



# Civics Mosaic:

## Comparing Political Systems

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*Comparing political systems around the world*

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Aim at an exact Knowledge of the Nature, End, and Means of Government.  
Compare the different forms of it with each other and each of them with their  
Effects on the public and private Happiness.

—John Adams, 1759

## Lesson 4: What Are The Purposes and Forms of Government?

### Purpose of lesson

Human beings have a strong tendency to organize themselves into societies and to form governments. In fact, Aristotle argued that human beings and governments are made for each other. He also contended that the good life (in contrast with mere life) is impossible without some form of organized government.

Although most people throughout history have tended to agree with Aristotle that government is necessary, they have not agreed on the purposes that government should serve or the form that it should take. In this lesson, you will explore the variations in purposes and forms of government.

After completing this lesson, you will be able to:

- Identify and describe the common purposes and forms of government in different cultures and historical periods.
- Compare the announced purposes of your government with those of another government.
- Define corruption and explain its various forms and consequences.

### Terms to Know

aristocracy	monarchy
authoritarian	nonauthoritarian
autocracy	nonliberal
clientelism	oligarchy
democracy	totalitarian
individualism	tyranny
liberal	

### What Are the Purposes of Government?

All governments have purposes or goals that they hope to achieve. Often those goals are publicly announced in a country's constitution, typically in a preamble. Purposes also are proclaimed in laws, court decisions, treaties, and statements made by officers of the government such as the president, prime minister, or monarch. Although priorities may vary, governments, depending on the character of their society and culture, may serve some or all of the following purposes:

**1. Order, predictability, internal security, external defense.** Nearly all governments claim as their purpose establishing an order that permits predictability. Knowing what is expected of citizens and what responsibilities government will assume promotes a sense of security among the governed. A climate of uncertainty interferes with commerce, for one thing, and such uncertainty also hinders prosperity. Governments also seek internal security, or as the United States Constitution puts it, "domestic tranquility." All sovereign states put a high priority on defending their territory against attack by other countries.

**2. Safeguarding health, safety, and welfare.** Protecting the health and safety and promoting the welfare of its citizens are important purposes for many governments. To accomplish these purposes governments can invoke the police power of the state. The police power of the state rests on the assumption that rights are not absolute. Rights may be limited when they deprive others of their rights or when exercising a right would endanger the common good. For example, Article 55 (3) of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (1993) provides that

*Human and civil rights and freedoms may be curtailed by federal law only to the extent to which it may be necessary for the purpose of protecting...the health, rights and lawful interests of other individuals, or of ensuring the country's defense and the state's security.*

Protecting the general welfare or the common good is acknowledged as a purpose of government in many constitutions. The United States Constitution announces in its preamble that "We the people" ordain and establish the Constitution to "promote the general welfare." The Constitution of India provides that "the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people."<sup>1</sup> The Constitution of the Philippines is even more explicit in Article II, section 5.

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<sup>1</sup> Constitution of India (1950), Part IV Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 38 (1).

*The maintenance of peace and order, the protection of life, liberty and property, and the promotion of the general welfare are essential for the enjoyment by all the people of the blessings of democracy.*

**3. Distribution of resources.** All governments play a role in controlling the distribution of resources in their societies. These may include natural resources such as oil, precious metals, or water. These also may include capital and labor. Further, governments determine which resources will be publicly controlled and which will be in private hands. Sometimes governments place restrictions on the use of private property. For example, the Russian Constitution of 1993 provides in Article 36 that “Owners shall freely possess, utilize and dispose of land and other natural resources provided that this does not damage the environment and does not violate the rights and lawful interests of others.”

**4. Conflict management.** All governments develop institutions and procedures for managing conflict. They may use legislative, executive, and judicial institutions with established procedures for airing and resolving conflicts. In addition, governments may use other institutional and informal means of conflict management. Voting rights, majority rule, protection for minorities, and freedom of press and speech have proved to be effective ways of dissipating conflict. Some countries also use “town meetings” and arbitration as means of conflict management.

