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博士学位申請論文

From Globalism To Localism:

Observing Social Organization Changes in the Transition from Nation-size Societies to Local and Intentional Communities

グローバリズムからローカリズムへ

〜国家からローカルコミュニティーまでのトランジションにおける 社会組織の変更を考える〜

立教大学・21世紀社会デザイン研究科・比較組織ネットワーク学専攻

BOLEAT Christophe Alexandre

ボレア・クリストフ・アレクサンドル

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指導教授名: 内山 節

研究科: 21世紀社会デザイン研究科

専攻: 比較組織ネットワーク学専攻

学年: 4年

学生番号: 11WM005Y

氏名 (ローマ字) : BOLEAT Christophe Alexandre

氏名 (カタカナ): ボレア・クリストフ・アレクサンドル

FROM GLOBALISM TO LOCALISM: OBSERVING SOCIAL ORGANIZATION CHANGES IN THE TRANSITION FROM NATION-SIZE SOCIETIES TO LOCAL AND INTENTIONAL COMMUNITIES

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From Globalism To Localism: Observing Social Organization Changes in the Transition from Nation-size Societies to Local and Intentional Communities*

Christophe Alexandre Boleat
Department of Social Design Studies
Rikkyo University, Tokyo
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Abstract

The objective of the present research is to observe the influence of globalism and localism as ideologies on current models of social structures, and to answer the following question: Is transition from globalist to localist societies viable? Analysis refers to structural theories from emeritus sociologists, as well as to practical cases of localism in intentional communities across several countries. Attention focuses on the influence of both ideologies on politics, economy, religion, defense, education, information networks and culture in various social models. In spite of the highly productive system it has developed, globalism appears to have centralized social power in the hands of a small elite group, acting as an intermediary between the world resources and populations and contributing to maintain inequalities and structural violence on the global scale. On the other hand, localist movements currently attempt to achieve independence and selfsufficiency, driving communities away from power centers both geographically and ideologically. Although often struggling with resources shortage and appearing structurally incompatible with globalism, practical cases of localism have given birth to viable social models and truly enlightening possibilities, which may be worth spreading to mainstream education

^{*}Author Name: Christophe Alexandre Boleat. Address: Lions Mansion Higashi-Ikebukuro, Apartment 1105, Toshima-ku, Higashi Ikebukuro 1-30-14, 170-0013 Tokyo, Japan. Email Address: chrisboleat@gmail.com

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Social power tends to centralize in space and time. It centralizes over time, because social privileges and wealth tend to remain in the family, through the principle of legacy from father to son. The desire to maximize chances of survival for one's offspring takes precedence over any other. The family heir is therefore likely to inherit the capital accumulated by his genitors, make it grow, and pass it on to his/her own children. This is why, exceptions cast aside, wealthy bloodlines tend to remain rich and poor bloodlines tend to remain poor. Power therefore tends to centralize around the wealthiest families over time, rather than be redistributed or diluted among populations. Social power also centralizes in space, because in a world where resources are the property of the rich, those who are not born wealthy are left with no choice but to work for those who are. The former are often forced to move where work is available, which generally means closer to the residence of the latter. Towns, cities and empires all show similar blueprints: they are built around a core, which is often the residence of the oldest and wealthiest family of the area. Over time, those develop to become the great centers of political, economic, religious, military or cultural activity, since human activity naturally converges toward it. This tends to split society into two distinct areas: centers (that are generally few) and peripheries (that are generally many).

Over time, the power structures built around centers grow and expand to embrace peripheries, as well as the evolving range of human activities. Today, the bureaucracy of governments, national and international institutions replaced the administration of royal families in managing human life. Expanding over its peripheries, cities have become giant social structures that developed to become increasingly complex social systems generating incomes, collecting taxes, organizing labor, regulating the flow of trade, as well as countless other institutions to control human activity. Such a system demanded an increasing number of people to operate it. As those enriched themselves in the process, they formed larger social groups, closer to wealth and power. Rousseau (1755), and later Engels (1848) and Marx (1867) theorized the existence of social classes, and analyzed the conflict of interests existing between them.

As power centralized in the higher classes of society, its members developed a harmony of interests, and often married among these same social groups. Logically, those also tended to design institutions in a way that allowed them to keep their acquired power. In spite of populations' thirst for social equality and democracy, improving their living conditions proved increasingly difficult due to the growing social power gap between them and the elite. Today, class conflict lives on, yet the way it is carried out has become more complex (Clouscard 1996). Power in the form of land property and capital takes the form of gigantic power networks that are passed on from one generation to the next. Although having contributed to increase the overall living conditions in developed countries over the last two centuries, true political control over national and international institutions still remains in the hands of the higher classes.

Because of class conflict, larger nations tend to develop systems that gradually reduce the individual rights of their citizens. Populations must therefore deploy tremendous amounts of effort in order to prevent inequalities from growing, and constantly remain vigilant in order for power abuse to be kept at bay. This indirect, passive kind of oppression is what Johan Galtung (1971) defines as "structural violence," a sad yet inevitable consequence of the structure of current representative governments. As the size of societies increases, the structural distance between decision makers and executants increases as well, making it more difficult for populations to make their voices heard and leaving more room for power abuse. When left uncontrolled, power centralization inevitably leads to totalitarian regimes. History has shown that power positions tend not to be occupied by wise men, but rather by power seekers. As French philosopher Emile-Auguste Chartier (Alain) argues:

The most visible feature of the righteous man is to not want to rule others at all, but to rule only himself. This is saying that rulers of society will always be the worst (Chartier [1925] 1985:44).

Conscious of its danger, countless social movements and initiatives have attempted to limit the political power granted to authorities.

Early ideologies such as secularism or the *trias politica* principle advocated a separation of powers (legislature, executive and judiciary), as well as the creation of control institutions that aimed at dividing political power into as many hands as possible, in order to limit the privileges and terms of office of elected officials. However, along with the establishment of nations, structural distance and violence prevented controlling

institutions from coping with the pace of power centralization. Serious attempts at building democracies, such as the Athenian model¹, or early federations such as the American and Swiss models, were originally designed to leave decision-making in the hands of co-sovereign states and successfully ensured relative equal rights among its citizens (Hansen 1991). Populations under such regimes were aware of the corruptive nature of political power, and created countless institutions to limit the actual power of magistrates at all times. However, those attempts were eventually outrun by external forces, and in the case of the United States federation, by the rise to power of its own central government.

Nowadays, institutions supposed to limit the power of magistrates in representative governments have considerably decreased in number and weakened in influence, mainly due to the evolution of social structures and to the political elite enjoying privileged access to rewriting essential legislation. Constitutions, which original purpose is to protect the people against power abuse, tend to increasingly protect magistrates and elected officials and allow them to exert power for longer times (Hillard 2012b). As popular discontent grows, the elite is forced to defend itself from reprisal by strengthening laws and reducing civil rights, generating a perpetual vicious circle of class conflict.

The exponential increase of the world population, and therefore of the number of citizens living in limited, precarious living conditions also increased the level of danger

¹ Particular reference to the Athenian regime between 355 and 322 B.C. Athens has not always been a serious attempt at democracy outside this period.

faced by the higher classes. Over time, elected officials tend to develop harmony of interests with each other across national borders, and therefore take political measures against the interest of their own people. Wars often become excuses to lure the crowds away from national social issues, and redirect discontent against external enemies. This cycle of violence may not come to an end as long as the global class conflict issue is not addressed directly, and communication engaged honestly between those in power and populations. Unfortunately, such a dialogue remains against the immediate interest of the higher classes.

Power centralization and class conflict therefore divide nations into small elites and populations. However, as certain powerful social groups start interacting with others across borders, the global social game becomes more complex, and class conflict is elevated to a brand new scale. Under imperialism, the political power of one government can embrace several nations at once. Federations such as the U.S.A. and the E.U, supranational entities such as the U.N. and N.A.T.O. or economic partnerships such as the W.T.O. or the T.T.I.P. have the power to influence policies at both national and international levels, and even trigger wars. Under such structure, large corporations (often close to governments) can more easily relocate their production abroad and have impact on economies within larger zones of influence. There is currently a tendency to unify blocks of nations under military and economical partnership on the global scale, often motivated by these very reasons.

The capitalist empire has created an international network of interconnected

power centers that Saskia Sassen (2001) refers to as "the global city." Decision-making in developed countries tends to centralize in the world's largest cities such as New York, Washington, London and Tokyo. The "might makes right" capitalist rule forces local businesses to comply with the standards imposed by large, international ones, homogenizing urban environment and creating doppelganger streets in every point of the globe regardless of cultural differences. From a positive perspective, this process can be seen as a mere consequence of "globalization:" a phenomenon linked to the internationalization of exchanges, technological development and modernity. Globalization certainly shows countless new business opportunities for multinational firms on larger scales than ever before. It has opened the doors to external markets for companies, creating fast production and distribution networks that benefit countless businesses around the world. However, this forced mutation has also generated structural violence for small, local businesses that do not have the means to compete with large ones. In particular, the American petro-dollar empire has cast a tremendous influence on the development of several countries, reshaping any economic structure that did not fit its standards. For this reason, what many refer to as "globalization" sometimes hides "globalism:" a conscious, purposeful movement conducted by people who share harmony of interests in influencing global events toward common goals.

In the global capitalist game, the masters are those who pay and the slaves are those who are being paid, and cities become the symbol of this relation: a place where any human activity can be bought as a commodity, and where money exists as the ultimate form of social power. However, it is not longer limited to cities. In traditional

structures, masters and slaves needed to coexist within the same borders. Today, the owners of the means of production form a nomadic social class: they can move from one national market to another while labor forces are forced to remain grounded. This structural gap makes it even more difficult for populations to fight international oppression. Although many popular movements, such as socialism, communism, libertarianism, constitutionalism or anarchism, had identified the threat and attempted to override it, none has been successful so far. Current power structures are too large to fall under local attacks. Social power is stronger than ever before because it has evolved: it is now mobile and cosmopolitan.

Rural peripheries have also been deeply affected by power centralization and its resulting human exodus toward cities. Traditional agricultural techniques have undergone heavy mechanization and most remaining farmers are now financially dependent on large corporate groups. Large-scale rural production is sent to the city to feed urban populations, and in a similar way to relocated manufacturing centers, benefitting far away markets more than local ones. Job opportunities and the excitement of urban life also drained the countryside from its youth. Although it is true that highly paid jobs in the tertiary sector indeed reside in urban areas, plain comparison in terms of living conditions reveal that peripheries are still more attractive than centers. Land and rent are often cheaper, workloads less important and populations may enjoy a less modern, yet more comfortable overall quality of life. Other advantages include greater quality food (unaltered by human-made chemicals or mass-scale production), more secure

environments (larger solid houses for lower rents in the countryside versus smaller precarious apartments for high rents in cities), slower working rhythms (often adapted to the necessary amount of labor rather than a standardized schedule), closer human relationships (solidarity and mutual help versus the anonymity and superficiality of large cities), among many other aspects. Large cities symbolize a false promise of unlimited access to material and human resources, which actually remains the privilege of an elite, while workers and citizens are left with limited rights. Over time, this disillusion led several social groups to leave the city and to return to more simple lifestyles.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, independent, intentional communities such as ecovillages or transition towns have been emerging, along with the will to exit the capitalistic society and seek innovative lifestyles. In order to express their opposition to the globalist system, many communities chose to rally under the term "localism:" a conscious movement advocating the decentralization of political power, giving priority to short and local economic cycles and aiming at protecting the liberties of its own, local citizens (Moore, Ozon 2013). Localist communities have since learned, evolved and grown, experiencing both failure and success. Many developed techniques efficiently coping with the problems of modern cities (pollution, eco-consciousness, waste management, food quality, etc.). It is the case, for instance, of the Findhorn ecovillage in Moray, Scotland, which received the "We the People 50 Communities" award from the Friends of the United Nations as part of the 50th Anniversary of the U.N. Celebrations, and is now regularly represented in the U.N. briefing sessions (Findhorn Foundation 2012). However, local projects are not always that successful. Achieving the

level of independence that local and intentional communities yearn for is not always possible without external help. Many communities suffer from resources shortage (i.e. food, materials or gasoline), and also have trouble interacting with national networks. Low-productivity lifestyles are not in the interest of the capitalist machine, and power centers are not always enthusiastic about having these exceptions become examples to imitate.

For these reasons, the localist phenomenon is often labeled as utopian or fundamentalist by national media, and cooperation between communities and governments remains weak (Hess 2012). The number of autonomous and sustainable communities has nevertheless kept on growing steadily since the 20th century, and became the subject of serious independent studies. The persistence of the movement may actually signify the beginning of a structural change on a much larger scale, which raises the following questions: Is transition from globalist to localist societies viable? Does the localist ideology really represent a sustainable alternative to power centralization? Can localist movements bring solutions to the growing social inequalities, economic crisis and bipolarization of capitalist societies? What kind of social structure has such an ideology managed to build, and is an easy transition from one to the other conceivable?

In order to answer these questions, one first needs to precisely define the terms "globalism" and "localism," as well as the ideologies those refer to. This will be the objective of the first part of this research. Attention will then focus on the influence of both ideologies on politics, economy, religion, defense, education, information networks

and culture, drawing examples from various existing social models. A final part will draw conclusions, propose its own structural theory of globalism and localism, and attempt to envision how transition from one social model to the other can be possible. Analysis will refer to structural theories from emeritus sociologists, as well as to practical cases of localism in intentional communities across several countries.

PART I: DEFINING GLOBALISM AND LOCALISM

1.1 Defining Globalism

As globalism is often confused with globalization and localism a rather recent appellation, both concepts need to be clarified before any further discussion.

Because of the difficulty to set a beginning and an end to the globalization phenomenon as well as to embrace its range of implications on each field of analysis, agreeing upon one definition has raised many debates among academicians. Official definitions are often regarded as either too vague or incomplete (Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann 2006:3). The objective of the present section is not to find a perfect definition of globalization, but rather to help readers seize the nuance that separates it from globalism. The following selection of definitions may hopefully help the reader grasp the essence of the concept, as it is currently perceived.

Globalization refers to various processes that link national and regional economies, societies and cultures. It has been influenced by economic factors (trade, foreign direct investment capital flows and migration); by the spread of technology; and by increasing translational circulation of ideas, languages and popular culture (Encyclopedia of Power 2011:2814).

Globalization refers to processes that increase worldwide exchanges of national and cultural resources. Advances in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the telegraph and the Internet, are major factors in globalization, generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities (Guyford 1972:1-3).

Globalization is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture (Albrow and King 1990:8).

Globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities (Al-Rhodan and Stoudmann 2006:2).

Globalization is not a new phenomenon. It has been affecting people and local cultures in so many ways over history that it would be rather difficult to fully evaluate scientifically. It is also known tremendous acceleration since the industrial revolution, along with the rapid development of technology, the birth of consumption societies and the digital age. Globalization contributed to remold the economic policies of small and large corporate groups, which target market has now broadened to the world and possibilities of economic expansion have multiplied. Such an evolution has brought the term "globalization" even more into the spotlight, along with its load of praise and criticism. It is interesting to notice that, although most definitions of globalization attempt to remain neutral, the term is often referred to as either a positive or a negative phenomenon in social analysis. While some argue that globalization is an exciting process sprouting new opportunities for all nations, others claim that it is rather a new form of colonization

benefitting certain countries more than others. It seems that the factors that influence interpretations not only include the cultural background of the viewer, but also his gain or loss in the process (Ritzer 2003:190). Globalization is clearly not happening smoothly for everyone: the phenomenon produces both happiness and suffering. Why?

Should globalization be a purely natural force, it must inevitably lead to unpredictable and uncontrollable consequences, thus causing both happiness and suffering. Those who see benefit opportunities in globalization may rejoice and decide to jump in the bandwagon by taking action. The responsibility over the consequences of their actions can then be split between themselves and the phenomenon. As long the benefiters of globalization realize the harm they have caused to others and provide compensation, no harm should be done. External institutions or international organizations may also be created and appointed to restore balance in transactions, so that economic, political or cultural damage is accounted for and provided solutions.

According to such theory, which is usually the one of large international institutions such as the U.N, justice should prevail (Charter of the United Nations 2013a).

However, inequalities around the world, instead of shrinking, are expanding, and question arises to know whether the actors benefitting from globalization, as well as the institutions whose role is to prevent collateral damage are taking full responsibility for their actions, or lack of action. Looking at delocalization all around the globe and its disastrous consequences on local economies, the resulting protests against international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the

International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (among others), the supremacy of the petrodollar empire and its war for natural resources in the Middle-East, the international consequences of air and sea pollution, overfishing, deforestation (among others) and its resulting protests all around the globe (i.e. The Arab Spring, the Occupy Wall Street movement and its doppelgangers in other countries, the creation of the Sea Shepherd organization, the lack of popular interest and trust in politics, the exponential increase of the number of ecovillages and transition towns, etc.), it appears that numerous conflicts related to globalization result from the intent of certain actors rather than from natural chaos (Hedges 2010).

International actors' behaviors are not always as impartial as they may claim. For instance, the United Nations, an international organization which goal is to achieve lasting world peace by providing a platform for dialogue, does not offer seats to the representatives of every country. Only those who sign the U.N. charter have the right to defend their interests in front of the U.N. commission (Charter of the United Nations 2013b). The very fact that not every nation has a word to say among an organization self-proclaimed as the "United Nations" implies the undeniable bias of its decisions. Although the stone may not necessarily be thrown at the U.N. efforts, remaining impartial in a multicultural world is certainly difficult, if not impossible. As such, the globalization arena is an extremely complicated and dangerous place, inside which the "might makes right" rule still applies, and therefore needs strong counter-powers to achieve balance. In such a hostile environment, threats appear greater than comforts. Attempts to reach global equality should obviously be encouraged, yet its flaws and contradictions should be

clearly identified and openly debated, especially when so much political power is given to an organization. Facts unfortunately show that such transparency is very seldom achieved. Once the powerful unite to discuss matters of global importance, bias and conflict of interest will inevitably be cast upon future international regulations, which will have repercussions on several aspects of trans-national exchanges.

As soon as globalization stops being an uncontrollable phenomenon and starts serving a particular agenda, be it only partially, its fundamental nature changes: it is no longer a phenomenon; it becomes a move with a purpose. A natural phenomenon may not need to be judged by court, but deliberate human actions surely do. Responsibility for deliberate political moves cannot be mistaken for hazards of globalization (although they often are), and should be accounted for through a different grid of analysis. The separation of globalization and globalism was born from this idea. The latter is generally defined in the following terms:

Globalism is the operation or planning of economic and foreign policy on a global basis (New Oxford American Dictionary 2013).

Globalists are persons or organizations advocating or practicing operations across national divisions (Oxford UK English Dictionary 2013).

Globalism is the attitude or policy of placing the interests of the entire world above those of individual nations (Random House Dictionary 2013).

Globalism is a national policy of treating the whole world as a proper sphere for political influence (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2013). ²

² It should be noted that, at the time of this research, globalism is still a recent and controversial term that is neither found in many dictionaries nor encyclopedias. The definitions proposed here are the ones that seem to converge towards each other the most.

The "attitude or policy of placing the interests of the entire world above those of individual nations" may certainly originate from good will and sound like perfect theory until it turns into practice. It raises the following questions: Who should define what the interests of the entire world are, or should be? Should one nation, or one group of nations, have the legitimacy of deciding what those are for others? If, for instance, liberty and equality are among the interests of the entire world, how can one nation or institution enforce it upon others without interfering with those in the first place? Under which criteria can one nation prove that his/her definition is closer to the original meaning of liberty and equality than the definition of others, and justify enforcing political, economic or military action to restore balance between the two?

Providing satisfying answers to these questions may prove difficult. No such nation, or group of nations, should have legitimacy to enforce its own values or political views onto the world. Globalism cannot be legitimate unless the large majority, if not all nations genuinely representing the people of the world have agreed that it is, and have clearly defined what its actors can and cannot do. Until such agreement has taken place, "viewing the entire world as a proper sphere for one nation to project political influence," or "advocating operations across national divisions" is colonization in a white sheep costume. The Charter of the United Nations has nothing to do with such an agreement. No international organization or group of people shall have the right to claim to represent the will of all nations or people. Given the incredible diversity of cultures, mindsets, resources, geography, level of development, as well as the countless other characteristics

inherent to the populations of the world, a planetary agreement regarding the attribution of full power of action to one nation or group of nations seems impossible. History has shown that morale did not prevent such cases from happening, yet the ensuing conflicts and massacres proved the insanity of said moves. As soon as one nation starts operating outside of its own borders, the colonization process begins. Should the globalist ideology support these actions, it runs the risk of becoming a justification and smokescreen for imperialism.

Although it may be pleasingly phrased in the mouth of its advocates, the globalist mind frame may become violent and disrespectful toward cultural diversity. The quest of universalism may not always be an honest attempt to solve the world's local problems. But beyond issues of power and control, how do globalists advocate their approach? What kind of world and social structure is globalism's aiming at? A further look at specialized works on the subject, such as the ones of Galtung (1969-1985), Wallerstein (1982-2004) or Hillard (2004-2012) may provide more accurate definitions of those goals. For instance, globalism researcher Pierre Hillard, describes it as follows:

Globalism is more than an ideology; it is mysticism. It is a global spirituality that is essentially characterized by the will to subtract the political authority of nation states so as to replace it with the one of supranational bodies or entities, and to erase national borders in favor of a "world region" where humanity would exist as a kind of obliged global tribe, or in other terms, in the City of Man (Hillard 2007:6)³

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³ The term "City of Man" can be found in many globalist essays, including Guy Sorman's "The World is My Tribe" (1997). It symbolizes one of the ultimate goals of the globalist elite: to build a culturally undifferentiated human race within a giant nation, or city ruled by a unique government (Hillard 2007:6).

According to Hillard's definition, globalism reaches beyond the ideology concept mostly because it is, in essence, closer to spiritual dogma than to political strategy (Hillard 2007:7). His definition crosses over the abovementioned ones, but adds elements dealing with the consequences of interfering with sovereign states policies against their will via supranational bodies or entities which means, on the long term, to "erase national borders", and therefore local political power. Terms such as "world region", "global tribe" or "City of Man", convey the idea of a world without national borders, or in other words, culturally undifferentiated, interchangeable and nomadic (Hillard 2007:7).

Concepts such as human "unity" and "universalism" may certainly conjure up positive images in the minds of listeners. However, in order to truly benefit them, unity must be achieved by the free will of all parties. Forced cooperation can deprive a population of its political sovereignty, and therefore seriously impact the level of liberty of its population. Should human unity and universalism exist, it must be in mutual respect of everyone's territorial property, resources, culture and will. Cultural diversity can only exist within borders. An undifferentiated, interchangeable and nomadic world population may rather recall totalitarian regimes, or the kind of dystopian societies evocated by Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" (1932) or George Orwell's "1984" (1949). Behind the seducing mask of "universalism", globalism may actually hide a violent doctrine that negates cultural diversity and legitimates neocolonialism. The objectives of globalism will be discussed in detail in the following sections. For the time being, the analysis of globalism takes us away from the one of globalization. Because of such a difference,

analyzing globalization and globalism require different approaches.

The fundamental difference between notions of globalization and globalism lies in intent. The concept of globalization refers a phenomenon that includes both wanted and unwanted consequences of human development, while the concept of globalism refers to an ideology defined by consciously chosen goals. Actors that benefit from certain consequences of globalization may not only let it be; they are likely to push the agenda further as a deliberate political strategy. Should such an agenda sprout conflict of interest among nations but be pursued regardless, it can thus be defined as globalism: a form of structural violence that tramples national borders. In that sense, the ideology behind globalism is very close to the ones behind imperialism and colonialism, yet embraces a larger field of action. When used thereafter, the term "globalism" will therefore refer to the whole ideology, influence or actions that consciously and deliberately attempt to mold the world according to the interests of one nation, or one group of people, be it to the detriment of others.

While attempting to predict the future of globalization is a tedious task, globalist strategies are much more identifiable since they result of coordinated actions toward common goals. Coordinated actions produce facts. When analyzing such facts, it is possible to trace power trails back to their authors, and thus identify important people and groups of influence. These groups form social classes, which contribute to molding the overall global and national social structures. Analyzing the common interests of social groups can provide important clues about their true intentions and their role in globalism.

Global schemes create global structures with major centers and peripheries, in which actors take position according to their social status and personal interests, and attempt to influence the course of things via their reference group. Consequences of globalism therefore happen in all fields. Although it may prove impossible to embrace all the consequences of globalism in this research, the objective of the present research is to focus on the main power structures and institutions that currently compose the world's social systems, which are politics, economy, defense, religion, education, the media and culture. It will attempt to identify how the globalism mindset currently influences and molds each institution.

1.2 Defining Localism

The terminology of the word "localism" places it in direct opposition to globalism, and therefore implies that the former may have been coined in response to the latter. However, few sources actually confirm such connection (Moore 2013:Loc 11). Definitions generally focus on various ideologies giving priority to the local, such as supporting local production and consumption of goods, advocating local control of government, as well as several aspects dealing with the protection of traditional lifestyles, history, culture and identity (Hess 2009:50). Early conceptions of localism draw from the writings of 20th century philosophers such as Leopold Kohr (1941, 1957), Wendell Berry (1972) or E.F. Schumacher (1973), whose researches criticized the unitary state and sought greater levels of democracy and socialism through the decentralization and re-

localization of political power. However, it should be mentioned that definitions of localism are still often absent of dictionaries and encyclopedias, which may indicate that the use of the term to actually define the movement is rather recent. The definitions proposed hereafter therefore originate from recent localist researchers. From Western to Eastern modern scholars, relative consensus seems to emerge about the general objectives of the ideology, although variations may be found in depth and perspective. The following selection of definitions may hopefully help the reader grasp the essence of the concept, as it is currently perceived.

Localism is a social science category used to describe the range of industries and sectors in which there is action to promote the locally owned, independent sector of the economy. Localist movements include for-profit, privately held businesses; cooperatives and credit unions; local nonprofit organizations; community media and community finance; local farms, community gardens and food businesses; and local public enterprises such as municipal electricity distribution and generation (Hess 2012:1).⁴

Localism is an ideology that gives priority to preserving the particularity and originality of each region. In the localist mindset, protecting the land on which a community is established does not mean to retreat into one's shell, but to connect with the outside world while letting its roots grow deep into its own soil (Uchiyama 2012:104-105).

Localism grants each community the possibility to provide for its people by its own means. Localism is the will favor short economic processes and therefore to insure relative self-sufficiency, in order to enable populations to keep control over their own destiny (Ozon 2014b).

⁴ For Hess (2012:1), the boundaries of what is "local" are themselves defined locally, but generally the word refers to a city, metropolitan area, or the equivalent scale for a rural region.

All three definitions stand in clear opposition with the idea of centralized government, and advocate a return to political power owned at the local level.

However, American researcher David J. Hess (2009:50) warns not to mistake localism as a mere continuation of radical political thought, and claims that localist principles can be compatible with the whole spectrum of ideologies advocated by political parties of representative governments. He emphasizes both the right-wing affinity (i.e. in demanding more liberty for private business and less influence from central governments on co-sovereign states politics or local community life) and leftwing affinity of localism (i.e. in demanding political power decentralization, communalism and organizing local food networks). The localist mindset can therefore appeal to socialists, communalists, decentralists, liberals and neoliberals altogether, given that the questions it raises aren't subject to oversimplification. However, Hess (2009:52) criticizes the fact that most political parties today remain obsessed with the degree of participation of national governments in the economy, and therefore fail to envision parallel approaches and issues. This is why he also warns said "localist" initiatives not to focus too much on economic regionalism (i.e. to have government programs support small-business and local markets), and turn their attention toward more authentic political autonomy. Instead of focusing on the government-economy relationship, public concern should be drawn to the relationship between multinational corporations and society as a central unit in need of reform. According to Hess, the localist perspective cannot be understood fully using the current terminology of representative governments and

political parties, and calls for more simple concepts and vocabulary.

For Japanese localist Takashi Uchiyama (2012), the world's nations are currently torn between two opposite poles that are globalism and localism. Although several leftwing movements such as socialism or communism appear to position themselves as barriers to capitalism, the political regimes they have given birth to have also fallen into the trap of power centralization, and their governments are therefore part of a greater tendency toward globalism (Uchiyama 2012:104). Large nations such as the United States of America, Russia and China may seem to have fundamentally opposed ideologies, yet their economies are all regulated by capitalist and globalist notions, and are therefore all subjected to a similar kind of power centralization. However, such centralization affects large centers (such as cities) more rapidly and effectively than peripheries (the countryside and villages). The minority of people fully conscious of such phenomenon, and of the limits of current societies to sustain structural changes usually rally around the idea of localism. The evolution of the capitalist system and its expansion to the global scale has brought a new consciousness that reverting to more simple and sustainable lifestyles may not longer be considered a smart move, but an necessity for survival. For Uchiyama (2012), priority does not lie in fighting globalism, but in returning to locally rooted values in order to limit collateral damage.

For French localist Laurent Ozon (2014b), the best interest of populations remains to produce around them what people need in priority, for obvious social, political, economic, ecological or cultural reasons. Localism would stand as the pillar of economic decolonization, an indispensable condition to protect political sovereignty. In that sense,

localism would be close to protectionism, except that its implementation would come from local authorities instead of from a central government. It would be an effective way to favor local hiring and short economic processes, to support ecological quality objectives, sanitary protection, to restore democratic popular processes and balance in social inequalities, to invert the influx of immigrants and to rapidly establish peace in international relations. Above all, localist policies would help anticipate the economic and social destabilizations to come; which should be a priority given the current economic crisis situation. According to Ozon (2014a), three conditions must be met in order for populations to live under a unique political order: (1) Territory: to give each ethnical group its own territory, a legitimate social space where they can live by their own rules. (2) Unifying Principle: there must be an overall principle capable of unifying such a group. (3) Power: a political authority capable of insuring security within the territory, and to hold disparate elements together. According to Ozon (Ibid), localism allows priority to these three elements, while globalism is currently attempting to destroy them. The integrity of communities and cultures is therefore at risk under globalism, and calls for a transition toward more localist types of social management.

Although setting an exact date to the origin of the term "localism" may prove difficult, the American Federalist Papers of the 16th century seem to have been among the first to produce a written definition aiming at protecting local political power against the one of federal authorities (Moore 2013:Loc 25). In the historical context of the early American Federation, the growing expansion of centralized power overshadowing the

traditional focus on local commerce created a need to assert the supremacy of local institutions on paper. Accelerated globalization in the following centuries proved them right, further weakening the power of local entities to the profit of great centers, and further confirming the urge for an opposition ideology. Rallying the concepts of constitutionalism and subsidiarity, Mark Moore (2013), in his book "Localism: A Philosophy of Government" proposed a definition that clearly positions itself in response to globalism, following the philosophy of James Madison (1788) in the Federalist Papers.

Localism is the polar opposite of, and deadly enemy to, globalism. It is the friend of nationalism where the aim of national government is to protect the liberties and freedoms of its own citizens, and it is the enemy of nationalism where the aim of the national government is "national greatness." A Localist knows that the greatest nation is not that nation whose war machine is the most terrible, but rather that nation whose people are the most at liberty. Localism promotes social and community behavior where that philosophy called "socialism" has failed to do so. Localism is superior to libertarianism even in the goal of providing personal liberty. It is conservative in its skepticism of the government's ability to do good if only it were granted vast powers, but classically liberal in its concern for civil rights and respect for a variety of viewpoints. Localism does not claim to be able to produce a utopia through means of government. Rather it claims to be the best way to protect us from the delusions of madmen who think that utopian visions are even attainable through government action - if only they and their sort were given enough power over our lives of course. Localism does not even guarantee good government. It only guarantees choice of government. It is the free market acting within the framework of choice, which will produce good government. (Moore 2013:Loc 19-25)

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⁵ Subsidiarity is an organizing principle of decentralization, stating that a matter ought to be handled by the smallest, lowest, or least centralized authority capable of addressing that matter effectively. Central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks which cannot be performed effectively at a more immediate or local level. In political theory, subsidiarity is sometimes viewed as a principle entailed by the idea of federalism (Oxford English Dictionary 2013)

From Moore's perspective, political power should belong to the people at the local level, not to an elite or to any kind of centralized government. Having autonomous local entities enjoy total autonomy regarding how to manage their land is the complete opposite of having to take orders coming from a unitary state. It is therefore understandable that globalists reject the localist ideology in return, and often associate it with anarchism or libertarianism⁶ (sometimes righteously). However, localism is not always perceived in such a radical way. It can also refer to a preference for local institutions and businesses, and organizing society so that local and regional autonomy is maintained, while centralization of power is limited (Hess 2012:1). Other similar concepts exist, attempting to negotiate local supremacy to a limited extent, while still maintaining a global power structure. It is the case with regionalism, the decentralization movement or, more recently, "glocalism", which advocates a particular type of local adaptation management for regions while still following the policy of supra-regional or national authorities (Ayoub, Drac and Thibaud 2010:20).

Although all localist attempts originate from the same righteous will to secure political power balance, few have actually managed to affect the centralization of power in nations, and on the global scale. Nuances in definitions seem to account for the incapability of any localist movement to balance political power between the global and local, and may seem like attempts to compromise in front of an invincible enemy. However, the "localism" term itself has known a revival of interest in the second part of

⁶ Libertarianism is a set of related political philosophies that uphold freedom as the highest political end. This includes emphasis on the primacy of individual liberty, political freedom, and voluntary association. It is the antonym to authoritarianism (Encyclopedia Britannica 2013).

the 20th century, following the disenchantments of neoliberalism and the failure of governments to reduce economic and social inequalities. Modern localists call for a more radical approach, closer to what James Madison (1788) and Mark Moore (2013) were attempting to achieve.

