Explain political causes and consequences of **demographic changes**.\*

Growing populations, changing land use and values, and economic opportunities motivate internal and external population movements (including when populations shift from rural to urban areas or when net migration rates change) and the corresponding demographic changes pose significant challenges to governmental resources.

Government policies and employment opportunities can draw workers to different geographic regions, or influence positive or negative migration rates, often deepening pre-existing class and regional differences and taxing government resources—\*

- China’s shifting emphasis from agriculture to industry, the creation of special economic zones, the encouragement of foreign direct investment, and fewer government restrictions and regulations of the economy have led to migration from rural to urban areas and west to east (interior to coast), creating a growing population whose rising incomes allow them to pursue work and educational opportunities abroad. \*
- Highly skilled or well-educated individuals have left home countries such as Iran and Nigeria to escape government policies or practices that are perceived as limiting, corrupt, or repressive. \*
- The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and other economic liberalization policies (such as removing agricultural subsidies), **maquiladora zones**, and foreign direct investment patterns prompted migration from rural to urban areas and from southern to northern Mexico, and contributed to greater economic development in the north than in the south, as well as other regional disparities. \* In 2019, the governments of the United States, Mexico, and Canada agreed to replace NAFTA with the USMCA. The new trade agreement incentivized that autoworkers in Mexico make higher wages (at least \$16/hour), enforces more labor protections for workers in Mexico’s manufacturing factories, and protects tech firms from being sued for digital content that might violate laws of the other countries.
- A positive net migration of immigrants into countries like the United Kingdom has resulted in social and political tensions. \*
  - In the United Kingdom, the UK Independent Party (UKIP) supports more restrictions on immigration and reductions of government benefits for new immigrants. While UKIP performs poorly in Commons elections, it performs much better in elections for the EU’s European Parliament despite UKIP’s support for the UK’s withdrawal from the EU.

Shifting migration patterns have political and social consequences, including—

- Increased crime stemming from higher population density. \*
- The concentration of highly skilled individuals in certain areas and their absence in other areas. \*
- Increased use of existing infrastructure and housing and demands for new and expanded infrastructure and housing. \*
- The growth of new political parties that stand against immigration and supranational organizations that challenge the government’s legitimacy. \*

The political leadership of the United Kingdom is facing increasing constituent demands to reduce the rising costs of healthcare, exacerbated by an aging population and a declining working-age population faced with increased tax burdens to fund the universal health care system. \*

States respond to demographic pressures with different actions or policies that influence citizen behavior, including policies encouraging or discouraging the birth of children, or actions promoting or discouraging discrimination against religious minorities.\*

- In China, the government began a strict one-child policy for all families in 1979 with the belief the policy would decrease the population growth rate for the benefit of economic growth. The government enforced the policy by imposing large fines on violating families and some regional enforcers prohibited an unapproved second child in a family from government schools and health care. A significant gender imbalance developed, especially in rural areas, as families preferred having boys under this policy for cultural and financial reasons. The government relaxed the policy in the 1980s allowing some rural families to have a 2<sup>nd</sup> child if the first child was a girl. Enforcement of the policy was also relaxed for some protected ethnic minority groups. The population growth rate of China did decline steadily with the enforcement of this policy. The government moved to a nationwide two-child policy for all families in 2015 "to improve the balanced development of population" as the gender imbalance of significantly more men in the population as compared to women continued to exist. But, since the policy has been relaxed, China's birth rate has not increased as much as expected, likely due to family planning choices of families to start having children later in marriage for financial planning reasons. When its two-child policy change did not result in a noticeable increase for birth rates in China, the CCP moved to a three-child policy by May, 2021 then removed all limits and penalties on family size by July, 2021.

- In Iran, the government promoted population growth after Iran's population was decimated during the Iran- Iraq war. The government encouraged large families and prohibited family planning clinics. Iran's population growth rate increased steadily, and Iran developed the youngest population in the Middle East with a relatively large proportion of children under 15. Because of the large proportion of young and the problems of providing governmental services to this segment of the population, Iran promoted smaller families and more use of birth control from 1989 to 2012. Islamic clerics became part of the government's attempts to promote the use of contraception by males and females. The government promoted the slogan that "two children is enough" and cut paid maternity leave for women for mothers of three or more children and cut social welfare benefits like food stamps for third children. These policies resulted in the steady decline of Iran's population growth rate. By 2012, Iran's government was concerned that the birthrate was too low for future economic success and promoted efforts to increase the country's birth rate. By 2012, the government began providing more generous maternity leave to encourage larger families, cut funding for subsidized birth control and spoke against other birth control methods.

- The decline of Russia's population has caused the government to offer incentives for Russian families to have larger families. These incentives have included increased food and schooling allowances for low income families who have multiple children, tax breaks for having multiple children, extended maternity leave for mothers, and a cash payment of about \$7,600 (2020) for new mothers.