The constitutions of some countries also provide for the services of an ombudsman as a means of conflict resolution. An ombudsman is a position with authority to receive citizens’ complaints and to investigate wrongdoing or inefficiency on the part of government officials. The position was first established in Sweden. Today the constitutions of more than a dozen countries also provide for ombudsmen. Among those countries are Austria, Bangladesh, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, Haiti, Hungary, Russia, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia.

**5. Fulfillment of societal or group aspirations.** All governments seek to realize the goals of the society as a whole and sometimes the goals of various groups within a society. Aspirations may

include a higher standard of living, the protection of natural or human rights, peace and the common good. The preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines is an example of the aspirations of one people. It states:

*We the sovereign Filipino people, imploring the aid of the almighty God, in order to build a just and humane society and establish a government that shall embody our ideals and aspirations, promote the common good, conserve and develop our patrimony, and secure to ourselves and our posterity, the blessings of independence and democracy under the rule of law and a regime of truth, justice, love, equality, and peace, do ordain and promulgate this constitution.*

The purposes of governments are not always benign. Governments can persuade the people that their aspirations can be achieved by conquest, the subjugation of other peoples or of a specific group within the society.

**6. Fulfillment of individual aspirations.** Some governments preserve and promote opportunities for individuals to define and pursue the goals they set for themselves. The United States Declaration of Independence, for example, proclaims the right to the pursuit of happiness. Such governments are expected to respect social diversity and seek to enhance the liberty of individuals. For example, they may provide scholarships or loans to college students, incentives for small businesses, or affirmative action programs.

When Vaclav Havel assumed the presidency of Czechoslovakia on New Year’s Day, 1990, he spoke to his fellow citizens about the goal of government serving the individual.

*...I dream of a republic that is independent, free and democratic; a republic with economic prosperity yet social justice; a humane republic that serves the individual and therefore hopes that the individual will serve it in turn; a republic of well-rounded people, because without such people, it is impossible to solve any of our problems, whether they be human, economic, ecological, social or political.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> Vaclav Havel, Inaugural Address to the People of Czechoslovakia, 1 January 1990. Reprinted in *Lend Me Your Ears: Great Speeches in History* selected and introduced by William Safire (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), p. 692.

**7. Improvement of moral conditions.** Some governments are concerned about the moral improvement of citizens, therefore they design institutions or laws intended to mold their character in accord with standards the government sets. In ancient Sparta, for example, the government stressed strict discipline and service to that city-state. The early Roman Republic emphasized civic virtue or dedication to the common good rather than to one's own interests.

More recently the government of Indonesia has taken an official position that unbridled freedom is a luxury and that internal security and economic development have a higher priority. Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country and like other Islamic states it promotes adherence to morality as it is defined in *The Koran*.

**8. Protection of individual rights.** Some governments, such as those in constitutional democracies, are expected to place a high priority on protecting each citizen's basic rights from encroachment by government. They also protect the right of one individual against encroachment by another individual or by a group. These rights would include freedom of religion, expression and association, as well as rights of the accused (due process rights) and the right to acquire, own, and use private property (see below). In some countries, governments are also expected to protect special rights of particular groups such as indigenous peoples. The Constitution of South Africa, for example, acknowledges that nation's multi-ethnicity by providing that Afrikaans and English along with the languages of nine different tribal groups are all "official South African languages."

**9. Protection of property.** The protection of public property is an almost universal goal of government. Some governments, such as those of constitutional democracies, also provide protection for private property. The police and the legal system can afford such protection.

The United States Constitution affords very specific protections for private property. The Fifth Amendment (ratified in 1791 as part of the Bill of Rights) provides that "no person shall be...deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be

taken for public use without just compensation." The Fourteenth Amendment (ratified in 1868) provides protection for private property rights by prohibiting any state government from depriving a person of his or her property "without due process of law."

