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Political Parties and Democracy in Asia: Rise and Fall

Dini Harmita

Founder of Dini Harmita Research Institute that is in favor to work collaboratively for freedom, human rights, and democracy. To support the research institute she also builds an inclusive based business named Fumu-Fumu Hiroba which means a square of thinking that promotes a critical linkage between related sides.

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Author: Dini Harmita

About the author: Graduated from Graduate School of International Development (GSID) Nagoya University Japan in March 2021 with ADB-JSP scholarship and currently building a research institute. For inquiries: diniharmitaresearchinstitute@gmail.com.

Abstract

Asia is perceived as a home for democracy. Politics always take people's interest naturally, on different levels. Political parties are one of the channels that bridge the political pattern thoughts with the practices. Everyone has a right to perceive democracy unquestionably. This study is aimed at exploring the rise and fall of political parties and democracy in Asia through every possible glasses by answering how the relationship between political parties and democracy is perceived and what the roles of behavioral routinization in political parties and democracy are. The data is collected through secondary data and literature review apprehension, a brief online qualitative survey to 23 participants started from the beginning of 2022, and a historical timeline notion. The analysis used logical argumentation as the principal method, without omitting the numerical data. Each political role is presumed to have a different point of view in defining and perceiving stability as one of the indicators of Party System Institutionalization, and routinization as one of the dimensions of Party Institutionalization. The rootedness or value infusion of each role is also analyzed to deepen the understanding of institutionalization. Considering the pattern of party competition and organization, the stability itself can also be the dimension of the routinization. Other detailed elements under the routinization such as the independence towards donors or sponsors and charismatic leaders are also analyzed. Once each dimension is defined it will be linked with the democracy they perceive, hence the relationship between the political parties and democracy can be outlined. This paper concludes that Asia is veritably perceived differently by each actor. The rootedness of Asians is magnanimously magnificent and their determination to experience a better democracy is robustly steady. Nonetheless, the pattern of party competition and organization in Asia occurred intensively before the elections. Learning about the journey of democracy in Asia bears a resemblance to the despair and hope of political parties in harboring and encompassing their destinations concurrently.

Keywords:

Political Parties, Democracy, Asia, Institutionalization, Behavioral Routinization

I. INTRODUCTION

As a pattern of thoughts, politics always take people's interest naturally, on different levels. Some people may take it seriously through formal channels by being either an Activist, a Political Scientist, or a Politician. Some others remain to be voters or even silent. Political parties are among the channels which bridge the thoughts with the practices. Nevertheless, it is believed that most of us do not wish to be involved in our activities due to the stigma of being full of phonies and lies.

Asia has always been impressed by its rich culture from all directions, south to north, east to west, even in the midst of. When it comes to politics, its history becomes one of the main crucial pieces in explaining the rise and fall of its politics including the political parties. Upon its logics democracy then comes to the table inevitably as the course of action to achieve the ultimate goals of politics. Everyone has the right to define and perceive democracy unquestionably. Thereupon this study is aimed at exploring the rise and fall of political parties and democracy in Asia through every possible glasses. The grounding of how the story goes, its literature review and theoretical framework, research question, and methodology are explained in this chapter thoroughly and respectively.

As attempts to answer the research question henceforth, the next three chapters discuss each role in politics in Asia. Consequently, the discussion on the rise and fall of political parties and democracy in Asia is illustrated in a more detailed manner in Chapter V. To conclude, the rise and fall process driven through all previous chambers of apprehension and discussion is portrayed in the last chapter.

1.1. Background

Understanding Asia without connecting it with other continents and regions is beyond the bounds of possibility. Bentley (1999) mentioned that an exchange is the glue of the relationships. The exchange comprises cultural, biological, and commercial exchanges. The early modern era of Asia (1500 – 1800) was marked by the global trade networks establishment as influences from the US and Europe to Asian societies. The problem arose when the payment from Europe was changed from coins to opium. The coins were melted during the passage therefore it was intendedly replaced.

Peterson (2014) studied the first global trade route in 1519 – 1650 from Acapulco of New Spain to Manilla of the Philippines. The trade was not only involved Portuguese and Spanish but also Chinese and Japanese.

Wills JR (1993) mentioned that the interactive emergence of European domination in Asia between 1500 - 1800 was also stimulated by the spirit of finding the spice islands, along with the whole network of Asian maritime trade. The network linked the spice-producing regions with China, India, Muslim heartlands, and indirectly with Europe.

The American Numismatic Society (n. d.) mentioned that colonization is one of the three factors that changed the Asian monetary system, together with globalization trade and inflation marked by many dollars entered Asia in the 19th century.

Japan responded to the factors differently by entitling itself to a restoration called Meiji Restoration in 1868. The new order would ensure people's justice and opportunity. Their first steps were to reform their military, education, and economy through agricultural and industrial finance.

Other parts of Asia reacted differently. Vietnam and Cambodia became French protectorates. Laos was also clutched into French Indo-China but in different standings. Its capital Vientiane became modern and industrial while the rural areas stayed the same.

Zhussipbek (2017) studied the history of the Central Asian region from 1700 to 1991, starting from Tsarist expansion until the collapse of the Soviet Union. Sahin (2012) completed the story with the study about Ottoman Society from 1250 until 1950.

Following the different interpretations of Islam, extremists arose along with their allies and enemies. Countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq were parts of Asia where wars continuously and respectively happened triggered by radicalism.

Sketching Asia without World War I and World War II are comprehensively unacceptable. The Asian countries which imperatively were connected with other continents and regions through the exchange as the glue was amazingly evolved. One of them even became a colonialist in WW II: Japan.

In the 2000s economic growth was accelerated. In Central Asia, it happened after a painful transition period. The growth was driven by growing exports of certain commodities.

