

Economy and Democracy Relationship: The Case of Kenya and Ethiopia**Ekonomi ve Demokrasi İlişkisi: Kenya ve Etiyopya Örneği**Taner AKCACI^a, Goksel TURKER^b^a Prof. Dr., Gaziantep University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, akcaci@gantep.edu.tr,

ORCID: 0000-0002-5343-0894

^b Res. Asst. Dr., Gaziantep University, İslahiye Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, gokselturker@gmail.com,

ORCID: 0000-0003-3589-8271

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ÖZ

Özellikle Sanayi Devrimi ve Karl Marx'ın siyasi iktisat alanındaki çalışmalarından sonra ekonomi ile demokrasi arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi popülerlik kazanmıştır. Bu ilişki kapsamında genel olarak ortaya konan ifade "ekonomik gelişmelerden demokratik gelişmeye doğru işleyen bir neden-sonuç" ilişkisi olduğu yönündedir. Bu sebeple, söz konusu ilişkiye göre, ekonomik açıdan gerekli gelişme düzeyine ulaşan ülkelerde demokrasinin gelişimi anlamında da ihtiyaç duyulan gelişme gerçekleşmektedir. Weber tarafından ortaya konulduğu üzere, modern anlamda gerekli koşulları taşıyan bir demokrasiye ulaşabilmek için öncelikle kapitalist sanayinin gelişmesi gerekmektedir. Ekonomiden demokrasiye doğru gerçekleşen bu akışa göre, ekonominin belirli alanlarındaki göstergeleri daha üst seviyede olan ülkelerin demokratik hükümet şekilleri geliştirmeye daha eğilimli olduğu belirtilmiştir. Söz konusu bu durum, birçok nicel çalışma tarafından da tespit edilerek, ekonomik gelişmeden demokratik gelişmeye ulaşan akış doğrulanmıştır. Bu durumun nedenleri arasında, ekonomik gelişmenin eğitimin gelişmesine katkı sağlaması; kırdan kente göçü artırarak kentli bir değer olan demokrasiye yönelik zihinsel yapıyı güçlendirmesi; tarımsal faaliyetlerden endüstriyel faaliyetlere geçişi artırması bulunmaktadır. İfade edilen nedenler bir araya gelerek, sonuçta nüfusun daha açık bir toplum haline gelmesi sağlanmış, bu sayede toplumlarda demokrasiye yönelik bir sistem yönündeki arzuları artırmıştır. Dolayısıyla, birçok yazar tarafından araştırma konusu yapılan ekonomi-demokrasi ilişkisi, bu çalışmada birbirine komşu olan iki Afrika ülkesi üzerinden değerlendirilmiş ve ekonomiden demokrasiye doğru olan akışın Kenya ve Etiyopya açısından geçerli olduğu saptanmıştır.

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ABSTRACT

Especially after the Industrial Revolution and Karl Marx's studies in political economy, the examination of the relationship among economy and democracy has gained popularity. The expression generally put forward within the scope of this relationship is that there is a cause-effect relationship that works from economic developments to democratic development. Hence, based on the aforementioned correlation, the attainment of the requisite level of economic progress constitutes a prerequisite for the development of democracy in a given nation. As put forward by Weber, in order to reach a democracy that has the necessary conditions in the modern sense, capitalist industry must first develop. According to this flow from economy to democracy, it is stated that countries with higher indicators in certain areas of the economy are more inclined to develop democratic forms of government. This situation has been determined by many quantitative studies and the flow from economic development to democratic development has been confirmed. Among the reasons for this situation are that economic development contributes to the development of education and strengthens the mental structure towards democracy. The stated reasons came together and the result was that the population became a more open society, thus increasing the desires of societies for a democratic system. In light of this, this study has appraised the correlation between the economy and democracy, and has ascertained that the flow from the economy to democracy holds true for both Kenya and Ethiopia.

