Globalization of Democracy, Transnational Norms and Plurality of Actors in International Organizations

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ABSTRACT

The theoretical and practical aspects of human life are faced with dramatic changes because of the high speed of the globalization process, and internal and external areas of the state-nation are intertwined due to the compression of time and space. One of the most important examples of this integration is the relationship between democracies within states-nations, along with the waves of globalization beyond the national borders. Globalization of democracy is an issue which is based on national state and governmental right centerpieces more than anything else. Today, it is no secret that national governments which are affected by the globalization process have lost their former power and authority in both inside and outside their border. National governments are grappling with the challenges such as crisis of legitimacy and identity, internally. Also, at the same time, their national governments have been restricted in different economic, cultural and political arena, externally. Actually, the traditional structures of the national governments have been challenged due to the globalization process. One of the most important traditional, national structures is democracy and its procedures. Many national democratic norms and procedures such as the principle of representation and the national electoral system have been assimilated in line with the weakening of the state-nation. However, semantic evolution of concepts such as government and national identity depend on the globalization process which has provided appropriate fields for the transformation of democratic norms beyond national borders. This suggests plurality in the international arena which means appearance and increase in the role of new, non-state actors. Democratic decision making process in international organizations, strengthening the international legal institutions and forming global, civil society can be referred as outcomes of plurality in international system which all promise to increase transparency and accountability in international institutions.

INTRODUCTION

Without any doubt, globalization is the most important and the most striking phenomenon in our era. The globalization phenomenon is so extent that it influences more or less all human cultural, economic and political arenas and democracy is not excluded as the dominant form of governance. However, the effects of multidimensional phenomenon of globalization on democracy have been neglected. Today, democracy is facing with a widely acceptance as a form of governance around the world, and almost all the political regimes have the claim of democracy. No more room has been left for traditional forms of government such as hereditary and despotic rule and most of the laws, regulations and policies get their legitimacy from people- a matter which is unprecedented in the human history with the exception of the very brief period of Athenian democracy. On the other hand, globalization waves transcend national boundaries like a wave and form the internal and external policies of the state-nation. Jurgen Habermas in the book "globalization and the future of democracy, post-national system" believes that democratic processes as a basis for legitimating post-national have the possibility of preparing only through collective decisions [10]. In this regard, the structure of the state and market and bureaucratic arrangements may only partially ease the crisis of the process of modernization, but just an efficient, general government which is the result of transnational networks associated with union non-governmental organizations, and global political movements can create a model of public legitimacy which...
gives the possibility of adopting and implementing obligatory decisions to the regional or universal regimes. Consequently, Habermas clearly remarked that social unity must be manifested as a cosmopolitan contrary to the national management and global market and a sense of shared responsibility and a global shared commitment to public participation must grow in the global citizens' attitudes toward democracy. Thus, forming this forced, cosmopolitan unity upon the national, linguistic and spatial effective links despite the existing problems is an essential need, from the Habermas's perspective. He emphasizes developing a model of society which is based on abstract institutional principles such as freedom and democracy, and not based on a single state-nation.

The book "democracy and global politics in the era of globalization" written by Klaus Muller is another work related to globalization and its impact on national governments of states [19]. He considered globalization from the general point of view with regard to economic, political and social issues. This book is a valve to the main areas of globalization which means liberalizing the financial market, losing the national achievements in the areas of social justice, environmental risks which are beyond the country’s borders, issues of power firms which is the result of economic integration of firms in different countries with each other and their out of the control of governments, spreading Western lifestyles, increasing waves of immigration and the erosion of governments, and how the evolution of democracy was and the possibility of its spreading in the World arena after the Cold War. Also, the author deals with international organizations, especially international financial institutions and pays attention to the regional unions particularly to the Europe Union.

The book "Democracy and Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Democracy” written by "David Held" and the book "The Transformation of democracy: Globalization or Territorial Democracy” written by "Anthony Mack Pawn” can be noted as the Latin books which are closely related to the subject of this study. Held's central idea is that have some basic principles of political theory must develop so that democracy as a form of governance can adapt itself with new national and international transformations. Held's historical view at formation of concepts such as democracy and state-nation is commendable, but he does not tell us great things about pluralism in the globalization era [12]. In addition, Mguire shows that how globalization changed the conditions under which liberal democrats states operate. Hence, he considers the transformation of liberal democracy model necessary in the age of globalization; however, he is inattentive towards the impact of globalization on international institutions [17].

