



# The Impact of Globalization on Democracy in the Third World

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## ABSTRACT

The rapid pace of globalization in the international system has caused states to be faced with many challenges and opportunities. Countries deal with these opportunities and threats based on their culture, politics, economics, and other factors affecting the process of globalization. In recent years, democracy as a principle accepted by most industrial societies is being entered into other societies, especially the countries of the Third World. The globalization of democracy as a part of the globalization process on the one hand and the rise of exchange rate as well as the level of political, economic, cultural and social dependence of societies on each other on the other hand has caused western countries to try to use this opportunity and spread their desired pattern in the form of liberal democrats to other parts of the world. Meanwhile, western countries use some impressive tools to export democracy to the third world societies. However, some of these societies have moved toward democracy with open arms while others opposed it and have not accepted it yet.

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## Introduction

The phenomenon of globalization has various dimensions including economic, political, cultural, social, and environmental aspects, but the political dimension is the most important one which has affected many countries especially the third world societies today. In fact, the political dimension of globalization has many effects on the democracy of third world countries. On the other hand, the western countries as the leaders of this process attempts to implement a global pattern of democracy in the Third World; however, this process has been faced with many difficulties and resistance. Also, it should be noted that in this process, advanced countries have created many problems for the third world societies.

### The main question

Can the third world countries stand against the rapid pace of globalization?

### The hypothesis

The third world countries cannot effectively stand against the rapid pace of globalization considering their limited facilities.

### Materials and methods

In this study, the correlation method was used to assess the impact of globalization on democracy growth among the third world countries. Also, "the globalization" and "the growth of democracy in the third world countries" have been respectively considered as the dependent and independent variables.

### The problem statement

In general, the third world countries are in the process of modernization, development, and transition from tradition to modernity that the struggles arising from the situation prevent the establishment of democracy in these societies. Generally, democracy in the Third World is faced with significant barriers including the domination of old aristocratic groups that their interests are incompatible with democracy, the domination of religious and ancient absolute values, the strength of traditions, and the continued power of old institutions incompatible with democracy such as the king, religious institutions, military systems, as well as ethnic, tribal, and cultural cleavages (1).

## Globalization

According to Stiglitz, globalization is the closer integration of countries and peoples of the world that reduces the enormous costs of transportation and communication and eliminates artificial barriers to the flow of goods, services, capital and knowledge (on a smaller scale) over time (2).

Anthony Giddens has described globalization as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. In this state, the world should be considered as a single system (3).

### The globalization stages

The first step was the establishment of the United Nations after the Second World War when an international order was provided based on respect for the nations, cultures, and religions to organize the international community in a democratic and peaceful manner.

In the second revolution of globalization, it was emphasized on the economic factor; as a result, market economy and free trade model were expanded around the world through opening the borders.

In the third revolution of globalization, the cultural aspects of globalization were considered in addition to economic and political aspects. In fact, the main concern of third stage of globalization was cultural coexistence at the global level (4).

### Economic globalization

Although the process of globalization has been prevalent, the most striking example of this process is about the economy. In economic dimension, globalization has greater breadth and depth. In fact, the dominant aspect of economy in globalization is so that the political and cultural aspects of this process are affected by the economic aspect.

### The impact of globalization on governments

The globalization reduces the power of the states in controlling the national economy and this causes them to be involved in the evitable challenge of changing their relation with national economy and market; because the emergence of this phenomenon has caused national laws and regulations to be

gradually replaced with international laws and regulations; as a result, international organizations have gradually taken charge of many tasks of national organizations in countries; in such a circumstances, states cannot legislate regardless of international laws.

#### **Accelerating the structural reforms**

It is very difficult to conduct structural reforms such as privatization, elimination of monopolies, the reform of laws and regulation, actualization of prices, and rationalization of supports in a semi-closed economy, because they endanger the interests of some groups, there is not necessary motivation and pressure for applying them, as well as their political costs are high. However, the addition of global obligations on the one hand and the potential benefits and resources of their implementation on the other hand have caused the reforms to be implemented faster and more reliably and be far from structural reforms policies.