Moore's vision is aligned with Japanese philosopher and early localism advocate Tetsuro Watsuji's (1931) who claims that societies, culture and mentalities are fundamentally linked to the natural environment in which they were born. ⁷ According to him, forcing one culture or mentality deemed as righteous by some onto any other human society would eventually be harmful to all. Uchiyama (2012:114) follows Watsuji's opinion, and adds that there can only be as many adequate mentalities as there are natural environments. For him, natural environments serve as signs of reference for human beings to understand and agree upon who they are and why they exist. Therefore, the same kind of environment is likely to generate the same kind of culture. Both authors believe this may be the explanation behind the similarities between the different Asian, Western, African or Middle-East culture, given the fact that they all share common geographical positions and therefore natural environments. For instance, Western culture may not fit Asian lifestyles because Western-type food, housing or clothing may not be adapted to local Asian environment. The localist mind frame and its approach to social

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⁷ Watsuji originally uses the world "Fûdo" (風土), which usually translates as "climate" in dictionaries. However, the English term fails to communicate the complexity of the Japanese concept, which embraces a larger range of criteria such as fauna and flora, agriculture and spiritual life. This is why it is often translated as "environment." (Uchiyama 2012:109-118).

management follows this logic: each community should be managed and ruled locally, because local inhabitants are the ones who are the most knowledgeable about their own natural environment, and therefore are the most able to decide what the most adequate lifestyle should be for themselves.

As a consequence, the localist and globalist approaches to social management appear fundamentally incompatible. One may temporarily exist within or outside the other, but the two cannot be combined, nor produce a sustainable form of social organization. The following analogy can be made: if society is a giant tree which branches expand in all kinds of directions (symbolizing free will and diversity), localism advocates that each branch of the tree should hold power of decision in deciding where and how to grow, while globalism advocates that all decisions should come from the trunk. However, a specialist at the local level may not be able to take full responsibility for his/her task and enjoy full freedom action while still having to obey orders from a higher authority. In order to be effective, true localism must lead to a model that leaves (almost) all political power in the hands of the people and to communities at the local level. Alternative or less radical strategies should therefore not be considered as genuine localism, but as compromises that aim at letting a certain degree of localism exist within globalism. This approach is often referred to as "glocalism."

Attempts have been made to turn localism into another form of global strategy applied at the local level. The "glocal" appellation and concept implies that the "global" and "local" can be combined, or more precisely that localism can exist within the global

system, as a subdivision of the global structure (Ayoub, Drac and Thibaud 2010:20). Although some are genuine attempts to empower localities, those do not reverse the negative spinoff effects of the global structure on local economies. Glocal monitoring subdivisions actually reduce the power of local institutions to resist orders coming from the top of the global structure, and submit them to the power of large corporations, central banks and supra-national authorities. Behind the "glocal" grid of analysis lurks a form of social control that leaves power in the hands of the globalist elite, while leaving lower classes and local communities dependent, and therefore, divided. The U.S. Federation and the European Union are good examples of such strategy, since they promote policies that encourage the regionalization of each state/country while actually weakening their borders, as mentioned in part 1.2.3, and through Hillard's works (2004, 2007). Glocal strategies reinforce the power of supra-national authorities by creating division among and between smaller entities, such as countries and communities, both at the administration and human level. Supra-national entities act as a smoke screen hiding the elite's interests and disabling communication among popular classes within as well as between nations, so as to prevent them from uniting. Non-radical localist strategies can be misleading, and as such, will not be subject to focus in the present research.

Localism proposes a different kind of universalism as compared to globalism, in the sense that it may be rooted anywhere, and present similarities in social organization in any part of the world. In the localist mind frame, local inhabitants may not be regarded as "citizens of the world" inhabiting a "global village", but rather as people of different cultures, countries and villages who have a rooted home, and who travel while respecting

the borders of others. In order to clearly define what can and what cannot be labeled as "localism", one needs to define the principles that separate it from those of globalism. The following extract summarizes what Moore (2013:Loc 158-178) refers to as the seven pillars of Localism. These principles will later act as a reference while observing practical cases.

- 1. To limit the role of the central government in regulating the activity of the cosovereign states which comprise it.
- 2. There must be checks and balances not only between the several branches within the central government, but the co-sovereign states, closer to the people, must also have means of checking and balancing the authority of the central government, including any regulatory agencies.
- 3. To promote decentralization and choice in the method of determining how candidates are to be elected, and avoid a two political party system.
- 4. To learn the lessons of history to avoid reiterating mistakes (i.e. judicial usurpation, abuse/expansion of the ability to regulate interstate commerce, trade agreements and/or environmental treaties, the role of artificial persons called corporations vs. real persons, the character of the standing military, debt and taxes, money and the system of banking, etc.).
- 5. To localize government education so that the power to shape young minds and character is dispersed.
- 6. Co-sovereign powers should also undergo checks and balances.

7. The co-sovereigns themselves should have the sole authority to determine who their citizens are. When the national government alone controls (or fails to control) immigration and citizenship, it controls the future beliefs, values and character of the nation.

Moore's first pillar clearly stresses how limited the role of the central government should be in a federation, in order to prevent power to converge toward it. The central institution should merely act as a subsidiary of the co-sovereign states, and its political power should remain lesser than the one of co-sovereign states individually. A government should not be able to interfere with the individual freedom of local inhabitants, unless, of course, those are undergoing a judiciary procedure.

The second and sixth pillars underline the importance of checking and balancing the actions of the entities in power. Conscious of the high corruptibility tendency of elected representatives, localists advocate the creation of numerous measures, borders and smaller control entities that will observe, judge and punish those in power, should conflict of interest issues arise in their mandate (Moore 2013:Loc 193). In that sense, the localist approach is reminding of the Athenian democracy model, in which several institutions are created to check on the authorities and force them to prove their loyalty to the people and the task they have been assigned (Hansen 1991:353). The Athenian democracy model took all possible means to prevent any elected representative to take advantage of any power given to them. Athenian politicians were, probably more than any other social group in history, judged, forced to give results, and comply the rules of

the social system, often risking condemnation or execution should the people weren't satisfied (Hansen 1991:354). Such a check and balance system, which is either non-existing or very limited in current representative governments, is inseparable from both democracy and localism.

The third and fourth pillars raises awareness regarding the dangers of a one or two national party system, as well as on the method of determining how candidates and representatives are designated. Athenian democrats did not believe in elections nor in political parties, as they knew those would lead to corruption and the formation of an elite in the long term (Hansen 1991:353) In order ensure that professionals are kept out of the political arena, relying on random drawing is a safer and more equal procedure. For instance, Moore (2013:Loc 469) proposes random drawing to determine from which state jurists are drawn, as well as a rotation of representatives. Athenian magistrates were drawn out of the population for only one year, and could not be reelected (Hansen 1991:351). Such measures prevent all continuity in the administration by constantly renewing the totality of a set of magistrates at the same time, and considerably limit possibilities of corruption on the long term. Both localism and democracy are designed to make both professional and political activities compatible and accessible for citizens.

The fifth pillar aims at keeping government implication as far away from education as possible. Moore (2013:Loc 1074) advocates that education is first and foremost the responsibility of the family, and that letting political power interfere with young minds prevents them from building strong social links with their peers. Instead, under capitalist regimes, school programs tend to mold the young to become a docile

labor force by imposing discipline early in life. Moore claims that education should be kept away from centralized power, and operate in direct cooperation with the family and at the local level exclusively.

The seventh pillar addresses borders issues, by reasserting that individual states under a federation should retain the power to decide who their citizens are, and who are not (Moore 2013:Loc 1239). National or supra-national government decisions should only concern the federal level, not decide of the policy of individual states or communities. This remark can also be applied to the relationship between local communities and a national government. It is interesting to notice that both Moore (2013:Loc 25) and Hansen (1991:21-23) refer to the early U.S. Federation (from the period of the Articles of the Confederation until the start of the civil war) and the Canton system of Switzerland as two of the best living examples of localism/democracy in history. Although localism and democracy are two different types of social management, it is interesting to notice the similarities in both approaches.

The complex issue of nationalism may now be addressed. For nations under the influence of supra-national authorities, nationalism is often proposed as a solution to globalism. It may help restore national supremacy, consolidate national borders, limit international economic influence and immigration, cut off dependency links with external central banks, restore preference for national currencies, etc. It is true that, from a purely globalist point of view, nationalism can be seen as a form of localism. Accepting the fact that supra-national entities now have acquired a dictatorial level of power over nations

calls for emancipation from their grip, until a readjustment of their power can be made. Nation-size societies certainly do seem too large for insuring a sustainable future for local communities, yet priority should be given to dealing with federal and supra-national threats before thinking about dismantling national ones. In order to prevent secession and uprising against central powers, modern globalist policies under the U.S. and E.U. federations have long been working on favoring national spirit over local one, weakening national armies⁸, discourage weapon property at the individual level, destroy family bonds through education, promote global religions instead of local ones, encourage large firms over local businesses, and discourage all form of horizontal solidarity at the local level.

Globalism has destroyed most of the symbolic roots of local societies and civilization, in favor of cosmopolitan liberalism (Vauclin 2013:16-17). As Pierre Hillard has argued, the final objective of global governance is to weaken both local and national borders in order to dilute national cohesion, and proceed to a regionalization (or fragmentation) of countries, as it has happened in the Balkans (Hillard 2007:51). Such a strategy would create a larger zone of smaller entities, which would be much easier to control by a centralized federal government. In that case, the power of such government should be seen as a greater threat than the power of national ones. It seems unlikely that globalism will not stop its regionalization conquest until it reaches a complete, world-

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⁸ It should be noted that, although many globalist policies attempt to weaken countries' military forces, few eliminate them totally. Military financing and number of men are limited on purpose so as not to represent a threat against supra-national forces. However, police forces (insuring order among the population) will usually be maintained and allowed a much higher budget.

scale power structure. Cutting off supra-national dependency through nationalist policies may stop such a process, but is very unlikely to happen. Looking at the evolution of the economic and social crisis in Europe and the United States of America, dangers of popular uprising are steadily growing, encouraged by the elite, as it would grant them further opportunity to apply martial law. For the sake of national unity, civil wars should be avoided at all cost.

Many European countries, such as Greece, Spain, Italy or France have already started to develop alternative means of exchange and practical localist solutions to cope with the lacks of national and supra-national responsibility. In the U.S.A, American survivalist movements have revived private defense education at the local level. Solutions seem to reside in rebuilding localist zones and communities within nations themselves. With exponential growth throughout the 20th century, the consciousness of the global threat has given birth to more ecovillages, transition towns and other intentional community movements than ever before in history. By re-establishing local rules on a local land, and managing it while ignoring national and supra-national regulations, several communities have managed to flourish and develop throughout the world, attracting curiosity, enthusiasm, criticism, skepticism, but above all a large and growing number of people, and functioning under true localist principles. These communities and their structures will be analyzed in detail in the next section, in order to understand which aspects draws them closer to the localism pillars, and further away from globalist principles.

Before moving on to analyzing practical cases of localism, it should be noted that, although one may certainly see potential in the theory, the term in itself should be handled with care. The "-ism" suffix often presupposes a rigid ideology that is neither compatible with practical crisis management nor true social design. Flexibility and openmindedness is essential to the academician in order not to be imprisoned in his own mind. One may see localism as a potentially interesting *approach* for designing social *models*, rather than a systematic *method* for designing social systems (Kitayama 2012). One may be ready to look through the doors opened by localism, without losing sight of ones' purposes and values. One should also remain aware that opposing localism to globalism may, in itself, be reductionist. Over-simplification of terms can be misleading, as it may sometimes imply less or more than what its users may actually envision. However, a certain amount of consensus around the meaning of these terms seems to have emerged internationally among scholars, which is a marker of the importance of both movements. One therefore needed specific words to address them, for the sake of conciseness. Thus said, the next parts will address the political, economic, religious, defense, educative and cultural aspects of both globalism and localism, while referring to both movements under the above-mentioned terminology.

PART II: POLITICS

2.1 Political Structure Transition from Imperialism to Globalism

2.1.1 Galtung's structural theory of imperialism

If globalism justifies "treating the whole world as a proper sphere for political influence", it can be associated with imperialism. In order to fully understand the kind of influence globalism can have on political structures, social structures should first be analyzed as they appear within and between nations under modern imperialism. Several dependency theorists of the 1970s such as Galtung (1971) and Wallerstein (1976) have attempted the analysis of the imperialist matrix in both its traditional and modern forms. In his works, peace researcher Johan Galtung (1971:437) does not define imperialism as a type of society or community in itself, but as structural changes that follow the will of a nation to expand its power and influence outside its original borders. Imperialism would be a form of political domination that builds dependency relations between collectivities, and particularly between nations. Galtung defines imperialism as follows.

Imperialism is a system that splits up collectivities and relates some of the parts to each other in relations of harmony of interest, and other parts in relations of disharmony of interest, or conflict of interest (Galtung 1971:438).

There is conflict, or disharmony of interest, if the two parties are coupled together in such a way that the Living Condition gap between them is increasing, and there is no conflict, or harmony of interest, if the two parties are coupled together in such a way that the Living Condition gap between them is decreasing down to zero" (Ibid).

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⁹ Imperialism is a policy of extending a country's power and influence through diplomacy or military force (New Oxford American Dictionary 2013).

Conflict of interest between pressure groups naturally develops within most nations, and generally splits up communities into two distinct parts that Galtung respectively refers to as "Centers" (where the elite, governments and centers of decisions are located) and "Peripheries" (where the rest of the population is located). Access to means of satisfying the collective interests and values of the nation is then distributed in an unequal way (more for the elite, less for the people), leading to numerous dysfunctions and conflicts between governments and populations. Such an analysis obviously relates to Marx and Engels' (1848) class conflict's theory, in which Centers and Peripheries are observed in terms of social classes.

Imperialism starts when one nation's Center decides to interact with the one of another nation. The interaction is usually engaged with a less politically structured or economically weaker country, in which the imperialist country then takes a dominant position, reproducing the same kind of dichotomy-based relationship than with the Periphery inside its own borders. According to Galtung, the Center/Periphery relationship therefore also exists between countries, creating Center and Periphery nations. The nation with the highest level of development that initiates and has authority over the interaction is called the Center nation, or "Mother country." Decision centers will tend to be located there rather than in Periphery nations, which will create a power gap in all areas of interaction, namely economic, political, military, communicational and cultural. This will also lead to unequal distribution of labor, as Periphery nations will be more expected to

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¹⁰ Throughout this research, the first letters of those terms will be capitalized whenever they refer to Galtung's concepts of Centers and Peripheries.

provide manufacturing labor, while Center nations will provide decisions. As Galtung states, once this kind of interaction has been established, it is very hard for the Periphery nation to modify its terms, or even leave the interaction completely.

In an imperialist structure, any decision or idea produced by the Center country acquires a certain "aura of legitimacy" and becomes the model to imitate on the perspective of the Periphery (Galtung 1971:454). The degree of legitimacy of leaders and decisions therefore emanates from their geographical origin rather than from their quality or relevance. The countless implications of the interaction with the Periphery country (i.e. creation of new jobs, institutions, buildings, infrastructures, etc.) also generate several spin-off effects that reinforce dependency toward the Mother country. However, the interaction being primarily designed to benefit the Center, it does not improve the situation of the Periphery as fast and sustainably, and the gap between the two tends to remain, and in some cases, broaden. In order to evaluate the degree of conflict of interest between Centers and Peripheries, Galtung defines the concept of Living Condition (hereafter referred to as L.C.) as something that can be measured by indicators such as income, standard of living, quality of life and autonomy.¹¹

Once conflict of interest has appeared between two social groups, activities from both parties tend to maintain and reinforce it. A situation in which there is inequality between Center and Periphery from the start is therefore more likely to produce

¹¹ Although measuring these factors with precision may be a tedious task, Galtung argues that this is not as important as the overall presence of L.C. gap. He also points out conditions in order for his definition to be valid: both countries must be interacting, and the L.C. evaluation must take place on parties, not on actors (as those can move in and out of the parties with time), etc.

interaction in which equality is maintained, than to raise the L.C. of the Periphery to the same level as the Center's. The gap in L.C. is often both the cause and consequence of the split between Centers and Peripheries. On the long term, the conflict of interest between Centers and Peripheries leads to social chaos or revolutions, as both parties pursue incompatible goals. What structural mechanism can maintain such a gap? In "Structural Theory of Imperialism," Galtung (1971:441) illustrates the Center/Periphery relationship through a diagram, shown in figure 1.

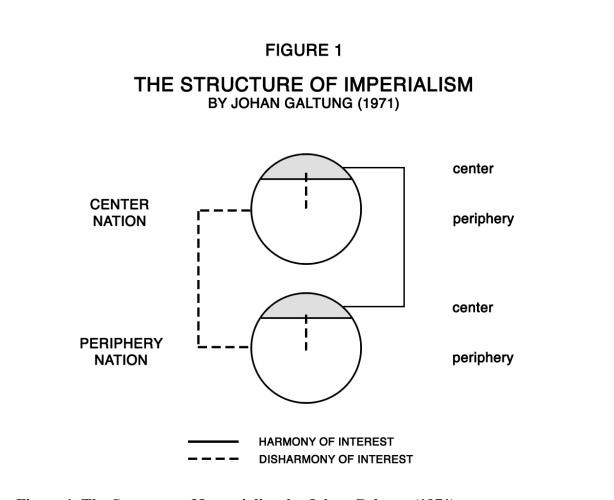


Figure 1. The Structure of Imperialism by Johan Galtung (1971)

Galtung takes the example of a two-nation world, where the first nation (called Center nation) holds power over the second one (called Periphery nation). He then defines imperialism as a relation between the two so that:

- 1. There is harmony of interest between the center in the Center nation and the center in the Periphery nation.
- 2. There is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Center nation.
- 3. There is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the Center nation and the periphery in the Periphery nation.

When engaging the relationship, the center in the Center nation will primarily negotiate with the center in the Periphery nation. Under representative governments, little or no participation is required from populations. Because of the power they hold over their respective peripheries, the harmony of interest shared by both Centers brings them to work together, and thus form a separate social stratus above both nations. A network of small elite groups therefore develops, and their bond with each other usually grows much tighter than the one they share with their own Peripheries. This center-center social group develops into an elite class enjoying political power that eventually stands above standard

citizen status in both nations.¹² The L.C. gap between centers and peripheries therefore tends to remain constant.

Galtung (1971) also notices that in most imperialist relations, there is more disharmony of interest within the Periphery nation than within the Center nation. This means that the Periphery country suffers from more inequality than the Center one. Even in the case of resources redistribution by the Center, certain L.C. aspects may be subject to improvement (i.e. incomes, access to food or medications, etc.), but the gap between Center and Periphery will remain, and the people will rarely granted more political power. In the end, the interaction with the Center nation is much more in the interest of the Periphery nation's center than in the one of its periphery.

Conflict of interest also relates to a conflict in goals. One government may use its power to increase its own L.C. more than the one of the rest of the nation, i.e. by accepting financial compensation for allowing policies that are in the interest of external actors, but not in the interest of the local population. According to Galtung (1971:439), this would be enough to declare a government as illegitimate under self-proclaimed democracies. Unfortunately, access to evidence to evaluate the nature of the L.C. gap or the actual increase in disharmony of interest in such cases often proves difficult. Legal procedures against incriminated government officials can often be tedious, because of the political immunity that those often receive. With time, Centers and vertical political

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¹² Galtung largely bases this analysis on Lenin (1969:139), himself borrowing from Marx and Engels' conceptions of imperialism and idea of a labor aristocracy (1971:442).

structures tend to become increasingly protective of their officials, and the turnover of actors moving in and out of it may prevent observers from pointing out exactly what went wrong, and who is actually responsible for abuse. In other cases, both parties' L.C. may increase together, while the gap between them remains constant. Should no effort be made to bring both parties to the same level, the disharmony of interest level will thus tend to stagnate. Finally, degrees in harmony and disharmony of interest (strong or weak), as well as time and speed should also be taken into account while evaluating L.C.

Narrow/wide, as well as decreasing/increasing gaps in interest should also be distinguished. As a value premise for equality, Galtung (Ibid) claims that "an interaction relation and structure set up so that inequality is the result is seen as a coupling not in the interest of the weaker party." However, the weaker party may not always be in position to refuse or end the interaction. Peripheries may realize their alienation only after years of interaction, and the structure may have become so solid that they are unable to dismantle it.

One should be aware that harmony of interest does not necessarily mean equal relationship. A strong power hierarchy still exists between and within centers. In the case of a two-nation world, as in figure 1, the second center is still under the control of the first one. Once conflict of interest has appeared between two social groups, activities from both parties contribute to maintain and reinforce it. A situation in which there is inequality between Center and Periphery from the start is more likely produce an interaction where that equality is maintained, than to improve the L.C. level of the

Periphery. The gap in L.C. is often both the cause and consequence of the split between Centers and Peripheries. In theory, strengthening the economy of Periphery countries should result in a reduced gap of L.C. with their Mother countries. Desire for emancipation, autonomy or economic decolonization drives the hopes of many thirdworld countries.

However, the economic superiority of Mother countries maintains vertical interaction with Periphery ones, following a vicious logic. It is extremely difficult for Periphery nations to obtain total autonomy from the imperialist structure, as the core link of the structure is maintained today by the Center's banks, Center political structures and associated multinational firms, strengthening their grip both on foreign countries and on their own Peripheries (i.e. Africa, U.K./India, France/North-Africa, North America/South America, Japan/Korea, etc.). The gap in processing, means of production, raw materials and markets often prevents Peripheries to emancipate over short periods of time. There is often a gap in the benefit that one gets out of the other, due to several factors. In order to measure these factors, Galtung (ibid) distinguishes inter-actor effects (the value-exchange between the actors), and intra-actor effects (the effects inside the actors). Inter-actor effects refer to the flow of materials and services between the actors, in other words, what is coming in and out of them. Those can be measured at their point of entry and exit. Intra-actor effects are the changes brought within the actors as a result of the interaction. By observing both movements, it appears clearly that some countries benefit much more from the interaction than others.

Referring to Ricardo (1817)'s theory of comparative advantages, Galtung (1971:446) argues that countries have complementary resources (oil, food, raw materials, etc.) and skills (craftsmanship, engineering, etc.) pushing them to engage in exchange with each other. These interactions and exchanges tend to greatly improve both countries' economic and social conditions, which in turn will influence their overall development. However, exchanges under the imperialist logic do not bring only advantages to the involved parties. International trade induces several spin-off effects that are not always officially registered or accounted when evaluating the interest of countries have in interacting. Even in the case of fair trade, those can actually broaden the L.C. gap between countries instead of narrowing it. Spin-off effects can be either positive or negative. They might not be so obvious, and even unstated in the terms of the contract between the parties. But their effect and consequences will become more obvious on the long term as countries develop. For instance, extracting raw materials from a developing country may have positive economic consequences for both parties, but creates global pollution and local labor exploitation.

When negotiation occurs, these negative effects may not be taken into account by the parties, or be regarded as "unavoidable" aspects of the trade, yet they can have devastating effects on the exploited countries in the long term. On the one hand, the inward flow or materials and services to the developed country may produce several benefits on the long-term, such as new means of production (and destruction), reinforcement of authority position toward the periphery country, new means of communication, broadened knowledge and fields of research, specialization of staff in

production, scientists and engineers, new business opportunities and overall an improved level of self-reliance and autonomy. On the other hand, the exploited country won't see much of its industry develop, will have its periphery position and military dependency reinforced, outdated transportation or communication structures, few knowledge on how to exploit their own resources and possibilities, and may not be able to develop skill specialization, social welfare or education (Galtung 1971:447). Overall, the periphery nation will be reduced to provide materials only, which won't help improve its L.C. quality and even reinforce its dependency position toward the center nation.

It must also be stated that providing capital for organizing the extraction of raw material requires much less effort than the extraction itself. This is especially true for countries that are home to the world central banks and can print internationally used currencies. The manufactured goods resulting from delocalized production will often be targeted at highly developed countries' market at a high price, out of reach for the L.C. of the producing country. The vertical relation existing between nations forces the periphery ones into the interaction, irrespective of the negative interest the latter may have in it. This will, in turn, reinforce world inequalities as well as the supremacy position of imperialist nations and their dominion over periphery ones. This is why Center nations are so prone to provide loans and large amounts of money to developing countries, in order to bind them into this dependency relation. Intra-actors effects and spin-off effects resulting from the interaction, although very seldom claimed as such, are the real purpose of vertical relations between nations.

Theorizing the notion of conflict of interest between Center and Periphery nations may cast light on the way power gaps between the two tend to be maintained, yet does not explain why communication and exchanges are prevented between peripheries. Along with the Center/Periphery dichotomy, Galtung distinguishes another fundamental mechanism that maintains inequality in power distribution and exchange regulation: the feudal structure. Galtung (1971:450) illustrates this feudal structure in figure 2.¹³

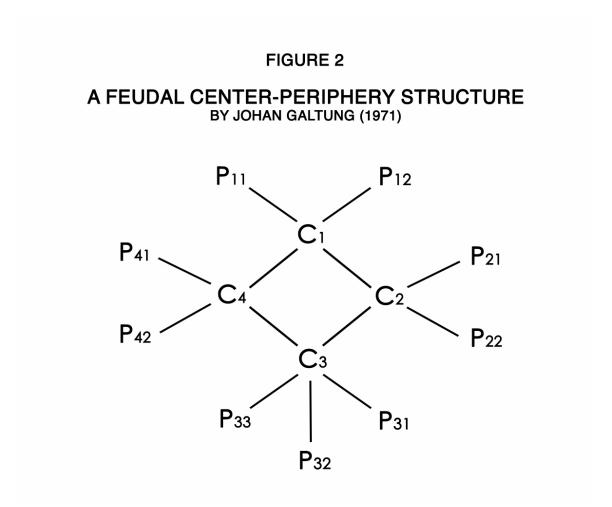


Figure 2. A Feudal Center-Periphery Structure by Johan Galtung (1971)

¹³ This diagram is obviously an arbitrary example of the simplest kind of feudal structure that may exist. The number of Centers, as well as Periphery attached to any given Center nation can vary. There can also be Centers within (or above) the Centers working in the same fashion.

Galtung (1971:450) describes the feudal center-periphery structure by four distinct rules.

- 1. Interaction between Center and Periphery is vertical.
- 2. Interaction between Periphery and Periphery is missing.
- 3. Multilateral interaction involving all three is missing.
- 4. Interaction with the outside world is monopolized by the Center, with two implications:
 - a) Periphery interaction with other Center nations is missing.
 - b) Center as well as Periphery interaction with Periphery nations belonging to other
 Center nations is missing.

The figure clearly shows that trade relations concentrate on Centers, as each Periphery is being forced to handle most of its trade with its own Center. Centers maintain their key position by negotiating and/or associating with other Centers. Galtung illustrates this by the saying: "if you stay off my satellites, I will stay off yours" (Galtung 1971:450). Centers obviously have interest to protect their own privileged bonds with their Peripheries. This feudal center-periphery structure brings about the same kind of interaction monopoly in communities smaller than countries. The subordination implied by such a structure may remind one of how medieval local landlords ruled over regions or prefectures, themselves having to report to local landlords, king or states. Even in the nation age, feudal power structures still prevail, and greatly benefit imperialism. The

previously mentioned vertical relations can be defined as follows.

Vertical interaction between Center and Periphery points at the same kind of dependency and power concentration previously analyzed. Periphery countries usually have fewer commodities or primary products to export to the Center, and those are often unevenly distributed between regions. This prevents such regions from becoming autonomous, and forces them to trade with the Center for refined consumer goods, coming from higher up in the structure. The higher they climb within the hierarchy, the more harmony of interest power holders develop. Such closeness is what gives birth to class-consciousness.

The missing horizontal interaction between Peripheries is one of the key mechanisms of the feudal structure. By "cutting off" (discouraging or forbidding) horizontal relations between peripheries, Centers ensure that most of the trade, exchanges and communication transit through them. The flow of wealth therefore always travels upwards in the structure. With every passage through intersections (Centers), products are identified, taxed, registered and redirected by local centers to their desired destinations. Monopolizing the roads of human trade and occupying the role of intermediaries to collect wealth at its intersections is the goal of the feudal structure. Center knots in the structure are what shifts the exchange interaction from horizontal to vertical.

As a result of trade monopoly and priority given to vertical interaction, multilateral interaction is obviously missing, and no Center effort is made to encourage it. This is, in many cases, voluntary, and can take place through many strategies such as exclusivity contracts for the resource exploitation of Peripheries' resources. Trade monopoly reduces multilateralism by creating hierarchy among actors of the trade, and by always having the closest center represent the only connection to the whole network, or in other words, the outside world.

Replacing such feudal structure inside a greater one, the point of contact between one society and the outside world (or other structures) is always monopolized by Centers. Those are the intersections of all interaction between all actors, internal and external alike. This implies several things. First, the relationship between periphery and other center nations is missing, meaning that it is hard for peripheries to understand their place and role in the overall structure. Such a structure may be found to have a blinding "smokescreen" effect, aimed at reducing consciousness of the network structure and prevent empowerment at the local level. However, Peripheries are not the only ones who suffer from the smokescreen. Centers that are located lower in the structure cannot interact with other Peripheries than the ones they have been assigned to. This means that intermediate Centers are also excluded from external interaction with other structures. This leads to the realization that there is gradation in the level of power control that is not limited to Peripheries, but also applies to Centers. The degree of power, wealth and liberty that actors enjoy depends on how high they are located in the feudal structure. In

the end it is always the highest Center(s) who hold(s) the privilege to communicate with the external world. Feudal networks create a gigantic pyramid structure, with countless Peripheries at the bottom, and a unique Center at its top.

Periphery populations are usually geographically, politically, economically, religiously and culturally set apart from each other. As a result, their values and perspectives over how to manage their own countries may differ, yet their situations in regard to imperialist and feudal structures may show similarities. By realizing this, they could consciously unite against the governments and supranational bodies that oppress them, and revert the power relation in their favor. However, the information populations would need to build their own vision of the world is, in most cases, monitored by national mainstream media, which has interest in maintaining the illusion of disharmony of interest between countries. Careful information filtering, supported by several theories such as Samuel P. Huntington (1993)'s "Clash of Civilizations," contributes to maintain fear and ignorance between periphery populations. Although those may sometimes benefit greatly from uniting against Centers, information control prevents international class-consciousness, and therefore collaboration from developing. As Galtung states: "Within the Center the two parties may be opposed to each other. But in the total game, the periphery see themselves more as the partners of the center in the Center than as the partners of the periphery in the Periphery – and this is the essential trick of the game" (Galtung 1971:442). The imperialist interaction brings centers close to each other and peripheries apart, and centers must always retain a privileged relation with their own

periphery. This allows them control of communication and information networks, which mean political power.

However, in many cases, a high L.C. gap between centers and peripheries leads to civil resistance. In such situations, identifying the common enemy (the Center class, or elite) might develop solidarity among Peripheries. The usual response of Centers is to progressively reduce civilian rights and means of actions among middle-classes. This is why, when confined, civil resistance tends to reinforce structural violence on the long term. However, recent international events have shown that this does not always prove effective. For instance, the 2011 American "Occupy Wall Street" movement spread to a large number of other countries in solidarity has proved that Peripheries of the world may share a certain amount of class consciousness, and be ready to stand for each other against their mutual Centers (Mattathias 2011). The Internet may have played an important role in such a shift.

It can be understood that conscious preference for maintaining a feudal structure is simply another expression of the "divide to rule" strategy, enforced by Centers onto Peripheries. The goal of feudal structures are to isolate Periphery parts from each other (geographically, politically, economically etc.) so as to prevent any alliance or collaboration (horizontal relations) between them, and to ensure that trade with their affiliate Center remains their only, or primary means of exchange (vertical relation). Feudal structures force all money, attention and power to flow along the vertical lines converging toward the top Center. Keeping in mind that the feudal structure does not

only exist between nations but also within nations, it can be understood that vertical interaction does not only define relations between nations, but also defines all types of interaction within it. The two levels of interaction are closely linked to each other.

Because of its powerful grip on every level of society, well-organized imperialist and feudal structures may not even need weapons or fear to regulate themselves: the structural violence it generates is enough. As Galtung argues:

We see vertical interaction as the major source of the inequality of this world, whether it takes the form of looting, of highly unequal exchange, or highly differential spin-off effects due to processing gaps (Galtung 1971:449).

It may well be argued that vertical relations dominate interaction in modern capitalistic societies. This may not only be the case in relations between Center and Periphery countries, but can be observed within all stratus of the social bodies. Vertical relations generate hierarchy. They are often defined by an individual's working position: to work is to engage in a vertical relationship, which implies a certain degree of serfdom.

Galtung's structural approach of imperialism helps one understand how structural violence functions, and why Center/Periphery dichotomies or feudal structures have been increasingly reinforcing at the global level instead of weakening over the last centuries.

Centers, Peripheries, conflicts of interest, L.C. gaps and feudal structures are all intertwined, and as such, often rise and fall together. Throughout this research, frequent reference will be made to Galtung's notions. However, other concepts are also necessary in order to fully understand how the globalist mindset can influence social structures. The

following questions need to be addressed: How broad are the networks spread by feudal structures? Where are the top Centers of the world, and how do they interact with each other?

2.1.2 Wallerstein's world-system theory

The theory of world-systems, mostly attributed to Immanuel Wallerstein (1976) expands Galtung's theory of imperialism by broadening its field of analysis to bodies larger than nations. According to Wallerstein, dependency of Peripheries toward Centers cannot be fully explained by limiting one's observation to nation-states. He therefore proposes to take larger entities he calls "worlds" as the new basis for sociological analysis. These "worlds" generate their own social systems, which he calls "worldsystems." He defines world-systems as follows.

A world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that it has a life-span over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others. Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal (Wallerstein 1976:229).

A world-system is therefore characterized by the fact that it is similar to an autonomous, self-contained world, which dynamics are mostly internal, although it can be (and is generally) influenced by external forces. Wallerstein (1976:300) argues that not all

collectivities (i.e. nations, communities or tribes) are world-systems, as they do not all constitute complete, self-regulating autonomous systems. Among the ones that do, he distinguishes two kinds of world-systems: world-empires and world economies. World-empires are characterized by a single Center (government or political system) ruling over a given area, while world-economies are characterized by a single economic system that regulates all exchanges on a given area. Although Wallerstein recognizes several examples of world-empires (i.e. the Roman empire, the British empire, etc.), he sees capitalism as the only type of world-economy that was able to survive independently of other systems until today. He argues that the adaptability and cosmopolitan nature of capitalism is probably the criteria that enabled it to integrate and dominate so many different cultures and political systems over such a long period.

