

Research Note

Classifying and explaining democracy in the Muslim world

Rohaizan Baharuddin*

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to classify and explain democracies in the 47 Muslim countries between the years 1998 and 2008 by using liberties and elections as independent variables. Specifically focusing on the context of the Muslim world, this study examines the performance of civil liberties and elections, variation of democracy practised the most, the elections, civil liberties and democratic transitions and patterns that followed. Based on the quantitative data primarily collected from Freedom House, this study demonstrates the following aggregate findings: first, the “not free not fair” elections, the “limited” civil liberties and the “Illiberal Partial Democracy” were the dominant feature of elections, civil liberties and democracy practised in the Muslim world; second, a total of 413 Muslim regimes out of 470 (47 regimes x 10 years) remained the same as their democratic origin points, without any transitions to a better or worse level of democracy, throughout these 10 years; and third, a slow, yet steady positive transition of both elections and civil liberties occurred in the Muslim world with changes in the nature of elections becoming much more progressive compared to the civil liberties’ transitions.

Keywords: Election; civil liberties; democracy; Muslim world politics; OIC.

Abstrak: Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk mengklasifikasikan dan menerangkan demokrasi dalam 47 negara Islam antara tahun 1998 hingga 2008, dengan menggunakan kebebasan sivil dan pilihan raya sebagai pembolehubah tidak

* Rohaizan Baharuddin is Lecturer at the School of Education, Taylor’s University, Malaysia. Email: mawarputih2@yahoo.com.

bebas yang utama. Khususnya, dalam konteks dunia Islam, kajian ini coba untuk menjawab soal-soal berikut: bagaimana prestasi kebebasan sivil dan pilihan raya, kepelbagaian demokrasi yang sering diamalkan; dan bagaimana pilihanraya, kebebasan sivil dan peralihan demokrasi berlaku serta apakah pola yang diikuti. Berdasarkan data primer kuantitatif daripada Freedom House, kajian ini menunjukkan penemuan-penemuan seperti berikut: pertama, pilihan raya yang “tidak bebas tidak adil”, kebebasan sivil yang “terhad” dan “demokrasi terhad separa bebas” merupakan kategori yang paling dominan yang diamalkan dalam dunia Islam. Kedua, sebanyak 413 rejim Islam daripada 470 (47 rejim x 10 tahun) kekal pada takuk yang asal dari segi demokratik, tanpa sebarang peralihan kepada satu tahap demokrasi yang lebih baik mahupun yang lebih teruk lagi sepanjang 10 tahun tersebut. Ketiga, peralihan yang perlahan tetapi positif bagi pilihan raya dan kebebasan sivil berlaku dalam dunia Islam, yang mana perubahan keadaan pilihanraya menjadi lebih progresif berbanding dengan peralihan kebebasan sivil.

Kata kunci: Pilihan raya, kebebasan sivil, demokrasi, politik Dunia Islam, OIC.

This study is about the trends and practices of different types of democracy in the Muslim world. In measuring the performance of democracy, two variables have long been used – election and civil liberties. Many scholars are involved in the study of elections such as Kupchan (1998), Carothers (2003), Diamond (2003), Holmes (2003), Monshipouri (2004) and Smith and Ziegler (2008). Similarly, abundant research can be found on civil liberties such as Bell et al. (1995), Zakaria (1997; 2003), Anwar Ibrahim (2006) and Krastev (2006). However, only few scholars specifically study both subjects simultaneously (Dahl, 1971; Plattner, 1998; Shattuck & Atwood, 1998; and Tibi, 2008). This might be the result of the “established” assumption that when we talk about democracy, both civil liberties and elections are inseparable – hence the term “liberal democracy.”

This study aims to examine the practices of civil liberties and elections in the Muslim world between 1998 and 2008. It also attempts to determine the levels and variations of democracy practised in Muslim societies. Specifically, this study seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the extent of civil liberties practised in the Muslim world?
2. To what extent are elections in the Muslim world free and fair?

3. Which variations of democracy are practised in the Muslim world?
4. How did regime change take place in the Muslim world and what patterns did they follow?

