

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE NEXUS BETWEEN LIBERAL
DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF GHANA AND SINGAPORE**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Anatu Bikenanten Lambon, hereby declare that with the exception of the references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is entirely my own work under the guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Boni Yao Gebe, and that neither the whole of this work, nor any part thereof, has been presented for an award of another degree elsewhere.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to Almighty Allah, my sole protector, provider, and sustainer. It is also dedicated to my family: my dad, John Mork Lambon, my mom, Amina Lambon and my siblings, Salamatu Lambon, Mohammed Lambon and Abdul-Jabar Lambon for the entire support and immense encouragement in my academic pursuit.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
EDB	Economic Development Board
ERPs	Economic Recovery Programs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPRS	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
HDI	Human Development Index
HDRs	Human Development Reports
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country
IDEG	Institute for Democratic Governance
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISSER	Institute of Statistics, Social, and Economic Research
NDC	National Democratic Governance
NEPAD	New Partnership for African's Development

NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NICs	Newly Industrialized Countries
NPP	New Patriotic Party
OFY	Operation Feed Yourself
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAP	People's Action Party
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PP	Progress Party
PSA	Ports of Singapore Authority
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SSA-	sub-Saharan Africa
TAS	Telecommunication Authority of Singapore
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

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ABSTRACT

The economic performance of democratic states in Africa is a rising concern against the assumptions of the modernization theory that, developing nations must adopt the values of the western societies (democracy) in order to develop. The third wave of democratization in Africa rather led to harsh economic conditions, especially from the international financial institutions as a means of receiving aid. These conditions deteriorated the economic development of most African states and cast doubts on the assertion that liberal democracy facilitates development. This leads to the question of whether democracy is the ideal form of governance for developing states. Should Ghana adopt another governance model in order to develop? The study primarily examines the relationship between the political system of Ghana and its path to economic growth and development by analyzing some key factors that contributed to the development of Singapore as a blueprint for Ghana. Using a mixed-method research approach, the study employed the Excel Software to analyze the performance of both states using the economic growth, inflation levels and the Human Development Index (HDI), as against the political system of Ghana under a democratic rule and Singapore, an authoritarian rule. The study indicates that Singapore outperformed Ghana in all the economic indicators adopted in the study which some scholar's attribute to the success of the existence of the one-party dominance –the People's Action Party (PAP). The study definitively answers the question that democracy significantly impacts growth when its tenets are applied with some developmental strategies. Ghana should continue to promote its democratic credentials; however, there's the need to change the focus from just conducting elections and winning power to the development of the nation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Research Problem

Evidence found in the works of scholars in comparative politics of several decades in development studies shows that democracy leads to economic development or economic development provides opportunities for democratization. The latter confirms to a large extent, the hypotheses made by Lipset that the state of an economy can influence the democratization process (Christie, 1998a). A growing concern is to explore the correlation between forms of government and the levels of economic development that a country enjoys. This has been explored by some scholars and concluded that people living under matured democracies are generally economically advanced than those living under any form of government, particularly authoritarian regimes. The nexus between democracy and economic development in recent past indicates a strong correlation between them. However, the debate has changed over time. The third wave of democratization across the African continent changed the debate to how democracy could rather foster economic development.

The influential book of Samuel Huntington, “*The Third Wave*”, announced the notions of “waves of democratization” in world politics. The first wave occurred between 1826 and 1926, marking the emergence of democratic regimes in the early 19th century (Doorenspleet, 2000, p. 385). “The reverse wave occurred by the end the Second World War, and the third, beginning of the mid-1970s” which led to a global swing and brought states back to democracies. Huntington, however, stressed that there was evidence of a third reversal in the third wave of democracies back to authoritarianism at the time of his writing (Huntington, 1993).

Sociologist Lipset in his work pointed out a linear correlation of economic development transforming from authoritarian states to democracies. He argued that the notion of economic development for democracy survived the test then concluded that, advanced nations turn to be more democratic than the poor countries (Lipset, 1959). Similarly, matured democracies are generally economically advanced than countries living under any other form of government, particularly authoritarian regimes.

Democracy is generally viewed as a system of governance where political leaders are voted to power, institutions exist to ensure separation of power, as well as an arena which provides citizens an extensive opportunity to participate in political life. According to Lipset, “democracy is defined as a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials” (Lipset, 1959).

According to Huntington, the central definition of democracy is solely elections. He defines “democracy as the selection of leaders through a competitive election by the people they govern” (Huntington, 1993). This definition limits democracy to elections which confirms the reason most states in Africa and even the illiberal government led the People’s Action Party (PAP) in Singapore believe to be practicing democracy just by conducting elections.

Diamond also conceptualized liberal democracy to be “a system for arriving at a political decision, where individuals require the power to decide the means of a competitive struggle for people’s vote” (Diamond 1999). This definition also stems from the minimalist approach of an electoral definition. Therefore, to incorporate the political and economic definitions of democracy from the above is not adequate to fit its implicit meaning. Most scholars use the term democracy in a purely political term.

Democracy from inception did not include any precise guideline of economics, however, most democratic states either embraced a free market system or a centrally planned system which has led to numerous debate on the best way of governance and their role in the economies of states. Proponents in the field of political economy regard economic freedom as a key pillar to the consolidation of democracy within a state.

The question posed is whether democracy thrives in the advanced countries than poor nations or development is conducive in only democracies. This argument has led to the struggle of most African states in the quest for the best governance system and solutions of its underdevelopment. The practice of liberal democracy is therefore held as the best system of governance while authoritarianism is frowned upon. While democracies are desirable, the question usually posed is whether dictatorships are all negative. Singapore and Malaysia are valuable cases that are generally cited as empirical evidence to critique the assumptions that economic growth and development foster democratization. It offers a unique opportunity to analyze such claims.

To the African, the understanding of democracy is the presence of multi-parties, conduction of periodic elections and a system to prevent authoritarian regimes. According to Milliken and Krause (2002), democracy was inherited from the decolonization process without due consideration of the economic, cultural, political and social systems that existed in Africa. The economy of Ghana was labeled as a lower-middle-income nation with an unstable political landscape between military regimes and civil attempts to democratize between the periods of 1957 and 1992. Kwakye (2013) also states that Kwame Nkrumah ruled under the first republic as a civilian government from (1957-1966), followed by the second republic from 1969 to 1972 and then the third republic between 1979 to 1981 which were brief, lasting less than three years in power under military rule.

However, in 1992, Ghana transitioned to multiparty democracy which was a drift from dictatorship, which was perceived with the failure in economic policies of the government of the day that led to economic hardship. Ghana, on the other hand, was described as a front runner in the economic reform process and was regularly put forward by the international financial institutions (IFIs) as a country, whose democracy was stable and had the potentials to utilize grants for the betterment of its citizens (Leechor, 1994).

The gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of Ghana before the adoption of the liberalization policies in 1983 was abysmal, and for some years, were mainly characterized by political insecurity and unsuitable macroeconomic policies. In order to fathom the bases of economic growth of Ghana, policymakers and the international community limited the study to the existence of authoritarian regimes, which contributed to the mismanagement of the state. However, the key question is, can other variables additionally, contribute to the determination of economic growth in Ghana? Some studies have explored the role of democracy, strong leadership and their interactive effect on economic growth which are not exhaustive of whether other forms of political regimes can equally lead to development (Cheibub, Gandhi, & Vreeland, 2010).

In contrast, there are exceptions to democracies, where autocratic governments practice a more restrictive political system and yet, have achieved significantly in economic gains than democracies. This is evident with the progression of the Chinese economy over the past four decades, which has led to an increase in the wealth of its citizens and lifting the masses out of poverty. Consequently, some democracies continue to perform poorly after decades of voting for political leaders under different administrations, with Ghana, not an exception (Zakaria, 2005). In Africa, democratic elections often result in a “winner-takes-all” structure of governance, coupled with a persistent increase in poverty levels.

In political economy, democracy plays a major role in the electoral process but, goes beyond elections, freedom of speech, press, and association. It also creates an enabling environment for economic agents to promote their interest. Democracy cannot be achieved in isolation, but through government spending, open market system, exportation, good governance, among others, which also functions as catalysts to economic growth. As cited in the work of Arat, he noted that scholars question the linearity between economic development and democracy, but found no significant relations even among the highly developed countries (Arat, 1988). He argued that democracy by itself can have a limited impact on the economic dimension of a country as seen in the case of Africa.

The thrust of this work is to delve into an existing debate on whether economic development should take precedence over democracy or that democracy should precede economic reforms, or simultaneously.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

The project of economic democratization nexus was not only a global agenda for the international civil society but also a key element of the international financial institutions (IFIs), who appreciated the concept under the notion of good governance for development (Aina, 2003). This made democratization and development meaningful to Africa as an imperative for credit and aid without due consideration of its sustainability. The demise of communism and the Cold War led to the resurgence of democracy as a universal paradigm in the early 1990s that defined the political landscape of Africa (Gills & Rocamora, 1992). This induced the idea that democracy was the only option for economic development, but also the third wave of democratization took place within the same context of economic crisis.

Democracy is often considered a constitutive measure of ‘good governance’, especially under the patronage of Western domination. Yet, some Asian scholars have reported the ‘Asian values’ as an alternative to democracy (Yung, 2012). Operationally, democracy is a regime whereby there’s a change in leadership or government when an incumbent loses an election. As noted by Zakaria (2005), democracy has in many ways opened up African politics, ensured the liberty of people, and has also produced a degree of chaos and instability, corruption, lawlessness, and has militated against the long term economic development of the African continent (Zakaria, 2005).

Ghana has been acknowledged for its democratic credentials since its transition as an emerging democracy in 1992. The periodic elections and party participation have recorded successes as compared to other states on the continent. But its economic performance has been challenged with various factors ranging from poor leadership to bad economic management, even though it is well endowed with many human and natural resources, it is still classified as a third world and underdeveloped.

Economic development is the continuous, concerted actions of policymakers and societies that promote the standard of living and economic growth of a country. The nature and pace of structural changes in economic growth drive the rate of economic development. The Asian form of governance, on the other hand, is unique from the mainstream liberal western type, and it assumes that economic development is prioritized than democracy. Most Asian political elites argue that their economic successes are predicated on a different set of values and concerns which are mostly viewed as illiberal and undemocratic and are in contrast to principles of liberal democracy from the west (Christie, 1998b).

History abounds with the examples of Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia, Suharto of Indonesia and even Park Chung-hee of South Korea who ruled their countries

under authoritarianism but performed remarkably in economic development (Field, 2016). In principle, there is a broad consensus about the legitimacy of liberal democracy. Democratic government has been generally accepted even though societies such as Iran and China whose citizens are culturally different will prefer benevolent growth-promoting dictatorship than a democracy which will threaten social stability and national development. By default, democracy is conditioned by certain socioeconomic structures which informs its legitimacy (Fukuyama, 2012).

China, on the other hand, is viewed as the most serious challenge to the democratic project in contemporary politics. Currently, it has been admired not just for its economic performance, but also the combination of its authoritarian governance system with its open marketed economy. Fukuyama further espoused that the global financial crisis has led to the discussions on whether the “China model” can be exported and sustained as an alternative to liberal democracy. It, however, affirms to the thesis that there exists a broad relationship between economic growth, social change and the domination of liberal democracy.

This study is to ascertain whether the practice of liberal democracy is a panacea for economic development or a necessary trade-off, using Ghana and Singapore as a comparative analysis. This work will consider the empirical argument that suggests democracy to be inherently desirable to authoritarian rule. This is also to establish a hypothesis on whether authoritarian developing states and democratic states institutions give any potential of tilting economic development policies toward the interests of the poor in a state.

The study, therefore, is to also establish the proposition on whether democracy engenders economic development or has been a challenge to Ghana’s development. The work further

establishes the parameters of liberal democracy and development by making reference to the Singaporean development style.

1.2 Research Questions

This research seeks to answer the following questions;

1. How can the development of Singapore be linked to its political system?
2. Can the Singaporean style of governance be adopted by Ghana as a path to development?
3. Does regime-type matter for economic development and how?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The fundamental objective of this research is to examine the relationship between democracy and economic development of Ghana and Singapore. The research objectives, therefore, seek to:

1. Ascertain whether Singapore's economic development can be linked to its political system.
2. Proffer whether Ghana can adopt such a form of governance to foster national development
3. Examine whether regime-type matter for economic development.

1.4 Scope of the Study

The study is a comparative analysis of Ghana and Singapore, contrasting democratic and authoritarian governments and the nexus between those governance systems and economic development. It focuses on the governance system of both countries and factors that account for the difference in economic development.

1.5 Hypothesis

Democracy does not constitute a panacea to economic development in all cases just as authoritarianism can enhance economic development. The economic and development

performance of a country is not dependent on the type of political regime it adopts but strategies it implements that are geared towards development.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

The study investigates the debate on whether a nation should democratize before developing, develop before democratizing or to achieve the two in parallel thus developing and democratizing alongside as in the case of Singapore. The significance of this study is to help to better understand the efficacy or otherwise, of the role of either liberal democracy or authoritarianism in economic development.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The foundation upon which this study is grounded as a theory of development is the Theory of Modernization. With the emergence of democracy and development especially in Europe, various theoretical approaches have been applied to the process of development in developing countries. However, following the end of colonialism around the 1960s, emerged a number of newly independent nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. As a result, Qadeer (1974), espoused that Western social scientists began to study the political economy of developing nations more intensively, culminating in the development of a rather complex conceptual model of underdevelopment which christened the Modernization Theory.

