



## **AP<sup>®</sup> Comparative Government and Politics 2009 Scoring Guidelines**

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# AP<sup>®</sup> COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

## 2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 1

#### 3 points

One point is earned for a correct description of the status of private property in China under Mao.

Acceptable descriptions include any of the following:

- Private property was not allowed (in most periods).
- The constitution of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) prohibited private ownership of property; property was “owned by the people.”
- Private property was redistributed to the landless/peasants—land reform.
- Private property was confiscated.
- Private property was collectivized.
- After collectivization of private lands, communes were formed.
- The state was the primary owner of property and means of production.
- People often had right of use but no ownership.

*Note:* No identification point is earned for vague responses such as “There was none” or “People could not own anything.”

One point is earned for an identification of one policy undertaken by the Chinese government in the past 30 years that contradicts Mao’s policy, and 1 point is earned for an explanation of a way in which it does so.

Acceptable policies include any of the following:

- Decollectivization of land
- Disbanding of communes
- Private production allowed
- Privately owned enterprises
- Extended leases for land use
- Household responsibility system
- Constitutional reform
  - New rights of ownership
  - Enforcing the rule of law

Acceptable explanations include either of the following:

- Demonstrated linkages to Mao-era private property policy
- Comparative statement between Mao and current private property policy

No identification point is earned for the following unless the policy is linked to private property:

- Special Economic Zones (SEZs)
- Open Door policy
- “Three Represents” policy
- Township and Village Enterprises (TVEs)
- Privatization
- Capitalism
- Market economy
- Free market

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**Question 1 (continued)**

*Note:* The identification and corresponding explanation must be linked to the status of private property in China. If economic policies are used, such as market economy, free market, or SEZs, the response must relate the status of private property to the policy.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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## 2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 2

#### 3 points

One point is earned for a correct definition of political ideology.

The following are acceptable definitions:

- A coherent set of values and beliefs about the goals of government, public policy, or politics.
- A belief system about how government should rule, be run, or implement policies.
- A set of beliefs or guiding principles about government and policy.
- A set of aims, principles, and ideas that inform political practice.

*Notes:*

- Definition must indicate that ideology is not just one idea or opinion but is a pattern of belief(s) about politics, policy, or government.
- The definition must connect to larger values rather than an individual's own opinions.
- Definition is NOT about one issue, or a personal opinion, or what one feels.
- Definition of political ideology is NOT the "party platform" but rather the guiding principles that inform the party platform.

One point is earned for identification of one political party that participated in the 2006 Mexican presidential election.

Acceptable identifications include any of the following:

- PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution)
- PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party)
- PAN (National Action Party)

One point is earned for a description of one central element of the party's political ideology.

Acceptable descriptions include any of the following:

- PRD: Promotes social reforms, expansion of welfare programs, populist policies, economic nationalism, social justice.
- PRI: Centrist, moderate, nonideological, adrift of ideological moorings. Ideology is to maintain power and is changeable, adaptable, opportunistic.
- PAN: Conservative, socially conservative. Party of business interests and Catholic interests and values. Promotes laissez-faire economic policies and giving more power to regional governments.

*Notes:*

- Merely stating that the central element of the political ideology is a point on the political spectrum e.g., "on the right" (PAN), "on the left" (PRD), or "in the middle/center" (PRI), without further elaboration, will NOT earn a point.
- To earn a point for a description of the central element of the PRI's ideology, the response must illustrate context.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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**Question 3**

**3 points**

One point is earned for a correct description of how colonialism has shaped contemporary politics in Nigeria.

Acceptable descriptions of colonialism's influence include any of the following:

- Inhibits national identity formation: colonial rule (direct in the south/indirect in the north) created regional identities and rearranged boundaries.
- Ethnic and religious division and tensions: indigenous and Christian religions in the south, Islam in the north; underlying ethnic identities; rearranged boundaries.
- Residual colonial institutional and cultural features: bureaucracy, language, colonial boundaries.
- Dependency: extractive economic relations with the West and former colonial power; neocolonialism (continued exploitation).
- System of government: Westminster and procedural features of western democracy.
- Ineffective civil society and weak democratic consolidation: authoritarian colonial structure disrupted consensus-based indigenous political systems; evolution of dominant executives; corruption (prebendalism).

One point each is earned for two correct descriptions of how colonialism has shaped contemporary politics in Great Britain.