#### **The concept and dimensions of globalization based on Fukuyama's view**

Fukuyama considers two main foundations regarding globalization:

First, the universal acceptance of liberal democracy as the final model of Governmentalism and setting up the social relations; second, the end of ideological conflicts and historical contradictions that have been decisive in the course of human history. According to these two main foundations, it is possible to examine Fukuyama's theory more closely. In fact, Fukuyama believes that the convergence of economic and political ideas and ideologies is most important dimension of globalization.

Actually, through combining the concept of economic globalization and development of modernity, Fukuyama attempts to prove that the economic modernization and as a result, political freedom is a part of globalization process and its consequences. On the other hand, Fukuyama believes that the cultural and political dimensions are the main dimensions of globalization. Both of these dimensions can be explained by general concept of modernity. In fact, modernity is globalizing and includes specified requirements and results in the fields of culture and politics. According to Fukuyama, two simultaneous events are taking place in the field of culture: homogenization of cultures as the result of modernity effects and stabilizing and strengthening the separate and specific cultural identities. Fukuyama also believes that various cultural identities will be simultaneously homogenized and stabilized.

Expanding the activities of global companies effective in the field of culture has caused many features and cultural trends to be closer together so that the global media and producers such as McDonald and Coca-Cola are involved in the genesis of common features between different cultures; however, this never means that cultures or cultural identities are homogenized or they shall be identical, because deep-rooted factors such as religion, language, and race are effective in shaping cultures and cultural identities that the global forces not only cannot eliminate them, but also provide the possibility of remodeling for them. Therefore, the identities of different cultures are maintained while some homogeneity occurs between them (5).

Actually, the main result of cultures homogeneity is the globalization of democracy and human rights model which shows itself in the form of politics. Although, democracy and human rights have not been expanded all over the world today, their intrinsic values are globalized as universal values that have been accepted.

According to Fukuyama, models of democracy are very different; for example, in the United States, Europe, and Japan,

democracy is based on individualism, collectivism, and traditionalism, respectively that there are many differences between them. However, modernity and fundamental human rights (including freedom and equality expressed in revolutions of America and France) are common among all models of democracy. Therefore, the various models of democracy formed in different territories include a common nature despite their differences (6).

Although there may be serious traditional barriers against modernity and democracy in some territories, no tradition or religion is intrinsically contradictory to democracy and modernity unless they are used as a tool to prohibit television and modern life like what the Taliban did (7).

#### **The Structural reforms needed for globalization in the Third World**

Globalization needs some structural reforms in regulations, organizations, and the machinery of government as well. Rules and regulations that have been imposed upon looking at the domestic market cannot fit the new circumstances. In this regard, it is needed to quickly modify some issues such as bureaucracy, the large ownership of state in the economy, the way of applying meritocracy in organizations, the organization of government activities, traditional methods of transactions, state sovereignty, weaknesses in information, and the neglect of international rules and standards.

#### **The Third World**

This term is usually applied for specific geographical location or territory such as Asian, African and Latin American countries (8).

According to Razaghi (2008), the Third World includes countries which are backward, poor, underdeveloped or less developed, dependent, colonized, and being renovating.

#### **The causes of the Third World emergence**

There are two perspectives in this regard:

- The first view owned by conventional economists describes that the lack of development in these countries is an internal phenomenon which causes should be researched in different fields of these societies.
- The second view provided by radical economists and sociologists indicates that the lack of development in third world countries is related to colonial relationship between the colonizer and the colonized countries that have emerged in the historical process. According to these economists and sociologists, economic-political dependence of the third world countries on advanced capitalist countries has caused the poverty and backwardness in these countries.

#### **Global transformation and globalization of politics**

According to the historical thinkers, the political world has passed through the various stages to reach the present conditions. The stages are as follows:

- The first stage is the stage of ancient and old empires. In this stage, the only dimension of political globalization that can be observed is the lands area; in other words, only the area of territories has been expanded.
- The second stage which mainly happened in Europe includes division of power and authority among the kings and royal governments in different countries. This typically occurred in Europe of Middle Ages when kingdoms such as the UK, France and the Holy Empire of Austria came into existence.
- The third stage includes the rise of absolute monarchies in Europe in the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century. Generally, most influential European states were absolute-oriented in this period. Since then, the necessity of an intergovernmental system came into existence. This system is

considered as the first step towards the coherence and consistency of relations among the countries which began in Europe and spread to other countries.