This theory adopted both the evolutionary and functionalist theories in its efforts to illuminate the modernization of the developing countries which emerged in the mid-1950s owing much to the works of Talcott Parsons, Gabriel Almond, Marion Levy, David Apter Everett Hagen, Birth Hoselitz, W.W Rostow, Adam Przeworski, Fernando Limongi, and many other scholars (So, 1990).

The core assumption of modernization theory purports that “traditional societies will develop as they adopt more modern practices” (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009). The theory espouses that developing nations can modernize and develop only when they adopt modern values and modern economic and political institutions of western societies. Democracy as a value of the western system of governance was adopted by most developing countries in the quest to solving their economic problems.

Gisselquist (2012) emulates that, modernity is a transformative process, hence in order for traditional society to move to a modern one, its traditional structures and values must totally be replaced by a set of modern values. Based on the propositions of modernization, especially in its insistence on the acquisition of modern values – democracy, transparency, accountability, equality, participation and due processes for the development of any society, helps protect states from economic and political catastrophes.

Current democratic theory owes much to modernization theory which examines the requisites of democracy in developing nations. Based on the experiences of the developed world, beyond a certain threshold of economic development, societies become too complex to be ruled by dictatorial governments (Hinnebusch, 2006). This gives the notion that high-income countries are most likely to be democratically based on the modernization theory, and that education, urbanization, and industrialization were necessary conditions for political participation. However, the case of India and African countries suggests that democratic regimes are possible at relatively low levels of modernity.

The theory also identified Communism or any type of political regime as a threat to development, and that the Third World countries must not adopt such an ideology. The modernization theorists propose economic development as the replacement of traditional values and the institutionalization

of the democratic procedure (So, 1990). Modernization theory as an economic theory is also rooted in capitalism and incorporated in the full spectrum of the transition and tragic transformation that traditional societies have to undergo in order to modernize and develop.

Bradley (2005), on the other hand also affirms that the western view of African democracy is entrenched in the belief that its economic marginalization impedes democratic consolidation. He also made reference to the argument made by Ake on how political conditions in Africa pose the greatest constraint to development. He further posits that although democracy can translate to some form of economic achievements, it will be a detriment for most African states to use economic development as a benchmark to measure the successes and failures of democratization.

This theory came under heavy criticisms from the Dependency theorists like Andre. G. Frank, Herb Addo, and François Perroux among others to counter the argument of the Modernization Theory. They held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, hence, today's underdeveloped societies are in similar situations of today's developed areas at some point in time in the past. According to Namkoong (1999), even with the adoption of democracy, most developing states are still underdeveloped and has rather worsened which is a flaw to the modernization theory.

The elites in developing countries welcomed such ideas since it implied that poverty has nothing to do with internal problems or the corruption of local leaders, but as a result of global capitalism. By the 1980s, dependency theory was deficient and was pronounced insufficient to determine the development levels of states by some scholars (Inglehart & Welzel, 2009).

The theory is criticized for disregarding certain crucial elements that inform the developmental stages of the Third World countries – the history of colonialism, the nature of the international

system, the unequal pattern of trade between the western nations and the developing nations where the advanced economies exploit poor ones, locking them into positions of structural dependence. (Frank, 1966). Consequently, democracy is another means of affirming the western hegemon on the political, socioeconomic and cultural principles of developing nations.

The theory was also criticized for being too ethnocentric by exhibiting the western values as the ideal path to development without the recognition of other historical and structural settings of other nations. It prejudices against non-western cultures and the promiscuity between “traditional” and “western” because western societies believe their culture is more modernized than the African culture (Pieterse, 2010).

Critics like Handelman (1996), argues that the modernization theory is not enough to support the hypothesis of the nexus between the forms of political regimes and the national development of states. For most East Asian countries, in contrast, have achieved remarkable economic progress under the traditional cultural values and practices away from democracy. Also, this same assumption of liberalism has led to civil and political strifes in most African countries where the democratization process militated against economic progress.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, the theory fits into the topic of study not just to examine a model to develop, but to compare democracy as a western value, adopted by Ghana as a path to development in comparison to the Singaporean economy under an autocratic or semi-democratic regime.

1.8 Literature Review

In the cross-national study of Lipset in the late 1950s, “*Some Social Requisites of Democracy*”, he generalized the link between democracy and economic development by analyzing 84 countries

by its regime type and its levels of development (Lipset, 1959). These countries were divided into two groups, thus, European English speaking and Latin American. The analysis concluded that the European English speaking countries which were stable democracies, thus recorded a high per capita income more the unstable democracies, as well as the stable dictatorships in the Latin American nations. This analysis reflected on its levels of education, urbanization, industrialization and economic development as catalysts to the democratization process.

Scholars like Helliwell (1994) critiqued this work by espousing that, Lipset failed to derive at a theoretical conclusion as to whether it was economic development that led to democratization or vice versa. He also observed that the end of the Second World War could have also contributed to the deterioration of most economies in Eastern European, which Lipset termed as “unstable democratic and dictatorships”.

This work, however, creates a gap by generalizing the economic progress of some states with varying factors that led to democratization as a conclusion without developing states in Africa and Asia. This comparative study of Singapore under an authoritarian regime with remarkable growth and Ghana as a democracy, still underdeveloped contrast the conclusions of Lipset in his analysis. This, however, questions the hypothesis on whether democracy is the only path to development. This work seeks to establish the missing link that development can occur under any form of political regime.

There's a general view that the type of political system a country practices affects the rate of its economic development, and that authoritarian regimes fail to be transparent and accountable to their citizens. This argument contrast evidences in most Southeast Asian countries which are classified as” illiberal democracies” by Fareed Zakaria, but are nevertheless more economically advanced under more restrictive political freedoms than Ghana as a liberalized state (Zakaria,

2005). This study seeks to fill the gap in the assertion that most authoritarian states are underdeveloped.

The work of Wucherpfennig and Deutsch (2009), posed the question of whether poor countries are less likely to be democratic than rich countries. Their argument was based on Lipset's seminal work, "*Some Social Requisites of Democracy*", which noted that certain structural conditions pre-empt democracy based on the assumptions that; the better to do a nation, the greater the chances it can sustain democracy.

Their work further questions the form of democracy that Lipset was referring to; whether it is the change in government through elections, holding of multi-party elections, or maintaining a particular party for a longer period as in the case of Singapore. Consequently, Lipset is often cited for linking the relationship between liberal democracy and the per capita income, when in fact he stressed on the fact that; industrialization, urbanization, wealth and education are the key determiners of sustaining democracy.

This can be contested in the Singaporean case because, though development took place, critics are unable to comprehend how its economic and social progress occurred and how it continues to be ruled in an authoritarian fashion. To the admirers, Singapore is indeed exemplary to be adopted by developing states as the best form of governance which this study seeks to establish.

Commenting on how the political structure of a state impacts on economic development, Verweij and Pelizzo in their book, "*Singapore: Does Authoritarianism Pay?*", focused widely on the view that the solitary rule of the PAP is normally cited as being responsible for Singapore's economic advancement (Verweij & Pelizzo, 2009). In contrast, they further noted that the monopolization of social and economic policies by the government under authoritarianism over the last forty years

led to the emergence of serious economic challenges amidst the remarkable increase in the country's per capita income.

To add to, they also contended that Singapore's practice of "*soft authoritarianism*" as a governance system with its economic progress challenges two assumptions of the liberal democratic theory. First, Singapore's development through a one-party rule flouts on the thesis that an increase in economic freedom and political freedom will eventually lead to political freedom and democratization. Nevertheless, the mixture of authoritarian principles like the strictly economic and social policies and some features of liberalism such as open and free market accounts to its remarkable increase in development.

Secondly, the economic progress of the city-state cast doubt on the idea that authoritarian rule leads to corruption, nepotism, and mismanagement of the state. The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) which uses a scale of 0 to 100, to rank the corruption levels of states, where 0 is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean. Singapore ranked 85 in 2015, 84 in 2016 and 2017 and 85 in 2018 respectively (internet source). This work seeks to contrast the acuity that corruption is much more likely to flourish in states where democratic foundations are weak.

In Lee Kuan Yew's work, "*From Third World to First*", contributes essentially to the topic under study by analyzing his extraordinary accomplishment. He stated in his book that, the western liberal academics condemned this form of the governance system, which Singapore decided not to practice. America, in particular, did not foresee any good outcome in terms of development from the state (Lee 2000). His work further corroborates this study by revealing the fact that, even though it's governance system was not welcomed, no critic has been able to fault the government

of corruption, nepotism or immorality coupled with the high level of development attained through a “soft authoritarian” rule.

Lee believed that democracy works in a state where citizens can accommodate each party in government and evolved by making changes to democratic principles to suit its customs and culture in order to ensure development. Similarly, he argued that American liberals criticized Singapore not because they are concerned about democracy and human rights for its people, but because they believed it was setting the wrong example for China to imitate. The gap is what this study seeks to do, thus, to explore some prospects and challenges of both the authoritarian and democratic dispensation of both Ghana and Singapore.

Instead of the concept of multiparty democracy, the work of Thompson “*Democracy with Asian Characteristics*” highlighted on the Asian value discourse which focused on the values of democracy as embedded in the cultural and religious principles of southeast Asian countries (Thompson, 2015). He stressed that the application of liberalism is not only unsuitable during the developmental process of a nation, but even when it is modernized as in the case of Singapore. He, however, noted that the Asian elites view political opposition as detrimental to the development of the state and thus focused on the effectiveness of strong governance and the restriction of some freedoms of their citizens, while ensuring that, the economic interest and political stability is assured. This is rather ideal as the Asian brand of democratic development is not incompatible and unique from the western concept of liberal democracy, which this study seeks to establish, by highlighting some prospects of both political regimes.

In support of Thompson’s assertion on the theme of good governance, Subramania (2001) submitted an analysis on the relevance of political, economic and cultural change in countries like Malaysia and Singapore. In the case of Singapore, he queries how economic progress will tail

liberal democratic reforms, and that good governance institutes an accountable and transparent government, promotes social justice and a long term orientation in policy decisions.

These features, however, are limited to developmental democracy without the political or liberal democratic principle of a change of government. Not only but also, can it be seen that while the literature on governance assumes that democracy and good governance go hand in hand, the above demonstrates that, its assumptions do not certainly imply to a liberal democratic structure of government. Hence, the need to inquire about how democracy influences the economies of states such as Ghana.

The work of Christie broadly follows the hypothesis of Lipset that democracy is related to economic development. He examined some assumptions behind the Asian type of democracy, its relations to economic development, and the conflicting proposition in relation to modernization and political change (Christie, 1998b). His work interrogates how the uniqueness of the Asian values is posed by rapid economic growth as well as the difficulties in the liberalization process. Christie questions the success of the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) in Southeast Asia whose élites champion that, their economic success is predicated on a different set of tenets to those of Western countries. This illiberal version of democracy is underscored by a dramatic shift in global economic power.

Alternatively, his work affirmed the critics by Lee Kuan Yew and Mahathir Mohamad, on the western version of democracy. They “do not believe that democracy necessarily led to their development and that, what a country needs in order to develop is discipline, more than democracy” (Lee 2000). “Democracy leads to undisciplined and disorderly conditions which are inimical to development.” Nevertheless, Christie further posits that only a minority of countries fit the model postulated by modernization whose findings reject the hypothesis that, democracy is

related to economic development as employed by Lipset, hence the need to investigate whether the type of political regime a country adopts impacts its national development.

Additionally, Przeworski and Limongi in their work, *“Modernization: Theories and Facts”* question the extent to which democracy emerges from economic development and how this development is secreted from democracy in two ways. They mention that democracy emerges whenever dictatorships die, and thus to argue that out is the same as proffering that dictatorship dies as a country develop economically out of authoritarian regime just like the case of Singapore (Przeworski & Limongi, 1997).

They further contend that development is coupled with complex changes in the social and political setting of a state which makes it difficult to maintain a decree under command. However, modernization theory was also used to explain why democracy is associated with the levels of development of states. Meaning that development truly strives under authoritarianism. One would, therefore, expect poor countries to actually develop before considering democracy as a form of governance which Singapore clearly exhibited. Hence, the need to probe whether development is dependent on the type of regime type a country adopts.

Claude Ake in his study *“The Unique Case of African Democracy”* argued on the confusion on what kind of democracy emerged in Africa with its unique structures. On the disappointment of independence, he noted that there were high expectations that the independence of most African states will eventually lead to development away from exploitation. Unfortunately, poor leadership and corruption-plagued the developmental project with mired economies (Ake, 1993).

On the economic component, he further posits that for Africa’s democracy to be relevant and sustainable, it must contain features that are uniquely different from liberal democracy. Democracy

to the African holds abstract political terms and must be geared towards economic advancement. This is because the desire for democracy in Africa emanated from external forces and the struggle for economic rights and welfare by its people.

African's view their economic wellbeing through democracy as a medium of addressing the economic and developmental projects which were supported by the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (Arusha Conference 1990). This offered a platform for the recognition that, development is democratically and economically driven, and not only centered on the political aspect and offers an inescapable establish the link between economic development and political democratization.