Although the United States Constitution sets limits on the power of government to violate property rights, it also implies that there are limits on the rights of individuals when the public good is at stake. As a consequence, there has been persistent tension between the private property interests of individuals and the public's need for limitations and regulations on property rights. There also has been continued questioning of the connection between property and the individual's autonomy. The United States Supreme Court has revisited that issue a number of times. Justice William O. Douglas argued in 1954 "no right is more precious than the right to earn a living."<sup>3</sup>

He later extended his thoughts in this way: *Man's liberty is, of course, often related to his property rights. The home and its privacy are property interests. Ownership of a press is essential to the freedom granted newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books. Ownership of a cathedral or a church is basic to the exercise of religion by those whose faith brings them together in congregations.*<sup>4</sup>

Justice Potter Stewart also spoke to the linkage between economic liberty and individual autonomy. He wrote:

*The dichotomy between personal liberties and property rights is a false one. Property does not have rights. People have rights. The right to enjoy property without unlawful deprivation, no less than the right to speak or the right to travel is in truth a 'personal' right whether the property in question is a welfare check, a home or a savings account. In fact, a fundamental interdependence exists between the personal right to liberty and the personal right to property. Neither could have meaning without the other.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Barsky v. Board of Regents*, 347 U.S. 442 (1954).

<sup>4</sup> As quoted in William O. Douglas, *Anatomy of Liberty* (New York: Trident Press, 1963), p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Lynch v. Household Finance Corporation*, 405 U. S. 538 (1972).

**10. The Pursuit of Justice.** Justice as a goal of government appears by name in nearly all societies. For Aristotle, it was the ultimate goal of government. Perhaps no one has asserted that goal more forcefully than James Madison in *The Federalist No. 51*.

*Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued, until it is obtained or until liberty is lost in the pursuit.*

In *No. 51* Madison also insists that “In a republic, society must not only be protected against the oppression of its rulers, but one part of society must be guarded against the injustice of the other part.” In a later lesson, you will learn how Madison proposed to protect the people from the oppression of their rulers and to prevent one part of society from inflicting injustice on the other part.

The constitutions of many countries proclaim justice as a goal and they often describe in detail procedures to ensure justice (e.g., the right to a public and speedy trial or not to be tried for the same offense twice). Implementation of justice, however, is never perfect. You will learn more about justice and its implementation in the next lesson.

### What Do You Think?

1. What purposes of government are pronounced in the constitution of your state or your country? Where in that document are they to be found? Compare these purposes with those expressed in the constitution of another state or country.
2. Prioritize the purposes of government identified in this lesson. Be prepared to defend your ranking.
3. Identify which resources in your country are publicly controlled and which are in private hands. Do you agree or disagree with that allocation? Why? Compare this allocation with those of another country.
4. Evaluate the governmental institutions and procedures for managing conflict in your community. What do you think might be done to enhance their effectiveness?
5. Evaluate the arguments for and against government efforts to improve the moral conditions of its citizens. What historical and

contemporary evidence can you cite to justify your evaluation?

6. What examples can you cite of tension between the private property interests of individuals in your community and the public’s need for limitations or regulations? In your judgment, how should those conflicting interests be resolved?

### What Forms Do Governments Take?

All governments have purposes. However, they try to achieve those purposes in very different ways, and they have assumed a wide variety of institutional and political forms to do so. Here you will be introduced to the major forms government can take. Later in this study you will learn more about how governments are similar and how they differ from one another. The forms listed below constitute a current typology that draws on Aristotle’s typology discussed earlier in the introductory lesson.

#### A. AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEMS OR AUTOCRACIES

rule without the voluntary consent of the citizenry. Those in power claim to be capable of making decisions that ordinary persons are incapable of making. Those in power do not feel obliged to provide reasons for their actions and they are not held accountable to anyone but themselves.

Authoritarian political systems include tyrannies (or dictatorships) by a single individual and oligarchies by a group, especially military governments. Authoritarian systems often use the form of a “one-party state” to mask the absence of free political choice by citizens. Elections in which political rivals of the incumbent are not allowed to participate are not democratic elections. To be democratic, elections must be free, fair, frequent, and contested.

**1. Tyranny** is rule by a leader who is unaccountable and who governs by dominating the population. This form of rule is marked by lawlessness or the unlimited exercise of power, often for the personal advantage or glory of the leader. Typically, the leader is a military officer who draws on the armed forces for support, a religious leader who gains legitimacy from religious institutions, a political boss who operates from a party base, or a monarch who rules absolutely. Their country

may have a constitution rich in rights, but that constitution will be a sham without a constitutional government to follow it (see Lesson 14).

