

Does Democracy Still Fall? A Bibliometric Analysis Two Decade 2004-2024

Henky Fernando¹, Yuniar Galuh Larasati², Julia Magdalena Wuysang³, Putri
Rahmah Nur Hakim⁴, Novita Cahyani⁵

^{1,2}Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

³Universitas Tanjungpura, Indonesia

^{4,5}IA Scholar Foundation, Indonesia

Email: fhenky92@gmail.com¹, yuniargaluhlarasati@gmail.com², julia.wuysang@fisip.untan.ac.id³,
putriahmah282@gmail.com⁴, novita.cahyani20@gmail.com⁵

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.35719/fenomena.v23i2.197>

Received: Sept 19, 2024

Revised: October 20, 2024

Accepted: Oct 22, 2024

Published: Nov 26, 2024

Abstract :

This study aims to explore and evaluate studies that have addressed issues of democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024. In addition to using bibliometric analysis, this study also uses VOSviewer application-based software in exploring and evaluating entity patterns, themes, and developments of studies that focus on discussing democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024. From exploring 1063 total documents, this study found that the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Russian Federation are the most active in publishing studies focusing on democratic failure in Democratization Journal, Journal of Democracy, Political Quarterly, and Third World Quarterly. However, these studies have not been able to intervene and respond to the structural, cultural, and even spiritual challenges that underlie the difficulty of implementing a democratic political system in the era of globalization. This study also recommends the importance of future studies to analyze the factors and implications of the failure of democracy in concept and practice on the welfare of the people in a country.

Keywords: *Bibliometrics, Scopus, VOSviewers, Democracy failure, Two decades 2004-2024.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi dan mengevaluasi studi-studi yang membahas isu-isu kegagalan demokrasi dalam dua dekade terakhir, 2004-2024. Selain menggunakan analisis bibliometrik, studi ini juga menggunakan perangkat lunak berbasis aplikasi VOSviewer dalam mengeksplorasi dan mengevaluasi pola entitas, tema, dan perkembangan studi yang fokus membahas kegagalan demokrasi dalam dua dekade terakhir, 2004-2024. Dari penelusuran terhadap 1063 total dokumen, studi ini menemukan bahwa Amerika Serikat, Inggris, dan Federasi Rusia merupakan negara yang paling aktif dalam mempublikasikan studi yang fokus membahas mengenai kegagalan demokrasi di Jurnal Demokrasi, Jurnal Demokrasi, Political Quarterly, dan Third World Quarterly. Namun demikian, studi-studi tersebut belum mampu mengintervensi dan menjawab tantangan-tantangan struktural, kultural, bahkan spiritual yang mendasari sulitnya penerapan sistem politik demokratis di era globalisasi. Penelitian ini juga merekomendasikan pentingnya penelitian-penelitian di masa depan untuk menganalisis faktor-faktor dan implikasi dari kegagalan demokrasi secara konsep dan praktik terhadap kesejahteraan rakyat di suatu negara.

Kata Kunci: *Bibliometrik, Scopus, VOSviewers, Kegagalan demokrasi, Dua dekade 2004-2024.*

Correspondent fhenky92@gmail.com (Henky Fernando)

Author:



How to cite:	Fernando, H., Larasati, Y. G., Wuysang, J. M., Hakim, P. R. N., & Cahyani, N. (2024). Does Democracy Still Fall? A Bibliometric Analysis Two Decade 2004-2024. <i>Fenomena</i> , 23(2), 163–178. https://doi.org/10.35719/fenomena.v23i2.197 .
Publisher:	Centre for Research and Community Service (LP2M), UIN Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember

INTRODUCTION

The failure of democracy has complex characteristics and implications for the development of the political system and the welfare of citizens. In his study, Treisman (2020) also shows that the failure of democracy has led to various kinds of policies that are counterproductive to the political welfare of citizens. This context by Wiratraman (2022) occurs because the conception and praxis of democracy have been degraded, so democracy tends to stagnate and even fail. The failure of democracy has characteristics and latent implications that are fundamental to a country's welfare and political policies (Bond, 2024). Studies focusing on democratic failure should give new preference in exploring and evaluating the causality of this reality (Fernando et al., 2024), especially in the last two decades, 2004-2024. In addition to exploring the characteristics of existing studies, this study also evaluates the focus of studies on democratic failure through bibliometric analysis based on the Scopus database in the last two decades, 2004-2024.

The concept and orientation of the democratic system emphasize the relevance of the productivity of accommodating citizens' political welfare (Munck, 2016). However, in Doorenspleet's (2015) view, implementing the democratic system does not neglect the interests and welfare of citizens. Testriono and Schraufnagel (2020) also stated that the manifestation of the concept and praxis of the democratic system in a country is often contrary to what citizens imagine and even counterproductive to the orientation of a democratic political system. This context can be reflected through the tactics used by political elites in winning the democratic contestation, thus potentially perpetuating the status quo of an authoritarian regime (Hidayat, 2024; Jafari & Azizi, 2021; Lindgren et al., 2024). Failure to manifest a democratic political system can not only influence the direction of state policy. However, it can also establish an authoritarian regime, normalize political violence, and neglect the welfare of citizens. Therefore, studies that explore and evaluate the academic conversation on democratic failure are crucial.

So far, studies that have discussed democratic issues during the two decades 2004-2024 have only focused on three aspects. First, studies that discuss democratic issues in the normative aspect of ideology (Dalton, 2021; Luger, 2024; Saidin & Storm, 2024). Dalton (2021) in his study, also emphasized that ideological issues are not the most minor focus in contemporary democracy studies. Second, studies discuss democratic issues in implementing a democratic political system (Croissant & Haynes, 2021; Jahanger et al., 2022; Veugelers, 2021). Veugelers (2021) in his study also said that implementing a democratic political system is the focus of studies in the era of globalization. Third, studies discuss democratic issues in the mediatization aspect of political campaigns (Ahmad, 2024; Bastien, 2020; Dumouchel, 2023). Bastien (2020) in his study emphasized that the mediatization of political campaigns is a focus of democracy studies in the digital era. From these three contexts, it can be reflected that studies that discuss democratic issues have not been conducted comprehensively.