His auxiliary assertion was that economic development is pursued through democratization, which means, the relevance of democracy will depend on its correlation with better economic conditions. Thus while on the economic aspect, the African elites did not want this type of developmental democracy because they viewed it as the only means to attaining power. The study seeks to further examine how Singaporean economic development is linked to its unique form of governance.

In the work of Therborn, "*The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy*", says that most European countries democratized because of war and not a means to economic development (Therborn, 1997). Consequently, the era of Ghana's authoritarian rule and that of most African states collapsed due to economic pressures in the countries and was especially influenced by external pressures in the bid for donor support in order to develop. Democracy is therefore likely to fail since its core usage by the westerners to develop differently from what was propagated to do in the developing nations. Hence, the quest to examine how Ghana can adopt the Singaporean model of governance to foster its national development while maintaining its democratic credentials.

In an influential paper, Rodrik also probed into how feasible democracy works in developing countries like Africa. He stressed on conditions such as industrialization as the key prerequisite factor in the promotion of liberal democracy (Rodrik, 2016b). He noted that industrialization was an important component which unleashed the social forces of development which destabilized the autocratic order of the west. Still, the developing worlds did not witness the industrialization process before the advent of democracy, and this informs the failure in balancing the political dynamics versus the economic dimensions.

In economic terms, he cited how policymakers in the unindustrialized world applied policies for development from the west which led to an intense failure in the whole project. Similarly, countries like Singapore and China crafted their governance model to suit their conditions by institutional reforms and policies in its political progress. On the other hand, on political jurisdiction, he noted how Singapore has maintained a dominant political party with an effective judicial institution in the enforcement on the rule of law. Such practices have created a space for development which is away from the mainstream practices of the west but has yielded enormous growth and development. This argument informs this study on how Ghana can equally adopt certain features of the market-supporting institutional alterations without necessarily liberalizing for its national development.

His study further distinguishes between liberal and electoral democracies by the provision of political, civil and property rights which were found in most advanced democracies. The increasing number of countries in the third wave of democratization makes democracies more likely to enhance the protection of property rights, political stability and a conducive environment for the effective use of state resources for national development. This establishes an open conclusion on the high prospects of democracy on development. This hypothesis is, however, highly disputed in

the case of Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, and China as it contradicts the assumptions that democracies do not always win and would necessarily not outperform other forms of governance systems as a panacea to economic development.

The analysis of whether liberal democracy is feasible in developing countries conflicts with the conceptualization of developing states without making much emphasis on third world countries. The study also cast doubts on the tenets of democracy with the inability of sub-Saharan African countries to develop, hence, must adopt an alternative path for industrialization prior to the western form of liberalism.

1.9 Clarification of Concepts

1.9.1 Liberal Democracy

This term is used as a governance system with respect to how it translates to economic development in a country and not the practice of conducting periodic elections or the presence of multi parties. This is to analyze how the economic performance of Ghana play a key role in the transition of its political regime which is fundamentally different from that of the authoritarian regime of Singapore. According to Huntington (1993), “democracy is defined as the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern”. This definition limits democracy basically to holding elections, which is central to a change in government.

1.9.2 Illiberal Democracy

This term was first used by Fareed Zakaria to describe the transformation in the governance system of countries neither democratic nor authoritarian. He argues that illiberal democratic countries confirm dictatorship and consolidate democracy, thus a fusion of the formal and the latter. By this,

some political liberties are adhered to than civil ones. However, western liberal democracy may not be an end to the liberal democratic system of government.

According to Zakaria (2005), defined “*Illiberal Democracy* as the practice of conducting elections, press censorship and maintaining one party in governance for a period of time”. Illiberal democracy in this study is the fusion of both liberal principles and authoritarian principles. Civil rights are respected but political inclusiveness is inoperative (Zakaria, 2005).

1.9.3 National Development

Even though national development is an extensive and all-inclusive term which includes all aspect of the development of a nation’s social, political, economic, cultural aspect among others, this study defines national development as the total growth in the economic progress of a state. The scope limits the term in the context of the economic conditions of a state. Portes (1976), defined “national development in the context of developing nations as broadly under economic, social and cultural themes.” (Portes, 1976). It is also the ability of a country to provide and improve the social welfare of the people through growth and change.

1.9.4 Economic Development

The study adopts the human development index (HDI), inflation and economic growth as an aspect of the national development of both Ghana and Singapore. This serves as the benchmarks to measure the difference in the development of respective countries in conjunction with the system of governance it practices. Economic development, “is the transformation of a state’s increase in the manufacture and sustainable growth, which increases the national product and gives the country a measure of autonomy to determine its future growth”(Portes, 1976, p. 56).

1.9.5 Semi-Democracy

Semi-democracy is seen as regimes that display a character of both liberal democracy and authoritarianism. However, this study limits the definition of semi-democracy to the fusion of democracy and authoritarianism for effective economic management under one-party rule in the best interest of the citizenry. Such regimes exhibit features such as press censorship, conducting of elections, compromised civil and political liberties and political participation. Case (1993), conceptualized semi-democracy as the exhibition of some procedural and transitional processes of a state from an authoritarian regime to some features of democratic consolidation.

1.10 Sources of Data

The research employs both primary and secondary data. The primary data are based on semi-structured interviews with experts from the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), and the Institute of Statistics, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) of the University of Ghana. Secondary data are sourced from books, publications, journal articles, among others.

1.11 Research Design

Research is the means of seeking new information or new knowledge in any field of study. It can be “defined as the scientific and systematic investigation for pertinent information on a specific topic” (Kothari, 2004, p. 1). As cited in Kothari’s work, according to Woody, “research comprises defining and redefining problems, formulating a hypothesis or suggested solutions; collecting, organizing and evaluating data; and at least carefully testing the conclusions to determine whether they fit the formulating hypotheses”. The main objective of the research is to discover answers to

questions or new information and factual evidence through the application of the scientific procedure. Generally, there are three types of research methodology.

According to Creswell; identified qualitative, quantitative and the mixed methods as the approaches researchers choose in a research procedure. The study, however, adopts the Mixed Method Research Approach. He defines the mixed method as “an approach where the researcher employs strategies of inquiry and involves the collection of data both by numeric information as well as text information so that the final database represents both quantitative and qualitative information in order to best understand the research problem”. (Creswell 2017, p. 18).

1.11.1 Qualitative Research Method

A qualitative method involves the use of data collection method such as questionnaires, interviews, documents and observations elected understand and explain a social phenomenon. Qualitative research is defined by Denzin and Lincoln “as the research method which focuses on the interpretation of phenomena in their natural settings to make sense in terms of meanings people bring to these settings” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This method is used to understand the underlying reasons, opinions and critics in order to establish insights in examining a suitable research problem and hypothesis for the study to compare Ghana and Singapore’s development and governance system.

A qualitative research method is also defined by Creswell “as an approach whereby the researcher often makes knowledge claims based primarily on assumptions or constructivist assumptions with the intent of developing a theory or develop a perspective on an issue” (Creswell 2017). This research method employs the open-ended questions in order to grasp the respondents understanding of the topic within the social context. The qualitative method, therefore, promotes

a deeper understanding of the social problem through an in-depth analysis. However, the findings and data collection normally lacks the ability to be generalized because the findings are limited to a few people.

1.11.2 Quantitative Research Method

Quantitative research method, on the other hand, is an approach whereby the researcher primarily uses post positivist claims for developing knowledge; thus formulates a hypothesis, test a theory and employs strategies for an inquiry by collecting data on predetermined instruments to yield the statistical data (Creswell 2017, p. 18). The quantitative research helps the researcher to establish a causal relationship between variables of study with some statistical measurement of social behavior to test the hypothesis under study.

A quantitative research approach, on the other hand, involves the type of research that explains human phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using numerical based methods mostly statistics (Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib, & Rupert, 2007).

Nevertheless, the use of the quantitative research method is normally criticized for generalizing outcomes and relations between variables at the expense of contextual factors. This method also does not analyze social problems in-depth due to the limitations on the types of questions asked; thus closed-ended questions, the data collection, and data analysis process.

1.11.3 Mixed Method Research Approach

The Mixed-Method research is also a class of research where researchers mix or combine both qualitative and quantitative research techniques, methodology, approaches, concepts or language into a single study (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This study employs the mixed methods because there is the need to compare the levels of development with statistical measurement of

the variables, thus, the economic growth, inflation, and HDI as benchmarks for the comparative analysis. The study, however, adopts a method called “Qualitizing”. “Qualitizing refers to a process by which quantitative data are transformed into qualitative data. This method can be used to extract more information from quantitative data or to confirm interpretations of it” (Sandelowski, 2000).

The mixed-method is also criticized for not adhering to a standard mode of inquiry due to its merger of both the qualitative and quantitative methods. The use of only one method limits the analysis on a more subjective stance. Hence, the mixed method is employed in this study to address both the limitation of both the qualitative and quantitative approaches. It opens up the study to a subjective and objective approach to analyzing social problems which may not be captured by the limitations on the use of only one research method (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The mixed-method is appropriate for this study as it enhances the ability of the researcher to generalize the findings from the quantitative approach using the economic indicators as statistical evidence for the comparative levels of development. This is also to provide a detailed understanding based on the context and the thematic analysis acquired from the open-ended answers gathered as the primary data from the field as well as secondary data sourced from the literature.

1.11.4 Methods of Data Collection

The study adopts both the primary and secondary data collection method. Primary data are that information collected from the field which happens to be in their original character. According to Kothari mentions that there are several methods of collecting primary data and these include, observation method, interview method, questionnaires among others (Kothari, 2004, p. 96)p 96.

1.11.5 Sources of Data

The primary data for the study were collected using a semi-structured interview guide through personal and direct communication with respondents. According to Arksey and Knight (1999, p. 10), espoused that, interviews have the potential to focus on understanding the thinking and behaviors of individuals and groups in a specific situation.

The primary data was collected through an interview comprising of twelve (12) questions. It comprises of the independent variables; thus authoritarianism, political regime, and democracy to help examine its impacts on development. However, the questions asked from respondents are linked to all the dependent variables by capturing the benchmarks for the analysis. This is to reveal why states adopt a particular form of the governance system in order to develop.

Secondary data are also employed in this study which involves an already existing data collected and analyzed by someone else. These are sourced from online publications, peer-reviewed journal articles, books, reports and other publications by research scholars in the field of politics and economics as well as publications from the Balme Library of the University of Ghana. The study uses both primary and secondary sources of data to provide a deeper insight into the study of comparative political economy.

An interview is a method of collecting information from people either through semi-structured, open-ended or structured form when the qualitative method is used (King, Horrocks, & Brooks, 2018). Semi-structured form of the interview will be employed to give room for detailed responses of issues relevant to the study. Data obtained through the primary source is analyzed through the lens of the modernization theory in order to produce a scholarly work than just a narrative. The

objective is to ascertain the correlation between liberal democracy, authoritarianism, and development.

1.11.6 Sampling Design

Sampling is a technique of selecting respondents for a research study. According to Bryman (2016, p. 11), sampling refers to the “selection of individuals and other units of analysis for research”. Some scholars have identified a number of sampling methods namely, simple random, quota sampling, stratified sampling, purposive sampling methods among others. Sampling may either be probability or non-probability sample. Non-probability sampling is defined by Kothari, “ as the sampling procedure which does not afford any basis for establishing the probability that each item in the population is included in the sample” (Kothari, 2004, p. 59).

Both the primary and secondary data are obtained through a non-probability sampling technique. This allows the researcher to easily select respondents whose knowledge is relevant to the study in order to fulfill the objectives of the research analyzing the nexus between the types of political regimes and development of Ghana and Singapore.

The study employs the purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling technique is a non-probability sample method that is most effective when the researcher needs to study a particular domain with knowledgeable experts (Tongco, 2007). This sampling technique is adopted in order to achieve the quality of information based on the experiences of informants as well as based on its reliability and competent of the respondents in their field of work and is willing to impart their knowledge. The objective of the study required knowledge of experts and practitioners of politics and economic experts in Ghana and Singapore.

A sample size of seven (7) was used for the study. Interviewees include Research Fellows from ISSER and IDEG, an economist from the IEA, political scientist from the Political Science department of the University of Ghana, and also a Research Fellow from the CDD. These respondents were deliberately selected based on their expertise in the field of the political economy of Ghana and Singapore.

1.11.7 Target Population

In order to get access to different perspectives on how liberal democracy impacts development, the study investigates five institutions with diverse views on the political economy of both Ghana and Singapore. The study conducted an in-depth interview from the Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Ghana Centre for Democratic Governance (CDD), Institute of Statistics, Social, and Economic Research (ISSER) which are relevant to the study due to the various research and public policy implementation and advocacy in the field of political and economics.

1.11.7 Data Analysis

Data from the studies are analyzed in two phases. First, the primary data generated through the semi-structured interview is analyzed using the mixed method thematic framework. Thematic analysis has to do with identifying all data that relate to the already classified argument for research and building a valid argument for choosing those themes (Aronson, 1995). Thematic analysis is aimed at assessment of the presence of specific themes, issues, actors, state of affairs or words or ideas in the text or visuals to be analyzed (Pennings, Keman, & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006, p. 69).

The secondary data acquired from ISSER and World Bank webpage as the macroeconomic benchmark for the comparative study are analyzed using the Excel Statistical Software. Excel is

used to run the cross-country analysis of the development levels of both countries. This is also to run a simple correlation among the economic growth, inflation rate, and HDI for comparative analysis.