Acceptable descriptions of colonialism's influence include any of the following:

- Multiethnic/multiracial society: immigrant presence from former colonies.
- Rise in nationalism: anti-immigrant tendencies and xenophobia.
- More inclusive political institutions and society: immigrant representation in political offices/social sectors.
- Resurgent nationalism: self-determination movements in colonies fostered a shift in the way that subnational and national groups sought greater autonomy.
- The British Commonwealth offers a framework for contemporary foreign policy interaction between Great Britain and its former colonies.
- International influence is partially sustained on wealth from exploitation of natural resources and trade arrangements with former colonies.

*Notes:*

- The task here is to provide a description and not an identification.
- Mere description of countries is not sufficient.
- Do not accept use of Iran and Ireland as colonies.
- Accept Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales only in terms of resurgent subnationalism.
- Imperialism is not the same as colonialism and does not earn a point.
- Do not accept arguments based on the United States or European Union.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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### Question 4

#### 3 points

One point is earned for a correct description of a feature of bureaucracy in an authoritarian system.

Acceptable features include any of the following:

- Recruitment is based on affiliations.
  - Party affiliation (ruling, single party)
  - Clan/tribal affiliations
  - Personal connections
  - Patronage, patron–client systems
  - *Nomenklatura* (Soviet system)
  - *Camarillas* (Mexico)
  - *Guan xi* (China)
- Merit is not the primary basis for recruitment.
- Large size because of authoritarian goals (e.g., monitor population).
- Less transparency compared with bureaucracies in democratic systems.
- The authoritarian regime uses the bureaucracy to distribute material benefits in return for loyalty to the regime.

*Notes:*

- The description of the feature must make the authoritarian context explicit. This might include references to a ruling, single, or dominant party (“the” party); authoritarian leaders, autocrats; contrasts with democratic systems.
- Generic descriptions of bureaucracies and their functions do not describe features.
- The feature must describe bureaucracies and not just the authoritarian system (e.g., control).
- Vague references to corruption as a feature are not sufficient.

One point is earned for explaining how the identified feature can help effective policy implementation.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- Creates greater cohesiveness in policy implementation.
- Ensures policy cohesion in implementation.
- Insulates decision makers from pressure groups and ensures policy is not diluted.
- Ensures policy continuity.
- Facilitates building support for policy within bureaucracy.

*Note:* Efficiency and ease of policy implementation without further description are not acceptable explanations.

One point is earned for explaining how the identified feature can hinder effective policy implementation.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- Not responsive to citizenry.
- Plagued by corruption/problems of prebendalism.
- Inefficient and ineffective in implementation owing to lack of policy expertise.
- Plagued by limited policy expertise.
- Ideologies trump practical concerns.
- Reduces opportunities for constructive criticism of bureaucratic policy implementation.

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**Question 4 (continued)**

*Note:* Explanations must be linked to both the described feature and to authoritarian systems. In addition, policy implementation must be clear.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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## 2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 5

#### 3 points

One point is earned for correct identification of TWO countries in the AP Comparative Government and Politics course—other than Iran—where religion serves as a source of political legitimacy.

Acceptable identifications include any of the following:

- Great Britain
- Mexico
- Nigeria
- Russia

*Notes:*

- No points are earned for correct identification of only one country where religion serves as a source of political legitimacy.
- No points are earned if a student identifies more than two countries and one of those countries is not a correct identification.

One point each is earned for two correct descriptions of how religion confers political legitimacy (one in each country selected).

Acceptable descriptions include any of the following:

- Great Britain
  - The monarch's role as the official head of the Church of England creates a sense of legitimacy for the monarch as the head of state.
  - Formal authority is vested in the sovereign (in Parliament) as the religious and political leader of the realm.
  - The Church of England is the established religion of the state, which creates a sense of legitimacy for the government among the Church's adherents.
  - In a society with increasing religious heterogeneity, the presence of leaders who adhere to religions other than the Anglican Church legitimizes the system of government for other adherents of those religions.
- Mexico
  - The current relationship between the ruling PAN party and the Catholic Church adds an additional source of legitimacy for the government for some citizens.
- Nigeria
  - Acceptance of the use of Sharia law in the north creates a sense of legitimacy for the government and/or the legal system for some citizens.
  - In a religiously heterogeneous society, the presence of leaders that adhere to a particular religion legitimizes the system of government for other adherents of that religion.
- Russia
  - The increasingly close relationship between the Russian (Eastern) Orthodox Church and the rising Russian nationalism encouraged by the government adds an additional source of legitimacy for the government for some citizens.
  - Laws have recently been passed to protect particular long-established religions from competition from newer religious forces, which creates a sense of legitimacy for the government among some adherents of those long-established religions.



