International Journal Of History And Political Sciences

The Transformation Of Political Parties After The Third Wave Of Democracy

Botirov Doniyor

Basic doctoral student at Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan

Abstract: This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the profound changes taking place in the activities of contemporary political parties, with particular attention to the impact of globalization on party organization, strategy, and functional roles. The author argues that under conditions of globalization, political parties are now compelled to adapt not only to competition within the national political arena, but also to external factors such as transnational information flows, international economic integration, global security challenges, and migration processes. In addition, the article identifies key modern trends, including parties' growing ideological flexibility, the segmentation of electoral demands, the expanded use of digital communication tools, and new approaches aimed at ensuring greater transparency and responsiveness in political processes. The author emphasizes the need for parties to reconsider their organizational structures, develop innovative campaign strategies, and adjust to the rapidly changing conditions generated by globalization. As a result, the article offers important scholarly conclusions that reveal the complexity and multidimensional nature of contemporary transformations in political party activity.

Introduction: Globalization is one of the most significant socio-political phenomena of the 21st century, exerting a strong influence on a global scale. Although political parties have traditionally operated in accordance with the socio-political conditions of their own countries, the process of globalization is forcing them to act at a new international and transnational level. Today, political parties are required to respond rapidly not only to domestic politics, but also to major global social, economic, and political changes. For example, issues such as climate change, global migration flows, international security challenges, and the effects of pandemics worldwide compel political parties to develop new strategies, cooperate with international organizations, and contribute to addressing global problems.

Globalization also forces political parties to develop new perspectives on economic, cultural, and political issues and to participate actively in international relations and alliances. At the same time, globalization brings not only new opportunities but also new threats.

For instance, as the global economy becomes increasingly integrated, political parties that are losing control over economic resources and services within their own states may lose public trust or fail to achieve their political objectives.

METHOD

Political parties have always sought to respond to the key problems and needs of society; however, the process of globalization is having a serious impact on their traditional strategies and ideological orientations. In the contemporary period, a number of changes can be observed in the activities of political parties. For political parties to function effectively, a range of external and internal factors is required. Among these factors, globalization can be regarded as a particularly significant phenomenon. In Joseph Nye's work Soft Power [1], it is noted that globalization directly affects a state's culture, economy, social processes, and both domestic and foreign policy, and that it also directly influences the functioning of political institutions, including political parties.

One of the earliest and most visible changes in party activity can be assessed as the growing role of social media. Over recent years, in parliamentary and presidential elections held in advanced countries, candidates' programs have been actively disseminated via social networks such as Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook [2]. Social media enables real-time communication, wide dissemination of political messages, and the organization of support across borders. For example, the U.S. presidential election took place in November 2024, and Donald Trump and Kamala Harris actively used social media to communicate directly with voters. In 2024, elections were held in more than 100 countries worldwide, and these elections were distinguished by the extensive use of digital technologies and the active engagement of the broader public through social networks. In this context, the rapid development of the digital era is introducing fundamental changes into the activities of political parties. Artificial intelligence (AI) technologies make it possible to automate political processes, improve interactive communication with the electorate, and significantly increase the effectiveness of campaigns [3]. As a result, AI has begun to assume a central role in party organizational management, election campaigns, political communication, and strategic decision-making.

Globalization is also pushing political parties toward ideological change, and, in turn, they are adopting more flexible positions in political activity. Political parties have always attempted to respond to societal needs; however, globalization has had a noticeable impact on their ideologies. Traditional left–right divisions are increasingly converging, as parties are compelled to adapt to global economic and cultural transformations [4].

Left-wing parties (social-democratic and progressive parties) have traditionally supported social justice and state-managed economic policies. Yet as a consequence of globalization, they have recognized the importance of the market economy and have become more liberal toward the private sector and international trade. For example, Germany's SPD and the UK Labour Party previously emphasized state control, whereas today they have accepted market mechanisms.

Right-wing parties (conservative and liberal parties) previously promoted free markets and economic liberalism. However, due to the negative effects of globalization—such as the weakening of national economies and job losses—some conservative parties are shifting toward protectionist policies. For instance, the U.S. Republican Party has increasingly advocated revising global trade agreements and protecting domestic producers.

This process leads to a noticeable reduction in the traditional boundaries and distinctions between political parties, further strengthening their ideological flexibility. Instead of relying on rigid ideological platforms, parties are increasingly seeking to develop pragmatic, adaptable, and multi-dimensional political positions that take into account the diversity within their electorates [5]. As a result, the historical boundaries of the political spectrum formed between the left and the right are becoming increasingly blurred, and parties are reformatting their programs in accordance with new economic conditions, global market demands, technological change, and the evolving needs of social groups.

On the one hand, this transformation enables parties to respond to the complex and rapidly changing demands of the modern electorate; on the other hand, it weakens their ideological identification and generates an overall tendency toward a "shift to the center" within the political arena. Consequently, political competition is increasingly shaped not by ideological conflicts, but by practical issues such as governance effectiveness, economic stability, social justice, and innovative policy.

Next, as a result of globalization, populist and nationalist parties have gained popularity in many countries around the world [6]. There are several objective reasons for this. First, the weakening of national economies: the influence of international corporations is increasing, while domestic production is declining [7]. Second, rising unemployment and economic inequality: as a consequence of cheap labor, local workers are losing jobs. Third, the erosion of national identity: migration processes are transforming national cultures.