The main purpose of the present paper is to describe and explain the effects of globalization of democracy in the international arena in order to analyze the reality of international actors and their function in international organizations. The main question of this paper is that what effects does globalization democracy have had on international actors? In response, it has been claimed that “globalization of democracy with transnational democratic norms helped the plurality of actors in international organizations”. Additionally, this study has several sub-questions in mind which includes the nature of the globalization process and its effect on national, democratic governments, how the rise of non-state actors and their work within the framework of international organizations. The method used in this study was descriptive-analytical and the library resources such as books, papers and international documents used in data collection.

In spite of many uses of the term globalization, its nature and dimensions are still not entirely clear and different views about this phenomenon is still continuing. Also, there are various contradictory perceptions of democracy despite the global popularity of it. So, first of all, it seems necessary to explain what and how the globalization phenomenon and the concept of democracy are in order to consider the impact of globalization of democracy on international actors.

**Definition of concepts:**

**Globalization:**

The term globalization which is used along terms such as "international integration” and increased "global communication” includes a collection of profound, global transformations that has resulted in “de-bordering” from state-nation territory. Despite the various perceptions of globalization phenomenon, all of them agree on this point that globalization increases international interactions among similar domains within different states-nations. Transformations which have begun in the early 1990s have helped in creating a globally integrated economy by gradually passing states-nations obstacles and by integrating national economies in each other. Of course this does not mean the disappearance of national borders, but the importance of national borders has declined by spreading the process of globalization and increasing global communications [4].

The term globalization, first, used to refer to emerging, economic activities and actors and forming the global economy market meaning that the economic dimension of interactions were considered more, but the political and cultural dimensions of these interactions have also been considered with the rise of free trade and the growth processes of international finance which have resulted in weaknesses of the boundaries. Increased international cooperation has lead to a revolution in communication technology. These multidimensional transformations which are all under the globalization process have not simply done automatically, but most of
them were the product of conscious political decisions of the leaders who helped to erode various national boundaries [3].

Furthermore, strengthen the transnational linkages has lead to de-nationalization from various arenas of human life. Many people have relationship with various people of other nationalities on a daily basis. A lot of people leave their homes in order to find a better life conditions overseas and join to the mass of international migrants. National economic and cultural policies have lost much of their meanings and universities publish their scientific findings around the world and in worldwide valid magazines. However, removing the boundaries of the states-nations in the era of globalization has created new risks that do not fit within the territorial divisions. We can mention "climate changes", "global financial crisis" and destructive operations of terrorist groups among them [24].

**Democracy:**

Following the collapse of the former Soviet Union, democracy gained global acceptability as a model of governance of with an emphasis on respect towards the public authority. Nowadays, there is a general consensus on the democratic legal principles within the states so that having these principles is necessary both in political theories and legal rules. Governmental leaders must achieve their power from citizens and through general and periodical free elections. In addition, public power which is in the hands of politicians must be applied according to the rule of law and the limits of change in combination of governing body must be acceptable to national, political groups [26].

Although there are different interpretations from the concept of democracy and some attribute it to the public general will and some emphasize individual, liberal authenticity compared to them, they all agree on the fact that democracy means the opportunity to share in decision-making and frequent changes in governing body through specific institutions and procedures. More clearly, these institutions and procedures of democratic governance are applied within the states-nations in every form they are and democracy gains meaning in relation to the concept of citizenship and national boundaries. This is why spreading democracy towards national borders are faced with many problems and remains only as a theory [5].

**Outcomes of Globalization of Democracy:**

Today, there is a relative agreement in relation to the rules and procedures of democratic governance within national boundaries, but there is not such a consensus about the effects of globalization on national governments. To achieve transnational democratic arrangements which are acceptable to the majority of the public is the most important issue for globalization of democracy since we cannot hope to obey individuals, governments and international institutions of the global democratic rules in the absence of a reference object for democracy in the global level (such as a national government for internal democracy). However, the impacts of globalization process on democratic procedures within states are to an extent that manifests the necessity to speculate about it. In general, the outcomes of globalization of democracy can be summarized in three bases each of which are explained in the follow.