Briefly, this study will use elections and civil liberties as variables to measure democratic level and performance in Muslim countries. The relationships between varying degrees of elections – “free and fair”, “free not fair” and “not free not fair” combined with varying provisions of civil liberties – “expansive”, “limited” and “repressive” are expected to produce seven types of democracies – “liberal democracy”, “illiberal democracy”, “liberal partial democracy”, “illiberal partial democracy”, “repressive partial democracy”, “illiberal non-democracy” and “repressive non-democracy” as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Relationships between elections, civil liberties and democracy

Elections Civil Liberties	Free and Fair	Free Not Fair	Not Free Not Fair
Expansive	Liberal Democracy	Liberal Partial Democracy	
Limited	Illiberal Democracy	Illiberal Partial Democracy	Illiberal Non-democracy
Repressive		Repressive Partial Democracy	Repressive Non-democracy

Source: Smith and Ziegler (2008).

Table 1 groups civil liberties into three – “expansive”, “limited” and “repressive”. “Expansive” civil liberties provides full recognition and protection of all citizens’ rights (liberal), as operationally defined by Smith and Ziegler (2008); “limited” refers to ensuring certain civil liberties but intervening in others (illiberal); whereas “repressive” means a repression of people’s civil liberties. Similarly, elections are also categorized into three: “free and fair”, “free not fair”, and “not free not fair”. Elections which are “free and fair” (democratic) include regular elections, universal suffrage and party’s competition with equal opportunity and prospect for campaigning, mobilizing support and winning; these are also overseen by non-partisan bodies. In contrast,

“free not fair” elections (partial democracy) are meaningless elections, which reflect the presence of regular elections, universal suffrage and party’s competition, but with absence of equal treatment and equal chances to certain candidates and supervision by a partisan electoral body. Meanwhile, elections that are “not free not fair” (non-democracy) apply to governments without elections, headed by un-elected rulers, or held under military occupation, or invasion of foreign power.

The mixture of different variants of civil liberties and elections will eventually produce seven types of democracy. The first one is “liberal democracy”, which refers to a democratic government that holds regular elections, universal suffrage and party’s competition, with equal opportunities and prospects for campaigning, mobilizing support and winning as well as overseen by a non-partisan electoral commission. This type of regime recognizes and protects freedom of arbitrary arrest, freedom of assembly, organization and movement, freedom of expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of press. “Illiberal democracy”, on the other hand, also conducts regular elections, universal suffrage and party’s competition, with equal opportunity and prospects for campaigning, mobilizing support and winning as well as overseen by a non-partisan electoral body, but ensures only certain civil liberties and intervenes in others. The third type of democracy is “liberal partial democracy”; this regime type differs from liberal democracy as it recognizes and protects all types of civil liberties mentioned earlier, and the government is elected through regular elections, universal suffrage and party’s competition, but fair-play competition among electoral candidates is not guaranteed and the elections are conducted by a biased non-neutral organization. In contrast, “illiberal partial democracy” not only ensures certain types of civil liberties and abandons others, lacks fair-play competition among electoral candidates with biased electoral supervision body, though the government is elected. Meanwhile, “repressive partial democracy” is the result of an elected government which wins an election without providing an equal chance for all candidates to campaign and win, and eventually denies the rights of people to enjoy civil liberties. “Illiberal non-democracy” and “repressive non-democracy” are, among others, the worst types of democracies. Both governments are either non-elected (monarchy or military) or taken over by a foreign power through invasion. However, the former, to some extent, recognizes

certain, though not all, people's civil liberties, while the latter rules dictatorially, without people having the opportunity to enjoy civil liberties at all.

Methodology

This is a survey and document based study, using primary and secondary sources, and relying mainly on quantitative analysis. The primary source of data is derived from the *Freedom House Annual Report*. In addition, secondary sources include data from various books, theses and articles published in various journals. Among the important ones are *Journal of Democracy* and *Foreign Affairs*.

