



## DEMOCRATIC BACKSLIDING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CAUSES, PATTERNS AND REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Ms. Swati Dash

Head, PG Department of Political Science Christ College, Cuttack, Odisha

### ABSTRACT

Democratic backsliding has emerged as one of the most critical political developments in Southeast Asia during the twenty-first century. Although the region witnessed important democratic transitions during the late twentieth century, several Southeast Asian countries are currently experiencing democratic erosion characterized by executive aggrandizement, military intervention, declining electoral integrity, constitutional manipulation, shrinking civic space, and digital authoritarianism. This article critically examines the causes, patterns, and regional implications of democratic backsliding in Southeast Asia. Employing comparative political analysis and case studies from Thailand, Myanmar, Indonesia, the Philippines, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Singapore, the study argues that democratic decline in the region results from interactions between institutional fragility, military dominance, populist leadership, oligarchic politics, socio-economic inequality, and technological surveillance. The article further demonstrates that democratic erosion has serious consequences for ASEAN's institutional legitimacy, regional security, economic governance, and human rights protection. Contemporary developments between 2024 and 2026 reveal increasing authoritarian resilience alongside continuing democratic resistance through youth activism, civil society mobilization, and electoral contestation. The article concludes that democratic resilience in Southeast Asia depends upon institutional reform, stronger democratic norms, regional accountability, and sustained civic participation. Without meaningful democratic renewal, the region risks deeper consolidation of hybrid authoritarian regimes maintaining electoral legitimacy while systematically weakening democratic freedoms and political pluralism.

**KEYWORDS :** Democratic Backsliding, Southeast Asia, ASEAN, Authoritarianism, Hybrid Regimes, Populism, Military Intervention, Democratic Recession, Digital Authoritarianism, Governance

### INTRODUCTION

The post-Cold War period generated widespread optimism regarding the global expansion of liberal democracy. Samuel Huntington's concept of the "Third Wave of Democratization" suggested that authoritarian regimes across Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe would gradually transition toward democratic governance. Southeast Asia appeared to support this expectation through democratic transitions in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand.

However, the democratic optimism associated with the post-Cold War period has increasingly weakened. Several Southeast Asian states now exhibit patterns of democratic erosion, authoritarian resurgence, institutional decline, and shrinking political freedoms. Democratic systems that once appeared to be consolidating have become vulnerable to executive aggrandizement, military intervention, digital authoritarianism, and populist mobilization.

Democratic backsliding refers to the gradual weakening of democratic institutions, practices, and norms under elected governments. Unlike classical authoritarian takeovers through violent coups or abolition of elections, democratic erosion frequently occurs incrementally through legal and constitutional mechanisms. Governments preserve the appearance of democratic legitimacy while systematically weakening opposition parties, judicial independence, media freedom, and civil society participation.

### Literature Review

The concept of democratic backsliding has become central within comparative politics and democratization studies. Nancy Bermeo identifies executive aggrandizement as one of the dominant contemporary forms of democratic decline. Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt argue that democracies increasingly die gradually through institutional erosion rather than sudden authoritarian overthrow.

Levitsky and Way's theory of competitive authoritarianism is particularly relevant to Southeast Asia because several governments preserve formal democratic institutions while systematically disadvantaging opposition forces. Contemporary scholarship also emphasizes digital authoritarianism, oligarchic politics, populist mobilization,

military intervention, and constitutional manipulation as major drivers of democratic decline.

Recent Southeast Asian scholarship highlights how hybrid regimes combine electoral institutions with authoritarian governance practices. Scholars further argue that ASEAN's doctrine of non-interference limits regional democratic accountability and contributes to authoritarian resilience.

### Theoretical Framework

This article employs comparative political analysis combining democratic backsliding theory, hybrid regime analysis, and competitive authoritarianism. The framework assumes that democratic decline results not from a single factor but from interactions among institutional weakness, elite incentives, military power, socio-economic inequality, and technological control.

The study also incorporates the concept of authoritarian resilience, which explains how authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes adapt to democratic pressures while maintaining centralized political control.

### Historical Background of Democratization in Southeast Asia

The late twentieth century witnessed important democratic openings across Southeast Asia. The Philippines restored democracy after the 1986 People Power Revolution. Indonesia democratized following Suharto's resignation in 1998. Thailand introduced constitutional reforms encouraging electoral competition and civilian governance.

Despite these transitions, democratization remained institutionally fragile due to:

- Patronage politics
- Military influence
- Weak political parties
- Corruption
- Elite domination
- Socio-economic inequality

Consequently, many Southeast Asian countries evolved into hybrid political systems combining democratic institutions with authoritarian governance practices.

## Causes of Democratic Backsliding

### 1. Institutional Fragility

Weak democratic institutions allow ruling elites to centralize executive authority, manipulate constitutions, and undermine judicial independence.