1.11.8 Ethical Considerations

No research is entirely free or exists in a completely risk-free context and this makes ethical consideration an important part of any research. According to Wallace and Sheldon (2015, p. 268), ethics can be argued to be “procedural elements regarding merits and integrity, justice, beneficence, and respect with an emphasis on truly informed consent in order to mitigate against any form of risk in doing research”.

This ethical consideration was implemented through the consent of the respondents which noted the purpose of the study and the option to remain anonymous in order to mitigate against risk throughout the research.

1.12 Limitations of the Study

The concept of development is normally used in a broader term. It includes all aspect of development thus; economics, political, social, cultural, psychological among others. This makes it difficult to narrow it down to fit into a particular context in academia. However, this study limits development to economic performance.

Also, the operational definition of liberal democracy is limited to the conduct of elections and change in government and political parties. It does not include the election procedure and selection of the legislature as a key arm of government in a state. In Ghana, the legislature is elected by the citizens based on the parliamentary voting during the national elections. For Singapore, on the other hand, parliamentarians are selected by the Prime minister.

Correspondingly, the legislature in Ghana is a combination of parliamentarians from mostly the two major political parties; thus the NDC and the NPP, and a few from the minor parties, but the ruling party normally requires a simple majority in parliament. Singapore's case is different because, all the parliamentarians belong to the PAP which requests the views of a respondent's consideration of the city-state as a democracy based on the definition of democracy by Abraham Lincoln's as the government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

A key potential limitation to the study arises from the selection of respondents for the primary source of data. The study lacks respondents from native Singaporean political Science and economic experts to enrich the analysis of the study. The primary data is solely from resource experts in Ghana. This makes the analysis skewed towards the Ghanaian perspective of Singapore based on the information acquired.

The research adopts a comparative research approach in order to compare and examine economic variables with the view of discoursing the system of governance that empirically enhances economic growth and development between Ghana and Singapore. Ghana was selected because it theoretically adopted the assumptions of the modernization theory by adopting liberal democracy as a western value in order to develop. Singapore, on the other hand, was carefully chosen due to its unique features such as one-party regime, pragmatism in policy implementation it adopted in order to develop as an illiberal or semi-democratic state.

1.13 Organization of the Study

The study consists of four chapters. Chapter One constitutes Introduction. Chapter Two provides an overview of the political systems of Ghana and Singapore. Chapter Three discusses political

systems and development issues in Ghana and Singapore. Chapter Four captures the summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GHANA AND SINGAPORE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Most empirical and theoretical literature has examined the link between democracy and economic development. While most literature focus on the effects of economic growth and development on democracy, this study investigates the effects of democracy on economic growth even though it doesn't expatiate on which particular direction a country should follow, either by practicing democracy automatically translate to development, or development drives democratization. This chapter presents an overview of the political system of Ghana and Singapore in relation to their development.

2.1 *Liberal Democracy In Africa*

If scholarly research concerning the economic and political advantages of democracy is correct, then one would expect democracies to rationally desire to have more democratic. Research shows that democracies prefer to trade, cooperate, and ally with one another (Pevehouse, 2002). The expectations of democracies in promoting economic growth and stability should inflate the number of states desiring to be democratic which expands the opportunities for existing democracies to persuade non-democratic states to liberalize.

An important aspect of democratization linked to democratic transitions is their relationship with development. As cited in the work of Mahmud (1996), Wiseman contended that this relationship is important for three interrelated reasons. First, the economic deterioration of most African states

was blamed on dictatorial rulers which resulted in the pressing demand for a civilian rule, in order to address economic development and economic welfare once the transition has been achieved.

Secondly, the international organizations used economic incentives and sanctions to press for democratic change, given the impression that, democratic transitions would be rewarded with economic assistance. Thirdly, there was a strong opinion among scholars and policymakers that democracies can be sustained only with economic growth and public welfare. This supports the idea of Wiseman to refer to the transition from authoritarian rule to democratic governance as an economic aspect of democratization.

Again, the governance system of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) before independence was dominated by authoritarian rule. The third wave of democratization which swept through Africa in the 1980s was welcomed with great hopes for development, by which the abysmal failure of the authoritarian governments was replaced. Democracy was a global project that saw the transformation of a political system within the context of the political and economic sphere. Western powers and their international donors also beheld the democratization process of Africa as a strategy to reaffirm its western hegemonic power after the post-cold war era (Khadiagala, 1992).

Clamored with protests from the working class, movement, students, labor unions and some elites, with the economic recession, coupled with the feasibility of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were some of the main reasons for the revolt. However, corruption and human right issues also topped the agenda for Africans to be in dire need of democracy with the hope for the improvement of the living conditions of its people (Giddens, 2013). Various literature put across accounts for the democratic trajectory of most African states but focused more on how authoritarianism contributed to the economic problems on the continent, by neglecting the salient factors of democracies that can translate to development. Huntington defined the wave of

democratization “as the transition from non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specific period and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction in the same period”(Huntington, 1993).

The term democratization is operationalized as a political process due to the transformation of governance system from authoritarianism. Even though it was centered on socioeconomic tendencies in Africa, the neo-governance system created institutions and structures that saw to the development of states. The transition process differed across the continent. The democratic transition was continually operated by the military in the case of Nigeria, whiles civil unrest and ethnic cleansing were witnessed in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Zaire; modern-day Zimbabwe (Osaghae, 1999).

The backgrounds of democracy in Africa has always based on the argument that it is primarily driven by internal political conditions while others contend that it was essentially the outcome of an external force. This notion cannot be overturned due to the state at which most African states found themselves. However, Chabal (1998) posits that the root cause for the demand of democracy stemmed from the failure of most economies by which most African leaders held elections as the main feature of democracy by ignoring the economic aspect.

The third wave of democratization, however, was viewed as the foundations of transformation in the political, economic, cultural and bureaucratic domains of the continent (Diamond, 1996) Most African leaders were reluctant and never fully accepted the idles of the European political model, but some accepted it as a means of achieving a different end. To suggest that Africa was ready for democracy indicated that it wasn't matured enough for it. The transition towards multi-party democracy dominated the 1970s. Power in Africa evolved in the hands of individuals who were named nationalist, however, little attention was given to the economic dimensions as Julius

Nyerere of Tanzania coined Ujamaa to fuse politics to development (Dowden, 1993). The transition to democracy is approached here as a political process because it basically has to do with the transformation of the state and political society. Particularly, in the Africa context, where state-centered politics is crucial to economic and social relations, the overriding imperatives are to strengthen state structures and develop democratic, accountable, responsive forms of governance.

Consequently, the 1970 oil crises led to the progressive decline of economies in most African states which forced the governments to rely on foreign aid. The West was forced to impose onerous conditions to aid by the adaptation of the structural adjustments programs (SAPs). Mkandawire (2001) posits that it was clear that the West now dictated the political and economic conditions for the continent by making democracy a norm viewed as a prerequisite for development.

The question of whether there is a causal relationship between the political transition and greater economic development in Africa is still contentious and still on diverging premises. There are those who believe that democracy as a form of liberalization with a free and open market will be the drive to economic growth. Others, on the other hand, views democracy as a means by which governments can achieve what the market has failed to (Chabal, 1998). The assertion that both the advocates and critics of democracy hold cannot be evident in the African context in contemporary politics as democracy has rather worsen the economic situation in most African states.

The demand for democracy was not limited to electoral politics, multi-partyism, civil and political rights but also economic empowerment of the citizenry and improvement in human conditions. (Adejumobi, 1996) argues that the essence of democratic transition has been consummated in Africa with economic development as it was viewed as meaningful only when it translated to the living conditions of the people.

He further argues that the unresolved problems were created on the linkage between the SAPs and political reforms in the 1980s and 1990s whereby debtor countries would agree to make internal changes in governance and policy in return for loan conditions. Democracy was therefore perceived as a means to make governments vulnerable and resistance to economic reform. It also determined the socioeconomic base on the democratic project of Africa, but largely set out the characteristics and ideological orientation of democracy on the continent. Hence, the trajectory of democracy in Africa cannot be isolated from economic development.

Democratization in Africa can also be attributed to circumstances under which countries transitioned from autocracies to democracies. Majority of countries in the SSA which became democratic in the third wave as classified by Huntington were electoral rather than liberal democracies. (Rodrik, 2016a). The dictatorial political systems at the collapse of the Cold War with the subsequent hegemony of the liberal capitalist ideology mounted against the SAPs were motivated by both the Western nations and the IFIs respectively. This strategy was to foist a new conditionality of political liberalization on nations undertaking market economic reforms as a prerequisite for continued aid flow and economic assistance. (Adejumobi, 1996).

Having declared the failure of the 'developmental state' in the 1980s, the possibility of African economies continues to be extremely low, even in countries considered to be relatively successful, poverty still persists, increases and is becoming more visible. Various poverty reduction program implies that vulnerable sectors of the society continue to receive aid administered jointly by international and state sources which enhances participation and empowerment which are included in all packages of institution-building and governance.

2.2 DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

2.2.1 *Effects of Democracy on Economic Growth.*

Various political turbulence which heightened after independence created stagnation in the economic environment in most African states. The rise in global oil prices further deteriorated Ghana's economy which led to unstable political uprising between 1975 to 1983 (Price, 1984). The Economic Recovery Program and Structural Adjustment Program (ERP-SAP) were implemented under a heavy military rule which marked the beginning of the economic transformation of Ghana.

After many years of military and authoritarian rule under various governments, the Rawlings administration under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military junta transitioned to a democratic rule in 1992. This saw a shift from the third republic and inaugurated the fourth republic which led the country to implement massive economic reforms as a democratic and civilian rule under the SAP. When Rawlings assumed office, Ghana was faced with an overwhelming economic crisis. In spite of these economic reforms and challenges, coupled with these strategies, some analysts observed that this set the stage for multiparty democracy in Ghana. In the words of Green (1995), the PNDC as an authoritarian regime conducted its political and economic projects under its own whims and caprices but was regulated by the World Bank as it drifted to be a democratic regime under the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in 1993.

He further analyzed how such a drift from authoritarian rule to a democratic decree affected the economic landscape of Ghana. During that period, the country was faced with both economic and political challenges as the new civilian rule had to retain power as well as consolidate constitutional democracy. The new government (NDC) managed to pave way for liberal democracy but feared of losing power as cited by O'Donnell (1994) in his work, "*Delegative Democracy*" termed it as a

“neo-authoritarian electoral regime” due to the exhibition of both democratic principles and some form of authoritarian tendencies by the Rawlings administration. The fear of losing power forced the government to manipulate economic policies and developmental projects to its advantage. It embarked on massive infrastructural development amidst the adjustment programs to retain power in the next elections. The idea of democracy translating to economic development was not witnessed as the state was tied to high inflation and a deterioration in the economic sector.

Even though the emphasis was limited to democratic regimes, Singapore exhibits all these characteristics and it questions the nagging narrative on the political economies of states and how economic development does not depend on the type of political regime a country adopts. Ghana on the other hand, which is fully democratic conflicts the analysis of Robinson, as he speculated that certain specific conditions would nurture prosperity and democracy go together in the same way communism and other forms of governance are consolidated (Robinson, 2006).

The 2001 elections evidenced a new political atmosphere whereby the New Patriotic Party (NPP) took power from the NDC. This placed Ghana as a beacon for democracy in Africa with prudent economic management and infrastructural development, which helped to attain external assistance under the IFI's (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), highly indebted poor country (HIPC) initiative as well as the United States' Millennium Challenge Account as strategies for development (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

The statistics pointed to an economy that was well within the category of the HIPC as defined by the World Bank. Even though the Kufuor's administration was noted for the promotion of civil rights, democracy and good governance under the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), its economic sector was challenged with high inflation, high cost of living (often due to the global financial crisis of 2008), and high fuel prices and so on (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

In terms of the economy, the country was below the middle-income status with per capita of US\$450 and was ranked 45th on the Human Development Index (HDI) with a high poverty rate (Alavi & Ramadan, 2008). The government also recorded macroeconomic stability, introduced the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), a social welfare health program, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) as a poverty reduction mechanism which was executed as strategies for economic development. The country, however, relied heavily on external donors to fund its annual budget.

The new democratic government also set out its primary goals of restoring macroeconomic stability, fight corruption and promote wealth. The prudent economic policy management witnessed a remarkable recovery of growth under the HIPC initiative which placed Ghana on the path to reducing poverty and accelerating growth. The NPP government later initiated the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS I & II) which was targeted for ten years (till 2015) under the strategic development goals. This strategy was viewed as a catalyst to achieve growth as well as to attain a middle- income status within a given period (Awal, 2012).

The GPRS (I & II) was implemented to redefine the relations between the IFIs and developing nations as an instrument to be owned by recipient countries within an anti-poverty framework. By the end of the first term, the level of stability and economic recovery were achieved. Ghana recorded an economic improvement continuously for eight years. According to the IMF, the GDP grew from 5.4% in 2006 to 6.3% in 2007 marking it the highest to be achieved under a democratic government (Zounmenou, 2009).

Amidst the various economic strategies, the country was nevertheless faced with poverty. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2007 ranked Ghana 135 out of 177 in the HDI as 22 million of the population still struggled for basic social amenities. Poor implementation of

all the poverty strategies under the Kufuor's administration accounted for low impacts on poverty reduction.

