Lunds Universitet, Department of Social Anthropology
Kandidat uppsats, SANK01, Höstterminen 2010
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A study of social responses and repercussions in the world-system.

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Abstract

This thesis shows how globalization creates disenfranchisment. Through a world-system perspective and an alternate view on globalization as social reproduction, it explores how people get disenfranchised by exposing the relationship between psychosocial expression and politico-economic structures. Disenfranchisment is regarded on a deeper ontological level than mere loss of the possiblity to affect outcomes. It deals with lived realities and perception of the social world. Two cases will be presented, the Zapatista rebellion and the Swedish Democrats to concretize the theoretical stance. The Zapatista rebellion and the Swedish Democrats represent two different positions in the current world-system. The Zaptistas being in the periphery and the Swedish Democrats in the center of the current world-system. Both, however, viewed as a response of disenfranchisment due to the same dynamics of globalization.

Keywords: Globalization, World-system, Ontology, Zapatistas rebellion, Swedish Democrats

Content

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1. Introduction

This thesis will investigate and explain, how our modern world is getting more and more connected by different means (Globalization)[1], even though more and more people are feeling disenfranchised (not being able to identify with the social reality).

The starting point was originally to understand why there were numerous anti-systemic movements in the world. However, this posed a problem of over-generalization, since there are literally thousands of these movements ranging from spiritualistic to political in their nature. For this reason, the aim is to do a comparative anthropological study. To do this properly two cases as binary opposite as possible have been selected. These cases represent two different locations within our current world-system. Both are separated in spatial terms. The Zapatistas is located in the peripheries of the world-system and the Swedish Democrats are located in the center. Both are also separated by where they stand in regard to social development phases. Both are, however, in a state of social transition; the Zapatistas from a traditional society into a modern and the Swedish Democrats from a modern society into a post-modern. They are separated by political alignment; one is an anarchistic guerilla[2] (Rodgers Gibson), and one, a far-right wing party. Yet, they share some specific characteristics. That is what this thesis will focus on, not on their political alignments, but as an indicative response to the social reproduction of the world-system and how they are similar in that regard.

The objective is to map out and expose these two binary oppositions' of each other are the same response to the systemic expansion and integration of one of the current world-systems, the Western one. And show how this expansion and integration causes a collapse of ontology, which in turn causes a response. This response takes different expressions but still caused by certain dynamics in the world-system.

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[1] This is the standard connotation of the word, the thesis however, will posit another view on globalization.
[2] Many would argue that the Zapatistas are left-wing marxist. However I reject that notion since their main concerns is liberty, freedom and democracy. Further see (Kaztenberger:1995, p.152, Rodgers Gibson *et al*).

1.2 Hypothesis

The western world-system (hereafter known as the world-system) needs globalization in order to survive. Globalization is not a new phenomenon and is a crucial part for the systems reproduction. The reproduction in turn "pushes" individuals out of their normal lived realities by shrinking the structures within which the individual normally acts and lives. Put another way, globalization is not making "the world" smaller, it is making the possibilities of living *in the world* smaller, that is the possibilities of living alternatively to the dominant geoculture. The figure below gives a graphical account of the believed workings of this phenomenon. The structure within which the individual has agency is simply the everyday life of individuals. This entails that which allows or prohibits an individual to live out their lives according to their ontology. Within the western world-system that comes down to living alternatively to capitalism, since that is the dominant geocultural condoned way of living. Capitalism is the structure and the more aligned with capitalism goals an individual or group are the less structurally estranged they will feel. As the structures of capitalism are reaching global dimensions, more people are getting their old structures replaced by the capitalist ones. Globalization acts as a force on those structures, "squeezing" them smaller. In other words, constraining the possibilities of living according to ones ontology, or live alternatively to capitalist conceptions of social reality.
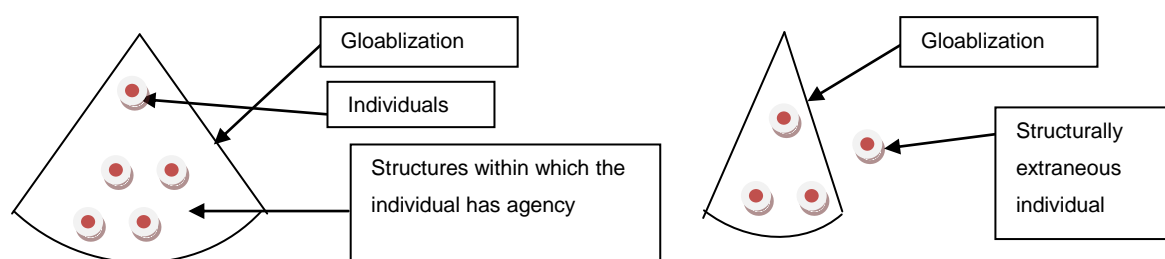

Figure 1:1 (Authors own)

This leaves some individuals feeling structurally extraneous and disenfranchised from their own ontology, that is, who they are and how they perceive themselves in their world. In response, they search for a solution to this collapse of

ontology. The solution can take on many different forms but as this thesis hypothesizes it is still caused by the social reproduction of the world-system.

1.3 Problematization

There is obviously a wide array of different responses to an oppressive system as the one we live in. Responses can come in forms of complete apathy, to people informing themselves on current issues, to activism, to guerillas and terrorism. The two cases were chosen for two specific reasons.

Firstly, my interests lay in exploring two cases that seem to be binary opposites to make the data as broadly applicable as possible. Since logically, if the world is getting more connected it should mean that people are also getting more connected. Then why are people feeling disenfranchised? Being more connected would entail that people should agree on more levels. Why would people seek out being more connected if they didn't agree with each other? It is not the people mostly affected by these connections that create them, they (the connections) are being imposed on people by the social reproduction of the world-system.

Secondly, I wanted to focus on groups of people who felt that "their world" was being genuinely threatened on an ontological basis. This posed a problem when trying to find a case for groups in the center of the world-system. There are hundreds of groups in the center of the system that feel disenfranchised and oppose the order of the system. But it seemed like most of them felt more inconvenienced by the system rather than threatened. Their main goal also seemed to be changing *the world* not changing or reclaiming *their world*. They were mainly sympathizer of other people's causes rather than concerned with their world being threatened. I am not claiming that groups can't be both, indeed many are. However, most do not seem to truly feel ontologically threatened. The far-right wing political parties of Europe seem to feel ontologically threatened by the multicultural society they are living in.

There is also the question if there in fact are more and more people feeling disenfranchised today, and compared to the past. The thesis stand is bluntly; there are more disenfranchised people today.

Nietschmann (Nietschmann: 1988) although his work might be a bit dated, demonstrated this when he, in the late 80ies, mapped out all armed conflicts in the world worth naming at the time finding 125 or so "hot wars" in which a great majority where ethnic or native struggles. However, disenfranchised people do not have to take part in armed struggle, which is just the most obvious expression of disenfranchisement. The resurrections of racist movements are also an expression of disenfranchisement. These racist movements feeling that foreign elements are having too much of an influence in society and metaphorically speaking, eating of the society cake belonging to them.

The two cases I have chosen to concretize how the political-economic structures of the world give rise to certain psychosocial expressions of disenfranchisement are both fighting or questioning the nation-state in their immediate rhetoric. However, they are still anti-systemic even though their main focus is on national level. Nation-states are crucial components of the world-system we live in. Without nation-states the system would have a hard time existing (this will be dealt with in more detail later). The point is merely to show that they might be directing their struggle against nation-state actions but they are anti-systemic rather than anti-state in their nature.

As the world-system is bigger and more integrative on lower levels than ever (Modelski: 2008), the structures are being imposed on smaller psychosocial levels due to this integration and forces people "out". More people are affected by the system today than earlier times. I believe this is one of the reasons for the increasing amount of disenfranchised individuals in the world today.

