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## MERITOCRACY IN SINGAPORE AS AN ALTERNATIVE MODERNISATION PROJECT

This article examines the phenomenon of political meritocracy, the true embodiment of which can be attributed to the history of Singapore's political system formation and development. Analysis of various modernisation projects is still topical to thoroughly analyse them, and form conclusions that can be applied to the development of other states. The methodological basis of study is both historical and political science research methods. The first category includes descriptive and narrative, historical and genetic methods, the second category includes structural and functional, value and normative methods, and also a systematic approach. Today the research studies the state of Singapore, analyses political, economic, and attitudinal prerequisites for establishing meritocracy as a leading concept in the country, and presents the main value orientations shaping Singapore's political process. The article focuses on the analysis of similarities and differences between the main ideological benchmarks that are common to countries of the "collective West" as well as those in Asia, particularly in its South-East part. The case of Singapore is used as an example to analyse the emergence and spread of meritocracy in the practice of public administration in Asian countries. Besides, moral and ethical nuclear concepts which ensure the functioning of the public administration system in Singapore are revealed. The information presented in this article will be of interest to researchers in comparative political science and regional studies, and also to a wide range of readers whose interests are directly related to the topic considered in this study.

**Key words:** Meritocracy, Singapore, modernisation, South-East Asia, oriental studies, comparative political science.

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### Модернизацияның баламалы жобасы ретінде Сингапурдағы меритократия

Бұл мақалада саяси меритократия феномені қарастырылады, оның шынайы көрінісін Сингапурдың саяси жүйесінің қалыптасу және даму тарихына жатқызуға болады. Әртүрлі жаңғырту жобаларын талдау, оларды жан-жақты зерттеу және басқа мемлекеттердің дамуына қолданылатын қорытындыларды қалыптастыру үшін әлі де өзекті мәселе. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін тарихи және саяси зерттеу әдістері де құрайды. Бірінші категорияға сипаттамалық-баяндау, тарихи-генетикалық әдістер, екінші категорияға құрылымдық-функционалдық, құндылық-нормативтік әдістер, сонымен қатар жүйелі көзқарас жатады. Бүгінгі таңда зерттеу Сингапурдың жағдайын зерттейді, елдегі жетекші тұжырымдама ретінде меритократияны орнатудың саяси, экономикалық және мінез-құлық алғышарттарын талдайды, сонымен қатар Сингапурдағы саяси үдерісті қалыптастыратын негізгі құндылық бағдарларды ұсынады. Мақалада «ұжымдық Батыс» елдеріне де, Азияға да, әсіресе оның оңтүстік-шығыс бөлігінде де ортақ дүниетанымның негізгі нұсқауларындағы ұқсастықтар мен айырмашылықтарды талдауға назар аударылады. Сингапур мысалында Азия елдерінің мемлекеттік басқару тәжірибесінде меритократияның пайда болуы мен таралуы талданады. Сонымен қатар, Сингапурдағы мемлекеттік басқару жүйесінің жұмыс істеуін қамтамасыз ететін моральдық-этикалық тұжырымдамалар ашылды. Осы мақалада ұсынылған ақпарат салыстырмалы саясаттану және аймақтану саласындағы зерттеушілерді, сондай-ақ қызығушылықтары осы зерттеуде қарастырылатын тақырыппен тікелей байланысты оқырмандардың кең ауқымын қызықтырады.

**Түйін сөздер:** Меритократия, Сингапур, модернизация, Оңтүстік-Шығыс Азия, шығыстану, салыстырмалы саясат.

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### Меритократия в Сингапуре как альтернативный проект модернизации

В данной статье рассматривается феномен политической меритократии, подлинное воплощение которого можно отнести к истории становления и развития политической системы Сингапура. Анализ различных модернизационных проектов по-прежнему актуален для их всестороннего анализа и формирования выводов, применимых к развитию других государств. Методологическую основу исследования составляют как исторические, так и политологические методы исследования. К первой категории относятся описательно-нарративные, исторические методы, ко второй категории – структурно-функциональные, ценностно-нормативные методы, а также системный подход. Сегодня исследование изучает государство Сингапур, анализирует политические, экономические и поведенческие предпосылки утверждения меритократии как ведущей концепции в стране, а также представляет основные ценностные ориентиры, формирующие политический процесс Сингапура. В статье делается акцент на анализе сходства и различия основных мировоззренческих ориентиров, общих как для стран «коллективного Запада», так и для Азии, особенно в ее юго-восточной части. На примере Сингапура анализируется возникновение и распространение меритократии в практике государственного управления в азиатских странах. Кроме того, раскрываются морально-этические концепции, обеспечивающие функционирование системы государственного управления в Сингапуре. Информация, представленная в данной статье, будет интересна исследователям в области сравнительной политологии и регионоведения, а также широкому кругу читателей, чьи интересы непосредственно связаны с рассматриваемой в данном исследовании темой.

