In her new book, Carol Gould, the author of the highly regarded and successful *Rethinking Democracy*, addresses the fundamental challenge of democratizing globalization, that is, of finding ways to open transnational institutions and communities to democratic participation by those widely affected by their decisions.

The book develops a framework for expanding such participation in crossborder contexts, arguing for a strengthened understanding of human rights that can confront worldwide economic and social inequalities. It also introduces a new role for the ideas of care and solidarity at a distance. Reinterpreting the idea of universality to encompass a multiplicity of cultural perspectives, the author takes up a number of applied issues, including the persistence of racism, the human rights of women, the democratic management of firms, the use of the Internet to enhance political participation, and the importance of empathy and genuine democracy in understanding terrorism and responding to it.

Clearly and accessibly written, this major new contribution to political philosophy will be of special interest to professionals and graduate students in philosophy, political science, women’s studies, public policy, and international affairs, as well as anyone who wants to more fully comprehend the dilemmas of a globalized world.

Carol C. Gould is Professor of Philosophy and Government and Director of the Center for Global Ethics at George Mason University.
Globalizing Democracy and Human Rights

CAROL C. GOULD

George Mason University
In memory of Marx W. Wartofsky,
and for our son, Michael Gould-Wartofsky
Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: Between the Personal and the Global 1

PART I. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS
1. Hard Questions in Democratic Theory: When Justice and Democracy Conflict 13
2. Two Concepts of Universality and the Problem of Cultural Relativism 50

PART II. DEMOCRACY AND RIGHTS, PERSONALIZED AND PLURALIZED
3. Embodied Politics 77
4. Racism and Democracy 103
5. Cultural Identity, Group Rights, and Social Ontology 118
6. Conceptualizing Women’s Human Rights 139

PART III. GLOBALIZING DEMOCRACY IN A HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK
7. Evaluating the Claims for Global Democracy 159
9. The Global Democratic Deficit and Economic Human Rights 201
## Contents

**PART IV. CURRENT APPLICATIONS**

10. Democratic Management and the Stakeholder Idea 219
11. Democratic Networks: Technological and Political 235
12. Terrorism, Empathy, and Democracy 247

*Index* 265
Acknowledgments

The work on this book was initiated under an NEH Summer Stipend in 1992 and an NEH Fellowship for College Teachers held during a sabbatical year in 1993–1994. It was also supported during that period by a Fulbright Senior Scholar Award in France, where I was fortunate to be appointed a Research Associate at the C.R.E.A. group at the École Polytechnique, an affiliation that continued for many years thereafter. Concluding work on the volume was undertaken during a second sabbatical in 2000–2001, when I held the Fulbright Florence Chair at the European University Institute and subsequently was a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. The opportunities for discussion and research provided by those institutions were invaluable to me. I would also like to thank Stevens Institute of Technology for its support during my sabbatical leaves.

I presented earlier drafts of many of these chapters at various conferences and seminars and am grateful to the participants in those meetings for their trenchant and helpful comments and criticisms. “Hard Questions in Democratic Theory: When Justice and Democracy Conflict” was originally given to the Princeton University Department of Politics and appeared as a Working Paper of the University Center on Human Values. The chapter “Two Concepts of Universality and the Problem of Cultural Relativism” was presented as the Keynote Address of the Annual Conference of the North American Society for Social Philosophy. I originally read “Embodied Politics” to the Society for Women in Philosophy, New York Chapter, and then to the Fordham University Philosophy Department, and “Racism and Democracy” was read to a session of the Radical Philosophers Association at the American Philosophical Association.
Eastern Division meetings. I originally presented “Cultural Identity, Group Rights, and Social Ontology” at the IVR World Congress in Bologna, and in revised form at a national conference of AMINTAPHIL. “Conceptualizing Women’s Human Rights” was given to the Gender Working Group at the European University Institute in Fiesole, Italy. “Evaluating the Claims for Global Democracy” was given in early form to the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute, and in revised form as the Presidential Address of the Metaphysical Society of America. I originally presented the chapter “Are Democracy and Human Rights Compatible in the Context of Globalization?” as a Work-in-Progress at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and in a subsequent version at the NEH Seminar on Supranationalism at Columbia University, sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs. A version of “The Global Democratic Deficit and Economic Human Rights” was presented to the 2003 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Philosophical Association. “Democratic Management and the Stakeholder Idea” was presented at the Conference on Ethics across the Curriculum at the University of Florida, “Democratic Networks: Technological and Political” was given in early form at a Stevens Conference on Technology Studies: New Frontiers, and the final chapter, “Terrorism, Empathy, and Democracy,” at a joint session of the Society for Philosophy and Public Affairs and the Committee on the Status of Women of the American Philosophical Association. All of these opportunities for scholarly interchange provided valuable feedback and criticisms, which I hope I have taken into account in the revision of this work.

The author expresses appreciation to the University Seminars at Columbia University for their help in publication. The ideas presented have benefited from discussions in the University Seminar on Political & Social Thought and the University Seminar on Political Economy & Contemporary Social Issues.

Acknowledgment is also due to the readers of this book for Cambridge University Press, for their discerning comments and suggestions. I am indebted as well to my editors at the Press, Terry Moore and Stephanie Achard, for their helpful direction and wise guidance.

Earlier versions of Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 10 have appeared previously, and I would like to acknowledge those original publications. An initial version of Chapter 2 was included in the volume I coedited with Pasquale Pasquinio titled Cultural Justice and the Nation-State (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 67–84. Chapter 4 is a revised version of
Acknowledgments


I am deeply grateful to my professional colleagues and friends, including Ross Zucker, John Lango, Virginia Held, Frank Cunningham, Peter Caws, Joan Callahan, Sibyl Schwarzenbach, James Sterba, Alistair MacCleod, Chris Morris, William McBride, and Jim Cohen, for many helpful discussions and insightful comments over the years, and for their personal and professional support at various stages of this work. I would also like to thank Andrew Gould, Jon Gould, James Scow, Salvatore Prisco, Susan Schepet, Michel Paty, Joelle Proust, Tony Alterman, Lisa Dolling, Bill Tabb, and Nettie Terestman for their understanding and encouragement. I received many keen comments on my approach from several of my students at the School of International and Public Affairs and in the graduate school at Columbia, and from students and faculty at the European University Institute. In addition, I would like to thank Justin Marshall, my intern at the Woodrow Wilson Center, for his capable editorial and bibliographical assistance.

Most especially, I am profoundly grateful for the extensive commentary, critique, and editorial help that I received from my late husband, Marx Wartofsky. His constant support and encouragement, together with the inspiration he provided as a first-rate philosopher, a political thinker of exceptional passion and integrity, and as my partner over the years, were invaluable to this work, as to all my other work. I would also like to thank my philosophically minded son, Michael Gould-Wartofsky, for numerous insights and editorial suggestions that have improved this work considerably. Michael’s deep commitment to the development of a theory and practice for a more just and democratic society mirror those of his father and were important in the elaboration of my ideas and in the revision of the manuscript. I dedicate this book to both of them.