- The fourth stage is the formation of European Community. This stage was formed after Peace of Westphalia (1648) and continued until 1945. The stage is summarized in a few principles called the principles of Westphalian model which are as follows:

- 1- The world consists of sovereign territorial states which do not recognize any other higher authority.
- 2- The process of legislation, dispute settlement, and law enforcement is the sole discretion of each government.
- 3- The international law seeks to establish minimum rules with the consent of the governments for setting some international affairs.
- 4- All states are equal before the law regardless of their power.
- 5- Border affairs are related to the governments.
- 6- International human disputes are resolved by force and the law and rights show the minimum stress and reaction to them.

These principles caused the phenomena such as balance of forces between states to be created and gradually globalized. On the other hand, a kind of uniformity was created in international concepts and behaviors for further ties between countries (9).

- The fifth stage is the globalization of politics. In fact, in this stage the coherences between states increased, modern European states globally grew, and non-European empires and kingdoms gradually were destroyed.

- The sixth stage includes the acceptance of modern nation-states model and a global system based on it. After the Second World War, the spread of decolonization and independence of nations caused the modern nation-states model to be created gradually and a new global system to be formed based on it. Minimum qualifications for the formation of modern states include having a certain territory, exclusive control over the means of violence, making impersonal power, having a degree of legitimacy, and new institutions in the organizational, economic and social areas. This finally led to an increase in democratic systems in the world (10).

#### **The global process in the field of politics**

Among political theorists, the global expansion and enhancement of modern nation-states model is the indicator of globalization; however, some other theorists think vice versa. In fact, some theorists believe that the universality of the power of large countries such as the United States is the indicator of security and politics globalization while some believe that it is a return to the age of empires and the end of globalization notion. However, there are irrefutable facts in the field of politics such as follows:

- 1- The expansion of governmental pattern of democracy in more than two-thirds of the world.
- 2- Increasing the role of the United Nations and the Security Council in resolving global issues.
- 3- Converting the organizations such as NATO into a global political-security organization and expanding its operations in Asia and the Middle East as well as joining 15 new and strategic countries to it.
- 4- The formation of global regimes for controlling nuclear weapons and power as well as the expansion of international treaties on non-proliferation of chemical weapons.
- 5- The formation of an interconnected global network for production and distribution of strategic weapons.
- 6- The increasing number of non-governmental international organizations.

7- The enhancement of global security especially after September 11 and the universal joint efforts to control and tackle the causes of global insecurity.

8- The incidence of global threats such as terrorism and the formation of the international community to deal with it especially after September 11 (11).

#### **Opportunities of globalization for the Third World (with emphasis on the political dimension)**

Although globalization causes some threats for the third world countries, it provides many opportunities for them as well. One prominent example of these opportunities is the political independence of some third world societies after the collapse of the USSR which caused the emergence of a middle class in these societies with the emphasis on liberal politics, economics, and culture. On the other hand, the globalization causes the third world societies to be more interested in participating in or creating regional organization, this can lead to the reduction of global risks. Among the other opportunities provided by globalization for these societies, it can be cited to the influence of them in setting international standards, regulations, valuation, and formulation (12).

#### **The challenges of globalization for the Third World (with emphasis on the political dimension)**

Among the globalization challenges in the Third World, it can be cited to the increase of national sovereignty gap, the interference of developed countries in the internal affairs of these societies, and the increase of dependence on the developed countries. On the other hand, due to the internal weakness of these societies, they do not own the necessary power to deal or tackle with the impact of developed countries on their under-controlled organizations; as a result, it leads to the loosening of cohesion and coordination in cultural, political, and economic fields in these societies (13).

#### **The role and position of the Third World in globalization**

In this regard, it should be noted that these societies have mostly imitated the western ways instead of changing them in a way that is consistent with their conditions. Since, these societies have not owned the necessary structures for accepting the expanded economic activities, they were incurred the debt crisis, weak economic growth, economic monoculture, industrial dependency, and problems of urban life.

