

Societal Interest in The Policy Making Process: Study of Singapore's Political Institutions Under Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong

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Abstract

This study will discuss the mainstreaming of public interest in economic policy making under the government of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong and the ruling People's Action Party (PAP). Policy making, especially in making political-economic policies, is very unified and interesting, namely the public choice method, where the government or policy-making actors collect ideas that are used as national and international political economy policies based on the interests of the community through interaction with the political institutions of the People's Action Party as a party that has been in power in Singapore since 1959. Multiracial political policies provide a change in perspective on the differences between the minority and the majority in making economic policies that tend to have no differences or barriers. The method used in this detailed study uses a systematic literature review. This research uses descriptive qualitative research method. The results show that the mainstreaming of public interest in Singapore's economic policy making has a positive impact on the Singaporean economy. Significant economic growth is supported by the development of good public education.

Keywords: *Society Interest; Political Institution; Economic Policy; People's Action Party*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini akan membahas pengarusutamaan kepentingan publik dalam pembuatan kebijakan ekonomi di bawah pemerintahan Perdana Menteri Lee Hsien Loong dan People's Action Party (PAP) yang berkuasa. Pembuatan kebijakan khususnya dalam membuat kebijakan politik-ekonomi sangat menyatu dan menarik yaitu metode pilihan publik, dimana pemerintah atau aktor pembuat kebijakan mengumpulkan ide-ide yang dijadikan kebijakan ekonomi politik nasional dan internasional berdasarkan kepentingan masyarakat melalui interaksi dengan lembaga politik Partai Aksi Rakyat sebagai partai yang berkuasa di Singapura sejak tahun 1959. Kebijakan politik yang multirasial memberikan perubahan cara pandang tentang adanya perbedaan kaum minoritas dan mayoritas dalam pengambilan kebijakan ekonomi cenderung tidak ada perbedaan atau sekat. Metode yang digunakan dalam studi rinci ini menggunakan tinjauan pustaka yang sistematis. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pengarusutamaan kepentingan publik dalam pembuatan kebijakan ekonomi Singapura berdampak positif bagi perekonomian Singapura. Pertumbuhan ekonomi yang signifikan didukung oleh perkembangan pendidikan masyarakat yang baik.

Kata Kunci: *Kepentingan Masyarakat; Institusi politik; Kebijakan ekonomi; People's Action Party*

Introduction

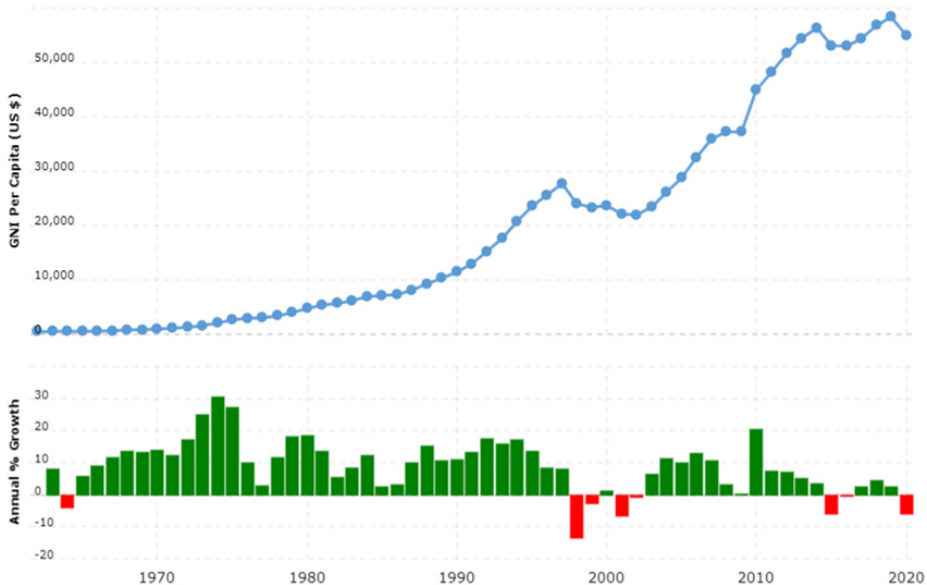
Singapore is one of the countries with good economic growth with the highest per capita growth in Southeast Asia, even being able to compete with Japan, China, South Korea, Switzerland and the United States in the Asia Pacific region. Per capita growth in 2020 reached US\$ 98525,9544 (World Bank 2021). Based on data from the World Bank, Singapore's economic growth seems to continue to increase every year. The decline was seen in 2009 due to the economic crisis and in 2020 due to the covid 19 pandemic.

Table 1. Average Economic Growth 2001-2020

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Income Percapita	20	43136,43028	102573,40180	74727,81925 20	18563,964201 62
Valid N (listwise)	20				

Source: World Bank 2021.