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**Question 5 (continued)**

*Notes:*

- Most correct answers will focus on religion as an institution (organized religion, not religious identification) and its effects on present-day systemic political legitimacy.
- Exception: Heterogeneous society answers for Great Britain and Nigeria (above) rely on religion as religious identification.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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## 2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 6

**5 points**

**Part (a): 2 points**

One point is earned for a correct description of a similarity, and 1 point is earned for a correct description of a difference between an illiberal democracy and a liberal democracy.

Acceptable descriptions of similarities include either of the following:

- Liberal and illiberal democracies are similar because they both may have regular competitive elections.
- Their political systems have similar structural characteristics—constitutions and executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

Acceptable descriptions of differences include either of the following:

- Illiberal and liberal democracies are different in that the elections in illiberal democracies are generally not free and not fair, and may not be competitive, whereas those in liberal democracies are generally free, fair, and competitive.
- In liberal democracies the full spectrum of civil liberties and civil rights is in place, whereas this is not the case in illiberal democracies.

*Notes:*

- The points in part (a) of this question may stand alone from the remainder of the response.
- Students can earn the point for describing a similarity if they indicate that elections can be free and competitive. However, adding “fair” as a similarity is not acceptable.
- Similarities include elections, constitutions, political parties, and voting procedures.
- Differences include civil liberties, rule of law (e.g., absence of clear and fair rules of governance), transparency, accountability, and control of information.

**Part (b): 1 point**

One point is earned for a correct identification of an institution that would need to be changed to make an illiberal democracy more liberal.

Acceptable examples include any of the following:

- Judiciary
- Executive
- Legal system
- Election system
  - Elections
  - Electoral commissions
- Party system
- Legislature
- Media

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### Question 6 (continued)

Notes:

- Students must identify a political institution, not an individual or an economic institution or model.
- Students who identify a correct and an incorrect institution do not earn the point.
- Students who identify multiple correct institutions earn the point.
- In most cases students who do not earn the point in part (b) will not earn the point in part (c), because the stem requires a connection between the (b) and (c) elements of the response.

#### Part (c): 1 point

One point is earned by correctly describing a change to the institution identified in part (b) that facilitates a shift from illiberal to liberal democracy.

Acceptable examples include any of the following:

- Judicial independence (institution = judiciary)
- Separation of powers (institution = legislature)
- Rule of law (institution = legal system)
- Competitive parties (institution = party system)
- Independence of election commissions; nondiscriminatory qualification process for electoral candidacy; free and fair elections (institution = election system)
- Diffusion/reduction of executive authority (institution = executive)
- Fair competition; fair vote counting (institution = elections)
- Freedom of the press (institution = media)

Notes:

- The change must be a change in the institution, not a change in the behavior of the individuals who compose the institution.
- To earn the point, the change must be about the institution identified in part (b).
- Students who do not earn the part (c) point may still earn the part (d) point.

#### Part (d): 1 point

One point is earned when the student *explains why* the change in part (c) would lead to a more liberal democracy.

Acceptable explanations (the changes to which they relate are in brackets) include any of the following:

- [Judicial independence]: autonomy from executive; protects civil rights; civil liberties.
- [Separation of powers]: allows legislature to function autonomously.
- [Rule of law]: increases accountability.
- [Competitive parties]: participation; representation; range of voter choice.
- [Independence of election commissions]: allows for transparency and fairness in the qualification process for electoral candidates; promotes free and fair elections.
- [Diffusion/reduction of executive authority]: limiting executive power constrains authoritarian tendencies; reduces control over legislative policymaking process.
- [Fair competition; fair vote counting]: accountability makes votes count; range of voter choice.
- [Freedom of the press]: guarantees free flow of information.

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**Question 6 (continued)**

*Note:* The connection between the change and the outcome (increased liberal democracy) should be clear.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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## Question 7

**7 points**

**Part (a): 2 points**

One point is earned for an accurate description of Russia's electoral system before the 2007 Duma elections.

Acceptable descriptions include both of the following:

- A split electoral system, with one-half "first past the post" (FPTP) and one-half proportional representation (PR).
- A 5 percent threshold for parties to be included in the PR.

One point is earned for a correct explanation of how the electoral system shaped the pre-2007 Russian party system.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- It allowed multiple parties to develop.
- It allowed for more demographically diverse parties.
- It permitted many independent candidates.
- It encouraged personality-based factions more than parties with ideology.

*Note:* FPTP, SMD (single-member district), winner-take-all, and plurality are all acceptable.

**Part (b): 2 points**

One point is earned for an accurate description of a specific change to the Russian electoral system that was designed for the 2007 Duma elections.

Acceptable descriptions include both of the following:

- The system became only PR (FPTP was removed).
- The party threshold was increased from 5 percent to 7 percent.