**Undermining the Policy Autonomy of National Units:**

Globalization has affected the nature of territorial, national government and also political values and institutions. The old policy order of governments is losing and restructurings process makes different political authorities. One aspect of these developments is the integration of national and international policies in the fields of economics and culture. Not only actors, structures and forces are more connected to each other, but overlap and interference have been created in all levels from one sector to the other. All these transformations led many researchers, such as David Held and Anthony Mcgrew to know globalization as a threat to the national democracy [13]. However, the risk of democracy for the continuous, national pattern of democracy is totally different from the threat of authoritarian and totalitarian governments. Such a risk will have its impact gradually and invisibly and avoids direct interference in decision-making processes. In general, three main approaches are in relation to global threats to national autonomy of states which are as follows:

**Globalization as Americanization:**

The first approach knows the transformations which occur under globalization as spreading the benefits of United States of America and life style of this country. According to this intellectual approach, globalization is more than America's hegemony and has no substantive difference with it. Hence, globalization means the victory of Americas' neo-liberalism, which gives benefits to this country's companies. Moreover, this process leads to cultural superiority and domination of America by "entertainment industry" and film making because it eliminates the cultural and social patterns of the other nations and puts its own culture into their place. Also, in terms of scientific excellence, American universities consolidate and continue through globalization process. All these events are unprecedented political and military superiority of the United States manifest in the world arena. In this regard, the main international organizations such as "International Monetary Fund (IMF)"'s, "World
Globalization as a Capitalism Strategy:

Second mental attitudes analyze the globalization in a context of capitalism efforts system in order to increase profits and capture international markets. In this regard, the danger to democracy is from a broken balance among internal, social classes. More clearly, democracy is based on a form of governance on relative balance among the three social classes (high, medium and low) in which the middle class is approximately the total size of the upper and lower classes. Development of capitalism in the context of globalization disrupts such a balance by increasing the number of investment holders (top class) and the poor (lower class) on one side, and decreasing the quantity of the middle class on the other hand. This kind of attitude to the process of globalization is supported by the European socialist parties and also Neo-Marxists. In addition, many agencies of developing countries in international organizations and institutions have often criticized the nature of the globalization process because it is along with the interests of Western states and investment holders. This intellectual approach claims that national, government structures are undermined not because of the effect of globalization, but it still considers the government as the most important agent of the capitalist class [28].

Globalization as undermining governmental institutions:

The third approach emphasizes reducing the power of national institutions in order to organize the lives of citizens. Following international groups and institutions, especially global economic actors, which became stronger, their scope of activities gradually spread from internal areas to external areas. Consequently, these institutions and groups are relative released from dominated governmental bodies. This intellectual approach assesses the nature of globalization process as autonomous in comparison with previous approaches. According to this approach, international, governmental efforts are not sufficient to eliminate negative effects of globalization process, but the capacity of international institutions and international law must be used to advance global prosperity and international justice. However, the mechanisms of international institutions which have the responsibility of establishing global government have had a detrimental impact on democracy. Most of these institutions lack democratic procedures, transparency and being respondent and they only have functional and technological nature [1]. As a result, major parts of the internal community became globalized by forming institutions and "international community". These international political institutions are not perfect, but they agree on some internal areas. The extent of these changes is so that we can speak of the decline of the internal political processes that have had a profound impact on national democracy. Where does democracy come from, and why does it seem to move along in waves from one country to another [15].

Non-Compliance of National Boundaries and Global Economic with Territorial Boundaries of States-Nations:

We can to identify interests and topics which include all the inhabitants of the earth, in the era of globalization. Many environmental problems are global, and they affect the destiny of all people regardless of their nationality [25]. However, there are issues that are central to the boundaries and are related to the limited communities. Management of the lake which is located among several countries, existence of linguistic communities and religions which are spread over in places distant from each other, workers dependencies to more than one state in international strategic elections are all issues which cannot be addressed within political community as democratic. In most issues, these entities do not have appropriate instruments in order to affect political elections as well as decisions despite the similarities and common interests and destiny [12]. In this regard, states have created some governmental, international organizations, but these organizations are managed by states and are under the effect of the interests of governmental officials and not and stakeholders and private companies. Even in cases where the subject matter is concerned exclusively with governments, political processes do not follow democratic standards. One prominent example in this respect that affected the destiny of all people was the French nuclear testing in "Island of Mururoa" in the South Pacific. This decision was taken by a country which has a long, democratic tradition record. French government with resort to concepts such as interest and national security justified his action, but officials of this country probably will show different reactions in front of such tests which perform in near Paris. In contrast, those who live near the Pacific Ocean
had significantly affected by environmental damages of this test. The Mururoa is certainly one of the outstanding issues in which the interests of political communities are away from interest of those who are affected by it. The role of shareholders and bankers involved in the democratic societies has been confirmed from a long time ago. Democratic theory has tried to take into account not only the interests of individuals, but also considered their special elections. An important part of contemporary democratic theory is inspired by Rousseau who accentuates how individual preferences are formed more than their accumulation in the analysis of these processes [6]. This is just one of the issues in which theories and democracy practices have been developed, but it is still neglected in the international level. However, issues which affect "stakeholders" and other international entities are not always in line with the interests of a separate state.