Figure 2. Singapore's Economic Growth Fluctuations



Source: Departement Statistic of Singapore 2021.

Based on the observation that Singapore has better economic growth under the government of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong. This means that economic growth was able to survive amid the COVID-19 pandemic, where many countries experienced a significant economic downturn. It can be seen in world bank data that the comparison of Singapore's income in 2019 reached US \$ 102,573,402 and in 2020 it fell by US \$ 98525,9544 (World Bank 2021). Economic growth shows significant data, many states included Singapore with good economic growth is due to market liberalization. According Low (2010) states that changes in policy making taken by the Singapore government in a democratic manner by involving the community of economic actors are considered as economic parameters that are consistent or compatible with socio-political. However, according Oatley's (2016) view that Singapore's political economic system can be viewed in a different way that, what is more important in economic policy making is based on society interest and political institutions to create a good economy.

This is in accordance with Kenworthy (2006), Hall and Gingerich (2009) successful economic operations result in the possibility of more effective economic performance. It is the level of institutional coherence that is more important because the ideational framework has an achievable goal. The institutional arrangement of a country's political economy determines the extent to which the institutional framework of national ideas and ideas goes. Ideational institutionalization refers to the fact that elements of the ideational framework (or national narrative) and institutional structures complement each other, resulting in a degree of unity and consistency and minimizing logical and rational contradictions. According to Hall and Soskice (2001) the success of the state in advancing the economy, both domestic policy and foreign economic policy, is not due to the fundamental ability of the state to cooperate but to the function of its state institutions. Therefore, Singapore's success in surviving with high economic growth Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong during the pandemic that has lasted since 2019 until now is caused by the policies of Singapore's economic political institutions paying attention to the interests of the community so the policies taken are the result of the consensus of the interests of the community and political actors. The policy is categorized in the form of public choice where the community is the largest economic actor that directly influences Singapore's economic progress.

Singapore as a Southeast Asian country that has good economic growth. Singapore has a good education system, government and community relations are very good so that these conditions make Singapore look very developed when compared to other Southeast Asian countries. Singapore's population composition is very similar to Malaysia, but Malaysia does not

show good economic growth like Singapore, acts of racism are still high in Malaysia. Thus, Malaysia has the same population composition but does not have the same economic development as Singapore. This is seen by the author as an advantage of Singapore because Singapore's policy-making process is based on the ideas and interests of the community. Therefore, every economic policy is an accumulation of people's interests. Singaporean policy makers draw an economic policy based on the interests of the society obtained from the interaction of political actors and the Singaporean society. Thus, it is very important for this study to draw two research questions, namely (1) What is the role of society interest in Singapore's economic policy making under the government of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong? (2) How did the People's Action Party under the government of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong accumulate ideas and interests of the people in making Singapore's economic policies?

Method

This study discusses societal interests in the economic policy-making process in Singapore under the leadership of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong using a qualitative approach. In the context of this research, the characteristics are only found in Singapore's economic policies under the leadership of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong. The data collection method used in this research is secondary data analysis. The data in this study were obtained by the author's team from various supporting journal literature, from the Singapore Statistical Agency. From these two sources, analyzed and tried to find new facts, a new mapping of how Singapore's policy-making process has caused Singapore to become a country with high economic stability in the ASEAN region and the Asia Pacific region.

Theoretical Framework

This article aims to see how the relationship between public interest and political institutions in Singapore's political economy policies under Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong. Singapore is the object of study because it has a unique policy as a democratic country that has a multi-party system, but since Singapore's independence in 1959 only one party has dominated the Singapore government system. In addition, Singapore is also a country that has a democratic system called asian democracy. Thus, policy-making, especially in political-economic policy-making, is very unitary and interesting, namely the public choice method, where the government or policy-making actors collect ideas that are used as national and international political economy policies based on the interests of the community through interaction with PAP political institutions or the ruling party. in Singapore since 1959. This research is a form of literature review

because there are several other studies that write on the same topic, but our writing team tries to specify and explain in detail the policy-making process through the public choice.

This study use the concept of Oatley (2019) which concentrates on the interaction between public interests and political institutions to obtain Singapore's economic policies, both domestic and foreign economic policies. In addition, in understanding how public interests are transformed into policies by the Singapore government, it is necessary to understand Singapore's political institutions. Political institutions set the rules in the political policy process. Therefore, with this regulation, it is possible for political actors in a Singapore state to reach and enforce collective decisions, both national economic policies and international economic policies. Political institutions determine the right group to get empowerment in making choices and determining the rules used. In domestic political systems, democratic institutions encourage mass participation in collective choice (Oatley 2016). Singapore has a parliamentary government system and has a one party democratic political system, although there are other opposition parties, but de facto Singapore only has one party, so it is very possible for Singapore to succeed in determining economic policies as recommended by Oatley.