Figure 1:2 show a sliver of current people, groups, and parties in the world who want to break away from the system[3].
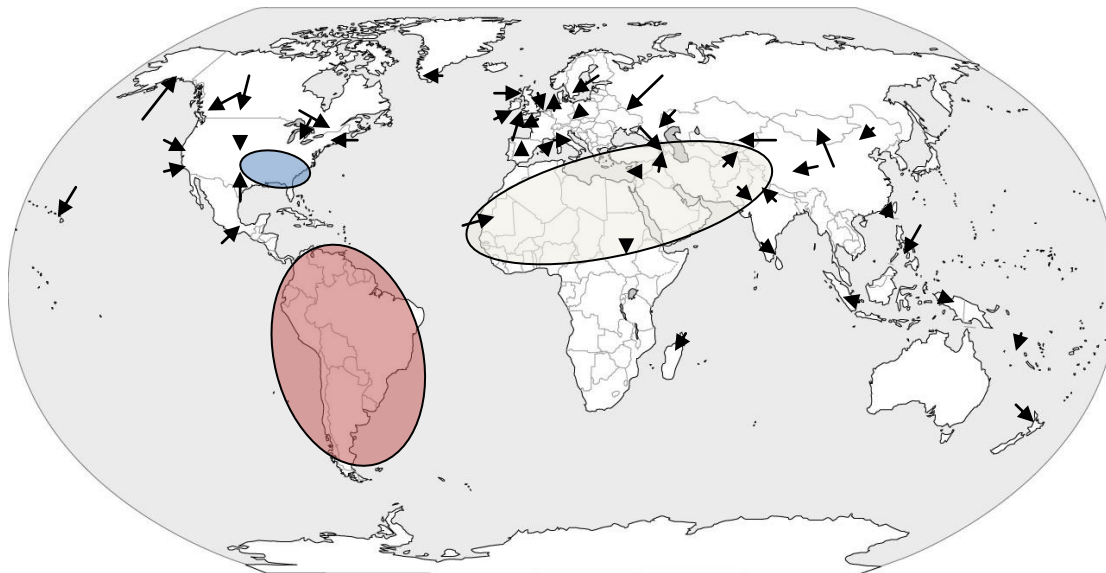

Figure 1:2 A brief display of single and collective anti-systemic movements. (Authors own)

I share the views of Bourdieu (Bourdieu: 1984, p.466) that our social positions are more than mere mental abstractions. They are felt and expressed through our bodies. When the relative statis of social order is changing, the reverberations are felt in the body and being of individuals. These sensations are crucial to understanding the actions and behavior of the two cases. It is important to take them sensations seriously; for they are what may activate individuals into resistance, both violent and apathetic, against social change.

When ones entire ontology is threatened by social change, history shows us that violence is a natural response (Kapferer: 1988). Ontology is basically a lived reality or way of being in the world and a way of feeling and experiencing your body[4].

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[3] The arrows mark out single movements while the elipses show general trends of wanting to break off from the system. Such as secessionist movements in the United States (Kauffman:2010), Islamist movements, South America can still be viewed as a collective political consensus of breaking dependency link to the North, e.g. Chavez, Morales, Da Silva, Allende, Trujillo *et al* on the political level (Hillman:2001). And criminal gangs formation such as MS13 and Barrios 18. Europe bolsters a wide array of political parties seeking the disintegration of the Union and resurgence of neofascist factions. Sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand is hard to find data on. However, the continent seems to have broke down to anarchy with no direct struggle against the system as whole.

1.4 Theoretical Premises

The main concern is to map out the structures of the world-system and try to correlate them to the agency of the two cases. There will surely be shortcomings to the data. Limits on time and space require some brevity to be made. It is suggested that the reader views this thesis as an argument to these dynamics and their importance when trying to understand human behavior in the world.

The world-systems analysis (Wallerstein: 2004) is a good tool to date for dealing with a traditional come modern come post-modern world and trying to explain certain phenomenon and change and will be selectively used in the analysis. Just as Freud, Weber, Marx and Durkheim developed their (somewhat affiliated) theories and analysis to explain the transiting social world from traditional to modern (Cahoone: 2010). Social sciences need to "update the toolbox" in order to incorporate working with a post-modern world. World-systems analysis grants a holistic perspective on change within systems, as it grants a birds-eye view on systemic development. It allows us to dismantle the structures of the world without becoming conspiratoric and irrational. The aim is to incorporate this with micro scale dynamics of group and identity. It is an effort to constantly backtrack the question *why* to bigger perspectives. Through this questioning, a red line emerges connecting the very inner being of individuals with the macro process of the world.

The thesis focus is on capital as the nave of the world-system, however, not only on economic capital. Economy is in its foundation negotiations; they can be negotiations internal to the individual or collective negotiations. Put more simply, economy is a tool to deal with scarcity and distribution. Monetary economics, for example, would not exist if we had an unlimited access and quantity of goods. There wouldn't be any need in rationing, to whom goods should be distributed and what their worth should be etc. There would be no need for these kinds of negotiations either individually or collectively. In this scenario only time would be a factor needed to take into account for negotiations since it would be a finite commodity.

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[4] Some would argue that this is merely some psycho-somatic reaction in a non pathological maner. But then if it is, what is not?

An economic system would thus be a negotiation of the *way* to deal with scarcity. In this view, economic system is also a systemic negotiation. A negotiation of what? Seemingly that of a predominant culture superposed on all other cultures within the structural confines of the system in which they operate. The negotiations would be in what manner shall economic activity be conducted and what should the objectives of economics be, in other words, politics. The short answer to this is; capitalism and the capitalist goal of continual expansion of ceaseless accumulation of capital.

Both the world-system and globalization are multi-dimensional and not just economic (Modelski: 2008). However, the economic capital aspect is the base for a capitalist system. All other contingencies such as culture, politics, and symbols derive from economic capital in such world-systems. It is from Bourdieu's notion of capital this position derives. Economic capital is what allows the creation of symbolic capital which is connected to cultural capital, which in turn creates habitus (Allen: 2010, p.176-178). This habitus develops ontology.

The thesis will explore what happens to individual's ontology when the world-system reproduces itself to perpetuate its goals. In sociological terms, what are the relationship between the expansion of the structures and the response of agency in this reproduction?

The thesis posits that social change is brought on by the need for the world-system to reproduce itself. This said, the need is manifested as globalization. Globalization here is viewed as an evolutionary process and not as a new phenomenon but specific characteristics differ from earlier forms of globalization, mainly prior to the advent of European capitalism. The thesis tries to reveal the two-sided coin that is globalization, not just what is does but more importantly, *why* it does it. It has implications for both peripheral areas being incorporated as it has for the centers. It is highly dynamic for both parts and has a "Jell-O-like" property. And, importantly, it is a multi-dimensional process (Modelski: 2008, p.2) that carries with it a system with certain structures.

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1.4.1 Regarding earlier research

Readers may come to find that there is a lacking perspective on earlier research throughout this thesis, specifically the works of esteemed anthropologists Jonathan Friedman and Kajsa Ekholm-Friedman. It is an intentional decision to leave out their research. This thesis wants to demostrate that some of the dynamics and social phenomena Friedman and Ekholm-Friedman show are universal. It aims to through different pathways discover and come to many of the same conclusions as these two anthropologists in certain aspects and that their prior studies are not essential in order to understand, or discover these dynamics and phenomena. I hold the above named authors in the highest regard and in no way try to belittle their groundbreaking research. What is intended with their exclusion from the following analysises is to demonstrate the actual strength and universality of their research, as it is not as narrow as a few researchers conclusions but more apparent.

1.5 Anthropological Perspective

An anthropological approach on the subject is the most equitable in many aspects. Being inter-disciplinary, it works well with the holistic approach needed. Anthropology developed from the western epistemology of education to confront the shortcomings of studying the "others", those who were considered not being modern (Wallerstein: 2004, p.23-24). This is where the strength of an anthropological perspective on the subject shows itself. When studying aspects of the world today that doesn't deal with the normality or the modern, not being inter-disciplinary has some shortcomings. The other two parts of the world are either traditional turning modern (peripheral areas) in which anthropologist first started their research. Or areas that are the modern turning post-modern (center areas), where in the wake of modernisms' withdrawal, everyone is an "other". Thus the ampleness of anthropology in connecting these two parts is great.

Anthropology has an interest in studying crises. And when studying the crisis of ontology, using participant observation can be a useful way of discerning personality crises. Participant observation is a good tool when trying to understand

irrational behavior and actions, especially when individuals feel that they must change their world, not merely to be comfortable in it, but to survive in it.

There is also what I believe should be, one of the main pillars of social anthropology; finding the connections between politico-economic structures and psychosocial agency (Gledhill: 2008, p.483). On the grand scale this thesis deals with it, it is true that the generalizations need to be bigger and that creates weaknesses in a theory. But to date, perhaps anthropologists need to make sweeping grand theories just as the early modernist thinkers did in trying to explain their world.