China has always been a power since the story of Asia was started. Accumulated with knowledge and experience, in 2013 President Xi Jinping proposed a One Belt One Road initiative involving 65 countries and requiring 850 billion \$ fund. It includes the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road programs.

Though colored with nepotism and corruption, Ceylon or Sri Lanka stunned the world with the mandate of Sirimavo Bandaranaike as its first female president in Asia in 1964. Indira Gandhi of India then followed in 1966 and 1980, and Golda Meir of Israel in 1969.

Media also plays several significant roles in assisting people to understand Asia. ABS-CBN of the Philippines is currently the best TV network in Asia, and KOMPAS of Indonesia is now the number one newspaper in Asia. Two important moments tailored for the media improvement are the discovery of the Morse Code in 1835 and the internet initiative introduced by the communication between two computers at MIT in 1965 which in 1969 was adopted by the US military.

The Asian financial crisis in 1997, the resignation of Soeharto after several demonstrations and protests in 1998, the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong in 2014, the conflict between Israel and Palestine from mid-20th century until the present, the Burmese coup d'état in 1962, and Myanmar coup d'état in 2021, the withdrawal of US from Afghanistan in 2021, the end of US combat in Iraq in 2021, and the Russia invasion efforts to Ukraine in 2022, at least stigmatized people with worries of the democracy backsliding.

The history of Asia anyway leverages people in defining and perceiving democracy. Few people would like to have a law and religion-based democracy in their countries. Few others think that democracy should be genuine, real, and consolidated. The elections should be free and fair, and the public administration should be efficient and inclusive. People should be actively participating in the governance. They would like to have a democracy that prevents corruption and brings no harm to anyone. Nonetheless, several people think that democracy is a mirage therefore then they questioned either democracy is the answer for the present, especially considering the rising of China's power. Notwithstanding the rising itself presumably is a phantasm.

The political parties in Asia are currently still struggling to gain the trust of the citizens. The citizens wish to experience the political parties with clear programs on state-citizen synergy, not only as an organization of politicians and elites. The political parties are only visible during the election time. In several countries, civil servants and women are not allowed to join political parties. The wear and tear worry of joining the political party is even mentioned by one of the brief survey participants of this study as perplexingly precarious as follows.

"I will be subjected to a ridiculous level of abuse from barbarians, ignoramuses, and malcontents that ranges from vile, publicly shouted epithets to actual physical threats."

If political parties and democracy in Asia are a coin, currently their relationship is in the stage of immature development where the materials are still causing needles on having the coin evaporated. The concepts are still in the sky though they are flying down lower and lower time by time and yet the surface is still in the process of getting ready to have the related practices implemented. Should the coin be changed by opium, it may cause further conflicts and war? Merely because of the people's nature in having difficulties to refrain from availing themselves to the excitement caused by the *Lachryma papaveris*. Thus a bridge is essential, as a plane for democracy taking off and landing properly. Considering the macroscopic scope can be touched and the microscopic details can be reached by behavioral routinization, it is presumed that it has the power to circumnavigate and land the relationship between political parties and democracy properly. The literature review and theoretical framework concerning the concepts, facts, and perceptions mentioned in this sub-chapter are unraveled in the next sub-chapter.

1.2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

1.2.1. History of Asia

During the early modern era (1500 – 1800) Asia didn't only maintain the commercial exchange with Europe but also with the US. Referring to Bentley (1999) in the 17th century the commodities traded between Asia and US included maize, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, peanuts, etc. Whilst with Europe Asia exchanged ship designs and advanced firearms.

Within the period of Acapulco – Manila Galleon Trade (1519 – 1650) the merchants and trade products from East Asia were crucial. The galleons themselves were built and maintained with local materials and the skill of indigenous craftsmen. Chinese and Japanese laborers were sporadically used. Until WW II the European expansion in Asia was dominated by the European imperial powers including scholars and traders.

Wills JR (1993) mentioned that during the early modern era Southeast Asia was seen as a mercantile monopolist's dream. The ports were hospitable to foreign merchants. After 1550 Japan was evolved with several changes including dramatic economic growth and urbanization, the emergence of urban popular culture, tradition, and identity of Japanese. In 1624 -1662 the Chinese seafarers were involved in the spectacular rise and fall of a Dutch colony in Taiwan. It built triangular relations such as what happened in Manila. In Taiwan's context the relations involved: 1) local people with little capacity to organize resistance; 2) Chinese settlers, merchants, and tax-farmers; and 3) a small and passive European community focused on an entre-pot trade with the Chinese.

Opium wars happened in 1839 – 1842 between Britain and China, triggered by the melted coins. The Sino-Japanese war between China and Japan happened in 1894 – 1895. The war was driven by the independence of Korea from China. The war was primarily a fight between China and Japan over Korea. Japan successfully took over Korea in 1910.

In the 19th century, the British East India company which regulated much of India was replaced by the British Raj. The British Raj was directly ruled by a British governor.

The military reform as the part of the Meiji Restoration in Japan included three phases: 1) 1853 – 1870: Experiments on new forms of the military which involved wide variation among organizations; 2) 1870 – 1878: The central government established one centralized organizational model for the army and navy; 3) 1878 – 1890: The military interacted with the political and social environment. Land Reform Act of 1873 introduced the new strains of rice and established the educational center of farming. It led to a 2% economic growth per year in 1870 – 1900. In 1873 they established a national banking system. Bank of Japan was then organized in 1881. In 1894 agricultural and industrial banks were formed to finance the farmers and manufacturers. Following the military and economic reform, a new system of compulsory education that emphasized scientific inquiry was introduced. The Education Order of 1872 then proclaimed that

education should no longer be the monopoly of the upper class or male population.