The unit of analysis in this study is the Muslim world. The study includes all Muslim majority state members of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) (with the exception of Palestine as information for this country is not available), as well as non-OIC members with majority Muslim populations, such as Eritrea. Thus, this study looks into these 47 countries from four different regions – 19 countries from Africa: Algeria, Burkina Faso, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia; 11 from Asia: Bangladesh, Brunei, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan; one from the European continent: Albania; and 16 countries from the Middle East: Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

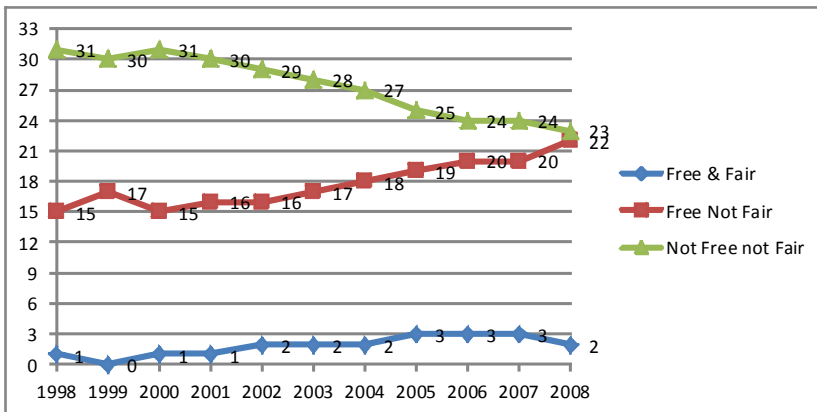
Types of elections in the Muslim world

“Free and fair” election ranks high as a criterion for evaluating the practice of democracy. A survey of an 11 year-period (1998-2008) generally shows low level of performance of this type of elections in the Muslim countries. This type was recorded minimally (3.9%). However, Figure 1 projects a clear and stable upward trend of “free and fair” election across these 11 years with exceptions in 1999 and 2008. Country wise, this type of election was carried out nine times in Mali (2000-2008), six times in Senegal (2002-2007), four times in Indonesia (2005-2008) and once in Bangladesh (1998). A noteworthy point is that none of the Muslim countries, including those mentioned

above, practised this nature of election consistently throughout the 11 years.

Meanwhile, the Muslim countries have recorded a total of 195 cases (37.7%) of “free not fair” elections. Elections of this nature were held regularly with universal suffrage and party’s competition for power, but candidates were not fairly treated and the elections were supervised by a non-objective electoral body. Figure 1 shows a stable and consistent upward trend except in 2000. There were seven countries that continuously practised this type of elections between the years 1998–2008. These were Albania, Burkina Faso, Kuwait, Malaysia, Morocco, Sierra Leone and Turkey.

Figure 1: Trends of elections in the Muslim world, 1998 - 2008



Source: Adapted from the Freedom House, “Freedom in the world survey.” Retrieved May 11, 2010 from <http://freedomhouse.org>.

In addition, during these 11 years, a sum of 302 (58.4%) out of 517 cases reflected “not free not fair” elections. Figure 1 illustrates the graphical progress of “not free not fair” elections in the Muslim world from the year 1998-2008. Though this trend of election dominated the Muslim world, it shows signs of decrease over these 11 years, except in 2000 (increased by one case) and in 2007 (remained constant). However, its decrease was somehow slow and gradual - by one or two cases only per year - but still consistent and continuous. There were 19 countries that experienced “not free not fair” elections from 1998–2008 such as Algeria, Azerbaijan, Brunei, Guinea, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan,

Syria, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, the United Arab Emirates, and Uzbekistan.