Result and Discussion

The Role of Society Interest in Making Economic Policy

The composition of the Singaporean community based on demographic statistical data shows that the Singaporean community consists of three ethnic components, namely ethnic Chinese, Malay and Indian (www.singstat.gov.sg). Society is an important aspect in the formation of the system in the state. In a democratic society, the role of the community in the national political arena, through the formation of a government, is of course very important to see that the community has interests that will be projected on state policies. According Oatley (2019) approach, the society emphasize their interaction between organization interests and political institutions. To see the active role of the community in this case the Singaporean population to influence the policies that will be taken by the government. Therefore, it is necessary to know the demographic composition of Singapore in order to see the extent of the influence of society.

Basically, Singapore is a country formed by immigrants from various ethnicities, so there is no pure Singaporean nation. In general, Singapore's demographic condition consists of four ethnic components, namely

Chinese, Malay, Indian, and several ethnic minorities. It can be seen in the Singapore population census in 2020 that the total population of Singapore grew by about 1.1 percent per year between 2010 and 2020. The population of citizens increased from 3.23 million to 3.52 million in this period. The following is the demographic condition of Singapore based on ethnicity

Table 2. Singapore Population Data by Ethnicity in 2020

Ethnic	Total population
China	3.006.769
Malay	545.498
Indians	362.274
Others	129.669

Source: Departement Statistic of Singapore 2020.

Based on population data, Singapore describes ethnic diversity. Singapore in the period before 1965 under British colonialism, had experienced the separation of geographical zones based on ethnicity and being separated from one another. After independence, Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew's leadership has built conditions for a multi-racial and cohesive society to create inter-ethnic integration. Therefore, in this study, the policy of the Singapore government under the leadership of Lee Hsien Loong will be explored more deeply, especially in the formulation of economic policy whether it involves the community and is able to answer the problems experienced by the community by dividing the analysis of the community according to the ethnicity of the population. Representation of ethnic groups was initiated in 1988 by the Department of elections of Singapore (2020) by forming Group Representation Constituencies (GRCs). The vote's mechanism is having at least one member of parliament in the electoral division include in one of the minority racial communities (in this case Malay and Indian). Based on information in Department of Election of Singapore (2020), GRCs have at least one representative member that include in Malay ethnicity or Indian ethnicity. In data below will be explain GRCs and number of voters.

Table 3. GRCs with Members of Parliament from Malays

GRC Name	Member in Parlements	Total Electors
Aljunied	5	151,007
Bishan-Toa Payoh	4	101,366
Chua Chu Kang	4	106,693
East Coast	5	121,772
Jalan Besar	4	107,936
Marine Parade	5	139,738
Marsiling Yew Tee	4	117,176
Pasir Ris-Punggol	5	166,587
Sembawang	5	147,876
Sengkang	4	120,166
Tampines	5	151,708

Source: Departement Elections of Singapore 2020

Table 4. GRCs with Members of Parliament from Indian

GRC Name	Member in Parlements	Total Electors
Ang Mo Kio	5	185,465
Holland-Bukit Timah	4	115,012
Jurong	5	131,234
Nee Soon	5	147,074
Tanjong Pagar	5	134,642
West Coast	5	146,251

Source: Departement Elections of Singapore 2020

Through GRCs, it can be seen the involvement of the community in economic policy makers with the indicators used to see material interest. Material needs with four basic needs stated by Oatley (2019) related to survival include access to food, sanitation and clean water, health, and advances in medical science and technology. Needs for supporting the community in its involvement in economic policy is access to education. There four basic needs and supporting needs that will be parameters to see community

involvement in economic formulation and will become economic policy preferences.

To see the involvement of the Singaporean community, the indicators used in assessing the material interest of the Singaporean community are the four basic needs stated by Oatley related to survival, including access to food, sanitation and clean water, health, and advances in medical science and technology. The need for supporting the community in its involvement in economic policy is access to education. These four basic needs and one supporting need will later become parameters to see the community's ability to be involved in the formulation of economic policies and will become economic policy preferences. However, education is one of the main pillars of economic policy preferences. The Education System of Singapore attract international attention as it promotes high standards of achievement. Singapore has two main focuses, firstly, they support national economic growth and promote social cohesion. Both consistently take greater urgency in facing the challenges of globalization. Singapore's education policy emphasizes, firstly, believe in meritocracy through competitive national examination system. Explicitly aims to produce unequal education but still offer equal educational opportunities. Both Singapore governments emphasize ability-based streaming at primary and secondary levels, in other words, trust in unequal curricular experiences. The third is the balance of education policy making.