2. Methodology

The methodology of the thesis is a comparative analysis, dealing with two different cases. One dealing with the periphery, namely the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico. The other with the center, namely the Swedish Democrats in Sweden.

It is an unashamedly "arm-chair" study, relying on second hand data collected regarding the cases and a selective text-based use of several theoretical perspectives. In this manner, it is a study with no interaction to the subjects of study.

3. Theory

3.1 World-systems analysis

The current dominant world-system[5] has its roots in the 500-year history of European expansion (Wallerstein: 2004). It is a theory for a replacement of the focus on nations to a broader perspective. The world-system is a spatial/temporal zone that includes several political and cultural units. An area that creates an integrated zone of processes and institutions that abides certain systemic rules, however, not necessarily global (Wallerstein: 2004, p.36). It is a system of fluid superstructures[6] that determines how the world within the system should operate. In the analysis, there are certain parameters explaining the internal structures such as, the division of labor, center-periphery dependencies and the collective institutions dealing with the operation of the system (IMF, World Bank, WTO etc.)[7] (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.505). These institutions are the superstructures of the system. In our current world-system, they promote a liberal-capitalistic modus operandi of the system. The driving force of liberal-capitalism is a constant growth of ceaseless accumulation of capital (Wallerstein: 2004, p.49, Lindberg & Sverrisson: 1997, p.28).

There are two key-actors modifying the system, nation-states (Wallerstein: 2004, p.48) and transnational corporations (Dickens: 2003). Both are in dependency of each other. The importance of states is crucial to the system. In the lack of states and their protective guarantees the capitalist system can't exist (Wallerstein: 2004, p.80). Citizens of states, do through time, build up a standard of work regarding minimum wages, safety and work hours. If a company overextends these standards groups of people can get unruly and revolt.

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[5] The hyphen demarcates that the concept deals with a plurality of worlds. This mainly entails that the system is to describe a lived reality under certain structures (Gunder-Frank & Gills:1993, p.1). However unlike Gunder-Frank & Gills, this thesis does not deal with the time-span or the broken or unbroken continuation of the world-system.

[6] A Marxian term explaining social institutions, cultural values and ideologies. (Abrahamson 2010, p.64)

[7] Albeit they are recent institutions in the 500 year history. Earlier counter-parts e.g. the Casa de Contratción in Seville, the dutch east-india company, the brittish colonial administration etc.

The only legitimate exercisers of violence are nation-states (Wallerstein: 2004, p.88). Companies cannot exercise violence as a legitimate agent. This dynamic is two-way. On one side, people can use the state as a protective shield against companies (who in their nature aim at lowering all excessive cost to increase profits). On the other side, influential financial interest can push states to lower standards or use legitimate force to crack down on dissidents who revolt against companies.

The structures of the world-system are in their simplest form the confines in which the actors can act and exercise agency. That is to say, the borders or behavior and attitudes condoned by the collectively negotiated "rules". The ones who abide by these rules of ceaseless accumulation are rewarded and if successful, enriched. While those with incompatible motifs[8] are punished and eventually excluded and pushed out of the social scene (Wallerstein: 2004, p.49). This is not just a purely economic capital modus operandi but an all-encompassing habitus for societies and individuals within the world-system (Allan: 2010, p.178). The more aligned with these structures the society or individual is the less disenfranchised he or she feel. This alignment may often have a geographical vector of proximity (center-periphery) but not always. The view posed here on center-periphery is however not simply the surplus extraction of the accumulation of one elite by another elite, (Gunder Frank & Gills: 1993, p.4). But also a proximity differential on the open channels in which the geoculture (Wallerstein: 2004) of the hegemony[9] can flow from its center to periphery. Shown in figure 1:3 is the cultural "strength" of two opposing world-systems, in this case, the capitalistic modernist western and the Islamist. There are centers of "core culture" in respective world-system that weakens as proximity lessens. However, enclaves exists outside the direct sphere of influence as for example a strong Muslim community in Europe, or presence of U.S army bases in the Middle East. This is hard to quantify and measure but gives a graphical image of the believed workings of globalization and world-systems.

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[8] Promoting or abiding by an alternative way of living and developing than the world-system.
[9] These may range from liberal-capitalism, to Chinese market-economy, to Islamism, to Russian economic renessance (Friedman: 2010).
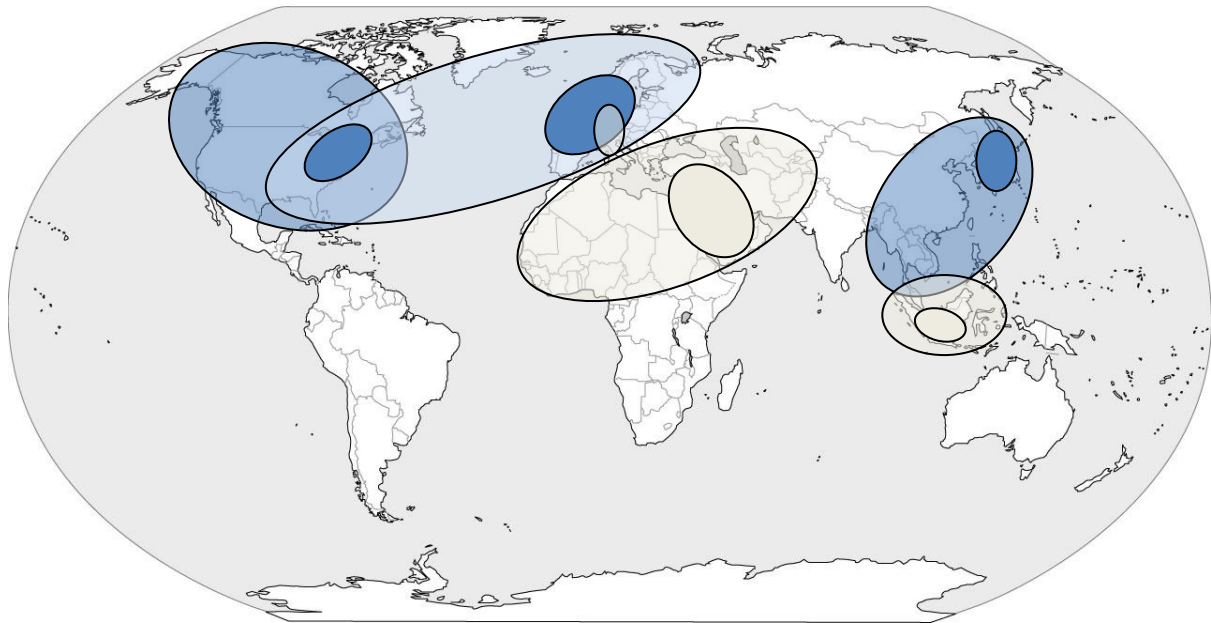
Figure 1:3 Center-Periphery displays of cultural forces. (Authors own)

3.2 Globalization

Globalization is a key concept in this thesis. The attempt is to expose or reveal the politico-economic structures of the world-system we live in. Globalization is the system's "motor". It is what causes the structural shrinkage and limits the psychosocial agency of those who live within the system. Without globalization, there could be no system. The thesis posits that globalization is an active force and importantly, it is a *need* the world-system cannot disregard. The very core logic of the capitalist system necessitates globalization to overcome the built in fallacies[10] of the system.

There is a constant debate about what globalization is and is not. A definition I find useful is "Globalization describes the process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a global network of communication, transportation, and trade" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization 26/11 -10 13:26). It is true in a certain aspect that the world is "getting smaller" due to globalization (Modelski: 2008, p.13). The process shrinks the structures of society

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[10] Such as the mythical desire for free-market (Wallerstein:2004, p.51). And the perpetual fraudlent extraction of surplus value from the labor output.

and limits agency and in many cases "pushes" people out. However, this does only explain what globalization is and what it does, not the important question of *why* it does it, why does the world globalize?

There are even people who have reached the very highest echelons of the globalization structures that don't seem to know, or don't deal with, *why* the world is globalizing (Stiglitz: 2002)[11]. Of course, the reason why is open for debate, however, for this analysis, I would like to propose another understanding of globalization as a more primordial force in the nature of social dynamism and try to demystify the concept.