The distrust in the electoral processes in Africa which is most heightened with tension and violence was contrasted by the 2008 general elections of Ghana. This strengthened its progress towards democratic consolidation and socio-economic development with a power shift from the NPP to the NDC and further created a platform for Ghana as the most promising democracy with bright prospects of socio-economic development. These raised queries to whether democracy has been consolidated in Ghana. The NDC government in 2008 met the global economic meltdown in its first year of office which forced the government to redefine its economic priorities (Zounmenou, 2009)

In the words of Sithole (2012), he affirms that a durable "democracy is strongly related to economic development by maintaining that its institutional and governmental policies are the catalyst to development under good governance". Poor governance, on the contrary, is often characterized by weak state institutions that are detrimental to its development. This, however, rebuts the assumption that a political liberalized state is bound to develop, while good governance under democracy rather influences the development of states economic performance.

Ghana's restoration of democratic politics has pursued various developmental agenda especially from 2001 to promote economic growth, investment in human development and alleviation of poverty. This saw a rise in economic strategies and policies geared towards growth recovery after some democratic governance. It can be noted that the persistence of weak governance in spite of economic reforms pose challenges for democracy and development on the continent (Gyimah-Boadi 2004).

2.3 TRENDS OF AUTHORITARIANISM

One of the most interesting debates in comparative political economy pertains to the impact of the type of political regime on development. Authoritarian governments have often justified its existence as the effective promoter of industrial development. These regimes have succeeded in maintaining political stability, developed bureaucracies capable of managing state-directed but mixed economies, and implemented policies favorable to development, that is difficult to be carried out in more democratic societies.

According to Mason (1978) in his work “*Authoritarian Development*”, defined economic growth in terms of an increase in per-capita income where most of the countries would have shown unmistakable signs of growth. He further stated that authoritarian regimes are sometimes flexible in practice as in the case of Singapore which merged both democratic characteristics and autocratic tendencies to implement economic policies. It forfeits the perception of autocratic regimes as generally oppressive and corruptive in nature.

It is argued that the experiences of some strong authoritarian states are better able to engineer a successful process of economic development than an electoral democracy found in most African countries. The most vital improvement during the reform in China was its drastic reduction in poverty. In 1978, China recorded 250 million rural inhabitants living under extreme poverty according to the national poverty standard using constant prices as a measure (Song & Woo, 2008). The World Bank’s ranking of countries where its citizens lived under one dollar a day, recorded China to have reduced poverty from 31.5 percent in 1990 to 8.9 percent in 2005 and was reduced by 1.5 percent by 2007. China and Russia have been the two largest countries and centrally planned economies share many similarities before their reforms, but adopted different reform

methods and achieved very different results which create striking contrast in the economic performance of the two countries during their reform.

Some scholars like Antic also investigated the relationship between regimes and development by analyzing how regime type can influence the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita growth of countries (Antic, 2004). His findings informed that democracies were more successful and performed better in economic growth than dictatorship. However, the last fifty years saw a change where dictators such as China, Libya, Singapore among others performed relatively equivalent or better than some democracies in the promotion of GDP per capita growth. This contrast the assertion of scholars on the question of how democracy influences development and whether other factors contribute to the linear relations between democracy and development.

Yet, the economic development of Singapore drew a stream of delegations from Africa and Asia and from around the world at large. According to Huff, he posited that even though Singapore was regarded an authoritarian state, it practiced the lax economic system with a “heavy interventionist” state-guided principle to its economic development as it played a central role in its success (Huff 1995). This major feature of the PAPs government interventionism on its economic success creates a contrast with the mainstream features of a democratic regime which features an open market, liberalization of trade, participation in developmental affairs of the states inter alia which will eventually boost economic development revealed an opposite result in a democratic state like Ghana.

2.4 POLITICAL SYSTEM AND DEVELOPMENT OF SINGAPORE

The success of the development of East Asian countries cannot be underrated. Among all the developing nations, South East Asian countries have achieved remarkable progress in their growth rate, raising its standard of living, alleviating the masses from poverty, reducing unemployment and inflation rate as well as integrating well into the international market as the hub to industrialization. The Four Tigers of Asia (Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea), emerged with rapidly industrialized economies by maintaining exceptionally high growth rates in the 1990s. China, however, also emerged as the biggest economy in Asia as the fastest industrialized in the region (internet source).

Interestingly, all these nations have different political and economic features and have attracted scholars into analyzing the foundations behind these successes. Leipziger and Thomas (1993, p. 3) mentioned that the developmental successes of these countries were informed by three items- institutions, policies and resource endowment. They extensively posit that these Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) had a diverse economic feature which informed their policy approach.

Some countries like Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia were natural resource endowed, while Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea focused on their human capital resources. Economically, they adopted policies to ensure macroeconomic stability from low and stable deficits, fiscal discipline, pragmatic policymaking away from ideologies as well as centrally planned ministries with a good deal of heavy state interventions, strong bureaucracies, visionary leaderships mostly under undemocratic regimes.

2.4.1 The People's Action Party (PAP) and the Development of Singapore

The consolidation and quality of democratic transition have dominated the literature and has diverted analysis on the evaluation and significance of political change within authoritarian regimes not devoid of capitalist development. The PAP recognized that without substantial improvement in the social and economic condition of Singapore, it could not retain power (Rodan, 2006). Its development promoted the idea of a trade-off between political liberty and socioeconomic development. The persuasive social and economic roles played by the PAP undermined the emergence of political opposition and this questions the political direction and how pure democracy has not yet arrived in Singapore.

The economic achievements of Singapore have indeed appeared to be unassailable. From 1960 to 2000, the city-state experienced the highest national income growth in the world. As a result, in 1997 Singapore's GDP per capita (GDP) ranked eighth in the world, ahead of its former colonial ruler, the United Kingdom (Barro, 1999). Since then, Singapore's ranking slipped and was accorded the thirty-first position in the World Bank's rankings in 2006. However, in that same year, Singapore's nominal GDP per capita amounted to a respectable US\$29,320. (Verweij & Pelizzo, 2009). This cast doubts on the assertion that all authoritarian regimes are underdeveloped.

The logic of Singapore as a "miracle economy" has drawn scholars like Lingle to question how some of its policies and institutions for development impedes on the rights and freedoms of its citizens, amidst its rapid economic growth under the PAP since independence in 1965. He tagged Singapore as an "authoritarian capitalist" state, by conceptualizing its development model as it

place restrictive and persistent policies into the market economy as well as political activities (Lingle, 1996).

In his submission, he further noted that Singapore employs extensive state interventions in its economy which includes high foreign exchange policies, export-oriented policies as well as investment and funds as a progressive drive to its growth. Notwithstanding these growth rates, he identifies a problem of the state focusing more on labor and capital but suppresses individual freedom which impairs the advent of entrepreneurs. Singapore's authoritarian capitalist regime has been immune from potential threats of ousting the single dominant party PAP from power due to its strong economic performance driven by its soft authoritarian hands under Lee Kuan Yew till now.

One variable that can help in understanding the success of Singapore is the contributions of Chang in his work. He stated how culture was used as a tool to drive Singapore's rapid economic development in contrast to the experiences of the west. His work criticized the two contending theoretical models on Asian economic development, thus, the Weberian model of development (Chang, 2003). He argued that the Weberian model attributes capitalistic features of the West as rational, efficient and mastery which is in sharp contrast with the Asian oriental model of Confucianism which is also perceived as irrational, inferior and underdeveloped.

Notwithstanding these attributes; Japan, Singapore, and most East Asian countries have developed outside these mainstream frameworks of development which is limited to capitalism, industrialization, and modernity and inculcated culture as an important feature of a given society. His work also identified the Singaporean model as reconstructing its values against the western background by regulating its own unique culture by merging both western and oriental models of economic development.

Based on the notion of cultural values, Jayasuriya argues that the values across East Asia have contributed immensely in its socio-economic and political systems such that those values have impacted on the modernization of those systems which are unique to the East Asia (Jayasuriya, 1998). He additionally stated that Lee Kuan Yew viewed Singapore's economic success in its cultural context that was embedded in its state apparatus and helped shape its political identity. Therefore, to understand the economic trajectory and success of Singapore, its cultural values must not be underrated.

The work of Zakaria also mentioned how culture is an essential tool for development. The experience of western countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century limited the culture of participatory democracy even though they were capitalist in nature. The Asian model has proved to be transitional with a modernized society with economic growth under authoritarianism (Zakaria, 1994).

Singapore as a country without any natural resources created an economic hub by implementing certain hard-headed policies by the then leader of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew which virtually transformed the city-state from the third world to inhabitants of the first world and has attracted scholars on its developmental model. Quah highlighted on long term context-driven policies from 1959 to 2016, which includes minimizing corruption, pragmatic leadership, investment in the education of citizens, political will and public servants recruitment based on meritocracy are the fundamentals in its developmental progress (Quah, 2018).

Lee Kuan Yew established an institution effective enough to drastically minimize corruption in the city-state and this made Singapore the least corrupt Asian country according to Transparency International Corruption index in 2016 and 2017 (Muthukrishna, Francois, Pourahmadi, & Henrich, 2017). However, the pragmatic leadership of Lee depended on meritocracy as a key to

its success and this method allowed civil servants to compete with each other. He also relied on multinational corporations due to its comparative advantage of technology, techniques, and expertise as powerful factors in its growth.

Lee also invested heavily on education to enhance the skills of its population and this attracted more Singaporeans into the public service coupled with high wages. Due to the lack of natural resource, it considered its citizens as its national resources and investing heavily into that sector which informs the heavy investments in its education from S\$63.39 million to S\$12,660 million from 1959 to 2016 (Quah, 2018). This educational policy increased the enrolment level and the literacy skill in order to fit into its developmental project.

Another feature Quah noted was the PAPs government willingness to learn from the experience of other countries in its developmental techniques and not to strictly imitate such methods, but altered any development driven policy method to suit its social context. Lee tried to fuse policies from different nations and adopted it as a solution to addressing certain issues in Singapore.

The question lies in whether policymakers in Ghana and other African states could learn from the experience of Singaporean to solve similar problems of corruption and underdevelopment which depend. It must, however, be admitted that development is a process, and solutions to problems are not “one size fit all” from successful nations but must be abstracted and practicalized to suit the variables evident in developing nations like Ghana.

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CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Having established the historical overview of both liberal democracy and authoritarian governments and their role on development in the above chapter, this chapter outlines the methodology used, data analysis for the study as well as its interpretation and data results. This discusses the empirical results on the relationship among the economic growth, inflation and HDI of both Ghana and Singapore respectively. The study makes use of Excel representation of data required to examine the growth rate of Ghana and Singapore. The below analyzes the performance of both states in accordance with their political regime and development.

This section addresses the issues raised in the objectives: how the political system of Singapore is linked to its development, whether Ghana can adopt the Singaporean model to develop, to establish whether regime type matter for economic development under the framework of the Modernization Theory.

When asked on their views on how the consolidation of democracy in Ghana be linked to its development since 1992, an official identified that two things happened when democracy was adopted. He opined that “*the freedom for the citizens to participate both in politics and also to engage in any economic activity without government interference*”. It was explained that these freedoms prior to the adoption of democracy indicated to all investors both from within the country and outside that, it was a country where citizens are free to own properties, as a key component for economic development protected under the law. This however opened up the country for investors who had the rights to invest and owned properties.

3.1 GOVERNANCE SYSTEM AND ITS ROLE ON DEVELOPMENT.

The emergence of new nation-states after the end of imperialism, colonialism and also the Second World War, were challenged with development, political and infrastructural deficit which predicted their levels of development. Most developing states undertook different socio-economic policies either on the path of capitalism or socialism in order to develop. However, according to Menon, the lack of a stable and effective governance structure negatively affected the economic prospects of these states, especially in Africa (Menon, 2007).

Menon further stressed on a key factor that influenced Singapore's unique developmental path from the other third world countries. Some third world countries like Ghana, Nigeria, India among others adopted the socialist path of governance but failed to implement developmental policies and strategies (Menon, 2007). Lee Kuan Yew adopted a rather pragmatic approach to development, which was devoid of ideology by shaping the administration into an effective policy instrument.

When asked on whether the type of political regime a country adopts impacts its development, there was diversity in the responses. A participant argued out that, democracy is the ideal form of governance because it provides a better and a more transparent framework in dealing with the issues of corruption which takes a toll on the development of a state; especially in the African context. In contrast, an economist (respondent) contended that *“political regimes are not panaceas to development because of the types of “winner-takes-all” practice in Ghana, where a political party in power control all the resources of the state which turns to sideline half of its citizens that belong to the other parties. This impedes development since half of the citizens at every point do not contribute to the development of the state”*. This supports the argument of some scholars against the western style of governance as political parties are not the best feature of democracy for a developing nation like Ghana.

Lee Kuan Yew believed that it will be a catastrophe to believe that democracy was a precondition to economic development as it was just a western ideology to reaffirm the capitalist hegemonic structure. The economy of the city-state was an open market structure but heavily controlled and regulated by state apparatus. To affirm to this agenda, the government established development-related institutions, like Economic Development Board (EDB), Temasek Holdings, Telecommunication Authority of Singapore (TAS), Port of Singapore Authority (PSA) among a few which were necessary for implementing the development policies.