**2. Oligarchy** is the perverted form of aristocracy. Oligarchy is rule by a small group of persons who rule in their own interest rather than for the common good. One form of oligarchy is plutocracy or the rule of the wealthy. Another form of oligarchy is a military junta. Often a military junta may justify its rule by saying that it can overcome the chaos prevailing in society and that can restore order.

In the years following the break up of the Soviet Union, a small group of powerful business leaders, known as “oligarchs,” have wielded significant economic and hence political power in Russia. This does not make Russia an oligarchy, but it does mean that the Russian political system is subject to influence by oligarchs.

**3. Totalitarian systems** are authoritarian systems in which the entire range of human activity is subject to government direction and control. Totalitarian governments are absolute dictatorships that completely suppress all forms of independent associational life and individual action. Secret police use terror as a means of control. The media, the educational system, and all forms of culture—music, literature, and art—are strictly regulated. No dissent is tolerated. Lesson 8 examines authoritarian systems in greater detail.

**B. NON-AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEMS** hold leaders accountable to popular consent or the rule of law. Today, we have come to expect that leaders will be held accountable to both popular consent and the rule of law.

**1. Constitutionally Monarchy** is one of the oldest forms of rule. Monarchy is usually embodied in a single individual called a king, queen, emperor, sultan, emir, or other title implying preeminence. One of the attributes of monarchy, especially hereditary monarchy, is that the monarch represents the community over time. A monarchy may be absolute and hence authoritarian; or it may be constitutional. A constitutional monarchy often began as a system in which the

monarch was forced to share power, usually with a legislative body.

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were more than 43 monarchies, 36 of which were constitutional. Nearly half (16) of those were British Commonwealth countries that shared the same monarch and head of state, Queen Elizabeth II.<sup>6</sup> In today’s constitutional monarchies, the monarch is head of state and performs primarily symbolic and ceremonial functions while policy-making powers usually reside with an elected legislative body. However, on occasion, the monarch can play an influential role—“for example, in breaking a constitutional deadlock or in attempting—either successfully, as in the case of King Juan Carlos I of Spain in 1981, or unsuccessfully, as in the case of King Constantine II of Greece in 1967—to prevent a military coup.”<sup>7</sup>

**2. Constitutional Aristocracy** is rule of the few who are considered to have the wisdom, knowledge, and character to act on behalf of the fundamental interests of the society as a whole. Classically conceived, an aristocracy is composed of the “best” members of the society who rule for the public good, and not just in their own interest.

Like constitutional monarchies, aristocracies may be absolute or constitutional. Absolute aristocracies are oligarchies; constitutional aristocracies are rare and exist primarily as part of a constitutional monarchy. In Malaysia, for example, the constitutional monarch is elected every five years by and from nine hereditary sultans.

**3. Constitutional Democracy** is a form of government in which, in contrast with monarchy and aristocracy, the people rule. In his Gettysburg Address of 1863, Abraham Lincoln coined the most succinct and memorable definition of democracy as government “of the people, by the people, for the people.”

Democracy may be categorized as individual-centered or community-centered. Although most democracies are in practice a mixture of these two orientations, those in which the autonomy of the individual is considered most important are

<sup>6</sup> Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

called liberal democracies. They are based on the principles of liberalism. These principles include belief in the supreme value of the individual and his/her rights and freedoms. Non-liberal democracies are community-centered political systems that place a higher value directly on the community as a whole than on the individual members who comprise it. The primary purpose of government is to serve the collective interest of the community or the general welfare of the society as a whole.

You will learn more about democracy in Lessons 6 and 7.