JEL Classifications: O52, O55, P51.**1. INTRODUCTION**

The concept of democracy is a concept that has undergone many changes since Ancient Greece and has been the issue of current debates. The discussions have

centered on diverse dimensions, encompassing the delimitation of democracy, its distinctive features, the prerequisites for its emergence or advancement, the

evaluation of democratic status within a nation, and the degree of democratic progress.

The intricate relationship between democracy and economic development has been a topic of discussion for a considerable time of extensive scholarly exploration. Understanding the factors that influence democratic progress and economic growth is crucial for fostering inclusive governance and sustainable development. In this context, a comparative analysis of countries sharing similar geographical proximity and facing comparable challenges becomes particularly valuable.

The present inquiry aims to scrutinize the continuing discourse concerning the "degree of democratic advancement" in a pair of contiguous nations, namely Kenya and Ethiopia. The level of democratic development depends on many factors. These factors include the history, culture, traditions, sociological structure, religious beliefs, national or international political and economic circumstances of the states at issue. Each of these factors, as a whole, contributes to the current level of democracy. Nonetheless, given that a comprehensive analysis of all pertinent factors would transcend the extent of this research, the present investigation endeavors to explore the level of democratic progress by scrutinizing the interplay between the economy and democracy.

Kenya and Ethiopia, as neighboring nations in East Africa, share many geographic, historical, and cultural characteristics. Both countries have undergone periods of colonization and experienced struggles for independence, leading to their emergence as independent states in the mid-20th century. Despite these shared experiences, their paths towards democratic consolidation and economic prosperity have exhibited notable variations.

The key aim of this study is to investigate the underlying factors contributing to the contrasting levels of democratic development between Kenya and Ethiopia. By scrutinizing their respective economic landscapes and democratic frameworks, we seek to identify the drivers that have shaped their trajectories, as well as the barriers hindering progress. The comparative approach enables a nuanced understanding of how economic factors interact with democratic institutions, policies, and societal dynamics in shaping the democratic development of these two nations. The primary inquiry of the study centers around "What are the economic contexts in which democracy operates in Kenya and Ethiopia and how do economic factors impact democratic processes?".

The main reasons for the selection of these two countries include geographical proximity, historical and political similarities, different democratic trajectories, the importance of the economy and a comparative approach. It is crucial to highlight that the choice of Kenya and Ethiopia for this comparative analysis does not negate the significance of other countries in the economy-democracy relationship. Instead, the focus on these two nations allows for a focused examination of specific factors while

acknowledging the contextual nuances and complexities within the chosen countries. In this way, the potential to illuminate the correlation amidst economy and democracy in a specific regional context will be used efficiently.

For this purpose, firstly, the concept of democracy will be briefly introduced. Following that, the study will establish the main outlines of the analytical structure of the economy-democracy relationship. After establishing the theoretical framework, this investigation will employ quantitative data to search into the correlation among the extent of democratic development and the economy in the aforementioned nations. This will involve identifying the key variables that are likely to influence the relationship between democracy and the economy.

2. DEMOCRACY

The concept of democracy, which is a composition of the ancient Greek words for people (demos) and rule (kratos), basically means the rule of the people (Jent, 1967: 242). However, this short definition of the basic feature of the concept is insufficient to fully explain democracy. Because democracy is a complex and multifaceted concept and there is no single definition that can capture all of its nuances.

The scope of what is regarded as a people in modern times differs significantly from what was considered a people in ancient Greece. Today, anyone who has citizenship ties to a country can be included in this scope regardless of gender, religious beliefs, etc., whereas in Ancient Greece, those who met all the conditions such as being of Athenian origin, being over 20 years old, being male and being free were entitled to be included in this scope (Held, 2006: 19). Moreover, while ancient democracy was a form of direct democracy, today democracy is generally perceived as a representative system of government.

In ancient Greece, the concept of "people" was much narrower than it is today. Only free male citizens of Athens were considered to be part of the people. This meant that women, slaves, and foreigners were excluded from political participation. The modern concept of "people" is much more inclusive. Anyone who is a citizen of a country is considered to be part of the people, regardless of their gender, race, religion, or social status. This is because democracy is based on the principle of equal rights for all citizens.