The interrogation on whether the type of regime a country practices impacts its developmental agenda was affirmatively answered. An expert from IDEG argues that “ *most undemocratic nations like China, Vietnam and to a large extent Singapore were able to progress very fast without necessarily practicing democracy. In the same vein, most advanced and developed countries are democracies, and it indicates there’s a relationship between the political system country practices and development*”. He further noted that the liberal democratic political system has been known to be one that has given many countries a high level of development, making most countries in East Asia an exceptional case leaving the majority of economists to contend that, liberal democracy is not the only form of government to foster development.

This can be supported with the work of some scholars who argued that there’s a causal relationship between democracy and growth by noting that a people-oriented development strategy requires mass participation in the decision making - a process that creates an environment for democratic development (Leftwich, 1993). While it may seem obvious on the question of which governance system is appropriate for a country like Ghana, a respondent espoused that “development has nothing to do with the forms of regimes a country adopts but certain key factors are necessary to drive to development”. An effective leader who is visionary, courageous, non-corrupt, strong and

non-autocratic in nature, strong and efficient institutions. His argument holds that a country can be democratic and underdeveloped as in the case of Ghana and authoritarian in Rwanda under Paul Kagame and Singapore and vice versa.

According to (Shamsul Haque, 2004), most developing states were challenged with heavy external debt which forced them to adopt the deregulation and privatization, liberalization and restructuring of government structures by the IFI's. Singapore, on the other hand, was free from external debts and were able to implement any developmental project devoid from governance structural reforms from external pressures.

The debate on which form of political rule facilitates development led scholars like Clague, Keefer, Knack, and Olson (1996) to suggest that, there can be growth-enhancing democracies as well as growth-enhancing autocracies. However, these growth-enhancing regimes must be informed by its effectiveness on policy implementation, quality of economic policies and the stability of the regime depending on the time period of the regime's ability to assess power in order to adopt which governance model is durable for development.

They further assert that autocracies perform better in long term period than shorter terms which provides Singapore as a classical example under the performance of the PAP based on their findings. The reverse has been witnessed on the African continent with the case of Zimbabwe with the exception of Libya also under an autocratic regime. According to Mutalib (2000), the PAP adopted the principle of "democratic socialism" in 1954 as the panacea to resolve its political and economic problems. The PAP did not focus on any abstract ideological principle to govern but redefined both democracy and autocratic principles to be pragmatic enough to induce change. This implies that the change occurred not because of the abstract principles, but inculcating the values of any regime and leadership style to suit its context. This supports the views from a respondent

who stressed that, *“it is not just by adopting a governance ideology but been pragmatic with its core values and assumptions in order to develop”*.

A key factor that accounts for low productivity in Ghana can be attributed to poor and weak governance. Under the Kufuor’s administration, Ghana encountered inflation of 40 percent, an interest rate of 50 percent and a foreign debt of \$5.8 billion at the beginning of 2001, more than the under PNDC a military rule and NDC, a civilian regime (Werlin, 2003). Weak government institutions mandated for the management of its financial resources have rather been affected by corruption and clientelism. This continues to be featured in successive governments in terms of ineffectiveness and not pragmatic in policy delivery.

After the end of the cold war, governance became an important issue for African leaders in international development. This culminated the adoption of New Partnership Agreement for Development (NEPAD) under the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as a mechanism to address the underdeveloped and slow pace of development on the continent, with Ghana and Rwanda to be the only countries to have reached the complete stage of the implementation process. To improve governance and leadership imperatives, the inception of NEPAD achieved some levels of political stability on the continent. On the economic front, it improved the macroeconomic aggregates of most African states with a record of 5.1 percent as an average economic growth rate for the continent (Mukamunana & Kuye, 2005). Consequently, corruption was revealed as a salient over aching issue from the APRM report of Ghana. This major political governance problem is attributed to the high levels of corruption coupled with non-transparent administrative procedures, weak codes of conducts and inefficient punitive mechanism (Grimm, Nawrath, Roth, Triebel, & Utz, 2009).

3.2 ADOPTING THE SINGAPOREAN GOVERNANCE MODEL TO FOSTER DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

A respondent opined that *“most African countries must analyze the different systems of the East in order to progress because we have become too accustomed to the west which is not working for us. Those eastern governance models may be more suitable for the rapid performance of most African states”*.

To begin with, whether Singapore is an authoritarian regime or democratic based on its one-party rule is still under debate. An official (respondent) indicated that *“Singapore is one-party dominant democracy, whereby only one party wins the general elections all the time, and rules the state all the time. Other parties do not have the opportunity to come to power”*. In contrast, another respondent identified democracy under the definition of Abraham Lincoln as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. The expert holds that *“if the one party in Singapore government is made up of the citizens (not self-imposed), voted to power by the people and works to meet the demands of its people in its economic performance, then it is a democratic state irrespective of the one-party dominance”*.

Interestingly, in answering this question, participants gave different and vital views on adopting the Singaporean model of governance. A resourced expert also identified that *“it will not be necessary for a developing country like Ghana to adopt such a system”*. He further argued that *“one-party dominance is not necessarily a good model for sustainable development, even though it has helped in achieving progress on a rapid pace, it cannot be sustained in the near future if the freedoms of the citizens are not granted”*. He further stated that the more prosperous the citizens become, the more they demand their rights, therefore, one-party dominance is not ideal for Ghana

which makes development under a democracy more sustainable by the extension of freedoms to the people.

While no individual country's growth performance can be a blueprint to others, there are common threads to the successful experience which the western claim to have followed in order to develop such as adopting democracy, liberalization policies, and free-market. Chang (2002), argues that contrary to this historical fact, these western countries did not develop on the basis of the policies and institutions they now recommend to, and often force in developing countries. These are just means of reaffirming their capitalist tendencies and hegemony through democracy which has proved not to be working for developing countries. This contrasts on the hypothesis of the modernization theory and supports the assertion of the dependency theory that unfair trade deals are inconsistent with the protectionist policies developing states adopt in order to develop.

Additionally, the implications of the western form of governance through the multiparty system with "*the first past the post*" system – (the percentages to attain in order to rule the state in Ghana is too narrow), creates a problem of alienation in governance which flaunts the tenet of inclusiveness in a liberal democratic state. A respondent indicated that "*to derive a third party out of the typical two-party political dominance in Ghana looks impossible in the near future. To adopt one-party dominance is unlikely to happen. However, the country can only develop if it harnesses the liberal democratic values along with pragmatic, meritocracy, and inclusiveness*".

Meritocracy is identified as a key virtue of government in Singapore that governs how the economic, society and politics are organized. This value is defined as the political system that selects or produces the wisest and best form of management. Tan (2008, p. 5), stated vehemently that due to the conditions of vulnerability and scarce resources of Singapore, meritocracy became

an ideology for organizing and allocating the nation's scarce resources to optimize economic performance and political leadership.

Interestingly, “meritocracy is not an ideology that can be adhered to without the principles of democracy”. A respondent argued that in reality, Singapore adheres strictly to the principles of democracy than Ghana as a guide to merits and leadership for development. Lee Kuan Yew adhered strictly to accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, equality, and a government based on integrity which constitutes the tenets of democracy. Thus, development stems from principles and not an ideology which can exist in a country which is either authoritarian or democratic. Therefore, adopting a one-party may not be sustainable for development in Ghana, but rather respecting the core values of the liberal democratic principle.

A central feature in the administration of the city-state is that it appears to take politics out of its policy-making processes. The PAP is tagged as a politics-free, accountable and corruption-free civil society under the principle of meritocracy (Pye, 1998). It, however, conceives its practice in terms of technocratic governance and specialized knowledge for effective policy and decision making.

Critics like McNamee and Miller (2009) challenged the validity of the commonly held assertion by arguing that meritocracy in itself is an ideology of discrimination which depends on factors other than academic qualification, specialization, effective and efficient technocrats, but also social and political connections.

To add to, the economic performance of Western countries suggests to the importance and benefits of democracies on the economic, social and political choice of states, even though some parts of Asia have recorded high performance in growth in comparison to democracies. Another official is of the view that *“for dictators to be economically successful, they must be benign dictators to pursue beneficial performance in the society which is often rare”* Democracy has provided a platform for the government to be criticized openly under the freedom of speech. However, Singapore records a minimal rank in corruption and the only country where politicians receive a high salary.

The improved performance of the Ghanaian economy since 1992 has been helped by the improved economic management of the state, however, whether it is related to the adoption of democracy is a question for later discussion. As maintained by a respondent, *“the economic performance of Ghana has improved in all the major indicator of growth, thus, macroeconomic stability, fiscal performance among others”*. This can be attributed to the improvement in the management of the economy due to the tenet of accountability under democracy. However, some key challenges were noted from the system of governance in Ghana.

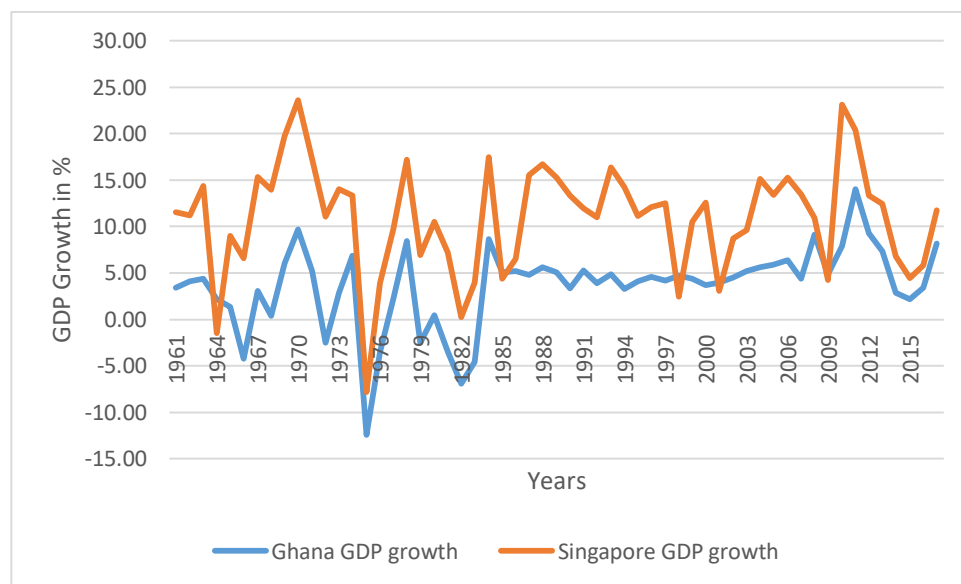
A respondent also opined that *“the level and challenges of development in Ghana does not emanate from the economy, but governance as some provisions and clauses in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana creates an overly powerful president”*. The concentration of too much power challenges development and not good for development, which cripples the checks and balances in a democratic system. Additionally, there are ineffective checks and balances among the various arms of governments militate against development. The legislature is always compromised due to the provisions made by the constitution in the appointment of the legislatures by the president.

Even though the same system is practiced in advanced countries, the other arms of government are independent and autonomous.

Generally, some challenges are evident in the political system of Ghana as a democratic state. From the data collected, most respondents stated that per the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, the country has an overly powerful president, insufficient and ineffective arms of government for the role of checks and balances, the purpose of political parties is solely to win power, and weak local governments (the management of the state is very centralized).

3.3 The Benchmark Comparison of Levels of Development

Fig. 1 Economic Growth Rate of Ghana and Singapore (1961-2017)



Source: GDP from UNDP database; all others from the World Bank’s WDI database.

Ghana’s GDP growth began to dip in the early 1960s until 1966 when it experienced its first military coup d’état, which continued to affect its economy throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Some scholars argued that the implementation of developmental strategies of economic liberalization

based on the Washington consensus increased its GDP growth rate (Fosu, 2013). From the above graph (Fig 1), it is not surprising that the GDP growth rate of Ghana under various governments (unstable environment, 1966-1990) especially under coup leaders recorded abysmal growth performance. Most scholars attribute this economic state to the undemocratic political landscape of Ghana.

According to Ndulu and O'Connell (1999), most sub-Saharan states recorded a rapid increase in their real income in the 1960s but dropped drastically after the first Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil price shock in the 1973 and 1974 which led to a stagnation of growth in the late 1970s till the 1990s. During these periods, the political landscape of Africa was under a broad wave of authoritarian rule which saw a shift in the early 1990s due to various internal and external factors.

3.3.1 Economic Growth of Ghana

The African political regime has been categorized largely under three, thus, the consolidation of an authoritarian regime in the mid-1970s, management crisis under the authoritarian rule by the late 1980s and the effusion of democratization in the 1990s (Ndulu & O'Connell, 1999). Related to that, its economic growth performance has been analyzed through the lenses of all the three political regimes to make a comparison on which form of governance best incites growth.

From Fig 1, it can be observed that Ghana recorded a very erratic growth from the 1960s. This period recorded a very low growth rate sometimes negative and unstable GDP growth. Consequently, this led to the beginning of the Economic Recovery Program (ERP), comprehensive economic reforms on the basis of a liberalized policy regime which led to an increase in 5 percent

of growth and stability up until 2008 where growth began to fluctuate due to the world economic crisis.

Scholars like Aryeetey and Fenny (2017) offer an explanation on the trends and macroeconomic performance of Ghana from the 1960s to 1983 at the pre- ERP stage. Politically, this period was under a military junta, however, the ERP was aimed to promote industrialization by promoting import substitution which ushered the Operation Feed Yourself (OFY). This program urged the citizens to look within the country to support its economy. The economy, however, experienced a negative GDP growth rate occurring from 1966 till 1982, all under an authoritarian (military) rule and recorded the lowest growth rate ever witnessed in the history of the country (Aryeetey & Fenny, 2017).