Both Singapore governments emphasize the ability based streaming in primary and secondary levels, and other words, trusting in unequal curricular experiences. The third is balancing on education policy making. The Singapore government implements equal educational opportunities to support economic policies and reduce poverty/inequality. Singapore's education policy system is dominated by a hegemony of the People's Action Party government, emphasizing the push to institutionalize the two main focuses of education to support in national economic growth and promote social cohesion in multiethnic groups. Singapore's economic relations and education supporting in economic growth with placing the emphasis on proficiency in English, mathematics and science aimed at promoting social cohesion and national identity. In 2009 the Singapore government developed education with the theme of 21st Century Competence which emphasizes civic literacy and harmony. Thus the government is accepting to renew emphasis on the challenges that posed by need to remaining competitive in the global economy, as well as with advent of large scale immigration of about 37% of the population in 5 million made up for non-citizens. So it can be concluded that Singapore's education system stems from the core nature of the PAP meritocracy which provides equal educational opportunities to all and the most efficient way to select the talent based on their hard work and competitive individual merit. It is

necessary important to recognize that meritocracy explicitly promise unequal educational outcomes but equal opportunities.

Neesoon GRCs (2020) pays attention to access to education by voicing about the 90% education subsidy for public schools in Singapore. Education is a supporting factor in the welfare of human resources and assists in the involvement in shaping economy policy. Through data from the Ministry of Education there are three levels of education with primary, secondary and post-secondary.

Table 5. Number of School By Level and Type

	Primary			Secondary			Post-Secondary			Total			
	Govt	Aided	Total	Govt	Aided	Indep	Spec' D'	Total	Govt	Aided	Total		
2016	144	41	185	115	28	2	1	4	16	9	4	13	214
2017	144	41	185	108	28	2	1	4	16	10	4	14	214
2018	145	41	186	104	28	2	1	4	16	10	4	14	216
2019	138	41	179	101	28	2	1	4	16	6	4	10	205

Source: The Ministry of Education 2021.

In the data above, the number of school procurements owned by the government decreased significantly in 2019 at almost all levels of education. In Primary schools, schools under the government is reducing around seven schools, secondary schools around three schools, and post-secondary schools is reducing around seven schools. Researchers show that the community is experiencing problems with access to education with a very significant reduction in primary school procurement under the government. At the post-secondary stage, Singapore has six universities under the auspices of the government autonomously, namely Nanyang Technological University (NTU), National University of Singapore (NUS), Singapore Institute of Technology (SIT), Singapore Management University (SMU), Singapore University of Singapore. Social Science (SUSS), and Singapore University of Technology and Design (SUTD). Through the government employment survey data by the Ministry of Education, we can see the contribution of academics graduated from six universities in the Singapore economy, especially those related to material needs.

Table 6. 2020 GES Employment Rates and Salaries of NUS, NTU, SMU, SUTD, SIT, and SUSS Graduates by Course Cluster

Course/Institution Clusters		Full Time Graduates				Gross Monthly median Salary
		Proportion of Graduates in the Labour Force who were				
		Employed		In full time permanent employed		
		2019	2020	2019	2020	
1.	Education	100%	100%	100%	99.1%	\$3,800
2.	Biomedical Sciences and Chinese Medicine	95.2%	94.7%	85.7%	84.2%	\$3,000
3.	Health Science	98.3%	98.0%	93.4%	90.4%	\$3,500
4.	Information & Digital Technologies	94.9%	95.6%	92.1%	87.4%	\$4,500
5.	Built Environment	91.7%	94.6%	86.0%	73.9%	\$3,500
6.	Humanities and Social Science	87.7%	92.2%	74.3%	62.0%	\$3,500

Source: Ministry of Education 2021

The results of data observations shows that the contribution of academics to the economy is in the information and digital technologies studies by showing a salary of \$ 4,500. In terms of employment, the contribution of education college graduates has a high job acceptance rate of 100% and full time permanent employment of 99.1%. The contribution of academics in the fields of biomedical sciences and Chinese medicine as well as humanity and social science shows a fairly low number on labor acceptance, which in 2020 is only 84.2% and 62.0% and salaries are \$3,000 and \$3,500, respectively. Whereas, the two academics in these fields should be given more space because their contribution is able to support the fulfillment of the material needs of the Singaporean people.

Multiracial Principles in Economic Policy Making in Singapore

Singapore is made up of ethnic communities where the relationship between the people and the government in the two countries reflects differences especially in the process of policy formation. According to Antonio Gramsci, the state is formulated by a combination of civil society and political society (Hoare and Smith 1971). If political society is identified with the role of the state while civil society has two different roles; (1) Protect and maintain the existing social order at the same time, (2) Society can be an agent to eliminate the status quo and form a new social order. Thus, according to Gramsci, the state can survive if it maintains the coercive

elements of political society and consensus run by civil society. Both elements are owned by Singapore. The political community in Singapore, which is represented by the People's Action Party (PAP) as the ruling party, does not dominate civil society from ethnic minorities such as Malays, Indians, and others. On the contrary, these ethnic groups consciously adheres to the concepts, ideas, and policies established by the PAPs in the context of a hierarchical order.