Today, the fact that democracy has changed according to this simple meaning also leads to various debates about whether some systems that call themselves democracies should be considered in this category. Some systems in which the people participate in governance through elections may not be recognized as democratic by experts in the field. One of these systems is Kazakhstan. When modern Kazakhstan is examined, following the dissolution of the USSR, in 1996, President Nursultan Nazarbayev instructed his advisers to prepare a constitution. The initial provision of the Constitution of Kazakhstan, which

was drafted by advisors and ratified through popular suffrage, proclaims that the Republic of Kazakhstan is a constitutional democracy. However, this country is not considered a democratic country since many conditions regarding democracy are not met in that country. A similar situation applies to North Korea, whose official name is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Despite the existence of elections in these nations, it is not feasible to assert the presence of a democratic system, as other prerequisites remain unfulfilled (Tilly, 2011: 13).

Therefore, although elections are the basic condition of democracy today, they are not sufficient for a system to be democratic. So that to be able to speak of democracy, different conditions other than elections are needed. Although many authors have expressed various views on these conditions, the qualities identified by Robert Dahl (2010: 99-100) are generally accepted in the literature. These qualities include the following:

I. Fair, free and frequently renewed elections: Elections must be free and fair, and they must be held on a regular basis. This means that all citizens must have the right to vote, and that their votes must be counted fairly.

II. Freedom for citizens to form political parties or similar organizations: Citizens must be free to form political parties or other organizations that represent their interests. This allows citizens to participate in the political process and to hold their leaders accountable.

III. All citizens are equal in terms of voting: Every citizen's vote must count equally, regardless of their social status, wealth, or ethnicity. This ensures that all citizens have an equal say in the political process.

IV. Individuals have access to different sources of information: Citizens must have access to different sources of information so that they can make informed decisions about who to vote for. This includes access to independent media, as well as to information from different political parties.

V. Freedom of expression: Citizens must be free to express their opinions without fear of reprisal. This includes the right to speak, write and publish one's thoughts and opinions, as well as the right to peaceful assembly and association.

Consequently, it is imperative to emphasize that a system characterized as a democracy must not only fulfill the fundamental requirement of conducting elections, but must also exhibit the aforementioned attributes. In other words, the mere existence of elections does not suffice to qualify a system as democratic; rather, a broader range of prerequisites must be satisfied to attain democratic status.

It is also important to remember that democracy is not a static concept. It is a living and evolving system and the specific characteristics of democracy will vary from country to country. However, the essential characteristics outlined above are common to all democracies.

3. ECONOMY-DEMOCRACY RELATIONSHIP

The interaction between economics and politics has been a prominent subject of discourse, particularly since the emanation of the Industrial Revolution. For example, Karl Marx analyzed this relationship through social classes. Marx posited that the Industrial Revolution gave rise to two distinct classes, namely the bourgeois class who possessed the means of production, and the working class who lacked ownership of the means of production and instead earned wages in exchange for their labor (Edgar, A. and P. Sedgwick, 2007: 69). These emerging class structures have also affected people's mental world and their political thoughts have been affected by a concept called class consciousness (Açıkgöz, 2011: 285-286). Here, for the working class, a socialist political system is more preferred due to their class interests, while for the bourgeois class, a liberal system is more prominent.

In addition to Marx, Weber argues that modern democracies can only occur where there is capitalist industrialization in its purest form. Therefore, such a relationship between economics and politics, which has been expressed for many years, will also affect democracy as a political concept. Thus, if one were to make a generalized assertion according to the existing literature, it would appear that a causal relationship exists between the economy and democracy, whereby economic development fosters the advancement of democratic values and institutions (Helliwell, 1994: 229-245).