In a similar way to Galtung, Wallerstein sees capitalism as a tool for imperialism to further extend economic and political power over areas larger than nation-states, which therefore expand its structure. However, rather than seeing Center nations imposing their will on several others (which would imply that Centers would never move), he rather sees large systems in which the role of nations changes over time (i.e. Center nations can become Periphery ones and vice versa) while the world-system of which they are part remains. According to Wallerstein's theory, the world countries can be divided into three main groups: core countries, semi-periphery countries, and periphery countries. They can be seen on figure 3 (Brewer, Dunn and Kawana 2000).¹⁴

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¹⁴ This map has been released into the public domain by its authors Christopher Chase-Dunn, Yukio Kawano and Benjamin Brewer (2000). An appendix of the country list on which this figure

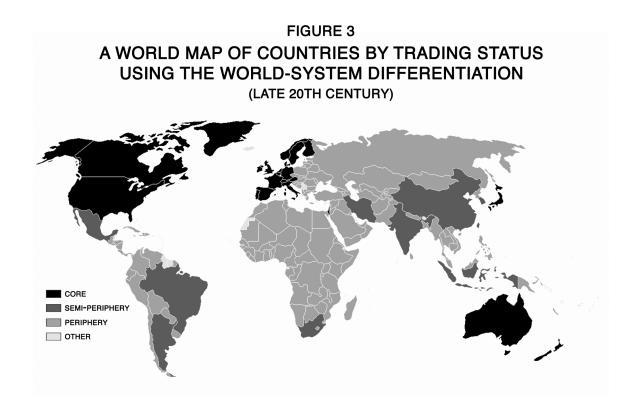


Figure 3. A World Map of Countries by Trading Status Using the World-System

Differentiation (Late 20th Century)

The core area is composed of nations that benefit the most from national and international trade surplus, and overall, from the world capitalist economy. North America, Northwestern Europe and Australia currently constitute the core of international trade, and as such, place its respective nations play the role of Centers of the global world-system. At the time of this research, North America and the U.K, and to a lesser extent,

has been based can be found via the following link:

http://www.irows.ucr.edu/cd/appendices/asr00/asr00app.htm#Table%20A2.

The "other" category refers to countries with a population of less than one million, which were excluded from the analysis.

Germany, France and Japan can be viewed as the world's Center nations. They share the particularity of having strong central governments, bureaucracies and military forces. Such structures enabled higher social classes to retain privileged access to control positions, and therefore to the management and benefits of capital surplus, turning them into main economic actors on the international scene. On the other hand, rural populations and agricultural collectivities suffered from the demands of the industrial revolution, replacing traditional family enterprises by high-technology-based and tradeoriented independent farmers, financially supported by large corporations. The shift from local feudalist structures to the international capitalist world-economy created a rural exodus of landless farmers, who moved to the city in order to earn a living. The exponential number of people deprived of a land of their own generated armies of wage earners, which became the labor forces of the growing national industries. Through delocalization, large national companies relocated their forces abroad to seek cheaper labor, leaving the middle-class national workers with less means to sustain their comfortable lifestyles. Over time, delocalization and progressive inflation brought the death of the middle-classes. Peripheries in core countries currently suffer from high unemployment rates and severely decreasing purchasing power (however to a lesser extent than Periphery or Semi-Periphery countries). On the other hand, higher classes in the centers of core countries enjoy more political, economic and social power than ever before. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as bipolarization.

Semi-peripheral zones are generally composed of Core regions in decline or developing Periphery countries catching up with the Core. Semi-periphery nations play the role of political and economic intermediates between Core and Periphery nations. They include Mexico, Brazil and Argentina, South Africa, Iran, India, China and certain Oceania countries such as Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. Such countries do not enjoy as much access to high technology and manufacturing goods, and are economically weaker than Core countries in terms of trade power. However, they retain a certain amount of political power thanks to secondary sector activities and land exploitation (i.e. sharecropping from local landowners), which give them privileged relations with the Core. They are often in Periphery position toward Core nations, but can also play the role of Core for other Periphery regions.

The Periphery area is composed of nations with weak governments, or states that are under the administration of other states. In most cases, Core nations have exploited most of the resources, capital and labor surplus originally present on these lands, often through unfair trade relations. Goods and resources produced on these lands have long been, and in most cases, are still designed for capitalist Center markets, to the detriment of local ones. As a result, the needs of Periphery zones was not fulfilled, and hardly contributed to reduce their L.C. gap with Core nations. Latin America, Africa, the Middle-East countries, Eastern Europe, Russia¹⁵ and a large part of Oceania fall under this category. The colonization of Latin America by the Spanish and Portuguese empires dismantled local communities and social structures, remolded local enterprises for cheap labor and resource exportation, and put European bureaucracies at their heads. In Africa,

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 $^{^{15}}$ Russia's case is particular, as its high degree of autonomy almost makes it fall under the "other" category.

slavery, mine labor and cheap raw-material extraction from Core imperialist countries destroyed most of the land, rendered the lower classes dependent on wages and prevented any sustainable form of legitimate government structure to emerge. Several Eastern Europe countries, especially Poland, were forced to submit to the authority of Western governments, and subsequently became Europe's primary exporters of wheat. The elite put in place by Core nations to the command of Periphery ones however grew wealthy, which further strengthen the grip of the capitalized world over its satellites.

The "other" category concerns countries that somehow have kept a certain degree of economic and political autonomy from the capitalist world-economy as well as from imperialism. It includes countries such as Guyana and Suriname, Serbia or Russia.

Although nations can move upward or downward within the world-system's global hierarchy, the balance of power and inequality between them tend to remain. This is especially true of the L.C. gap between Centers and Peripheries, as Galtung's structural theory had shown. Wallerstein, like Marx and Galtung, sees division of labor as the cause of the creation of Cores and Peripheries, and as such, of structural inequality (Goldfrank 2000). Although geographically and culturally different, countries separate into two zones, one labor-intensive and the other capital-intensive, the latter sustainably enriching itself to the expense of the former. Wallerstein (1976:301) justifies this constant by arguing that "since a capitalist world-economy essentially rewards accumulated capital, including human capital, at a higher rate than "raw" labor power, the geographic unequal distribution of these occupational skills involves a strong trend toward self-maintenance."

Because economic actors can operate on the global scale, it is hard for governments or Centers to operate total control over them. International trade organizations are generally created by the very entities that control most of the market shares, therefore benefitting the already powerful rather than smaller and weaker local businesses. Capital owners therefore enjoy a large amount of freedom regarding delocalization procedures, and the negative impact it can have on Semi-Periphery and Periphery countries can be seen as a continuation of neo-colonization. This is also the reason behind the chairs of international organizations' common support toward liberalist political ideologies, to ensure that their privileges be maintained.

Overall, in Wallerstein's perspective, center nations currently play a limited role in the global political struggle as opposed to large corporate groups, international trade organizations or international banking, representing the real political power of the Core (Robinson 2011:17). Political or economic events can no longer be explained by the observation of the global interaction of nations alone. Imperialism is now a phenomenon to be observed from a global perspective: one in which governments, corporations and international organizations are simply pawns of a broader game that are all taken into account by powerful capital owners. Center/Periphery dichotomies, feudal power structures and world-systems can be generated by other more powerful groups of influence. Such global entities are currently "treating the whole world as a proper sphere for political influence," as previously suggested on regard of nations (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2013). The exponentially growing speed of globalization has accelerated power concentration on the global scale, changing the rules of the game and leading to a

global class conflict (Martinez-Vela 2001). This raises questions toward understanding exactly what groups and entities currently represent global political power.

Although Galtung and Wallerstein's theories remain pertinent on many aspects, the analysis of the global geopolitical structure remains incomplete without taking in account the decisive role of the largest owners of means of production, or the global elite. The end of the 20th century witnessed the progressive death of the middle class in Center countries, due to prolonged economic crisis. The industrial revolution brought populations in developed countries to unprecedented levels of wealth and education, and therefore political consciousness. This also consolidated class-consciousness, leading to increased political criticism toward the upper classes and a popular will to reduce economic inequalities. However, the middle class saw its financial power decrease substantially through the generalization of the income system, and its vulnerability to economic fluctuations (Clouscard 1996:78). Tax increase and the establishment of national debt toward central banks further impoverished the new bourgeoisie, which witnessed its purchasing power drastically decrease over time.

At the dawn of the 21st century, the succession of economic crisis contributes to homogenize the middle classes toward the bottom, forming a large lower class. This loss of social power results in a bipolarized society, evolving toward 99 percent of working poor on one side and 1 percent of wealthy elite on the other (Schwartz 2011). From this perspective, the L.C. gap between populations and their Center(s) in developed countries is becoming increasingly similar to the one in developing countries. On the other hand,

the global elite formed an increasingly visible "center above centers" composed of capital and resources owners. This international elite class could be described as a nomad group, which development has been encouraged by the great mobility of actors allowed between Centers. Although the latter often claim to be representative figures of countries, they are actually representative of their own Centers, and therefore generate smore disharmony of interest than before inside nations. This trend is particularly visible in federations such as the U.S. or E.U, in which political power is being increasingly concentrated toward central governments, while the levels of mass poverty keep growing (Moore 2013:Loc 52).

This consensus between all Centers to continually build larger blocks of nations hints at a will to unify and homogenize all forms of human behavior and living conditions under one government, economic system, religion and culture regardless of consequences on both local and global environment. Such an ideology may no longer be referred to as imperialism, since it follows the will of a social group that does not belong to one country in particular, but to a nomadic social class that stands above borders and governments. The term "globalism" may therefore be more adequate, as it applies to any will to unify the world under the power of a unique center, irrespective of its location or of the nationality of its actors. Unfortunately, as the number of people among which global power is shared decreases, chances that conflict of interest arises between them and the populations they are supposed to represent increase.

Far from providing equality and evenness within its network of countries, the globalist approach may actually expand and strengthen the inequalities inherent to the

regimes already existing within countries, and widen the gap between nations' governments and their populations, as it is currently happening inside the European Union (Gendre et al. 2014). Forced to submit to the authority of private banking institutions and international finance, joining global economic structures also makes countries more dependent on federal central banks, which further tends to centralize economic power. Having gained too much power over too large territories, globalism may appear as a dystopian mysticism, yet its power structure is real and may currently represent the most advanced type of plutocracy created in human history. The next section will attempt to understand how the imperialist vision has evolved into a global one, and analyze the transition of political structures toward globalism.

2.1.3 Structural transition toward globalism

Following Wallerstein's theory, there has been an ongoing debate among dependency theorists to know whether there has been a single one World System, or if several world-systems have been interacting with each other. Several entities definable as world-systems have certainly existed, battled, merged or replaced each other until present times. Several studies have also analyzed them as smaller parts of a unique, global organism. However, the analysis of power relations raises the question to know whether and why international policies are pushed in that direction rather than any other.

The centralization of wealth and resources toward the highest social classes, representing the great Centers of the world has increased inequalities over time, creating

severe bipolarization. Through the development of private banking, powerful bourgeois families were able to accumulate capital through generations, protecting and passing it on along bloodlines, thus ensuring that true political power remained among a very limited amount of people. Since the early 20th century, the increasing involvement of private banking in national economics gave capital owners important political power over the nations of the world. Several sociologists such as Antony Sutton (1974), Michel Clouscard (1996), Pierre Hillard (2007), Mark Moore (2013) or Laurent Ozon (2014) have theorized that the amount of power accumulated by the current dominating families and groups of interest through the capitalist world-economy led to the creation of a kind of nomad *hyperclass*, an almost invisible social class whose political influence encompasses the borders of world-systems and nations.

The world's great centers used to be the permanent home of the powerful, linking political power to geographical location. The recognizable Centers of the global capitalist economy at present, such as New York or London only constitute a symbolic reference as to the location of actual political power. The hands that shape global politics and economies move along with needs, markets, opportunities and, unlike politicians, tend not to remain under the spotlight for obvious reasons. Center/Periphery dichotomies, feudal power structures, world-systems or capitalism are still as present and effective as ever; yet its C.E.O.s no longer need to physically reside in Centers to manage them. Real Centers of decision therefore tend to split into a lower elite and an upper elite. The concept of a global elite or hyperclass is therefore not to be conceived in terms of its location within national borders, but in terms of international class conflict, which leads

to a new approach in theorizing the global power structure. If major economic actors stand outside the grip of nations and their respective governments, the world-economy can no longer be understood through the analysis of interaction between Center and Periphery nations, even if the power thread between them may remain active. The world-system grid of analysis must include conflicts of interest existing between the global hyperclass and national elites, large firms, supranational unions and partnerships, as well as populations. Based on Galtung's (1971) structural theory of imperialism and the three categories of Wallerstein's (1976) world-systems, and borrowing from the analysis of more recent theories regarding the development of a global hyperclass such as the ones of Clouscard, Hillard (2007), Moore (2013) and Ozon (2014), figure 4 attempts to symbolize the current globalist structure. ¹⁶

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¹⁶ For the sake of clarity, the "disharmony of interest" interaction links have been removed, as those may follow the same logic as in Galtung's (1971) theory of imperialism. This means that all entities that are not bond by a specified "harmony of interest" link are expected to share disharmony of interest.

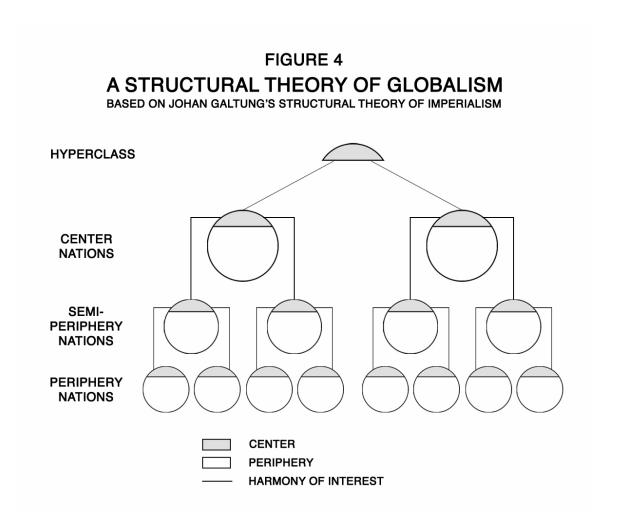


Figure 4. A Structural Theory of Globalism Based on Johan Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism

In such a structure, the mechanism of dependency and control of Centers over Nations' wealth distribution envisioned by Galtung remains, yet the existence of a hyperclass standing above all modifies the ultimate purpose of social relations in the global structure. The power of the hyperclass over other Centers mainly originates from property over the means of production (mostly land and capital) as Marx (1867, 1885, 1894) defined it.

Bloodlines insure that property titles are passed on from father to son, and do not fall in hands outside the hyperclass families. Centers, governments and large firms are forced to cooperate with members of the hyperclass in order to access resources necessary to organize social life. Members of the hyperclass are also involved in Centers' political, economic, military, religious and cultural affairs, protecting their own interest in all transactions. As a result, the hyperclass plays the role of a Center without a Periphery, and as such, does not have to bear the burden of social responsibility.

This fundamental characteristic sets it apart from the authorities of Centers within nations, and is what allows its "nomadic" nature. The hyperclass is nomadic in the sense that its political influence knows no boundaries, as opposed to Centers, that can only operate within national borders. Although the centers in Center nations share harmony of interest with the hyperclass, the two do not enjoy equality status, even if some members of the hyperclass may sometimes occupy positions in both. When the hyperclass sees interest in interacting with a particular nation (i.e. providing loans or services), they are free to engage in it, while the opposite is not always possible. The hyperclass may provide support nations with which it shares temporary harmony of interest, and end the interaction should things evolve in an unsatisfying manner. Should a given Periphery complain about the interaction between its Center and the hyperclass, the hyperclass can leave the boat, letting the Center deal with the responsibility of their interaction in regard to the periphery (although, in practice, hyperclass members often show solidarity with government representatives in order to secure their position). Moreover, members of the hyperclass do not have to abide by the rules of a particular nation's constitution. In the

case of Federal governments or international bodies such as the United Nations, the United States or the European Union, charters are often written by delegates who are elected among its very members, increasing the chance for bias and further keeping political control out of the reach of citizens (Hillard 2012b).

Members who constitute the hyperclass tend to have the same social origins (the highest ranks of society), be related by blood, awarded scholarships and own academic records from the same prestigious universities (Hillard 2013). This preserves social classes and helps bring those to develop harmony of interests. It is therefore not surprising that, over time, those may present similar psychological profiles. However, the members of such an elite may not always be consciously aligned with the predominant ideology of their class, and may sometimes chose to move to another social group, although their social origin lowers such possibilities. Transnational groups of influence involve the think tanks or large industrial groups, the chairmen of large private banks, and the heads of the world's oldest royal families. In figure 4, Center nations, semi-periphery nations and periphery nations are all linked to each other through the dependency link shared by their respective centers, and are all affected by the vertical interaction between lower elites and the hyperclass.

In such a global structure, the Peripheries in each country may appear like labor batteries for their Centers, forming one unique social class providing the necessary labor force for molding resources owned by authorities (Clouscard 1996:48). All together, they form the global battery, or global periphery of the hyperclass, toward which global capital surplus converges. Intermediate Centers act as relays of transfer toward the top

Center of the structure, which is composed of members of the hyperclass. The structure function thanks to a gradation in privileges: the higher the position in the structure, the more privileges the one occupying it may enjoy. The lower elite (here represented by the centers in Center nations) is, most of the time, spatially enrooted into the nation or system it has power over, and is most of the time visible and well known from the public. They are state politicians, the heads of national institutions, C.E.O.s of large corporations, media personalities and artists promoting the liberal ideology (Clouscard 1996:56).

Members of the lower elite are prone to develop class-consciousness and harmony of interest, which may lead them to envision common global strategies to defend their privileged positions. However, while hyperclass bloodlines remain in power over time, lower elites are disposable, and tend to change according to the needs of the globalist agenda.

Traces of the globalist ideology can be found in the history of the political elite. In their career, numerous politicians in the 20th and 21st century have been expressing their wishes to see the dawn of global governance, the establishment of a one-world government, or, as it is often referred to, a "new world order" (Bush 1991).

The term "new world order" was first coined in 1914 by H.G. Wells' book "The World Set Free", in which, following a destructive world war, a remaining commission decides to establish a new kind of global governance composed of ten administrative country blocks (Wells 1914:137). Wells' vision proved influential, as references to it can be found in the writings and speeches of high-level government representatives and

members of the world elite ever since. The new world order usually refers to a supranational authority which political power would have precedence over those of the governments of all countries (Hillard 2007:73). As such, it would be seen as an extension of the imperialist logic to the global scale, leading to a unified, homogenized world, ruled by one unique government. Such a description shares similarities with the "globalism" definition proposed in part 1.2.

Advocates of the ideology have been found scattered across all levels of the political structure, working to push their agenda further on different fields. For instance, New York Times correspondent and Atlantist supporter Clarence K. Streit wrote "Union Now" (1939), an early ode to global governance organized under federal organization principles. He received a large amount of support from President Franklin D. Roosevelt, C.I.A. and C.F.R. chairman John Foster Dulles, as well as from many other influential figures such as Theodore Achilles, George Marshall, Harry Truman, Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann (Streit Council 2014). President Winston Churchill also supported the edification of the "European United States" since 1946, as well as several attempts at imposing the will of supra-national political entities to nations (Jones 2013). The musical piece "Nimrod" from composer Edward Elgar was played at Churchill's funeral on January 30, 1965 (Hillard 2007:74-75). Nimrod is traditionally associated with the construction of the Tower of Babel and the rebellion of man against God, and his attempt to unify the world under one empire made him an early symbol of globalism (Menner 1938). Margaret Thatcher, fervent admirer of Churchill, was allowed the same honor on April 17, 2013 (Bennett et al. 2013). The globalist ideology has been particularly present

among the think tanks of the Anglo-Saxon international elite, and is often regarded as the only one. However, there is a second form of globalism, as Pierre Hillard (2012a) states:

Within globalism, two opposed ideologies co-exist. The first one is Anglo-Saxon globalism (led by the U.S.A. and the U.K.), which tries to impose its law according to its own rules. The second one is global globalism, which seeks to impose its view on a given nation, or on a bloc of nations. In both cases, their goal is the same: to establish global governance (Hillard 2012a:55)

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T.T.I.P.) may currently be one of the most representative examples of Anglo-Saxon globalism. Attempting to merge the U.S. and E.U. economic markets while creating a transatlantic free trade zone, the agreement aims at unifying both federations under the same regulations, and authority councils. This partnership would create a giant market representing roughly 40 percent of the global trade and half of the world GDP (Bergsten et al. 2004:57, 252). Understanding the current geopolitical situation, such a move would have several benefits: allowing large American firms to penetrate European markets and set up a common defense perimeter against the Russian threat and the rise of the Chinese economy (Gendre et al. 2014). The history and structure of the T.T.I.P. will be analyzed in further detail in section 3.1.2.

On the other hand, global globalism advocates tend to gather in more international councils, such as the E.U, the Trilateral commission, Bilderberg, the Streit Council, the Council of Foreign Relations, and so forth. Although both ideologies have known rivalry throughout history, Anglo-Saxon and global globalism have developed harmony of

interest in the progressive centralization of power among large groups of influence. It is not surprising to find members of supra-national unions such as the T.T.I.P. or the T.P.P. being also part of the U.N. or the European Commission (Transatlantic Policy Network 2014). After all, as Hillard (2012a:55) stated, both share the same objective in attempting to establish global governance. Negotiation between the two is therefore likely to happen at a certain point. Although supra-national unions are often claimed by their members to be the only way to achieve social unity and world peace, the tremendous concentration of political and economic power involved in their creation and their obvious bias toward the support of conflicts around the world should raise skepticism toward the genuineness of its advocates' intentions.

The benefits that building supra-national structures may have for the world's highest social classes can easily be understood. As previously mentioned, the will to force the cohabitation of citizens from different cultures within the same boarders comes from the globalist mysticism, which wishes to create an uprooted, multi-cultural human race, easier to rule because deprived of its own land and values to defend. However, unifying large blocks of countries with strong cultural differences is bound to create civil resistance over time, and broaden the economic inequalities already existing within them. Integration issues in the U.S, the U.K, or France in the 19th and 20th century have shown the difficulty to adjust national living standards between immigrant minorities from Periphery countries and natives from Mother countries living within common boarders. Massive immigration, when not handled properly by national authorities, generally

lowers incomes, amplifies economic inequalities, generates racial segregation and fragments the social body of the host country (Ozon 2014a). However, fixing such social issues is not part of the globalist project. From the perspective of an ideology advocating the centralization of power on the global scale for "the greater good", local consequences of international policies are the concern of nations, not of central governments.

Conscious that globally-planned policies and their consequences may arouse reprisals among populations, one of the main objectives of globalists has been to divert attention, by using the "divide to rule" or "order out of chaos" strategy (Brzezinski 1997:142). Certain civilization differences make them incompatible, and forcing them together is bound to generate conflict. Globalist elites are well aware of this fact, yet often use it to their advantage. Once popular indignation becomes uncontainable, an external enemy is designated, and war is presented as the only solution. By creating artificial tensions between countries of different cultures (i.e. the Nazi empire against the Allies, the Communists against the Capitalists, the Islamist nations against the Judeo-Christian world, etc.), globalists orchestrate conflicts from which they can benefit both strategically and economically (Sutton 1974, 1976, 1995). As long as countries and civilians are busy fighting and putting the blame on each other, they forget where the real problem and its perpetrators are. Later, once conflict has exhausted both sides and populations beg for a truce, conditions are gathered for the establishment of a more centralized type of governance, presented as the only remedy to war.

Another commonly applied globalist strategy is to weaken the culture and social values of its member states, so as to render them more manageable and obedient to far

away authorities (Hillard 2012a:73). A recurring feature in globalist policies is a tendency encouraging the dismantling, and regionalization of nation-states (Hillard 2004). It is in the interest of globalists and the hyperclass to fragment large social bodies into smaller ones, so as to reduce their political influence on the global scale. Federal or central governments are usually the ideal institution through which hegemony over large areas composed of culturally disparate nations or communities can be achieved.

International partnerships, such as the North-American Treaty (which aims at uniting Canada, The U.S. and Mexico) and the T.T.I.P. are attempts to rally neighbor countries under the same economic flag, and therefore within the grip of the globalist structure. In a similar way, the function of the European Neighborhood Policy (E.N.P.), a foreign relations instrument of the European Union, is to "integrate" (as opposed to cooperate with) Mediterranean states politically and economically to the E.U. (Gendre et al. 2014). Under such perspective, the E.U. itself can be seen as integrated into the U.S. block through the T.T.I.P.

No matter how far the globalist agenda and structure have advanced as of today, global governance has not been achieved yet. Globalism has generated various forms of protests taking the form of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-utilitarian or simply anti-globalist movements (Arrighi, Gunder and Wallerstein 1990). Large-scale demonstrations such as the recent Occupy Wall Street movement, have shown popular consciousness about class conflict, the growing political bipolarization and economic equalities is still alive, yet not large enough to overthrow the global power structure

(Chomsky 2011). Real possibilities for populations to influence national politics are often reduced to voting for so-called representatives carefully chosen by the elite, and therefore not likely to produce radical changes. The global centralization of power has been refined and strengthened the world plutocracy, offering it more control over social structures than ever before in history.

Should it reach completion, global governance will impose its hegemony on the world in even greater proportions. As a result, anti-globalism movements are left with few alternatives but to find an exit route. As physical resistance proves futile, opponents must unite locally and rebuild small societies in order to protect themselves from the harm of the global structure. This approach is what founds the localist ideology. Practical cases show that such type of political organization, even within globalist structures, is possible. The following section will analyze the political structure of localist communities, and attempt to understand how the transition from one social model to the next can be achieved.

2.2 Land Property and Localist Social Design

In most cases, effective localist social models reject globalist and capitalist notions of politics. Political systems in ecovillages, transition towns and other similar intentional communities advocate shorter distance between decision takers and executants, modifying the power structure of communities. This feature has several consequences on land and space management.

As in any society, politics start with land property. Several localist communities offer a land free of charge to their inhabitants as well as more democratic ways of managing decisions, even when circumstances are not particularly prone to it. Localist policies are often applied by and for inhabitants at the local level, leaders and authorities enjoying much less control on the community that it is usually the case within nations. Most villages even show animosity toward governments, and disregard decisions coming from national or supra-national authorities. Such perception obviously affects the way capital and resources are being used, and therefore modifies the core of the interaction between men and the land they live on. Redistribution of the land, as well as strict rules to prevent property abuse are both needed for a localist model to function properly. Also, due to the small size of localist communities, local politics do not need complicated hierarchic structures and can therefore potentially a more fertile field to apply direct democracy. Basic political principles applied in local communities will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.1 Land property: distinguishing usage from lucrative property

The first struggle that most local and intentional communities face is the issue of land property. Emancipating from the grip of private and national property, and being able to freely use the land and resources one lives on is a luxury that few communities are currently able to enjoy. Primary resources for survival, such as water, food and housing all deriving from the land, the question of who owns it may prevent any community from

severing the dependency link from the very start, and is therefore inseparable from community politics.

Rousseau ([1755] 2008:109) identified land property as the root of all inequalities between men. Later, Marx ([1848] 1999:84) regarded land property as the foundation of capitalism, and set its abolition as the first priority of communism. Although countless thinkers, politicians and ideologies agree upon the theory that every individual should enjoy free access to a piece of land that fulfills his/her survival needs and the ones of his/her partner and offspring, reality is that land property dictatorship lives on through legacy among wealthy families and government officials around the world. Governments and private landowners have the power to dictate the price of survival on almost every inch of land on the planet, which is the exact opposite of freedom. Can another ideology such as localism ensure an equitable redistribution of land, and put an end to the abuse currently perpetuated by ageless land property?

Most ecovillages, transition towns, intentional or local communities clearly haven't yet emancipated from the power of private or public landowners. Some rare cases have, however, shown success, yet not without long and fierce struggle. Some of these cases will be analyzed in this section. Ownership can also be redefined, and land property redesigned so as to avoid power abuse, both in theory and practice. For this matter, useful reference can be made to the works of French sociologist Bernard Friot (2012), who proposes to separate land property into two categories: *usage property* and *lucrative*

property. ¹⁷ According to him, these two concepts would be a key to distinguish adequate from inadequate land usage. The next section will analyze the two concepts behind these terms.

According to Friot (2012), usage property refers to the idea of owning the land and goods that one uses in everyday life for fulfilling primary needs. Workers should all be co-owners of the land they work on, and of the facilities and tools they work with. Out of the working place, usage property implies that the land be redistributed so that all inhabitants can have access to a free, or almost free type of housing they can use. In such a system, the concept of private property would be limited to individual usage level. This means that private owners would enjoy usage freedom over their capital (land or goods), yet not have the right to resell it in order to make profit (lucrative property). Owning one's living and working environment would create true security for inhabitants regarding housing needs, which in turn would induces natural self-responsibility. Why would one destroy or degrade one's own survival means? Such an understanding would also extend to other inhabitants' properties, and create natural order without the need for external enforcement (i.e. police or army).

As previously stated, usage property would also apply to the working place.

According to Friot (2012), it is simply fair for workers to own the company and facilities where they work at, and the tools they work with. Unlike in most cases under capitalistic management, workers should participate in decisions regarding investment and

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¹⁷ In French: *propriété d'usage | propriété lucrative*

production. Yet again, Friot warns businesses not to derive their income from the benefits of their company, as it would result in "stealing" from the value created by the company, and therefore affect investment for innovation and maintenance. Workers' revenues should come from another source of mutual contribution, while benefits of should be directly reinvested into the company. External investment from wealthy shareholders should be seen as a threat, and owning the working place should enable workers to retain full control over it. Under such a system, incomes should not be connected to working positions, but to individuals. This means that individuals should earn revenue for life, regardless of the fact that they are employed or not (Friot refers to it as life salary). The idea of unconditional basic incomes will be developed in section 2.3.3.

As opposed to usage property, lucrative property is a type of ownership in which owners can derive revenue out of a land or facility they are not directly using (Friot 2012). A typical example would be Mr. A owning two houses, living in one and renting out the other to Mr. B. Mr. A can then live out of the money he is earning from Mr. B, while Mr. B has to keep on working to pay the rent. Because Mr. A is the owner, he has total power of decision and control over the land on which Mr. B lives, and therefore over Mr. B. On a larger scale, wealthy landowners living out of thousands of people working hard to pay the rent can be seen as the greatest enemy of equality in history, as Rousseau (1755) argued.

Friot (2013) also joins Marx (1848:61) in regarding wealthy landowners as a parasite class. Property titles give lucrative landowners the social power to make others

work and pay for using land, facilities and goods they would otherwise not use. Since all economic value derives from labor, any individual who does not work but still benefits from labor value steals from it (Marx [1867] 2007:176). Under capitalistic management of companies, shareholders own rights over lucrative property titles, and as such, own rights over the future labor force of others. Capital owners can then exempt themselves from labor, as well as their offspring for generations, while enforcing any price policy onto those who work for them. Lucrative property generates an endless vicious circle of verticality, which is one of the very causes of the tremendous revenue inequalities experienced by most nations today.

By separating lucrative property from usage property, Friot sheds light over a fundamental problem of capitalistic societies, which is also a hint at how to solve it. In the case, for instance, of rental apartments and temporary jobs, the fact of not owning the houses in which they live nor the facilities in which they work disconnects individuals from their very means of survival, which turns into insecurity, vulnerability and absolute dependency toward their working position. With time, above all other psychological traumas, such a situation causes frustration and understandably leads to irresponsibility (behaviors such as degrading public space or stealing at work result from a frustration for never owning what one uses). Capital owners then in turn take these irresponsibility examples to justify the idea that people need masters to behave. Such reasoning only deals with the consequences, not with the causes of the problem. The alienation of people from land ownership *is* the very cause for the lack of self-responsibility and self-

discipline in citizens. Civil frustration can never be changed as long as people do not own the land and goods that they use and need on an every day basis. Although the problem is not new, its importance is growing with every generation.

Populations living in modern cities today seldom own anything except for superficial consumption goods (Sassen [1991] 2001). City workers usually have to pay incredibly high rents for a lifetime, while never actually owning their apartments or houses, nor their work facilities (depending on the country's policy). Once quitting, the economic value created is left in the hands of landowners, and the worker is left with no land but the one his salary may have enabled him to buy (which is much less than the economic value he has generated for his company). According to Friot, eliminating lucrative property should be a priority for every country or community seeking equality. Usage property should be maintained and encouraged, while lucrative property should be forbidden. However, how can such a radical change be achieved within national regimes which political and economic systems are based on the legitimacy of lucrative property? Can true redistribution of the land happen in local and intentional communities?

Few communities have actually managed to eliminate lucrative property from their social system and regained total ownership over the land they live on. The ones who have generally went through a period of struggle against landowners or national authorities. It is the case, for instance, of Marinaleda, an Andalusia village located in the South of Spain. The population of Marinaleda had been living for generations on a land owned by the Duke de l'Infantado, a powerful landowner close to the Prince of Spain.

The inhabitants fought directly against the Duke via union strikes, hunger strikes, protests, demonstrations, etc. Approximately 10 years later, some agreement between the government and the duke was made, and the inhabitants obtained a property of 1200 hectares (10 percent of the duke's land) (Bolze 2009). This enabled the community to propose housing for citizens at incredibly low prices (15 EUR per month), and most public services for free. Many communities, such as in North America or Northern Europe also managed to emancipate from national control, by establishing their retreat far away from civilization, and establish their own rules (Global Ecovillage Network 2013).

However, regaining political power over a piece of land is still no easy task, and very few local communities can enjoy their partial freedom without paying some kind of revenue to a landlord. Most ecovillages, such as Auroville, Findhorn, Emmaüs Lescar-Pau or Tribodar all started with a land that was bought by its founders. It is globalism and government's first aim to insure that every inch of soil remains under political and economic control. A population that owns the land on which it lives cannot be given orders or be expected to obey the country's law, and this is why national and supranational authorities are understandably not likely to encourage such initiatives. Private lucrative property indeed contradicts some fundamental principles of democracy. True democracy and equality can only happen on a land that is owned and run by its very inhabitants, not by external authorities, governments or landlords.