Whilst in Central Asia the economic growth picked up in the 2000s was mainly driven by emerging exports of oil and natural gas in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, aluminum in Tajikistan, gold in Kyrgyzstan, cotton in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and other metals in Kazakhstan.

Concerning China's Belt Road Initiative, Sarker et. al. (2018) stated that in 2014 the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) was launched to deal with the initiative. In 2015 some funding bodies of China have allocated the fund of 40 billion \$ for the Silk Road fund.

The journey of Asia seems to have risen from the survival attempts until self-actualization. The exchange process tends to develop the continent and its people gradually. Taking the example of Japan and China, both experienced the phase of rising and falling in their ways and time.

1.2.2. Party Institutionalization, Party System Institutionalization, and Behavioral Routinization

Lee and Casal Bértoa (2021) studied 154 elections in 19 post-WWII Asian democracies. They divided the authoritarian into military and personalist. According to the study the types of authoritarian and the legacies of non-British colonial impact the electorate stabilization prejudicially. They also stated that the historical legacies with matured democracy become the crucial implications for party systems development and democratic consolidation.

Opting in seeing the Party Institutionalization and Party System Institutionalization, and assessing the myth of institutionalization and democracy, Casal Bértoa (2017) mentioned that Party System Institutionalization has favored the survival prospects of democracy instead of Party Institutionalization. He compared seven authors and subjects related to the Party System Institutionalization. It was found that six of them mentioned stability as one of the indicators. While for Party Institutionalization he analyzed eleven authors and subjects. Eight of them mentioned routinization while six of them mentioned rootedness or value infusion as one of the dimensions. According to him, institutionalization tends to affect democratic accountability and responsiveness positively. Through the historical analysis of 64 different European political regimes, he concluded that as soon as a certain degree of Party System Institutionalization is reached the democracy will never collapse. The party system should always be the stable core of the whole democratic system.

Ufen (2007) defined Behavioral Routinization as the stable patterns of party competition and organization. It represents the independence from particular donors or sponsors and charismatic leaders with overpowering.

Political participation, actors, and roles inside a nation are commonly divided into voter, activist, politi-

cian, political scientist, and donor or sponsor. Underlining the independence from donors or sponsors emphasized in the Behavioral Routinization the public funding will also be analyzed in this study. As 'listen' and 'hear' have different meanings in politics, each political role is presumed to have a different point of view in defining and perceiving stability as one of the indicators of Party System Institutionalization, and routinization as one of the dimensions of Party Institutionalization. The rootedness or value infusion of each role will also be analyzed to deepen the understanding of the institutionalization. Considering the pattern of party competition and organization, the stability itself can also be the dimension of the routinization. Another detailed element that will be studied under the routinization is the independence of charismatic leaders. The next aspect to be measured is democracy. Once each dimension or indicator is defined it will be linked with the democracy they perceive, hence the relationship between the political parties and democracy can be outlined. The ocular theoretical framework can be seen visually in a simpler way through following Figure 1.

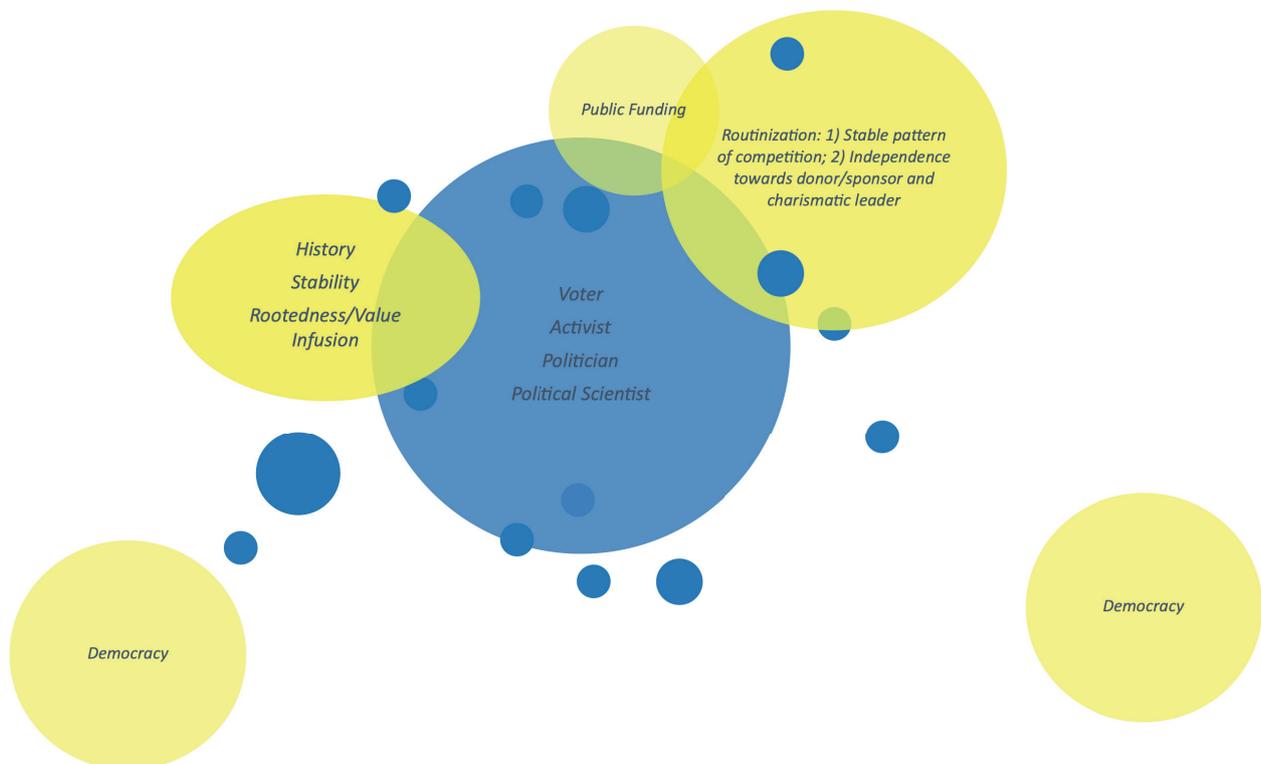


Figure 1. Theoretical Framework

1.3. Research Question and Methodology

Referring to Lee and Casal Bértoa (2021), Asia is pre-selected to be studied for this paper because it represents various types of democracy and autocracy, comprises different forms of government constitutionally, and adopts various electoral systems. The research questions are formulated as follows.

