

# Globalisering og demokratisering

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# Globalisering og demokratisering

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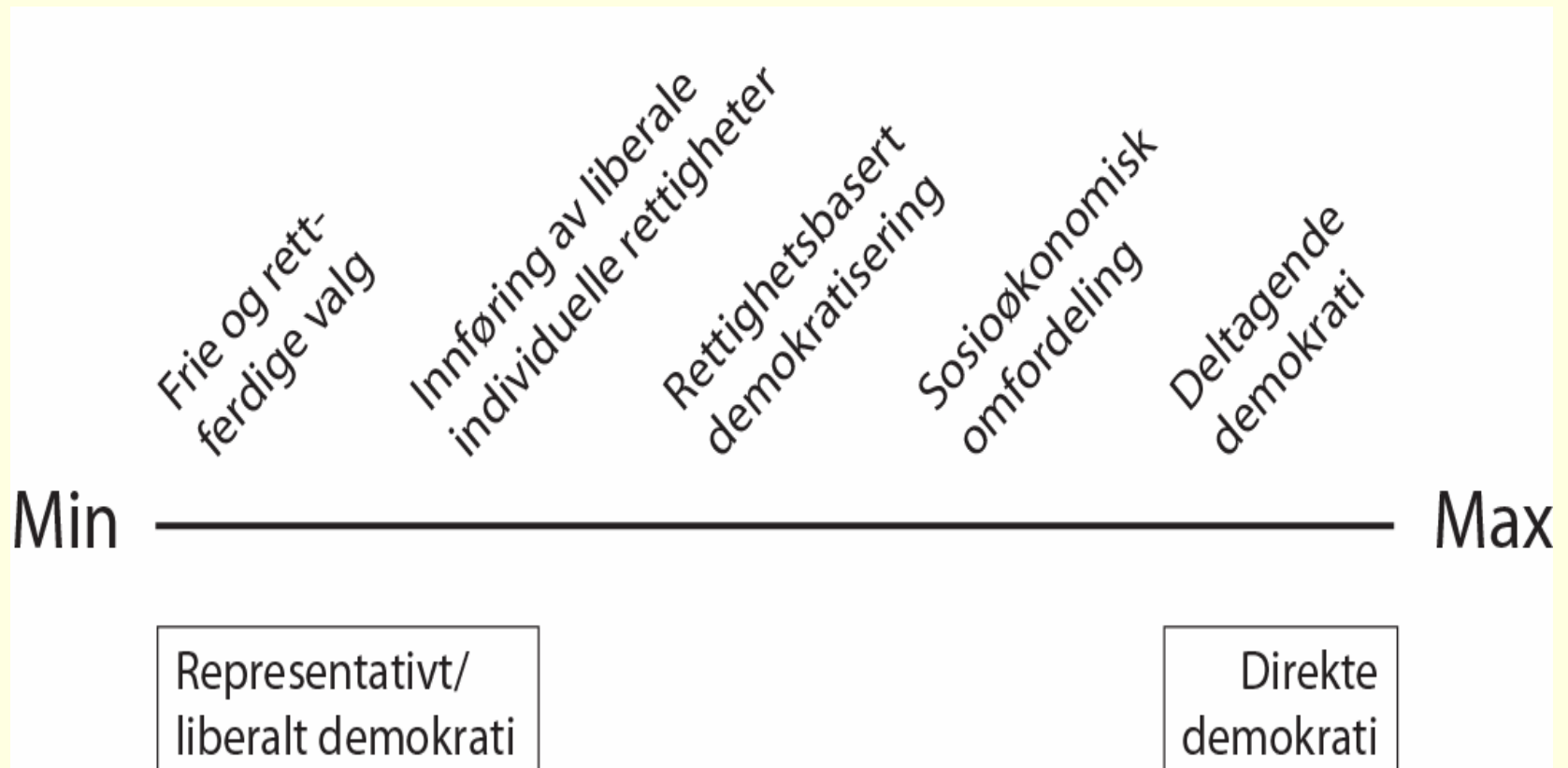
## ■ Perspektiv 1

- Globalisering fører til demokratisering

## ■ Perspektiv 2

- Globalisering fører til demokratisk underskudd globalt, nasjonalt og lokalt

# Demokratiforståelser



# Democratisation

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## ■ Minimalist position

- Democratization as the regular holding of clean elections and the introduction of basic norms (e.g. an absence of intimidation, competition from at least two political parties, and an inclusive suffrage) that make free elections possible. A slightly more inclusive definition demands the introduction of liberal individual rights (freedom of assembly, religious freedom, a free press, freedom to stand for public office, etc.) or the creation of a polyarchic order. (Grugel 2002, p. 5)