2.2.2 Practical case study 1: Marinaleda

The present section will observe how local and intentional communities manage politics through practical case study, through the organizational example of Spanish ecovillage Marinaleda.

The Marinaleda community was founded in 1979, after an important protest of the villagers and free elections (Bolze 2009). Its inhabitants united around the idea that, in order to achieve true economic democracy, their land had to be taken back from its owner and redistributed among the people, which they achieved. Since then, the nearly 3000 people community of Marinaleda applies a political model that is close to direct democracy. Decisions are taken during the village assemblies, which happen between 60 and 70 times a year. Every inhabitant can participate, express his/her opinion and to propose new rules. Together, they discuss the budget and decide what they want the mayor house to invest in. The assemblies have 11 counselors, among which 9 are part of Spanish political party *Izquierda Unida*, and 2 are part of the PSOE (*Partido Socialisto* Obrero Espanol), representing the opposition (Belaali 2011). The opposition receives external financial support from the PSOE, yet still enjoys the same revenue as everyone else in the Marinaleda community. Such an attitude symbolizes the idea that the inhabitants recognize the necessity for a political opposition, and that there is no animosity between them (Duffour 2010).

Marinaleda mayor and leader Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo has been reelected by the people for 31 years in a row, yet has no real political power. Every elected official can be dismissed at any time, and has to sign a notary document stating that they will be

the "first ones to solve problems, and the last one to profit from their position." (Bolze 2009) Although not preventing corruption in practice, such a symbolic act clearly conveys the values of the village to elected representatives. Gordillo adds that, regarding elections, "50 percent+1 does not represent majority; 80-90 percent of agreement among inhabitants must be reached in order to represent a true democratic decision" (Bolze 2009).

The village developed an innovative social model based on direct political participation, solidarity, volunteering and cheap housing. According to Gordillo, the objectives of the village are to stay as close as possible to unemployment zero and limit real estate development while encouraging common property of the land and of means of production. He adds: "political democracy is not enough: we also need economic democracy" (Bolze 2009). The community created a cooperative farm (called "El Humoso") producing pepper, artichokes, oil and olives, which turned the deserted village of Marinaleda into a lively city. There is also a factory dedicated to canning the harvested food (called "Humar Marinaleda"). This cooperative has its own transformation units and sells its production to the outside world. According to Gordillo, the village needs to control the whole production cycle, including distribution, in order to support the community financially and insure its independence.

The Marinaleda villagers also realized that in order to achieve social democracy, they needed to create a system of unconditional revenue. Every inhabitant earns the same salary (47 EUR for 6h30 of work per day, which means approx. 1200 EUR a month, regardless of what kind of work is carried out). Depending on seasons, lack of working

positions for every inhabitant may appear, yet everyone still receives the same amount of money. Benefits are not shared among employees, but re-invested in the companies in order to create new working opportunities (salaries come from another source of contribution). As a result, the unemployment rate has been constantly maintained below 5 percent since the establishment of the community (Belaali 2011).

After some time, the villagers realized they had a housing problem. 3 generations often had to live in the same house, generating tensions and conflicts. The council therefore asked young people if they wished to have their own houses, and 50 of them acquiesced. They were provided free architects and masonry to assist them in building and designing their own houses themselves. Construction material was asked to the state, while the village provided the land, for free. The inhabitants have built 350 houses in the village (Duffour 2010). The only condition for having the right to build and own a house in Marinaleda is to not already own one. Most villagers help the young or newcomers to build their houses, which are 90 square meters in average, with a 100 square meter yard and a garage. One third of the villagers live in this type of housing (approx. 1000 people), and the rent is of only 15 EUR per month. The inhabitants believe that housing must be a universal right, just like health and education (Belaali 2011).

Marinaleda also built a nursery, so as to have children taken care of while women work (12 EUR per month for one child), a home delivery system for old people, a pool (3 EUR for the season), a gymnasium, a football and tennis courts, a library, a park, and a theater for shows, at the disposal of its inhabitants almost for free. The village also created a local TV and radio channel, in order to fight against disinformation from larger

media groups. A wi-fi device at the center of the village provides free Internet access to everyone. Marinaleda is currently working on a new project, which consists in building solar panels on the roofs of houses in order to make them electrically autonomous. The economic activity of the village relies on a tax system, but its amount is fixed and doesn't rise. The village holds the record of the lowest tax rates of Andalusia (Bolze 2009). No police or army is needed, since, according to Gordillo, "people are not willing to destroy their own village." Religious freedom is guaranteed, but neither priests nor spiritual leaders are allowed. Inhabitants insist on the idea that there should be no social status difference between authorities and people.

Until this point, Marinaleda's description may sound idyllic, yet its inhabitants have to deal with several problems. The village suffers from a severe lack of doctors and nurses, such as is often the case with small communities. Moreover, the mayor and the village are stigmatized by Spanish authorities, and have been the target of the national police as well as political organizations. The Spanish Court of Justice is currently suing Gordillo and his syndicate for having illegally occupied unused fields belonging to the Ministry of Defense (Ortiz 2013b). The community's independence struggle carries on. Any visitor is welcome to stay in the village for a while and experience its social system directly. However, those who wish to come and live in Marinaleda must spend at least 2 years there before their wish can be granted. Following a localist ideology, the village is first and foremost dedicated to the well-being of its own inhabitants. "Those who are interested to come in to build a new society often come back disappointed" Gordillo

confesses (Bolze 2009).

It may also be added that the Marinaleda economy may have managed to break free of the capitalist cycle of production, but not of consumption. Except for goods that are produced in the village, the village still relies on external sources of production (i.e. clothes, manufactured products, etc.), as well as on major distribution networks and national education system. The Marinaleda schoolteachers are appointed by the ministry of education, and come from the outside to teach official programs. For this reason, critical analysis of Spanish popular history or economy is not yet taught in Marinaleda schools. Because the youth didn't have to fight for the land they are now living on, parents are worried that their children will take it for granted and leave the village. Gordillo also seems to be the main man behind the ideology and structure of the village. Will things stay the same if he ends up in prison or disappears?

Despites all these difficulties and flaws, the Marinaleda social model still stands as an example of successful transition toward a localist society. Most of the claims and wishes expressed by the international resistance (i.e. the *Indignados* movement) have found concrete application in Marinaleda, and Gordillo hopes the same model can be implemented in other countries (Bolze 2009). This community illustrates the importance of the link between land property and political possibilities, and shows a vivid application of direct democracy.

2.2.3 Practical case study 2: Findhorn

The present section will observe social organization patterns in another local community showing particular emphasis on ecological consciousness. Findhorn, in The Park, Moray, Scotland, is one of the oldest and most successful ecovillages in the world. It was founded by Peter and Eileen Caddy and Dorothy Maclean in 1962 (The Findhorn Community 1976). The three moved to the area to manage the Cluny Hill Hotel in the town of Forres, which they did successfully until their employment was terminated. Having nowhere to go and only a few savings, they moved to a caravan in the nearby village of Findhorn, with three young children. In order to cut off costs in food, they wished to create a vegetable garden but the Findhorn soils were very sandy and difficult to work with. Thanks to Dorothy's spiritual guidance, they nevertheless achieved great results, managing to grow large plants, herbs, flowers and even 40 pounds cabbages, an unprecedented performance in the area. The information attracted curiosity in neighbor villages. Journalists, scientists and enthusiasts eventually built bungalows besides the original one and soon the caravan park grew into a small community.

The Findhorn Foundation was officially registered as a Scottish Charity in 1972, gathering approximately 300 members in the 1970s and 1980s (Findhorn Foundation 2013). In 1982, the community managed to gather enough founds to buy the land on which they lived, calling it the Findhorn Bay Caravan Park. Today, the community calls itself an experiment in conscious living, an education centre and an ecovillage. It extends to other nearby communities and organizations within the local area, to the gardens of Cullerne House, the islands of Iona and Erraid on the west coast of Scotland, and to the

Cluny Hill Hotel in Forres, which they eventually purchased. It is currently home to approximately 900 permanent inhabitants living in 450 households, and receives around 14 000 visitors a year (The Moray Council 2013).

The Findhorn community does not rely on leaders. In tune with the principles of localism, individuals can make decisions daily in each relevant department and in their field of specialization, without having to ask for authorization. However, for important decisions affecting the community as a whole, a management team consisting of 11 elected people and a council of approximately 40 committed members regularly gathers and discusses issues (Findhorn Foundation 2013). Decisions are taken after reading related texts and listening to those who wish to express their opinion, ask questions and learn about facts. Many spiritual practices are also involved in the decision process, such as meditation. In a similar way to Marinaleda, inhabitants believe it is important to reach near unanimity among members to proceed with a solution. In the case of disagreement, those who are in the minority are asked if they are still willing to support the decision of the whole. If not, the council resolves to vote, and a majority of 90 percent must be reached for a given proposal to be accepted. This process ensures that any decision actually represents the will of the whole and may not divide the community later. If such a majority cannot be reached, decisions are postponed to gather more information, and give members more time for consideration.

The Findhorn community does not follow strict rules, but a common agreement based on 14 principles or values named "The Common Ground". Members are expected

to respect these agreements in their daily activities when they join the community. The principles are the following: Spiritual practice, service (to others and to the planet), personal growth, integrity, respecting others (and all forms of life), direct communication (talk to people rather than about them), reflection, feedback (listen to constructive feedback, work with it and offer feedback to others), nonviolence, perspective (put aside personal issues for the benefit of the whole community), cooperation, peacekeeping, agreements (respect the law of the land), and commitment (to respect the aforementioned principles).¹⁸

The community has developed around several activities, creating more than 400 jobs, and generating approximately 5 million GBP (8 million EUR) per year (Dawson 2004). All activities are primarily designed to remain ecologically safe. In 2006, an independent survey revealed that Findhorn had an ecological footprint of 3.86 GHA per person, one the lowest ecological footprint of the country (George and Tinsley 2006). As of today, the village has built 61 ecological houses, using sustainable technology to support the community's social, economic and educational initiatives. Building materials also come exclusively from sustainable sources, in order to maintain the environmental impact to a minimum. Water is heated by solar panels, and electricity is produced by photovoltaic cells (PVs). The community also owns a wind farm made of four large wind turbines that can generate up to 750kW, a biomass boiler (community heating system),

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¹⁸ Full detail about this common agreement is available on the following document: http://www.findhorn.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/CommonGround2012.pdf

¹⁹ An ecological footprint is an attempt to measure the total environmental impact of human activities in a given area.

beehives and an ecological waste water treatment plant, which treats all the waste water from the village and cleans it for reuse.

Most inhabitants grow their own vegetable gardens where they cultivate organic food. Three large common-use gardens are also available for the community's needs. Neither artificial fertilizers nor pesticides are used: only organic compost made from kitchen food leftovers, manure, rock dust (to mineralize the soil), as well as other recycled garden elements. The community also owns a common dining room and kitchen where inhabitants can all eat together. Owning the land on which it is built, the community can now offer free board and lodging to residential full-time staff and visitors, as well as regular unconditional revenue (for full-time members). Since 2002, the Findhorn community uses its own currency, called the Eko. There are roughly 20,000 GBP of notes in circulation and issuing them has enabled Ekopia to make low interest loans and donations to support various initiatives including an ecological guest facility, the wind park and the local Youth Project. The properties of the Eko currency will be analyzed in more detail in section 2.3.1.

Although being one of the most experienced ecovillages in the world, Findhorn still has to deal with certain difficulties. The ecohouses built by the community aren't particularly small, nor cheap, and raises criticism regarding its accessibility for external people (Stern 2006). Certain houses exceed 200 m², and the community must hire external staff for house building and architectural advices. Findhorn's spiritual practices have also been subject to criticism, as its role in the community's everyday life is not

well understood. Like Marinaleda, Findhorn is a living example of how a local community can empower its members while overcoming environmental problems faster, and often much better than national authorities. It also shows that owning the land on which a community is built from the very start is not necessarily required for practical success.

2.2.4 Practical case study 3: Emmaüs Lescar-Pau

A third case study will focus on a slightly different type of local community built around common activities, such as collecting, sorting and selling waste.

Emmaüs Lescar-Pau is a financially independent village situated in Lescar in the South of France. It was nationally registered as a commune in 1982. It is currently home to 130 permanent residents (mixing men, women and families), approximately 70 temporary residents, 17 hired staff and 4 volunteers (Emmaüs Europe 2011). The village is based on a certain type of "social economy" that places human beings and human needs at the center of its organization, while relying on local solidarity from other nearby villages for functioning (Gautier 2012). Following the Emmaüs organization principles²⁰, collecting, recycling and cleaning up unwanted goods are the backbone of the village

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²⁰ The Emmaüs movement gathers several solidarity organizations and communities. It aims at fighting against poverty and social exclusion through diverse means adapted to the local culture or environment where it is based. Activities in Emmaüs communities generally involve collecting, refurbishing and re-selling goods, as well as collecting donations. The first Emmaüs community was founded by Henri Grouès (popularly known as l'abbé Pierre in France) in 1949.

activity. Workers collect goods directly at people's homes, and bring them back to the community to refurbish and re-sell them in the village halls. Since its foundation, the system has tremendously developed. In 2008, the village signed a partnership with the Pau Pyrénées and Miey de Béarn local community networks to organize trash collection in common. Other nearby towns and communities recognize the expertise of the village in terms of recycling and ecology, and are therefore willing to contribute. Picking up and recycling are now linked activities in the village. Every day, 200 to 400 vehicles bring trash to the village, and 75 percent of their contents is renewed, reused or recycled. Another aim of the village is to become home to the homeless and the poor, as well as to create jobs so as to enable them to live from their work with dignity, without any government subsidy (Gautier 2012).

Representing the Emmaüs mentality, the village offers unconditional acceptance to anyone willing to join the community. Whether a person meets financial difficulties or whether s/he desires to give a sense to his/her life, all are welcome to the village for any period of time: anything between two days and a lifetime (Emmaüs Europe 2011). No administrative procedure is required: ethnic origin, religion or mentality is irrelevant in Lescar-Pau. Anyone entering the village is offered board and lodging and can participate in community life, as long as one agrees to respect the inside regulation. Every person, couple or family who arrives is provided a personal space to stay, where their intimacy is respected. Short-term and first-time visitors are offered an individual room in a shared building (40 rooms are currently available). Some permanent residents choose to stay in the shared buildings because of the community feeling that emanates from it (dinner is

taken together, cleaning chores are shared, etc.) After living in the community for a couple of months, those who so desire can move into a private mobile home or an ecohouse in the Ossau district. Obtaining a private house takes longer than moving in a mobile home, and therefore demands more commitment on the part of the newcomer. Once it happens, residents are free to design their own house, with the help of a professional architect who lives there, and help build it along with other those in charge of construction. In the beginning, most residents lived in mobile homes. However, since 2009, mobile homes have progressively been replaced by small houses of 35 to 40 m² each, to the initiative of the eco-construction workshop. Ecohouses are cheap (between 12 000 and 35 000 EUR each), more comfortable and they enable energy saving. The Ossau village currently includes 30 mobile homes, 15 houses, 9 chalets, a grocery store, a laundrette, and a residential centre (Emmaüs Europe 2011). All these buildings are managed and maintained by inhabitants themselves. The village is divided into 7 zones, each of them having a municipal representative who relays information to the mayor. The mayor and the municipal council manage tasks, solve problems, organize events and insure conviviality inside the community. Every inhabitant is welcome to attend and participate to the meetings.

Food production and ecological consciousness are two other important aspects of Emmaüs Lescar-Pau's activity. After breakfast, residents start the day by sorting out the vegetables and meat produced by the community's Alternative Farm. Protected local animals and vegetables are being grown there. Several local companies (such as Kokopelli, Semences paysannes, le Conservatoire Végétal d'Aquitaine, etc.) provide

locally and organically grown seeds. Local farmers offer animals to the village. 4 inhabitants work full time in the Alternative Farm, preparing food for distribution and cooking, as well as operating maintenance and cleaning the garden. 90 percent of what is consumed by the community is fresh food. Residents are now encouraged to make their own vegetable gardens, in order to improve the autonomy ratio of the village and eat more organic. Between lunch and dinner, the village kitchen cooks between 200 meals a day in Winter, and 300 in Summer (the community increases in Summer because of the Solidarity Construction Site). Meals are available at any time for travelers or people passing by.

The village uses different types of appellations for members according to their activities. Permanent residents are called "Companions" and represent about 90 percent of the village members (Village Emmaüs Lescar-Pau 2013). They can live alone, as a couple or with their families. Companions are registered under the law as "individuals hosted by a communitarian organism", and are as such legally protected. They enjoy a weekly income, paid holidays, and pay superannuation contributions for their own retirement. In exchange, they must respect the basic internal rules of the community, and participate to activities according to their physical and moral capacities. Companions build their own houses with the help of the community. The village also hires salaried employees who do not live in the village. However, those are considered part of the community, and abide by the same rules as everyone else. Before they are hired, jobs are first proposed to Companions. If no one is able to do it, a salaried employee is hired.

Every working contract term is undetermined, since the village is against all form of precariousness and assistantship. Self-responsibility, autonomy, task rotation, individual initiative and innovation are strongly encouraged among both Companions and employees. Volunteers are welcome to come and help, or simply to share their thoughts and experiences with the community. No time limit is applied: anyone may come and go according to his/her availability. Trainees are hosted all year to participate in any kind of job or activity. They are important because the time and energy they share with the community helps it grow. All visitors are welcome, either alone or in groups, for any kind of purposes. Anyone can come and visit the community for any period of time, for free. Finally, clients do not only come to shop, but can also invite the community members to clean up a place or collect unwanted goods. As such, they create jobs. Should they only stay for a few hours, they also have to respect the community rules.

According to the Emmaüs Lescar-Pau vision, all newcomers should be accepted as they are, and their diversity should be regarded as a value rather than a flaw. The village considers unconditional acceptance of people as civil disobedience in a society that demands qualifications to individuals in exchange for the right to live within its walls (Gautier 2012). According to leader Germain, immigrant workers should be welcomed and given decent housing as well as working conditions rather than ghettos and low wage jobs. Their situation should be regularized. This is why creating alternative social models that do what governments don't is essential in order to show people that such a social system is possible. Germain adds: "the worst trap poor people may fall into is fatalism, resignation or inaction. Failure is not negative; it is an essential tool to make a collective

project evolve" (Gautier 2012). Every year, from June 15th to September 15th, the Solidarity Construction Site (S.C.S.) proposes meeting spaces for visitors coming from all around the world to share ideas of alternative lifestyles in the village. A youth district has been built to host visitors and volunteers participating to summer camps. A summer music festival has also been created to attract young people to the community.

As with all local communities, the village of Emmaüs Lescar-Pau also has to deal with difficulties. The survival of the village is still dependent on nearby agglomerations, since it relies on donations for its business and food production. However, autonomy is not the primary goal of Emmaüs Lescar-Pau. The villagers seem proud to have a strong implication in local industries and collectivities. Being involved in the local economy gives the village its place and strength. As a consequence, the community must abide by French national laws for land ownership and citizenship, and uses Euros as its main means of exchange (although the village accepts and supports the "Eusko", a Basque local currency). The example of Emmaüs Lescar-Pau shows how having a common activity at the center of a community may cement and stimulate social interaction within it, as well as develop strong ties with other nearby communities and the local economy. The village is a living proof that local communities do not necessarily mean to cut off bonds with mainstream societies, but rather act as a complementary element to capitalism.

Because of their small size and the greater proximity they allow between

inhabitants and their land, local communities such as Marinaleda, Findhorn and Emmaüs-Lescar Pau all offer a more fertile environment to the development of direct democracy and welfare social systems. As most Localism advocates claim, keeping the size of communities small not only enhances the quantity and quality of communication among its members, but also simplifies politics (Uchiyama 2012). Local communities enable its members to fight poverty and environment-related problems faster and more efficiently than is generally the case with large nations. Small-size societies under 1000 inhabitants also allow facilitate open meetings for decision-making, and therefore the application of direct democracy. This raises chances that decisions are taken according to mutual understanding and in the best interest of each individual.

In theory, such a social environment may even allow inhabitants to do without leaders. However, in the three practical cases previously mentioned, mayor, leaders or councils still exist. Various reasons may lie behind this, yet in all cases the community leaders' political power remains very limited. Community leaders often are charismatic spokespersons in charge of communication with people outside the village. They are generally wise and knowledgeable, and clearly have influence on decision-making, yet they do not enjoy an official status that grants them social privileges. A leader may sometimes be needed to settle difficult cases, such as providing directions for certain tasks, or carry out judgment regarding conflict cases, but this does not always involve the mayor/leader. In all three communities, any member is potentially eligible to become a mayor, temporary leader in any given activity, and can propose changes during meetings or assemblies. In the case of Marinaleda, Gordillo has been reelected for 31 years by the

people, yet has no means of pressure to influence the people into doing so. Germain is more of a spokesperson to Emmaüs Lescar-Pau than a spiritual leader.

For actions or judgments requiring a certain level of specialization or technical skills, inhabitants are generally trusted and take responsibility for their own choices. In some cases, specialists are simply more able to assume authority than others (architects, cooks, farmers, etc.). However, such knowledge, experience or technical skills do not grant privileges to its bearers, even if they are respected and recognized for their utility toward the community. As the Marinaleda example showed, inhabitants generally insist on the idea that no human being should stand above the others in terms of social status, and that everyone should enjoy the right to be heard. The fact that such values are known and shared by the community as a whole leaves few room for a strict social hierarchy to emerge.

The abovementioned examples seem to indicate that democratic political systems tend to naturally develop in small-size human societies, irrespective of their origins.

Moreover, few efforts from their inhabitants appear necessary to maintain it as compared to large nation-size political systems. Size may have much to do with the phenomenon, yet it is hard to conclude that localism and democracy are truly correlated, as democracy is not only a matter of political system. As Gordillo (Bolze 2009) argued, political democracy does not prevent inequalities. Economic equality must also exist to allow the same social opportunities to all, and be maintained on the long term, which is not always easy. This is the reason why many local communities turn to local or alternative

currencies, as those often constitute a faster and safer route to economic stability. The smaller the scale, the quicker and easier social organization may be able to accommodate the needs of its members.

Rather than enforcing one homogenous political and economic system onto its population, governments may actually benefit from embracing diversity and prioritize local needs. As Wallerstein (1976:229) argued, human societies can either function in small, limited groups or in much larger "world"-size groups such as nations or empires. Large social bodies tend to centralize power, even when it is not their primary purpose. Along with power centralization comes structural violence, which over time decreases its members basic means of subsistence and personal freedom. However, smaller social structures may actually leave more room for individuals' cultural diversity, uniqueness and overall well-being because they do not suffer from the number pressure of large bureaucracies and distance between decision takers and executants. Small societies may also eliminate the need for a rigid power structure, and therefore lower the risk of power abuse. Achieving such results would nevertheless imply to limit the geographical and human expansion of communities. Clear borders must be set in order to define the physical zones of influence of each social group, prefecture, region, and so forth.

As the examples of ecovillages have shown, this does not mean to exclude help and support to other nearby or far away communities. Cooperation between localist communities and existing social structures is also essential to the overall social cohesion

²¹ Wallerstein (1976:229) essentially recognizes that "the only real social systems are, on the one hand, those relatively small, highly autonomous subsistence economies not part of some regular tribute-demanding system and, on the other hand, world-systems."

and sustainability. Local communities may form a greater network, with power institutions at the top, as long as these institutions are controlled from the bottom (by the people) and not from the top (by a small elite). This will is found at the origin of all federations, although few of them have actually been able to keep local supremacy from being compromised by power centralization (Moore 2013:Loc 32). Local community networks often remain unable to compete against the political power of national and supra-national authorities. However, the democratic victories of the political systems advocated by localist communities may give several clues regarding how to emancipate from the control of globalist entities, and help them rebuild localities fitting the needs of its inhabitants.

PART III: ECONOMICS

3.1 International Finance and Economic Dependency

Ideologies need concrete economic tools to turn social projects into realities. This is why political and economic institutions have always walked hand in hand, for no campaign or policy could come to fruition without tremendous financial support. The relation between banks and governments are at the core of a country's wealth, and this is why power often centralizes in this area. International finance and the giant banking structure it has become today extend economic influence across borders, by developing global economic dependency toward internationally accepted means of exchange.

Banking cartels have obtained tremendous amounts of liberty when it comes to printing currencies, supplying it for nations and defining the price of commodities on financial markets.

The recent establishment of national debts further strengthened the dependency of governments towards central and private banks. For this reason, international finance has become the central axis of economic power on the planet, and therefore as a primary vector of globalism. The economic consequences of such policies, felt at the bottom-end of the social pyramid has led localities to react. The global economy benefitting large, international firms, local economies created alternative currencies to fulfill the gap and address their immediate needs. This gave birth to a seizure between local and national economies; one that threatens to widen if measures are not taken to restore local supremacy over monetary creation.

The present section will address this issue, first analyzing how the world's nations have become increasingly dependent on global financial institutions, and how alternative economic initiatives are currently trying to escape such models at the local level.

3.1.1 The global banking supremacy over monetary creation and the world debt

Western history saw wealth accumulation and the bourgeoisie class progressively taking over true political power within nations. Global financial institutions developed around the concept of interest loans, the pillar of the banking system, which slowly managed to overpower royal aristocracies and religious institutions.

In traditional societies, the Catholic Church constituted the main barrier to the material domination of money, regarding usury and wealth accumulation as evil (Engels and Marx [1848] 1999:68). Social prestige was attributed to the wealthy for gifts and donations, and loans were allowed as long as those did not involve interest. However, the development of trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contributed to generalize the use of interest loans and usury. At first, the Church tolerated such practices as long as those remained marginalized and in the fringes of society. Yet economic power continued to gain ground, slowly giving birth to a new aristocracy of wealth that later became known as the bourgeoisie class (Engels [1884] 2004:155). Strong from commercial expansion, land property and mortgage, the new financial aristocracy earned considerable power soon to rival the one of the Church.

Many religious groups were subdued by the strength of banks and collaborated, which gave birth to Protestantism. Forcing the previously antagonist forces of money and the spiritual together, Protestantism became the symbol of this rise to power of the Bank over the Church (Weber 1930). The Crown of England, alliance of the aristocracy and the Bank, became the new imperial center of economic power. The Puritan English regime helped consolidate this power, offering it legitimacy as well as national defense forces. The establishment of central banks sealed this new economic domination, which became the basis of modern capitalism. The growing power, and therefore degree of independence of central banks sealed the emancipation of the Bank from royal power, as it involved itself in controlling monetary creation. Private banking cartels, warehouses for the wealth of the bourgeoisie, became the real power at work behind the politics of the

central banks while being liberated from all need to insure the well-being of the people and following their own agenda (Weber [1930] 2005:35). Such independence allowed them to finance wars for all regimes and for the opponents of these regimes at the same time (Sutton [1974] 2000:132).

The logic of the bank being pure profit, it led to the increasing social inequalities and structural violence that is currently known as the (constant) "economic crisis:" politicians and religious authorities being unable to reverse the process as they do not have control over the economic machine. As a result, representative governments became the representatives of banks and their interests rather than of the ones of the people. Interest loans, when originating from the money pool of popular banks and as long as those are regulated by a power that stands above it, may not present too much danger for society. However, as investment and saving banks lend money saved by some to others and ask for an interest in exchange, they ask for money that does not exist yet in the pool and needs to be created (Joseph 2008). Society therefore needs to generate constant economic growth in order to pay its debts. Such a situation is extremely profitable for the Bank, as it forces society to generate wealth for itself without having to produce anything. Being protected by the law in case of insolvency, and by professional secrecy regarding the amount of money actually existing in its reserves, risks taken by the bank remain minimal while the effective power it accumulates is tremendous (Sutton 1995:21/108).

The growing superiority of finance over politics also led to abuse regarding the limits of government loans. Private banks have become able to lend virtual money to their clients while selling insolvency risks to third parties via the credit default swaps

system, which progressively drained wealth from countries (Jovanovic 2011). Interest rates eventually steal a tremendous part of the economic surplus created by society and bring it back to the bank. In case of economic decline, this mechanism generates sustained poverty and increased debt for governments, while it increases wealth and control for banks.

Concern over the growing power of the Bank led to several generations of thinkers and political figures attempting to limit the power of the bank, especially throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. However, most of these attempts failed or proved ineffective on the long term.

Following the banking panic of 1907, the American Congress expressed its will to reinforce national control over its financial institutions, which led to proposals and negotiations between banks and the state. On November 22, 1910, a meeting between American and European bankers took place in Hoboken, New Jersey, including Rockefeller, J.P. Morgan, Vanderlip, Paul Warburg (officially representing the Rothschild), as well as other major actors of private banking (Mullins [1952] 1983:13-14). The objective of the meeting was to create the Federal Reserve System, an institution that would provide the nation with a safer, more flexible and stable monetary and financial system, supervise and regulate banking institutions to ensure their safety and soundness, protect the credit rights of consumers, contain systemic risk that may arise in financial markets, and provide financial services to depository institutions, the U.S. government and foreign official institutions (Federal Reserve 2014). The meeting resulted in the

creation of the Federal Reserve on December 23, 1913, under the direction of Woodrow Wilson (Sutton 1995:2).

However, contrary to what its name implies, the FED never was a federal institution, but may rather be regarded as an international cartel of the twelve most powerful private banks on the planet. The FED was to become a council of influential bankers, supervising and regulating the politics of all national banks, rather than acting as a supporting national reserve for the United States. Its board of governors included representatives from Barings, Hambros, Lazard, Erlanger, Schroder, Seligman, Speyer, Mallet, Rothschild, Morgan and Rockefeller, which cast doubt over the genuineness of private bankers to act in the interest of American lower classes (Nichols [1961] 1994:5-6/Federal Reserve 2014/Mullins 1952:9-10).

As could have been expected, the Federal Reserve took control of almost all aspects of monetary creation on the American soil over the following years, while the dollar became the world's first currency. A new income tax was established, yet disguised as a social tax which aim was officially to refund the debt of the country (Mullins 1952:146). With such a move, the FED simply legalized taxation on the product of labor, acting as an intermediary between nations and their national treasury. On August 15th, 1971, after two world wars financed by the FED and several agreements giving the banks more political power than ever before, came the final coup de force. President Nixon announced the suspension of the dollar's convertibility into gold, cutting off the link between American gold stocks and monetary stocks, and freeing the dollar from the burden of indexation on concrete value reference (Bancroft 2014). With such move, the

dollar became fake money printable at will, yet exclusively by the FED (Sutton 1995:108). In 1973, in order to convince nations to still rely on the dollar as a means of exchange, the petrodollar reference was created (FTM Daily 2011). Via the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), nations of the world were therefore forced to pay for oil stocks with dollars. Those who refused were subject to military reprisals by the U.S. military forces, as Irak became the primary example. In the same time, sustained money creation resulted in sustained devaluation of money, and dollar owners have seen their money lose 96 percent of its value since 1913 (Patriot Rising 2014).

Among its numerous national and international disastrous consequences, the phenomenon contributed to merge the American middle class with the bottom to form one, "working poor" lower class. As President Obama came to power, 32 million American citizens lived out of ration stamps (Hillard 2014). Today, this number has reached 50 million, which accounts for 1/6th of the American population (Randall 2013). Operating internationally, such power concentration in the hands of banks sealed the economic dependency of populations towards the FED, its central financial institutions, and its equivalents on the European and global scale: the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Bank of International Settlements and the World Bank.

The analysis of global economic dependency towards central banks is not complete without addressing the question of the world debt. The obligation for nations to borrow money on private markets while paying interest leaves them in the same position as businesses in the private sector, where profit takes precedence over welfare. The

United States of America, which is currently the primary borrower of the FED, also became the first victim of its loan system.

The external U.S. government debt, reaching 1000 billion dollars in 1971, has currently gone over 17 trillion (U.S. Government Debt 2014). The amount of money in circulation constantly floating high above GDP and the amounts of possible economic growth, the national debt now simply appears impossible to refund. Government loans, that only central banks have the power to generate, mean, through the mortgage guarantee system, the slow draining of all possessions and fortunes by private banks. The same process is at work on other continents, with the European Central Bank in Europe, the World Bank for third-world countries, and so forth. Looking at the international debt ranking, North America is closely followed by the United Kingdom (1.3 trillion), Germany (2.3 trillion), France (2 trillion) and Japan (1.1 trillion) (National Debt Clocks 2014). All these numbers represent between 100 and 400 times the amount of each country's GDP. According to the Bank of International Settlements, the world debt would now exceed 100 trillion (Glover 2014).

At the look of these figures, serious concern has grown as to whether such tremendous debt will one day be repaid, or even should, among observers from all social categories (One.org 2014). Banks transferred their own debt to nations, and filled in their deficits by creating excessive amounts of additional money (to be used for speculation), while this excess is actually the very cause of the economic crisis (Jovanovic 2011). With Wall Street and the London City as its main centers, all decisions in major economic crisis follow the interest of banks, not nations. Without mincing words, under such a

system, banks own everything without producing anything, and with fake money as their only (yet unlimited) asset.

Since the 1980s, neoliberal schools produced ideologies and methods advocating the submission of the state to banking institutions, and economic regulation to financial markets, following the Austrian school of economics. This approach involved two main principles: to forbid independent money creation (from the state's own central bank), and to create public debt by having all representatives vote unbalanced (overwhelming) budgets. The "unbalanced budget" theory implies that instead of paying off their debt to banks with real money (collected through taxes), governments must borrow more money to pay off interest. Banks therefore became the eternal creditors of countries. Whereas, from the countries' perspective, economic debt is a burden which weight keeps on growing, enslaving them to become the eternal debtors of central banks. Clément Juglar (1884), John K. Galbraith (1975, 1977, 1979) and Maurice Allais (1947, 1965, 1999) have shown the mechanical correlation between unrestrained monetary creation by private banks and the economic downfalls that have followed in history.

This dependency linking private banks to countries is another coup de force from the international, financial hyperclass, which managed to expand its supremacy to the global scale (Sutton 1995). Leaving monetary creation in the hands of private actors sealed the demise of nations, and consequently, of all democratic dream within it. Economic dependency toward the world's central banks may be the most effective, and therefore representative example of globalism at present.