### What Do You Think?

1. How would you distinguish between an absolute and a constitutional monarchy? What examples can you cite of those two forms of monarchy that have existed in the past? In the present?
2. What is the difference between an aristocracy and an oligarchy?
3. Evaluate the claim that rule by an aristocracy can be justified because it is composed of the “best” members of society who will rule for the public good.
4. Compare two examples of authoritarian or autocratic regimes. Explain the ways in which they are alike and how they are different. You may choose an autocratic regime from the past and compare it to more recent autocracies such as Haiti under “Papa Doc” Duvalier, Spain under Franco, Nicaragua under Somoza, or the Philippines under Marcos.
5. It has been argued that without 20<sup>th</sup>-century advances in technology, totalitarianism would have been impossible. Do you agree or disagree? Why?
6. Compare and contrast the status of the ordinary citizen in these political systems: monarchic, authoritarian, totalitarian, and democratic.

### How Do Governments Become Corrupt?

Regardless of the form or intended purposes of a government, they sometimes default and become corrupt. One of the problems that has plagued societies from the beginning of organized society is that of corruption. Today it is a matter of concern throughout the world.

It is impossible to discuss government and politics without giving serious thought to the issue of corruption. According to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, the word “corrupt” is an adjective that describes something as “(1) Marked by immorality and perversion; depraved. (2) Marked by venality and dishonesty; a corrupt mayor. (3) Containing errors or alterations, as a text.” As a verb, “to corrupt” means to subvert someone’s honesty, to ruin morally, to pervert, to taint or contaminate, or to alter the original form of something.

### What Forms Can Corruption Take?

In the field of politics and government, we might define corruption as the abuse of power in ways that subvert justice. Defined in these terms, corruption has been all too common throughout world history. Recall that Aristotle expanded his typology of government from three to six types of government. The reason according to Aristotle is that each type of government—rule by the one, rule by the few, and rule by the many—has a pure form and a corrupt form. For example, rule by the one can function well as a constitutional monarchy yet become dysfunctional and corrupt as a tyranny or dictatorship. We might term this level of corruption *systemic*, meaning that the entire system of government has become corrupt.

Human history is filled with examples of systemic corruption. In her book, *The March of Folly* (1984), the noted historian Barbara Tuchman begins her account with the centuries-old divisions among the 12 tribes of ancient Israel and their failure to unite after the reign of Rehoboam, son of King Solomon.<sup>8</sup> Another memorable example is the famous “decline and fall of the Roman empire.” Tuchman also looked at the Renaissance popes whose sustained corruption provoked the Protestant secession. Then, of course, there are the reigns of terror spread throughout the first half of the twentieth century by Fascist Italy, Communist Russia, and Nazi Germany.

More recently university students in China charged their government with systematic corruption. In the spring of 1989 the students went on hunger strikes and rallied on various

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<sup>8</sup> Barbara W. Tuchman, *The March of Folly* (New York: Ballantine, 1984), pp. 10.

occasions to demand an end to “corruption, privilege and the abuse of power.” The most well-known and tragic of those demonstrations took place at Tiananmen Square in Beijing on 4 June 4 1989. The world watched on television while that protest was repressed by the armed forces. Between 400 and 800 students and other citizens were killed. Later when President Jiang Zemin was challenged to justify the massacre at Tiananmen, ironically “the Gate of Heaven’s Peace,” he could only mumble, “mistakes are sometimes made.”

Another level of political corruption is the abuse of power by one leader. History has judged President Richard M. Nixon as such a leader. In June 1972 a team of burglars broke into Democratic Party national headquarters located in the Watergate apartment complex. The burglars were apprehended and tried. During their trial, it became clear that they were linked to President Nixon’s reelection committee. Subsequently, it also became clear that President Nixon was involved in the cover-up of the Watergate incident.

Investigations into the Watergate break-in and attempted cover-up revealed numerous examples of two basic forms of corruption by a leader. One is “obstruction of justice,” including presidential involvement in the cover-up of the Watergate break-in. The other is “abuse of power,” including use of government agencies like the Federal Bureau of Investigation for political gain.

In late July 1974 the House Judiciary Committee adopted articles of impeachment against President Nixon. With impeachment likely, President Nixon resigned from office on August 9, 1974.