Types of civil liberties in the Muslim world

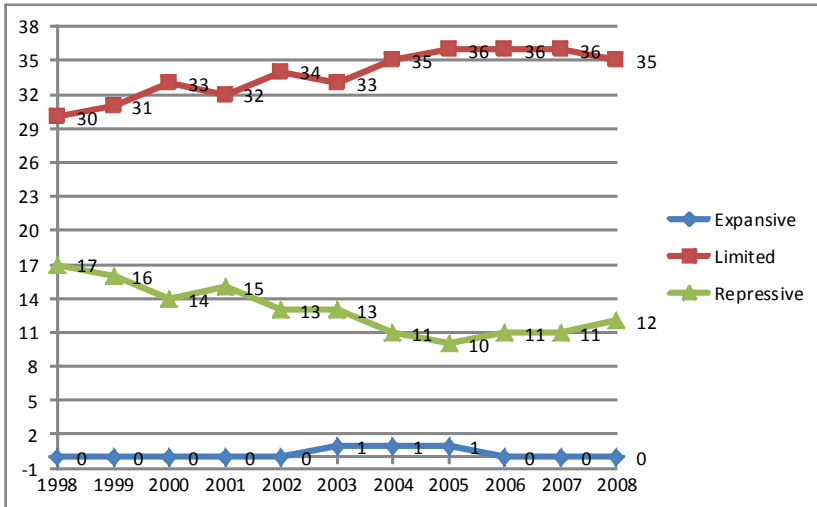
From elections, we move on to civil liberties performance in the Muslim world from the year 1998 to 2008. Here, the findings show better results compared to the performance of elections. However, only three out of 517 cases of “expansive” civil liberties (0.6%) were practised in the Muslim world. These cases were contributed solely by Mali in the years 2003, 2004 and 2005. In the other years, “expansive” civil liberties were totally absent. In a nutshell, in spite of the improved performance of “free and fair” elections in the Muslim world throughout 1998 to 2008, Muslim countries’ performance of “expansive” civil liberties was still low.

Unexpectedly, a majority of the Muslim countries practised “limited” civil liberties (71.8%) instead of the “repressive” one. During 1998-2008, there were 26 countries that consistently adopted this type of civil liberties, but with varying degrees of freeness and fairness of elections. These countries were Albania, Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Brunei, Burkina Faso, Comoros, Gambia, Guinea, Indonesia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and Turkey.

In contrast, “repressive” civil liberties were not the main political culture in the Muslim world, as claimed by many. In fact, only 27.7% (143 cases) belong to this group. Figure 2 shows that “repressive” civil liberties was declining over these 11 years. For performance by countries, only eight out of the listed countries (47 in all) kept constant track of this type of civil liberties. They were Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Sudan, Somalia, Syria, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

In general, the Muslim world performed better in civil liberties practices compared to elections. A sum of 72.4% of the Muslim world practised “expansive” and “limited” civil liberties, while only 41.6% adopted “free and fair” elections as well as “free not fair” elections.

Figure 2: Trends of civil liberties in the Muslim world, 1998 - 2008



Source: Adapted from the Freedom House, “Freedom in the world survey.” Retrieved May 11, 2010 from <http://freedomhouse.org>.

Types of democracies in the Muslim world

Table 2 below shows a clear domination of “Illiberal Partial Democracy”, “Illiberal Non-Democracy” as well as “Repressive Non-Democracy” in the Muslim world in the 1998-2008 period. The highest belonged to the “middle range democracy” (the combination of “free not fair” election with “limited” civil liberties) - the “Illiberal Partial Democracy”, with 36.2% or 187 cases out of 517, followed by the “Illiberal Non-Democracy” with 167 cases, which constitutes 32.3%, while the “Repressive Non-Democracy” a total of 26.1% or 135 cases. The other three types of democracies – “Illiberal Democracy”, “Repressive Partial Democracy” and “Liberal Democracy” constituted less than 4% each, while “Liberal Partial Democracy” was not practised at all with respect to the overall democratic performance in the Muslim countries.

There were only three cases of “Liberal Democracy” in the Muslim countries, each in 2003, 2004 and 2005 in Mali, as Mali in these periods practised the combination of “free and fair” elections with “expansive” civil liberties. These three cases constituted only 0.6% of the total democratic performances in the Muslim world. Apart from Mali, “Liberal Democracy” was totally absent in Muslim countries in the world.