Over the years, the bourgeoisie class and its private banking cartels progressively took over real political power and global control over the world economy. As managers of monetary creation and creditors of the world debt, they currently occupy a central position in the global hierarchy of power on the planet. As modern private bank conglomerates are no longer confined to regulating economies inside the countries where they reside, they have created nomadic institutions that are able to impose their will on foreign countries' economies (Nichols [1971] 1994:20-33).

The globalist oligarchy does not need to enroot itself in any one place; it is home wherever there is money to take or profit to make. The American Federal Reserve, Wall Street and the City of London financial district are the symbolic centers of this global economy, operating tremendous power over all layers of the economic spectrum. Their head executives have become a financial hyperclass: the ultimate intermediaries between populations and economic resources. Escaping the global financial domination would mean to exit large imperialist structures such as the one of the United States or the European Union, which national and federal regulations forbid, or render particularly difficult (Moore 2013:Loc 315). Governments involved in international political, economic or military partnership agreements such as the U.N, the N.A.T.O, the W.T.O and W.H.O, the I.M.F are under the grip of the globalist superstructure, contributing to centralize social power high over borders. Analyzing the globalist aspects of these structures would certainly prove interesting, yet it is not the object of the present research. However, one deserves particular attention: the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T.T.I.P.), also known as the Transatlantic Free Trade Area

(T.A.F.T.A.), as it is currently the key element of the globalist structure in the Western world.

3.1.2 The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T.T.I.P.)

As the globalist tendency to unify larger groups of countries around supranational partnerships continues, the policy of central banks is being imposed to countries on large scales. Member countries are being influenced by the will of financial (and therefore private) markets through their participation in partnerships, which regulations can take precedence over national ones.

For instance, article 123 of the European Union constitution forbids member states to create money for their own profit, and article 104 of the Maastricht treaty states that they can no longer borrow money from their own central banks, forcing them to rely on private markets for financing (Hillard 2007:78-79). The E.U. constitution cannot be modified by member states, and its conditions are so demanding that it is almost impossible for populations to withdraw from it (European Constitution 2004:61-64). Such circumstances create power centralization around the economic giants that are international unions, of which head councils are often composed of executives from banks and multinational firms (European Council 2014). Because it is attempting to unite the American and European markets, the two historically oldest economic markets in the world, and because of the particular transparency of the will of its advocates, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (T.T.I.P.) may currently be one of the

most representative forms of globalist superstructures.

The present section will look at its origins, current development and at the purposes of its actors.

The roots of Anglo-Saxon globalist unions stretch back even before the First World War. Discrete in its early years, the quest for global governance has become increasingly visible as its establishment accelerated tremendously during the 20th Century, especially through the creation of the Transatlantic Economic Partnership.

In 1939, Clarence K. Streit, New York Times correspondent toward the U.N. wrote "Union Now: A Proposal for an Atlantic Federal Union of the Free." In his work, he advocated the unification of democracies with the aim of preventing future warfare among them, global economic stability and a path to global governance (Streit Council 2014). Streit wished to create a unified block and economic partnership between North America and Western Europe countries that would be border tax free, and would allow free circulation of goods and people. He received political, economic and military support from several high-rank personalities such as to-become C.I.A. chairman William Donovan, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, or Julian Huxley (Streit Council 2014). Streit also received the Cecil J. Rhodes scholarship, named after a famous British politician and businessman, founder of the British South Africa Company and the diamond company De Beers, who already aimed at creating an Atlantic alliance among the most powerful businessman of his time (Hillard 2010:7). Streit also played a

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²² The full list of supporters of the Streit Council can be found on streitcouncil.org

significant role in the creation of N.A.T.O. The project existed before the Second World War, and accelerated after 1945 (Streit Council 2014).

The idea that world peace could not be achieved without an international partnership between governments rapidly spread, and efforts were made to unify European countries. In 1950, Paneurope founder Richard Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed an Atlantic Union called a "Federation of the Three," in which the U.K. would serve as an economic bridge between the U.S.A. and Europe (Hillard 2007:75). In 1954, Streit made a "Declaration of Atlantic Unity" supporting the creation of a Transatlantic Union (Streit Council 2014). At the time, the globalist ideology cast its influence on many thinkers and politicians, including those who actively fought against the Bank and the centralization of power. Even President Kennedy's speech on 4th July 1962 called for a Euro-Atlantic Union block, via the establishment of an interdependence relation between the U.S.A. and Europe (Gendre et al. 2014). During the Cold War, Atlantist supporters used the fear of communism to their advantage in pushing the transatlantic agenda forward. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany's involvement in European economic partnership, as well as the transatlantic alliance accelerated, although slowly due to tensions with Russia.

From 1990 on, several sub-groups in favor of the establishment of a transatlantic partnership appeared within the European Union regulations (European Union 2014). In 1995, a pressure group of large business representatives was formed under the name of the Transatlantic Business Dialogue (T.A.B.D.); in 1998, an advisory committee was created under the name of the Transatlantic Economic Partnership (T.E.P.); and in 2007,

the Transatlantic Economic Council (T.E.C.) was created with Angela Merkel, George W. Bush and Jose Manuel Barroso at its head, who were already members of the European Council (Gendre et al. 2014). The Transatlantic Policy Network (T.P.N.), a very powerful and independent Euro-American think tank, should also be mentioned as it includes representatives of the largest international firms such as B.P, Coca-Cola, Dow Chemical, Facebook, I.B.M, Nestlé, Bertelsmann AG, Goldman Sachs, J.P. Morgan, Time Warner, Boeing, Citigroup, L.V.M.H, Microsoft, Walt Disney, etc. (Transatlantic Policy Network 2014).²³ Seeing such tremendous support from the world's greatest multinationals, it clearly seems that its representatives have interest in seeing it come to fruition.

Once established, its advocates claim that the T.T.I.P. arena would represent a market of 800 million consumers, corresponding to roughly 800 billion dollars in economic exchanges, which would approximate 40 percent of the World GDP (Bergsten et al. 2004:57, 252/Gendre et al. 2014). In other words, it would become the first economic market in the world.

Some analysts argue that, anticipating the economic rise of China, one of the goals of the agreement would be to elevate the transatlantic block to the rank of first reference trade market, so that other countries would consequently be forced to submit to the T.T.I.P. norms (Gendre et al. 2014). Another objective would be to insure that Europe remains politically and military bound to the U.S. block, and does not rally Russian or

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²³ The full list of members of the Transatlantic Policy Network can be found here: http://www.tpnonline.org/organisation/business-members

Chinese powers (Hillard 2012a:71). In July 2013, Dianne Finstein presented the N.S.A. project for the defense policy of the U.S.A. against the rest of the world in front of the U.S. congress. The figures she presented included territories of the E.U. and even China, not of the U.S. alone (Feinstein 2013). This project is linked to the establishment of a "common perimeter of security", agreed under the Schengen Treaty. It shows that the unification of the American and European markets would also happen on a military level (Tanguay and Therrien 2010).

In any case, should the T.T.I.P. be achieved, it would become the supranational entity including the largest and most powerful block of countries on the planet. All decisions regarding social and economic norms within it would be centralized in the hands of its general council and economic sponsors. Given that the latter are the representatives of some of the world's largest economic firms, there is no doubt that such an agreement would grant them tremendous power over individual member states. This fear originated from proposals such as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (M.A.I.), in negotiation between 1995 and 1998, which would allow international firms to sue and sentence nation-states should they consider that those apply protectionist measures, or do not meet economic, social or environmental requirements (O.E.C.D. 2014). The M.A.I. negotiations were discontinued in April 1998, yet are being pushed forward again through the Transatlantic Partnership Agreement (T.P.A.), which may be ratified along with other T.T.I.P. regulations (Wallach 2013). Should this happen, nation-states would become slaves to large international firms (whose representatives are members of the council and its think-tanks), and populations would become mere consumers whose

social protection may not weight much against the economic norms imposed by the Alliance (Gendre et al. 2014).

According to Hillard (2004), another final objective behind the T.T.I.P. would be the dismantling, or regionalization of and European countries. The transatlantic economic partnership would aim at fragmenting large nation-states into smaller regions, in order for supranational entities to better control them and for large firms to penetrate their economic markets. The same process has been at work in the United States, with the central government slowly gathering more power, which recently became the cause for member-states menacing to enter cessation (Moore 2013:Loc 259). The construction of the T.T.I.P. accelerated in recent years. In his speech at State of the Union on February 13, 2013, U.S. President Barack Obama announced he would submit a request to start formal negotiations on T.A.F.T.A/T.T.I.P in order to unify legal norms (economic, agricultural, industrial, etc.) for the benefit of English-American firms (Kanter 2013). Should these lead to a consensus, the transatlantic partnership may come to fruition by the end of 2014 or in early 2015 (Emmott 2013). Such a concentration of power may certainly affect the degree of sovereignty of states in both federations, in a way that may hardly be reversible.

Power centralization in the hands of central banks and supranational unions has accelerated in recent years, along with the global economic crisis. The world debt has reached unprecedented heights, and forecasting global insolvency.

The North American market, desperately needing to fuse with the European one

in order to compete with China and Russia economically rushes to impose a transatlantic economic alliance at tremendous speed. Should the T.T.I.P be completed as planned, it would become a world reference in terms of economic standards (prices, taxes, interest rates, incomes indexation, etc.), forcing other countries to adapt, and therefore submit. It may be noted that a similar unification attempt is currently at work between the U.S.A, Australia and Southeast Asia, under the name of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (T.P.P.), equally raising concerns about the future sovereignty of its member-states.

However, conflict persists with opponents from other international blocks. In the early years of the 21st century, Russia launched a proposal for a Eurasian economic partnership. By the end of 2011, Vladimir Poutine had managed to gather Russia, Bielorussia and Kazhakstan to form a supranational Eurasian alliance menacing to rival the transatlantic one (Gendre et al. 2014). He also offered Ukraine to rally the alliance, yet North America and Europe expressed their disagreement over the proposal. At the time of this research, Ukraine is experiencing civil uproars due to conflict of interest between advocates of the Atlantic side and Russian side (Associated Press in Donetsk 2014). As Zbigniew Bzrezinski (1997:54) argues in his work "the Grand Chessboard," Russia may lose its empire status should Ukraine fall under transatlantic control. Eventually, both unions are fighting to impose global governance and prevalence of their own economic norms to European nations.

Although it may appear that unions involving large block of countries are actually in competition with each other, one may argue that those all share the globalist ideology to a certain extent, and that completion of their agendas are therefore likely to lead to

similar consequences (Hillard 2014). The greater the supranational authority becomes, the less power remains in the hands of member-states, and therefore in the hands of populations. National governments may consider restoring public control over monetary creation, national sovereignty over central banks, and keep foreign investments at bay. Nations may need to apply more protectionist and localist types of economic management to exit the power centralization of supranational authorities.

3.2 Local Currencies, Unconditional Revenues and Other Alternative Economic Systems

Section 1.3.1 described the way money progressively became the main means of exchange and a man-made resource rendered as essential as water, food or shelter by capitalist societies. The previous section described how interest loans then became a powerful tool enforcing verticality and the dependency of nations toward central banks.

In order to protect themselves from the constant fluctuation and economic impact of national and federal currencies, several local and intentional communities have developed alternative money systems. Enjoying control over one's own monetary system allows communities more freedom over exchange management at the local level. The present section will attempt to analyze the mechanisms of local currencies in detail, and look at many interesting examples of communities that have achieved this shift successfully. Observation will also be made about how certain local communities apply unconditional revenue systems, in which incomes are attached to individuals rather than work positions. Finally, alternative means of exchange that may either replace or

complete the use of national and local currencies will be analyzed.

3.2.1 Local currencies

Local currencies are types of currencies that are not issued nor supported by governments or national central banks, but aimed at being used for trade in a limited, often small, area.²⁴ In times of national economic crisis, local currencies can help build a complementary and stable parallel economy limited to a given area. (Boyle 2002) While certain currencies died because of a lack of popularity, others survived and became a sustainable tool for development in local communities. The present section will present a few examples of successful implementation of such currencies.

The Ithaca Hours are a local currency in use in Ithaca city, New York State, U.S.A since 1991. By the end of the 1980s, Ithaca desired more independence from transnational corporations and bankers, and inhabitants were looking for a local currency that would encourage local agriculture, by gaining control of the social and environmental impact of the global economy on the city and its surrounding region. Ithaca managed to do so by issuing over 110,000 USD worth of local money in the area since 1991. (Ithaca Hours Community Currency 2013) More than 500 businesses and 55 farmer's market vendors in town now accept it, and thousands of people are now using it.

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²⁴ A local currency can also be referenced to as *complementary currency, regional currency, community currency, alternative currency auxiliary currency* or *private currency* depending on sources and on the context to which it applies.

The originality of Ithaca Hours is that they are a time-based currency. One hour of any kind of work enables a person to earn 1 Ithaca Hour. The Hours exist as bills that can be converted into U.S. dollar bills (1 Hour = One hour of basic labor, or 10 USD, 1 Half Hour = Half an hour of basic labor, or 5 USD, etc.). Ithaca Hours cleverly raises the hourly minimum wage in the area, without affecting higher incomes. For instance, the fact that farmers are paid in Hours makes them the highest common farm labor wages in the world, while usually more expensive businesses (dentists, lawyers, therapists, etc.) still charge more than 10 USD per hour. This system also has benefits in common with the basic income concept: they help bring into the marketplace time and skills that are usually not recognized by conventional markets (i.e. volunteering, craftsmanship, artistic or sports skills, social assistance, spiritual services, etc.) This raises the social value of people and their feeling of self-worth, by enabling them to do work they enjoy and excel at.

Ithaca Hours are brought into circulation through individual registration. When a person signs up, he/she becomes a member of the community, and receives 2 Hours (USD 20). He/she is then being listed on the Hours directory. In exchange, the person promises to offer a service for the community. Anyone may apply again every year and receive 2 additional hours for continued participation, yet signing up is not required to use the Hours. The board of directors of the credit union meets monthly to deal with distribution and promotion issues. It has a stock of already printed bills, like a central bank. The credit union also offers scholarship and loans without interest charges to local businesses and independent projects. As of 2012, over 10,000 USD worth of Hours had

been donated to over 100 community organizations (11 percent of the total issued Hours), including NPOs (Derudder 2012).

BerkShares are a local currency used in the Berkshire region of Massachusetts, U.S.A. since 2006. It was created by BerkShares Inc., a non-profit organization that collaborates with local banks, businesses and non-profit and organizations, creating a parallel complementary economy in the area. Launched in the fall of 2006, BerkShares had an initiation of over one million BerkShares circulating in the first 9 months, with over 4.3 million as of 2013. (BerkShares Inc. 2013) Currently, more than 400 businesses have signed up to accept the currency, reaching about 19 000 people. BerkShares can be purchased at 30 branches of 5 local banks, and dollar bills can be exchanged for BerkShares (1 BerkShare = 0.95 USD).

One main difference between BerkShares and U.S. dollars is that there is no coinage for change. This means people have the option of asking for both BerkShares and U.S. dollars for a purchase that is not an even dollar amount. Users are not required to sign up with the issuing company to trade in BerkShares. The use limit of the currency is approximately 10 miles outside of Berkshire county's border, yet no strict regulation exists as to controlling who uses it or not. BerkShares encourages local inhabitants to buy local first, provide a stronger community spirit, favor locally owned businesses, manufacturing and services, and protect the community against the unpredictability of the national, federal and global economy. BerkShares bills also feature local heroes and local artworks, creating job opportunities for local artists.

Future projects include enabling BerkShares checking accounts for users, electronic transfer of funds, ATM machines, and a loan program to facilitate the creation of new, local businesses manufacturing more of locally used goods. BerkShares Inc. aims at making its currency a totally independent currency that holds its value, as opposed to the U.S. dollar, which value is inflating constantly. Reaching complete autonomy would enable BerkShares Inc. to offer productive loans to local businesses without having to back them up with dollars. Such loans would be interest-free for customers (since BerkShares emission has no cost, unless money created by the FED), but with a lifetime fee in order to help support the whole program. A loan comity is to be created in order for decisions to be taken collectively.

The Eko is a local currency founded in 2002 by Ekopia Resource Exchange Ltd., the Findhorn community's development trust, with the support of the Hygeia Foundation. It was created for the benefit of the Findhorn community, in order to support rural development of the area and create a sustainable and safe economic environment by working as an alternative to the Sterling (Ekopia AGM 2013). As of 2012, a fourth issue of the currency was launched and there are now roughly 18,000 Ekos in circulation, for a total trading turnover of £400,000 to date. The currency is at par with sterling (1 Eko = 1.00 £), and notes are in one, five, ten and twenty denominations.

Ekopia provides low-interest rate loans and financial assistance to groups or organizations within the community, or to those in phase with the community's goals (the interest rate of loans is between 3-5 percent for a minimum investment amount of £500).

Profits above necessary amounts to cover operation costs are re-invested for the benefit of the community as a whole. Ekopia also supports various initiatives including an ecological guest facility (the eco-chalet project), the wind park (a set of windmills fulfilling all the electricity needs of the community), the Phoenix Community Stores (a local business offering a wide range of whole foods, books, music and crafts), the Newbold House (a charitable family home and hotel) and the local Youth Project (a building serving as a meeting place for young people). (Ekopia Resource Exchange 2013) Ekopia offers a shareholding system, and welcomes new investments in return of a 3.5 to 5 percent interest rate. (Ekopia AGM 2013) The Ekopia constitution is mutually managed, based on the vote of each adult member (250 members as of 2013), regardless of the amount of shares they own.

According to the online Complementary Currency Database, over 260 local, alternative or complementary currencies have been registered throughout the world, with most of them still in use (Complementary Currency Resource Center 2013). Although most currencies were designed exclusively for local use, new concepts influence other communities and similar systems can now be found on different continents. Solidarity also emerges from local community networks, favoring trade with other local producers rather than with large national or multinational firms. Other examples of success include the Time Dollars (U.S.A.), the Credito (Argentina), the Bristol Pound and the Brixton Pound (U.K.), the Chiemgauer (Southern Germany), the Eusko (Pays Basque, France), the Sol-Violette (Toulouse, France), the Ecoroma (Italy), the Community Exchange

The creation of a local currency does not often merge smoothly with national economic policies. Local currencies do create competition with national and federal ones to a certain extent. When inhabitants use a local currency instead of national one to purchase goods, they are voting for their region instead of their country. Not only does this raise consciousness about the importance of the personal empowerment that supporting one's local economy generates, but it also makes people increasingly aware of national economies' flaws and inadequacies. Moreover, local currencies inevitably reflect local values. Using them naturally creates local preference, which weakens nationalist consciousness and may over time seriously put the legitimacy of large national or supranational authorities in jeopardy. The fact that governments try to forbid, suppress and discourage such practices is therefore understandable (Dawson 2006). Because decisions regarding the emission of local currencies are locally made, money creation process is more democratically run, and therefore underlines abuses from national and private banking. Local communities simply have more control over local currencies, which makes them closer to community needs and resources.

However, although most local communities' aim is to rely exclusively on their own currency, very few can actually achieve this goal. Total economic autonomy is only viable once the community is in its final stages of development, when each sector has

²⁵ A more complete listing of existing local and alternative currencies can be found via the following link: http://www.complementarycurrency.org/ccDatabase/les_public.html

reached a certain level of autonomy in terms of food and goods production. Most ecovillages and transition towns still use industrially produced materials, vehicles, fuel, clothes, computers, transportation tickets, etc. (Dawson 2006). The total disappearance of central banks and national currencies may only be possible in a world where local economic autonomy and horizontal interaction have reached maturity, and after enough generations have completely integrated new means of exchange and found alternative sources of energy. For communities that haven't yet, keeping some national money stocks on the side is, at the moment, still inevitable.

3.2.2 Digital currencies and other alternative means of exchanges

Beside local currencies, other alternative means of exchange have developed in local communities. In the digital age, currency exchanges are becoming increasingly dematerialized, and the advantages of money transfer from one bank account to another have led local innovators to create completely virtual alternative currencies.

It is, for instance, the case of the Local Exchange Trading System (LETS), a mean of exchange based on digital money transfer. While the concept of LETS first appeared in the early 1980s, it was only applied in the 1990s, first as an experiment in Vancouver, then in several communities in the United Kingdom (Williams 1996:86). In a similar way to local paper currencies, LETS proposes a local, virtual unit for transactions of goods and services. The community first has to give it a local name (i.e. Acorns in Totnes, Favours in Calerdale, Solents in Southampton and Stokers in Stoke, U.K, Tianguis in

Tlaloc, Oaxaca & Mexico City, etc.), which renders it unique, and separates it from other LETS currencies. People can decide of a price for goods and services they sell, and those are listed on a directory that is made accessible to every member. When members trade with each other, they register the transaction and LETS units are transferred to their personal account. Users also have the possibility to use written paper cheques to record trade. Accounts are managed by a central administration, and displayed for everyone to see on the system's directory.

The LETS system is based on five fundamental principles: the cost of service is evaluated by the community for the community; every trade must be agreed upon by all parties (one cannot be forced to trade); trading information must be transparent (balances and paid prices must be available to all members); there must be equivalence between the LETS local units and the national currency); and deriving any interest from a trade is forbidden (Williams 1996). In practice, equivalence is not always respected, which shows the inefficiency of national currencies to adapt certain local needs. This is also the reason why many firms have a disincentive to invest and engage in trading with LETS communities (Aldridge and Patterson 2002). According to a 2006 LETSlink UK survey, there are now about 30,000 people currently involved in 450 LETS groups (LETSlink UK, retrieved 2013).

The Fureai-kippu (in Japanese: ふれあい切符 meaning "caring Relationship Tickets") is a peculiar type of alternative currency created by the Sawayaka Welfare Foundation in 1992 (Bovaird, Laratta and Nakagawa 2011). It was developed as part of

the Time Stock scheme, an attempt to encourage people toward volunteering at a time when the Japanese government faced difficulties with its welfare system.

The Fureai-kippu is a system in which people who provide services for elderly people earn digital credits (one hour of service = one credit). For instance, a young man goes shopping for an elderly person who is now too old to use a car. Shopping for two hours would earn him two credits. Credits are then transferred on an electronic account, and can be passed on to family members. For instance, people whose grandparents live far away can, instead of going home all the time, take care of local lonely grandparents. They can then send the credits they earned to their own grandparents, who can in turn pay someone to take care of them too. In other cases, seniors help each other by exchanging credits. Kippus are usually purchased beforehand by the elderly, and given to those who help them. Those who earn kippus can also make stocks of them, and use them when they will be older. The system includes services that are not provided by all health insurances, such as home delivery and home care, assistance and company, moral support, shopping, cooking, etc.

The objectives of the project were to develop local networks of mutual help, encourage volunteering among the population, create and maintain links between generations in spite of geographical distance and find financing solutions to the national aging problem (Hayashi 2012). The Sawayaka foundation defines society where "Fureai" relationships exist, which means a society where each individual is entwined into a network of spontaneous mutual help between the members of a community. Such a social network would be defined by the use of the "Kippu". Today, more than 450 networks use

the Foundation kippus in Japan (Hayashi 2012). Among them, 40 percent use exclusively the Fureai-kippu, while 60 percent others use both yens and kippus. Other similar systems now exist, with more or less similar rules regarding the use of real money and kippus.

Very similarly to LETS and the Fureai-kippu, the TEM System in Volos city, Greece, enables people to trade goods and services without relying on money (Boyd 2012). Mr. A does a service for Mr. B (i.e. giving him a pot of marmalade). Mr. B then owes a favor to Mr. A (called a "unit" or "credit"). The unit is then recorded on the community registry, and doesn't have to be returned by Mr. B specifically. This means that Mr. A can then ask anybody else to return the favor. Exchange doesn't have to happen between two people directly, but can be made with any member of the community. Units are tracked via an open-source community banking software system called Cyclos, which acts as a global bank account. This kind of system obviously relies on social consensus from its actors, who need to feel like they are part of the community in order for it to work. It also needs to be monitored by a transparent tracking system, accessible by all the members of the community.

FrontlineSMS, developed by Ken Banks in 2005, is a mobile and web-based platform designed to allow communities to use the power of text messaging in order to meet local needs. (Boyd 2012) It is used for several activities such as election monitoring, dispensing legal advice or powering local radio talk shows. An interesting innovation

brought by FrontlineSMS is the "Cash Mob" concept, in which people can decide to suddenly gather in a local shop (i.e. a candy store) and each spends 5 or 10 dollars each. This can give a serious boost of support to local businesses that are facing bankruptcy, strengthen human bonds and raise the awareness about community needs.²⁶

3.2.3 Unconditional revenues: theory and practice

Although the use of local currencies and alternative means of exchanges may create countless new job opportunities and bring significant improvements to local economies, they don't solve the problem of land property and income inequalities. No matter how equally inhabitants spend local currencies in a capitalistic world, land and business owners will always win the economic game. The problem of land property has been mentioned in part 2.2.1. It has already been argued that unless lucrative property is eliminated, and unless community members own the land on which they live and work, achieving true economic equality will remain utopia. Economic resources, including money, must be redistributed among inhabitants in an equal fashion. This issue will now be addressed in more detail.

Sociologists and philosophers have been debating on the concepts of unconditional revenue²⁷ for centuries. The idea is still very much alive, and initiatives are

²⁶ Ken Banks is the founder of a stimulating website called *Means Of Exchange*, gathering and testing new ideas about how to rethink the world of exchange interaction: http://www.meansofexchange.com

²⁷ The term unconditional revenue knows various synonyms, such as national or territorial dividend, state bonus, social dividend, basic income, universal allocation or dividend, life salary

currently under review in several countries. On the practical side, although many local communities are willing to apply such a system, few have been able to do so. The following section will observe the fundamental principles behind the idea of unconditional revenue.

In *Agrarian Justice*, Thomas Paine (1796) criticized the origins of private property, and introduced the concept of guaranteed minimum revenue. He proposed that every individual would receive fixed revenue from the age of 21 on throughout their lives, as a compensation for having been deprived of property over a land of their own. Such revenue would be provided to every individual regardless of whether they are rich or poor, or enjoy any kind of land property (Vanderborght and Van Parijs 2005:13). Paine's proposal has since been either criticized, consolidated or updated by countless thinkers such as Spence (1797), Fourier (1836), Mill (1849), Charlier (1894), or Theobald (1963), etc. Attention will focus on the modern forms of the concept, and how those should apply to contemporary societies and local communities. Three main approaches to unconditional revenues can currently be identified.

Basic income: The same income is provided to every individual
unconditionally through mutual contribution (regardless of social status, title,
profession, academic record or job). One may be able to add other incomes to
this by engaging in various activities.

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or existence revenue (Vanderborght and Van Parijs 2005:7).

- 2. Life salary: An income is provided to every individual unconditionally through mutual contribution. The amount of the income for each individual is based on his/her level of qualification (defined at school) and indexed on produced value. A ceiling is applied to the salary, in order to prevent too much inequality. Life salaries allow usage property of common resources, but forbid lucrative property, as well as speculation.
- 3. *Post-monetarist society:* A society in which money does not exist any longer. Goods and services fulfilling primary needs are available for free for everyone (or may be limited to people considered as members/citizens of a given community), and optional exchanges are operated via bartering.

Among these, the basic income concept is potentially the easiest to apply to current social systems. Social welfare initiatives, such as the Guaranteed minimum income (GMI), already in use in most European countries, introduce the idea of a minimum financial provision provided by the state, which insures that citizens or families earn an income sufficient to meet primary needs. However, the GMI is not unconditional, since some requirements must be met for its attribution. The French Revenu minimum d'insertion (RMI) is closer to the idea of a basic income, since both are provided in cash on a regular basis by public authorities, and are not the privilege of mutual contributors (Vanderborght and Van Parijs 2005:5). However it differs on three aspects: only citizens

whose financial situation has been officially evaluated as "poor" by authorities have access to it; it depends on their family situation; and they must make themselves available for work (as well as make efforts to find a job). These conditions render such allocations conditional, limiting and restrictive. The basic income concept gets rid of such inconvenience, by allowing revenue to all citizens unconditionally and without any offset.

This system also enables citizens to cumulate their basic income with other revenues. One may therefore choose to work in order to earn more, yet always have the possibility to serenely quit an unsatisfying job without fear of losing one's means of subsistence. Basic income funding gave birth to several proposals, such as social contribution, collection through VAT (which would limit government costs), funding by central banks, mutual contribution, etc. (Häni and Schmidt 2011) Other initiatives propose that basic incomes would simply be taken in account within current salaries (without lowering the amount that is currently perceived by the worker). However, most proposals are still in their development phase and the question of funding is still debated at the moment. Advocates of basic income systems currently include economists and sociologists such as Philippe Van Parijs (1992), André Gorz (2002) or Charles Murray (2007).

At the time of this research, basic income initiatives are undergoing consideration for national application in Germany (1,500 EUR, or approx 2,050 USD per person per month) and Switzerland (2,500 CHF, or approx. 2,800 USD per month) (Revenu de base 2013). In September 2013, a Swiss popular legislative initiative managed to collect

126,000 signatures (the necessary amount being 100,000) and submitted the proposal to the government on October 4th. (Reuters 2013). This will trigger a nationwide popular referendum about the application of basic income, which would be the first of its kind on this issue in the world. A proposal for basic income has also been sent to the European Commission, but has not yet been answered.

The idea of basic income is also developing in local communities, although being less an immediate need than in nations. For instance, Marinaleda operates an egalitarian basic income system, based on daily activity. Every inhabitant in the village earns the same income (47 EUR for 6h30 of work per day, no matter what the work is or where it is carried out). This means that every inhabitant earns about 1200 EUR per month. (Bolze 2009) The community very seldom knows unemployment (less than 5 percent). The benefits of human activities are not shared among inhabitants, but are re-invested in those activities in order to create new jobs, operate maintenance or buy new material. Incomes are derived from external mutual contribution. Depending on seasons, there may be less working opportunities for every inhabitant, yet everyone still receives their income so as to avoid inequalities of revenues, which makes it close to Friot's idea of a life salary (more on life salaries in the next paragraph). However, the capacity to provide revenue to every inhabitant in Marinaleda is currently limited by its economic situation. In case of crisis, the village is forced to reduce everyone's income.

Findhorn also applies the unconditional revenue principle. The community provides free board and lodging for residential full-time staff and visitors, as well as an

allowance of 200 GBP a month to all full-time members. Non-residential staff still receives the national minimum wage (Findhorn Foundation 2013). Ithaca city, U.S.A, operates on in a slightly similar way, providing 20 Ithaca Hours to all new members signing up to use the Ithaca Hours local currency. 2 additional Hours can also be obtained by simple demand once a year by members. (Ithaca Hours Community Currency 2013) These examples show that the idea of a basic income is no longer theory, but an increasingly accepted means of economic resource redistribution on both national and local levels around the world.

Allowing life salaries to citizens represents a more radical change than basic incomes, because they are linked to the concept of land property. Friot (2012) starts with the idea that difference should be made between the concepts of labor, salary and working position. If the economic value of a social system is based on working positions, human beings are not recognized as creators of economic value; their working position is. Moreover, salaries are therefore attached to working positions, not to individuals, even if individuals are the actual labor force. In capitalist societies deprived of social welfare, unemployed citizens are denied access to revenues, and therefore the right to live, which turns company shareholders into masters, and employees into slaves (Friot 2012). Thanks to the privilege of owning property titles, shareholders earn their revenue and wealth over others' labor, and have the power to decide everything: where and how production takes place, how to manage investment, etc. Modern capitalist societies currently have two illusionary gods: financial markets and jobs, for which everything is to be sacrificed.

According to Friot (2012), this is a wrong notion that must be changed.

Modern capitalist societies may know high unemployment rates, yet they are much closer to unemployment zero than they used to be. Countless new job opportunities (volunteer work, eco-friendly actions, social care for the elderly, etc.) lack investment from capital owners because they do not represent enough benefit possibilities. Moreover, the quality of actual jobs has deteriorated, and given birth to job blackmailing. Such inequality can only exist in a system in which salaries are linked to working positions. As soon as salaries are linked to individuals, capital owners lose the power to blackmail them. In theory, unemployment can only exist in working position-based economies, not in individual-based ones. Life salaries induce the idea that salaries be attached to individuals, not to working positions. Welfare systems such as the G.M.I. or the French R.M.I. are the first sketches of this idea, since they guarantee a minimum amount to all incomes and allow temporary financial substitutes to the unemployed. Friot (2012) deems such a mechanism as necessary, yet incomplete. He prefers the term "life salary" to "unconditional revenue", because it better stresses that the salary should be received from birth to death, and which amount would therefore be based on their individual worth (evaluated early in life, i.e. from education level, etc.). According to him, it is the only way to remold how value is attributed in capitalist models, to disconnect it from working time and reconnect it with individuals.

Earning a salary for life is a political right. It implies that human beings are the masters of the economic machine, which is what capitalism denies citizens in capitalist societies. Under capitalism, only capital owners and shareholders enjoy this position.

According to Friot (2012), the amount of an individual's life salary should be evaluated according to rules that will evaluate the qualification of his work. The more qualification an individual has, the more money he would earn. Once the amount has been evaluated, individuals would earn a lifetime right to that amount, to be perceived every month. Should they desire more, they can engage in a higher qualifying training, which will result in receiving a higher pay every month. Such a system would not prevent people from being fired or losing their job, but it would prevent them from losing their salary. Job loss would stop being the traumatizing experience it is today by allowing individuals financial security, and therefore freedom to do what they want to do. Job blackmailing would disappear, and job offers would need to be attractive for people to take them. Necessary yet difficult or unpleasant jobs, such as construction or cleaning the streets, will have to propose greater advantages to workers or simply be subject to more investment in mechanization. For Friot, it is also crucial that the benefits of a business be reinvested into it, and not be put at the disposal of shareholders or even employees. Salaries must come from social contribution, not company benefits. These two criteria are fundamental for life salaries to exit capitalism.

Although the advocates of basic income and those of life salaries generally share similar values and objectives, debate between the two still occur. Some of the main issues concern qualifications for revenues and funding. Basic incomes include no qualification scale: they would be the same for everyone (Van Parijs 2005). Life salaries, on the other hand, would depend on a 4 level scale of qualifications (Friot 2012). People would

automatically qualify for the first level by reaching age 18, but would have to study for higher levels of revenues. However, although basic incomes allow individuals to earn additional incomes through work, life salaries forbid it. According to the life salary approach, companies' benefit should not be used to pay its employees, so as not to recreate income inequalities. Instead, employees would own their working place and therefore have control over benefit reinvestment in the company. Friot does not believe in the benefits of life salaries unless they are linked to usage property, which first demands the total disappearance of lucrative property. This is why, in a way, life salaries imply a deeper rethinking of society than basic incomes. However, Friot's approach still considers individuals as economic value producers.