#### **Democracy**

According to Leftwich (1999), democracy classically means that all people cannot constantly and practically exert their powers. The word democracy has been derived from the word "Democratia" which means people's power. According to this definition, a democratic country is a country where the government is determined through competitive elections and it is accountable to the people. In such a country, the constitution guarantees the civil and political rights.

The main concept of democracy is legal and political equality for all (14).

#### **The general features of democracy**

- 1- A government based on public opinions and votes.
- 2- Public opinion is expressed freely and clearly through appropriate ways such as free newspapers, elections, parties, and so forth.
- 3- Regarding the issues which are controversial in public opinion, the numerical majority opinion should be considered; also, it should be taken into account the rights and wishes of the minority.
- 4- There should be independent and autonomous institutions and associations which support rights and freedoms of individuals and communities against the potential tyranny of rulers.

5- Democracy requires social pluralism.

6- Democracy entails relativism of values and ethics; therefore, no group in the position of government has the right to pose a specific philosophy or ideology on other groups.

7- The condition for the satisfactory performance of democratic institutions is to respect fundamental freedoms including freedom of expression, association, and writing (15).

#### **Huntington's waves of democracy**

The first wave of democracy began in the early 19th century (1828-1942) when suffrage was granted to the majority of white males in the United States and then spread to the industrialized countries of Western Europe.

The second wave began after the World War II (1943-1962), and crested nearly 20 years later in 1962 with 51 recognized democratic and semi-democratic countries in the world. The second wave ebbed as well at this point, and the total number dropped to 30 democracies between 1962 and the mid-1970s; in other words, 22 countries returned to their former non-democratic situations.

The Third wave which is considered as the global wave of democracy began in 1970s and 1980s with the collapse of authoritarian regimes in Portugal and Greece and included the historic democratic transitions in Latin America, Asia Pacific countries (Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan) from 1986 to 1988, and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The number of democratic countries rose to 42 in 1976.

#### **Non-democratic regimes according to Huntington**

1- Marxist - Leninist regimes which are not immune from the threat of authoritarian elements despite of moving towards liberalism.

2- Southern countries of Sub-Saharan Africa which are mostly run by authoritarian, military, or one-party military regimes.

3- Muslim countries except Turkey and Pakistan.

4- East Asian countries to most southern region of Asia such as China and North Korea.

Huntington (2002) believes that the main reasons caused these societies to be undemocratic include the lack of real experience of democracy, weakness, and interest and commitment to non-democratic values of political leaders.

#### **The future of democracy according to Huntington (Idealized view)**

The fourth wave of democracy will come and democracy will be spread all around the world so that people who live in totalitarian countries will be interested in democracy and try to achieve it. In fact, as it said, powerful men make the history.

#### **Democracy and the Third World**

The democracy indicators measures the democracy of a society based on the amount of democratization of the government and the rule of democratic law and freedoms. The democratization of a government depends on rulers' accountability to people and the possibility of competition and participation in political life. Therefore, democratization requires the establishment of civil and political freedoms, particularly freedom of thought, expression, and association.

#### **The Condition for the realization of true democracy**

To implement the democracy in a society, it is needed to provide the required conditions; in other words, any society cannot potentially be ready for acceptance of democracy. Therefore, the barriers to realization of democracy should be removed through committed and ideological leadership. One of these barriers is the ignorance of people masses. Actually, the ignorance of people masses in a society is the main reason inhibiting the true democracy realization. Neglecting this issue may cause these societies to be the plaything of economic,

political and cultural powers of the world that claims democracy.

#### **Threats to Democracy**

One of globalization dimensions is the excessive expansion of multinational companies. In fact, these companies have cast a shadow over public space of societies and may perform non-democratic actions in the world for dealing with threats or achieving more benefits. The experiences gained after World War II show that the performance of multinational companies has resulted in the spread of poverty. However, the spread of poverty leads to the expansion of a democratic culture. In addition, globalization leads to an increase in foreign investment; as a result, the foreign investors offer low wages to workers for more profits. This leads to the reduction of workers' welfare and social uprisings.