Globalization is the driving force for the expansion of a world-system. It is an integral component for social reproduction and exists with or without capitalism in the world-system. However, capitalism has its own "version" of globalization just as all other world-systems have. The only "new" thing about globalization is that it is now, for the first time highly global and more integrative (Dicken: 2003, p.11).

Like stated above, it is a mechanism for ensuring social reproduction. Social reproduction is the process by which a society or a group, have to meet certain needs in order to continue operating progressively (Friedman: 2010). Reproduction for the capitalist system is a constant and ever increasing process of accumulation (Gunder Frank & Gills: 1993, p.8). Or rather, the *need* for accumulation and expansion, it is capitalisms *raison d'être*. Capitalism needs bigger and bigger markets to fill the inherent need for ceaseless accumulation (Wallerstein: 2004, p.49). At the same time, profits need to be as high as possible. As time progressed and the western world modernized, demands on companies for minimum wages and working hours increased. This clearly cuts profits and the need for new and cheaper production costs fuels the expansion of the system to incorporate new geographical areas in the peripheries. This is a constant hunt by transnational corporations. Nike for example, has moved productions since the early 90ies three times in this pursuit. When lately Indonesia announced that they were going to raise minimum wages by 15 cents, Nike announced that it was looking for new areas to place production as

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[11] Having work as the head economic advisor under the Clinton administration and as Senior Vice President and Head Economist of the World Bank.

they felt that Indonesia was losing their competition advantage in the globalizing world (Stiglitz: 2002).

This constant enhancement of capitalist influence is a key feature in especially more complex and financially orientated capitalism. For example, during the wake of the 2008 financial (and systemic) crisis, there was never a negative growth in the world economy as whole compared to previous months. That is to say, the net worth of "the economy" was never lower than a previous month. The *only* thing that happened and that caused this global financial and political shrug was a drop in pace and growth of the economy, but the growth was still positive, just not as intense as pre-crash years. The economy still grew (http://www.imf.org/external/ns/cs.aspx?id=29 26/11 14.05).

Like stated above, globalization is not new in this view. When a society can no longer reproduce itself on its' given geographical location, it has to expand spatially or integrative. But it is still a necessity unless it wants to be stagnate and static. In the simplest example, a hunter-gatherer group in Paleolithic times could, for example, only support 10 individuals in their given locality. Say two more were born into the group without two individuals dying off. The group would either have to expand their hunting/gathering grounds, or kill off two members. Alternatively, cut everyone's' rations within the group. Which in time, seemingly would create intra-group hostilities as the growth progressed and resources became scarcer.

This expansion *need* is globalization. However in those days the mortality/nativity rate were fairly correlated evenly and expansion was rather slow. Social reproduction is in need of certain criteria's to keep the reproduction going. These criteria's can metaphorically be seen as the "glue" the stick people together in a social constellation such as a society. In the most basic form, enough food and shelter is required as in Paleolithic times but as societies progress to more advanced constellations, more inputs are needed (*See* Luhmann in Allen: 2010, p.213-224).

The point is that globalization is not new; it is a mechanism for social reproduction. Whether that reproduction requires new inputs of trade, money, education, technology, communication etc., they all come together to ensure that a society can reproduce itself and not stagnate. It does not need to be spatially bound;

it can be intellectually orientated as well. However, a capitalist social reproduction is as mentioned dependent on new markets and market expansion (which is mainly physically spatial in the beginning then transcends to speculative financial. Which is in turn, still dependent upon restricted knowledge about the physical production and value located spatially). Globalization became global and gained force because capitalism needs growth continually (Dicken: 2003, p.78).

This expansion over geographical areas expose the more immediate consequences globalization might have for those people newly incorporated by it. It rattles their worlds as they are being incorporated into the world-system and its' structures. Moving from (mainly) traditional societies with family values into modern societies with monetary values and personal enrichment as a priority. In the process many end up losing not only their lands but also their traditional identity. This is not a current thing, as Marx hypothesized about it in the mid 19th century (http://www.era.anthropology.ac.uk/ 2010-12-13 18.00). He speculated that the peasantry would be phased out by modernization and looses their means of production and their land, to be forced into an urban proletariat or rural slavery. The transition would create alienation as they lost their means of production and where alienated from their labor (Abrahamson: 2010, p.50). This correlates with the hypothesis here, the loss of land and the alienation of labor links with the expansion of the world-system and the need for cheaper production cost. Peripheries have cheaper land and cheaper labor, as a farmer being remove from your land and put to work in a factory doing menial manufacturing tasks repetitively makes it hard to connect with your labor. At the same time, this uprooting from a traditional way of life shakes ones ontology and ones identity, what is one to identify with? This phenomenon is what is meant with the shrinkage of structures by globalization in the peripheries. To recap; the world-system needs to expand because the drive for profits force companies to relocate and find cheaper production costs, the expansion claims the land and the labor of the people in the peripheries and leaves them with very little choice as how to live their lives. It is true that their choices were limited before, being subsistence farmers many of them. However, this was closely tied to their identity and who they were. Being removed from that and integrated into a new social order brings about the collapse of ontology in people.

The expansion of the world-system to the peripheries creates reverberations in the center. In the center of the world-system, the same collapse of ontology happens but from another transitional position. It is from modern to post-modern and the constant personality crisis this brings (Cahoone: 2010).

The means of production are being relocated to new locations. The modernistic paradigm of economic progression wanes for the individuals as the very symbol of that progression, industrial production, is removed. Industrial workers were by far the most prevalent identification of ones' labor that individuals in the western world (read center) had from 1920s onwards. There occurs another force of alienation as the industrial manufacturers are absorbed by the service sector. This probably have deeper ramifications then what will be treated here but it shows how moving from manufacturing concrete things as a prior means of identification to service others must bring about a revolting change of ontology.

There is a more nefarious reason for disenfranchisement in the center brought on by the world-system, that of war. It is an effect of the world-systems' need to continually reproduce itself both economically and ontologically. War is a means to an end in the world-system and capitalism. If cheap raw materials are being withheld by a nation-state, companies of more powerful nation-states will make the dissident conform to the system by lobbying sanctions and war. If the market cannot neutralize these threats, then war, for economical reasons to open up markets or withholding recourses, is necessary (Friedman: 2009, p.68). On a more ontological level opposing world-systems are also perceived as threats[12]. These other world-systems are today being neutralized by destabilization. The hegemon doesn't necessarily fight a conquest war as in older times. One of destabilizing properties for the countering world-system, that aims at creating an environment where consolidation and unification becomes impossible (Friedman: 2009, p.49). War creates streams of refugees. Many of these refugees choose a new life in the more modern world rather than trying to rebuild their society destroyed by others. This shows another aspect, one more fitting to this thesis, of how globalization creates disenfranchisement in the center of the world-system as well. The streams of immigrants coming to the centers

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[12] Such as the Vietnam war, Contras in Nicaragua, Mosadegh in Iran, Arbenz in Guatemala, Castro in Cuba etc.

of the system will be competing with the population already living there, at the same time, the means of production are being removed and relocated. The competition for jobs creates tensions between the two groups. At the same time they (the refugees or immigrants) will still want to keep parts of their life and traditions alive in the new country. This inevitably creates a culture clash, or a clash of ontologies.

Globalization thus has what might be called "Jell-O-like" properties. It goes through certain phases of expansion and that expansion sends reverberations back to the center. There are repercussions to the expansion in the center from which it develops. Through the last 500 years of world-system there have been phases of consolidation where newly incorporated areas reach a type of coherence with the overall world-system and their new position as a specific division of labor dictated by the superstructures (Modelski: 2008). Eventually the world-system will have to expand again in order to socially reproduce it self and the cycle replicates itself over again.