**Ключевые слова:** меритократия, Сингапур, модернизация, Юго-Восточная Азия, востоковедение, сравнительная политология.

#### Introduction

Singapore's social and political system, described by its leaders as a “meritocracy”, was founded by Lee Kuan Yew (1923-2015), a Singaporean statesman who served as first Prime Minister from 1959 to 1990. This study provides an analysis of the values and societal preconditions that led to the establishment of this type of polity in Singapore, and analyses the major milestones in the formation of public administration personnel policies by the Lee Kuan Yew government. Besides, the mechanism of selection and training of modern civil servants in Singapore is reviewed. The main institutions shaping civil servants, their development, modification, and functions in different periods are presented. The analysis of Singapore's experience in the field of human resources policy and several other areas can be very useful and quite applicable to other states, which is particularly demonstrated by the precedents of cooperation between Singapore and the People's Republic of China (PRC) to exchange experience in training competent personnel for public service positions. Civilisational interaction and intercultural communication are also important aspects. With the development of Western civilisation, the international community has developed a perception of the universality of Western values (which include,

among others, market liberalism) and the need to expand the scope of these ideas. After the collapse of most socialist political regimes, since 1993 the United States of America (USA) has promoted the concept of so-called “expanded democracy”. Its overtly pragmatic emphasis is on strengthening USA influence in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) and in Europe by strengthening “new democracies” in Eastern Europe. This strategy was also evident in the 2000s.

For example, the United States of America declared a so-called “War on Terrorism”. This term is a turnip in the American political lexicon and gained popularity after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, which marked the start of a series of military campaigns by the United States of America against international terrorism. Subsequently, the United States of America conducted numerous overseas military operations, which in turn were grouped under the rubric of “Enduring Freedom” and took place in Afghanistan, Iraq, and a range of other countries. The methods by which the United States of America and its NATO allies waged war on terrorism were repeatedly criticised and protested both within the United States of America and internationally. It is important to understand that this concept is inseparable from the moral and value orientations that have taken root in the USA, i.e.,

the values on which American democracy is based (Malashenko, A.V., Nisnevich, Y.A., & Ryabov, A.V., 2020). Thus, it should also be examined whether the elements of the modernisation project that has been implemented in Singapore are applicable to other states.

The theoretical background of the study was based on the body of information – a set of scientific works devoted to the study of the phenomenon of “Singapore's economic miracle”, the history of the formation of its political regime and the experience of interaction between the Chinese and Singapore leaders in terms of sharing experiences in the modernisation of the management education system. Because of the high level of interest in this state across the globe, there are writings by Russian and non-Russian scholars (including those from Vietnam (Le, V.P., & Thao, T.P., 2018), South Korea (Hyejin, K., 2018), the People's Republic of China (Heng, C.K., 2016), the United Kingdom and the USA (Perry, J.C., 2017). At the same time, there is a gap, which unfortunately has not been filled by these scholarly works. For example, there is no comprehensive analysis of the history of Singapore's public administration system in close connection with, firstly, ideological prerequisites of the prevailing Confucian and Buddhist mentality that ensured explosive economic growth of the state under study, and with specific values that are nurtured in future officials during their training. To remedy this shortcoming, this paper will be revealing these aspects of Singapore's economic and political history.