Hence, the new government must adapt itself to the formed transformations in the internal and external levels and also to global transformations. These factors will force state-nation to review their roles and structures. The new government must be able to make an appropriate relationship among national consumers and foreign producers or vice versa. Therefore, the new combination of global production and consumption is in a way that is not compatible with former traditional borders.

**Democratic Transnational Norms:**

A significant portion of the world's governments have not still decided a political system which is consistent with the contemporary understanding of democracy. Although democracy is accepted by its previous opponents, its final and global confirmation is still out of reach. New democracies are still faced with daily, ongoing struggle and citizens of many advanced democratic systems are not even completely satisfied with their regimes [16]. Each of existing democratic nations must be viewed as global, democratic laboratory in order to address the issue of spreading democracy. For example, today governments grant individual rights such as asylum and migration to their citizens, an affair which they already refused to grant it. Giving equal rights to foreigners and people who live within the national borders faces a long way [13]. However, this issue becomes more prominent recently according to this fact that democratic governments have faced many pinches. For example, these questions are that whether those who were born in a particular community considers as citizen? Or those who live in that place and pay taxes and want having the rights of democratic citizenship in a foreign society?

One of the most important transformations in the theory of citizenship is to authenticate the social rights by different religious, ethnic and cultural identities. The democratic state about which we are talking is not solely based on the idea of equality, but it also recognizes the right of cultural diversity. This recognition of the diversity within the political community leads to weakening its boundaries. Because people who speak different languages and have a different religion and background culture have the same passport affiliations and on the contrary, those who are more dependent and similar to us, have another nationality and are considered as foreigners. Existence of such contradictions leaves more democratic norms such as the majority of votes and the equality of right from national shell and is considered as international arena.

**Diversity and Pluralism of International Actors:**

The pluralism of international actors is the prominent characteristic of the era of globalization. The governments were considered as the only international players, for several years. However, globalization has drawn the main nature of democracy which is pluralism from national level to international level. The result is the appearances of new international players which are usually non-governmental and pursue goals in the global arena. Some of these entities are looking for more interests like business and financial companies, but some other support specific issues. Human rights associations and environmental advocates can be mentioned as those entities. Most of these new actors have active participations in meetings and activities of international institutions as well as organizations. Indeed, the nature of multilateral diplomacy provides a suitable environment for the players to act [27].

The existence of transnational norms shows that the will towards spreading some democratic principles are at the transnational level (Formal equality among states that are member, public accountability and the rule of law). But on the other hand, there are many problems in order to develop criteria for national democracy globally. It is not necessary to support democracy even the type of cosmopolitan democracy in order to support functions of international institutions. Facilitation the works of states is their duty - whether democratic or non-democratic - at least to some rule which governments restricts them. Although realists, functionalists and or federalists have differing opinions about future functions of international organizations, they all agree that they are. So, they have different views in relation democratize these institutions. The charges of deducting democracy in international institutions are not only considered about Europe, but are also considered in relation to organizations such as the United Nations. For example, it is recommended that clarity, strength, legitimacy and accountability increase at the fiftieth establishing anniversary of this organization and at the beginning of the new millennium. In this regard, Robert Dahl has points out many problems that international institutions are faced with in relation to involving democratic criteria in decision-making processes [7]. Plans and proposals
which are created to reform in the UN are numerous. These plans are very diverse and have been proposed from different perspectives [21]. In the meantime, the international proponents of global democracy request for the abolition of the veto in the Security Council of UN, helping poor countries in the IMF and increasing transparency in decision making of the World Trade Organization with adopting a political stance.

Outcomes of Pluralism in International Arena:

Although the majority of existing international institutions established by states-nations, nongovernmental organizations such as private companies and special-interest groups (groups which supports environment, human rights institutions and anti-war groups) are also gradually formed and participate with institutions of government-oriented in various fields. As a result, these international transformations, institutions and organizations expanded their authority and legitimacy to areas which were previously monopolized by states-nations. This debate raises the discussion of reforms in major, international structures which include democratizing decision-making process in international organizations, strengthening international legal and judicial institutions and formation of global civil society.