### 2. Military Intervention

Military institutions continue playing central political roles in mainland Southeast Asia, especially in Thailand and Myanmar.

### 3. Populism and Executive Aggrandizement

Populist leaders weaken democratic institutions while claiming exclusive representation of "the people."

### 4. Elite Capture and Oligarchic Politics

Economic elites and political dynasties dominate policymaking, media ownership, and electoral politics.

### 5. Digital Authoritarianism

Governments increasingly employ cyber surveillance, facial recognition, online censorship, and misinformation campaigns.

### 6. Weak Civil Society

Restrictions on NGOs, academic freedom, protests, and independent media reduce democratic accountability.

## Patterns of Democratic Backsliding

Major patterns of democratic erosion in Southeast Asia include:

- Competitive authoritarianism
- Hybrid regimes
- Constitutional manipulation
- Electoral erosion
- Democratic regression through coups

Competitive authoritarian regimes preserve formal elections while limiting fair political competition. Hybrid regimes combine democratic procedures with centralized political control. Electoral manipulation increasingly includes vote-buying, gerrymandering, candidate disqualification, and state-controlled electoral commissions.

## Country-Specific Experiences

### Thailand:

Thailand continues experiencing military influence, constitutional instability, and judicial interventionism despite electoral competition.

### Myanmar:

Myanmar's democratic transition collapsed following the 2021 military coup, resulting in civil conflict, humanitarian crisis, and international isolation.

### Indonesia:

Indonesia remains relatively democratic but faces oligarchic consolidation, weakening anti-corruption institutions, and democratic regression.

### Philippines:

Populist governance under Rodrigo Duterte weakened democratic accountability and intensified concerns regarding human rights and media freedom.

### Cambodia:

Cambodia increasingly resembles a consolidated one-party authoritarian state through opposition suppression and electoral manipulation.

### Malaysia and Singapore:

Both countries demonstrate hybrid governance structures balancing electoral competition with centralized institutional control.

## Current Data and Contemporary Developments (2024–2026)

According to the 2025 Freedom House Report:

- Myanmar, Cambodia, and Vietnam are categorized as "Not Free."

- Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines are categorized as "Partly Free."

### Myanmar:

- More than 5,000 civilians reportedly killed since the 2021 military coup.

- Over 3 million internally displaced persons by 2025.

### Indonesia:

- The 2024 elections raised concerns regarding oligarchic politics and weakening democratic accountability.

### Thailand:

- Continued military influence remains embedded within constitutional structures despite electoral competition.

### Cambodia:

- Opposition suppression and dynastic political succession strengthened authoritarian consolidation.

Digital authoritarianism increasingly includes:

- AI surveillance
- Facial recognition systems
- Cyber censorship
- Coordinated misinformation campaigns

China's expanding geopolitical influence further promotes authoritarian developmental models emphasizing political stability and centralized governance.

## Regional Implications

### 1. Weakening of ASEAN Norms

ASEAN's principle of non-interference limits regional responses to democratic crises.

### 2. Human Rights Challenges

Democratic decline intensifies censorship, political imprisonment, and restrictions on civil liberties.

### 3. Economic Consequences

Political instability negatively affects transparency, governance quality, foreign investment, and sustainable development.

### 4. Geopolitical Realignment

China's growing influence promotes authoritarian developmentalism emphasizing centralized governance over liberal democratic accountability.

### 5. Decline of Democratic Solidarity

Authoritarian governments increasingly cooperate through surveillance technologies, security partnerships, and digital governance strategies.

## Democratic Resilience and Future Prospects

Despite democratic decline, democratic resilience persists through:

- Youth-led democratic movements
- Civil society mobilization
- Electoral participation
- Digital activism
- International democratic pressure

Thailand's youth protests, Myanmar's Civil Disobedience Movement, and Indonesian student activism demonstrate continuing public demands for accountability, constitutional reform, and democratic freedoms.

## CONCLUSION

Democratic backsliding in Southeast Asia reflects both global democratic recession and region-specific structural vulnerabilities shaped by institutional fragility, military intervention, populist politics, oligarchic domination, and technological authoritarianism.

The region demonstrates multiple pathways of democratic erosion ranging from executive aggrandizement and electoral manipulation to military coups and hybrid authoritarian governance. Democratic decline significantly affects ASEAN's institutional legitimacy, regional security, human rights protection, economic governance, and geopolitical stability.

Nevertheless, democratic resilience persists through youth mobilization, civil society activism, electoral participation, and continuing public demands for accountability. The future of democracy in Southeast Asia depends upon institutional reform, stronger democratic norms, regional cooperation, and sustained civic engagement.

Without meaningful democratic renewal, Southeast Asia risks deeper authoritarian consolidation under regimes maintaining electoral legitimacy while systematically weakening democratic freedoms and political pluralism.

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Ms. Swati Dash

HOD, PG Department of Political Science

Christ College, Cuttack, Odisha, India

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