#### **Different Types of Democracy**

1- **The classical Athenian democracy:** in Greek city-states, the basis of a democratic government is freedom; in fact, it is believed that only democracy can provide freedom for people. In such a society, people can choose their own way of life; in other words, they are free from governmental interventions.

2- **The socialist democracy:** according to this model, the evolution of public freedom only depends on the evolution of every individual freedom. To achieve freedom, it is needed to eliminate the exploitation; this finally leads to economic and political equality. The main characteristics of this model include arrangement of public affairs by municipalities or councils organized in a pyramid structure, paying higher salaries to governmental employees, collectively managing all affairs, and so forth (16).

3- **Legal democracy:** this model is based on protecting people against arbitrary states. In this model, the law is bounded by the government to provide the fair and reasonable rule of the majority so that the political life as the economic life can spread individuals' freedom and innovation.

4- **The global democracy:** the global democracy is a conception taken from democratic relations. This democracy fits with the nations which are involved in global and regional processes. In this democracy, only the states which promise fairly-ruled societies are attractive (17).

#### **The importance of democracy in the Third World**

Many political scientists have described democracy as the means for a safe and efficient system; in other words, democracy is not a goal, but a means. The goal of democracy is to respect human dignity, observe the law for achieving social welfare, and protect human rights, but unfortunately the interpretation of democracy in the Third World as a means is completely a wrong interpretation. Actually, in the Third World, the ruling powers justify democracy as a means to achieve power (18).

#### **Various interpretations of democracy**

1- **The majoritarian or Jacobin democracy (the rule of the majority):** this view is the same classical interpretation of democracy and it is based on the fact that the majority never makes a mistake; however, conditions should be provided to fulfill the will of the majority such as the expansion of education, public awareness, political activities of parties, and political-social institutions.

2- **The legal democracy:** according to this view, the essence of democracy is the rule of law. In this view, it is believed that power is dangerous due to its nature; therefore, it should be limited even if the tyranny of power is related to the majority, because it is possible the tyranny of the majority to be more dangerous than the tyranny of minority. In other words,

individual freedom should be protected against any absolute power and authoritarian will. The law is the only element providing such protection and immunity. According to this view, the majority support of rulers does not mean that they are democratic, because there have been many authoritarian rulers who have been supported by the majority.

**3- Democracy as a political competition:** some contemporary scholars of political sciences believe that the essence of democracy in modern societies is based on the entity and multiplicity of social groups. According to this view, what gives real meaning of democracy is competition among different social groups. In other words, they believe that paying attention to the concept of the majority vote and the law cannot clarify the nature of democracy in modern societies, but the majority vote and the rule of law in a democratic system can be realized only through the presence of multiple groups competing for power (19).

#### **The impact of democracy on efflorescence of people's life in the Third World**

Actually, democracy flourishes the civilized life in three ways:

First, democracy helps and supports people to express their demands to officials by enhancing the condition of all people. In this regard, democracy is very valuable.

Second, democracy considers the individual freedom as a part of human freedom as well as the enforcement of civil and political rights as the main part of individual life in which each individual is considered as a social beings.

Third, democracy gives citizens the opportunity to learn from each other and helps the community to determine its values and priorities (20).

#### **General principles of democracy in the Third World**

Today, democracy is based on three general principles:

First, democracy is almost understood from its liberal version and generally realized in multi-party systems with free elections.

Second, a philosophical and abstract attention is paid to liberal democracy so that it is needed for all people. Initially, this type of political regime can clearly be established by committed politicians and enlightened and leading thinkers. As a result, non-democratic states are derived from bad leaders.

Third, democracy can only be realized in a country where there are free market conditions; in other words, capitalism is a prerequisite for a democratic system (21).

#### **The opposing views on globalization of liberal democracy in the Third World**

People opposing the liberal democracy model believe that this model includes the following problems:

**1- Individualism:** the opponents believe that the emphasis of liberal democracy on individualism has caused freedom to be defined as the lack of mandatory restrictions on access to the target; in other words, they believe that liberal democracy leaves people free to reach their goals without any threat and this leads to high chaos. In fact, they discuss that the enormous freedom prevents individuals from achieving their goals or slows their speed to reach them. Therefore, it is good for individuals to accept some restrictions in pursuing their objectives (22).