Most basic income supporters seek to sever the link between individuals and economy, in order to eliminate dependency links, and therefore possibilities of restriction on the free will of individuals (Bosqué 2013). According to them, revenues should not depend on any kind of power, whether it be private or public, but on a constitutional decision agreed by all. In both cases, the principal objective of unconditional revenues would not be to modify the current nature of revenues, but to render individuals free to accept or refuse any kind of professional activity. Although it is still hard to tell whether the fastest route to achieve such freedom are basic incomes or life salaries, their goal has already been clearly identified.

Besides unconditional revenue alternatives, other approaches propose the complete disappearance of money from society. In a similar way to unconditional

revenues, the goal of such initiatives is to free people from money dependency, and to sever the link between human activity and economy so that exchanges can be carried out freely.

Post-monetarist society advocates, such as Marc Chinal (2013), Jean Paul Lambert (2013) or Jean Patrick Abelsohn (2013), see money as the very cause of modern social suffering. Because the value of money is based on its scarcity, trying to solve the consequences of money scarcity with money would be contradictory (Chinal 2013). The value of national currencies not being indexed on the value of gold and silver any longer, the exclusive control of central banks over money creation are leading the world nations to bankruptcy. National currencies inevitably turn against their users and creators (Abelsohn 2013). Countless superficial goods and services are bound to disappear in the future, and the world markets will have to refocus around commodities. The essential economic growth needed for capitalist societies to function cannot be sustained. The world nations will enter a period of world GDP decrease or "ungrowth" era, which will bring a total rethinking of the purpose of private property, work and money, eventually leading to post-monetarist societies (Lambert 2013).

According to this approach, localist and equalitarian solutions such as local currencies and unconditional revenues can be used temporarily, but are not sustainable. Chinal (2013) also argues that most local currencies are not a safe alternative to national ones, because most of them do not include any tax collection. This cuts off support to public services, while local users still benefit from them. Many local currencies function well because they are used in parallel to national ones. However, on the long term, people

still need public services that local currencies or unconditional revenues cannot always replace. But how should a clean transition toward a post-monetary society be carried out?

In order to replace the absence of money, the French AM party proposes a chip card that records every transaction made by users (Voter AM 2013). Neither monetary unit nor accounting would be needed: the chip card would simply be used as a transaction symbol. Just as using a particular currency symbolizes belonging to a certain society or community, the use of the card would signify belonging to that society. Eventually, the need for a card would disappear once people have understood its principle. Luxury exchanges will be carried out via bartering. In such societies, the faster gratuity of resources is developed, the faster civilization development will happen. Many Postmonetary advocates agree with Friot regarding the idea that lucrative property must be eliminated in order to operate such a transition (Chinal 2013).

The growing awareness that global economies and financial systems aren't viable for local needs drives innovation toward more locally managed economies and means of exchanges. Local currencies, the idea of unconditional revenues for community members and other alternative ways of regulating exchanges are sprouting all around the world, and not only in local communities, but also in several countries. Localist alternatives modify the way exchanges take place, creating new business opportunities that help revive activities and services left unpaid or deemed useless by national business demands. With local currencies, lucrative banking activities such as loans and interest rates generally stay out of the picture. The increasing lack of control over national

monetary creation and central banks naturally pushes people to seek alternative ways of managing money. Today, recreating small yet strong local economies appears as a quicker and more effective way to cope with the poverty and precariousness of both urban and rural communities.

However, the nature of means of exchanges alone does not ensure economic balance. Equitable distribution of wealth through income is also essential to ensure economic democracy. This is why several types of unconditional revenues have been implemented throughout localist initiatives, some drawing from previous concepts developed by social theorists, others proposing innovative forms of financial redistribution. Eventually, localism leads to proposals for the elimination of lucrative property, access to free resources and relying on bartering for luxury exchanges or services. In order for a social model to completely let go of capitalism and operate a clean transition toward localism, individual right to usage property should be maintained, but lucrative property should enter serious structural change, so that it can later be forbidden. Land property must be reorganized and redistributed to local communities, so that the people who have been living and working on it for generations finally own the land they use for survival. The same goes for facilities and material that are privately owned.

Time may have come to make official distinction between what is currently owned under usage property and lucrative property by both national and local authorities. Local communities are obviously the ideal social environments to experiment with these concepts, since they contain fewer individuals and require less bureaucracy. However, the road to post-monetarist societies is still long. As Williams (1996) and others have argued,

there are spatial limits as to what local economies can currently accomplish, especially because of the amount of goods and materials that only manufacturing in larger, national or international firms allows. Although local currencies or bartering would ideally replace the use of money in post-monetary societies, many are still forced to rely on national public services and currency stocks at present. More collaboration and understanding on the part of national authorities and the management of large firms is necessary in order to share production resources and control over local economic issues. A conscious transition toward localism may bring such changes, but would obviously create conflict of interest with globalist organizations.

PART IV: RELIGION

Beside politics and economy, religion stands as another important vector of social control. Religious dogma shares similarities with the globalist mind frame, as most religious systems recognize an elite at the top of a hierarchical power structure, and can operate on international scale. When established in a given nation or society, religious structures can subtract a certain amount of political authority from governments, and replace it with their own. This can take the form of supranational entities, which influence can spread internationally. One may notice that the criteria identified by Pierre Hillard (2007:6) and reported in part 1.1 are here met, which may explain why he prefers to refer to globalism as mysticism rather than ideology.

One main advantage that religion possesses over politics is that its field of

influence crosses borders in a much easier fashion. Although certain states clearly impose official religious dogmas and repress others, a large number of countries allow religious freedom. Unless economy, religion is also immune to occasional crisis regarding material and human resources, and as such, can explain its prevalence over long periods in time. It may also be noted that the most influential religions today, such as Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Buddhism are monotheisms, a feature that facilitates justification regarding the existence of a unique set of spiritual intermediaries between the divine and the masses. Having an elite chosen by a unique god may actually appear less democratic than an elite chosen under representative governments, but actually lead to the same tyrannical results. Religious power structures carry the globalist ideology so efficiently that politics and religion are closely tied; one group failing to manage its alliances cunningly is sure to lose the game.

Religious power structures have, however, changed over time: as Protestantism was created to adapt the new paradigm created by the emergence of financial markets, current religious system are evolving along with popular cultures, beliefs and values. Under localism, not only religious freedom appears to be more prevalent than within nations, but also different types of relations to the divine seem to emerge. Distinction can be made between religion and spirituality. The goal of the present section is to understand the current role of religion in regard to globalism and localism, as well as the kind of influence it casts on both social structures.

4.1 Globalism, Monotheism and Spiritual Intermediaries

4.1.1 The role of intermediaries and centralization in major religious structures

In his structural theory of imperialism, Galtung does not venture much into the analysis of religions as power structures. He does refer to religions in his later works, yet mostly regards them as positive ideologies for world peace, once understood and applied in international relations (Galtung and Scott 2008). He does not appear to perceive religion as another vector of imperialism, but as a solution to emancipate from its grip. However, if the aim of secularism was to balance the tremendous social power acquired by European States, it can only mean that so much has been handed in to the Church. No matter how secularist modern states may claim to be, many still recognize the authority of high religious authorities, and most government officials ask for its benediction when entering the service (Hillard 2007:85).

From the point of view of social science, spiritual principles may not be regarded as relevant in a globalizing world which main architectural frame is economic, yet the very fact that its main actors belong to religious groups forces us to take the religious factor into account in our analysis. Logic dictates that the inner spiritual convictions of those in power must, to a certain extent, influence their actions against any irreligious vow. In other words, assuming that faith and religious beliefs, to whatever extent they may exist, are inherent to human consciousness, it is safe to assume that religion holds a decisive role in shaping social structures. Spiritual authorities, such as the Pope in Christianity, rabbis in Judaism or high monks in Buddhism, also often enjoy counseling

seats next to high political authorities. It is therefore safe to assume that they hold significant political influence on nations. Religions crossing borders and minds faster than globalization, spiritual policies can also have significant impact on other fields of study simply because of the relationships spiritual authorities share with governmental or banking authorities.

Speaking for God, a social function historically occupied by the clergy, intrinsically grants access to elite status. Technocratic structures do not allow the profane to contradict the sayings of the expert. As a consequence, clerical oligarchies do not only benefit from the material contributions of their followers, but also obtain significant means of social control over them, since they enjoy authority to define "acceptable" and "unacceptable" sets of values within the religious society. Such social structures leave tremendous room for power abuse and few for spiritual freedom. Those following spiritual paths emancipated from the Church have faced persecution, much in the way political opponents have from governments. Individuals who aren't following the dogma are declared heretics, blasphemers, labeled as sects or are simply accused of insanity, which is almost identical to the globalist mechanism. Free spiritual groups that do not recognize the authority of the Church represent a threat for its authority. This is precisely where religion and spirituality can be set apart: religion implies dependency toward an elite class, while spirituality implies autonomy.

In that sense, religion would create vertical structures, while spirituality would create horizontal ones. Religious structures would therefore be defined by the presence of

clerical authorities, which will enjoy social immunity and privileges placing them above common believers. However, this is not to say that power abuse necessarily emerges from all hierarchical religious structures. Only once the actual interest and agenda of religious authorities is known can their acts be fully understood. Nevertheless, major religious structures do imply a vertical social class-based construction, which forbids the mass a direct relation with the divine. Religious authorities act as intermediaries between God and the people; a function which, in the absence of God's direct speech, leaves all power in its hands. Religion draws its social power from its intermediate position.

In order to carry out such a task, large, institutionalized religions, by their very dogmatic structure, demand a power hierarchy to function, just as political or economic structures do. Although religious leaders have long been sharing power with royal and political authorities, secularism attempted to create distance between them, in order to reduce the influence of the Church on governments, and vice versa. In some cases, the religious elite has been willing to emancipate from governmental control, establishing its headquarters in independent zones, or remain nomadic. The Holy See in the Vatican City State shows the Catholic Church's will to retain a land on its own since early Christian times. This will has survived the Roman Empire downfall, and continues to exert its influence nowadays. Islam, although recognizing no official religious elite, established the city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia as its holy center and pilgrimage site, and denies the right to non-Muslims to enter the city. The city of Jerusalem is also considered holy by Judaism, Christianity and Islam altogether, and has been subject to several political and

military conflicts in history. In all cases, one may notice a clear will from religious structures to have a land of their own, in order to make their influence concrete in the material world. Once such a land has been obtained, it functions a Center, which can then expand its influence over Peripheries, in a similar way to nations and empires.

However, since religious Centers are not recognized as nation states, religious rules can more easily enter countries, coexisting with national ones. Conflict may therefore appear between the two. It has been the case, for instance, on questions regarding abortion, the conditions of meat consumption, the legitimacy of medicine and science, etc. Religious followers are subjects to the influence of contradictory powers, being stuck in a network of intertwined vertical power structures. For instance, a European Christian is subject to decisions of supranational entities such as the European Union, to the rules of his own country, and to the ones of the Christian Church. Far from emancipating citizens from power centralization and globalism, religious power structures actually add to individual liberty depravation, by creating more constraints for followers, and retroactively, more power for its authorities. In that sense, religion can be seen as another vector of globalism.

4.1.2 The example of Noahidism according to Hillard

Political Science PhD and French essayist Pierre Hillard, whose research deals with both historical and modern aspects of globalism, has dedicated a large part of his work to understanding the correlation between globalism and religion. As mentioned in

section 1.2, he defines globalism as "a mysticism that consists in reorganizing the world around spiritual and temporal principles," a process that is similar to the one of religions (Hillard 2007:6). According to his research, the dogma of major religions have tremendous influence on the development of national ideologies, and are closely bound to political and economic policies, due to the harmony of interest of both religious and national elite classes. Such harmony of interest can be explained by social class proximity, and would lead to the hyperclass mentality mentioned in section 2.1.3.

For Hillard, most major religious ideologies prevalent today have globalist characteristics and expectations. The two main characteristics of a globalist religion would be monotheism, and the presence of religious magistrates acting as intermediaries between the unique God and the people (Hillard 2012c). Monotheism is preferred, as belief in several gods may dilute the power of religious Centers. Several gods means several types of cults, which multiplies worship places and knowledge sources. A fair example of modern polytheism may be Japanese Shinto, which recognizes and worships the divine presence in Nature. Polytheism creates possibilities for the profane to create a direct connection with the divine, and enjoy it with a greater degree of freedom. Such a system therefore allows the existence of local gods and beliefs, which in turn generates local religious authorities whose knowledge can often become more relevant to local populations than the one of central authorities (Uchiyama 2012). Such a belief system dilutes the power and control of religious Centers. On the other hand, monotheism homogenizes worship procedures and centralizes it in time and space, making it easier for a unique Center and elite to claim exclusivity over access to divine knowledge (i.e. by

restricting access to divine scriptures and high religious status positions). This is why a globalist religion would deny direct access to God to the profane and advocate the use of religious intermediaries, which leads to the second characteristic.

According to Hillard, in order to be globalist in Nature, a religion must include magistrates that would form a religious elite, which is to stand between God and populations. The elite and commoners would therefore have to follow two different sets of rules. While the clerical oligarchy would supposedly be under the jurisdiction of God, followers would be under the jurisdiction of courts of justice, under magistrate supervision. Such a vertical structure may certainly remind one of the imperialist and globalist structures analyzed in part 2.1. The Magistrate status gives the religious elite full political immunity, and almost total freedom regarding the administration of followers. This ensures that strict hierarchy is maintained, leading to the religious Center/Elite vs. Periphery/Followers type of social organization in space and time.

Taking these characteristics into account, Hillard refers to Talmudist Judaism as one of the most representative actors of globalism. Talmudist Judaism is monotheist in nature, hierarchical in structure and would aim at reformatting all non-Judaic religions toward what the Talmud refers to as "Noahidism" (Hillard 2012c). Noahidism is a spiritual doctrine which ultimate goal is to create a universal religion based on the worship of a unique Jewish god, but which principles are not to apply in the same way to Jewish (Yahudim) and non-Jewish (Goyim) (Wikinoah 2014). According to such doctrine, the Yahudim are to follow the teachings of the Torah in order to become a class

of magistrates (or priests), who are to play the role of intermediaries between the people and God, preaching certain moral principles to non-Jewish people. Such an ideology/social function is referred to as "Mosalism" (Hillard 2012c). On the other hand, the Goyim are forbidden to read the Torah, and must abide by their own distinct set of rules, called the Noahide Laws. Those are defined as follows.

- Idolatry is forbidden. Man is commanded to believe in the One God alone and worship only Him.
- Incestuous and adulterous relations are forbidden.
- Murder is forbidden. The life of a human being, formed in God's image, is sacred.
- Cursing the name of God is forbidden.
- Theft is forbidden.
- Eating the flesh of a living animal is forbidden. (This was commanded to Noah for the first time along with the permission of eating meat. The rest were already given to Adam in the Garden of Eden.)
- Mankind is commanded to establish courts of justice and a just social order to enforce the first six laws and enact any other useful laws or customs. (One in Messiah Congregation 2014)

The first Noahide law forbids idolatry other than the one of the One God, which is to say that it does not tolerate polytheism. Noahidism does tolerate the existence of other religions, as long as they are strictly monotheist, and follow the Noahide principles (Hillard 2012c). However, those are considered incomplete, and must eventually be replaced by the original religion, which is claimed as being Judaism (Ibid).

The Noahide laws may appear to reflect universal values, and as such cause few harm to the societies on which they are to apply. However, that these rules are not to apply to Jewish people (the Yahudim), whose role is to guide humanity while being intermediaries between the unique god and the people (Hillard 2012c). In other words, they are to be the chosen, absolute elite. The existence of two distinct sets of rules divides society into two distinct classes, creating a social structure that is intrinsically unequal. The courts of justice mentioned by the seventh Noahide law are to enforce it onto the Goyim, not the Yahudim. It may not take too much imagination to imagine how much social damage can be done by an elite enjoying freedom to commit crime against the inferior class without any risk of legal reprisal. Under such a dichotomy, the geopolitical distribution of the land is to follow the same principle. Centers of religious power are to take precedence over Peripheries in terms of rights.

Countries are to be fragmented into smaller entities (closer to the size of regions) and continental blocks of those are to be unified under a global government and a homogenized humanity (Hillard 2004). All nations should be managed in an undifferentiated way, except for the one nation being home to the king and his magistrates/clergy (i.e. Israel, the Vatican, the Mekkah, etc.). Such a hierarchical structure is based on the near absolute power of a small religious elite, reigning over humanity as a whole, and its principles are certainly similar to those of globalism.

One may argue that religious principles, although playing their part in shaping social values and structures, are not at the center of political and economic systems. However, the structural proximity of religious and political elites allows both ideologies to converge toward each other. Regarding the impact of religious principles on national policies, it may be worth adding that on the occasion of the Education Day on March 26th, 1991, the U.S. Congress signed a joint resolution recognizing the Seven Noahide Laws as being "the basis of civilized society" (Congress.gov 2014). The President and vice President paid tribute to Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, leader of the Lubavitch movement, recognizing him as a great spiritual leader, whose contribution will help "turn [attention] to education and charity to return the world to the moral and ethical values contained in the Seven Noahide Laws" (Ibid). Whether U.S. Congress authorities advocate the application of these laws to all human beings alike, or wish to let a certain elite stand above it is unclear, therefore leaving the door open to interpretation. Nevertheless, the correlation between religious scriptures and national policies, as well as its impact on national education can clearly be seen in this example.

Although Hillard has certainly identified its globalist characteristics, Talmudist Judaism is not the only religion to include such elitist principles. Christianity, for instance, is also a monotheist religion that has established similar globalist-like power structures over a large amount of time. Its small clerical elite has been enjoying steady privileged status over followers, and these privileges have been passed on through generations among bloodlines and powerful families within the Christian sphere. Christianity's head,

the Pope, represents the voice of God on Earth, and is therefore the privileged mediator between the divine and the people. He is surrounded and assisted by a hierarchy of high priests, such as the Society of Jesus, whose statuses allow their bearers numerous material privileges and key roles in the evolution of the dogma. As the precursor of Christianity, Judaism has had great influence on its morality and principles, although the two have since entered a rivalry relation (Hayes 1953:2). Today, both religions are fighting to impose their own principles onto followers, and sometimes, with the help of the political sphere, onto entire nations.

Islam is also monotheist, yet it bears particularity in the fact that it recognizes no official religious elite, nor allows any clerical intermediaries between God and the people. The Imams are indeed recognized as knowledgeable authorities, yet retain a limited, practical leader status that is not to interfere with each individual's relation to God (Quran 50:16). Prophets along the bloodline of Muhammad are sporadic and are not embodied by a static social class of any sort. The animosity of Judaism and Christianity against such a degree of spiritual liberty on the individual level is therefore understandable, since it may raise questions about the need for religious elites. Although being monotheist, Islam disapproves of the existence of a privileged religious elite, even if it also shows certain limits in some aspects (i.e. access to the sacred facilities of the Mekkah as well as to certain religious knowledge is however forbidden to non-Muslims).

Even in polytheist religions and cultures such as the Chinese and Japanese ones, royal and emperor bloodlines are to be of divine origin, which defines ancestral families as intermediaries between god(s) and the people. Such a status places royal families

above any human law and maintains their political power in the bloodline over centuries. In Hindu religion, the Indian caste system strictly organizes society into a hierarchy of hereditary groups, insuring the perpetual domination of an elite. Such examples of elitist structures can indeed be found in several religions and cultures.

It appears that the world's monotheist religious structures present elitist and globalist characteristics. They are based on an elite class of priests that is to play the role of intermediaries between a unique God and populations, and as such, enjoy immunity for their actions in the material world. According to the definitions proposed in section 1.2, such religious dogma clearly advocates vertical social structures, which political power are the exclusivity of an elite of religious intermediaries, not of the people. In that sense, large, major world religions can be seen as globalist in structure. In the examples previously proposed, it is hard to not see the same power strategy played over and over again: the one of a human elite "chosen" by superior entities, enjoying full religious, political, economic and military power, and being above any law of conduct they can prescribe for the rest of humanity. Although religious scriptures may not originally approve of the existence of such power structures in human societies, time and History have built religious empires just as they have built political ones. Under such circumstances, it may be safe to assume that official religious structures impede spiritual freedom more than they support it, which raises questions over their current legitimacy and relevance.

4.2.1 Global god vs. local gods

The previous section analyzed the globalist characteristics in world religions. The imperial reach of global religious centers such as the ones of Christianity, Judaism or Islam allows them power over far away populations as sure as is they were governments, creating another layer of global control network over peripheries. How does this reach currently affect local and intentional communities? Does religion have the same social role in these communities as it has in modern capitalist nations?

Religion and social power have long walked hand in hand. Religious authority shaped social organization at both macro and micro levels. Although global-size dogmas such as Catholicism presented infinite nuances depending on the country, local culture and size of the communities where it was preached, churches at the center of villages remained a vector of local cohesiveness and social control (Bloch 1939:130). With time and the progressive centralization of power on the global scale, the grip of local churches loosened, and authority tended to concentrate in larger centers such as cities. Eventually, this culminated into the creation of sacred global centers (i.e. Vatican City, Mecca, etc.). Local churches and the media currently serve as relays of information from center authorities to periphery followers. Recent developments in science and the rise of atheism have further weakened the importance of religious practice in everyday life, especially in

Western countries.

However, the power of religious authorities across the globe remains strong. Skepticism toward the legitimacy of the religious (and political) elite may exist in times of peace, but quickly disappears in times of danger, when fear pushes people to rally behind authorities (Bloch 1939:129). A strong power bond still exists between central and local churches, and therefore between control centers and people. Globally shared religious beliefs also still contribute to consolidate nations and empires. However, in practice, few communities shared the conquest dreams of national religious leaders. Religiously strict and closed communities such as the Mormons, the Amish or the Jesuits rather constitute exceptions, and are not representative of the way religious practices are carried out in the rest of the world.

Religious beliefs in local communities were historically linked to their local environment, people, tradition and its resulting way of life (Uchiyama 2010). Spiritual beliefs were locally managed and cemented the solidarity of individuals. Religious practice did not call for forced homogenization and persecution of non-believers, but rather for human solidarity around common moral values and activities. As such, religions were traditionally designed for small societies, and their social role was in phase with the organization of social life at the local level (Uchiyama, 2010).

In his book "The Principles of Localism" (2012:48-49) Japanese philosopher

Takashi Uchiyama argues that spiritual practices in traditional local communities should

be clearly distinguished from religious dogma.²⁸ For him, religion as it is currently understood embodies notions of power and control, as it expects "proper conduct" from followers and respect of the official dogma by the clerical hierarchy by introducing notions of rewards and punishment. Traditional spirituality rather focused on praying for loved ones and wishing the best for the community, which created the shared common values that actually generate communities. State religions should therefore be regarded as radically different from local religions.

Uchiyama (2012:51) argues that local religion may apply to a village, a town or around an activity, as long as it builds relationships among individuals within a common place, or space. This must therefore be distinguished from State religion, which individualizes followers as subjects and is managed globally, not locally. Under State religion, followers are linked to each other indirectly and vertically (via religious authority), not directly and horizontally via their community. This is why the bond between people and the spiritual should not be based on simply observing the social hierarchy structure of religion, but rather on observing whether people are directly connected to each other by spirituality or not. Another question that one may ask is: Are community members deciding what spirituality means for themselves, right where they live? Should the answer be negative, it may not be genuine spirituality.

Certain modern local communities have consciously and deliberately separated

²⁸ Uchiyama uses Japanese words 祈り (*inori*: prayer), 願い (*negai*: wish) and 信仰 (*shinkō*: faith) to refer to traditional spiritual practice, as opposed to 宗教 (shūkyō: religion).

their religious practices from religious authorities. In Marinaleda, for instance, religious freedom is guaranteed in the village, but neither priests nor spiritual leaders are allowed (Bolze 2009). Inhabitants insist on the idea that there should be no social status difference between authorities and people. This conveys the idea that any approach to spirituality may be valid, but intermediaries are not. However, drawing the line between religion and spirituality may not always be an easy task, as cult spaces or religious leaders can easily emerge. Forbidding such practices may later appear as anti-democratic or abusive. However, few local and intentional communities seem to encounter these kinds of problems. Many have developed innovative approaches to spiritual practices.

4.2.2 Current spiritual practices in modern local and intentional communities

Even if does not always follow traditional religious dogma, spirituality is still an essential element of social life in local and intentional communities, and as such, cannot be overlooked. Spiritual practices often are an important reason and motivation behind the creation of intentional communities. Whether it becomes a common habit of everyday life or simply a shared social value, concrete cases of spirituality-based communities show how such practice can become the backbone of social interaction, and can often become a criteria for moving into one community rather than another. Spirituality-based communities are now countless. The following section will observe a few of them, and attempt to understand how spirituality influences social organization.

As mentioned in part 2.2.3, the reputation of the Scottish community of Findhorn started from a "magical garden" that was created through spiritual guidance. Dorothy Maclean claims that she was "told" how to manage the garden by nature itself, and that their success was the result of co-creation between humans and nature (Caddy [1992] 1966). The three founding members had years of experience in free spiritual practice before even coming to Findhorn, yet had very few experience in growing vegetables. This is why the miracle of Findhorn attracted the locals, who knew the difficulty of obtaining satisfying results in Findhorn's sandy soils. The feat even attracted American spiritual teacher David Spangler and his partner Myrtle Glines, who joined the community and helped consolidate its spiritual organization and activities (The Findhorn Community 1976).

Together, they founded the "University of Light", a workshop program designed to dispense spiritual teachings to members of the community as well as temporary visitors. Their works were also edited and published by their own local press company. The workshops still exist today, with more than 200 workshops, events and conferences per year. Activities in Findhorn include various forms of meditation (sitting quietly in nature or with others), singing, dancing, attending seminars, etc. Spirituality did not only enhance the quality of life, but also considerably helped develop business in the community. However, making money does not seem to be the community's goal. The founding principles of the Findhorn Foundation and community are: "deep inner listening, and acting from that source of wisdom, co-creation with the intelligence of nature, and service to the world" (Findhorn Foundation 2013). From these 3 original principles, 11

others were later added, and "spirituality" is still number one. Meetings in Findhorn deeply take in account spiritual principles, and encourage all its members to listen to the voice within before taking any decision.

The young eco-project and open learning center of Tribodar in Portugal is another community in which the same kind of spirituality takes central place. Tribodar was created in February 2010 by the 'Happiness Everywhere' association (Tribodar Learning Center 2013). The founding members bought a land of one hectare (with possibility to expand and be purchased by a future association of permanent residents), and started a community which aims were to spiritually reconnect with nature, share knowledge and experience with others and live a sustainable life. Group activities in Tribodar mainly revolve around spiritual practices and eco-consciousness. The community receives volunteers and guests from all over the world, who can come and help in the creation of the project and participate in open learning/non-formal education activities.

Open seminars focus on the principles of permaculture, sustainable living and spiritual healing. The founding members have set up a learning center that opens its doors to the public for various spiritual workshops on weekends. Saturdays are called "days of healing", and include activities such as Kundalini yoga, meditation, Satsang talking groups, energy dance, food Mandala, live music improvisation and tribal ceremonies. Sundays are called "days of sustainability", and focus on ecology and permaculture. The community organizes a "Morning Circle" meeting every week, in order to discuss issues and solve problems. Whether members share the same spiritual interest or not, such

practices inevitably influence their relationship with others and the community.

Certain social movements may also trigger the creation of intentional communities. It is the case of "The Ringing Cedars", the famous series of books by Vladimir Megre, which led to the establishment of more than 150 ecovillages across 48 of the 89 regions of Russia since the publication of the first book in 1996 (Barham, Gold and Sharashkin 2005). Written in the form of a novel telling the tale of an encounter with a fictional character called Anastasia, the books deal with fundamental ideas about the history of humanity and its relationship to the external world, as well as the mistaken beliefs that have prevented him from understanding its relation with nature (Woodsworth 2005).

Along with a deeply spiritual and conceptual approach, the series also includes detailed practical steps to rebuild appropriate eco-conscious, sustainable communities. Inspired from the teachings of the books, intentional communities have been sprouting in the Russian countryside, as well as in a wide range of countries. Anastasia centers can now be found in Australia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Israel, Lithuania, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the United States (The Ringing Cedars Of Russia 2013). Social organization in these communities revolves around spiritual practices, such as meditation, yoga, etc., and its members believe in a deep type of interaction between human beings and nature.

Those are only a few examples of local communities where spirituality occupies a central place. Observing such practices leads to fundamental reflection about the social role of religion and spiritual beliefs. One fundamental remark can be made about the fact that most communities rely on spiritual cults that are different from worldwide major spiritual beliefs such as the ones of Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism or the like. Although some aspects are similar (i.e. group rituals or teachings from more experienced members), those place the development and well-being of humans at the center of the spiritual process, with a rather wider range of individual liberty. Guilt, confession and repentance are usually exempt from the scheme. Such kind of spirituality is rather advisory than dogmatic.

Another characteristic that differs from major religious cults is the absence of intermediaries. Spiritually experienced people do take the role of guides, but neither use their power to manipulate others nor enjoy higher social status. Terms such as "spiritual leader", "priest" or "guru" are therefore inappropriate here. In most cases, ecovillage members enjoy freedom of spiritual belief and practice, as long as no power hierarchy emerges from it. Religious principles may be kept as individual values or ideals, but stay out of social organization. A more appropriate description of such spirituality may be the conscious building of an individual set of values. These values may draw from existing religious systems, but they should not be forced on their followers by religious authority. Individuals are encouraged to seek knowledge and understand the world by themselves, through direct experience and find answers within, and not by following others. This is based on the belief that every human being is capable of attaining freedom (to become

who one wishes to be) without the influence of others. To summarize, the type of spirituality that seems to naturally develop in local communities is free, personal, natural, secularized and autonomous. Could it be the result of subtracting power from religion?

PART V: DEFENSE

Defending one's territory remains one of the founding notions of civilizations. The idea of dedicating a certain social class to the defense of a land against external or internal threat is an old practice that was born long before nations. According to the trifunctional hypothesis (Dumézil 1929), prehistoric Proto-Indo-European societies already possessed warrior classes as part of a tripartite structure (clergy/priests, warriors and workers/commoners). The military power of a society defines how much authority it can wield against another. Therefore, the correlation between defense forces and political power is certainly one of the reasons that led the first traditional communities to grow increasingly larger, in order to build stronger armies. Indeed, the greater the size of a community, the more capital and labor it can allocate to its defense; and the greater its defense, the greater its political power inside and outside of its borders.

Today, the heavy financing and workforce associated with police and army forces has mostly rendered defense a national affair. Small communities can simply not afford to build nation-scale armies, just as small countries cannot afford to build empire-scale armies. Some are thus forced to comply with national laws in order to benefit from

military protection, or simply to avoid being attacked. With such a power balance, military domination is closely tied to economic and political domination. The technological and industrial capacity for building strong armies is rendered almost impossible for Periphery countries, as military equipment such as weapons and tanks requires high-level processing industries that only exist in Mother countries (Galtung 1971). Peripheries, which resources consist primarily in raw material, are unable to build equivalent weaponry or such high military training for their soldiers, and therefore fall under a state of dependency toward Centers for their defense. Center countries usually propose such protection to their satellites, yet this tends to create more political dependency than safety for the latter, and more power to the former.

The larger the empire, the larger its political power in regard to other countries, and therefore the more influence it may have on the world scale. Eventually, such escalation generates a perpetual worldwide military competition, which currently culminates in nuclear warfare. Although conscious of the damage that a nuclear world war would mean to the world, competition forces each nation to arm itself with the most advanced technological weapons, so as to retain its power of influence. This may be the reason why empires' political influence today rather lies in their capacity to invade other countries by force, rather than in actually taking action. In the end, such competition over the issue of defense threatens the security of nations rather than reinforces it. The issue of defense and security, whether it is observed from a globalist or localist point of view, calls for two radically different types of social organization. The present section will observe both, and attempt to understand the social mechanisms that set them apart.

5.1 Defense under Globalism

5.1.1 Global military competition and the war for world resources

As Galtung (1971:454) argued, the military power of a nation is closely related to its technology. Weapon production capacity and communication devices, among other technology-related criteria, all define how competitive a given nation can become in regard to others. Military competition therefore generates a world ranking, which constitute a reference as to which nation currently owns the greatest firepower, and therefore, political power. At the time of this research, the United States of America own the greatest global firepower (GFP) in the world, which coincides with the nation's leading political influence on the world events (GFP 2014)²⁹. It is followed by Russia, China, India, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Turkey, South Korea and Japan. Such results also coincide with the history of the Western capitalist world-system on the global scale, and to the technological development of countries, as mentioned part II and III. The globalist feudal structure and vertical interaction patterns within the worldsystem naturally allows Mother countries the rank of first military powers. Those who align with her enter such world-systems benefit from their technological network, which helps them catch up with the leading nations in terms of technological development.

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²⁹ It should be noted that the GFP ranking is based on each nation's potential conventional warmaking capabilities across land, sea and air, as well as values related to resources, finances and geography. Nuclear capability is not taken into account (GFP 2014).

However, the global hierarchy within the transatlantic world-system tends to remain unchanged. Center nations are always one step ahead of Periphery ones in all fields of the interaction, and especially in communication, since it is the one field that binds them all (Galtung 1971:455). As means of communication and transportation in Center nations develop and evolve into more modern ones, old technology, having become obsolete, is often sold to the Periphery ones (i.e. weapons, airplanes, trains, computers, electric and electronic devices, etc.). In this regard, the Centers' technological superiority is constantly updated and reinforced, while Peripheries' development remains second-hand and dependent on Centers' will. Periphery nations are therefore unable to raise their defense capacities at a level that would enable them autonomy toward Mother nations, and as such, remain at their mercy. Army hierarchy also follows the same vertical procedure. Military advisors reporting to Mother countries are sent to the Centers of Periphery nations to manage military operations. Those who occupy the highest hierarchical position in Peripheries always share more harmony of interest with their superiors in Mother countries than with those of the Periphery, which prevents them from acting in the favor of the latter.