### **Materials and methods**

The theoretical and practical relevance of creating new studies that focus on the relationship between economic development and public administration in a country implies the analysis of new phenomena reflecting current trends in social development. For example, an “Eastern alternative” to the Western tradition of governance of social political and economic processes could be considered one of them. USA political thought in the 1990s, for example, concluded that the victory of liberal democracy over its ideological rivals was the end of history, and the ideal of the new era was a political system to which every reasonable person should aspire (by that model, liberal democracy of the Western type was meant). However, with the end of the boom period that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decline of communist

ideology, all the difficulties of implementing liberal practices in developing countries, especially in the social and economic sphere, were exposed. The preconditions for this had emerged earlier in the unsuccessful transits of democratic ideals to the African countries that gained independence during the break-up of the colonial empires in the mid-twentieth century, but by its end, they had become even more apparent.

There have also been serious challenges to liberal democracy in East Asia. Opposition to the spread of Western values is manifested, among other things, in the ideological sphere due to differences in the religious and ideological constructs that characterise the peoples of Asia and Europe. In defence of “Asian values”, some political leaders in the East oppose the imposition of Western notions of democracy and human rights on Asia. In their view, a qualitative feature of oriental culture is that society pays more attention to the expression of family and social harmony. In general, the position of “Asian conservatives” is that the peoples of the East do not doubt that this type of system, in which the interests of society dominate over personal interests, suits them better than American individualism. And such a position remains sound: the cultural and value-based traditions and characteristics of Asia are quite capable of enriching the international understanding of human rights and contributing to the development of this part of the international legal discourse, which will help either prevent or qualitatively improve the regulation of conflicts and problems in this area.

This article is based on several research methods. Firstly, historical research methods were applied: for example, by using the descriptive and narrative method, the information presented in the article is presented as a coherent narrative, and the historical and genetic method allows to reveal the history of Singapore's governance system formation in the context of moral specificity of the South-East Asian region and as a whole system, which during its development passes through the stages of formation, development, and further modification. Second, methods inherent to political science research were applied. For example, the structural and functional method reveals the close relationship between social needs and the activity of the state apparatus and the performance of its functions, and the value and normative method revealed the significant role of educational functions carried by the system of training for public administration. The systemic approach, in turn, shows the interconnectedness of all the components of the phenomena in question

and finding them in the context of the respective historical era. The study was carried out in five stages:

1. An array of scientific publications, directly and indirectly dealing with the topic in question is collected and studied.

2. The background and general nature of the social and political regime of “meritocracy” in Singapore are revealed.

3. The main milestones in the development of the system are discussed.

4. Attention is paid to the moral compass instilled in Singapore's management corps and international interest in the phenomenon.

5. A summary of the work done is carried out and topics worthy of further research are highlighted.

### Results and discussion

In examining the history of the formation and development of Singapore's system of state regime, the question itself arises as to how strong are the differences between the Asian region and the countries of the conventional “collective West”. Both regions are extremely vast and heterogeneous. In South-East Asia many religions are widespread (these include Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, Christianity, and Buddhism), and there is a mixture of races, ethnic groups, cultural layers, and languages. The claim that Asia has a distinct cultural identity, fundamentally different from the West, and as such faces radically different challenges, is nonetheless less obvious and more superficial (Kotelnikova, E.V., & Pakhomova, M.O., 2019). In the 1980s, the governments of both hemispheres of the globe were faced with the problem of overcoming the consequences of the global oil crisis that had erupted following a series of armed conflicts in the Middle East in the 1960s and 1970s. The countries of the Asian region embarked on extensive social and economic reforms to strengthen market-oriented economies and saturate their domestic markets. In the PRC, for example, D. Xiaoping's government launched a policy of reform and opening up. In South Korea, for its part, the government cut spending and adopted draconian fiscal measures to curb inflation. After extensive liberalisation, a more liberal environment has been created for foreign investors. To bridge the gap between urban and rural areas, the government has increased investment in projects such as road construction, communication networks, rural mechanisation, and other infrastructure projects. Singapore has also generally

liberalised its economy, reduced the tax burden, taken several measures to attract investors, cracked down on corruption, and adhered to the rule of law and equality. Thus, when it comes to solving real economic problems, the policies of Asian countries are guided by the prevailing free market principles and appear to have nothing in common with native Asian values (Krasilshchikov, V.A., 2019).