**2- Meaninglessness of public interests:** according to liberal democracy, the public interests are defined as whatever is produced or chosen by democratic rules (collective choice). In liberal democracy, the term "public" (in public interests) refers to the sum of individuals while the term "collective" (in collective interests) refers to the resultant of society individuals;

just the same way that the word "public" is different from the word "collective" (23).

**3- Inequality:** some thinkers like John Rawls argued that there is economic and social inequality in liberal democracy. The removal of this inequality is neither possible nor desirable for liberal-democratic systems, because the followers of this system believe that inequality leads to competition and increase in power and wealth. Instead, these increases do not lead to the reduction of poverty and fair distribution of wealth and services. However, this democracy wishes to remove the inequality, but as it is not able to do that, it accepts the inequality and tries to fairly distribute it.

**4- The conceptual crisis:** in previous years, liberal democracy was raised as an ideal society and it was thought that human society will gradually go ahead toward the governance of actual votes and demands of people majority. But now, the opposite has occurred and actually the liberal democracy is governed in a few countries of the world even in some of them there is sovereignty instead of democracy (24).

#### **Rethinking democracy in new conditions of the world**

The interesting point in Ohmae's views is his criticism to the basic principle of democracy within national borders; in other words, the criticism to the principle "one vote per person". He believes that this principle is somewhat cruel. The tyranny of modern democracy is to give equal value to different individuals' votes without evaluating their participation in the society and considering the importance of their participation in the preservation of society as a whole (25).

According to Ohmae, even if the democracy is expressed in the context of modern nation-states model, it will not be efficient and will finally lead to economically an inefficient unit. Also, it will bring up hundreds of inapposite military-political problems as the main problems of the society. In addition to creating abnormal conditions for political competition, the principle "one vote per person" does not represent justice. Also, it takes the society away from welfare and wealth.

The structure of democracy in current conditions is so that causes the local people or trends to be elected while the officials who come to power by democratic process can have global effects; for example, the impact of America's president on Japanese economy may be higher than his impact on an American region. Another example is the concerns of Europeans regarding the supportive policies of American leaders, because the policies can cause a crisis in global economy. The reason is the strong interdependence in the areas of trade, investment, production, and technology (26).

#### **The End of History and the triumph of liberal democracy (Reviewing Francis Fukuyama's ideas)**

Francis Fukuyama is an American political scientist, political economist, and author. Fukuyama is best known for his book "the end of history and the last man" which argued that the worldwide spread of liberal democracies and free market capitalism of the West and its lifestyle may signal the end point of humanity's sociocultural evolution and become the final form of human government. The main specialty of Fukuyama is political thinking and his thinking is based on a certain philosophical attitude. However, during the political controversies, the results of his discussions were paid more attention compared to his theory bases. Fukuyama is the theorist of "the end of history" and "the universality of liberal democracy" and those who are anti-liberalists or supporters of "conflict theory" (the continuous of conflict in history) have performed many challenges with Fukuyama. The challenges have made it difficult to understand his theory more accurately

and narrowly. In other words, they have been barriers to understand the theory. Fukuyama writes in the first rows of his book's introduction: "I would argue that a large community has been formed about the legitimacy and acceptability of liberal democracy as a system of governance that have overpowered rival ideologies like hereditary monarchies, fascism, and more recently, communism around the world in the past few years. Also, I would argue that liberal democracy can make the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and be the final form of human government. Something like this means the end of history."

Fukuyama uses two distinct theoretical foundations to express the concept of his theory. He attempts to adopt a new way of expressing liberal-democratic thoughts through explaining the similar effects of cloning (resulted from new natural sciences) on the one hand and the philosophy of neo-Hegelian history on the other hand; because fewer efforts had already been performed to express the liberal democracy based on Hegelian approach that Marxists or the rational autocrats were known the only heirs of it.