In general, studies that have discussed democratic issues only focus on three

aspects: ideological aspects (Dalton, 2021), system implementation (Veugelers, 2021), and campaign mediatization (Ahmad, 2024). In other words, studies that have addressed democratic issues have not been comprehensively explored and evaluated. Existing studies have not been able to respond to and answer the problems experienced by countries with democratic political systems, so they do not provide preferences in overcoming the problems of implementing democratic political systems, forming accommodating policies, and overcoming the normalization of political violence, which has the potential to emerge and develop in the future. In addition to having long implications for the welfare of citizens, the failure of democracy in concept and practice is a crucial issue to be explored and evaluated (Fernando, Galuh Larasati, Abdullah, et al., 2023). In addition to explore several previous studies, this study also evaluates the characteristics, trends, and focus of studies that address democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024, based on the Scopus database.

Studies that have addressed democratic issues in the last two decades, 2004-2024, have shown complexity. However, failures in manifesting the principles and orientations of a democratic political system have been overlooked in past studies in the last two decades, so it is essential to explore and evaluate them (Galuh Larasati et al., 2023). In exploring and evaluating the characteristics, trends, and focus of studies addressing democratic issues in the last two decades, 2004-2024, this study used a bibliometric analysis based on systematic reviews on the Scopus database. The analysis is used to explore the characteristics, trends, and focus of studies addressing democratic failures in the last two decades so that they can serve as a basis for evaluating and shaping political commitments to be more accommodating. This study is also based on the argument that the discussion of democratic issues over the past two decades, 2004-2024, shows that fluctuations have not been able to answer the challenges of manifesting a democratic political system in the future.

METHOD

This study was conducted amidst the increasingly pessimistic public perception of the implementation and orientation of the democratic system in the era of globalization. However, this study only focuses on exploring and evaluating the trend of studies that discuss issues of democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024, through the publication of articles on the Scopus database. The selection of the issue is also based on three substantial considerations. First, democratic failure is a central issue that has not been comprehensively explored over the past two decades. Second, democratic failure has contextual characteristics in implementation and orientation, so it is very important to evaluate them. Third, democratic failure is a crucial context for evaluating a country's political commitments and policies. These three considerations are the basis for this study to explore and evaluate academic conversations that focus on democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024, through the publication of articles on the Scopus database.

This descriptive and qualitative study uses bibliometric analysis based on a systematic review. Bibliometric analysis is a method that can be used to explore scientific data on a large scale to evaluate, reveal, and highlight a trend or development in a particular field of science (Cahyani, 2023; Fernando et al., 2024). In other words, bibliometric methods can be used to analyze, parse, and map scientific knowledge cumulatively to comprehensively explore and evaluate trends and research

productivity from a particular field of science. This study chose to use the bibliometric method because it can provide recommendations and preferences in building a solid foundation in evaluating established scientific fields, identifying knowledge gaps, eliciting new ideas, and contributing to academically and academically developing a particular field of science. In this context, this study uses bibliometrics to explore and evaluate the academic conversation on issues of democratic failure through the publication of articles on the Scopus database over the last two decades, 2004-2024.

The process of searching, reducing, and analyzing the data was carried out using the keywords Failure AND Democracy in the Scopus database search, which resulted in 3,574 documents. From 3. 574 documents were then subjected to a limitation process using TITLE-ABS-KEY (failure AND democracy) AND PUBYEAR>2003 AND PUBYEAR<2025 AND (LIMIT TO (SUBJAREA, "SOCI") OR LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA, "ARTS")) AND (LIMIT-TO (DOCTYPE, 'ar')) AND (LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'United States') OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'United Kingdom') OR LIMIT TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'Undefined') OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, "South Africa") OR LIMIT TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'Australia') OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'Germany') OR LIMIT TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'Canada') OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'Italy') OR LIMIT-TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, "Spain") OR LIMIT TO (AFFILCOUNTRY, 'Russian Federation')) AND (LIMIT-TO (SRCTYPE, 'j')) AND (LIMIT TO (LANGUAGE, 'English')) AND (LIMIT-TO (PUBSTAGE, 'final')) (see figure 1).

Figure 1. The process of identification, limitation, and inclusion in the Scopus database.

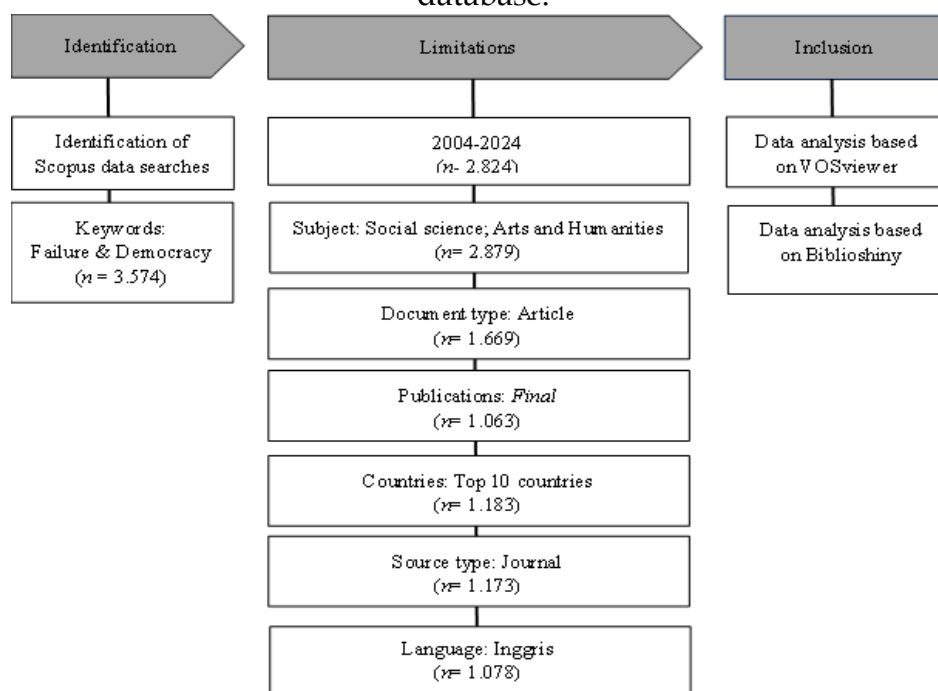


Figure 1 shows the identification, limitation, and inclusion process to collect and reduce data by publishing articles on the Scopus database for the last two decades, 2004-2024. The data that has been collected is then exported into RIS (Research Information System), CSV (Comma Separated Values), and BibTeX (LaTeX Bibliography) documents based on the Scopus database. The exported data was then analyzed randomly using the VOSviewers application and Biblioshiny-R software. In other words, the data described in this study is a representation of visualization of

images, graphs, diagrams, radar, and tables containing 10 study patterns, as well as categories of entity patterns, themes, and keywords most frequently appearing in studies that focus on discussing the failure of democracy during the last two decades 2004-2024. These processes and stages allow this study to conclude the exploration and evaluation of trends, patterns, and developments of studies that focus on the failure of democracy based on the publication of articles on the Scopus database during the last two decades, 2004-2024.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