Singapore's political system is based on meritocracy. Politically, this economically liberal regime has been viewed by Western theorists as undemocratic and even authoritarian. While there is no question about Korea's economic and administrative success in the Western world, there is a legitimate question about Singapore: how effectively does this authoritarian regime implement market-oriented economic policies. Singapore is the first and perhaps the only country in the world so far to have officially declared that its regime is meritocratic. The uniqueness of this phenomenon has naturally attracted the attention of political and economic researchers (Chacko, P., & Jayasuriya, K., 2018). Within the development of political theory, special attention should be paid to Singapore's pioneering contribution. Its official discourse is of particular theoretical and practical significance, questioning the universality of human rights rather than liberal democracy itself. Singapore's leaders deny the dichotomy between “good” democracies and “bad” authoritarian regimes. Rather, they see meritocracy as the concept that best embodies Singapore's political system. Given Singapore's small population and limited resource base, the leadership has concluded that the country should be led by people of the best ability and the best characteristics, who occupy high positions on merit. Lee Kuan Yew, in fact, the founding father of modern Singapore, assumed that he was building a society based on effort and merit, not on wealth or privilege bestowed at birth (Lavrov, I.R., & Kharitonova, O.G., 2020)

Elites direct, plan, and control state power for the benefit of the people. Guided by this, officials use scarce resources in a way that can be a catalyst for a society that can sustain Singapore at the second-highest standard of living in Asia with almost no natural resources. The main burden of planning and implementing ongoing government programmes falls on the shoulders of 300 key people, middle-class, and poor families from various linguistic backgrounds. Singapore's meritocracy, on the other hand, implies that these people come to power because their exceptional talent, industriousness,

and high productivity allow them to occupy high government positions. In modern scientific understanding, the basic idea of meritocracy is that all should have equal opportunities to be educated and participate in political activities, but not all will demonstrate equal ability to make political decisions and take full responsibility (Ashtieva, D.M., 2017). Within this paradigm, one of the main thrusts of national policy is to find, select people of outstanding ability, and enable them to serve the country as effectively as possible. Singapore society is deservedly considered elitist, with a strong sense of political inequality, which is compensated by economic equality and major successes in economic development and public administration. Singapore's experience has shown that if the governors do their job well, the people will follow them no matter what. This practice is consistent with the Confucian ideals of the Chinese diaspora in Singapore. Why has Singapore's discourse on meritocracy not spread beyond Singapore? Singapore's political system is structured in such a way that it is not limited to selecting capable, humane leaders guided by Confucian values (Duvert, C., 2018).

It also relies on highly controversial measures, such as tight control of the media, severe restrictions on freedom of assembly, and the vigorous repression of political opposition. Therefore, in the eyes of many foreign observers, especially in the Western world, Singapore's political system still manifests itself as authoritarianism, albeit in a more moderate form compared to regimes such as North Korea. Moreover, the political discourse of the government itself suggests that meritocracy need not be a universal political ideal: the need to select and promote political talent is strongest in small city-states lacking rich natural resources and, more importantly, in city-states with an extremely limited pool of talent (Ryzhov, V.V., 2020). This raises the question of whether it is appropriate to discuss the universality of this ideal, considered only within its application to a very specific city-state. However, judging from the actions of Singapore's political leaders, it is safe to say that they believe that meritocracy can and even should influence political reform in other countries, especially those with a Confucian tradition. The closest relationship appears to be between Singapore and China. Since the early 1990s, Chinese officials have regularly visited Singapore to learn, communicate, and share experiences with their counterparts. From D. Xiaoping to X. Jinping, Chinese leaders have stressed the need to learn all aspects of Singapore's governance model. Partly

inspired by the "Singapore model", China's political system has become more elitist over the past two decades. In addition, China has already developed a sophisticated and comprehensive system for selecting and promoting political talent (Maletin, N.P., & Astafyeva, E.M., 2019). The world is now watching China's experiment in a meritocracy. Unlike Singapore, China can "shock the world". Few people in the early 1990s could have predicted that China's economy would grow so rapidly and become the second (by some criteria first) largest economy in the world.