Another key aspect of such vertical structure is the media, or communication systems. Information displayed by the media in the Center are carefully selected, and primarily deal with subjects suiting the Mother country and its Peripheries, and cutting them off from relevant information regarding the rest of the world. The Periphery therefore has few ways of learning about the situation in other Periphery countries, and

understanding the similarities in terms of exploitation and dominion of their conditions. This military feudal structure "isolates" the Peripheries, turning them into satellites of the Center, and constantly reinforcing their dependency toward it. The issue of the media and information control will be addressed in part VI.

In practice, the issue of global defense is more closely tied to control over the world's natural resources than to the security of populations. One may recall how controversy about the Baghdad Railway (or *Bagdad-Bahn*), a large railway stretching from Hamburg to Koweit, and going through Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire, quickly became the starting point of the First World War. Its goal was to create a large intercontinental block around such railway, and secure the transportation of oil from Mesopotamia to Germany. Completion of the Bagdad-Bahn would have shifted the global balance of power in favor of Germany and to the detriment of the British Empire, which led the Allied Forces to deploy all their firepower in order to end such project (Hillard 2012a:6). International conflicts over the exploitation of resources are unfortunately common, yet they are, in most cases, initiated by Mother countries, not Periphery ones. Periphery countries usually lack the firepower needed to attack other countries. As has already been argued, Periphery nations are approached by Mother nations primarily for their resources, and business relations are created so that exclusive exploitation can be secured in favor of the latter.

The goal of strong military structures is, most of the time, to protect such exploitation against foreign threat, which in itself is rather ironic. Periphery countries'

lack in military technology also prevents them from resisting against such exploitation. The slow dismantling of national armies in Periphery countries can be observed all around the world. The U.S. federal government encourages or demands the dismantling of other countries' military power, with the exception of its own. Such a contradiction reminds everyone of its position in the global firepower ranking.

In the case of competition between two Center nations over the resources of one Periphery country, the latter runs the risk of becoming a battlefield, as one can frequently witness in countries of the Middle-East, Africa or South America. Nuclear competition raises risks to the next level. The world is currently witnessing a psychological war on the global scale, in which military power is induced by possession or non-possession of the nuclear bomb. The international tension created around nuclear capacity maintains a certain kind of global fear reminding of the Cold War era, which seems to be far away from serious concern over populations' security. How exactly is such a gigantic power structure maintained? What mechanisms allow governments to control defense forces in such an efficient manner?

5.1.2 Globalist defense structures and biopower

Microanalysis of defense-oriented social structures reveals strict vertical hierarchies, which affect all patterns of human relations within these said structures.

Those who accept the terms of the contract and enter official defense forces lose their citizen status while under contract. Socially speaking, this means that soldiers lose their

right to be treated as equals, and therefore become commodities subjected to the will of those ahead of them in the military hierarchy. Being from an inferior social class therefore means limitation, if not negation, of rights and free will to a certain extent.

Vertical power structures create strict subject-object relationships, which makes it an effective means to mold human behavior toward the desired goals of its leaders, allowing them tremendous social power. Having a whole social class allowed to resort to force and being able to turn it against those who do not obey is the source of the strength of representative governments. Defense forces, more than any nation state institution, act as relays of government ideologies, forcing obedience and discipline in every social field of interaction. French philosopher Michel Foucault (1976) refers to this phenomenon as *biopower*. He defines it as the practice of modern nation states and the regulation of their subjects through "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault 1976:140). The present section will propose a brief overview of the impact of biopower in globalist societies.

Biopower appears when the exercise of authority by an assigned social group drastically influences human behavior and practices in all fields that society. Such trait is typical of vertical globalist structures. The influence of biopower is even stronger in fields that are nationally regulated (i.e. the health sector, child birth, heredity, defense, prisons, etc.). With time, the discipline associated to the exercise of social power curves popular habits and behaviors into more rigid mindsets and gestures, inducing self-regulatory mechanisms into the body and mind of populations (Foucault 1975:35).

In his course "Security, Territory, Population," Foucault (1977:7) identifies three modalities through which biopower is applied: (1) Legal or judiciary (i.e. the establishment of laws and punishment for those who break it), (2) Disciplinary (i.e. involving public surveillance and correction of deemed undesirable behavior), and (3) Security system (i.e. anticipating crimes and delinquency in advance by building a whole set of devices designed to prevent it). Desired results are therefore achieved through a reward/punishment system, to be applied by upper to lower segments of the hierarchy. Immediate compliance with orders is rewarded by personal gratification or promotion, while failure to comply is met with light or heavy social rejection, depending on the case. Disobedience cannot be left unpunished, for it would soften the image, and therefore loosen the power of authorities. In extreme cases, it leads to public humiliation and usually severe retaliation.

Fear of punishment (by the authorities who have the power to carry out such punishment) therefore becomes an essential element for preserving the social order. However, Foucault (1977) emphasizes the importance of the third factor (Security system), which he regards as the most effective. By setting up security systems and constantly reminding populations of the dangers of crime, fear is consciously produced and maintained by authorities. Such a mechanism offers several benefits to the ruling class: to infantilize citizens (in implying that those need a government to protect them), to divide the social body (by creating fear and distrust between individuals, and therefore prevent the formation popular resistance movements), to legitimate the existence of a government (to fight large-scale crime), and to legitimate social violence (which is

deemed as a necessary sacrifice of individual liberty in favor of the greater good, or social justice).

In vertical structures, biopower mechanisms are a key element of social regulation, and affect all levels of society. The closer to the authority, the more rigid a power structure becomes. Over time, discipline rigidity extends to other sectors, creating habit and even culture. Eventually, civil obedience generates decay in fields such as social responsibility and individual liberty. Once fear has been implanted as a social norm, reversing such mindset proves tremendously difficult. Discipline is presented as necessary measures for security, while it actually maintains the hierarchy and inequality in place. With time, discipline is socially accepted and integrated as part of the culture by the population.

Uniforms constitute one of the most visible accomplishments of the application of biopower. Those convey the idea of social category among the population in the most unmistakable way. Although the use of uniforms has been evolving along with societies, their very existence perpetuates and reinforces class-consciousness. By separating the population into strict factions, uniforms erase the importance of diversity and the uniqueness of their wearers. It also removes one's right and need to take responsibility for his/her actions. When defense and justice are to be applied by people who wear specific uniforms, defense and justice become social privileges.

As the example of the Athenian democracy has shown, if national authorities are the only social class that can assign such privileges, the doors to corruption open. Tasks and roles are codified by the authorities, and assigned accordingly. For utilitarian reasons, uniforms therefore appear in different shapes and colors. The more obedience is needed toward authority, the more rigorous and prestigious uniforms become. Business suits are its most modern apparel: they are the uniform of the working class. By homogenizing the physical appearance of citizens, those are turned into multi-purpose commodities whose time and labor power can be bought. Ties and leashes look incredibly alike. It is therefore no real surprise that wearing suits has become the norm for both men and women in most developed societies, and its image is being praised as a distinguished and fashionable phenomenon. Wearing suits is also more expected from men than from women on the working place. Since men are more prone than women to rebel against authority, they are the ones on whom vertical power must primarily apply.

Uniforms in the police and army enjoy the strictest regulation, due to the absolute submissiveness to power they infer. Such submissiveness is compensated with a slightly higher social status than regular citizen, and by the right to repress. It must be noted that army forces stand above the police in the hierarchy. The army is the last wall of defense of the elite, and such position allows them greater means of action. Self-sacrifice for the elite is the highest distinction one could achieve, and therefore explains why the heads of the military enjoy a social status that is often intertwined with the one of the elite class. The whole power structure could not stand without the defense class, which George Orwell (1945) referred to as the "dogs" in his famous novel "Animal Farm." Law enforcement is an essential mechanism of power structures, as it protects the authorities from popular anger. This is why military disobedience or siding with the population is

considered treason: a contradiction in so-called democratic regimes.

The elite is the only social class that does not need uniforms: being above the norm is its very raison d'être. The higher the social status, the greater degree of uniqueness is allowed in one's physical appearance. Expressing one's personality and individuality is the mark of freedom, and must therefore remain the privilege of the elite. However, in practice, things are not always that strict and appearances may deceive. The elite often hides its social status behind suits, and the population is often allowed freedom as to what to wear, yet has not access to luxury wears. In a capitalistic society, the price of clothing conveys a certain social status, and can also be analyzed as a category of social uniform.

Biopower penetrates all aspects of globally-managed societies, to the point where all behaviors and habits are codified and controlled by government authorities. The very presence of security systems and uniforms creates division and verticality among citizens, and as such, represents an obstacle to true social unity and equality. Such categorization may present certain advantages, such as being money and time saving, and may enable easier social organization for authorities. However, the main problem generated by such classification is that only compliance is needed for reward, not morals. Individuals lose sense of the importance of self-responsibility, and of their right to remain politically active. Class-consciousness also splits the population into sub-categories that do not result of true disharmony of interest, but artificially assigned social roles. Defense forces are the most vivid example of the negative aspect of such division.

Although the social function of defense forces should logically be to serve the will of the majority, those have become, in most cases, a military weapon used to enforce the will of an illegitimate minority. The issue of national defense has led to an escalation in violence and structural power abuse. Do defense mechanism in large societies render such power abuse inevitable? Is crime socially enrooted in human communities, and develops exponentially along with the size of societies? Are there alternative ways to manage defense and insure security at the individual level? The objective of the next part is to observe the social defense at the local level, through several examples of local communities, and to seek solutions to social power abuse. It will analyze the way localist communities deal with the issue of defense.

5.2 Defense under Localism

Localist communities usually approach the issue of defense in a different manner compared to nations, primarily because of their size. Limited access to labor forces and resources in turn limits possibilities regarding the creation of a social class strictly devoted to defense. Creating police or army forces may remain possible, yet costly. It may require time, investment and training that may still not help inhabitants to resist national or imperial forces. Therefore, local communities often choose to rely on self-defense principles, extending the defense responsibility to every member of the community. Rather than training a certain social class to combat, each inhabitant is taught basic concepts and learns to defend his/herself and his/her pairs by his/herself. Houses,

facilities and land design are also designed to meet and optimize defense needs. Such practices are common in survivalist communities, and tremendously modify notions of social responsibility. The following section will attempt to understand exactly how such notions are affected, and how localist communities deal with the issue of defense through practical observations.

Communities located far away from nations' great centers are usually less concerned with creating defense forces for themselves, and rather advocate self-defense education. However, national police forces are often imposed to local communities, who have to answers and acts upon national laws represented by national authorities, not local ones. The larger the country, the greater chance it may have to create conflict between authorities and local communities. Those who wish to emancipate from national authorities can therefore not count on the police for their own protection, and must sometimes rely on themselves alone. In case of clear disagreement with national laws, local police forces may even become a threat to local inhabitants.

In most cases, local and intentional communities function without having a police or army system. Some simply do not feel the need for one, since, as Marinaleda mayor Gordillo stated: "people are not willing to destroy their own village." Horizontal relations may create strong bonds of solidarity between the inhabitants of local communities, yet this alone will not ensure their security against national or supra-national law enforcement troops such as the one of nations and empires. For these very reasons, defense at the local and individual levels becomes an essential notion in localism. Raising

local inhabitants' consciousness about such issues is decisive to ensure a high level of social resilience and sustainability. Awareness, vigilance, common security devices and a certain amount of technical training is necessary in order to defend the community against oppressors. Many localist movements chose to rely on self-responsibility for protection. This aspect of social life is particularly emphasized among survivalist communities. The next section will observe how such communities currently manage the issue of defense.

5.2.1 Defense in survivalist communities

Although the quest for autonomy and self-sufficiency is not a recent phenomenon, the 20th century saw the emergence of a new approach to local defense in North America, in the name of survivalism. The movement emerged from a certain desire for independency from State authority in certain local communities, and from the desire resiliency in case of a possible crisis (i.e. natural disasters, economic or nuclear crisis, communist invasion, biblical apocalypse, etc.) (San Giorgio 2011:200). Typically, survivalists move to areas that are located far away from conflict zones or potential trouble (i.e. highly populated zones such as large cities), and strive to acquire as much autonomy as possible regarding water supply, food and energy. While some of them prefer a more solitary lifestyle, others integrate or develop local communities (Rawles 2009:50).

Survivalist authors advocating localism and life in community, such as James W.

Rawles (2009), John Seymour (1976), Matthew Stein (2000) or Kevin A. Carson (2009) developed the idea of a responsible and resilient way of life setting the foundations for a kind of society based on autonomy. In a broader sense, the survivalist approach aims at designing one's living environment so as to insure security, autonomy and sustainability of individuals, or a small group of individuals at the local level (San Giorgio 2011). Survivalists advocate individual awareness through the application crisis management (as opposed to relying on central authorities for safety), and have developed a broad range of traditional and D.I.Y. techniques in order to help individuals create independent yet durable living conditions from themselves. Survivalists mostly seek independence from the global economic system, and wish to return to a more sustainable lifestyle, in phase with their environment and Nature (Ayoub, Drac and Thibaud 2010).

From the survivalist perspective, capitalistic societies force individuals to participate to the creation of a defective structure, generating lifestyles and social environments that increase dependency toward the State rather than empowering individuals (i.e. constant payment to access resources, constant work to earn money, etc.). Although welfare programs may give the impression that individuals are being taken care for all their lives, they are actually left with almost nothing should the system collapse. The survivalist approach raises responsibility from the individual level. It asks each individual to provide autonomous survival conditions for him/herself, and not to wait for a higher authority to give it to him/her. However, such a lifestyle does not necessarily mean to destroy the social link and leave people more alienated than they currently are in modern societies. To the opposite, survivalism reinforces solidarity in

groups, and make people realize how fragile individual comfort can be, and how being part of a community is a precious gift to care for and nurture. Under survivalism, the "unity is strength" expression is given a different meaning than under globalism: united as community members, while remaining independent and autonomous as individuals.

Survivalist movements aim at creating a lifestyle maximizing an individual's chances of survival. Although the image usually associated with survivalism is one of precariousness and frugality, habit and social organization in survivalist communities can often provide pleasant and comfortable living conditions. With time and experience, survivalist communities can offer radically more sustainable and eco-conscious lifestyles than the fragile opulence of modern urban societies. Because survivalism focuses on human basic needs, it has the potential to replace social dependency toward large Centers for autonomy. However, survivalist communities often suffer from the same kind of problems as other intentional communities regarding the need for fuels, manufactured goods and national retail networks. Aiming at resolving such problems, they nevertheless provide direct, practical solutions to modern social and economic crisis, and as such, are likely to play an important part in future societies.

5.2.2 The Sustainable Autonomous Base (S.A.B.) model

The idea of defense focusing on individuals rather than society as a whole obviously calls for a different type of housing and living environment than those

currently in use in modern nations. Homes in most capitalistic nations are based on dependency, not autonomy. Access to water, food or electricity in towns or cities all depend on a fragile just-in-time distribution network and power system. Should a single element of this network suddenly stop functioning, shops will close, and most apartments or houses will no longer provide a safe and comfortable shelter to its inhabitants. In most cases, people will rapidly be forced to leave their homes to survive.

The need for rebuilding society based on different rules led Hakim Bey to develop the "Temporary Autonomous Zone" (T.A.Z.) concept in 1991, which became very successful in anarchist, hippy, alternative and anti-globalist movements (Ayoub, Drac and Thibaud 2010:11). He proposed a new way of fighting globalism by building temporary zones in which the rules of consumption and capitalist societies would not apply. This movable T.A.Z. being movable and compact, it is like a useful bubble that provides an alternative way of interacting anywhere, even in the middle of a large city. Conscious of the incomplete aspect of the T.A.Z. concept, Bey later modified it into "Permanent Autonomous Zone" (P.A.Z.), implying that its temporary aspect of T.A.Z. was not satisfying enough, and that his concept was meant to stay. In their 2010 book "G5G", French sociologists Michel Drac, Serge Ayoub and Michel Thibaud further enhanced the P.A.Z concept, by transforming "zones" into "bases", and renaming the "permanent" aspect "sustainable". Their idea of a "Sustainable Autonomous Base" (S.A.B.) is described as follows: ³⁰

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³⁰ The "Sustainable Autonomous Base" (S.A.B.) appellation is a translation of the original French term "Base Autonome Durable" (B.A.D.). Among U.S. movements, survivalists may broadly

A Sustainable Autonomous Base's primary goal is to become a security space, as it is the kind of things that, in the near future, will be the least available. We need to rebuild economy based on sustainability rather than productivity. We need an economy based on physical production, which goal is to provide stable and viable solutions against virtualized finance and profit-oriented economy. We want stability. We want long-term strategies. Therefore, we want roots. We want to rebuild autonomy, but also sustainability. We want to be able to see the future for ourselves and for our children. We want foundations. We want a ground, a base, a land. We want a real, permanent Sustainable Autonomous Base (Ayoub, Drac and Thibaud 2010:12).

This definition further claims the right for every individual to a sustainable, free space that allows free access to resources and full autonomy. It is no longer a wish, but rather a declaration of independence from the State or any other kind of superior authority. However, the "unmovable" aspect of a S.A.B. renders it much more difficult to apply or build than a T.A.Z. Free access to water and food is so far away from modern society structures and State laws that it can obviously not be created anywhere. Also, how large should such a S.A.B. space be? Should it only include a building, or also its surrounding area? In his 2011 book "Surviving the Economic Collapse", Piero San Giorgio further developed the S.A.B. concept by elaborating a guide for everyone to follow in order to build one's own S.A.B, based on previous researches such as the ones of survivalists John Seymour (1976) and Matthew Stein (2000). He identified seven fundamental elements to a Sustainable Autonomous Base: Water, food, hygiene/health, energy, knowledge, defense and the social link. The principles behind these seven elements have

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refer to similar places as retreat, refuge or bug-out locations, yet these appellations may not embody the same depth of structure as a S.A.B.

been summarized in the present section. A synthesizing diagram is also proposed in figure 5, in order to help the reader visualizing them.

FIGURE 5

A SUSTAINABLE AUTONOMOUS BASE (S.A.B.) MODEL
BASED ON PIERO SAN GIORGIO'S SURVIVING THE ECONOMIC COLLAPSE (2011)

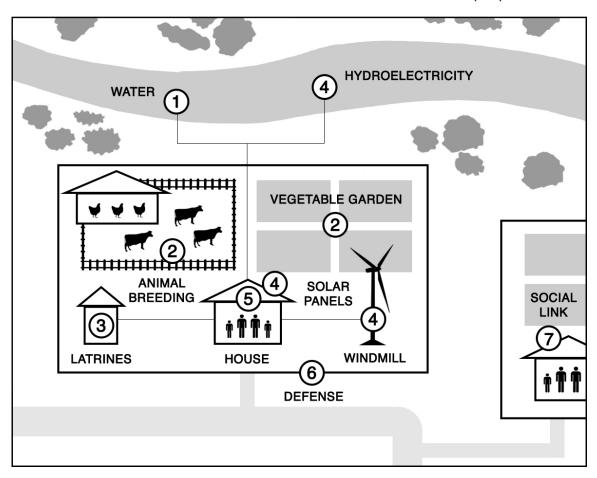


Figure 5. A Sustainable Autonomous Base (S.A.B.) Model, Based on Piero San Giorgio's *Surviving The Economic Collapse* (2011)

1. Water. Easy access to drinking water, as well as careful analysis of its quality is the first thing to consider when choosing one's S.A.B. location. The quality and quantity

of food, cooking, agriculture, animal breeding, hygiene and first aid will all depend on the quality and quantity of the water source. Stein (2000:70) argues that the average water consumption of a modern human being is approximately 20 to 50 liters of water per day, although for drinking purposes only, two to three liters are sufficient. Five to ten liters should also be added for cooking and washing. This means that a standard S.A.B. should provide between 50 and 70 liters of water per person per day.

Since water sources cannot be created but only found, access to water cannot be improvised. Only when the water source is found and confirmed as drinkable (or convertible into drinkable water) should the building of a S.A.B begin. Obtaining water for consumption, as well as for irrigation purposes is a tedious task. More than a billion people in the world lack access to drinking water and three billion do not have access to used water evacuation facilities (San Giorgio 2011:204). The cost associated with the infrastructure of water supply is rising with time, and water has to be pumped from deeper layers of the soil, or further away from populated areas. The quality of water also deteriorates because of pollution, of water contamination (especially in large cities), and these negative effects even spread to industries and agricultures. In western developed countries, a large part of the population enjoys cheap and easy access to clean drinking water. As a result, many people handle water light-heartedly in their everyday house chores such as bath, showers, toilet, washing machines, dishwashing, pools or gardening. If water supplies suddenly came to a halt, not only would drinking water in shops disappear within a couple of hours, but most people will have to start migrating immediately to places where they could find water in open sources such as rivers,

swamps and lakes. Although rainwater can also be drunk, having adequate recipients to stock it and carrying it around is another problem. Natural source water is obviously the best possible choice for a S.A.B, but it is also difficult (and sometimes expensive) to find a buildable location next to it.

The water must also be checked and confirmed as drinkable and safe. A well can become a good and reliable water source, but requires a pump system, either manual or electric. Rainwater is easy to collect in containers, and can easily be used for irrigation, body washing, clothes washing and for sanitary purposes (Seymour 1976:244). It can also be filtered in order to be drunk or for cooking. Rivers are obviously a primary choice for water collecting, from which a pumping a filtering system can be built to carry water into the S.A.B. Ocean water can become an infinite source of water, but needs desalting and filtering, which can sometimes demand costly facilities and material. In most cases, water needs to be purified through filtering before consumption. Several types of filtering exist, such as chlorine pills, high temperature boiling (65-90°), or pasteurization (San Giorgio 2011: 207-208).

2. Food. Most of the food in the cities and towns of developed countries is brought to customers daily through a rather complex and fragile transportation system. Because of the demands of just-in-time distribution, one problem in the supply chain can cause shortage of food within a couple of hours. Relying on external food sources that can sometimes be located far away from the community is neither a resilient nor sustainable way to deal with food supply.

Local food production in limited quantities, on the other hand, decreases both costs and risks in regard to transportation. Owning a vegetable garden, raising livestock, learning how to hunt, fish and having enough room for stocking food surplus, provides safer access to food at all times. It also calls for stocking surplus in anticipation of crisis, when production is impossible. For all these reasons, self-sufficiency through selfproduction should be, and is often the primary objective of S.A.B.s and local communities (Stein 2000:91). One of the most convenient sources of food self-production remains the vegetable garden. Creating one's own garden inevitably goes through determining its surface, which will depend on available space, as well as on the number of the S.A.B. inhabitants and their individual needs. Living in a rural area compared to an urban one usually presents practical advantages: more cultivable space, better access to water, etc. For raising livestock, animals require more space to produce the same quantity of food as vegetables (San Giorgio 2011:222). A 50 square meters vegetable garden might be enough to provide enough food for one adult individual (this parameter can be insured by optimized permaculture methods), but a 100 square meters might actually be safer. Some part of the garden should also be left uncultivated (waste land), in order to operate a rotation of cultures from one year to another and preserve the richness of the soils. Flowers will attract useful insects, (i.e. bees for honey production), and should therefore be part of every balanced garden (Seymour 1976:130). For all previously mentioned reasons, a 1000 square meters area might not be too large to fulfill the needs of one family (San Giorgio 2011:223).

Hunting is another efficient way to provide food for a S.A.B, but requires

knowledge about how to use fire weapons and how to prepare the game for consumption (Stein 2000:121). According to countries and areas, a permit may also be required to engage in hunting activities, as well as serious knowledge of the natural environment where the activity is to take place. Sustainability demands deep understanding of the local ecosystem, so as not to let hunting affect the fauna and flora on the long term. Proximity of the S.A.B. or community to a forest might provide several advantages. If located near the sea, lake or river, fishing might be preferred. Meat as well as fish consumption require knowledge about the necessary material. An ideal way to fish might also be to build one's own breeding pond. An 80 centimeters, 10 square meters-large pond may be sufficient for one S.A.B, and is usually not so complicated to build (San Giorgio 2011:222).

Careful analysis of the location of a S.A.B. or community is therefore required for successful food self-production. The number of people living in a S.A.B. is what will determine everything, from size to location, as well as the quantity of food needed for total autonomy and satisfaction. Analysis of the neighborhood is also essential for long-term harmonious cohabitation and sharing. Only a limited number of people can live on a given land surface. Balance should therefore be found between the land and its inhabitants, as failure to reach balance with nature will generate serious issues. The latest permaculture studies (examined in more detail in part 2.6.2) give precious hints about how to adapt human life to natural environments, and create small ecosystems on any given land.

3. Hygiene & Health. Quality of hygiene and health in a S.A.B. is indeed one of the most complicated characteristics to achieve, since few modern urban lifestyles demand the same amount of individual preparation as would rural ones. While reaching a comfortable level of autonomy without scientific knowledge for basic needs such as water, agriculture or simple housework is possible with only a little amount of training, accidents become more complicated to deal with when they enter the medical field.

Medicine techniques have considerably evolved over the last 150 years, and often heavily rely on specific knowledge, tools and machines (San Giorgio 2011:228). Thanks to modern medicine, the quality of health has improved and life expectancy has considerably expanded. However, in case of economic downfall or simply by moving to less developed areas, comfort conditions decrease, and the burden of individual responsibility to deal with illness and wounds increases. Doctors are not always readily available, and even if most rural or local communities count at least one doctor, depending on the severity of the illness, (s)he may not have access to the appropriate medication or tools to carry out treatment. Those envisioning independent lifestyles should therefore be prepared to deal with medical treatment themselves, which demands serious mental and practical preparation.

Crisis management is inseparable from achieving a high quality of hygiene and health. It is obviously easier to think ahead in order to prevent any wound or illness to happen in the first place than to treat it. Attention to hygiene should therefore become the first and foremost step to take toward a healthy lifestyle inside any S.A.B. or rural house. Basic understanding of one's domestic and natural environment is a good starting point

for preventing exposure to bacteria and danger, and should be taught to children from a young age. While common small wounds or illnesses can easily be taken care of by inhabitants themselves, certain traumas and diseases will require the assistance of a specialist. Access to modern medication, or to a facility allowing surgery to take place may prove difficult depending on the area. At the very least, S.A.B. inhabitants should undertake basic surgery courses, or acquire basic dentist knowledge.

The concept of hygiene is linked to a global understanding of one's environment, and of factors that can alter health, such as pollution, deterioration of materials, putrefaction and all kinds of domestic and wildlife risks (Stein 2000:176). Rural life requires more physical strength and endurance than urban life (even for simple things such as cutting wood or hunting). Physical activity, body care, nutrition, housework and addiction problems can all have serious impact on the health of inhabitants living under the same roof. Eating healthy food, exercising regularly and moderated alcohol or tobacco consumption is obviously recommended. Cleanliness is another key hygiene factor. Disinfection and sterilization of wounds and tools, detergence of clothes or materials, as well as careful cleaning of the dishes with water or other non-polluting substances are good habits to take. Living with animals should also be seriously thought through, as it may bring countless bacteria, parasites and diseases transmittable to man inside the house. Domestic animals require even more hygiene care than humans (San Giorgio 2011:234).

Cleanliness of food and water is another priority of hygiene and health in a S.A.B, as has been mentioned in point one. Garbage management also requires careful treatment.

However, the amount of waste generated by a S.A.B. may be significantly less important than the one of modern urban households, since it will naturally bring about more attention to recycling (organic leftovers used for compost, wood and paper waste for heating, metal for meltdown, etc.). Remaining waste will nevertheless require adequate containers such as solid trash bags for carrying. Unnecessary waste may be sold or burnt far away from the S.A.B., as it is essential not to pollute the soils, water and the neighborhood environment with it. Sanitation management is another health-related priority, as poor excrement disposal can rapidly lead to overwhelming maintenance needs and illness propagation. In best cases, the necessary plumbing can be built within individual houses. In the worst, latrines should be built outside at a minimum 20 meters of the house, in order not to contaminate it. Medicine, overall, can easily become a major issue for isolated S.A.B. or truly independent lifestyles. This is why proximity to other S.A.B.s and communities, as well of qualified doctors and dentist, is also essential while choosing a S.A.B. location (Stein 2000:250).

4. Energy. Most of the energy production in modern societies is centrally managed, either by the state or national companies. Citizens are usually required to pay for pre-existing power systems on a constant basis, which maintains dependency toward central power institutions for energy. Under such circumstances, learning how to make one's home energetically independent may become quite a challenge. Energy means electricity, heating, natural energy such as sunlight or a fire, as well as independent sources such as batteries. In order to define the amount of energy needed in a house, one

must take in account the exact number of inhabitants living in it, as well as the amount of comfort desired. Energy production devices must then be built accordingly. Thanks to the rapid evolution of technology, local energy needs can be met at lower costs, yet a high level of comfort may still require a high amount of energy and efforts. In order to design an adequate, independent electric power system, an exact goal is to be set (Stein 1976:286).

The geographical location of a given house is what most influences its energy needs. In a tropical country, most efforts may be directed toward a cooling system, while in a colder or more tempered area such as mountains or arctic zone, priority may be given to heating. Because energy may be limited, one may want to think about all the areas where energy saving can apply. For instance, one may use the angle at which the sun hits the S.A.B. while considering its location, shape and positioning. The vegetable garden should preferably be grown at the southern side of a house, since it is (in most cases) sunnier, and design the house so that the living room faces south. On the contrary, in a hot country, one should avoid building windows on the south side and cool down the house with natural air circulation, and/or relying on water-cooling. Shadow may also be created with large pieces of clothes here and there around the house, in order to cool down the whole area (Seymour 1976:210-211). Climbing plants on wall surfaces might also help decrease internal heat. In any case, the materials with which a S.A.B. is built will directly influence its temperature, and should therefore be carefully thought through. Humidity inside the house also requires careful management in order not to lead to patches of mildew (i.e. via ventilation). A good "entropic" house ventilation system may

be the "Canadian well" technique, which consists in building a ventilation system that allows the air to enter the house after having been cooled down by passing under the ground. Such a thermal exchange will cool down the air inside the house by five or ten degrees in summer, while it will warm it up in winter (San Giorgio 2011:266).

Many old houses in the countryside are usually built using these techniques, and represent considerable energy savings. This is why investing in a solid old house already built to implement one's S.A.B. may present many advantages. Once every aspect of a S.A.B. location has been exploited for its natural advantages, one should analyze its energetic performance. Thermal isolation of the walls and roof, waterproof quality of the canalization system as well as of windows may prevent energy and water loss. One should also evaluate the exact amount of energy needed by every electric or electronic instrument that is desired to function in the S.A.B. For instance, refrigerators and freezers are heavy consumers of electricity. Washing machines both demand large quantities of both energy and water, and the same is true about the latest technologies such as computers, hi-fi, light bulbs and so on. One might want to cut down unnecessary energy spending by choosing smaller and less consuming devices, and choosing alternative ways of dealing with certain daily chores (i.e. using traditional soap instead of washing powder, letting the laundry dry outside instead of using a dryer, etc.) (Stein 2000:285). These low-cost energy spending techniques are being applied in several of the previously mentioned communities, such as Marinaleda, Findhorn or Emmaüs Lescar-Pau.

San Giorgio (2011:268) argues that an ideal energy spending would be around 3kW per hour per person (this number obviously varying depending on the season). Solar

panels, wind turbines, or hydroelectric devices are convenient ways of generating clean and renewable electricity for one's home using natural resources. San Giorgio (2011:269) proposes three accessible ways of adapting it to personal, small-scale production.

The first one is micro-hydroelectricity. A small power generator built on a river can use the force of the water stream to generate electricity on a small-scale, such as one or two houses, a farm or any other small facilities. However, this solution can only be implemented should one live near a water source providing sufficient and regular outflow throughout the year, which is not so common. It is however possible to build such a system oneself, by, for instance, building two pools, one higher than the other, and using a pump powered by a wind turbine or solar panels to bring the lower pool water back into the higher one. This kind of flow can generate between 0.5 and 10 kW/h (San Giorgio 2011:270).

The second way is the wind turbine. A wind turbine is a device that can turn the strength of the wind into electric power. Since the productivity of a wind turbine depends on the strength of the wind, and therefore on where it is built, one may want to carefully analyze the environment in order to see if building one there is viable or not. Also, the higher the altitude, the less efficient a wind turbine will be because of air scarcity (Stein 2000:290). For a S.A.B. located near the ocean, however, a wind turbine may be a good choice. Although building a personal wind turbine may be subject to trouble regarding national law or local culture, it is a very efficient energy source that can generate 3 to 10 kW/h with a 1 to 5 square meters wind turbine, and between 40 and 200 kW/h with a 10 square meters one (San Giorgio 2011:272).

The third way is solar energy collected by solar panels. There are two kinds of solar panels: thermal ones, which collect the heat of sunlight, and photovoltaic ones, which convert light into electricity. The choice of the panel type will depend on the S.A.B. location, and on sun exposure. In order to maximize energy production, portable panels are also available. The average energy production of a one square meter solar panel is about 1kW/h in total exposure (San Giorgio 2011:276). A good place to install solar panels may be the roof of the house, yet again this will depend on its environment and sun exposure. All three energy sources, combined or not, can help build a sustainable and clean electric system in any S.A.B. or house, provide a certain amount of comfort regarding the use of electronic devices, light and heating, and even allow energy trading with the neighborhood.

5. Knowledge. Urban lifestyles often make people forget the harshness of rural ones. Even once every primary need has been fulfilled, other problems will surface, such as lack of entertainment or opportunities for higher self-fulfillment. This is what San Giorgio (2011:283) calls the issue of "knowledge." He divides his solution proposal into three categories: craft (the survival know-how that must be transmitted to younger generations), culture (the fundamental information that constitute one's identity and enables one to keep a high IQ) and entertainment (which will prevent inhabitants from boredom and animosity).