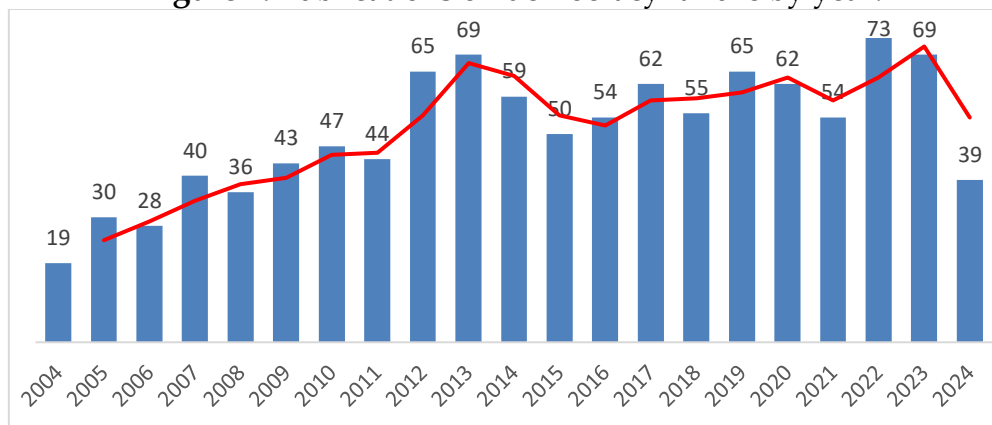
Result

Democracy does not continuously develop well in a country and may even fail. However, the trends, patterns, and development of studies that address this context tend to fluctuate. This context can be seen and reflected through Scopus research publications in the last two decades, 2004-2024, below.

4.1. The document publication on the failure of democracy 2004-2024

Democracy as a political system does not constantly develop well in a country. This context can be seen through the document of research publications by year, distribution of research publications by country, and research publications by source based on the Scopus database during the last two decades, 2004-2024 (see Figure 2, Figure 3, and Figure 4).

Figure 2. Publications on democracy failure by year.

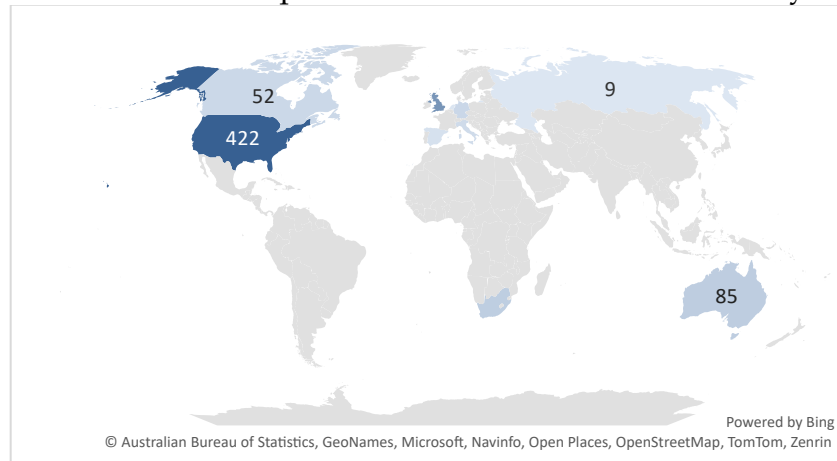


Source: Scopus Database (2024).

Figure 2 shows the trend of democracy failure studies in the last two decades, 2004-2024, based on the search results of Scopus publication documents, which totaled 1063 documents. In 2004, with 19 documents. In 2005, with 30 documents. In 2006, with 28 documents. In 2007, with 40 documents. In 2008, with 36 documents. In 2009, with 43 documents. In 2010, with 47 documents. In 2011, with 44 documents. In 2012 with 65 documents, 2013 with 69 documents, in 2014 with 59 documents, 2015 with 50 documents, 2016 with 54 documents, 2017 with 62 documents, 2018 with 55 documents, 2019 with 65 documents, 2020 with 62 documents, 2021 with 54 documents, 2022 with 73 documents, 2023 with 69 documents, and in 2024 with 39 documents. In the last two decades, it can be seen that Scopus publication documents on democratic failure show three important trends, namely, years 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2024 became the years with the least publication documents; years 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2015 became years with quite a lot of publication documents; years 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, and 2023 became years

with the most publication documents.

Figure 3. Distribution of publications on democratic failure by country.



Source: Scopus Database (2024).

Figure 3 shows the mapping of 10 countries that consistently distribute the publication of studies that focus on the failure of democracy during the last two decades, 2004-2024, with 1044 total publication documents. United States with 422 total publication documents, the United Kingdom with 260 total publication documents, Australia with 85 total publication documents, South Africa with 83 total publication documents, Germany with 54 total publication documents, Canada with 52 total publication documents, Italy with 42 total publication documents, Spain with 25 total publication documents, Netherlands with 12 total publication documents, Russian Federation with nine publication documents. The ten countries that have consistently distributed the publication of studies that focus on the failure of democracy over the past two decades also contain three significant trends; the United States has become the most country in publishing studies that focus on the failure of democracy with 422 total publication documents; the United Kingdom has become a relatively large country in publishing studies that focus on the failure of democracy with 260 total publication documents; the Russian Federation has become the tiniest country in publishing studies that focus on the failure of democracy with nine total publication documents.

Figure 4. Publications on democratic failure by source.