# Democratisation

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## ■ Broader definition

- Democratization is the introduction and extension of citizenship rights and the creation of a democratic state. Another way to think of this is a rights-based or 'substantive' democratization, in contrast to 'formal' democratization. The litmus-test for democracy is not whether rights exist on paper but, rather, whether they have real meaning for people. Inevitably, this implies a redistribution of power. (Grugel p. 5)

# Globalisering →

## Demokratisering

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- **Globalisation shapes democratisation:**
- Culturally, through the creation of a global communication network and a global culture;
  - Hegemony of (minimalist) Western liberal democracy in the context of post-Cold War globalisation (*"There is no alternative"*)
- Economically, through the establishment of a global capitalist economy;
  - Globalisation favors a particular variant of restricted liberal democracy which allows for the generation of a global market that serves global capitalists
- Politically, through the establishment of institutions of global governance
  - Operate under assumptions about the relationship between the political order (liberal democracy) and the economic order (market liberalism) and encourage or demand the introduction of economic and political reforms

# Demokratiseringsbølger

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## ■ Første bølge (ca. 1800 - 1930)

- "The Great Transformation" (Karl Polanyi) fører til utvikling av liberalt demokrati ifm. kapitalistisk utvikling, men også autoritære fascistiske og kommunistiske regimer og kolonisering i Asia og Afrika

## ■ Andre bølge (ca. 1945 - 1970)

- Regimeendringer i etterkant av økonomiske kriser, krig og politiske endringer i sentrum av verdenssystemet
- Demokratisering av aksemaktene etter 2. Verdenskrig
- Avkolonisering i Asia og Afrika

## ■ Tredje bølge (1974 - idag)

- Demokratisering etter den kalde krigen og under globalisering
- Sør-Europa, Latin-Amerika, Øst-Europa, Afrika

	1975			1995		
	Authoritarian	Partial democracy	Liberal democracy	Authoritarian	Partial democracy	Liberal democracy
Western Europe, North America and Australia	2	0	22	0	0	24
Latin America	15	2	5	2	5	15
Sub-Saharan Africa	43	2	3	12	16	20
Eastern Europe and the USSR/ former USSR	9	9	0	5	14	8
Asia	18	4	3	11	4	10
Middle East and North Africa	14	3	2	13	3	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>Percent</b>	<b>68,7%</b>	<b>7,5%</b>	<b>23,8%</b>	<b>26,2%</b>	<b>25,6%</b>	<b>48,2%</b>

31 %

74 %



# Demokratiseringsteori

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- New perspective: Transition theory
- Agency approach: democracy created by conscious, committed actors, not economic conditions. Separation of political (elite) negotiations from economic circumstances
- Pact-making within the political elite (politicians, party officials, bureaucrats and office-holders). Narrow understanding of democracy:
- Minimalist: Democracy is visualised as a set of procedures for government negotiated by and between political leaders. Thus the transition approach separates democracy from its essential meaning as rule by the people and conceptualizes it principally as the establishment of a set of governing institutions. (Grugel 2002, p. 61)

# Demokratisk underskudd

Democracy Deficits			Spaces for Democratic Politics
	In formal constitutional and political arrangements	In substance or practices of power	
Citizenship			
Vertical accountability of rulers to citizens			
Horizontal accountability			
International accountability			

## Democracy Deficits

## Spaces for Democratic Politics

In formal constitutional and political arrangements

In substance or practices of power

### Citizenship

- \* Socially or ethnically exclusive definitions of citizenship
- \* Poorly protected civil and political rights
- \* Legal/political barriers to freedom of expression and organisation
- \* Non-recognition of social and economic entitlements
- \* Access to legal and administrative systems skewed against minorities, the unorganised, the poor

- \* Major social inequities (class, gender, regional, religious, ethnic etc.)
- \* Exclusion from the public sphere of women, minorities etc.
- \* De facto disenfranchisement of the poor due to lack of resources and organisation
- \* Uncivil society, cultures of intolerance, lack of respect for difference
- \* Violence, intimidation, especially against marginalised groups

- \* Grassroots organisations (in villages, slums, of women etc.)
- \* Both class-based (e.g. Trade unions, peasants) and new (gender, environment etc.) social movements
- \* Non-exclusive identity politics (minority rights or ethnic associations etc.)
- \* Participatory development initiatives
- \* 'Islands of civility' in conflict areas

Luckham, R., Goetz, A.M. & Kaldor, M. (2003). Democratic Institutions and Democratic Politics. In: S. Bastian & R. Luckham (eds.). *Can democracy be designed?* London: Zed