Figure 1:4 aims to visualize this in its simplest expression. Between a center expanding, the reverberations in the structures, the consolidation, and new expansion.
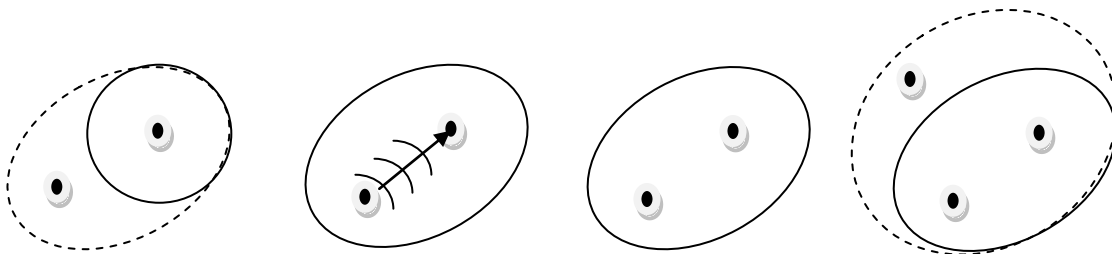

Figure 1:4 (Authors own)

The visual aid is showing that globalization is system building, or rather, system expansion. "To build a system means to undertake structural changes within the world, which have ripple effect on constituent subsystems" (Modelski: 2008, p.35). Globalization expands the system to incorporate or integrate new areas under the systemic superstructures. This incorporation/integration shatters the social statis or habitus (Allen: 2010, p.179) of the submissive systems (such as regions or villages) but also the remobilization of the centers of the world-system to incorporate

the new subsystems. The cases below are meant to show how responses to this expansion can formulate itself in the centers and peripheries.

4. Cases

What have been sketched out in the above section are the political-economic structures of the world-system. This has been shown in its' brevity, there are intricate workings of the economy and the political structure of the system not covered here. However, these two aspects of the system are so interlinked that to exclude one from the other would render the usefulness of an analysis limited. Economics is the nave of the system, because it is a capitalist system, its focus is on increasing accumulation of capital. Also it is a neoliberal geoculture of market-based economies and privatization (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.505). The political structures are subservient to the economic ones but operate in a symbiotic relationship (Wallerstein: 2004, Modelski: 2002, p.61).

As demonstrated, the reproduction of the world-system is dynamic and changes the social order both in the peripheries as it expands and incorporates/integrates them. As well as in the centers of the world-system as these "waves" of expansion and integration causes reverberations from both the onslaught of war and the displacement of millions of people affected by these wars, and from the relocation of the means of production to semi- and peripheries.

Below will be expanded upon how the dynamics of the psychosocial agency of individuals and groups responds to these structures. This will be demonstrated through two cases, the Zapatistas in Mexico and the Swedish Democrats in Sweden. The cases differ in many aspects but share what I believe a transitional phase of social order due to the world-system causing disenfranchisement and the prognostication of collapsing ontology. This leads individuals to seek new ways of making sense of their world and defend their ontology. What causes the defensive reaction is globalization of the world-system in both of the cases.

4.1 The Zapatista Rebellion

Why was it that on January 1[13]ˢᵗ, 1994, thousands of otherwise docile[13] Maya Indians, seemingly out of the blue, took up arms and led a violent insurrection occupying the major towns of the southern rural province of Chiapas, Mexico? The answer this thesis argues, lies in understanding the economic political structures they were confined within and how these structures threatened their ontology. The Zapatista Rebellion should be understood as a social movement fighting the globalization (read social reproduction) of the world-system being imposed from above (Stahler-Sholk: 2001). The rebellion was fueled by the thousands of disenfranchised indigenous people having been even further marginalized by the wave of neoliberal globalization sweeping the globe since the 1970s (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.502). There have been thousands upon thousands of pages written about the Zapatistas and who they are. The interest here lies not in exploring those aspects of the movement, but rather to show *how* the rebellion came to be due to an emergent collapse of ontology, to demonstrate the rebellion and the following years of insurgency as indications of people being disenfranchised from their ontologies by the social reproduction of the world-system. I would like to add that I agree with Castells, social movements must be understood in their own terms, that is, they are who they say they are (Castells: 1997, p.68-69). The following analysis is therefore based upon both statistical data and the statements of Zapatista members.

4.1.1 Globalization in Chiapas

On January 1ˢᵗ, 1994, the neoliberal economic project called NAFTA[14] was launched which incorporated Mexico, United States and Canada into an economic unit (Castells: 1997, p.74). The aim was to allow more open flows of products between the borders and in the eyes of Mexico's president, Carlos Salinas[15], start the economic modernization of Mexico (Castells: 1997, p.76). This modernization had

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[13] The general description of the Maya Indians by earlier Mexican anthropologist (Katzenberger:1995, p.144).
[14] North American Free Trade Agreement
[15] A prudent champion of the projects success, as he was to be elected into the World Bank the following years.

severe consequences for the people of Chiapas, as modernization is often the advent of a new set of identities (Wallerstein: 2004, p.65). This is the cultural level of globalization, which means a renegotiation of identities. Like economic globalization would be a negotiation of the guidelines under which the economic activity should operate. As with the other aspects of globalization, it is a contested one for those on the short end of the stick having to renegotiate their identities (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.512).

Historically, Chiapas has been part of the world-system for 500 years (Castells: 1997, p.74, 77, Gledhill: 2008, p.485, Katzenberger: 1995, p.136-137, 142), since the first Spanish explorers followed in the wake of Cortez. The Maya Indians have, through most of that time, been marginalized into peasantry and forestry for their survival. They have a history of oppression and the NAFTA treaty were in many aspects viewed as a reincarnation of that oppression (Castells: 1997, p.77). However, there had through history, from their last ontological transition (that from Indians into subjects of the Spanish crown) been a relative statis in their identity and ontology as farmers.

Chiapas is a region abundant of resources such as hydro-electric which accounts for 55% of national output and the 3rd and 4th largest oil and natural gas production in Mexico (Katzenberger: 1995, p.33). At the same time it is one of the more impoverished areas of Mexico with 30% illiteracy and 62% of the population without primary education. It is a rural region were 65% of the population lived in communities smaller than 5000 inhabitants, 30% had no electricity and 40% lacked piped water. The Mexican government had at the time of insurrection deemed 80% of the population as being in "acute marginalization" (Katzenberger: 1995, p.33). Under these circumstances, the possibilities of the population were mainly limited to agriculture and forestry. Around 60% of the population was in the agricultural sector where traditional farming practices, insufficient modernization and limited crop diversification prevailed (Katzenberger: 1995, p.131).

Without education, this lifestyle perpetuates itself through the generations. With the traditional peasant life there is also, according to Durkheim (Abrahamson: 2010, p.133), a strong mechanical solidarity. The primary

identification of identity is linked to family and village life and combined with Marx, (Abrahamson: 2010, p.48) the produces of ones labor. Individuals identify themselves through working the fields or forests as a primary sense of who they are. In Chiapas the main crops grown were corn and coffee, which along with forestry and cattle herding, made up most of the local economies (Gledhill: 2008, p.483).

In Mexico with the implementation of neoliberal policies, the national default on loan payments to the IMF since 1982 has opened up the floodgate of globalization on the country via the structural adjustment programs imposed by the IMF and World Bank, allowing them to largely commandeer the Mexican economy (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.506). This globalization increased the gini coefficient (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI), the concentration of the wealth among fewer individuals. As well as lowered the domestic PPP (purchasing power parity) of workers wages (http://search.worldbank.org/data?qterm=PPP+mexico+1990&language=EN&format=html), the amount of units of a country's currency required to buy the same amounts of goods and services in the domestic market as U.S. dollar would buy in the United States, and massively disrupted the peasant agriculture (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.506).

With NAFTA, the tipping point had come for the indigenous population of Chiapas as it were to demolish their world and their primary means of self-identification. Under the NAFTA treaty, the Mexican import restrictions on corn were removed, essentially flooding the Mexican market with cheap U.S corn from the Monsanto corporation putting millions of local corn producers out of business (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.509). At the same time, the protection tariffs on coffee were removed, leading to a price crash from $130 down to $65 per 100 lb., a 65% producer income reduction (Katzenberger: 1995, p.131). Also being imposed with the NAFTA modernization, was a ban on forestry in an effort to protect pristine rainforest degradation (Katzenberger: 1995, p.89). All these factors led to a definite exclusion from the local economy for the indigenous population.