One point is earned for a correct explanation of the impact of the change on party competition.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- It eliminated (made it very difficult for) all reform parties (Yabloko, "floating parties").
- It strengthened United Russia and other parties that tended to support Putin's agenda.
- It decreased the diversity of political viewpoints in the Duma.

**Part (c): 1 point**

One point is earned for a correct description of Mexico's current electoral system.

The following is an acceptable description:

- A dual system of FPTP and PR in both chambers (Senate also has at-large PR).

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### Question 7 (continued)

#### Part (d): 2 points

One point is earned for a correct description of one electoral reform made in Mexico in the 1990s.

Acceptable descriptions include any of the following:

- Creation of an electoral commission to regulate campaigns and elections (1990).
- All parties receive government funding and have access to the media.
- Increase in the number of Senate seats (from 68 to 128) (1993).
- Presence of foreign electoral observers was legalized (1994).
- Creation of a fully independent Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) (1996).
- A limit was set on how many seats one party can hold in the Chamber of Deputies (60 percent, or 300 of the 500 seats) (1996).
- PR was incorporated in the Senate for 32 of 128 seats (1996).
- A limit was set on party spending for campaigns (campaign finance spending limits).
- A party threshold for participation in PR was set at 2 percent (Senate and Chamber) (1996).
- Priests were legally allowed to cast votes.
- Legislation “recommending” that parties establish a gender quota for candidate lists (1996). (To earn this point the argument must show that the student is not referring to the stricter quota law passed in 2002.)

One point is earned for an accurate explanation of how that reform affected Mexico’s party system.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- An increase in the power of nondominant parties.
- Removal of the prevailing party (PRI) from dominance.
- Created a true multiparty system (PAN, PRD, Green Party gained power).

*Notes:*

- The 180 PR seats added to the Chamber of Deputies occurred in 1988, NOT in the 1990s.
- The strict quota law mandating a quota for women on the ballot was implemented in 2002.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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**Question 8**

**7 points**

**Part (a): 2 points**

One point is earned for an accurate description of one trend shown in the graph for Iran.

Acceptable descriptions include either of the following:

- Decline in population growth rate from 1980–1984 to 2000–2004.
- Increase in population growth rate from 1970–1974 to 1980–1984.

One point is earned for an accurate description of one trend shown in the graph for China.

The following is an acceptable description:

- Decline in population growth rate over the time period 1970–2009.

*Notes:*

- Trends are not mere descriptions of individual points on the graph.
- The populations of China and Iran did not decrease during this time period.
- Parts (b), (c), and (d) do not require specific references to the graph used in part (a).
- If the student describes a policy that was designed to increase the population growth rate, the student must place that policy in its time period accurately.
- Description of a policy designed to decrease the population growth rate does not have to state a time period.

**Part (b): 2 points**

One point is earned for an accurate explanation of a policy Iran has used to address population growth issues.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- Incentives to increase family size to build the army (Iran–Iraq War).
- Family-planning law: encourages reductions in family size (1989–present).
- State-controlled media campaigns to raise awareness.
- Free birth control: state-sanctioned condom factories to provide access to birth control.
- Mandatory marital sex counseling for men and women to provide education on how to avoid unwanted pregnancies.
- Increased education/employment opportunities for women, as more education for females leads to lower birth rates.

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**Question 8 (continued)**

One point is earned for an accurate explanation of a policy China has used to address population growth issues.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- One-child policy to ensure only one child per family, in most instances.
- Fines for noncompliance incurred for having more than one child without state permission.
- Preferential housing/educational opportunities for compliance.
- Exemptions for ethnic minorities and rural areas to reduce opposition to one-child policy.

*Note:* The response must explain the policy; a simple identification of a policy is not sufficient.

**Part (c): 2 points**

Two points are earned for an explanation of why both Iran and China pursued population growth policies.

Acceptable explanations include any of the following:

- Economic development.
- Fear of unrest resulting from overpopulation.
- Relief of pressure on government budget.
- Strain on natural resources.

*Note:* A statement that the purpose has been to reduce population is not sufficient.

**Part (d): 1 point**

One point is earned for a description of one social or economic consequence of manipulating growth rates.

Acceptable descriptions of a social consequence include any of the following:

- Popular resistance to the policy of restriction.
- Female infanticide; “missing girls.”
- Selective abortion.
- Sex-ratio imbalance.
- Potential empowerment of women.

Acceptable descriptions of an economic consequence include any of the following:

- Need for a security system to replace the traditional safety net provided by children for parents in large families.
- Reduction of poverty.
- Economic growth possibility.

*Note:* Students may use country-specific examples to describe a consequence of manipulating growth rates.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that merits no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.