Table 2: Democracies in the Muslim world, 1998-2008

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Democracies												
Repressive Non-Democracy	15	14	13	15	13	13	9	10	11	11	11	135
Illiberal Non-Democracy	16	16	18	15	16	15	18	15	13	13	12	167
Repressive Partial Democracy	2	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	8
Illiberal Partial Democracy	13	15	14	16	16	17	16	19	20	20	21	187
Liberal Partial Democracy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illiberal Democracy	1	-	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	3	2	17
Liberal Democracy	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
Total	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	517

Source: Adapted from the Freedom House, "Freedom in the world survey.", Retrieved May 11, 2010 from <http://freedomhouse.org>.

Mali did hold "free not fair" elections in an earlier period (1998 and 1999). However, its democratic success story began in 1999, when the Secretary of the United States of America, Madeline Albright, assembled the core group of the Community of Democracies and included Mali which was the first African country invited to join (in fact, later, its fourth ministerial conference was held in Bamako in November 2007). This constituted a democratic benediction of Mali. Since then Mali practised "free and fair" elections for eight straight consecutive years from 2000 to 2008. Though international observers did observe some irregularities, they agreed that most of its presidential and legislative elections were generally credible and reliable (Piano & Puddington, 2006).

However, the 2007 election, which witnessed President Amadou Toumani Toure's (or ATT as he is popularly called) return to power, was marked by widespread fraud. The president of Mali's constitutional court concluded that election officials had falsified tallies and expelled monitors from opposition parties at polling places. Yet, after winning the election, ATT modelled his democratic behaviour by imposing

limits on his own authority. This was done through the appointment of an auditor general who operated independently off the president and off parliament, who was empowered to bring potential criminal cases to the attorney general, and who issued an annual report exposing fiscal irregularities (Traub, 2008).

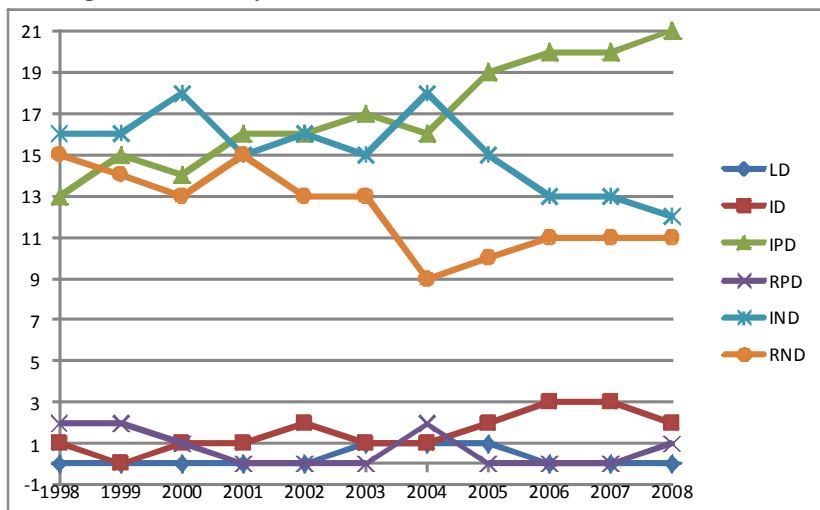
Ironically, though considerably democratic, Mali was an extremely poor country. Traub (2008) calls Mali's relatively unique type of democratic state as "feeble democracy". This was something different from what Larry Diamond calls the "electoral democracy", or what Fareed Zakaria refers to as "illiberal democracy". In Mali, a functional democracy presided over crushing poverty. Perhaps, in a strange inversion of modernization theory, Mali was democratic not despite its poverty but because of it. Neither Aristotle nor Seymour Martin Lipset would have predicted that a country consisting almost wholly of poor people would form a democratic republic.

Despite deep frustration over severe impoverishment, even the humble citizens seemed proud of Mali's democracy, and felt that it had brought them lots of benefits. When asked about what he thought about democracy, a Malian peasant answered, "...we were afraid. A peasant would not have the opportunity to speak to a functionary...Democracy has erased the fear and given free expression to everyone. So I think democracy is a good thing" (Traub, 2008). Mali, thus, had a culture that made democracy possible; its political leaders were committed to the principles of democratic rule. Having said these, it was true that democracy was expanding in Mali, but not yet deepening.