- 1 - How the relationship between political parties and democracy is perceived?
- 2 - What are the roles of behavioral routinization in political parties and democracy?

The data is collected through secondary data and literature review apprehension, a brief online qualitative survey to 23 participants started from the beginning of 2022, and a historical timeline notion. The analysis is using logical argumentation as the principal method, without omitting the numerical data. Several qualitative data are converted mathematically into numerical data e.g. percentage accordingly. The 23 participants consist of four Afghans, one Cambodian, one Canadian, two Filipinos, 13 Indonesians, one Japanese, and one Vietnamese.

II. A VOTER CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE

This chapter mainly talks about how political parties and democracy are perceived by voters in Asia. In a study about electoral politics in Southeast Asia and East Asia, Croissant (n. d.) mentioned that election can be a democratic instrument to reach a better condition. Nonetheless, there's no conclusive portrayal about how to define 'better'.

When people decide to be involved in politics as voters, then their characteristics are entitled to be analyzed because they're interconnected with their motivation in voting and deciding whom they want to choose as their leader. One of the main determinant factors is economic, as can be seen from the cases of developed and developing countries. Though basing the measurement only on GDP does not entirely represent but it has been proven that developed countries tend to accept and implement democracy is relatively smoother ways than the other countries. In Asia, Hong Kong China is ranked as Number 4 privileged as a developed country while Singapore, Japan, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Brunei, Qatar, Israel, Bahrain, Kuwait, UAE, Cyprus, and Oman are grouped as higher-income countries. Although they have higher income does not automatically mean that they have zero corruption cases. Corruption is one of the essential instruments in determining people's decision to vote and choose democracy or not, as mentioned by two survey participants below.

"Currently there's no effective solution for corruption, therefore almost no point in voting. I have no interest (in) getting into politics".

"I prefer to have many kinds of democracy which prevent corruption".

Along with China as an entity, Russia is grouped as an upper-middle-income country while Ukraine is becoming part of the lower-middle-income country group. Glancing back to the near past, still, in the same decade, Hong Kong has a huge historical moment of umbrella movement in 2014. Presuming that the presence of a protest vote means voters tend to also be involved in a social movement to mainly show their disagreement, it signifies that voters can make a difference, as stated by three survey participants below.

"Being a voter means that I also determine the future of the nation".

"I could choose the government I want".

"As voting is the best way for selecting someone or something because choosing (them) via this strategy has worked well each person has to vote (use) his or her voice".

Dossani et. al. (2021) mentioned that the democratization process is scoped into three types depending on the state of the regime: 1) From a non-democratic regime to a democratic regime, 2) Accelerating of democracy, 3) Surviving the democracy. According to their study about democracy in the Asia-Pacific Region, the participation of voters is not correlated well with democracy in Asia. Their participation tends to be high regardless of the democratic state. Nonetheless, the voters still perceive that experiencing a democracy does not always mean joining a political party. The survey participants who stated that they prefer being voters than other roles (39.1%) mentioned their concerns about political parties as follows.

"Better not involved in any political parties because I cannot trust any of them".

"I could join (a) political party if I find one worth to do so, but there's none".

The participants who mentioned that they would join a political party depending on the situation (47.8%) also stated about the dangerous liaison between political parties and corruption as follow.

"There's a big 'fee' for joining political party, therefore more chance for corruption".

Given the diversity, cooperation, and highly kinship attitude of Asia and its people, most of the participants (43.48%) expect to have a genuine democracy with people participating in the governance, not the fictitious one. Few participants from countries where Muslims are the majority (17.39%) mentioned that they're proud of their ancient yet great culture with all the rights of women protected by the Islamic law, henceforth they would like to have a democracy that allows them to experience equal rights between men and women. The rights include having equal education, expressing an opinion, working, and joining political parties.

Diversity is a popular yet intimate and esteemed word used by most of the participants (21.74%) to describe the rootedness essence of their countries, be it cultural, natural, or other aspects. One of them proudly stated the admiration as follows.

"We have cultural diversity. With so many cultures we can still work and help each other".

Transparency is another eminent word they used to describe the value they respect the most in politics and democracy in their countries. Unfortunately, one of them mentioned that they don't have it yet, followed by another statement that says that the oligarchy can design everything including who will be the winner and who will be the loser. A stable pattern of competition is still in the making.

Voters can also be having other roles in politics such as political scientists and politicians. The upcoming chapters discuss it thoroughly in a more detailed manner. Chapter V will mainly be presenting the analysis of the secondary data and historical timeline. All compounds will be then embroidered and concluded in Chapter VI.

III. POLITICAL SCIENCE: A SPACE FOR IN-DEPTH UNDERSTANDING

If Edgar Allan Poe in 1946 viewed science as a true daughter of old-time, then what would he say about political science? Alexander and Magaji (2021) shared Mahatma Gandhi's political philosophy as strength of relentless will instead of physical ability. Nevertheless, facts always serve that coercion in the form of physical wars emerges, starting from the Battle of Megiddo in 1479 BCE, The Germanic Wars in 113 BCE, The Roman-Persian Wars from 54 BCE, The Arab-Byzantine War in the 7th century, The Byzantine-Bulgarian Wars from 681, The Anglo-French Wars from 1066, The Ottoman Wars from 1265 in Europe for 653 years, and the longest war Reconquista from 711 which enkindled Spanish and Portuguese conquering into the New World.