## Democracy Deficits

## Spaces for Democratic Politics

In formal constitutional and political arrangements

In substance or practices of power

Vertical accountability of rulers to citizens

- \* Elections not free and fair
- \* Electoral systems distort outcomes or disenfranchise minorities
- \* Weak or absent formal accountability procedures
- \* Over-centralisation of constitution and structures of governance
- \* Few contact points between civil society groups and political/administrative structures

- \* Electorates have little effective choice between alternative political programmes
- \* Few autonomous, effective, broadly based civil society groups
- \* Weak interest aggregation by political parties. especially of interests of the poor and marginalised
- \* Civil and political society reproduce hierarchies of class, gender, race etc.
- \* Political processes weakened and social capital destroyed by violent conflicts

- \* Consensus on rules of political game
- \* Issue-based, non-zero sum politics, not based on gender, racial or ethnic hierarchies
- \* Synergies between strong civil society groups and political parties
- \* Effective, internally democratic parties
- \* Inclusive forms of corporatism, responsive to pressure from below
- \* Robust regional/local/municipal democracy

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## Democracy Deficits

## Spaces for Democratic Politics

In formal constitutional and  
political arrangements

In substance or  
practices of power

Horizontal  
accountability

- \* Majoritarianism: politics as a zero sum game
- \* Non-recognition by constitution of major regional and social diversities
- \* Weak constitutional checks and balances
- \* Rule of law absent or weak
- \* Executive not sufficiently accountable to legislature
- \* Governmental secrecy, lack of transparency
- \* Weak democratic control of military, police and intelligence bodies

- \* A barrowed public domain: diminished scope for collective political action
- \* Patrimonial politics: government manipulation via patronage, ethnicity etc.
- \* Political processes suborned by elite economic and political interests
- \* Judiciary weak or co-opted
- \* Weak opposition parties
- \* Media lacking in independence
- \* Legacies of military/ authoritarian governance

- \* Societal consensus supporting supremacy of constitution, rule of law
- \* Robust parliamentary processes
- \* Plural sources of wealth, status and power
- \* Strong traditions of regionalism
- \* Civil society groups able to articulate democratic values (rights groups, anti-corruption campaigns etc.)
- \* Independent, broadly based media

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## Democracy Deficits

## Spaces for Democratic Politics

In formal constitutional and political arrangements

In substance or practices of power

International accountability

- \* Key decisions made by largely unaccountable international bodies (IMF, World Bank, UN Security Council, major corporations etc.)
- \* Democracy deficits within these international bodies
- \* Constraints on national sovereignty built into non-renegotiable international agreements (e.g. World Trade Organisation)

- \* Vulnerability in international markets
- \* Hegemony of international firms
- \* Exposure to capital flight
- \* Donor pressure via conditionality etc.
- \* Difficulties of aggregating democratic politics across national boundaries

- \* Donor support for political reform (despite its contradictions)
- \* International human rights law and practice
- \* Embryonic global civil society (e.g. human rights, development and environment NGOs)
- \* South-South and South-East political alliances

# Globalisering →

## Demokratisk underskudd

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- Globalisering gir mer makt til overnasjonale institusjoner men disse er ikke under demokratisk kontroll
- Økonomisk globalisering → begrenset handlingsrom for demokratiske regimer
- Globalisering → formelle demokratiske institusjoner, men ikke reelt folkestyre

# Kursoppgaven

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## ■ Globalisering

- Hva er globalisering, ulike former for globalisering, omfang av globalisering, debatter
- Økonomisk globalisering, statlig regulering

## ■ Governance

- Hva er det, debatter om governance
- Utviklingsstaten
- Entreprenørstaten, by- og regional utvikling
- Offentlig/privat partnerskap



# Kursoppgaven

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## ■ Velferd i endring

- Endringer i velferdsstaten under globalisering
- 'Workfare', hva er det, hvordan kommer det til uttrykk

## ■ Demokrati

- Demokratisk underskudd, hva er det og hva slags uttrykk og endringer finnes
- Demokratisering, forståelser og debatter
- Konstruksjon av demokrati
- Rettsliggjøring
- Makt og demokrati i Norge

# Kursoppgaven

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## ■ **Arbeid og arbeidere**

- Endringer i arbeidslivet i nord og sør
- Fagbevegelser under globalisering

## ■ **Motstand**

- Motstand, hva er det, debatter
- Motstandsstrategier lokalt, nasjonalt og globalt
- Den globaliseringskritiske bevegelsen
- Politisk islam ift globalisering

# Kursoppgaven

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## ■ Lokaldemokrati

- Desentralisering ift. globalisering
- Lokale demokratiske underskudd
- Lokaldemokrati i endring (for eksempel i Norge)
- Lokal demokratisk deltagelse (for eksempel i Porto Alegre)