As for "Illiberal Democracy" in the Muslim world, a sum of 17 cases were reported – one case was in 1998 in Bangladesh; one case, each in 2000 and 2001 in Mali, and 2003-2004 in Senegal; two cases in 2002 (Mali and Senegal); two cases in 2005 (Indonesia and Senegal); two cases in 2008 (Indonesia and Mali); and three cases in 2006 and 2007 (Indonesia, Mali and Senegal). However, none of the Muslim countries practised "Illiberal Democracy" in the year 1999. Analysing the trends throughout the 11 years, this type of democracy had improved slightly, as shown in Figure 3. However, this improvement was interrupted by a few fluctuations where the cline showed a downward trend especially in 1999, 2003 and 2008, though it remained unchanged in the year 2001, 2004 and 2007. Zakaria (2003) claims that "Illiberal Democracy" had

arisen all over the world and describes it as “a disturbing phenomenon in international life.” However, the findings record only 3.3% and prove that his claim was not necessarily correct, at least not in the Muslim world. For discussion purpose, this paper chooses Indonesia as a case study to survey its practice of “Illiberal Democracy”.

Figure 3: Trends of democracies in the Muslim world, 1998 - 2008



Key: LD=Liberal Democracy, ID=Illiberal Democracy, IPD=Illiberal Partial Democracy, RPD=Repressive Partial Democracy, IND=Illiberal Non-Democracy, and RND=Repressive Non-Democracy.

Source: Adapted from the Freedom House, “Freedom in the world survey.” Retrieved May 11, 2010 from [http:// freedomhouse.org](http://freedomhouse.org).

Since the end of Suharto’s long authoritarian regime in 1998, Indonesia had implemented a number of political reforms that placed it among healthy electoral democracy and boosted its democratic performance from “Illiberal Non-Democracy” in 1998 to “Illiberal Partial Democracy” in 1999–2004. Furthermore, the 2004 election noted the first ever direct presidential election in the country. Incumbent President Megawati Sukarnoputri, despite her reluctance to publicly admit her defeat, and clearly humiliated by her poor performance, relinquished power to her successor, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyoho. The process was fair, smooth and without violence and further boosted Indonesian democracy from “Illiberal Partial Democracy” to “Illiberal Democracy.”

There were some basic procedures implemented in Indonesia that were broadly associated with greater democratic freedom: relaxation on the restrictions on the rights of association; the freedom of political parties to raise funds and participate in elections; the freedom of the press to report and voice political differences; and the real possibility that a ruling party can be overturned through the ballot box. All of these characteristics of procedural democracies show improvements, in comparison to Suharto's period that witnessed centralization of power, manipulation of elections as well as restrictions on political parties and press (Bertrand, 2010). Indeed, Indonesian democracy had flourished since 1998 and was further strengthened in 2004.

Unlike all other types of democracy, there is no graphical representation for "Liberal Partial Democracy" (Figure 3). This is because on analysis of the performance of elections and civil liberties together, it was noticed that none of the Muslim countries practised "free not fair" elections and "expansive" civil liberties together, thus producing "Liberal Partial Democracy". This finding is somehow surprising. The researcher expected that "free and fair" elections were impossible to go along with "repressive" civil liberties, nor can "expansive" civil liberties be practised together with "not free not fair" elections, as the elections and civil liberties in these cases are both at the extreme points. However, the fact that "expansive" civil liberties cannot be exercised together with "free not fair" elections, thus making "Liberal Partial Democracy" totally absent in the Muslim countries from 1998 to 2008 was unpredictable. Referring to a similar study conducted by Smith and Ziegler (2008) in the Latin American context, the findings appear to be similar. The "Liberal Partial Democracy" stood as the least favoured among all types of democracy with six cases over 513 (1.17%).