#### **Democratic revolutions according to Fukuyama's view**

The inherent conflict in the history such as the conflict between masters and slaves is the conflict between thoughts so that one justifies being a master or a slave and the other one seeks freedom and human cognition. Based on neo-Hegelians attitude, Fukuyama believes that the conflict was emerged in American and French liberation revolutions. These democratic revolutions eliminated the differences between masters and slaves and caused slaves to be their own masters. This happened through popular sovereignty and the rule of law (Fukuyama, 1992). However, according to Fukuyama's view, the democratic liberation revolutions are not necessarily the results of industrialization and technological development. There are indicative historical examples in this field; for instance, the American Revolution (1776) happened before the industrialization of America or the industrial revolution in Western Europe. This example shows that the industrialization and technical development were not the grounds for the revolution, but considering the historical transposition, the opposite happened. According to Fukuyama, it is not basically possible to find a causal relationship between capitalism, liberal democracy, and industrialization, because history has shown how the authoritarian regimes caused the technical growth and development (27).

#### **The causes of democracy backwardness in the Third World**

**1- The power structure:** there are two types of power structures including unilateral and bilateral power structures. In the Third World, the power structure is unilateral. In such a power structure, the political power gets the legitimacy from sources other than the general population (people). As a result, there is no social institution for participation of social groups in political decisions. Such states are the opposite of democratic states including the bilateral power structure.

**2- Straight regimes:** a straight regime is a political regime supporting the present concessions in economic, social, and hierarchical structures and considers such a procedure as a desirable or at least a natural issue; therefore, the regime prevents the changes in society; in other words, straight regimes are authoritarian regimes (28).

**3- The absence of active and powerful parties:** the active and powerful parties can carry out effective measures against authoritarian rulers in the national interest; however, the authoritarian leaders never allow such parties to become

powerful. As a result, they prevent the formation of active and powerful parties or weaken them.

**4- Restrictions on social-economic modernization:** Getting rich does not always contribute to the democratization of societies; for example, petroleum exporting countries. In fact, a society to achieve a democratic system needs for social-economic development which is mostly based on cultural changes emphasizing human liberation and assertiveness, but in the third world societies all efforts are to achieve only economic growth.

**The absence of a democratic background:** according to many famous theorists, a democratic background can be a key factor for a society to move towards democratization, because they believe that the emergence of democratic values basically depends on the continuation of democratic institutions; as a result, such institutions become a part of identity and culture of the population over time. Thus, the Third World has no desire to move toward democratization due to the absence of democratic culture and experience.

**6- The geographical area:** according to some theorists such as Bynes, Kopstein, and Reilly, the geographical area plays an important role in promoting democracy in a society, because in each area, the cultural, social, and economic variables are almost identical; as a result, there are not many democratic neighbors in areas where the third world countries are located; on the other hand, these countries are mostly marginalized and do not have many relations with other societies.

**7- The political culture (authoritarianism):** the political culture is the most important factor for achieving cultural democracy. In the Third World, the majority of people include authoritarian and tribal culture which is considered as the most important barrier to achieve democracy in these societies. Such a thought causes the leaders of these societies to consider themselves superior to the other people (29).

**8- The economy:** according to Lipist, the correlation between economic development and democracy is one of the preconditions of democracy. In other words, the richer a country is, the higher the chance will be for the continuation of democracy. However, many recent studies have refuted this claim. Anyhow, the economic precondition is considered as an effective factor in democratization of a society while the majority of third world countries lack this precondition. Regarding the Persian Gulf countries, it should be noted that although they have oil power, only the rulers have control over the wealth and peoples' demands are disregarded (30).

**9- The absence of actual belief in democracy in the third world countries:** the scholars of political sciences argue that the lack of belief in democracy is one of the most important problems in the third world societies to achieve democracy. In fact, beliefs and practices have never been consistent with the social system in the Third World; therefore, the democratic system suffers from a type of duality and paradox leading to political divisions and disputes as well as social conflicts. Actually, the consistence of beliefs and practices is necessary to implement and maintain a democratic system (31).

#### **Conclusion**

Although the western countries are trying to instill democracy to achieve their demands, the model is currently the best way to get along with the international system, because the third world countries cannot actually tackle with the globalization process due to their restrictions. On the other hand, they have to accept and get along with it if they want to be effective in global system. In other words, although it is possible

to be separated from globalization process, its costs are far more than being along with it.

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