The relationship between ethnic groups and PAPs in decision-making in Singapore shows that civil society and political society work together to maintain order in the domestic political economy. In the era of Deputy Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong in the mid-1980s, he tried to encourage the interaction of various social groups, including ethnic groups, to be involved in policy making through consultative decision-making mechanisms (Chalmers 1992). The concept of multiracialism and meritocracy developed and implemented by PAP further strengthens the involvement of ethnic groups while still paying attention to the principle of equality. Multiracialism and meritocracy, which exist in Singapore, view every ethnic group as having an equal interest in the country and seek to ensure that their success comes from merit, not from racial, ethnic, religious or cultural favoritism (Moore 2000). There are many countries that have a multiracial population like Indonesia, but Singapore is different. Singapore's multiracialism policy not only enhances the role of ethnicity as a social identity and expands its principle to make ethnicity the main form of socio-cultural classification, rather than seeking harmony through ethnic elimination through assimilation or acculturation.

Singapore will become a multiracial society with the aim of preventing inter-ethnic conflict (Clammer 1985). Multiracialism helps to avoid conflict between the PAP-Government and ethnic groups because its values are also carried over to the realm of parliament where the implementation of the Group Representation Constituent (GRC) system leads to the voice and will of everyone. The GRC system guarantees the representation of the ethnic Malay and Indian minorities in parliament by allocating 25 percent of the total 84 seats in parliament (Huat 2007). Thus, the GRC system preserves minority rights by ensuring their interest are heard through their representation in the Member of Parliament (MP). For instance, Singapore was adopting policies to equalize income among ethnic groups. Before the GRC system was enacted-in 1998-by the government, there was an economic hierarchy between ethnicities. According to data released by the Department of Statistic Singapore on the monthly income of each ethnic group, the household income of Malays was only 74% of Chinese during the 1980s. Meanwhile, the 1990 census showed an increase in the revenue of Malays by 150%, and even Malays earning less than S\$500 per

month had lowest percentage of workers (Moore 2000). This proves that the relationship between the political community and civil society in Singapore is a consensus and alliance even in the context of a hegemonic order.

In addition, the applied multiracialism and meritocracy also have implications for the socio-economic field in Singapore. The principle of equality of multiracialism leads to the orientation of the same basic needs between ethnic groups, namely education, health, and social welfare. This was then transformed by the Singapore government into public policies that support the fulfillment of these basic needs, such as public policies regarding education financing. The Singapore government provides free primary education followed by secondary education with equal access for all racial and religious groups. For this reason, investment in education will improve the quality of human resources, especially labor, master technology to increase productivity and automatically encourage equitable economic growth (Khan 2001). Several developed countries with high economic levels also focus on the education sector.

The close relationship between social and economic factors that shaped the level of Singapore's economy as it is today. Furthermore, an increase in the standard of living such as the level of public education will also have direct implications for economic orientation, namely Singapore has succeeded in changing its identity from being a "distributor" to being an industrial country or a creator of goods (Khan 2001). Government for public policy plays a key role in economic growth because it can increase the productivity of private sector inputs, harmonize conflicts between private and social interests, and prevent foreign exploitation (Ram 1986). Singapore's inequality level has fallen to its lowest level in almost two decades, after income in most households rose to 5.6 percent (Tham 2015). This condition is also followed by the Gini index coefficient level which measures income inequality from 0 to 1, with the largest 0 falling to 0.452 last year, lower than 2018 at 0.458 and the lowest since 2001, according to a report released by the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Li 2020). In short, the Singapore government in making a policy, especially economic policy, also involves civil society, namely ethnic groups. This is manifested in the fulfillment of the essential needs of ethnic groups based on the principles of equality of the concepts of multiracialism and meritocracy. The concept is transformed into a public policy that will automatically affect the economy.

The Economic Policy Making Process of Singapore Political Institution

Singapore is a democracy with a multi-party system. In its development, Singapore was dominated by a one-party system, namely the People's Action Party (PAP), which was able to encourage good economic growth in Singapore by implementing the concept of meritocratic government. Meritocracy is a condition that presents equal opportunities to individuals in society to occupy public positions. The meritocracy implemented by Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP until the Lee Hsien Loong government was based on individual abilities so that investment in education in Singapore was very large to attract investment in greater Singapore. Singapore admits that the absence of natural resources requires skill in thinking to create prosperity for the country.