The activities of far-right parties that have entered the political scene are generating a number of problems and contradictions. First, the ideas promoted by these parties often conflict with the interests of ethnic minority communities living in Western Europe and Latin American countries, and the far right's stance toward migrants and representatives of Islam leads to numerous difficulties. Sharp violations of principles generally accepted by the world community regarding human rights and freedoms are also observed. Second, many far-right parties strongly oppose globalization and advocate policies aimed at developing the national economy. This, in turn, can seriously undermine state policies related to export and transit trade. Third, parties of this type often adopt Euroscepticism as a core ideology and oppose the assistance provided by the European Union in the Russia–Ukraine war. Fourth,

far-right parties frequently challenge key principles of liberal democracy, particularly judicial independence, freedom of the media, and minority rights. For example, Poland's Law and Justice party has been criticized for strengthening executive control over the judiciary, filling courts with loyal appointees, and undermining the balance among branches of power.

Therefore, in many countries, parties that promote nationalism and protectionist policies are gaining strength [8]. For example, in the United States, Donald Trump's slogan "America First" emerged as a movement opposing globalization. In France, the National Rally (Le Rassemblement National) pursues a strict anti-immigration policy. In Hungary, the Fidesz party led by Viktor Orbán criticizes the European Union's open-border policy.

At the same time, this process can be interpreted as a two-way convergence: parties adopt tools, methods, and strategies from social movements, while movements sometimes become institutionalized through the formation of political parties. Movement-based parties focus on participatory democracy, direct citizen involvement, flexible organizational forms, and protest-oriented tactics [9]. This stands in contrast to the bureaucratic, hierarchical, and programmatic characteristics of traditional political parties.

The transformation of parties into movements poses a serious challenge to classical theories of party systems and institutional politics. This phenomenon reflects broader changes, demonstrating that citizens increasingly seek direct and active participation and value-based engagement, while traditional party structures face difficulties in adapting to these demands. Scholars note that the future of democratic representation may depend on how effectively party systems are able to incorporate these hybrid models.

The process of cartelization of political parties is a theoretical model that describes how contemporary political parties, instead of competing to ensure broad social representation, transform into semi-state structures that cooperate to protect their shared interests. This concept was systematically elaborated in the influential works of Richard Katz and Peter Mair in the 1990s and early 2000s. According to cartel party theory, modern parties increasingly rely on state resources, develop inter-party collusive behavior, and weaken their organizational ties with society [10]. As a result, they evolve from mass organizations into state-supported professional networks.

In addition, as a consequence of globalization, the structure of traditional political parties has changed, forcing them to compete with new political forces [11]. Whereas parties previously operated on the basis of specific social groups, today they strive to adapt to diverse groups and make their programs more broadly appealing. New political movements, independent candidates, and informal political organizations are competing with established parties, further complicating the political landscape. The transformations and new approaches described above are a direct result of the impact of globalization on political parties.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, globalization is placing serious challenges before political parties. Some parties are adapting to this process and seeking to take advantage of new opportunities, while others are focusing on resisting the negative effects of globalization. In the future, successful political parties will be those that can harmonize global and local needs, use new technologies effectively, and adapt to diverse social groups. In short, globalization today is exerting a major influence on political change in all countries of the world. This process has caused fundamental shifts in national economies, culture, security, information flows, and the activities of political parties. As political parties adapt to global transformations, they are compelled to revise their ideological orientations, find solutions to new problems, and improve interaction with voters.

REFERENCES

1. Nye J. S. Soft power: The means to success in world politics. Public Affairs. 2004. – P.113

2. Lipset S. Rokkan S. Party systems and voter alignments: Cross-national perspectives. Free Press. 2011. –P.91.

3. Richard S. Katz, Peter Mair. Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/13540 68895001001001

4. Norris P. A virtuous circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies. Cambridge University Press. 2001. –P.57.

5. Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. Trump, Brexit, and the rise of populism: Economic have-nots and cultural backlash. Harvard Kennedy School Working Paper Series. 2016. –P.25.

6. Rodrik D. The globalization paradox: Democracy and the future of the world economy. W. W. Norton & Company. 2011. –P. 23.

7. Schmitter, P. C. Parties are not what they once were. In L. Diamond & R. Gunther. Johns Hopkins University Press. 2019. –P.70.

8. Della Porta, D., Fernandez, J., Kouki, H., & Mosca, L. Movement parties against austerity. Polity Press. 2017. –P.56.

9. Blyth, M. & Katz, R. S. From Catch-All Politics to Cartelization: The Political Economy of the Cartel Party. West European Politics, 28(1), 2005. –P.35.

10. Adams, J., Clark, M., Ezrow, L., & Glasgow, G. Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results? British Journal of Political Science, 34(4). 2004. –P.602.

11. Bennett, C., & Oduor. Artificial Intelligence and Democratic Values: The Political Implications of Machine Learning. Journal of Democracy, 31(2), 2020. 45–59.

12. Baldacci, E., & Sestino, A. Artificial Intelligence–Enabled Political Microtargeting: Opportunities and Risks. Government Information Quarterly, 40(1), 2023. –P.112.