If "Liberal Partial Democracy" was unique due to its absence in the Muslim world's political regimes, "Illiberal Partial Democracy" was exclusive because it was the type of democracy mostly practised in the Muslim world from 1998 to 2008. Comparing its achievements with other three democratic types discussed earlier, we may conclude that this type of democracy experienced more drastic changes. Figure 3 shows that there were only 13 cases in 1998; it increased up to 21 cases in the year 2008. Though the graph shows a dip twice in 2000 and 2004, the drop was insignificant - only one case for each year. Generally, there

was upward movement with the exception of 2002 and 2007 where the graph remained constant.

The fifth type of democracy was the “Repressive Partial Democracy” – the combination of the “repressive” civil liberties with the “free not fair” elections. As shown in Table 2, out of 517 cases throughout the 11 years, this type of democracy contributed a total of eight cases, constituting 1.5%. Two cases happened in 1998, two more in 1999 (both years in Djibouti and Yemen), and another two in 2004 (Afghanistan and Eritrea). Apart from this, one case occurred in 2000 (Yemen) and another in 2008 (Afghanistan). Analyzing the cline in Figure 3, we can see that the graph was unstable and fluctuated over the 11 years without any significant or remarkable patterns. Thus, like “Liberal Democracy”, it was difficult to predict the performance of “Repressive Partial Democracy” in the future, whether the number of cases will increase, decrease, remain constant, or become extinct in the Muslim world.

As reported earlier, the dominant types of elections and civil liberties practised in the Muslim world in the period 1998-2002 were the “not free not fair” elections and the “limited” civil liberties. Both types of elections and civil liberties, if performed together will ultimately produce “Illiberal Non-Democracy”. Hence, it was expected that “Illiberal Non-Democracy” will be the dominant type of democracy over the remaining six types. Nevertheless, this type of democracy appeared to be the second highest with 167 cases. Figure 3 illustrates the downward trend of the “Illiberal Non-Democracy” performance over the 11 years, with a few fluctuations. From the pattern, it can be predicted that the practices of “Illiberal Non-Democracy” will decrease continuously due to its consistent downward movement since 2005.

The lowest degree of democracy belongs to the “Repressive Non-Democracy” – the combination of “repressive” civil liberties and “not free not fair” elections. It constitutes 32.3% (135 cases) of the overall democratic performance. It stands as the third highest democratic type practised in the Muslim world, after the “Illiberal Partial Democracy” and the “Illiberal Non-Democracy”. Figure 3 underscores the performance of this type of democracy in the Muslim world from 1998 to 2008. A few observations can be made from the graph. First, it shows a downward trend of “Repressive Non-Democracy” over these 11 years. Second, though moving downward, its movement was somehow inconsistent, interrupted by a few fluctuations – both upward

and constant movements. For example, the graph increased twice in 2001 and 2006, but it also remained constant in 2003, 2007 and 2008. It was predicted that this type of democracy will move downwards in the future with minor fluctuations.

Conclusion

The first finding of the study is that the most dominant nature of election practised in the 47 Muslim countries throughout 1998-2008 was “not free not fair” elections with a total score of 302 out of 517 cases (58.4%). This was followed by the “free not fair” elections with a total of 195 cases (37.7%). Unfortunately, the Muslim countries’ scores for the “free and fair” elections were still low, amounting to only 20 cases altogether.

The second finding specifically talked about the civil liberties performance in the Muslim countries. Here, the middle type of freedom – the “limited” civil liberties – exceeded the other two levels of civil liberties with a total of 371 out of 517 (71.8%) occurrences. This ranking was followed by the lowest degree of freedom – the “repressive” civil liberties amounting to 143 cases (27.7%). Nevertheless, the “expansive” civil liberties recorded only a total of three cases (0.6%) between the years 1998-2008.

The third finding of this study is related to the third research question with regard to the type of democracy practised in the Muslim countries. This study found that it belonged to the middle-range democracy – the “Illiberal Partial Democracy” – resulting from the combination of the “limited” civil liberties and the “free not fair” elections. It constituted a total of 187 out of 517 overall cases. This was followed by the “Illiberal Non-Democracy” (167 cases), “Repressive Non-Democracy” (135), “Illiberal Democracy” (17 cases), “Repressive Partial Democracy” (8 cases) and “Liberal Democracy” (3 cases).

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