When the new world came through the cultural, biological, and commercial exchanges, the physical wars are still tainting. Supposedly the indomitable will of triggering and executing the physical wars is more glaring than the will in preventing them to happen. Defense industries including war equipment and infrastructure companies and shareholders have oblivion willingness to lose their profits, adamant commander in chiefs of their countries, states, and nations have zero intention in failing their power, certain governors of idiosyncratic religions and beliefs have nil mindfulness in losing their followers, even an ambition of a rapacious and carnivorous king, would allow them to use any kinds of means including marginalized people i.e. women, to start a wart.

Political scientists have been in the front row in proving systematically that more or less a physical war is considered to have negative effects and bring harm to almost everyone, starting from the political philosophy of Plato (428/427 – 348/347 BCE) and Aristotle (384-322 BCE). Contemporary political science then arose and detached itself from the political philosophy since the 19th century when natural science was also shaped more excellently, vivifying the enthusiasm of building a new social science. It led to fact-based approaches to political science. Nonetheless, detachment is never meaning to leave the political philosophy entirely. For example, debates on the political economy would also use the advantage of capitalism, socialism, and communism as three economic major philosophies in economic, while contests on political ecology would also consider eco-centrism and ecofeminism philosophy. It is later known as an interdisciplinary branch of social sciences. These debates and contests one way or another presently prevail the global efforts to balance the economic and ecology challenge endeavors with the fast-based approaches political science, including global warming and climate change. Though political scientists are always at front, societies are always in the center. Political science is believed to have the capability in bridging both units, as mentioned by one of the survey participants below.

“Political science provides a space for in-depth understanding and debates on society and how to make it better”.

As 21.7% of survey participants chose not to be voters, political scientists, or politicians, the other 21.7% also chose to be political scientists. As for democracy, most participants including those who wish to be political scientists perceived that democracy is essential to functioning society more healthily. They mentioned that the efforts in implementing democracy presuppose non-solely undertakes as stated by one of the survey participants below.

“No confidence to change something (the current condition) by myself”.

Research passion is also mentioned by one of the participants as one of the meaningful encouragements in pursuing political science expertise. When it comes to defining a tailored democracy for their origin countries, most of them who chose to be political scientists tend to mention it specifically as a proficient governance system, be it parliamentary system or federal government.

The intellectual debate is underlined by one of the survey participants as one of the utmost respected values in implementing democracy. Unfortunately, the solicitude concerning its probability to become real comes as mentioned below.

“The intellectual debate, however, inaccessible it is”.

One of the logical arguments responding to the none-receptiveness is due to the authoritarian legacies in Asian countries. Back to Lee and Casal Bértoa (2021) who studied the electoral volatility in Asia since 1948, they classified the authoritarian legacies in Asia into a communist, non-communist one-party state, military, personalist, and no legacy. How they lead and have been led by either their own internal will or external force are furthermore explained in the next chapter.

IV. POLITICIANS BY CHANCE AND DESIGN: A VISION TO LEAD

Contemplating democracy in Lebanon, Mirza (2021) mentioned that democracy referring to the rule of people is a representative government system where people ought to acquire the right to determine not only their political course but also others including social and economic. As rulers, politicians have visions to lead, either by chance or design, be it triggered by internal will or external force, as mentioned by one of the survey participants below.

“Because it’s my goal to be a good politician and rescue my people from this situation”.

Few participants chose to be politicians (17.4%). Only 8.7% of participants mentioned that they like the idea of joining a political party. One more participant mentioned the current situation as the predetermi-

nation to be a politician as stated below.

"I have chosen by the situation because it was my dream to be a mayor. It looks funny but yes it is right! Because our city is small and it is unorganized. I want to organize everything".

Nevertheless, in most cases, those encouragements need to combat the entire established system. As mentioned by Lemon (2019) who studied authoritarian upgrading in Uzbekistan. He stated that the upgrading opts to adopt economic and political reforms to pacify the demand for democratization from the people. Simultaneously the elites take most of the benefits of globalization and marketization in the country.

In the case of most Southeast Asia countries including Indonesia, the political arena is a theatrical space for the high-income class to watch and enjoy the performance of middle and low-income classes. The low-income class is governed by the rules enacted by the middle-income class and is tailored to rule by the high-income class to relinquish them the advantages. That's precisely whence the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. The legitimate beneficiaries of development tend to be always in favor of the oligarchs, particularly authoritarians.

The posh life of certain rulers is mainly influenced by the context of the country. For example, in the advanced technology era presently, it has been proven by Rahbarqazi and Mahmoudoghli (2021) who studied modeling social media effects on political distrust in Lebanon that the opposing party is capable of governing the social media for their leverage upon the consent of political, economic, and cultural contexts.

In the context of Sri Lanka, Fernando (2020) who studied trust in the post-war era's reconciliation process mentioned the importance of a critical rational through inter-religious and inter-faith education and dialogue to preclude and enlighten religious determinism, exclusivism, and divisiveness. Thus it will create a chance for those who profoundly and wholeheartedly want to lead their legions to reconcile with related entities on given time as stated by two participants as follow.

"If there is a chance I want to go into politics".

"It's all about common purpose on given time".