- The governments of Mexico, Nigeria, and the United Kingdom have no policies restricting or promoting the size of families.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

**LEG**— Natural resource endowments can have positive and negative effects on political stability and economic development.\*

Explain how natural resources affect political and economic development.\*

**Rentier states** (including Iran, Nigeria, and Russia) that obtain a sizable percentage of total government revenue from the export of oil and gas or from leasing the resource to foreign countries, have been able to raise standards of living and fund governmental programs based on their huge reserves. \*

#### GDP Composition by Oil Rents

|      | China | Iran  | Mexico | Nigeria | Russia | United Kingdom | United States** |
|------|-------|-------|--------|---------|--------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1995 | 1.66% | 19.4% | 3.05%  | 15.17%  | 4.2%   | .48%           | .31%            |
| 2017 | .34%  | 15.3% | 1.7%   | 6.12%   | 6.4%   | .3%            | .18%            |

World Bank (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

Political and economic outcomes related to rentier state status, often referred to as the “**resource curse**” when petroleum is involved, include—\*

- Lack of **economic diversification**. \*

#### GDP Composition by Economic Sector

|             | China (2017) | Iran (2016) | Mexico (2017) | Nigeria (2016) | Russia (2017) | United Kingdom (2017) | United States** (2017) |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Agriculture | 7.9%         | 9.6%        | 3.6%          | 21.1%          | 4.7%          | .7%                   | .9%                    |
| Industry    | 40.5%        | 35.3%       | 31.9%         | 22.5%          | 32.4%         | 20.2%                 | 19.1%                  |
| Service     | 51.6%        | 55%         | 64.5%         | 56.4%          | 62.3%         | 79.2%                 | 80%                    |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

#### GDP Composition by Economic Sector (1995)

|             | China (1995) | Iran (1995) | Mexico (1995) | Nigeria (1997) | Russia (1995) | United Kingdom (1995) | United States** (1995) |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Agriculture | 19%          | 21%         | 8.5%          | 33%            | 6%            | 1.7%                  | 2%                     |
| Industry    | 48%          | 37%         | 28.4%         | 42%            | 41%           | 27.7%                 | 23%                    |
| Service     | 33%          | 42%         | 63.1%         | 25%            | 53%           | 70.6%                 | 75%                    |

CIA World Factbook (\*\* The United States is not an AP Comparative core country.)

- Concentration of governmental resources on developing the one profitable export industry to the exclusion of other types of industries. \*
- Severe revenue fluctuations based on world market pricing. \*
- The overvaluation of currency, and trade imbalances. \*
- The increasing disparity between rich and poor. \*
- A lack of incentive to modernize the economy, or cooperate with international judicial bodies. \*

- Increased governmental corruption. \*
- A lack of governmental accountability to citizens when not relying on citizens for taxes. \*
- The absence of democracy. \*

Some political scientists theorize that rentier states are more prone to corruption and authoritarian rule because of low tax rates. This theory suggests that citizen participation in government decreases in rentier states that keep tax rates low due to government revenues from the sale of commodities. As citizen participation in government decreases, government officials in rentier states are more likely to take part in corruption and develop authoritarian methods with lower expectations of being held accountable by active and engaged citizens.

Resources are nationalized in China, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, and Russia to provide government revenue, consolidate government control, and reduce political influence of foreign governments and multinational corporations (MNCs), all of which can reinforce political legitimacy. The degree of central government control in these states differs, as represented by—\*

- In Iran, workers for the state-controlled petroleum companies can make as much as three times as workers for privately held companies that work connected with the state-controlled petroleum companies. In 2021 large labor strikes took place by many workers in the privately held companies upset with the wage disparities as compared to the more highly paid workers for Iran's state-controlled petroleum companies.
- The Mexican government's decision to allow private investment in **PEMEX** to increase competition and revenues. \*
  - In Mexico, efforts to allow private investment in PEMEX have decreased governmental control on energy policies and the decisions of one of Mexico's largest companies. President López Obrador pledged to reduce privatization reforms to PEMEX during his 2018 election campaign. López Obrador's MORENA government attempted to respond to these private energy MNCs with governmental funding of billions of dollars to PEMEX to upgrade its oil and fuel production capacities. In 2020, López Obrador suspended new partnerships between PEMEX and private energy companies.
- The political control exercised by foreign MNCs that underwrite Nigeria's oil production. \*
  - In Nigeria, MNCs that pay for oil rents to the government to produce oil have significant political influence in Nigeria.