Singapore is a country with a democratic government system, but in practice it does not fully apply democratic principles. Singapore tends to apply Confucian ethics and communitarian values. In the policy-making process, Singapore tends to be consensual rather than representative politics based on the concept of democracy (Pezzutto 2019). Singapore's democracy is more inclined to the democracies of East Asian countries which emphasize more on community cooperation (Unger and Chan 2015). Singapore's financial policy-making process in the context of economic development in Asia consists of formal and informal policies. Policies are closely related to Singaporeans who have a business background and work in the private sector so that the policies taken are closely related to private and public actors. The policy was taken to understand the relationship between the community as entrepreneurs and the government. Singapore's economic development strives for government-business (society) relations to be largely focused on the formal channels through which these relations are shaped into joint policy-making (Woo 2021).

Singapore is known as a democracy, but it is different from the concept of liberal democracy in general because Singapore implements a free market economy which forms the basis of liberal democracy (Mauzy and Milne 2002). The PAP has been the dominant party in Singapore since 1959. The party's dominance is in a government system that limits opposition parties from competing in general elections and in policy making (Morgenbesser 2016). Limiting competition is one form of the Singapore government's efforts to make the interests of society more important, especially regarding Singapore's economic growth. Interactions between parties often make it difficult to reach political policies and tend to differ in interests between parties.

Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong stated that the PAP party did not act arbitrarily even in adopting an authoritarian system of government. PAP as a political party that protects the interests of the people and tends to act as an administrator and manager of the economic and administrative system (Heng 2015). In the process of making economic policies, the PAP adjusts the interests of the people. Community involvement in policy making is very high. The Singapore government provides a great opportunity if the public wants to criticize government policies that do not accommodate the interests of the Singaporean people. The Singapore government, in this case the PAP political actors, provides opportunities for consultations called regular government public consultations through representatives of Nominated Members of Parliament (NMP) and Non-constituency Members of Parliament (NCMP) (Tham 2015). PAP allows making policies that benefit Singaporeans (Salleh et al. 2015).

In the structure of the political system in Singapore, it provides other controlling institutions to ensure that the interests of the people are accommodated in government policies through political parties. The one-party system does not show a fully authoritarian political system, but policy certainty from the existence of one party becomes the public interest accommodated, especially regarding economic interests. There were a number of PAP successes under the leadership of Lee Kuen Yew to the Lee Hsin Loong government, namely effective public bureaucracy, effective control of corruption, encouraging investment in education and competitive compensation because they realized that Singapore's economic growth was dependent on being controlled by the "best and brightest" citizens (Quah 2018). Singapore's economic growth has continued to increase since being led by Lee Kuen Yew from 1959-2016. Under the PAP government, education and the economy improved steadily for 57 years. This makes Singapore the country with the best education provider system. Singapore is the top ranked country among 76 countries in the study of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development of comprehensive education providers (Teng 2015). The PAP leadership system encourages a meritocratic leadership system that encourages effectiveness in civil service, politics, business and education that enables Singaporeans to achieve excellence and competitiveness (Quah 2018).

Investment in education is a way for the Singapore government, in this case Lee Kuan Yew, to the Lee Hsien Loong government, to invest in education to compensate for the lack of natural resources. Lee Kuen Yew to Lee Hsien Loong through the PAP party acknowledged that educated citizens would produce good public bureaucracy so that they could run the government through meritocratic policies (Quah 2015). Under the governments of Lee Kuen Yew and Lee Hsien Loong through the PAP, Singapore has been a

low-corruption country for the last 62 years (Quah 2022). Therefore, in the 2015 election, the PAP still controlled 93% of the seats and Singapore's political direction did not change (Singh 2016).

Table 7. Implementation of General Elections and the Votes Obtained by the PAP Vote Every General Election Singapore

Year Election	Percent of Valid For PAP
1968	86.7
1972	70.4
1976	74.1
1980	77.7
1984	64.8
1988	63.2
1991	61.0
1997	65.0
2002	75.3
2005	66.6
2011	60.1
2015	78,6
2020	61.3

Source: Departement Election of Singapore 2020.

The table above shows that the PAP's vote acquisition in every general election has never shown a figure below 50 percent so that it remains the party that dominates Singapore's political and governmental system from 1959 to the 2015 election. Thus, Singapore's economic policy making is based on party provisions. , but it is interesting to note that Singapore's economic policy making is based on the public interest. Furthermore, efforts to involve the community as part of Singapore's domestic development efforts under the governments of Lee Kuan Yew to Lee Hsien Loong through the PAP have become effective policies. The idea of policy making is taken by political actors adapted to society.

In making policies, political actors adjust to the existing government system, the ideas and interests of the community. The efforts of the Singapore government under the PAP to encourage Singapore's economic growth to be higher and the influx of investment in Singapore is very large because it is supported by very good human resource competencies.

encourage Singapore's economic growth to be higher and the influx of investment in Singapore is very large because it is supported by very good human resource competencies. The PAP remains the dominating party in the political and power system in Singapore because the existence of this party is able to accommodate the interests of society, both political, economic and educational interests (Quah 2018). This is in line with Oatley's opinion that the ideational approach through the meritocratic concept of Lee Kuan Yew and PAP encourages an orientation towards policy makers. Oatley explained that policy choices that encourage public choices tend to be made by social democratic groups that strive for the interests of society and the economy to run effectively. Therefore, even though Singapore's economic system is highly regulated by the government, even though in making economic policies, the interests of the community are very concerned.