Democratizing the Decision-Making Process in International Organizations:

It is very clear that global governance must be done through democratic processes due to issues such as global disarmament, financial and trade issues. But in practice, practical preparation for global democratic governance is harder than what it seems. In recent years, non-state actors had this advantage to be heard by all people in the meetings at the United Nations Fund, World Trade Organization, and International Monetary. This reflects the increasing role of international non-governmental institutions in global issues because these organizations have the more power of flexibility and adaption to new transformation in comparison with other state-centered actors. Without a doubt, the increased role of international, non-governmental institutions in international decision-making processes can help democratize global order.

At the global governance level, international non-governmental organizations impose themselves to national governments gradually and politically. The United Nations and many other international organizations have provided suitable space for non-governmental actors despite the nature of their government. Tendency to the global rule is very strong in many areas. For example, in cases such as financial issues, migration, environmental problems, human rights and "developmental assistance", each of these regimes has their rules and controlling equipment [13]. Consequently, each of these arenas can witness new campaigns and initiatives that will result in greater accountability and democratization. These initiatives are consistent with "bottom-up approach" of cosmopolitan based on which transparency, control and accountability increase in international relations. The cosmopolitan democracy proposes a framework based on which various areas that citizens and global movements work on them linked to each other [18].

International organizations are obliged to observe some democratic principles based on established treaties and their constitution. For example, they should not violate fundamental rules of international law. Also, international, public institutions should be responder to their members. However, many of the fundamental principles of democracy such as the principles of equality of citizens and the principle of majority votes are not respected by their members [2]. Actually, most of them suffer from democratic deduction problem despite the increased role and function of the international institutions. In this regard, cosmopolitans believe that major, international organizations such as the UN require reforms so that their structures and functions become more democratic.

Democratization of international institutions does not mean to exactly implement national democratic principles at the international organization levels, because many of the national democratic principles such as the majority of votes encounter with problems in international arena. Since joining the United Nations has nothing to do with democratic governments, democratic governments may refuse to accept the principle of the majority, especially, if the jurisdiction of these organizations also related to the internal affairs of states. Even if all democratic countries participate in decision-making about the UN, there is no guarantee that the interests of non-governmental actors would not be ignored. Many institutions are run on a basis of equality of members and each country has a vote regardless of population, political and military power. In the United Nations General Assembly, states which their total population form only 5 percent of the world's population have the majority of votes. Even if the vote of the countries becomes proportional to their population, no problem would be solved. Because, countries like China, India, America, Indonesia, Brazil and Russia, which have more than half the world's population, have the constant majority. Therefore, the UN shows that how applying the principle of majority vote is difficult in international institutions. However, the principle of the majority of the votes cannot be ignored. More clearly, the power of the vote which permanent members of the Security Council have is contrary to all traditional principles of democracy. In the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, voting power of the countries is based on the amount of their financial aids non-democratically. At the conferences of the Group of Eight and Group of Twenty, a number of countries make decisions for the entire planet and the world's most important military organization, NATO, easily destructs the relationships among countries with its
non-democratic decisions despite the fact that most of its members are from democratic countries. In addition, participation of non-governmental individuals and groups in decision-making processes of international organizations are often limited by functional factors [22].

Totally, proponents of the idea of global democracy believe that democratic reforms are necessary to eliminate international shortcomings of institutions in order to promote transparency, accountability associated with increasing their independent actions from its states members. Under these conditions, international, governmental institutions are not instruments in the hands of national governments anymore, but they would change into effective actors in creating global peace and security.

**Strengthening the International, Legal Institutions:**

Rule of law and strengthening international rules are considered as one of the main components of any democratic systems. Also, cosmopolitan democracy supports developing the rule of international justice and criminal. Many of the international institutions such as the United Nations and Union of Europe have judicial institutions; however, these institutions are very weak and lack the binding power in order to implement their decision. However, if international, legal norms and rules evolve, violating them would be costly for the governments. Developing international, judicial authority requires strengthening international criminal justice system, solving international, legal disputes and preparing transnational rules for commercial and financial sectors [2].