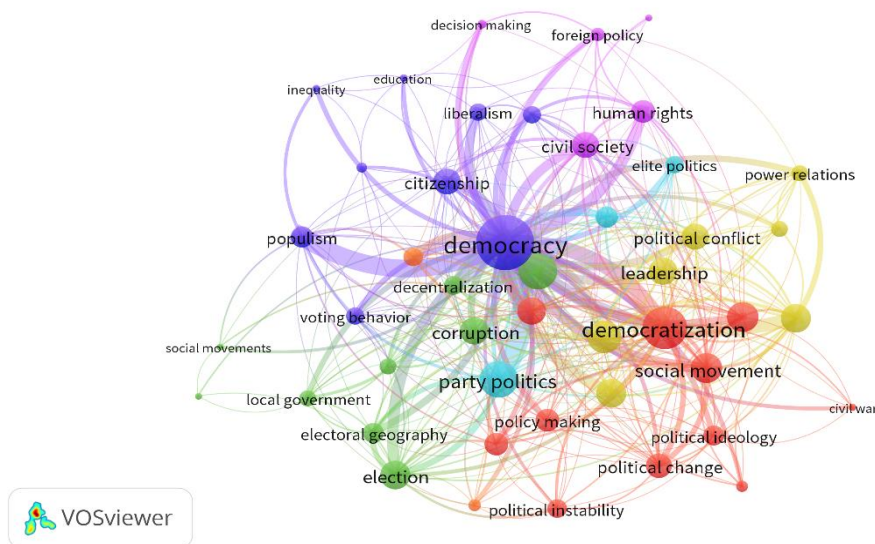
Source: Scopus Database (2024).

Figure 4 shows the radar that shows the most ten-published sources of studies focusing on the issue of democratic failure during the last two decades, 2004-2024, based on the search results on Scopus publication documents with 108 total documents. Democratization with 29 total publications, Journal of Democracy with 12 total publications, Political Quarterly with 11 total publications, Third World Quarterly with 11 total publications, Comparative Political Studies with eight total publications, European Journal of Political Research with eight total publications, Philosophy and Social Criticism with eight total publications, East European Politics and Societies with seven total publications, and West European Politics with seven total publications. In the last two decades, it can be seen that the sources that consistently publish studies on democratic failure show three important patterns: Democratization, Journal of Democracy, Political Quarterly, and Third World Quarterly, which are the sources publishing studies on democratic failure. Comparative Political Studies, European Journal of Political Research, and Philosophy and Social Criticism are the most abundant sources of published studies on democratic failure; East European Political and Societies, Journal of Southern African Studies, and West European Politics are the least abundant sources of published studies on democratic failure.

4.2. The pattern of entity studies on democratic failure 2004-2024

Studies that focus on discussing the failure of democracy in the last two decades, 2004-2024, also show a complex pattern of discussion entities in terms of themes and keywords used. The pattern of entities, themes, and keywords often used in studies that focus on the failure of democracy in the last two decades, 2004-2024, can be seen in Figure 5, Figure 6, and Figure 7.

Figure 5. Network visualization of democracy failure studies.

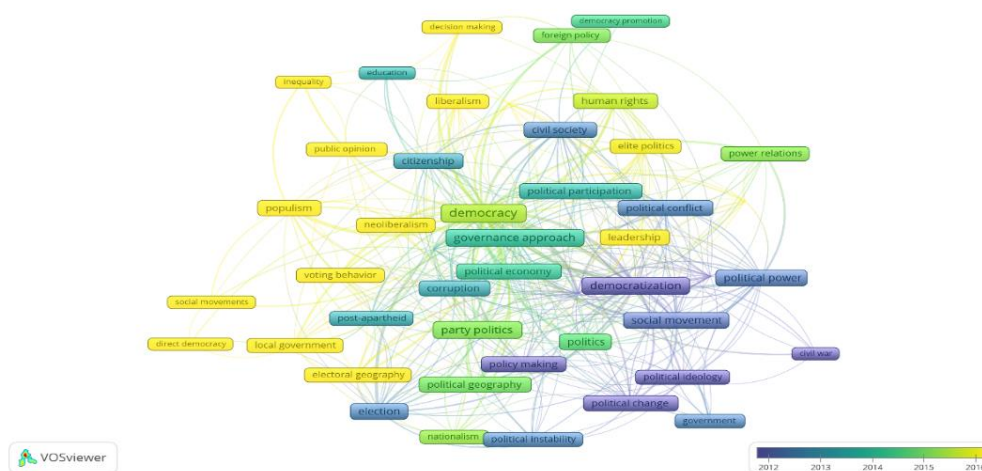


Source: Authors' analysis with VOSviewers (2024).

Figure 5 shows the entity patterns based on network visualization from studies focusing on democratic failure based on the Scopus database in the last two decades, 2004-2024. Figure 5 also shows seven dominant entity patterns from studies that focus on the failure of democracy over the last two decades. The first cluster is red with 11 entity patterns: Civil war, democratization, government, policy-making, political

change, political economy, political geography, political history, political ideology, political instability, and social movement. The second green cluster has nine entity patterns: Corruption, decentralization, direct democracy, election, electoral geography, governance approach, local government, post-apartheid, and social movement. The third cluster is blue with nine entity patterns: Citizenship, democracy, education, inequality, liberalism, populism, public opinion, social justice, and voting behavior. The fourth cluster is yellow and has seven entity patterns: leadership, political conflict, political discourse, political power, political system, politics, and power relations. The fifth cluster is purple with five entity patterns: Civil society, decision-making, democracy promotion, foreign policy, and human rights. The sixth cluster is light blue with three entity patterns: Elite politics, party politics, and political participation. The seventh cluster is orange with two entity patterns: Nationalism and neoliberalism.

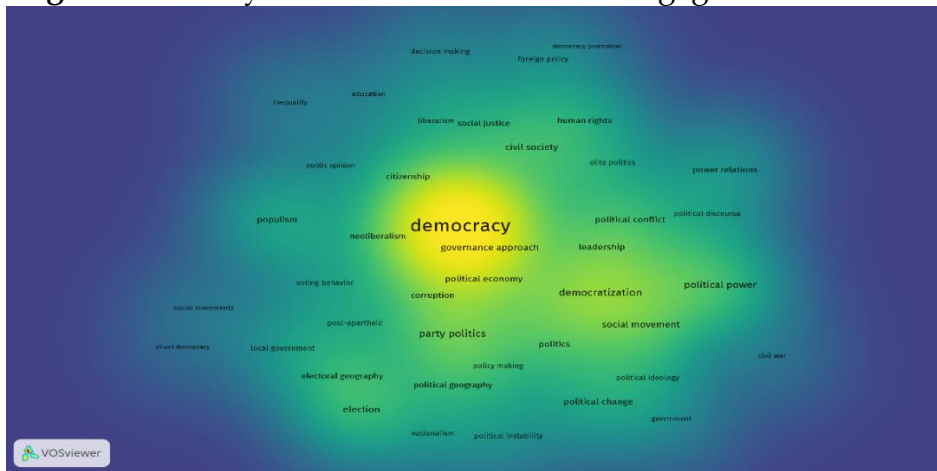
Figure 6. Overlay visualization of democracy failure studies.