Singapore with a political system with the concept of meritocracy run by Lee Kuan Yew and Lee Hsien Loong through the PAP has made Singapore capable of becoming a country with an efficient and effective government system and its implementation has been successful for 50 years (Bellows 2009). Singapore is an ASEAN country that has the most effective policies because of its effective public service bureaucracy. This is driven by the concept of meritocracy to increase the interests of society (Jones 2016). Effectiveness in public services, success in reducing the level of corruption encourages Singapore's economic growth. International organizations such as the World Bank have a high level of confidence in investing heavily in Singapore. The Singapore government, namely Lee Kuan Yew and Lee Hsien Loong through PAP for 62 years in office in Singapore, ensures policies based on the interests of the community and prioritizing public services. This is why the PAP remains the only party in Singapore to win every general election in Singapore.

But in its development in 2011 the PAP experienced a decrease in vote acquisition, where the PAP received the lowest vote. This happened because the public warned the ruling party that the people's interests were not being fulfilled so that during its leadership from 2011 to 2015, PAP improved regulations and prioritized people's welfare so that in the 2015 elections it again obtained high gains. The PAP's focus on the material interests of society rather than improving liberal democratic norms and principles proves that the Singapore government has a different democratic system so that the PAP has ideological hegemony over its people. The government of Singapore does not attach importance to market freedom as in other democracies in general. What is important is that the economic policies taken by policy-making actors are based on people's welfare, ideas and material interests of the community (Abdullah 2020).

The PAP's effectiveness in driving sustained and significant improvements in citizens' interests contributed to the widespread acceptance of its tough but effective style of government. PAP strives for equality between socio-economic and cultural in Singapore. The elitist top-down power style embraces culture and society in policy making. PAP pays close attention to citizen demands and creates a sense of community involvement on key policy issues as a form of concern for the people of Singapore. This is the program of the opposition party in demanding the PAP party as a party that dominates power and the government system to embrace the interests and ideas of the people (Rodan 2018). Although Singapore is a democracy, in the policy-making process and structuring of market and economic policies, it is large enough to imitate Chinese policy forms. This can be seen in the special economic zone policy made by the Chinese government and also carried out by the Singapore government to restructure the Singapore economy.

PAP is a political party in Singapore that is authoritarian, technocratic, elitist and tends to implement a neoliberal government that promotes superior forms of economic justice. Even though it is regulated technocratically, the government ensures that the policies taken by the government are in accordance with public choices or the interests of the community. In the 2015 general election, the number of people supporting the PAP in occupying parliament reached 69.9 percent (Chua 2020). PAP is fighting for the people's voice to win the general election where in the previous election there was a decline. The new policy taken by PAP actors to increase popular support and participation is to pay attention to individual equality as citizens and racial group equality, thus forming the transfer of individual rights based on group votes. PAP highly respects racial differences and respects individual rights based on racial groups (Huat 2007). PAP experienced a decline in votes with 61.3 votes in the 2020 election but was still able to control the government system.

In PAP parties, party competition is not commercialized and funding for party candidates is limited (Ufen 2015). Singapore has managed its multi-ethnic community very well compared to Malaysia where both countries have the same population composition. When the PAP came to power since 1959, it provided a policy of multiculturalism, multilingualism and mutual tolerance. Considerations in the management of ethnicity, language, religion and education will determine the boundaries of community groups and have a direct impact on the prospects for socio-economic policies. Education is a major priority for the Singapore government to ensure that Singapore has educational equality regardless of ethnicity, religion and language. Meanwhile, to form a collective and multi-ratio society, the PAP government uses the adhesive sector, namely education as a priority in

building human resources (Mauzy and Milne 2002). Thus, the PAP as the ruling party emphasizes public education as an emancipatory effort for Singapore's economic boom. Therefore, Singaporeans with high levels of education are able to create significant economic growth.

The government always sees the needs of the community in various policies. Singapore's economic growth shows the positive impact of policies to increase and prioritize the interests of the community in making economic policies. Good economic growth can enhance the development of good education. Economic and educational reciprocity is the main benchmark in achieving the welfare of a country. The high level of public education makes Singapore the country with the largest economy in Southeast Asia and is even able to compete with major countries in the Asia Pacific. The formation of Singapore's initial policies triggered the extraordinary development of Singaporean society so that currently Singapore in making policies is always based on the interests of the community because Singapore is a country that depends on business and business people who make a major contribution to the country. Singapore's policies which are based on the thoughts and interests of the people are reflected in Singapore's various policies, both at home and abroad. According to Oatley (2019) to obtain economic interests in the international economic arena, one must be able to rely on consistent policies and be able to adhere to domestic policies.