The difference in the way concepts of social development are shaped in the East and the West is also that in Asia there is no evaluative dichotomy of "good/bad". Asian countries do not consider a particular concept to impose their will on other countries, but to improve their own social life and social progress. As mentioned above, Singapore's regime can be characterised as meritocratic, with Lee Kuan Yew as its main demiurge. In 1951, the Public Service Commission (PSC) was established in Singapore. The committee was originally set up to advise the British government in Singapore on matters relating to recruitment, appointment, and promotion to public office (Abdullaev, A.M., & Yunusova, D.E., 2019). In 1963, the agency's functions were expanded and the committee now oversees and regulates civil servants in their posts. Notably, most of the members of the committee had no prior experience in public service. The composition of this committee makes it largely independent of political and administrative authorities. The system of recruiting government officials gradually became bureaucratic, which slowed down the work of government agencies. However, in 1994, Lee Kuan Yew reformed the work of this structure. This reform consisted in transferring the functions of committees to ministries. In addition, a special Personnel Committee was established as part of the reform. Since then, the Commission has processed appointments for administrative services (AS). In 2002, a special Management Associates Programme was launched. The programme focused on attracting talented young people into the civil service. To date, the Civil Service Commission has had a number of functions:

1. Appointment of specially trained individuals to top government positions.
2. Resolving minor conflicts related to appointments.
3. Disciplinary control of public servants.
4. Supervision of personnel committees.

Singapore's public sector selection system is based on the HAIR (Helicopter view, Analysis, Imagination, Reality) competency model. The concept describes how civil servants should think and act. For example, to have the ability to “see from a bird's eye view”, from different perspectives, pay attention to details, when necessary, analyse and using imagination and creativity to create new methods of solutions, but, at the same time, not to forget about reality, to combine vision and creativity with specific actions (Jayasuriya, K., 2018). Apart from the Commission, there are other institutions in Singapore that aim to develop public servants. One such institution is the Civil Service College. It was founded in 1971 to integrate innovative and successful business ideas with the country's development and reforms. The College later became an official structure of the Ministry of the Civil Service and the Prime Minister's Office. Another important tool for building effective political authority in Singapore is the mentoring system. The Civil Service College also runs special mentoring programmes to enable managers to improve their mentoring skills, interact better with their subordinates and develop them. Lee Kuan Yew created the prestige of civil servants through high salaries (Batyaev, R.A., & Malchenkov, S.A., 2019). This was achieved by equating the performance pay of civil servants with that of managers of large corporations. This policy not only reduces social tension but also helps to combat corruption. For example, the average salary of an office worker today is \$5000, while the minimum wage for a government position of approximately the same function is also \$5000.

Singapore's success is gaining momentum, and some countries are trying to replicate what Lee Kuan Yew has done since the 1990s (Jayasuriya, K., 2018). As noted above, Singapore is actively working with China to develop new PRC political leaders. In addition, Singapore has cooperated with many countries on education related to preparation for public service. For example, in September 2014, a delegation from the Russian Ministry of Education and Science attended the fifth meeting of the Russian Intergovernmental High Commission in Singapore. The meeting proposed a draft agreement on mutual recognition of education and academic qualifications and a draft inter-sectoral agreement on cooperation in higher education (Zhuravleva, A.B., 2021). Many Russian universities closely cooperate with Singapore – these include Far Eastern Federal University, Novosibirsk State University, Pskov and

Tver State Universities, and others. All of them are ready to participate in developing highly competitive personnel for joint regional projects. Singapore's meritocracy has given the country a leading position in economic and social development. Singapore has experienced unprecedented economic growth since 1965 and ranks in the top 20 in per capita income. In 2009, the state's gross domestic product (GDP) approached \$240 billion and GDP per capita was over \$50000 (the fourth highest in the world) (Osipova, M.G., 2019).

Honesty, service, and excellence are the core values of the modern Singapore Public Service. The slogan dates back to 2003, but it was formed much earlier, in the early years after Singapore gained autonomy in 1959. At the same time, a Centre for Policy Studies was established, one of the objectives of which was to change the values of employees (e.g. to get rid of their colonial mentality) and to shape the idea of the civil service as an institution that plays a key role in the modernisation of the country. The new management system was based on a philosophy of openness, dedication, and excellence (and, of course, self-improvement). However, despite its long history, these fundamental values remain relevant. Each core value contains a set of principles that reveal its content. For example, a construct such as “honesty” implies the following characteristics: accountability, that is, transparency of bureaucracy in public activities, moral conviction, that is, the attitude that employees insist on what is true, right, and fair, and also fairness and impartiality, which do not allow discrimination in the performance of duties and favouritism. “Service” includes loyalty to the people (striving to serve the society, where national interests take precedence over personal interests), empathy and compassion (sincere empathy for the broad masses and the priority of caring for others), professionalism (quality work in all conditions). In turn, “Excellence” is defined as a focus on quality services and work (i.e. guaranteeing quality performance), teamwork (mutual support and cooperation of civil servants to achieve success and mutual development), and continuous improvement (willingness to change, new, innovative ideas).