Source: Authors' analysis with VOSviewers (2024).

Figure 6 shows a pattern of entities based on overlay visualization of the most relevant and frequently occurring themes in studies that focus on democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024. Figure 6 also shows the dominant years in publishing studies on democratic failure over the past two decades. 2012 was the dominant year for publishing studies on the failure of democracy with the themes of political ideology, political change, policy-making, civil war, democratization, and political history. 2013 became the dominant year in which studies on the failure of democracy were published, with the themes of political instability, elections, political conflict, political power, and government. 2014 became the dominant year in which studies on the failure of democracy were published, with the themes of political participation, decentralization, corruption, and citizenship. 2015 became the dominant year in which studies on the failure of democracy were published, with the themes of democracy, party politics, foreign policy, power relations, politics, political geography, and nationalism. Tahun 2016 menjadi tahun yang dominan mempublikasikan studi-studi tentang kegagalan demokrasi dengan tema; Inequality, decision making, liberalism, public opinion, populism, social movement, direct democracy, local government, electoral geography, voting behavior, leadership, political discourse, elit politics, social justice, dan decision making.

Figure 7. Density visualization studi-studi kegagalan demokrasi.



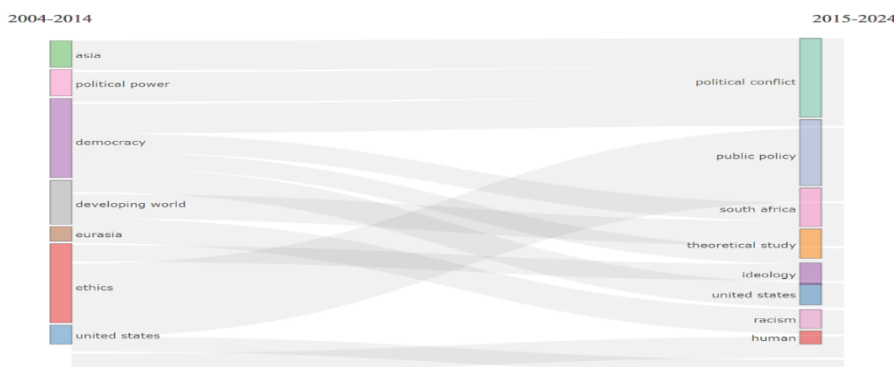
Source: Authors' analysis with VOSviewers (2024).

Figure 7 shows the density visualization-based entity patterns based on the keywords that appear most frequently in studies focusing on democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024. Figure 7 also shows four ranges of keywords that appear most frequently in studies that focus on the failure of democracy over the past two decades. The first range is solid yellow with ten dominant keywords: Democracy, governance approach, political economy, corruption, neoliberalism, citizenship, democratization, party politics, leadership, and social movement. The second range is regular yellow with ten dominant keywords: Liberalism, social justice, political conflict, leadership, political power, social movement, party politics, corruption, democratization, and politics. The third range is light yellow with ten dominant keywords: Liberalism, human rights, elite politics, electoral geography, political power, elections, political conflict, social justice, and policy making. The fourth range is yellow mixed with green with ten dominant keywords: Decision making, populism, electoral geography, election, political ideology, political discourse, political instability, political change, local government, and power relations.

4.3. The evolution of studies on democratic failure 2004-2024

The development of studies on democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024, can also be evaluated by exploring the themes, preferences, and focus of discussion of research publications based on the Scopus database. The development of terms, preferences, and focus of discussion in studies on democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024, can also be seen in Figure 8, Figure 9, and Figure 10.

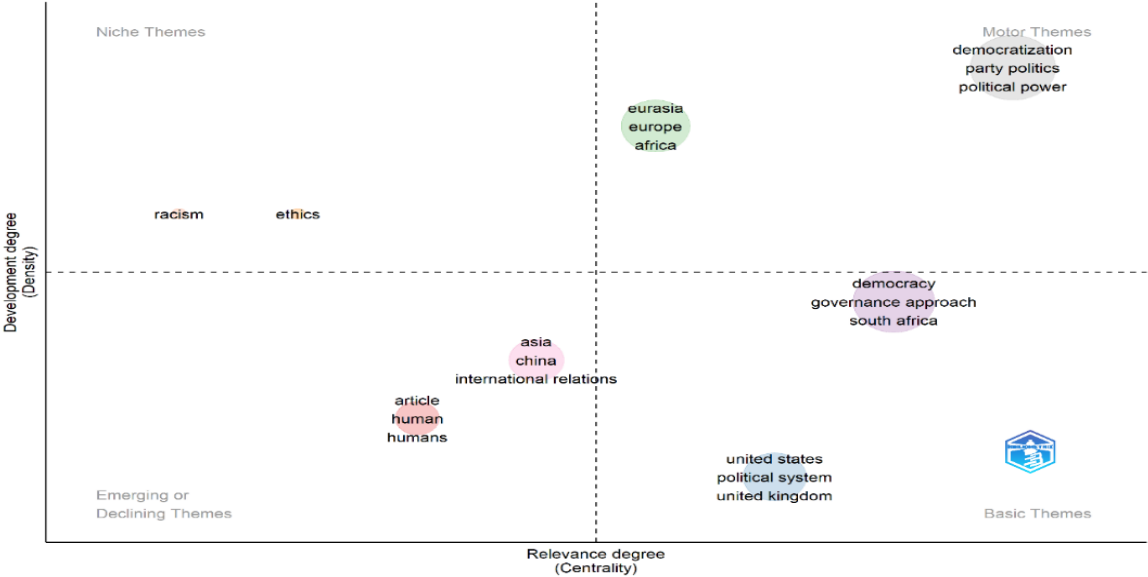
Figure 8. Thematic development of studies on democratic failure.



Source: Authors' analysis with biblioshiny (2024).