4.1.2 Land

In traditional agricultural societies, land is an important aspect of life, if not the *most* important. Without land the means of subsistence are removed and what Bourdieu called the urgency for survival are heightened (Allan: 2010, p.179). That means the constant pressure and stress experienced by the individual when he or she can no longer feed, clothe and shelter him- or herself and children. Land is also the means of production for peasant population like the one in Chiapas. With the means of production comes identification of oneself through ones labor. Identity organizes the meaning of what one is and does (Castells: 1997, p.7). In the case of Chiapas that meaning is traditional agricultural. The individual in Chiapas identifies him- or herself primarily through being a farmer and growing crops. The main identifier has not been indigenous Mayan as this is a term used to lump together a wide variety of different ethnicities such as Tzotzil, Tzeltal, and Tojolabal etc. The ethnic identification as indigenous came about *after* the insurrection started as a common denominator for the struggle (Castells: 1997, p.78, Gledhill: 2008, p.485). The loss of land ownership and influence over land and the collapse of ontology that entails are parts of what created the Zapatista rebellion. As a spokesperson for the Emilio Zapata Campesino Organization who have been engaged in land issues in Chiapas fourteen years prior the rebellion:

”The struggle for land is fundamental. Our goal is not only to obtain land, but also to increase productivity in the countryside and to create a market for commercialization of our products, *with* the participation of all the communities and ethnic groups in political life…” (Katzenberger: 1995, p.133 emphasis added).

Land used to be organized communally from early on by the colonial state (Gledhill: 2008, p.488). With the Mexican revolution led by Emilio Zapata constitutional article 27 was ratified. This entailed that ownership of land could only be ”transferred by the state to particulars” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Constitution_of_the_United_Mexican_States#Article_27 2010-12-13 12.33). This had generally meant that the state had set aside parcels of land called, *ejidos* (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.512), for the indigenous peasants of Mexico so they could be able to support themselves. To emphasis the importance of land as a mean for identification, the very name of Zapatistas are

meant to invoke the historical tie with the land reforms created after the Mexican revolution and Emilio Zapata who was himself of Indian descent and most of his army as well (Katzenberger: 1995, p.143), not the revolutionary element as such but what it aimed at achieving and from the causes from which it sprang.

To fit NAFTA, changes were made in Article 27 to open up for privatization of land and the sale of highly sought after farm and cattle lands and highland timber (Castells: 1997, p.77, Katzenberger: 1995, p.30, Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.507). It allowed for private ownership of land but disregarded previous communal tenure ship afforded by the Mexican revolution (Katzenberger: 1995, p.136). To make room for an export oriented agriculture and cattle ranching, the ruling party in Mexico City stopped giving out communal land to the natives and *campesinos* of Chiapas. The indigenous people were now left with nothing. They could not keep their land because they had no means of paying for it. There were no educational abilities developed in the remoteness of the region. As one Zapatista fighter said:

"I fight because we have nothing. Neither land, nor schools, nor hospitals… [w]hat are we going to live from, without land?" – Captain Irma, 22 years old. (Katzenberger: 1995, p.37)

4.1.3 Structure and Ontology in Chiapas

In World Bank documents outlining the development scheme of the Lacandón Jungle, (the main seat of the insurrection) it can be read "… the youth have in their aspirations the goal of reproducing themselves as peasants, which leads to strong pressure on the land, at the same time accumulating in powerful social explosiveness." (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, p.510). This is a direct confrontation of the neoliberal notion of development promoted by the IMF and World Bank to turn the peasants into wage earners and workers and converting their land into tradable commodities. But this transformation defied the inner most ontology of these individuals and was not seen as progress or liberation. This is a straight forward observation coming as close as possible to showing how the shrinking structures

were being opposed on the social actors in Chiapas, acknowledged by the very institution who is promoting the expansion of the world-system.

Most Zapatistas are indigenous Mayan Indians. However, this was not their rally cause for the insurrection. The fighting was against the Mexican state but *aimed* against the world-system encroaching on them via the nation-state. The fighting was mainly two folded however. The main struggle was against the exclusionary expansion of economic globalization (Castells: 1997, p.77) as demonstrated above. On a more ideological level (although I believe this was probably mostly recognized in the upper echelons of the fighters) they were indirectly opposing a geopolitical order in which capitalism is the universal norm. However, I find it important to emphasize that just because they were/are fighting a capitalist system *does not* make them socialist or communist. What they were/are fighting for was direct democracy. Direct democracy that would allow them to become stakeholders in their own lives with a possibility to affect the changes happening around them (Stahler-Sholk: 2001, Gledhill: 2008, Katzenberger: 1995).

There is an axiomatic notion in the Zapatista rebellion, which is "govern by obeying". Taken out of context it might sound harsh and totalitarian. However, what is meant is simply that the Zapatista fighters are not a revolutionary vanguard of *foquistas* in the Che Guevara notion. They are first and foremost subjects to the will of the people working and living on the land. They are meant to act as the executive branch of the indigenous populations will. As the media-charismatic spokesperson of the rebellion subcommandante Marcos put it, "*Para todos todo, para nosotros nada.*" – for everyone everything, for us nothing. "[We call for the formation of] a political force that does not aim to take power, a force that is not a political party… A political force that can organize the demands and proposals of the citizens so that those who govern, govern by obeying." – EZLN, Fourth Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle, Chiapas, January 1996 (Harvey: 2001, p.6).

The above quotation shows the sentiments among the people of Chiapas and how the structures around them did not fit in with the identity of the people. They felt disenfranchised from their lives by change brought on them via the external force of globalization. The political structures of Chiapas did not work for

them but against them, for the local political structures had been molded to link with the superstructures of the world-system. They were not only being pushed out of their ontological realities but also feeling removed from the possibilities of changing and affecting the transformation taking place. That is why the insurrection looked that way.

To explain on a more structural level *why,* the insurrection happened, Alberoni (Alberoni: 1979) gives this general explanation; "tolerance for ambivalence is inversely proportional to the total investment in the object. That is to say, when an individual or collective object is relatively unimportant to a subject, ambivalence toward it can be easily tolerated; but when an individual or collective object is of immense importance to a subject, the degree of tolerance of ambivalence becomes extremely low. It must be borne in mind that ambivalence is nothing but the degree of disorder in the system…" (Alberoni: 1979, p.94). In the case of Chiapas, the ambivalence was the new social order being imposed. This new social order was threatening the ontology of the people in Chiapas. This ontology was something with immense importance to these people since it is literally their way of life. Thus the displacement and disenfranchisement caused by the social reproduction of the world-system is intolerable to the individuals. This intolerability in turn takes the form of armed struggle in this case.

It is believed this shows that when the system expands and integrates, many people will be squeezed out of the structural confines with which they can identify themselves. Once this happens and the possibilities of reentering the structures are not available or compatible with the ontological premises of the agents it will lead to disenfranchisement. To come to terms with this disenfranchisement and the urgency felt from not being able to apply ones ontology in life, a response is triggered. In Chiapas this response became armed rebellion. Having been removed from the possibilities of living their life as it makes sense to them through their ontology, they felt the need to respond (Alberoni: 1984, p.40). Because the response was violent, I believe, was due to the fact that they are "those who must change the world, in order to survive in it" (Wild: 1998).

4.2 The Swedish Democrats

The case of the Swedish Democrats is used to show the dual expression of globalization. Generally, it is assumed that globalization mainly affects people of the peripheries of the system. That their world is being shaken. However globalization can affect the centers of the world-system in a very profound way. Threatening with the collapse of individual's ontologies as the social order transforms. The Swedish Democrats is a demonstration of that. There are more profound reasons for their existence than a dislike of immigrants. After all, Sweden is a representative democracy, no party can exercise power in politics without the support of a significant number of voters. Just as with the Zapatista rebellion, a bigger world-system perspective is need to understand why the Swedish Democrats exists and tie those global processes with the social expressions they may take. In the case of the Swedish Democrats it is harder to clearly demonstrate how forces of globalization creates a response because they work on more subtle levels when it comes to the center structures of the world-system. They are forces of reverberation in existing rather than expansion and over-riding of old structures and thus harder to identify.

The Swedish Democrats is a social movement turned into a political party. A social movement is a collective action organized towards either change or conservation of society (Lindberg & Sverrisson: 1997, p.67). To understand the Swedish Democrats as a social movement responding to the social reproduction of the world-system (Lindberg & Sverrisson: 1997, p.33), the institutions being eroded by that social reproduction have to be identified in order to understand those being affected by it (Alberoni: 1984, p.45), those adhering to the Swedish Democrats agenda. That institution is nationalism and its promulgation. In that aspect the Swedish Democrats are both active against change, promoting conservation of old ideals, and at the same time as they want change.