Singapore's policy is consistent when rejecting human rights principles that rely on western values included in the free trade agreement (FTA) of Singapore and the European Union which began in October 2012 (Mckenzie and Meissner, 2016). The EU–Singapore FTA (EUSFTA) opens Europe's doors to the dynamic Southeast Asian market. The trade agreement will concentrate on promoting commercial interests including reducing tariffs, opening up public procurement, investing and protecting Europe's geographical indicators. The FTA agreement serves as a continuation of the EU's longstanding practice of linking political interests, including the promotion of human rights, to its trade agenda. However, this agreement resulted in a conflict between the European Union and Singapore because the policy did not benefit Singapore because the principles contained therein were not solely about trade or economic cooperation but discussed human rights interests which the Singapore government considered deviated from the terms and conditions of the principle of cooperation. economics (Mckenzie and Meissner 2016).

In addition, in addressing economic cooperation in the United States, the Singapore government tends to adopt Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) policies. Singapore PPPs are highly dominated and aligned with the general policy objectives. The impetus for regulation comes from public bodies.

With respect to the principles of justice defined as equality, democracy, and diversity, the project ensures that benefits will be realized by the public sector giving the public sector control over the distribution of benefits (Fanstein 2021). Singapore is undergoing a shift from a pragmatic, top-down approach to policy towards increased collaboration and public participation in the design and implementation of its policies. This approach involves multiple policy interventions rather than an institution-centred approach, and focuses on achieving sustainable outcomes and public value (Ma and Zhou 2017).

The current government adopts a different mindset to solve complex problems to be solved by contributing the ideas of the government and society. The government is no longer relying on the traditional closed system of government but is moving towards a more open system of government. First, capacity building in the public sector that allows work across disciplines, functions and structures. Second, public organizations must become platforms for collaboration, experimentation, and innovation from a broad network of organizations to achieve collective results. Third, public organizations must adapt to a changing society so that they are open to new ideas and include all levels of society. Such a policy-making process promotes the creation of shared ideas by all stakeholders to achieve the desired outcome at the lowest overall cost to society (Ma and Zhou 2017).

Examples of other policies, for example the policy in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic in Singapore, involve many civil society roles in responding to the impact of COVID-19. Singapore failed to respond to COVID-19 because it did not involve civil society (Yuen et al. 2021). In every initial policy, Singapore always takes policies that do not involve and are not in accordance with the wishes of the people, but in its implementation it will fail and will again pay attention to the interests and involvement of civil society in various policies. Thus, these policies are both political economy policies and health policies that have a major impact on Singapore's economic growth.

Behind the government system that prioritizes the interests of the community and public services to encourage economic growth, the party system is not in accordance with Oatley's concept. The Singaporean government encourages full attention to public interest, encourages good public services, encourages equitable education not based on ethnicity, religion and language. However, conceptually, Singapore's political institutions have not been able to fulfill the Oatley concept as a whole because even though Singapore is a country that adheres to a two-party system and there is one party that dominates, it is autocratic and has held power since 1959 until now, while in the Oatley concept, the economic

success of a country emerged from adhering to a dual-party system to ensure the accommodation of government interests. The PAP has a chance of winning in the election of the PAP winner being based on a first-level mastery platform, having a policy of seeing long-term economic growth and prosperity in a highly competitive regional and international environment. The PAP pushed for the creation of a GRC to ensure minority representation in parliament (Bellows 2009). So highlighting the Outley concept in analyzing Singapore's success in encouraging economic growth carried out by the PAP and the government is in accordance with the Oatley concept where the interests of people's welfare are the main driving force for policy making in Singapore but the concept of parties and general elections is not in accordance with Oatley's concept. Thus, according to Oatley, not all points of a country's economic success occur in Singapore, even though Singapore is a democracy.

Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that Singapore's excellent economic growth is supported by the right policy-making process. The policy-making process by PAP actors is based on the interests of all community groups. With Singapore's policy-making process based on public choice, the ideas of the people and the interests of the Singaporean people became the forerunner of Singapore's political economy policies. The concept of Singapore's policy making looks very interesting to see the political system adopted by Singapore and the implementation of policies that have a very significant impact on the economic sector in particular. Good economic growth due to the encouragement of high community involvement and the government's concern for aspirations without considering race is very high. The process of making good economic policies causes Singapore to excel in the economic growth sector compared to Southeast Asian countries. But on the other hand, Singapore is not completely an ideal government according to Oatley's concept because Singapore has a two-party system but there is one party that dominates, namely the PAP and has a government system that is democratic but technocratic.

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