Figure 8 shows the thematic development of studies focusing on democratic failure based on the ten dominant themes in the last two decades, 2004-2024. Figure 8 also shows three important trends in the development of studies on democratic failure over the past two decades. First, the democratic system (purple) became the most common theme in studies that focused on democratic failure in 2004-2014, but in 2015-2024 these themes experienced thematic developments based on political conflict (light green), South Africa (pink), theoretical study (yellow), and ideology (purple). Second, ethics (orange) is a theme that appears quite a lot in studies that focus on the failure of democracy in 2004-2014, but in 2015-2024, these themes experience thematic developments based on public policy (light blue). Third, the developing world (gray) in the era of democracy is the theme that appears the least in studies that focus on the failure of democracy in 2004-2014, but in 2015-2024, these themes experience thematic development based on theoretical studies (yellow).

Figure 9. The preference for thematic-based studies of democratic failure.



Source: Authors’ analysis with biblioshiny (2024).

Figure 9 shows the theme development preferences of studies focusing on democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024. Figure 9 also shows four theme development preferences of studies that focus on the failure of democracy in the last two decades. First, racism (orange) and ethics (yellow) are niche themes or themes that are least discussed, but these themes are very important and have the potential to be discussed in explaining the failure of democracy in the future. Second, democratization, party politics, political power (grey), and Eurasia, Europe, and Africa (green) are motor themes or themes that are most frequently discussed but have not been discussed in depth. Third, in Asia and China, international relations (pink) and articles, human and public relations (orange) are emerging or declining themes or themes that were dominant in studies of democratic failure in the past. However, these themes are no longer the focus of discussion in studies that focus on democratic failure today. Fourth, democracy, governance approach, South Africa (purple) and the United States, political system, and United Kingdom (blue) are basic themes or themes that form the basis for studies focusing on issues of democratic failure.

Table 1. The focus of studies is on the failure of democracy.

Name	Title	Journal	Focus	Findings	Year
Thorpe et al.	Reimagining democratic education by positioning Aboriginal Country-centred learning as foundational to curriculum and pedagogy	Curriculum Perspectives	Pedagogical system	The importance of local knowledge in conceptualizing democratic principles in Australia.	2024
Grant and Evan	A New Dilemma of Social Democracy? the British Labour Party, the White Working Class, and Ethnic Minority Representation	British Journal of Political Science	Representation of class	Labor could potentially represent black people in the UK	2024
Scott	Points of convergence: Islamist conceptions of citizenship and the struggle of Egyptian Christians for their rights as a religious group	Contemporary Islam	Conception of citizen	The conception of Islamic citizenship is contrary to the interests of religious minorities in Egypt.	2024
Herman et al.	A climate of optimism? EU policy-making, political science and the democratization of Central and Eastern Europe (2000–2015)	Comparative European Politics	Political policy	Failure to prevent and respond proportionally to the erosion of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe.	2024
August	Understanding democratic conflicts: The failures of agonistic theory	European Journal of Political Theory	Political stability	The conflict raises concerns about polarization, social cohesion, and democratic stability in the West.	2024
González et al.	Fairness beyond the ballot: A comparative analysis of failures of electoral integrity, perceptions of electoral fairness, and attitudes towards democracy across 18 countries	Electoral Studies	Political integrity	Integrity is essential in the electoral process for countries that embrace democracy.	2024
Lieberman and Gaines	Courts, the state, and democratization in the United States	Law & Policy	Law enforcement	The Supreme Court is often understood as the leading counter-majority institution undermining democracy in the United States.	2024
Sedelmeier	Is there an East-West divide on democracy in the European Union? Evidence from democratic backsliding and attitudes towards rule of law interventions	Journal of European Public Policy	Orientasi kebijakan	Pentingnya untuk mempertimbangan perbedaan dalam kebijakan demokrasi yang kontinum di Uni Eropa	2024
Lindvall and Karlsson	Exploring the democracy-climate nexus: a review of correlations between democracy and climate policy performance	Climate Policy	Komitmen otoritas	Kapasitas demokrasi dapat mempercepat transisi energi di negara-negara yang menganut demokrasi.	2024
Claassen et al.	Conceptualizing and Measuring Support for Democracy: A New Approach	Comparative Political Studies	Sikap warga negara	Hubungan warga negara sangat penting bagi kelangsungan kualitas rezim di negara-negara yang menganut demokrasi.	2024

Source. Database Scopus (2024).

Table 1 shows an evaluation of studies that focus on the failure of democracy based on the Scopus database in the last two decades, 2004-2024. Table 1 shows ten dominant foci that have emerged in studies on democratic failure over the past two decades. The pedagogical system is the dominant focus of discussion that appears in studies of democratic failure (Thorpe et al., 2024); Class representation is the dominant focus of discussion that appears in studies of democratic failure (Grant & Evans, 2024); The conception of citizens is the dominant focus of discussion that appears in studies of democratic failure (Scott, 2024); Political policy is the dominant focus of discussion that appears in studies of democratic failure (Herman et al., 2024); Political stability is the dominant focus of discussion that appears in studies of democratic failure (August, 2024); Political integration is the dominant focus of discussion that appears in studies of democratic failure (González et al., 2024); Law enforcement is the dominant focus of discussion emerging in studies of democratic failure (Lieberman & Gaines, 2024); Policy orientation is the dominant focus of discussion emerging in studies of democratic failure (Sedelmeier, 2024); Authority commitment is the dominant focus of discussion emerging in studies of democratic failure (Lindvall & Karlsson, 2023); Citizen attitudes are the dominant focus of discussion emerging in studies of democratic failure (Claassen et al., 2023).

DISCUSSION

Studies focusing on democratic failure have shown a consistent trend over the last two decades, from 2004 to 2024. This context can be seen through three important

trend-based findings from existing studies. First, studies that discuss democratic failure in the last two decades produced 1063 total publication documents on the Scopus database (figure 2). Second, studies on democratic failure in the last two decades produced 1044 published documents on the Scopus database across ten countries (figure 3). Third, studies that discuss the failure of democracy in the last two decades produced 108 total publication documents in 10 Scopus journals (figure 4). From these three findings, it can be reflected that issues of democratic failure have not only become a publication trend but also show that democracy has not always manifested well as a political system over past two decades. This context by Feulner (2024) can be seen through the fundamental problems in countries that embrace democratic political systems from time to time.