The creation of nationalism was once an integral part of the world-system, however, today it has become more redundant (Billig: 2010). Importantly, *nation-states* are still very crucial, while *nationalism* as an ideology has declined in the greater processes of the world-system. The ontology connected to nationalism

still lingers. The identification of the nation-state as primary identity is deeply ingrained in older consolidated nations such as those in Western Europe[16]. Nationalism promoted one country, one people, one language, and one culture. In other words, there was a strong emphasis on homogeneity within nationalism. Solidarity was to be built on similarity. This is one of the topics the Swedish Democrats believe to be true. They are anti multiculturalism (Valmanifest Sverigedemokraterna: 2010, p.7). They want to limit the European Union project (Valmanifest Sverigedemokraterna: 2010, p.6), which can be interpreted as a neoliberal project of free trade and is highly globalized in the aspect of connectives. With these tighter connections of economic transaction it becomes more difficult to keep the cultural aspects of globalization separated from the activities. Thus it is viewed as encroaching on national sovereignty. Mainly, they want a substantially limited immigration policy and implement an assimilation policy towards the immigrants presently in Sweden (Valmanifest Sverigedemokraterna: 2010, p.4). These political stances are all aligned with the core of nationalism. It is hard to keep a homogenous society when society is a part of transnational projects, multicultural and admitting immigrants into society.

The nationalist tendencies of the Swedish Democrats are closely linked with historicization (Alberoni: 1984, p.60). That which exists now is not natural. The present has become like "this" because of neglect. Through the Swedish Democrats, nationalism and homogeneity will be restored by revision and reformation and thus calm the feeling of ontological collapse happening with the demise of nationalism. This historicization is connected with a fetishization of the past. In Freudian terms, it can be called a collective trauma. Freud believed that fetishism reverts to the original trauma when different sexes become apparent for children. The object of fetish is the last object intervening to obscure the unbearable realization of the existence of two sexes. It is often the last object strongly perceived before the discovery (Baudrillard: 1994, p.44). The Swedish Democrats retrospect back to a past as a glorious time when the *folksjäl* (folk soul) was healthy and nationalism united the populous. The traumatic break from this existence came with immigrants and multiculturalism, the

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[16] This does not mean that there are not wide sentiments of wanting to break out of the European nation-states within them. País Vasco, Bretagne, Welsh assembly, Flemish sepparatist, IRA among others show that.

realization that there where others. They destroy the natural state of the Swedish society and challenged the ontology of Swedes. The past society thus becomes fetishized and longed after due to this perceived trauma of realization of others threatening the homogeneity. This is probably not a true depiction of Swedish past since there have been major phases of both immigration and emigration through Swedish history (www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/historiskt/ 2010-12-16 17.16). Even so, history becomes a lost referential, a myth (Baudrillard: 1994, p.43) for political legitimization. It is these myths that the Swedish Democrats believe in and shape their ideology after, combined with the legends of the nation, culture and the language (Kapferer: 1988, p.1). However, the ideology follows the ontology and Swedish Democrats are dependent on voter from the very start.

The popularity of the Swedish Democrats has by institutional political standards, exploded the last decade in Sweden. In 1988 they received 0,02% of the votes in the national elections and 0 out of 342 mandates in parliament (http://www.val.se/val/val_98/slutres/riksdag/7338.html 2010-12-19 14.30). By the 2010 elections, they received 5,70% of the votes and got 20 out of 324 mandates (http://www.val.se/val/val2010/slutresultat/R/rike/index.html 2010-12-19 14.30). When asked why they (the Swedish Democrats) think this is, they replied:

" We believe it is as simple as that the popularity of the Swedish Democrats depends on the voters in their everyday lives and localities feel that our description of reality correlates with what they (the voters) observe. We have said the same thing for a long time, and with time we have been proven more and more correct with our predictions. And since we are the only politicians describing the problem our solutions also becomes acceptable." – Gabriella (E-mail correspondence with Sverigedemokraternas info-avdelning, authors own translation).

This statement claims that in the political globalization of Sweden there are no parties willing to deal with "the problem", which the Swedish Democrats interprets as immigration, multiculturalism and the EU. The said statement like that should mean political suicide in modern society, however, for some reason the Swedish Democrats keep gaining voters. By geographical allocation, their voter density is higher in the higher immigrant dense areas and provinces of Sweden. In

fact, the area of highest Swedish Democrat voters (Almgården) is just separated by a parallel running highway from one of the highest density immigrant area in Malmö, Sweden (Rosengård) (Söderin: 2010, p.7).

There is also the question of what they are describing and if it is actually true. Baudrillard wrote, "it is always a question of proving the real through the imaginary, truth through scandal, law through transgression, the system through crisis…" (Baudrillard: 1994, p.17), this seems to be the order of the day for most political parties trying to promote their ideologies. The Swedish Democrats are no exception as they scandalizes immigrant honor killing, show cases of over representation of immigrants in the crime statistics, and the demise of the Swedish way of life (system) through multiculturalism and Islam (crisis) (Valmanifest Sverigedemokraterna: 2010). Trying to avoid getting to postmodern and deconstructive it should be noted that the Swedish Democrats are creating a simulation of reality, if it is true or not, is inconsequential for those abiding by it. Since it is just as dangerous and powerful as "the real" reality (Baudrillard: 1994). Thus validity of the picture painted of reality is not determinant in the feeling of ontological threats. Written earlier was the notion that social movements must be understood as what they say they are (Castells: 1997, p.70). They should also be understood as what they believe is reality, is reality to them. Thus at least 5,7% of the Swedish population believe there is a problem or a threat that has been identified by the Swedish Democrats.

4.2.1 Immigration and Globalization

Immigrants and immigration are perceived by the Swedish Democrats as a problematic element in society at best and as a direct threat to ontology at worst. The increase in the voter pool for the party mainly started around the mid 1990s and has been increasing until this day. Sweden has generally had three major immigration waves the last 60 years (http://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/historiskt). The first wave was brought on by the millions of displaced survivors of the Second World War, coming mainly from Finland, the Baltic States and Eastern Europe.

The second wave came in the 1950s and 1960s with a huge demand on labor in Sweden since Sweden had suffered very little infrastructural and productive capital damage during the war and needed surplus cheap labor. This wave was halted by labor unions due to labor regulations of minimum wages and the increase in the labor pool. That increase generally means more people fighting for the same jobs thus companies can keep wages artificially low. This is an aspect of a capitalist world-system, to keep profits as high as possible by keeping expenses low by any means possible. It also demonstrates how the mechanics of the world-system created immigration from an integrative position. By incorporating economically peripheral areas (southern and eastern Europe), funneling cheap labor to areas where market expansion could occur without expensive capital inputs in the infrastructure. There is a standing belief that Sweden *needed* labor immigration. But few seem to explore why Sweden needed this. Sweden had a comparative advantage in post-war Europe since it had not been bombed. The surge of labor immigration was to fortify that advantage by building up a competitive position since Sweden did not receive any Marshall plan aid. Certain capitalists in Sweden must have seen the potential of the Swedish position and prompted on politicians for the construction of an industrial nation-state rather than the nationalistic ones laying in ruin around them. This thesis believes that the post-war Swedish project was more of a neoliberal project in tuned with the world-system rather than the construction of a welfare society.

The third wave started around 1980s and gained force around the late 1980s and early 1990s. The immigrants of this wave were mainly refugees outside of Europe escaping war torn countries, with the exception of Yugoslavia. The statistics show that between 1984 and 2009 four of the five biggest nationalities seeking asylum in Sweden were from war stricken regions. 200 000 or 32% from Yugoslavia, 90 000 or 14,8% from Iraq, 45 000 or 7,4 % from Iran, and 32 000 or 5,2 % from Somalia (http://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/asylsokande/ 2010-12-18 14.00). The reasons for war will not be dealt with here as it may put the thesis in a conspiratoric light, however it is noted by other authors (Wallerstein: 2004, Modelski: 2008) that war is an integral part of the world-system and its expansion (globalization). What is meant to be highlighted here is that war creates streams of

refugees that came to Sweden and that war is a means to an end for the intrinsic need of the world-system to social reproduce itself and expand. The major years of asylum seekers to Sweden all logically correlates with conflict or escalation of conflicts. In 1992, there was a peek of 84 000 asylum seekers mainly from former Yugoslavia. At the time, war was raging in the region. From 2002 until 2007 there has been an average of 30 000 (+/- a couple of 1000) of asylum seekers. Compared to interwar years, 1984-1990 ~15000 people, and 1994-2000 ~14000 people (http://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/asylsokande/ 2010-12-18 14.00). Connected to this is the auxiliary relative immigration. In 2009, 14,3% of the Swedish population were born on foreign soil (http://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/ 2010-12-18 14.00). Clearly this is not a homogenous group, but to the Swedish Democrats and their voters, they are perceived of in this dualism. When the promotion of homogeneity is adamant, there needs to be an "other" to distinction the group from. This increase of immigrants has a challenging effect on the ontology of nationalism, which is ingrained in many people in Sweden.

