

## Democracy and Globality

Roland Axtmann\*

### Abstract

In this article, I consider the connection between globalisation and democracy with respect of (1) the historical 'waves' of democratisation and the (global) spread of 'democratic' system of political rule, and (2) the debate on a reformulation of democratic rule 'in the age of globalisation', and the concerns with global civil society, global governance and 'cosmopolitan democracy' in particular. Linking these two parts are considerations of the question as to whether a universal entitlement to democratic governance is emerging as a right in international law.

**Keywords:** globalisation, democratic governance, cosmopolitan democracy, democratisation.

### The Globalisation of Democracy

#### A global process of democratisation?

In historical analysis and political science, the spread of the institutions of liberal-parliamentary democracy has occasionally been presented by using the metaphor of 'waves'. Following Robert Dahl (1989), one could see the formation of democracy in the Greek polis in the first half of the 5th century BC as the first time when the idea that a substantial number of free, adult males should be entitled as citizens to participate directly in governing the polis was formulated and institutionalised. Underlying this notion of democracy was the assumption that, in order for democratic rule to uphold the common good, the citizen body had to be highly homogeneous as high levels of economic inequality, of religious, cultural or racial diversity would tend to produce political conflict and disagreements over the common good.

The second transformation occurred once the notion of democracy and its institutionalisation could no longer be contained within the city-state and had to be reconceptualised and redesigned for geographically larger territories. In this phase, two significant additions to the classical democratic tradition were made. First, out of recognition of the unavoidable heterogeneity of civil and political society there arose the awareness of the fragility of civic virtue and the dangers of political corruption. Institutions had to be designed that would prevent the concentration of power, in order to balance the interests of 'the one', 'the few', and 'the many' (in the Aristotelian sense), forms of mixed government were advocated in which these interests were represented and pursued, respectively, the monarchy, an aristocratic upper chamber, and a lower house of commons. This was the solution entailed in the British constitution. The American Federal Constitution, however, went beyond this model of a 'mixed constitution'. It acknowledged that society was composed of different alliances and groupings, all of them pursuing a plurality of legitimate interests. But, in order for republican virtue to survive the struggle of political factions and social forces, authority was to be dispersed and many power centres were to be created to prevent the wholesale capture of authority by any one particular interest.

The notion of representation was the second idea added to the classical ideal. For large-scale communities, direct democracy was considered impossible as the people could not meet as a legislative body and had therefore to choose representatives to do what they could not do themselves. Democratic government would thus be conceptualised as representative government circumscribed by constitutional constraint. Political contestation became institutionalised through the mechanisms for the representation of 'the people' and special 'interests'. Above all, the struggles over universal franchise,

\* E-mail: raxtmann@swansea.ac.uk

# Globality Versus Democracy

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