The discussion of the issues of democratic failure in the last two decades, 2004-2024, can also be seen through the entity patterns often used in previous studies. This context can be seen through three important findings based on the existing entity patterns. First, network visualization reveals 46 interconnected entity patterns and forms the dominant keywords used in studies that focus on explaining the failure of democracy over the past two decades (figure 5). Second, the overlay visualization also revealed 50 themes that were most frequently adopted in studies that focused on explaining the failure of democracy in the last five years (figure 6). Third, the density visualization revealed the 40 most frequently used keyword ranges in studies focusing on explaining democratic failure over the past two decades. According to Larasati & Fernando (2023), this context occurs because studies that focus on democratic issues have not been conducted comprehensively, so they have not been able to answer the problems that arise in the future.

In the last two decades, 2004-2024, studies focusing on democratic failure have not progressed significantly. This context can be seen through three important findings based on often-discussed dominant themes. First, the democratic system, ethics, developing world, political conflict, public policy, and South Africa are dominant themes often adopted into studies focusing on democratic failure in the last two decades (figure 8). Second, racism and ethics are potential themes to be discussed in the future; democratization and Eurasia are the most frequently discussed themes at present, Asia and humans are themes that are no longer widely discussed, and democratic system and governance approach are fundamental concepts that are often used in studies that focus on the failure of democracy over the past two decades (figure 9). Third, system pedagogy, legal policy, and political system orientation are also frequently adopted in studies that focus on the failure of democracy in the last two decades (table 1).

It is important to evaluate the trends, patterns, and development of studies that focus on democratic failure to anticipate systemic failures in democratic countries in the future. However, in the view of Horakova et al. (2024), studies that focus on discussing the failure of democracy have not been conducted comprehensively, so the manifestation of democracy as an accommodating political system has experienced obstacles and failure in several countries. The failure of democracy by Fernando et al. (2023) occurs due to various global political phenomena, such as the erosion of public trust in the democratic process and the emergence of leaders who tend to be authoritarian. On the other hand, economic dissatisfaction, social polarization, and the spread of disinformation in the era of social media also affect the quality and even

contribute directly to the failure of democracy. Therefore, the consistency of studies highlighting democratic failure not only emerges and develops naturally but also represents the ongoing conditions and situation of democracy in a country.

The issues of democratic failure discussed in Scopus research publications in the last two decades, 2004-2024, show that implementing a democratic political system still faces various obstacles that must be solved in the future. Studies highlighting the importance of adopting grassroots perspectives are essential, given that failures in implementing democratic political systems tend to be based on bureaucratic and hierarchical institutional governance (Hue & Tung-Wen Sun, 2022; Santoso et al., 2023). This study recommends the importance of future research that addresses democratic failure based on a multidisciplinary approach by incorporating structural, cultural, and even spiritual perspectives in evaluating the root causes of democratic failure. By conducting an in-depth discussion of the political structure and culture, future studies can provide more solutive, adequate, and relevant implications in reinforcing the principles and orientation of a democratic political system so that institutional governance becomes more inclusive and equitable.

CONCLUSION

The findings in this study highlight that the publication of research on democratic failure over the last two decades, 2004-2024, reflects a challenge in implementing a democratic political system. This context can be seen through research publications on the Scopus database with 1063 total documents, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Russian Federation being the most active in publishing studies that focus on discussing democratic failure in the journals Democratization, Journal of Democracy, Political Quarterly, and Third World Quarterly. However, these studies have not been able to intervene and respond to the structural, cultural, and even spiritual challenges that underlie the difficulty of implementing a democratic political system in the era of globalization. The exploration and evaluation of the findings of this study also recommends the importance of future studies to analyze the challenges of implementing democratic political systems in culturally and religiously diverse countries in the globalization era.

The authority's commitment to accommodating the welfare of grassroots communities with cultural and religious diversity can benefit citizens in countries that adhere to a democratic political system. For policymakers, studies that focus on the failure of democracy can be considered in shaping policies and political decisions that are more inclusive and accommodating to the future citizens' interests. For researchers, the findings of this study can also be used as a basis or initial reference in identifying and responding to the gaps of studies that focus on the failure of democracy in the two decades of 2004-2024 empirically, methodologically, and theoretically. Thus, knowledge about the conception and praxis of a democratic political system can be comprehensively explored and evaluated so that the factors and implications of democratic failure can be explained and resolved constructively in the future. The authority's commitment to accommodating the welfare of grassroots communities with cultural and religious diversity can benefit citizens in countries that adhere to a democratic political system. For policymakers, studies that focus on the failure of democracy can be considered in shaping policies and political decisions that are more inclusive and accommodating to the future citizens' interests. For

researchers, the findings of this study can also be used as a basis or initial reference in identifying and responding to the gaps of studies that focus on the failure of democracy in the two decades of 2004-2024 empirically, methodologically, and theoretically. Thus, knowledge about the conception and praxis of a democratic political system can be comprehensively explored and evaluated so that the factors and implications of democratic failure can be explained and resolved constructively in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to the entire research and writing team for their dedication and invaluable contributions to.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, N. (2024). What Drive Marketization and Professionalization of Campaigning of Political Parties in the Emerging Democracy? Evidence from Indonesia in the Post-Soeharto New Order. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 23(1), 26–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2021.1910610>
- August, V. (2024). Understanding democratic conflicts: The failures of agonistic theory. *European Journal of Political Theory*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14748851221120120>
- Bastien, F. (2020). Using parallel content analysis to measure mediatization of politics: The televised leaders' debates in Canada, 1968–2008. *Journalism*, 21(11), 1743–1761. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917751962>
- Bond, P. (2024). South Africa's Housing Financialisation Crises and Social Resistance. *Critical Housing Analysis*, 11(1), 81–93. <https://doi.org/10.13060/23362839.2024.11.1.566>
- Claassen, C., Ackermann, K., Bertson, E., Borba, L., Carlin, R. E., Cavari, A., Dahlum, S., Gherghina, S., Hawkins, D., Lelkes, Y., Magalhães, P. C., Mattes, R. B., Meijers, M., Neundorf, A., Oross, D., Ozturk, A., Sarsfield, R., Self, D., Stanley, B., ... Zechmeister, E. J. (2023). Conceptualizing and Measuring Support for Democracy: A New Approach. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4622645>
- Croissant, A., & Haynes, J. (2021). Democratic regression in Asia: introduction. *Democratization*, 28(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1851203>
- Dalton, R. J. (2021). Modeling ideological polarization in democratic party systems. *Electoral Studies*, 72, 102346. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102346>
- Doorenspleet, R. (2015). Where are the people? A call for people-centred concepts and measurements of democracy. In *Government and Opposition*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2015.10>
- Dumouchel, D. (2023). Raining on the parties' parade: how media storms disrupt the electoral communicational environment. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 33(2), 163–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2020.1780432>
- Fernando, H., Galuh Larasati, Y., Abdullah, I., Jubba, H., Mugni, A., & Persadha, P. D. (2023). The de-existence of Islamic political parties in general elections: A case study of Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2225838>
- Fernando, H., Galuh Larasati, Y., & Cahyani, N. (2023). Being #wanitasalihah: Representations of salihah women on TikTok. *IAS Journal of Localities*, 1(1), 1–15.