A third level of corruption is the abuse of power by a single yet widespread practice. The most typical example of such a practice is *bribery*. The act of bribery is also referred to as a “pay-off.” Typically, this occurs when someone pays a government official (with money or a favor) to do something dishonest. Sometimes, it is the government official who initiates the act of bribery by directly asking for a pay-off or indirectly hinting for a bribe or threatening punishment unless it is given. Other times, the initiator is the person who wants something illegal from a government official. Bribery can occur on the street when someone pays a traffic officer to avoid a ticket. Bribery can also occur in the corporate corridors of power when a large

corporation pays government officials to award a large contract to it and not to its competitors, or to look the other way when the corporation breaks the law.

Official investigations into the administration of government contracts in India reveal an example of bribery as corruption. Railway contractors admitted that they made regular “pay-offs” to government engineering officials. The Executive Engineer got five percent; the Accounts Section netted two percent; and the Head Clerk realized one percent.<sup>9</sup>

In Mexico the PRI, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, dominated government for more than 70 years, from 1929 to 2000. The PRI institutionalized a pattern of political corruption known as *clientelism*. Here, corruption began as a practice, but reached systemic levels. As Merilee Grindle, a professor at Harvard University explains:

*Clientelism, or the exchange of favors among people of different status or degree of power, extends from the very top of the political system to the most remote and poverty-stricken villages. It is a form of participation in the sense that many people, even the poorest, are able to interact with public officials and get something out of the political system. This kind of participation emphasizes how limited resources, such as access to health care, can be distributed in a way that provides maximum political payoff. This informal system is a fundamental reason why Mexicans continue to vote for the PRI.*<sup>10</sup>

### **What are the Consequences of Corruption?**

When governments become corrupt, they exact a heavy price on every citizen. Resources that ought to be devoted to purposes such as health, safety, and promoting the general welfare are diverted to the personal gain of a few. Corrupt governments create a climate of uncertainty that endangers commerce. That uncertainty discourages investment in businesses and the creation of new jobs, particularly jobs for young people.

One of the most unfortunate consequences of political corruption, however, is the spread of

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 400.

<sup>10</sup> Merilee S. Grindle, “Mexico” in Mark Kesselman *et al.*, *Introduction to Comparative Governments*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflon Company, 2000), pp. 414-415.

cynicism among the public at large. Cynicism is the *expectation* that corruption is the norm, that public officials and others operate on the basis of self-interest, that interest is based on money and fueled by greed. The danger occurs not only when cynicism is well-founded and government is corrupt, but also when it is not and people falsely condemn government for acts it has not committed.

A recent United Nations meeting concluded that “Corruption in government is pervasive and is apparently expanding.... It has become systematic and a way of life in many countries.”<sup>11</sup>

Awareness of the problem of corruption is growing and people throughout the world are searching for ways to combat it. As one scholar puts it:

*Corruption is an embarrassing subject.... Around the globe, corruption is increasingly a central issue in election campaigns, popular uprisings, and military coups.... Our focus should go beyond individuals to corrupt institutions—corrupt systems of incentives, information and power. Solutions must go beyond ‘throw the rascals out....’ Campaigns against corruption must go beyond words and party politics. Big fish must be fried, prevention must be stressed, and both bureaucrats and ordinary citizens must participate.*<sup>12</sup>

### What Do You Think?

1. Identify and compare a current example for each of the three types of corruption: systematic, abuse of power by a leader, and abuse of power by widespread practices. Use current newspapers, other periodicals and the Internet as sources of information.
2. Why do you think that corruption has proved to be a difficult problem for all societies through time and across the globe?
3. How do you think “ordinary citizens” can participate effectively in campaigns against

corruption? Specifically, what do you think that you as one individual or as a member of a group might do to lessen or eradicate corruption in your own community or country?

### Reviewing and Using the Lesson

1. Reexamine the purposes of government that are proclaimed in your state or national constitution. With which of those purposes do you agree and disagree? Why? What other purposes if any, do you think should be added? Why?
2. Reexamine the major forms of government presented in this lesson. Under what form would you prefer to live? Why?
3. How can corruption demoralize the ideas, interests, and institutions of a society?

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<sup>11</sup> United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development, *Corruption in Government*, JCD/SEM. 90/2 INT-89-R56 (New York, 1990), pp. 4, 6, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Klitgaard, “Strategies for Reform” in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 230, 243.