One of the participants mentioned the opinion by asking whether prosperity equitable is a part of democracy. As implicitly mentioned earlier, all contexts are interdependent preeminently between democracy and economy. The economy has supreme power due to the capacity of its 'big bucks'. Anyhow that's what shapes an authoritarian. Considering every related variable including each country's context and the majesty of time, the types of rulers in Asia are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Types of Ruler in Asia

Types of Ruler	Countries (Asia)
Authoritarian (Communist)	Mongolia, Russia, Vietnam, China, Laos
Authoritarian (Military)	Myanmar, North Korea
Authoritarian (Personalist)	The Philippines, Nepal, Syria
Authoritarian Populism	Indonesia
Competitive Authoritarian	Cambodia
Tribal Autocracy	UAE
Emirate Autocracy	Kuwait
Royal Dictatorship	Iran
Authoritarian Upgrading	Uzbekistan
Authoritarian by Design	Palestine (unfair peace process)
Soft Authoritarianism	Singapore (with basic democratic institutions of the British political tradition), Tajikistan (spiritual authoritarianism)
Semi-consolidated Authoritarian	Armenia
Authoritarian on the Rise	Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and Thailand (double down authoritarian)
Authoritarian to Democracy:	Iraq, Kazakhstan, Yemen, Taiwan, South Korea, Pakistan, Bangladesh (since the country's foundation), Azerbaijan (from communism), Lebanon (transition)
Militarism to Democracy (traditionally, neoliberal democracy)	Japan
Monarchy	Qatar, Oman (Sultanism), Bhutan (calm without militarism dictatorship), Bahrain (from authoritarian to democracy), Malaysia (federal representative democratic constitutional monarchy), Saudi Arabia (absolutism), Brunei (absolutism and Sultanism)
Totalitarian	Turkmenistan
Democracy with Authoritarian Temptation	East Timor, India
Democracy on the Rise	Kyrgyzstan
Laissez-faire (allow to do) Democracy	Lebanon
Semi-democratic with Imposed Authoritarian	Hong Kong
Democracy sliding toward Autocracy	Georgia
Democracy Reform Initiatives to Authoritarianism	Jordan
Democracy with Authoritarianism and Ethnic Supremacy	Israel
Flawed Democracy	Cyprus
Muslim Democracy	Maldives

Source: Processed from Various Sources.

From the table above it is widely recognized that Asia is not as polarized as it is presumed. Autocracy and democracy are sometimes fragmented and collided with each other, at a given time. Perhaps it suggests that good people also still have a chance to be good politicians and lead sublime Asia into a better future.

V. POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY IN ASIA: RISE AND FALL

The journey of modernity and democracy in many nations has risen from the twin revolutions of Europe namely the Industrial Revolution with its industrialization and the French Revolution with its development process, including in India (Vaddiraju, 2021). Most political parties in India were built from social movements. While the rise of Maoists has brought Nepal into a democratic transition (Manhas, 2021). The Karamat Watan (March of Dignity) in Kuwait also forced its prime minister to resign for the first time in history (Martin, 2021). Nonetheless, the social movement also happened concerning anti-democracy such as the Yellow Shirts movement in Thailand (Sinpeng, 2021).

Herasina (2021) called the modernization of Japan's political system a process from militarism to neoliberal democracy. While Borazan (2020) mentioned the political economy of rural Syria as the rise and fall of the populist regime. Menon, Hartz-Karp, and Marinova (2021) questioned the deliberative democracy in urban India. As mentioned by Mansuri and Rao (2013), related sides can be involved in every step of the political process with induced participation to elaborate the spirit of organic participatory change, learning, and stable engagement. The participatory ways will also influence the government to be more driven by the citizens' needs. One of the countries in Asia which has been experiencing the impacts of political distrust which leads to the low political participatory level is Kazakhstan, while Kyrgyzstan has triumphed with the early democracy contentment (Schmitz, 2021).

The entire level of Azerbaijan's national economy was influenced by the authoritarian-driven new extractives projects (Bashirov, 2021). The projects reduced the severe-absolute poverty, nevertheless, they also caused inequality and corruption. Though the social movement in Kuwait reformed the nation at the same point it also failed in maintaining public support. The opposition politics were perceived to be as corrupt as pledged. Rahmany (2019) called the corruption in Afghanistan a culture where black money and money laundry found their way through extremism in the country. Lovotti and Proserpio (2021) also mentioned a sense of national inclusiveness in Iraq as a shared "Iraqiness" through the power of a new slogan titled "we want a homeland" has been coloring the activists in Iraq to re-decipher their resentment towards corruption. Corruption in Georgia is also rhadamanthine. Kukhianidze (2021) mentioned that Georgia's current ruler has been petrified that his multibillion-dollar assets in the West will be frozen following his and his ruling party's corruption.

The clientelism network has also become one of the colors of politics in Asia. El Dessouky (2021) mentioned that the clientelism network in Bahrain has allowed the Government of Bahrain to acquire power over resources and information flow. Due to such relationships, Travouillon (2020) questioned whether it is time for Cambodia to break up with the international community or not. Ngin and Neef (2021) explained the unequal relationships between large-scale investors, migrants, and local communities in rural areas of Cambodia are also caused by the neo-patrimonial relations between politicians and investors, including international investors. Nguyen (2021) studied financial development, income inequality, and the role of democracy with evidence from Vietnam in the period 2000 - 2020. According to the study, financial development tends to prevail over higher income inequality in a state where the democracy level is lower.

Oil countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and UAE which has proven that the Kingdom's governance affects the economic growth is supposedly rich yet its vulnerable people still reached 15 - 20% (Mahmood, 2021; Zumbrägel, 2020). Nonetheless, according to Zaccara (2021), the oil countries are entitled to a robust prestige in maintaining traditional attitudes regarding women becoming active in the economic field, compared to other Muslim countries with less economic growth such as Afghanistan and Iraq. Brysk (2020) mentioned that Taiwan which is considered to be the most outstanding democratic country in Asia respects women to have equal rights as men, including in economic, voting, and becoming politicians. On the grounds of women are also part of the citizens, they have a right to vote and become politicians. A man or woman does not necessarily have to be good to avail him/herself in the political arena.