Continuing with the military era, it is important to note that Ghana continued to experience a deterioration in its growth rate between 1973-83 due to its management under five different governments. The dip in its economy from that period led to a change in the economy which was characterized by imports substitution, a restrictive foreign exchange regime and an overvalued currency of the Cedi. This forced the government to adopt the ERP in 1983 as a hallmark to liberalize its foreign exchange, reduce inflation and increase per capita income which was just at 10 percent (Aryeetey & Fosu, 2003).

Some scholars have noted that where most countries recorded a smooth transition from the 1990s, had a broad tendency towards rapid growth for several years even after 1995 (Ndulu & O'Connell, 1999). These events offer a significant perspective that Ghana's political economy under a democratic rule affirms the argument of scholars like Lipset who contend that democracy has a positive correlation to a country's development. Even though Ghana's economic situations remained the same, thus from 1984 till 2004, its economic growth and real GDP per capita growth

grew together which is often attributed to the emergence of democracy and other production and economic factors under the liberalized regime.

Jeffries (1993, p. 7), argues that good governance must not be necessarily taken to be democratic governments but rather a purposive, development-oriented with a visionary leader to improve the quality of life of its citizens. In Africa, the economically irresponsible and corrupt nature of most leaders were viewed as simply because they were undemocratic. However, development after the transition recorded a relatively stable economic achievement.

3.3.1.1 *Economic Growth Rate of Singapore*

It is extremely important to note that a major factor of Singapore's remarkable growth stems from the investment of Multi-National Enterprises (MNEs) in the service and manufacturing sectors. The government aimed at policies to promote export-led growth and attract foreign investors. The Chinese subsidiaries and the west, for example, invested heavily by funding the service sector which gave them a comparative advantage coupled with excellent infrastructure as a mechanism for growth. The city-state in terms of investments has been described as a corporate state due to its strong investments from MNEs. Leipziger and Thomas (1993, p. 17) stressed that Singapore invested heavily in education, technical skills and also the infrastructure that MNEs valued for their foreign direct investment.

Singapore had a comparative advantage per its location, posed as a harbor hub which provided ample port facilities at a minimal cost. Jensen (2003), stated that MNEs were motivated to invest due to locational advantage with low transportation cost to serve international markets through exports. He made an interesting conclusion that democratic institutions are not inefficient but

there's equally no empirical evidence that indicates that MNEs prefer to invest in dictatorial regimes over democracies.

Scholars like W. Huff (1999) attributes the success of Singapore to some macroeconomic indicators which stem from governments central role in the economy. Sustained rapid growth, strong export orientation, high savings and investment, low inflation, small government consumption, and fundamental structural transformation are some key measures adopted by the government as market-driven for development. This clearly indicates that regime type, however, does not affect the economic levels of states because most countries in Africa experience the reverse of these features with political instability as a marked feature against the modernization theory.

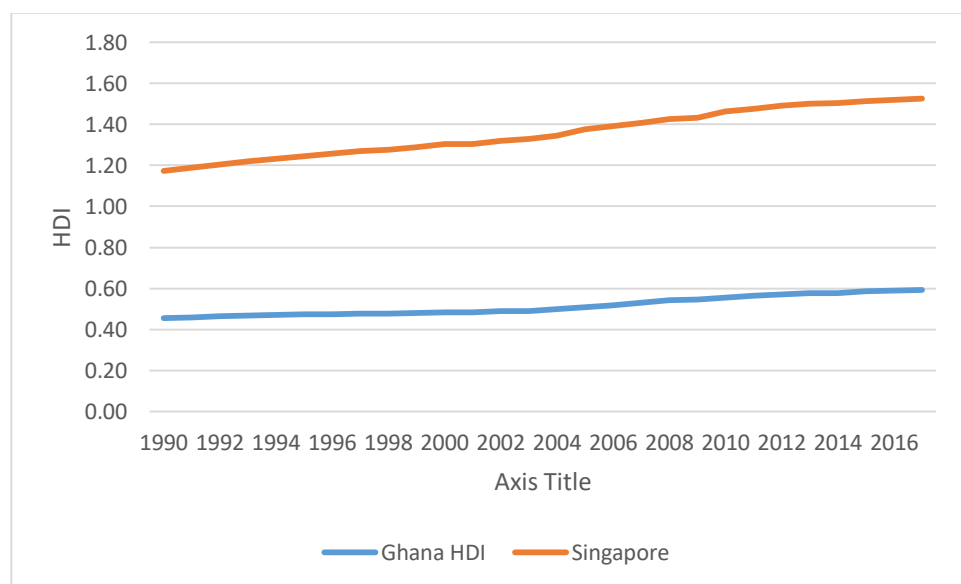
Singapore's GDP grew rapidly during the first half of 1960. An acceleration of its growth in the later 1960s coincided with political independence. However, its GDP increased fourfold growing at an annual average of 10.3% from 1966 to 1980 (W. G. Huff, 1997). Despite its recession in 1985, its GDP doubled with its annual growth of 7.2% under Lee Kuan Yew's government. Huff continues to assert that during the 1970s, manufactures exports provided an engine of Singaporean growth but were combined with financial and business services. The manufactured exports contributed 9.4% to its GDP in 1960 as well as services. However, by 1994, it recorded export of US\$22.9 billion of services, placing it twelfth on world exports services (W. Huff, 1999).

The above however reveals no correlation between the system of governance and development but government interventionism and pragmatic policies that can promote development. Fig 1, however, indicates a consistent fluctuation in the GDP growth of both Ghana and Singapore under both regimes, but generally, Singapore recorded a much higher GDP from 1961 till 2017. Even though the country was challenged with the 1973 oil price stock, the global recession in 1983, the

1997 Asian crisis and 2008 global financial crisis, Singapore’s average GDP was higher as compared to that of Ghana. This further cast doubt on the assumptions of the modernization theory and the neoliberalist on the relation regime type has on the development of states. Singapore’s developmental model carries the message that policy choice is essential to development which is concentrated on the labor market, taxation, fiscal incentives, and state-owned enterprises.

3.3 Human Development Index of Ghana and Singapore

Fig 2



Source : World Bank

Human development is a process of evaluating the standards of human lives which entails the expansion of material things in contrast to economic development. Since 1990, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) adopted an annual Human Development Index (HDI) as an important alternative to the traditional dimensional measure of development, thus the GDP (Sagar & Najam, 1998). The UNDP publishes a series of annual human development reports (HDRs) which are computed for each country annually. This has further broadened the scope and

measurement of the development of states and has pushed the development debate beyond the traditional economic perspective. This index comprises three indices which reflect on the achievement of a country which are indicators of well-being at the national level (Tang, 1998). Health and longevity are measured by the life expectancy at birth, education (as measured by the adult literacy rate and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrollment) and living standards (measuring the GDP per capita in purchasing power parity terms as measured by the United Nations).

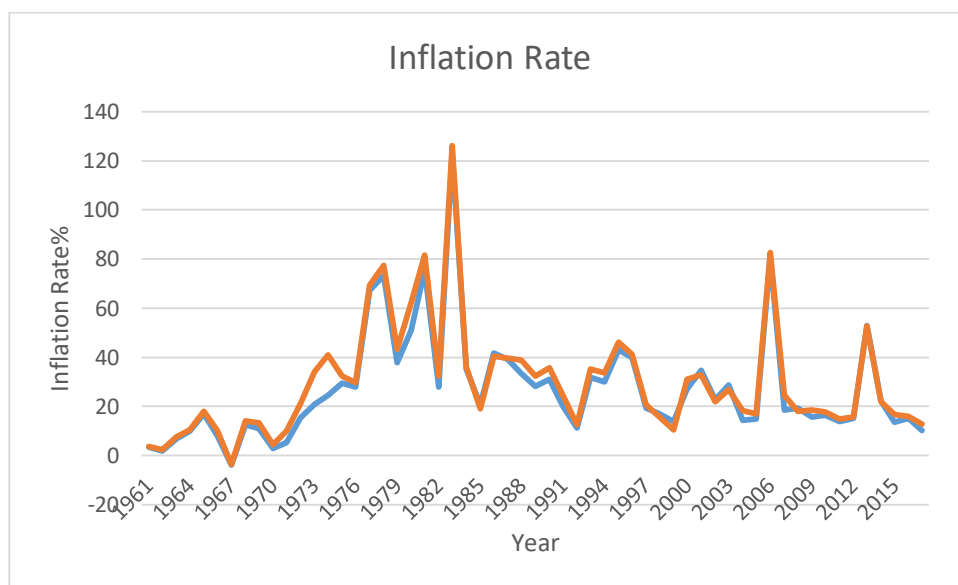
From fig 2, it can be analyzed that the HDI of Singapore from 1991 has recorded a value of 0.72 which started on high value and ranks among most countries in the world. Some writers contend that the economic development and governance system under the PAP created a stable environment with effective government and administration whose development was based on market-driven economic system (Tambyah, Tan, & Kau, 2009). Its high GDP per capita, therefore, translates to an average household income of S\$5,400 in 2000.

Conversely, some scholars like Sarker and Gaur posits that the economic growth of a country solely is not an indicator of the actual development of its society (Sarker & Gaur, 1994). In support to that assertion, it has been argued that even with an impressive economic growth of most East Asian countries, which are blueprints for success in most developing worlds, its levels of social development is under contention and unsatisfactory (Tang, 1998). Singapore has in analysis recorded very substantial progress in its human development index which is close or better to that of the advanced countries. This indicates that its high GDP per capita reflects on its HDI ranking. Does this imply that type of governance system a state operates has nothing to do with the quality of life of citizens?

Due to the robust economic growth coupled with its high GDP, Donaldson et al. (2013), posit that Singapore does not have an official poverty line, which needs a reassessment on the way poverty is acknowledged and defined. Its levels of development inform the commonly held assertion the poverty does not exist in the city-state, especially the abject poverty. The government uses a monetary measure in measuring the poverty levels. Poverty in Ghana is so prevalent that a series of external programs and debt reliefs have been adopted by the government in efforts to reduce it.

3.4 Inflation Rate of Ghana and Singapore

Fig 3



Source: World Bank

The challenge of most policymakers is the ability to manage their monetary policies and evaluate which economic development is likely to be achieved. By default, inflation is defined as a sustained or continues increase in the general price level of goods and services in an economy over a period of time which alternatively leads to a fall in the value of money. The economy suffers when inflation is too high but benefits when it is controlled. However, Parrado (2004), posits that

the impact of inflation on economic growth cannot be assessed with complete accuracy which the Monetary Authority of Singapore (MAS) manage to replace its monetary policy with an exchange rate policy as the main anti-inflationary tool.

A respondent stated that, *“Inflation is now lower after 1992 than in earlier years, however, it is not the best measure of the cost of living because there is a limitation when inflation is used as a measure of the cost of living”* The importance of the level of inflation rate as a macroeconomic indicator cannot be overstated. The economy of Ghana has been faced with episodic inflation for decades. Its first phase of the inflationary situation was experienced from 1964 immediately after independence. However, most countries were faced with high inflation rates which were normally associated with the decline in the macroeconomic performance coupled with the balance of payment crises. Since 1972, inflation levels remained generally high between 10% in 1972 and 123% in 1983 which negatively affected other macroeconomic performance leading to the introduction of the ERPs (Sowa & Kwakye, 1993).

Labonte and Makinen (2008), also noted that the last two economic expansions (1991-2001 and 2001-2007) recorded a low inflation rate by standards as compared to previous decades until the 2008 regression. According to Chhibber and Shafik (1990), argued that in Ghana, fiscal financing monetary terms shall dominate its inflationary pressure. On some causes of inflation in Ghana, Gyebi and Boafo (2013), attributed both fiscal and non-fiscal factor like the balance of payment due to inappropriate trade, bad fiscal and monetary policies, and excessive money supply as the key factors of inflation in the country.

It is noticed from Fig 3 that the inflation rate between Ghana and Singapore since the 1960s were below 10%. Sarel (1996), in his work, concluded that a high inflation rate has a negative structural effect on economic growth when it is 8%, but slightly have a positive effect on growth when it is

below it. Nonetheless, it is necessary to note that, Ghana under Busia's administration of the Progress Party (PP) in the latter 1970s recorded a very low inflation rate due to the price boom in cocoa, external trade liberalization policies and an increase in domestic output growth (Sowa & Kwakye, 1993, p. 15).

Conversely, the early 1980s recorded an unprecedented macroeconomic instability with inflation exceeding 100% which was witnessed by a succession of political regimes from civil to largely military which was ineffective in managing inflation rate (Ocran, 2007, p. 1). In mid-1983, under the PNDC, a military rule launched the ERP in an attempt to manage inflation and sustain growth. This led to a remarkable decrease in inflation from around 123% to 40%, then below 10% respectively (Sowa & Kwakye, 1993). In contrast, they argued that the positive downturn cannot be solely attributed to the ERP, because, it did not take effect until 1984. Hence, the recovery of the agricultural sector from the drought of the previous years also affected the decline in inflation. To add to, the inflation rate in the democratic dispensation of Ghana and the one-party dominance of Singapore has been relatively high. A government system does not influence the inflation rate of economies but structural policies and external financial challenges (2008 global financial crisis) shape its rise or fall.