It is worth noting that these concepts are broadly consistent with the core values of Singapore society, according to which the public interest comes before the individual interest, the family is the basic organ of society, the society supports and respects the individual, and the pursuit of consensus rather than confrontation, social harmony and religious tolerance. Therefore, public servants must have

not only high professional competence but also the appropriate moral qualities. Furthermore, Singapore believes that public service is not just a profession but rather a value orientation and vocation. The State must provide the conditions to encourage staff performance through the use of modern management tools and techniques. Another fundamental value in Singapore is therefore the system of meritocracy in place, which seeks to ensure that employees are recruited and promoted solely based on their ability and competence, rather than their background, financial situation, or political or personal identity. This approach ensures that motivation remains high, which has a direct impact on efficiency and enables the retention of the best employees in public positions (Radko, E.D., 2019).

An important point in supporting the initiative of civil servants is to develop a so-called “culture of trust”, which allows employees to share their thoughts more openly and fearlessly, to point out problems, and to express their opinions, which will be heard and taken into consideration. This approach should, on the one hand, lead to the development of optimal solutions that managers cannot always work out alone, and on the other hand, create a friendly atmosphere in the team and foster a sense of importance and belonging among employees, thereby increasing their participation in the workplace. Managers sometimes do not realise how much they influence the exemplary behaviour of employees. However, the mission of authorities is not only to embody generally accepted values, but also to encourage exemplary behaviour by civil servants or, conversely, to prevent unacceptable behaviour. Supporting strong leaders at all levels is also a value for Singapore. They are agents of change, ensuring that public services are transformed and reformed to make them work for the future.

Hence, values, as an element of the corporate culture of civil servants in Singapore, have a direct impact on the effectiveness of public administration. They serve as benchmarks and describe the objectives of the public service in terms of social and national interest. In addition to signalling the expectations of the public, they also influence the emotional state of the employees, increasing their motivation and engagement. A lack of values embedded organically in work processes can lead to a loss of orientation about key goals across the organisation, undermining both the employees themselves and public trust in them. It can be said that Singapore has developed a values-driven public service system in line with modern society, mentality,

and technological development. The Public Service, which has been an engine of growth in Singapore since independence and remains so today, has inherent values of transparency, dedication, continuous improvement, support for strong leaders and meritocracy. Singapore's experience can help a myriad of nations in developing a corporate culture of public servants and a system of values for officials that should be sensitive to the national characteristics of a particular society and contribute to its goals and requirements.

### Conclusions

To summarise the study, there are several points of significant importance to be made. The political phenomenon of Singapore is a very harmonious combination of, on the one hand, economic management techniques in the spirit of Western ideas and perceptions and, on the other hand, a rational and authoritarian way of managing society in the context of national cultural and value specifics, which is a very interesting and important case study to study. The above was possible due to deliberate political decisions that sought to create a new national political elite in a large complex environment. Thus, Singapore's history goes back to the importance of human resource policies in the structure of government. As the smallest country in Southeast Asia (effectively a city-state), Singapore seemed doomed to depend on its more powerful neighbours. Lee Kuan Yew did not see it that way, however, and the lack of resources with an imperfect external environment was offset by the advantages of the wisdom, discipline, ingenuity, and industriousness of the local population. The country has implemented an effective system of selection and training of officials at all levels, which has prospects of application not only in Singapore but also in other countries, including Kazakhstan.

Such a system can resolve social conflicts, strengthen social ties and trust between the ruling elites and ordinary citizens, contributing to the construction of concepts of sound solidarity in society that can unite the population vertically concerning their social hierarchy, reduce corruption, and contribute to further social and economic prosperity. The information presented in the study may be of interest to researchers in regional studies, comparative political science, economic and political processes in the most developed countries of the Asia-Pacific region, and to a wide range of readers interested in these topics. However, it would be very useful to devote further research to examining Singapore's intergovernmental ties with

states other than the Republic of Kazakhstan and PRC in the area of science and education cooperation, and also the development of the PRC's education system influenced by the Singaporean experience.

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