Since the 1800s, a discernible trend has been observed whereby nations that have made significant strides in terms of economic progress have also witnessed a commensurate evolution in the sphere of democracy, and this template has prevailed to the current day (Robinson, 2006: 503). Economic development is a major factor that can promote democracy. As countries continue to develop economically, we can expect to see a further increase in the number of democratic countries in the world. This is because economic development can catalyze various social changes that could create a conducive environment for democracy to thrive (such as the development of education, increased rural-urban migration, transition from agricultural activities to industrial activities and thus the formation of a more open society), and the possibility of democracy will gradually increase (Roccas and Padoa-Schioppa, 2001: 63).

For example, Przeworski et al. (2003: 78-92) stated that even when viewed with an ordinary eye, poor countries tend to develop more authoritarian regimes, while richer countries tend to develop more democratic regimes. From this, they concluded that the connection between the development of democracy and economic development is an undoubted fact. In their study, they revealed that as per capita income increases, the probability of development of democracy increases. Accordingly, the probability of dictatorships surviving is highest in countries with a per capita income of less than \$1000 or between 1001-4000 dollars. This is because economic

development creates a number of conditions that are conducive to democracy, such as a more educated and informed citizenry, a more vibrant civil society, and a stronger middle class. The authors' study also has important policy implications. It suggests that countries that are seeking to promote democracy should focus on economic development. However, they should also be aware that economic development alone is not enough, and that other factors will also need to be addressed. The authors' study is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the relationship between economic development and democracy. It provides strong evidence that there is a positive correlation between the two factors, and it suggests that economic development can create the conditions for democracy.

Huber, Rueschemeyer and Stephens (1993: 83-84) approached the issue from a different perspective and reached similar conclusions. According to them, there is a process from economic development to democratic development. In this process, economic development transforms class structures. The economic development process, which enables the expansion of the working class and the middle class, increases the level of organization of these classes and makes it difficult to keep them out of the political atmosphere. At the same time, economic development is weakening the landed upper classes, one of the most important opponents of democracy. The authors' study is a valuable resource for anyone who is interested in understanding the relationship between economic development and democracy. It provides a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the issue, and it offers insights that can be applied to countries around the world.

If the relationship in question is analyzed through quantitative data, one of the important studies that we come across is Lipset's (1959) research on the causal tie thereamong economy and democracy. In this quantitative study, Lipset compared the relationship between economy and democracy through numerical data. Using measures such as per capita income, male working population in agriculture, per capita energy consumption, and the proportion of urban dwellers, Lipset found that higher per capita income, lower male working population in agriculture, higher per capita energy consumption, and higher proportion of urban dwellers contribute to the emergence of stable democracies. Conversely, according to Lipset, the likelihood of the emergence of dictatorships and the decline of democracies increases.

Lipset's study is significant because it provides empirical evidence to support the claim that there is a positive correlation between economic development and democracy. This correlation is likely due to a number of factors, including the ones mentioned above. His study has been influential in the field of political science, and it has been cited by many other scholars. Because it provides valuable insights into the relationship between economic development and democracy.

To enhance our comprehension of the reciprocation amidst the economy and democracy, Pourgerami's (1988) comparative analysis of various countries is another noteworthy study. Pourgerami's comparative analysis of various countries provides a valuable contribution to our understanding of this relationship. In his study, he identified four key criteria that influence the development of democracy: income, market, development, and culture.

Income: Pourgerami found that as income increases, so too does the level of democratic development. This is likely because higher incomes allow people to have more resources and opportunities, which gives them a greater voice in the political process.

Market: Pourgerami also found that a more liberalized market economy is associated with higher levels of democracy. This is because a market economy requires a certain degree of rule of law and transparency, which are essential for democratic governance.

Development: Pourgerami found that a higher level of human development is also associated with higher levels of democracy. This is because education and health care, which are important components of human development, can help to empower people and make them more aware of their political rights.

Culture: Pourgerami found that the culture of a country can also influence the development of democracy. For example, countries with a strong tradition of civic participation are more likely to be democratic.