It cannot be denied that one of the commendable constituents that came to the historical setting of political parties and democracy passage in Asia is religion or spiritual voyage, especially Christian, Catholic, Jewish, Islam, and Buddhism. As a characteristic of a community, it consists of groups. Thus the followers of each religion are also grouped mainly by their interpretation of the mentored values. Within Islam itself usually, the fight occurred between Sunni and Shia. Merone (2021) that the political process in Iraq also influences the development determination between the Sunni political community and the sectarianism of Shia politics. Another group that claimed as not part of Islam called The Druze grew as a political entity in the modern state of Syria, Lebanon, and Israel (Lang, 2021). Aleef (2021) also mentioned that the party ideological change in Tajikistan was bounded because of certain Islamic discourse interpretations including its congeniality with other democratic affairs.

Muslims in Indonesia are more divergent compared to other countries. Its classification can be as varied as the classification of authoritarianism and democracy in the aforementioned Table 1. One person can be Sunni, Shia, and Sufi at the same time. Most Indonesian participants of this study mentioned that they want to experience an Islamic democracy (23.08%). Notwithstanding considering the populous characteristics of the Muslims in Indonesia defining an Islamic democracy is more than a challenge. The country has experienced both authoritarian and democratic legacies. Nonetheless, with any kinds of legacies, the conflicts that occurred in the country have always been at small and local levels. Howbeit even with the current leader's economy-sparing approach, Mujani and Liddle (2021) mentioned that around 27 million more populations have been living in poverty compared to before the pandemic, and the unemployment has revolted from five to seven percent. Their efforts to use pandemics as excuses to grow the economics of the country capitalize more oligarchy and dynasty families instead. The Maldives is a small country therefore it's relatively easier for them to define and determine themselves as a Muslim Democracy. Bhim (2020) mentioned that the democracy in the Maldives has inspired their communities through multiparty elections resulting. Learning from the experiences of being occupied by Indonesia, East Timor interpreted democracies in better ideas and practices. They're currently enjoying the privilege of early democracy along with its challenges.

Concerning the responses toward the pandemic, Woo (2020) stated that the case of Singapore has proven that the coercive political capability has the potential to rising the political distrust in the medium term and destroy the whole political capability in the long term. Zaman (2021) mentioned other challenges

faced by Asian political parties and democracy in the forms of administrative behavior in Bangladesh, as in the Philippines. The struggles lie in interpreting the political philosophy into administration. Learning from South Korea, Yap (2021) mentioned that local-level politics tend to be different from the national level. It influences the quality and depth of democracy as the operationalization of the democracy is distinctive at each level.

Although Bhutan can be categorized as indigenously developed with its Grass National Happiness (GNH) instead of GDP, Zangmo (2020) mentioned the role of community temples that have been struggling to survive financially and in getting local participation across Bhutan. It endangers the traditional culture and knowledge. The local culture as the soul of national happiness may be evanescent.

Israel and Palestine have been being two nations taking over the world's attention before China's Belt and Road Initiative, US withdrawal from Afghanistan, and Russia's version Ukraine conflict. Through the unfair peace process, the democracy attempts in Palestine have become an autocracy by design. The authoritarian and ethnic supremacy of Israel's democracy seems unlikely to initiate a peace process thoroughly.

The rise and fall of political parties and democracy in Asia can also be corroborated by Turkmenistan and Cyprus. Da Silva Bezerra (2021) mentioned that none of nine elections conducted by Turkmenistan since their independence day was deliberated free and fair by international institutions. Venizelos (2021) probed the puzzling non-rise of Cyprus populist actors during a populist twist solemnized with the global financial crisis. Regardless of the crisis fathoming soused by Cyprus for five years from 2013, interlaced with intellectual qualm fronting political institutions [that presumed amicable to populist actors rise] zero popular actors were coming forth in Cyprus to confront the compelling severity-driven government of the Right. Umar and Saylan (2021) studied the crisis in the rise of representative liberal democracy to populist authoritarianism with post-truth politics. They stated that representative liberal democracy is prevailingly aforethought as to the utmost flawless political regime. The crisis they studied is more clarified through its predominance of ideology and its implementation. It becomes transparent that it becomes practical in the context of global capitalism within the world system [that is hypothesized through its historical dimension]. Analyzing the political economy of China and Turkey relations, Öniş and Yalikus (2021) stated that the style of authoritarian capitalism of China has also formed an option to Western-style democratic figurine. At a given time and in its way, it accoutered excuse the internal authoritarian regimes. In the Philippines, autocracy happened through a personal leader instead of militarism. Nonetheless, learning from the Philippines' case Garrido (2021) mentioned that democracy is not only and always about who is the ruler but also how they are expected to rule, as mentioned below.

"Just because people are turning away from liberal norms does not mean that they are rejecting democracy tout court. After all this time, people have become habituated to democracy. They accept the idea that the people decide who gets to rule but disagree on the matter of how they should be ruled". (p.14)

Depending on the ownership, the media has the power to choose their course. In Bahrain, the media is in favor of the authoritarian (Jones, 2021). While the media system in Syria is fragmented (Badran, 2021),

the media in Iraq stands between democratic freedom and security pressures (Salim, 2021). Palestine has been utilizing their media resiliently for its national liberation (King, 2021). Twitter is observed as the most favorite social media platform liked by politicians to be engaged with their current and potential voters. Nonetheless, Kermani and Adham (2021) have proven that the case of Iran is different. Iran tends to build a gatekeeper through their related ministry to control the communication through social media, particularly Twitter.