4.2.2 Multiculturalism

The other big threat to ontology of a nationalist populous is multiculturalism. It seems natural that multiculturalism goes hand in hand with the increase of immigration. Being how these immigrants are not just going to drop their ontologies and traditions by being forcefully removed from the local context in which they make sense and smoothly assimilate into a new society. After all, ontology is something learned and it takes time to unlearn (if even possible) and absorb a new ontology. They (the immigrants) are going to keep certain traditions and beliefs even if they are in a new country. However the cultural aspects of the perceived threat needs to be demonstrated as demographic data only shows one part of the problem.

Nationalism tends to not only fetishize history but also culture (Kapferer: 1988, p.98-99). In other words they hail it as having properties worth being worshipped. In a recent parliamentary session (2010-12-15), there was cultural political debate in Swedish parliament. Both sides of the debate agreed that culture is the glue that ties our society together. The question was regarding on what

resources should be spent to promote what kind of culture. As an oppositional party to the current policy, the Swedish Democrats opposed the allocation of funds to promote multiculture. Mattias Karlsson from the Swedish Democrats promoted the party's ideological stands on creating a homogenous culture of "Swedishness":

"The red line in our proposition is to reallocate the resources away from institutions who aim at strengthening the multicultural social experiment. And instead reallocate them (the resources) to strengthen the Swedish cultural heritage… The Swedish Democrats wants to rebuild the common identity in society and with this we view cultural politics as an important aspect." (Mattias Karlsson (SD), http://svt.se/2.27170/1.2271008/vill_ateruppbygga_den_gemensamma_identiteten?lid=is_search527895&lpos=3&queryArt527895=sverigedemokraterna&sortOrder527895=0&doneSearch=true&sd=47225&from=siteSearch&pageArt527895=0 , authors own translation).

This statement demonstrates the Swedish Democrats belief in culture as a social glue. Following Kapferer, (Kapferer: 1988, p.98), culture becomes an object of tremendous importance for the realization of ethnic identity and unity. The Swedish Democrats believe that the Swedish people have a Swedish identity *because* of a shared Swedish culture and that "foreign cultural elements" jeopardizes this identity and the very existence of a Swedish people. In this regard, the very existence of immigrants in Sweden is not the only threat. The very notion that they carry and promote a different culture threatens ontology of Swedish Democrats and their core belief that there exist a Swedish people.

4.2.3 Structure and Ontology

The advent of nationalism was a modernist project to strengthen national unity (Billig: 2010). With the development of modernity, came the development of connection to an identity and a status group (Wallerstein: 2004, p.65). The transition from modernity into postmodernity shattered these rather static identities where the main identifier had been the state due to the promotion of nationalism (Billig: 2010, p.128, 130). There is a constant search for identities and a constant personality crisis (Cahoone: 2010), in what some have called the free market of identities (Billig: 2010,

p.133), where identity is 'up for sales' and something highly dynamic. This is the essences of postmodern identities, a constant flux of supra- and sub identities. This brings about the unease and feeling of collapsing ontology in postmodern societies. The postmodern multiculture is eroding or weakening the boundaries between cultures and places (Billig: 2010, p.135). This weakening of boundaries, or from the other viewpoint, strengthening of multiculturalism is brought on by the massive migration of capital, human, financial, cultural which is characterized by the global economy (Billig: 2010, p.130) and the world-system. This exposes the Swedish Democrats as anti-systemic. Their enemy might be immigration but the cause of the immigration is systemic in its nature.

Swedish Democrats are using nationalism as a means to quell this unease by trying to affirm a static identity of "Swedishness". But this identity is not contemporary with a society that is turning more multicultural and ethnically diverse. The nationalist psychology is aiming towards a return to the old homogenous structures of society which had a fixed identity connected to a national ontology. The postmodern society has "discoursed" individual identities out of place (Billig: 2010, p.136). Where there is constantly a reflexive or fluid identity, only validated depending on the position from where it is viewed. As the position changes over time, the identity has to remodel itself to keep up with the discourse. This gives rise to a constantly vulnerable ontology as the identity is being viewed reflexively. There is no set of properties that are static from which the individual can deduct a frame of reference of what it is to be for example Swedish. This is a cause of constant identity crisis. The Swedish Democrats have come to existence as a means to deal with this problem for many individuals. This thesis doesn't hold it to be true that they (voters and sympathizers of the Swedish Democrats) genuinely hate immigrants or multiculturalism. But they (immigrants and multiculturalism) have become an easily accessible scapegoat or sacrifices to an explanation and a reaffirmation of individual identity and thus a way of being in the world. For example, the case with Almgården versus Rosengård (Söderin: 2010). Socioeconomically, there is not a big difference between the two neighborhoods. However, the Swedish population of Almgården feel an identity crisis when confronted by the very immigrant dense Rosengård. They know they are not immigrants, but yet they are in a similar socioeconomic position.

To solidify an identity and quell the sensation of ontological collapse, they try to affirm their Swedishness by reverting to the old nationalistic notion of a homogenous populous promoted by the Swedish Democrats. By clarifying the separation from what they feel they are not, the belief that they strengthen what they are emerges. This exposes the Swedish Democrats and their voters as a response to greater systemic forces that change the social order by their social reproduction.

5. Concluding remarks

People are feeling more and more disenfranchised today *because* the world is getting more and more globalized. Globalization carries with it a structure that, in many cases, limits the individual to live out his or her ontology. At the same time, it creates reverberations limiting individuals on the other end of the world from living out their ontologies. In the process of creating a smaller world it also creates smaller room for alternative living compared to the dominant geoculture. Thus more and more people find themselves within the structural confines of the dominant geoculture but not being able to identify with it. This creates more disenfranchised people at the same time as the world is getting more globalized.

This thesis maps out what brings about change on greater scales. It posits that the world-system analysis is a key tool for examining the change. By constantly moving backwards and upwards, a greater picture emerges into which a more detailed, smaller description can be placed. Most scholars seem to agree that the world is getting more and more connected, however, there is still a lacking emphasis on studying phenomenon with a more holistic approach, something that would encompass the connections between culture and economy, geography and poverty etc. This thesis has argued that the Zapatista rebellion and the rise of the Swedish Democrats are both, however different in appearance, a response to the same structural changes in the social world they inhabit. In this aspect, this thesis has explored the connections between global structures with their dynamics and the social agency of certain actors being affected by these structures. It has focused on mapping out change in social realities, what brings about change and what the response to the change might be.

What has been shown in this thesis is how periods of transition are created by the expansion of the world-system. The periods of transition are ontologically threatening to individuals and groups as they feel in betwixt and between two social states.

In the case of the Zapatistas, the expansion of the world-system threatened the traditional society in which they lived and in which their ontology

resided. The integration of Mexico into NAFTA took away the land from the people. The land is closely connected to both their means of survival and their identity. The collapse of ontology created a violent response because these people were so marginalized and felt they were not only losing their means of survival but also their ability to continue living out their ontology. They had nothing to lose only something to gain by armed insurrection.

In the case of the Swedish Democrats, the world-systems integrative and war properties displaced and relocated thousands of people to Sweden. Swedish society which was in another state of transition, that from modern to postmodern, created the response manifested in the Swedish Democrats as a means for people to quell the unease of ontological collapse. By emphasizing a common history and cultural values, the Swedish Democrats give disenfranchised people a sensation belonging to an identity that correlates with their old ontology. At the same time, having immigrants and refugees as a scapegoat works as a dualistic separation of "us" and "them" to concretize their claims.

The importance of understanding what creates ontological collapse or what is perceived as creating it is helpful when understanding behavior and actions of people and groups. This thesis hypothesis could be applied to other areas in order to give a more profound understanding. Why are there more Islamist terrorists today? Why did the Uighurs start rebelling in China? Why is the Tea Party gaining supporters? Through applying the perspective on the dynamics and connections between politico-economic structures and psychosocial agency, the picture can emerge clearer.

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