In 2022, Nigeria's national government spent nearly \$9 billion (15% of the national budget) on fuel subsidies which was more than the national government funding for both education and healthcare. When the government has moved to end these subsidies allowing fuel prices to increase, citizens regularly take to the streets in major protests and the government reverses its policy to cut the fuel subsidies. In response to the economic crisis related to the Covid-19 pandemic, Nigeria allowed for more government spending on these subsidies to keep fuel prices lower. But in his first address as president in 2023, Bola Tinubu announced a market-driven reform that the national government would end spending on fuel subsidies.
- The high degree of centralized control over natural resource companies under Russian President Putin has resulted in wealth concentration. \*
  - In Russia, the privatization of the Soviet Union's industries related to natural resources, resulted in a massive concentration of wealth in a group of business owners known as Russia's oligarchs. Some oligarchs who challenged Vladimir Putin for power were criminally prosecuted or threatened with prosecution and forced to live abroad in exile. After the criminal conviction of Russia's wealthiest business owner, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the government forced his Yukos oil company to be sold at auction to an energy company (Gazprom) mostly owned by Russia's government. This was one method Russia's government used to re- nationalize some businesses and industries back into the control of the central government.

Privatized ownership of natural resources decreases government control, increases wealth inequality, and results in the potential loss of sovereignty.\*

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)

# AP CompGov: Glossary

## Unit 5: Political and Economic Changes and Development

**Economic globalization** – includes economic networks that are growing more interconnected, a worldwide market with actors unconstrained by political borders, and a reduction in state control over economies\*

**Multinational corporations (MNCs)** – businesses with a large presence in countries in different regions of the world. MNCs increasingly dominate global markets and pose challenges to, and sometimes conflict with, domestic economic policies regarding labor, the environment, land rights, taxation, and the budget\*

**Special economic zones** – areas in China (particularly along China's east coast) designated by the government as regions where private businesses could attract foreign direct investment

**Privatization** – converting government-owned industries to businesses run with free-market forces that are owned and operated by private investors

**Nationalization** – government-owned industries run without free-market forces

**Foreign direct investment** – money invested in private businesses by individuals or a corporation outside of the country that can pose a challenge to a government's foundational economic and political ideas and principles.\*

**Environmental degradation** – environmental problems created by industrialization and other forms of economic development

**International organizations** – organizations joined by member states with a common interest such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the United Nations.

**The International Monetary Fund** (IMF) exerts great influence through preconditions for financial assistance; countries that receive IMF assistance often must agree to structural adjustment programs requiring privatization of state-owned companies, reduced tariffs, and reduced governmental subsidies of domestic industries. \* (This org could be considered as supranational for countries that have to give up some sovereignty over economic policies in order to receive aid from this group.)

**World Bank** (WB) multi-country financial services provider and lender that offers loans and grants for lower income countries to build infrastructure projects.

**Supranational organizations** – organizations in which member states grant the governing organization sovereignty over policies typically related to trade such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the European Union (EU), and the World Trade Organization (WTO)\*

**Structural adjustment programs** – neoliberal reforms often required by international organizations granting emergency loans to countries that require privatization of state-owned companies, reduced tariffs, and reduced governmental subsidies of domestic industries\*

**Tariffs** – taxes imposed by a government against imported goods

**Trade liberalization** affects the growth of domestic and foreign business, the amount of direct foreign investment, foreign exchange rates, population movement, and often the quality of the environment. Reducing tariffs may lower consumer costs at the expense of domestic industry, while increasing tariffs may protect domestic industry against foreign imports but at the expense of higher consumer prices\*

**Subsidies** – government funding made to support domestic industries against foreign competition or to shape economic behaviors

**Import substitution industrialization (ISI)** – policies aimed at reducing foreign dependency by raising tariffs and encouraging local production of industrialized products\*

**Austerity measures** – governmental budget cuts and / or tax increases intended to decrease budget deficits and national debt; often required for IMF emergency loans\*

**Demographic changes** – the growth (or decrease) and movement of a population in a country

**Gender equality** – civil rights ideal for women to be protected with equal treatment and to secure equal power as men in governing a country

**Maquiladora zones** – areas of Mexico's manufacturing industry mostly located in northern Mexico; factories established to assemble parts imported from the United States for assembly in Mexico made more possible due to NAFTA. Contributed to greater economic development in the north than in the south, as well as other regional disparities. \*

**Rentier states** – countries that obtain a sizable percentage of total government revenue from the export of oil and gas or from leasing the resource to foreign countries and have been able to raise standards of living and fund governmental programs based on their huge reserves. \*

**Industrialization** – movement from agricultural economic production to industrial manufacturing

**Resource curse** – countries that rely too heavily on the export of commodities face negative economic, political and environmental consequences

**Economic diversification** – when a country is able to obtain economic balance between agriculture, manufacturing and service without over dependence on one commodity or economic sector.

\*Sourced from the AP Comparative Government and Politics course description (2019.)