3.5 Conclusion

From the study, it is noted that democracy alone in isolation cannot be a drive to development especially in the case of Africa. Good economic policies, strong institutions, and a visionary leader are some necessary conditions evident in most developed nations irrespective of the mode of the political system practiced in the state. Advocates of democracy like Helpman (2009) agrees that

as a country becomes richer, its social and political structure becomes more difficult to sustain under an autocratic regime, hence democratization is inevitable.

It can be concluded that based on the economic indicators between Ghana and Singapore under different political regimes, Singapore's performance in growth rate, human development level, GDP level are relatively higher than Ghana's rate. However, the graphs indicate much higher fluctuations in the growth records and the inflation rate of Singapore which stems from both external and internal factors away from the system of government it practices.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This captures the final chapter of the study. Its main objective of the study is to investigate the nexus between the political system and its impacts on development. The political system a country practice is very crucial as a measurement to its development levels. The debate on the type of political systems, especially between advocates of liberal democracy and critics of authoritarianism, continue to receive scholar's attention especially on the political economy of developing nations in Africa. The study primarily investigates the empirical nexus between liberal democracy, authoritarianism and their relationship on a country's economic performance using Ghana and Singapore as a comparative study.

4.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The overall aim of the study established the hypothesis that political systems are not a panacea or a threat to development. This was analyzed by using some economic indicators as a measurement to the economic levels of Ghana and Singapore under the different political system to determine the ideal form of governance model to be recommended for developing nations. The study reveals that development can be experienced under any form of political regime depending on factors such as strong and visionary leadership, effective and sufficient institutions, implementation of developmental policies among others. The findings of the study are framed under the research objectives which are linked to the hypothesis to establish the nexus between liberal democracy and national development.

❖ *Singapore's Model of Governance and Development.*

Singapore is an exceptional case as it adopted both political systems, thus, democracy and authoritarian values, but managed the country under full government control interventionist approach, governed based on meritocracy and elitism, government control export-oriented manufacturing. Singapore's state-owned enterprises are run like corporations and adhering to the core principles and tenets of democracy –accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, integrity among others. Aside from politics, due to its ideology of meritocracy, it invested heavily in education in order to produce the human capital and technocrats to run the city-state as a corporation.

❖ *Ghana Adopting Singapore's Political System*

It was established that it is not necessary to adopt a single-party authoritarian political system in order to progress. Democracy can work under any society. However, with the democratic credentials of Ghana, it is unlikely to replicate its development and governance model due to the difference in context- natural resource, political history, economic orientation. Singapore used dictatorial means by merging with its free-market and pro-capitalist orientation as a drive to develop. Most African scholars disagree on the democracy-development nexus based on the assumptions of the modernization theory; rather more pragmatic approaches to development should be prioritized.

4.2 CONCLUSIONS

This study examined the nexus between liberal democracy and national development using Ghana and Singapore as a comparative study under different political regimes and different levels of development. From the study, even though Ghana witnessed steady progress in its development since the consolidation of democracy in 1992, other key areas like its GDP and the growth rate has

not trickled down to alleviate the masses from poverty. It is basically still an underdeveloped state amidst the assumptions of following the western political ideology in order to develop.

The adoption of democracy is not limited to the political dimensions but also progress is aided with some developmental strategies of some sort. Singapore prioritized development to political freedom and participation by adopting certain policies and developmental strategies. The efficacy of these developmental strategies strives with a visionary and committed leader, robust and efficient institutions and committed political personnel as well as highly qualified technocrats to implement those policies geared towards development.

It can be concluded that development can strive in either political systems, be it a democratic or an authoritarian regime depending on its developmental plan and strategy implementation it adopts.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations from the finding are addressed to scholars and policymakers across Africa. It has been revealed that Singapore focused more on developing economically than politically and set the platform for developing countries like Ghana to emulate.

❖ Development-driven Policy Implementation

Policymakers in Ghana especially between the two dominant political parties must undergo a huge transformation on pragmatic policy formulation and implementation as a tool to development. The national development planning agencies in the country lack a long term national vision when implementing policies. Pragmatism should be the working virtue couple with non-ideological, adjustable policy-making and merits-based technocrats in implementation. Good economic policies such as macroeconomic and fiscal discipline, well- endowed human resource development

demonstrates the core foundations for the success of East Asian countries like Singapore which could be a blueprint for developing nations like Ghana.

❖ *Leadership*

A respondent posits that *“it is only when a dictator is a revolving bandit that he perpetrates anarchy and uncoordinated competitive theft that destroys the incentive to invest and produce, leaving little for either the population”*. A country can adopt all the principles of democracy and development but a lack of a visionary and competent leader ensure the values and principles of democracy are adhered to. All the factors of development, like, politics, economics, policies, technology are all dependent on good leadership which features in most Southeast Asian countries.

Bad leadership has been a legacy in the African context by failing to deliver to development due to lack of vision, corruption and the feature of patrimonialism impeding on the rate of development in the country.

❖ *Respect for the Economic Rights of the Citizens*

Generally, the respect for the economic rights of Ghanaians is ignored when it comes to governance. The two dominant parties have not yet learned that democracy also means the respect for both political, civil and economic rights. Democracy must be geared towards growth, development and enhancing the welfare of its citizens. The politics of exclusion is very widespread in Ghana which alienates the citizens to have access to economic opportunities due to political party affiliation. This rather exposes democracy as discriminatory and divisive in the enjoyment of economic rights which impedes development. The economic rights of the citizens must be respected equally without alienation or discrimination.

❖ *Autonomous Institutions*

Most African political institutions lack the power and autonomy to ensure checks and balances on the authority of the leadership. Under a democratic dispensation, separation of powers exists to ensure that leaders are unable to undertake certain decisions that are detrimental to the welfare and progress of the state. The government monitoring institutions are all under the control of the president which limits their powers to act as a check on the executive. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana must undergo a huge transformation to limit the powers of the president. This can, in the long run, create a balance in power in the management of the state of foster development.

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PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Research interview with a Research Fellow at ISSER - June 18, 2019

Research Interview with a Research Fellow at IDEG - July 9, 2019

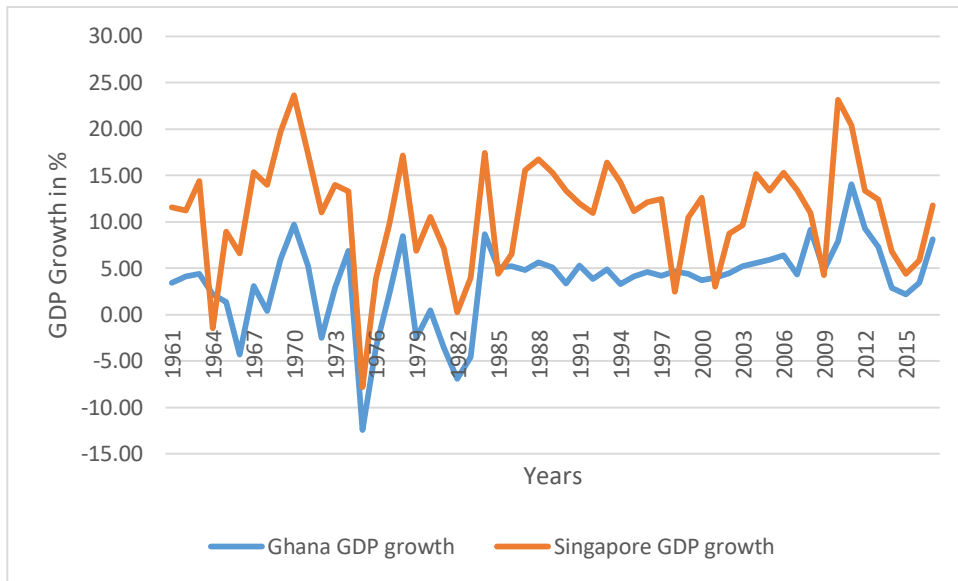
Research Interview with a Director of Research at IEA - July 10, 2019

Research interview with a Senior Fellow at CDD - July 12, 2019

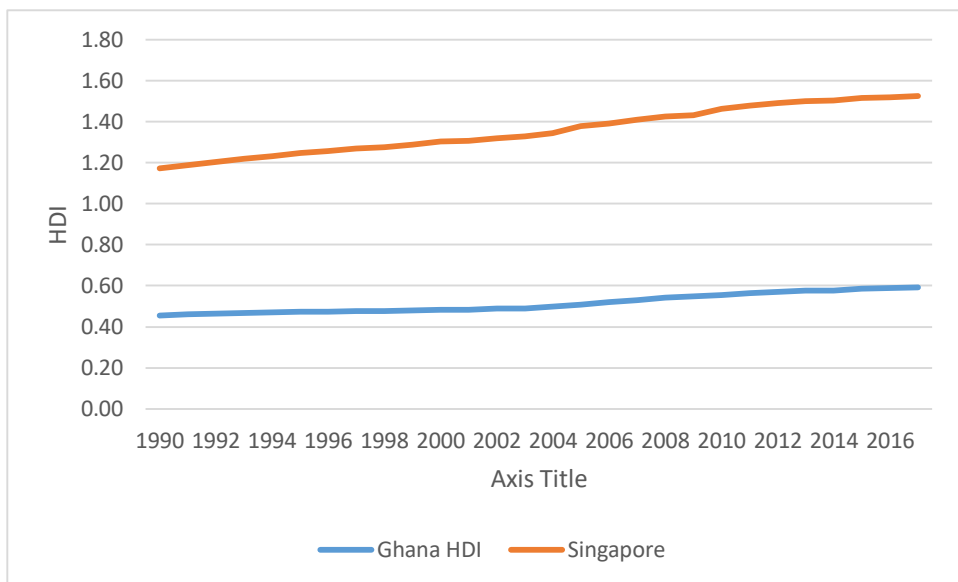
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A LIST OF FIGURES

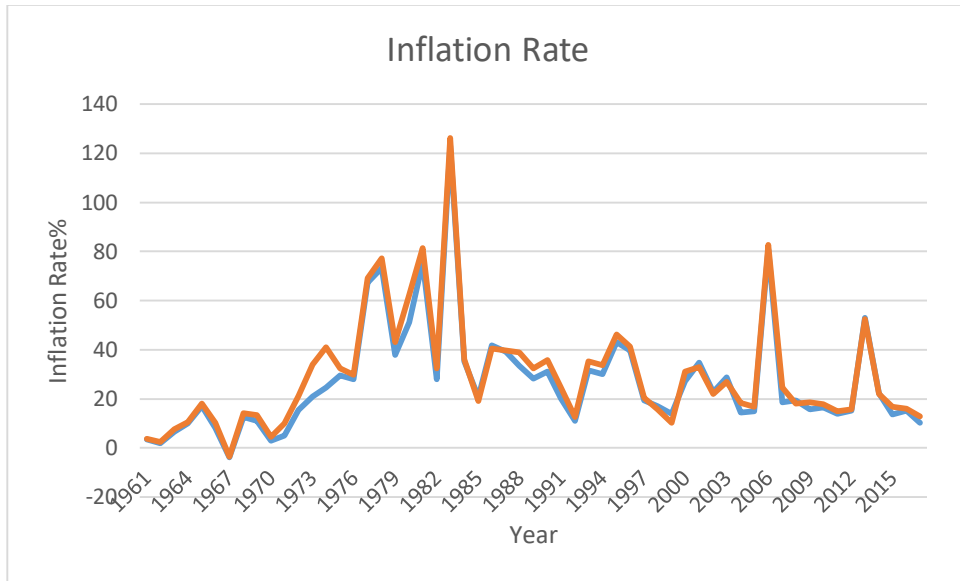
❖ Fig 1 - Economic Growth Rate of Ghana and Singapore



❖ Fig 2 - Human Development Index of Ghana and Singapore



❖ Fig 3 - Inflation Rate of Ghana and Singapore



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE



LEGON CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY

INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: AN EXAMINATION OF THE NEXUS BETWEEN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GHANA AND SINGAPORE.

Name: Anatu Bikenanten Lambon

Telephone number: 0551065993 Email Address: mork.anna@yahoo.com

The purpose is to obtain information on whether the type of governance system Ghana and Singapore practice has an impact on their economic and national development. This data is solely for academic purposes and as a requirement for the award of a Master's Degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy. Data gathered through this interview will be treated with confidentiality and used solely for this study.

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEW

- ✓ Kindly introduce yourself and your field of expertise.
- ✓ How well can the consolidation of democracy in Ghana since 1992 be linked to its economic performance?
- ✓ Do you consider Singapore an authoritarian or a democratic regime with its one-party rule since independence?
- ✓ Is the remarkable success of Singapore related to its one-party rule?
- ✓ Does the type of political regime a country practice impacts its economic development?
- ✓ How is democracy a drive to development?
- ✓ What are the main challenges faced in the Ghanaian economy?
- ✓ Are you familiar with the mechanism Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew adopted to achieve such economic miracle?
- ✓ What are some of the prospects under both authoritarian and democratic regimes?
- ✓ What are some challenges evident in the system of governance in Ghana?
- ✓ Do you suggest Ghana can adopt the type of regime practiced by Singapore for a positive turn in its economy?
- ✓ Do you think this adoption can be achieved?
- ✓ Any other views on democracy?

Thank you.