This relationship is also confirmed by history, which is the laboratory of social sciences. When examining the countries where the Industrial Revolution took place first and thus the economy developed better, it is generally observed that these countries are also in a good state in terms of democratic development. For example, the United Kingdom, the United States and France are all countries that experienced the Industrial Revolution early on and they are also all considered to be relatively democratic countries. Therefore, considering the influence of the economy may yield valuable insights into the degree of democratic development attained by Kenya and Ethiopia. The economic data suggests that Kenya is more likely to be democratic than Ethiopia. This is an important finding, as it suggests that economic development can play a role in promoting democracy.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMY-DEMOCRACY RELATIONSHIP IN KENYA AND ETHIOPIA IN TERMS OF DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

In this section, we shall scrutinize the quantitative data from Kenya and Ethiopia in line with the conceptual framework formulated earlier, and evaluate the degree of democratic progress attained in the context of the aforementioned nexus. However, ascertaining the level of democratic advancement necessitates an inquiry into the existence of the foundational requirement of elections. In

light of this, we shall briefly delve into the political systems of the two countries.

Firstly, Kenya's political system has been a multi-party parliamentary democracy since 1992. The Kenyan parliament consists of a bicameral structure with a total of 349 members + 1 speaker. Members of parliament are elected for five years (Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Japan, 2023).

In Ethiopia, the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is led by a prime minister who appoints the ministers in the cabinet. The prime minister is appointed for five years by the party that wins the majority of votes in a 547-seat parliament (Embassy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia London UK, 2023). It can be argued that both Kenya and Ethiopia exhibit a level of democratic governance to varying degrees. As such, an analysis of their democratic development can be made through the lens of economic data. This approach allows for an all-inclusive assessment of the political landscape in these countries, as economic development is typically a forethought to be a significant indicator of democratic progress.

The first economic data to be analyzed is the net national income per capita. When the World Bank's data are analyzed in this context, the data in Table 1, expressed in dollars, emerge.

Table 1. Net National Income per Capita (\$)

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Kenya	11.308	11.363	11.521	11.614	11.594
Ethiopia	5553	6603	6639	7717	7792

Source: Worldbank, 2023a; Worldbank, 2023b.

Table 1 shows that Kenya's net national income per capita is, on average, about 2.23 times that of Ethiopia. This means that, on average, a Kenyan citizen has about twice the income of an Ethiopian citizen. After national income, the second data to be analyzed is energy use. In kilograms of oil equivalent per capita, Kenya's energy use is 516 while Ethiopia's is 485 (Worldbank, 2023c). Here again, Kenya's energy consumption is approximately 6.4% higher than Ethiopia's, although not by far as much as the difference in national income.

Moving on to the share of those working in agriculture in total employment, Kenya has 55% and Ethiopia has 67% (Worldbank, 2023d). Upon evaluating the data confirming the aforementioned results, it could be monitored that the percentage of urban population in Kenya and Ethiopia is 28% and 22%, respectively (Worldbank, 2023e). The data on the share of those working in agriculture in total employment and the percentage of urban population in Kenya and Ethiopia provide us with a valuable insight into the economic and social structure of these countries. This information can be used to develop policies that promote economic development and poverty reduction in these countries.

Finally, before delving into the development of democracy, it is essential to consider the level of human development. The grade of human development is measured on a scale of 0 and 1, with 1 being the highest level of human development. It is opinable to say that Kenya, which is ahead of Ethiopia in economic indicators, is also ahead of Ethiopia in human development. Accordingly, Kenya's human development level is 0.575, while Ethiopia's is 0.498 (UNDP Human Development Reports, 2023). As mentioned above, this criterion, which rises with economic developments and includes education as a prominent element of human development, is an important factor in the formation of the mindset towards democracy. To create a society with increasing tendencies towards democracy, various factors come into play and contribute to the formation of such a society. These factors, when examined together, are essential in promoting democratic values and practices.