**Strengthening "International Criminal Justice" System:**

Establishing several "Ad Hoc International Criminal Tribunal" which resulted in establishing international justice court in 1988 has created new hopes for running international criminal justice through punishing offenders [2]. Actually, international justice court is considered as the most international, prominent legal initiative after the cold war; however, there is a long way to improve the performance of this court and to encourage non-member countries in order to join it.

The performance of the International Criminal Court in recent years indicates that the Court has focused more on the defendants of African-centered. Cases which were selective bring to the mind this danger that the court may become as a tool in the hands of a group of Western countries. In fact, those who consider the Court as a symbol of international Justice and supporter of international rights of the weak against the strong have been disappointed to some extent from the performance of the court. Therefore, the balance in the function of the Court through considering the committed crimes by Western citizens seems necessary. Such process associated with strengthen global legitimacy of the International Criminal Court would encourage the non-member countries, especially the United States of America to adopt the Statute of the Court.

**Legal Settlement of “International Judiciary Disputes”:**

Resolving legal disputes among states and other international entities through legal instruments are considered useful efforts towards international peace and stability. International Court of Justice which has the responsibility of this duty in the framework of the United Nations System confronts difficulties. Because, the International Court of Justice can handles disputes only when the parties are willing to accept the Court's jurisdiction [20]. This issue is a major obstacle to this international legal entity. If you have a short look at the International Court of Justice's 60-year history, you will see that many international problems and catastrophes such as the Vietnam War, Iraq war, the legitimacy of nuclear weapons, and several other important are neglected just because of this simple reason that states were not able to refer to above-mentioned issues.

The fundamental development of the rule of law in the world requires granting the compulsory jurisdiction to international Court of Justice because the court performs as a real court among states not as a judge [8]. Granting the compulsory jurisdiction to the International Court of Justice does not mean that the court will have full power to run its decisions, but the convict behavior of some rogue states from the court will have a significant impact on the international relations in the absence of effective executive power.

**Formation of Global Civil Society:**

One of the obvious effects of globalization on political communities is decentralization and deconstruction of existing structures. This issue has provided the emergence of a new civil society and new social movements. These social movements are located outside of political parties' framework and will include a completely new transformation. This fact makes more the possibility of singularity and individualism and also enables people in order to be participating actively in determining their destiny. It goes without saying that social participation, social trust, and communications networks are among the main components of social capital. [11].

The concept of international civil society suggests the decline or erosion of Westphalian model of state and a replaced mixed government of communities, competences and loyalties of the cap which are created based on global interdependence. This emerging civil society is like a complex network of independent organizations and institutions which are beyond the state and exclusive sovereignty. Accordingly, it gives more value to
democratization against authoritarianism and the power of policy. The existing structures of power are not acceptable under these conditions and the establishment of new, international regimes is emphasized with environmental protection. However, international civil society has a close relationship with modern, social movements which are created through in the development process of capitalistic system in order to pursue its political goals. These kinds of movements have strengthened through permanent interactions with international institutions and contribute to forming norms and institutions of state community. Brokers who consist of international civil society are usually a threat to the sovereignty of the state, because, they go beyond the defined national, ethnic and religious existing boundaries. In this case, the social movements which are taken place within the international civil society weaken and strengthen the existing boundaries of independent states, at the same time. Generally, experience of such transnational movements shows this fact that how these new entities can cause weakening national governments of states [9].

Conclusion:
Globalization of democracy which suggests multilateralism of democracy raises features and internal democratic norms beyond national borders. One of the most prominent democratic norms is pluralism which has shown itself as pluralism of international players in the international arena. The pluralism of international actors shows the power of international institutions and organizations on the one hand and the role of international non-governmental actors, on the other hand. Thus, globalization is a process which has led to pluralism both within and outside of the borders of states-nations and emergence of unusual actors in the international arena is the most outstanding example. No doubt, undermining states as the main actors of the international system is an important factor in the emergence and acting of the new entity non-governmental entities.

The importance of norms and legal rules in international affairs are other consequences of globalization of democracy, and pluralism in the international system. Although the anarchic nature of the international system remained stable for many years, international norms and rules gradually become more important and affect the behavior of states and other non-governmental actors in international organizations. Political representation is defined based on the principle of governance and having an identified land in the current state-based system. This has caused many non-governmental entities, which do not have the capacity to become a state-nation, to be deprived of an appropriate political space in order to discuss plans and problems. Increasing the number of individuals, groups and non-governmental organizations and the interactions among them have led to the formation of international civil society, a society which gives value to the democratization of international politics [9] and opens a new horizon to build a secure and stable world.

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