- <https://doi.org/10.62033/iasjol.v1i1.8>
- Fernando, H., Larasati, Y. G., Abdullah, I., Firdawaty, L., & Qodriyah, K. (2024). Bibliometrics of Family Law Research Trends in Southeast Asia: An Analysis Two Decades 2003-2023. *El-Ussrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga*, 7(1), 82-109. <https://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/usrah/index>
- Fernando, H., Larasati, Y. G., Abdullah, I., & Horakova, H. (2024). Leadership and the Money Politics Trap in Islamic Legal Thought: A Case Study of Indonesia as a Muslim-Majority Country. *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat*, 24(1), 199-214. <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v24i1.22275>
- Fernando, H., Larasati, Y. G., Wuysang, J. M., Cahyani, N., Rahmah, P., & Hakim, N. (2024). The Controversy of Democracy in Indonesia Presidential Election 2024. *Jurnal Etika Demokrasi*, 9(3), 287-301. <https://doi.org/10.26618/jed.v>
- Feulner, F. (2024). The Indonesian House of Representatives and its role during democratic regression. *The Theory and Practice of Legislation*, 12(2), 229-251. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20508840.2024.2351763>
- Galuh Larasati, Y., Fernando, H., Jubba, H., Abdullah, I., Darus, M. R., & Iribaram, S. (2023). Past preferences informing future leaders for Indonesian 2024 general elections. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 9(1), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2229110>
- González, R., Mackenna, B., Scherman, A., & Joignant, A. (2024). Fairness beyond the ballot: A comparative analysis of failures of electoral integrity, perceptions of electoral fairness, and attitudes towards democracy across 18 countries. *Electoral Studies*, 87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2023.102740>
- Grant, Z., & Evans, G. (2024). A New Dilemma of Social Democracy? The British Labour Party, the White Working Class and Ethnic Minority Representation. *British Journal of Political Science*, 54(3), 793-815. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123423000601>
- Herman, L. E., Dawson, J., & Ananda, A. (2024). A climate of optimism? EU policy-making, political science and the democratization of Central and Eastern Europe (2000-2015). *Comparative European Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-023-00364-2>
- Hidayat, M. M. (2024). The 2024 General Elections in Indonesia: Issues of Political Dynasties, Electoral Fraud, and The Emergence of A National Protest Movements. *IAS Journal of Localities*, 2(1), 33-51. <https://doi.org/10.62033/iasjol.v2i1.51>
- Hue, T. H. H., & Tung-Wen Sun, M. (2022). Democratic Governance: Examining the Influence of Citizen Participation on Local Government Performance in Vietnam. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 45(1), 4-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2021.1939713>
- Jafari, A., & Azizi, H. (2021). Factors of Emergence and Consolidation of Authoritarianism in Post-Soviet Central Asia. *Central Eurasia Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.22059/jcep.2021.303852.449934>
- Jahanger, A., Usman, M., & Balsalobre-Lorente, D. (2022). Autocracy, democracy, globalization, and environmental pollution in developing world: Fresh evidence from <sc>STIRPAT</sc> model. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 22(4). <https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2753>
- Lieberman, R. C., & Gaines, K. J. (2024). Courts, the state, and democratization in the United States. *Law & Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lapo.12249>

- Lindgren, T., Prasojo, Z. H., Bugov, D. T., Riduan, I. M., & Anam, K. (2024). The Appropriation of Religiousity in the 2024 Indonesian Presidential. *IAS Journal of Localities*, 2(2), 96–108. <https://doi.org/10.62033/iasjol.v2i2.78>
- Lindvall, D., & Karlsson, M. (2023). Exploring the democracy-climate nexus: a review of correlations between democracy and climate policy performance. *Climate Policy*, 24(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2023.2256697>
- Luger, J. (2024). ‘Where #freedom and #patriotism live.’ Linking digital media to far-right geographies. *Political Geography*, 114, 103195. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2024.103195>
- Munck, G. L. (2016). What is democracy? A reconceptualization of the quality of democracy. *Democratization*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2014.918104>
- Riono, T., & Schraufnagel, S. (2020). Testing for Incumbency Advantages in a Developing Democracy: Elections for Local Government Leaders in Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 42(2), 200–223. <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs42-2c>
- Saidin, M. I. S., & Storm, L. (2024). The challenges of regime change and political transition in Egypt and Libya after the Arab Uprisings: critical reviews of factors and implications. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2024.2335771>
- Santoso, T. R., Rahayu, R., & Setiana, A. R. S. (2023). Political interest of religious ritual: The Sundanese Nyangku ritual in Indonesia. *IAS Journal of Localities*, 1(2), 123–137. <https://doi.org/10.62033/iasjol.v1i2.16>
- Scott, R. M. (2024). Points of convergence: Islamist conceptions of citizenship and the struggle of Egyptian Christians for their rights as a religious group. *Contemporary Islam*, 18(2), 197–215. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-023-00516-x>
- Sedelmeier, U. (2024). Is there an East–West divide on democracy in the European Union? Evidence from democratic backsliding and attitudes towards rule of law interventions. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(3), 825–849. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2198569>
- Thorpe, K., ten Kate, L., & Burgess, C. (2024). Reimagining democratic education by positioning Aboriginal Country-centred learning as foundational to curriculum and pedagogy. *Curriculum Perspectives*, 44(2), 205–216. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41297-024-00233-2>
- Treisman, D. (2020). Democracy by Mistake: How the Errors of Autocrats Trigger Transitions to Freer Government. *American Political Science Review*, 114(3), 792–810. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000180>
- Veugelers, W. (2021). How globalisation influences perspectives on citizenship education: from the social and political to the cultural and moral. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 51(8), 1174–1189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2020.1716307>
- Wiratraman, H. P. (2022). Constitutional Struggles and the Court in Indonesia’s Turn to Authoritarian Politics. *Federal Law Review*, 50(3), 314–330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0067205X221107404>