The data on this relationship, the foundation of which was laid in the previous section, have thus been presented. Therefore, from this point onwards, it has become possible to show numerically whether these data have an impact on the level of development of democracy. In this context, it is possible to use the data from the 'democracy matrix' project of the University of Würzburg to compare and quantitatively analyze the level of democracy in two countries. The democracy matrix is evaluated between 1 and 0 in regards to the development of democracy. The measurement of human development is conducted on a scale of 0 to 1, with a score of 1 indicating the highest level of development and a score of 0 indicating the lowest level. According to the data in question, Table 2 below has been created.

Table 2. Levels of Democracy in Kenya and Ethiopia

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Kenya	0,66	0,64	0,65	0,69	0,68	0,68
Ethiopia	0,30	0,29	0,39	0,43	0,40	0,40

Source: Würzburg University Democracy Matrix, 2023.

As can be seen when the data in the table are analyzed, Kenya, which is ahead of Ethiopia in terms of economic data, shows a similar characteristic in the sense of the degree of advancement of democracy. The data of Kenya with an average of 0.66 and Ethiopia with an average of 0.36 confirm our hypothesis that democracy will improve as economic development increases. The finding that Kenya is more democratic than Ethiopia is significant because it suggests that economic development can lead to an improvement in the level of democracy. This finding has implications for policy makers, who can use it to develop policies that promote economic development and democracy in their countries.

In order not to depend on a single source and to verify it with other studies, it is also necessary to make use of the democracy index prepared by the V-Dem Institute, which is affiliated with the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg (V-Dem Varieties of Democracy,

2023). According to the index, on a scale of 1 to 0, a value of 1 indicates the highest level of democracy, while 0 indicates the opposite. In this index, Kenya is ahead of Ethiopia (Our World in Data, 2023).

If we need to discuss the level of democracy in a little more detail in terms of the definition given in the previous section, the data provided by Freedom House will contribute in this regard. Considering the above definition of democracy, Freedom House (Freedom House, 2023) data is consistent with this definition. Accordingly, Kenya scored 48 out of 100 in the sense of the rank of democracy, while Ethiopia scored 23. In measuring the level of democracy, criteria such as free and fair elections, freedom to form political parties, equality in voting, free and independent media, and freedom of expression were taken into consideration in line with the above definition.

5. CONCLUSION

The essence of this study is to analyze the connection amidst the economy and democracy in Kenya and Ethiopia. The interdependence of economic development and democracy has been a subject of great attention since the Industrial Revolution. The empirical results obtained in this study demonstrate a substantial and positively correlated relationship between economic indicators and democracy-related indicators in both Kenya and Ethiopia. The outcomes imply that economic advancement has a pivotal role in the establishment and preservation of democratic systems in these nations. Specifically, the study reveals that a particular level of economic improvement is a prior condition for the evolution of democracy in Kenya and Ethiopia. Additionally, the research findings emphasize the significance of taking economic factors into account while searching into and advocating democracy in developing countries.

The connection amidst the economy and democracy in Kenya and Ethiopia can be described by the general expression "the flow from economy to democracy." This

means that economic development is necessary for the establishment and improvement of democratic systems. In both countries, economic development is necessary for the establishment and improvement of democratic systems. Therefore, so as to increase the level of democracy in these countries, exclusive interest should be given to economic development in areas such as national income, energy use, and industry. These are all important factors that can contribute to economic development, and they can also help to create a more favorable environment for democracy.

The study's findings propound that an augmentation in the mentioned economic indicators may result in the enhancement of human development, which can lay a robust groundwork for the flourishing of democracy. Thus, it is critical to prioritize economic development alongside political reforms to ensure that democratic systems can be established and sustained.

This means that as countries become more economically developed, their citizens tend to enjoy higher levels of human development, such as better education, health care, and living standards. Human development is important for democracy because it creates a more educated and informed citizenry. This is because education helps people to develop the skills and knowledge they need to participate in the political process. It also helps people to understand their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

The study's results underscore the importance of economic development as a key priority for policymakers in the two neighboring African countries, where there is a significant need for enhancing the level of democracy. By investing in economic development, these countries can establish the necessary foundations for democratic systems and promote sustainable political and economic growth.

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