Albeit the relationship between China and US has always been ensuing a bipolar world, Yaseen, Jathol, and Muzaffar (2021) mentioned that they have potential as the economic giants in working together mainly in facing the escalated climate change issues. The efforts can also involve other related countries which have been standing in between them e. g. Mongolia (Srivastava, 2021) and Sri Lanka (Fernando, 2022). Apart from the justified nepotism, DeVotta (2021) mentioned that the current rulers of Sri Lanka may bring the return of ethnocracy. Their determination to maintain their power for a longer time is definite. Johansson (2020) mentioned that Yemen has also been in a long historical relationship with the US. Notwithstanding the relationship, Yemen also has a related engagement with Saudi Arabia and UAE. Yemen supports Saudi Arabia is escalating its power in the Middle East. Yemen sells weapons to Saudi Arabia. UAE provides a good livelihood and economic advantages in the US, while Saudi Arabia is ensuring oil price stabilization for the US.

Wu and Martus (2020) also mentioned the contested environmentalism between China and Russia. According to them, both offered insightful thoughts about the nature of environmental politics in the authoritarian regime. It is highly believed that the strategy should have been taken to sustain their power through the engagement of related sides concerning nature conservation. Harmita (2009, 2021) studied collaborative management in the context of nature conservation. Her research concluded that the nature of environmental politics tends to be achieved through a collaborative manner, which is believed to be having more intersections of sets from the universal sets with democracy than autocracy.

Talib (2021) mentioned the after-effects of Kim Jong Nam's assassination in 2017 on the relationships of Malaysia and North Korea. Both have been attempting to maintain a neutral and meaningful relationship. Regardless of Malaysia's intention to be favorable to all countries, North Korea tried to reach its geopolitical independence and economic self-reliance. Analogous with North Korea, Laos as a country with an authoritarian legacy faced cooperative control as the ordained disappearances (Flores, 2021). The aftermath of the Burmese and Myanmar coup have also been influencing the rise and fall of political parties and democracy in other countries. Myanmar was entitled to electoral democracy. Notwithstanding the military spoiled it vigorously, as mentioned by Bünthe (2021) as follows.

"If the focus were on elections alone, Myanmar could be considered an 'electoral democracy', though the reserved seats for military officers block the 'chain of responsiveness'". (p.14)

Abouzzohour (2021) called Oman an absolute monarchy with the sultan as head of state, head of government, and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. The Sultan of Oman's position is unique

compared to other monarchs in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Monarchs which implemented democracy-oriented reforms hold confinements, such as in Morocco and Jordan. Other Gulf monarchies are also strained by the royal families full of political power. Notwithstanding, the Sultan of Oman is not hampered by any. Sheline (2021) assessed the resonance of official Islam in Oman, Jordan, and Morocco. According to her, the political fervor acts by Muslim certain individuals have triggered international support for the “moderate Islam” governments. While according to Partow (2021), Brunei is currently having the second wave of Islamization differently from the first one. Putra (2021) mentioned that Brunei’s foreign policy has always been distinctively shaped by the multipolar system since the 21st century. Due to its status quo, Brunei attempts to be mindful in handling the South China Sea issue and engaging China for economic opportunities.

Rootedness or value infusion in Asia is embedded through various means. Stuart-Fox (2006) called Buddhism one of the purest and most reflective religions. It teaches compassion, as Shintoism, Confucianism, Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam also do. Sobirovich (2021) mentioned the value of democracy respected in Uzbekistan as freedom, equality, dreams, and happy life. While Chan (2021) described alternative knowledge as one of the privileges related to democracy, particularly the one gained by a social movement. Kimura (2021) mentioned the importance of dialogue (対話) not only in bilateral relations between Japan and Myanmar but also in the foreign policy of Japan concerning human rights. Rid (2020) mentioned that Islamic theology has always underlined minority rights. It is written in Quran as *لَا يُكْرَهُ عَلَى أَحَدٍ*. The literal translation is “there shall be no compulsion in religion”. It is then interpreted by most scholars as a crystal statement to forfend the hypocrisy of its faith by coercion. It casts aside insincere conversions. It respects other beliefs to keep what they have faith in hence disciplining it. Karlsson (2021) mentioned a “clash of civilizations” as a viewpoint between Christian and Islamic, which had caused the Armenian genocide. The viewpoint anyhow brings the context of wisdom and maturity, consciousness, narratives, and values of history. Rid (2020) voiced that spiritual sovereignty is encapsulated in the heart of democratic values, i.e. ‘freedom’ and ‘equal opportunity’.

VI. CONCLUSION

Mobrand, Casal Bértoa, and Hamada (2019) called Asia the home of democracy, with direct and indirect forms of public funding to political parties and candidates. This paper concludes that as a home, Asia is veritably perceived differently by voters, activists, political scientists, and politicians. Nevertheless, there’s a tendency where voters and activists perceive that their voices count. Such wisdom is found even in unlikely places. While political scientists in Asia are longing for intellectual debates and sincere politicians still have hopes amidst the political disarray. It is expected that those tendencies will lead to better stability and routinization. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the rootedness of Asians is magnanimously magnificent. Despite the rise and fall from centuries ago their determination to experience a better democracy is robustly steady. The pattern of party competition and organization in Asia occurred intensively before the elections. The dependency on a charismatic leader is still strong. The probability to call the pattern as healthy is still low, following the indications where despite the public funding the

dependency toward donors and sponsors still exists. As Enyedi and Casal Bértoa (2022) mentioned, the elections may have never been about something. Elections are not merely the instrument for democracy, but it's one of the goals. Every political actor tends to participate to be electorally voting or voted. The democracy is claimed, declared, and announced once the direct, public, fair, free, and confidential elections are reached. Behavioral routinization characterized by at least collaborative planning is supposed to function even after elections. Nonetheless learning about the journey of democracy itself bears a resemblance to despair and hope of political parties in harboring and encompassing their destinations concurrently.

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PARTNERS