The necessary know-how required for building and managing a S.A.B. calls for a broad field of knowledge such as botanic, gardening, carpentry, repairing, mechanics,

medicine, etc. Most of these crafts are essential for survival in a rural environment. However, since they may represent too much work for one individual, it is in the inhabitants' interest to divide tasks. Individual skills and experience should be taken in account when attributing them, yet some activities may need learning from scratch. One could imagine a father learning carpentry while the mother learns gardening, or the other way around. Being too dependent on technology can also lower the resilience level of a S.A.B. It might be wise not to rely too much on technology and electronic devices such as chainsaws, rechargeable tools, tractors or cars, as those will all need specialized knowledge to operate and repair. Children, according to their age and physical strength, can also contribute by doing simple house chores (i.e. gathering wood, cleaning up dead leaves or snow), taking care of small animals such as rabbits and chicken, etc.

Culture refers to the knowledge and information that one may need or desire to preserve over time. Stocking a large amount of books may not be possible, as available space may be limited and therefore precious. However, one may select the pieces of art, literature, music and movies that are dear to him/her, and that are deemed valuable enough to be passed on to the next generation. Although computers now enable entire libraries of books or music to be contained in a few square centimeters of data, there will be no insurance that hard-drives and computer technology will survive the challenge of time. One way to maximize the chances of preserving one item is to duplicate it several times through electronic copies and various supports. Protecting hard-drives against electromagnetic waves with E.M.P. metallic cages may also be a clever option.

San Giorgio (2011:286) also warns not to save material based on personal interest

only, but also the one deemed of general interest, such as encyclopedias, dictionaries in different languages, classical works in music, literature and philosophy, etc. This may become important material for education in the S.A.B. community. Entertainment is also an essential part of survival, as life in the countryside during long winter nights can prove tedious. Owning a fair amount of novels, music, movies, cards and board games will help harmonize family and community life, and reduce frustration. The hardships of survival should not eclipse the importance of carrying both individual passion and the joys of procrastination.

6. Defense. Nationally managed law enforcement has gradually lowered popular consciousness regarding the need for self-defense. Local communities usually share in common a greater awareness of the importance of defending one's territory with one's own hands. In times of war or serious economic crisis, developed countries are likely to witness urban exodus, which will force people to move to the countryside in search for more direct access to water and food. National police and laws not insuring people safety any longer, urban citizens will seek refuge in autonomous rural communities. Starvation, fatigue and stress may lead people to rely on violence to access resources. Forecasting such possibilities, it would clearly be beneficial to know how to defend one's land, its inhabitants as well as oneself.

Most local communities, including Marinaleda, Findhorn and Emmaüs Lescar-Pau, feature autonomous organization regarding self-defense. However, this does not necessarily mean these communities are immune to danger. Since building facilities allowing perfect defense may prove impossible, the shortest way to protect one's home is to reduce the amount of risks present in its environment (San Giorgio 2011:291). This may take place via psychological as well as physical preparation, with elders dispensing know-how and crisis management-mentality to younger ones. In a world that is community-based, with no national or supra-national constitution to dictate which behavior is acceptable and which is not, individuals will generally have to rely on their own ability to defend themselves against danger. Communities may provide help and support, but that help might not always be readily available in times of crisis. Learning self-defense basics is certainly a safer choice on the long term, yet regular training and perseverance is needed to provide a sufficient level of protection. Physical training will keep a S.A.B.'s inhabitants ready to fight or flee efficiently in the face of danger.

Weapons may also quickly become useful in an autonomous state of life, as they are the ultimate mean to guarantee individual protection. Fire weapons, as well as knives or hatchets will demand adequate training before turning self-harm into self-defense. Weapon training and usage should be left to professionally trained inhabitants. It is in the community's best interest to use it with wisdom and care, and only in case of last resort. Organize the defense of a S.A.B. will start from careful analysis of its location and environment. Ideally, a safe S.A.B. should be discrete (hidden from view) while still enabling sufficient vision (i.e. 100 to 200 meters) from the inside. Surrounding the house, garden and farm with a fence decorated with plants will make it look more natural, and attract less attention. Opaque curtains preventing light to be cast outside the house will also insure discretion (energy-autonomous houses are rare in times of crisis). Several

levels of defense can be implemented on the area around the S.A.B. For instance, external walls with barbwires, stingy bushes, security doors covered with wire, external light and detection system may all be good ideas to prevent intrusion. A range of trees hiding the S.A.B. from view while still enabling a 100-200 meters range visibility from the house would provide an ideal setting (San Giorgio 2011:310). Defensive devices on the house itself, such as stingy bushes under the windows, iron shutters and window bars, security doors and various chains to lock up every access to the house will help prevent intrusion. Owning well-trained pet dogs may also be a very efficient way of defense, as well as a useful alert mechanism. However, this requires important knowledge, responsibility and cost. As a last resort case, having a bunker or emergency exit in the basement of the house will also increase survival chances for its inhabitants. Keeping a working communication system via phone, radio or computer inside the house may also allow to call for help when in need. Setting all these devices to work will require careful planning and evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of one's S.A.B, as well as adequate training from its inhabitants before they become operational.

Defending one's house against natural dangers, such as wild animals and natural disasters is another point to consider seriously. Although there are few chances for inhabitants to be attacked directly by animals once inside a S.A.B, those can become a much greater nuisance when attacking chickens, cows, or even eat from one's vegetable garden (Seymour 1976:123). A carefully built fence and, in last resort, shooting abilities should solve the problem. Natural disasters represent another type of threat. Because life in the countryside will most likely expose a S.A.B.'s inhabitants to rough conditions

compared to the city, a solid heating system, as well as warm clothes should be the first thing to consider. Comfortable outfits, backpacks, bulletproof and waterproof jackets, water containers, as well as other items designed for extreme conditions may also prove useful. Such security measures obviously come from the survivalist approach to independent housing. Although they may not be adequate for all S.A.B.s or accommodations, they can be essential to local community lifestyles. In the end, community cohesion will remain the most important factor of defense, as alone, any S.A.B. is weak and vulnerable. A united neighborhood is the key to long-term individual safety.

7. The Social Link. Although a S.A.B. may provide basic survival means for a family or a small group of people, it may not insure complete autonomy and resiliency on the long term (San Giorgio 2011:324). Even the most united family may need contact with other individuals and communities for its own mental health. Where there is no community there is also no reproduction, which can eventually lead to the community's extinction. Moreover, no matter how strong the defense of a S.A.B. is, a stronger group of people can invade the territory and take it over at any time. Autarchy can lead to a sterile lifestyle, coupled with the risk of running out of resources one day or another. Living in a community may be a wiser, safer and happier choice, and this is why the social link is essential to a S.A.B. The social link means that the inhabitants of a given S.A.B. should share horizontal relations with those of one or several other nearby S.A.B.s.

Ideally, any S.A.B. should be part of a community with shared values. Treating one's neighbors as friends and allies is the key to a safe and resilient lifestyle. However, this doesn't mean that any individual could fit. It may be safe to assume that the primary choice of every individual would be to live with one's close family: children, wife/husband/companion and direct relatives, before anybody else. In the case of extended family or close friends, other criteria should be taken into account. The whole extended family (cousins and distant relatives, accompanied with their own families) most likely won't fit in a single house. All family members may not be wishing to live close to each other, or even in the same community. Friends, colleagues and acquaintances may become great co-inhabitants, yet they should be chosen carefully. It will obviously prove impossible for one S.A.B. to provide satisfying living conditions for too many inhabitants. This is why the choice of co-inhabitants in one's S.A.B. should undergo strict screening from the very start.

After including those who are sentimentally indispensable (usually husband/wife and children), other residents may be chosen according to their usefulness (profession, skills, strength, IQ, morale, etc.) (San Giorgio 2011:328). On the one hand, it may be a hard, yet necessary choice to make. On the other hand, it may also prove difficult to convince all of joining the adventure. Even best friends may not share the same amount of interest in a S.A.B. project, and have other priorities, such as protecting their own families. Should an important crisis occur, some inhabitants might also change their mind and decide to leave the house. Whatever the case is, it may be wise to build extra room for visitors and additional residents, and anticipate on possible changes regarding the

number of habitants living in one S.A.B. Life in a S.A.B. also requires strict social organization between its members.

Self-responsibility should be the engine of individual behavior, so that each inhabitant understands that he/she should fulfill certain tasks and accept full responsibility for it. Several tasks will need to be taken care of, such as food production, cooking, house maintenance and cleaning, stock management, organization and control, children education, etc. One person may play all the roles, but it will prove easier if those are split evenly between the inhabitants, and take in account individual skills. Life in a S.A.B. requires its inhabitants to rethink social relations as they are often shared in modern developed societies. Habits will probably need to be modified toward a possibly simpler, more natural and hopefully more spiritual lifestyle.

This section presented a brief summary of the S.A.B. concept as John Seymour (1976), Matthew Stein (2000), Piero San Giorgio (2011) and other survivalist authors envisioned it. The survivalist approach presents S.A.B.s mostly as a means to cut off the dependency link between populations and political authorities, as well as a viable solution to survive a possible upcoming severe economic crisis. Given the increasing inequalities regarding wealth distribution in Western countries, as well as the high risk of economic collapse (as the 2008 crisis forecast), a S.A.B. may present an opportunity for citizens to develop more self-sufficiency, and therefore more security for themselves and their families.

Referring to Maslow (1943)'s hierarchy of needs, a single S.A.B. may easily

satisfy the three first layers of needs (physiological needs, safety and love/belonging) of one nuclear family. It proposes a way to escape the high-production/high-consumption logic of capitalist societies and recreate a simpler life environment. Designing houses in accordance with the S.A.B. blueprint may also prevent any dependency toward the community or any form of authority in order to access resources. Rethinking the house concept may become the keystone of a sustainable and autonomous way of life for small communities, as well as the most durable survival conditions possible to the smallest unit of human society: the family. The possibilities brought by new energy technology, such as energy generators and geothermal power (Joseph 2008), may even make the S.A.B. model cheaper and more accessible in the near future.

5.2.3 Defense and community networks

The previous part explained how individual housing can be redesigned to meet more independent and sustainable lifestyles on the local scale, according to survivalist Piero San Giorgio. However, in practice, S.A.B. owners are still rather scarce, and survivalists rarely live in autarchy. Proximity to urban networks can prove extremely useful to independence seekers, especially during the building phase of a S.A.B. or local community. Those who live away from civilization realize the hardships of life in Nature, and understand that cooperation greatly enhances security and one's overall quality of life. It is therefore not surprising that many localists prefer the safety net of already established community networks rather than social isolation. Total autonomy also

demands more means and efforts at the individual level. This is why survivalist communities usually rely both on individual defense means and mutual protection. Most localist communities, including Marinaleda, Findhorn or Emmaüs Lescar-Pau are part of a strong network of cooperation with nearby villages and cities. No matter how independent a community can become, a minimum level of interaction with others is needed for long-term sustainability. The goal of the present section is to understand how localist community networks function, and how size and location can affect their defense capacities.

As argued in part 2.2, the size of a community is one of the main criteria for balance and harmony within its structure. As long as a community remains small, specialization does occur, but to limited extent. Villagers still hold a high level of responsibility for the consequences of their personal activities on the local environment, and are all greatly concerned with social matters, such as education, defense, politics, etc.

In human-sized societies, task specialization does not alienate individuals from it. However, above a certain number of community members, social values tend to modify and quantity takes precedence over quality (Uchiyama 2010:209). Such a concept is close to the sociological interpretation of entropy.³¹ Large societies need to build complex social systems to deal with problems that arise from the large number of individuals in it.

³¹ The concept of entropy originates in physics, but its analogical counterpart in sociology cast a new light on it. Entropy then becomes a measure of the degree of disorganization within a given system (at microscopic level). The higher entropy level is in the system, the less ordained and coordinated its elements are, the less they can interact and create mechanical effects, and the more energy has to be wasted in accomplishing a given work, meaning that is spread in an inconsistent manner (New Oxford American Dictionary 2013).

Members are forced to create strict rules to manage exchanges for distance management purposes leading, over time, to the development of administration, bureaucracy, and overall to social verticality. Therefore, by growing increasingly larger, they themselves create new problems to be solved. In regard to defense, the larger the community, the larger defense forces are needed in order to protect the land. The act of creating defense forces dedicated to the land and obeying local authorities may, in itself, create verticality. This is why the amount of members within a community must be maintained under a certain limit, in order to avoid specialization and irreversible division of labor.

However, there is controversy among sociologists about how to define what the ideal size of a community should be. While Uchiyama (2012) argues that the ideal size may be between 30 and 100 individuals for one community, Bell (1973) or Kingsbury (2012) advocates larger sizes, reaching between 1000 and 2000 members. Indeed, the size of the local communities previously mentioned ranges between 150 and 3000 inhabitants, their average size being 2000.³² 30 individuals would be a very minimum to insure the diversity of activities required so that social organization could function. Over 100 individuals, groups of activities become the social norm. Above 500 individuals, specialization may enter an exponential phase. Above 1000 individuals, communities become societies.

The global increase in human population, combined with the larger nations trend has led larger groups to form and cohabit than before in history. Localist communities

³² Auroville: 3000+ people (as of 2013); Marinaleda: approx. 3000 people (as of 2013); Findhorn: 400 permanent inhabitants (as of 2013); Ueno village: 1356 people (as of 2013); Konohana Family: 85 non blood-related members (as of March 2013).

nevertheless strive to keep the number of community members within boundaries that prevent the deterioration of human relations. They are conscious that large societies cannot provide adequate living conditions for an unlimited amount of inhabitants. However, how can the security of a local community's inhabitants be insured?

The practical case studies carried out in part 2.2 have shown that few local communities actually rely on police or army forces. Beyond the question of financing, there seem to be no real need for a particular social class dedicated to defense in small communities. As Marinaleda's mayor Gordillo argues: "people are not willing to destroy their own village" (Bolze 2009). Such statement implies that crime and delinquency in society are the result of the alienation of citizens from usage property over their own land, as it can be witnessed in modern urban areas. Policemen and soldiers substantially defend the system that trains and pays them against any threats to that system. Should alienation be generated by such system, defense forces have to protect it regardless. Police stations in rural areas usually take their orders from national institutions, not from the locals. Should disagreement emerge between these locals and the government, the police forces are legally bound to obeying the government. This is how the modern paradox was born: although defense forces are originally supposed to protect the people against power abuse, they eventually protect the political elite against the people.

On the other hand, the small size of local communities allows more proximity between capital and labor, which generates fewer risks of alienation. Family business and close interaction between small and local enterprises leaves capital in the hands of those who use it, encouraging usage property over lucrative property. However, with no law enforcers, citizens may find themselves unable to protect themselves against external threats, including the national defense forces of their own country. For this very reason, several local and survivalist communities advocate individual defense education (San Giorgio and Vol West 2012:294). Informal training is often provided to each inhabitant, to ensure that every individual is familiar with basic defense principles, such as weapon use, emergency retreat plans, discretion, etc. Such attitude will in turn reinforce individual responsibility toward the community. Small, local communities are often composed of individuals who are ready to react in case of danger and defend themselves, their pairs or their community autonomously. In such social structures, trained law enforcers aren't needed, but constant vigilance is. Crisis management, as well as basic martial arts and weapon education at the individual level should also ideally include women and children.

In the seventh point of part 5.2.2, the importance of solidarity in regard to defense has been stressed in what Piero San Giorgio refers to as *the social link*. Proximity and regular contact with others are essential elements for the survival of any kind of housing, including a S.A.B. Communities can be formed from the proximity of several S.A.B.s (or approximate S.A.B.s), because of the harmony of interest those may share. One S.A.B. unit may not produce enough diversity of production to satisfy all the aspects of life. It would also be highly profitable for it to enjoy relationships with one or several other

S.A.B.s or communities. For instance, the Emmaüs Lescar-Pau community heavily relies on the local network of villages for its collecting activities (Gautier 2012). The Marinaleda village inhabitants were helped by the population of nearby villages during their struggle for independence, and could not have retrieved usage property over their own land without it (Bolze 2009). Ueno village in Japan has been teaming up with nearby villages for trade purposes, but also for opposing certain government measures that were judged incompatible with local environmental management (Uchiyama 2010). These kinds of interaction are clearly showing that networks do exist, and are of fundamental importance in the life of local communities.

Social structures in community networks naturally form strong horizontal relationships between members, since they demand a high level of trust between individuals, and a tendency to want to share tasks and burdens. However, even such a structure may not ensure total security toward the outside world. Countless examples of independent communities that disintegrated over time, or were progressively dismantled by national authorities, show how difficult it is to set up a sustainable social environment within, or in harmony with capitalist social structures. No matter how safe local environments may appear, individual autonomy in terms of physical survival needs must remain an absolute priority in order to prevent any emergence of power abuse.

Even in localist communities, verticality may emerge from the tiniest disagreement between members. For instance, Piero San Giorgio (2011:264) warns about the possibility of sharing the electricity network between members of a village or

community. Should any problem happen, inhabitants in charge of the electricity network always have tremendous power over the community as a whole. The same thing could be thought about water canalizations, exclusive access to weapon stocks, etc. Efficient counter-measures have to be taken in order to balance the amount of power attributed to each member or group. No matter how horizontal a social structure may become, vigilance regarding the emergence of verticality should be kept at the highest possible level. This implies education of the youth toward the concept of autonomy and self-responsibility from a very young age. Intelligence regarding the local environment and its social network, as well as a certain amount of technical training shall be necessary in order to defend the community against both internal and external threats. Individuals who are ready to react in case of danger and defend themselves tend to generate stronger horizontal networks, which do not necessitate law enforcement systems.

PART VI: EDUCATION, INFORMATION AND CULTURE

6.1 Globalist Education, Information Networks and Culture

The previous sections dealt with the four essential aspects of social structures that are politics, economy, religion and defense. Each of these layers generates certain institutions, mind frames, habits, patterns of behavior and overall social values that will combine with others to create culture. For instance, the political identity of a country cannot exist without a solid spectrum of common social values, that elected

representatives are expected to protect. In general, national education greatly contributes in teaching those values to young citizens. This is why governments often finance national education programs, and why the ideology and values of its elite spread quickly throughout the institutions they have established. The way education is dispensed shapes the youth and leads individuals toward the kind of social role that is expected of them in a given society, consolidating its structure. The media, which top executives often show close proximity to the political elite, complete education in dispensing national values throughout the adult life. National news networks design, mold, choose and filter information so that its content is in phase with the values of the elite. This selection creates a sphere of acceptable and non-acceptable concepts, which defines the borders of political correctness. All this contributes to create national culture, along with its victories and struggles.

Although education systems and information networks are present in smaller social structures, they are not as complex and developed as in large, national structures. The small size of local schools and information centers generally prevents them from building homogenized programs and standards, and from developing a clear gap between knowledge centers and peripheries. When applied, the localist ideology generally focuses on dispensing local over national values to its community.

The present section will observe the consequences of both approaches on education, information and culture.

6.1.1 National education systems under globalism

Knowledge is power, and as such, it is a fundamental aspect of social management. Access to quality education enables citizens to climb the social ladder, earning higher revenues and better living conditions. It may also allow greater political consciousness, which can increase popular pressure over governments. Educated masses generally demand higher salaries, quality services, a higher level of social security and overall more comfort from the system they build. In the globalist mind frame, such power must be contained in order to insure that knowledge in the Periphery never overcomes the one in Centers (Moore 2013:Loc 1076). Top institutions are usually located in great Centers, and decisions taken there are to be applied everywhere in the Periphery.

National institutions such as national education boards hold authority in establishing the programs that will be taught to children in a homogenous way within national borders. Although the way such programs will actually be taught is left, to some extent, to teachers at the local level, the top of the structure dictates the content of programs to its bottom. Therefore, a strict vertical relation, or hierarchy is maintained between institutions and individuals. This enables authorities to decide, for a large part, of which kinds of subjects should be taught to children. Because of the conflict of interest between Centers and Peripheries, the elite usually controls the amount, as well as nature of knowledge dispensed in schools. It can also filter certain information out of education programs and the media, in order to encourage popular compliance. The consequence of information control eventually spreads to the whole culture of nations, encouraging certain types of behavior and discouraging others. This section will attempt to analyze

how globalism organizes such control.

Under most nations ruled by representative governments, national education boards in great Centers establish standards that apply to all educational structures within its borders. The degree of authority of an educational standard therefore depends on its source rather than on its contents. The closer an educational institution is to the center of decision (government or mother country), the more social value is attached to it (Galtung 1971:456).

Teachers in the Center design the contents of school and university programs for learners in the Peripheries, and knowledge is therefore naturally dispensed the way its original bearers see fit. Over time, this legitimates the position of the Center as a model to imitate. Knowledge transmission is operated on a one-way basis: when the Periphery asks for knowledge from the Center it is praised and well received, but when it tries to teach the Center it may be strongly rejected. In such a relationship, the social status of teachers is therefore defined according to their location, or proximity to the Center, rather than on the quality and reliability of their knowledge. As a result, the name of schools or universities and their location often hold more social value than the actual quality of the education they dispense. Proximity to the center therefore defines what is and what is not valuable knowledge, becoming the absolute social reference.

Under such circumstances, risks that the education system be biased toward the will of those in power may appear obvious. However, it may also be argued that no matter the contents of education, schools may still contribute to the development of the

Periphery to some extent. In this regard, Galtung refers to the "brain drain" phenomenon, which consists in inviting the most brilliant students and researchers from the Periphery to be trained and work in the Center (Galtung 1971:456). As Centers of decision benefit greatly from brainpower, the best students in the nation (or Periphery) are often proposed scholarships, comfortable jobs and prestigious positions. This tends to dilute the initial conflict of interest that skillful citizens may hold toward the elite, and transform it into harmony of interest. It would obviously be in the newly promoted Periphery citizens' interest to keep their hardly-gained privileged status, in order to keep sending money home and ensure they do not have to go back to a life of labor. Such a process drains the Periphery from its most valuable elements and concentrates them into the Center, thus lowering the chances for innovation and development to emerge outside of Centers.

The "brain drain" phenomenon and the transmission of knowledge from Center to Periphery therefore cement the vertical interaction between them, deciding which kind of education is suitable for who. The Center/Periphery dichotomy establishes who is the teacher and who is learner, and harvests the most talented individuals of the Periphery to invite them in the Center. Such a situation perpetuates inequality in education, knowledge and brainpower, preventing Periphery populations from accessing better social conditions.

School ranking and academic competition operate in a similar fashion when filtering access to the nation's top positions. By maintaining official (or unofficial) ranking of the schools and universities that grant privileged access to highly paid jobs (i.e.

state positions, large corporations, etc.), nations operate a selection among individuals based upon its own criteria (Pappenheim 1959:54). Under capitalistic societies, these criteria are mostly reduced to financial means, and in lack of the latter, to labor skills. Those who cannot afford to pay the expensive academic fee of elite schools are left with the only choice to prove their worth, and gain recognition of the school boards to improve their living conditions.

This phenomenon has two main consequences. First, it maintains power of choice in the hands of the financial elite, since those can buy their way into education without proving or showing skills. Second, it generates competition among citizens of the Periphery, forcing them to battle against each other in order to access highly-ranked schools. Not only is competition biased by the fact that the wealthy enjoy privileged status; it also fragments the social body, legitimizing the idea that social competition is the natural way to earn better living conditions. Such an educational system does not only generate inequalities, it legitimizes and reinforces the ones already existing in society. In a similar fashion, the standards under which applicants are evaluated are entirely up to the national or private education boards, which can decide which skills or social values should be expected of students.

Evaluation of citizens' abilities through examinations designed by Center authorities reduces an individual's social value to his or her academic or professional results. Standards being established by Capital owners, children's abilities can thus be oriented toward Capital needs. It is not uncommon to see abilities that are not directly marketable (i.e. artistic or literary skills) to be disregarded, while economic and scientific

skills are encouraged and promised great career opportunities (Pappenheim 1959:86).

After skillful students have become employees, they are still subject to the economic power of Capital owners. Following corporate objectives, they need to constantly adapt market changes and find cheaper ways to function, regardless of social consequences.

Capitalistic societies need technicians, not thinkers, and such training starts in schools.

Preference for overspecialized workforces, denigration of social sciences, academic competition, economic discrimination in access to quality education are tendencies that tend to generalize under power centralization. University ranking, as well as the academic degree and evaluation system are also being increasingly homogenized globally. Although this may allow easier evaluation of qualifications for immigrant workers, as well as a simplification of global educational standards, it may also encourage companies to hire cheap labor, further deteriorating living conditions and intensifying social competition. Negation of the value of local standards and degrees may lead to a disinterest for local specificity, and bring universal preference for the already established hegemony. Financial difficulties may also force local schools and programs to submit to globalist standards. From such perspective, the globalist education system does not seem to be dispensing particularly moral values to younger generations, but rather to negate local uniqueness and social diversity.

It should be mentioned that evaluating the whole spectrum of influence of globalism over education is a tedious task, which may require a research on its own. The role of the present section was not to cover all aspects of such influence, but rather to

point out the key mechanisms with which the globalist mind frame shapes educational structures. First, globalist values maintain the Center/Periphery dichotomy among educational institutions within countries. Second, it preserves economic inequality regarding access to education. Third, it encourages competition, and therefore conflict of interest among populations, thus preventing unity and solidarity to develop. Fourth, it devaluates diversity and individuality to the benefit of homogenization and functionality. Most current educational institutions under representative governments are the product of globalism's power centralization, and as such, maintain inequalities and conflict among social bodies.

6.1.2 Globalist information networks and the media

Next to education, the media currently play a major role in globalist knowledge management. Technology exposes both children and adults to images, sounds and concepts from an early age, molding perception and therefore influencing mental development. Over time, technical and economic circumstances reduced the amount of information sources available, rendering it more vulnerable to power centralization (Manin 1995 [2012]:293). Moreover, the development of national media set higher control standards over information content. Since the invention of television, the political class and the media have developed very close ties, reducing and eventually seriously compromising the political neutrality of the press (Halimi 1997:135-141). Access to media exposure becoming increasingly tied to political power, people and information

under media spotlight must first undergo screening by political authorities. Ideologies encouraging (or at least not interfering with) the globalist agenda can therefore spread to every aspect of culture, through TV, newspapers, magazines, books and the internet.

National television, digital and the printed press, as well as major information networks on the internet all rely on centralized sources supervised by the elite, which operates a selection of information before it can be released to the public. The result is a society where access to essential information is compromised and regulated, impeding liberty of speech and creating political/incorrectness.

The degree of political freedom of a nation may be evaluated based on the quantity and quality of information the general public may have access to before making its choices. In order to be democratic, the information networks through which public opinion is to be formed therefore ought to be politically neutral. This does not mean that politically engaged press shouldn't exist or that the journalists' opinion shouldn't be biased; yet it means that national press institutions should not be structurally tied to political ones. It is actually a healthy thing for a nation to host politically engaged press institutions: the more there exists, the more it encourages political transparency and opinion diversity for citizens to choose from.

However, technical and economic constraints have led to a relative decline in politically engaged, or simply free opinion press (Manin 1995 [2012]:293). Due to the heavy cost of political campaigns and the digitalization of the press, the profitability of printed newspapers, magazines and newsletters has been reduced over time. Today, few

American and European political parties still own newspapers or press companies. However, ties between political and media figures remain close. Competition forced candidates to ally with banks in order to afford the constantly rising cost of their political campaigns. Private banks and institutions also financing the public media, access to the political stage progressively became a privilege granted by the financial elite (Halimi 1997:80). Financial sponsors therefore supervised public declarations and appearances of politicians on their home grounds, namely the national media. However, it should be noted that the radio and television were originally built to be politically neutral institutions. This is also one of the reasons why an increasing amount of people came to form their political opinion based on television news networks. As a result, the importance of television grew and overshadowed other kinds of media. Television became the central information source, attracting the interest of banks.

Today, information centralization in the media starts with national television channels and press agencies. Although people's opinion within a given nation may still differ, they are based on fewer and often similar information sources managed by the same institutions. Individual perception of political issues is therefore detached of one's political inclination, and tends to homogenize (Manin 1995 [2012]:294). To the contrary, in a society where only politically engaged press prevails, individuals may choose between information sources based on their own values and beliefs. More sources leads to more information diversity, and therefore to a greater spectrum of concepts for opinions to form. The centralization of information sources produces homogenized public opinion, and over time, homogenized thought, which aims at maintaining the already

established power networks in place. Whether it was intentional or not, the structural reduction of media sources and the proximity between the elite and the media today has become a threat to liberty of thought.

The centralization of power exerted on modern information networks is closely tied to the one of the globalist elite. The globalist agenda, pushing political, economic, religious and military changes in the interest of the international elite against the interest of populations, could no longer advance without the help of the media. As has already been argued in part two, falsely calling representative governments democratic implies that the approval of populations is still needed for major political changes to happen. Since populations are deprived of actual means to let their voices heard, things must appear as if it was the will of the majority in action. Such a paradigm modifies the function of information networks, transforming them into alternative reality creators (Baudrillard 1970:101).

Information molds facts, events and opinions, and redraws them into its own logic, or the logic dictated by the shareholders of news network companies. Key knowledge about economic realities, especially those that expose the relative harmony of interest between populations of different countries, must be hidden from the public. As Galtung (1997:455) argued, national mainstream media tends not to expose the situation of Periphery nations to each other, but rather talk about Center issues, and decide what is relevant or not for them. National information networks remove potentially troublesome news from foreign countries and replace it with harmless national ones. In the case of

events engaging the international community, information networks can hide certain facts and put unneeded emphasis on others. Certain cases involving harmony of interest between the elites of several countries led certain pieces of information to be censored out of national information networks, or redesigned in ways to generate compliance from popular opinion.

Several examples of international political manipulation by media networks can be mentioned. Regarding the Watergate case, the international media tremendously influenced public opinion by repeatedly presenting certain facts and obscuring others. A French survey showed that public perception of facts was mostly similar in both countries, independently of people's political inclination or cultural backgrounds (Manin 1995 [2012]:294). During the events of September 11th, 2001, the images that were broadcast on all television channels around the world originated from the same tape sources, and only five video shots of the second strike were shown on all TV networks that day (Internet Archive 2014). At the time, television channels played a key role in forging public opinion, since they were the only media source to be able to display visual footage rapidly. The event had tremendous consequences, manufacturing global fear regarding terrorist acts, countless political and defense strengthening measures, and legitimized conflict between the U.S.A. and the alleged terrorist organizations of the Middle East. However, although serious evidence was later released that compromised the official thesis, national authorities and media are mostly reluctant to address them (Guyenot 2014). Many other cases of information censorship by the media could be mentioned here, yet it is not the purpose of the present thesis to list them all. Rather, such controversies show that obvious biases regarding certain agendas remain present among information networks, and that disinformation can be carried out through media cooperation on a global basis.

Power centralization has taken over national and international information networks, and greatly compromised public access to knowledge. In spite of growing economic inequalities and poverty on the global scale, access to relevant information remains compromised, preventing populations from understanding the causes of their living conditions and organizing to find adequate solutions. It may be argued that, with the recent spread of alternative information sources such as the Internet and its following digital media boom, the liberty of the press has found new fields of expansion, and that mainstream media may have lost a substantial part of its power in the process. This may be true for industrially developed countries but less for developing ones, where the gap in access to means of communication is still important. Moreover, even in industrially developed countries, a certain amount of political consciousness is needed to avoid media propaganda and choose alternative information sources. It is also in these countries that disinformation levels are the highest. Global political awareness may be increasing rapidly, but it may not have reached critical mass yet.

6.1.3 Globalist culture: Clouscard and the liberal-libertarian ideology

Globalization and power centralization in education and media have contributed

to modify the core values of popular cultures over time. The globalist structure led, throughout the 20th century, to a new type of cultural shift in phase with the birth of consumption societies and the generalization of the wage system. Workers became consumers whose buying power was defined by individual wages, increasing both the dependency of the labor class and the control of the managerial class. With the help of the media and nationalized education, the hyperclass developed new strategies to divert the thoughts of citizens away from class conflict. Populations were sold to the idea that capitalism could satisfy all desires, and was therefore the only social model to allow true freedom. It naturally follows that representative governments, Centers of the capitalist structure, were labeled as the guardians of democracy.

However, in practice, individual liberty was being severely limited by the realities of real estate and salaries, which prevented anyone from achieving financial independence (or set its price so high that it required a lifetime of labor). Under such conditions, the wishes of individuals could be granted as long as they did not imply economic freedom. Society thus encouraged the consumption of unnecessary yet seductive goods, while it ridiculed the importance of local, enrooted and independent lifestyles. Consumption desire filled the gap of personal fulfillment in individuals yet leaving them eternally unsatisfied, while at the same time driving them away from real economic and social issues. This is what French sociologist Michel Clouscard called the liberal-libertarian ideology, or libertarian social-democracy (Clouscard 1981:151).

Extending the Marxist analysis, Clouscard analyzed the evolution of class conflict in modern social structures. According to him, middle-classes are being lured away from

serious social concern by desire. The reality of the economic dictatorship is replaced by the glorification of self and the idealization of individual success, destroying the bonds of solidarity between individuals and annihilating all chance of mass resistance (Clouscard 1996:33-35). The liberal-libertarian ideology produces lies or eludes truths in order to prevent the real motives behind economic and social issues from coming to light.

According to Clouscard, consumption societies have brought about a new division of labor, which modified the nature of the relation between workers and capital owners. Following the generalization of the wage-earning status, individuals could no longer subtract themselves from the production machine. Workers were thereupon forced to sell their workforce in order to live while being forbidden access to capital gain, and they progressively became the only material, productive force in society (Clouscard 1996:78). They were forced to contribute to a production mechanism in which they were the losers, since they could not benefit from the surplus value they created, and could never take the place of the capital owners. Although such relation is not new, Clouscard sees it as being now systematized and compulsory (1996:79).

In parallel to such harsh economic reality, governments advocated increasingly permissive names and policies. As its name implies, liberal-libertarian politics should emphasize liberalist and libertarian values, which are to insure maximum individual liberty at both the economic and social levels. However, given the tremendous economic inequalities intrinsic to current social structures, insuring true economic freedom to each individual appears as a seriously compromised ideal. Economic freedom therefore

becomes the privilege of those who can afford it. While freedom for large corporations is total, allowing them limitless (and borderless) business opportunities, small and local businesses remain contrived with local markets. Delocalizing production offshore may bring countless advantages to shareholders, yet its consequences are devastating for local producers and citizens. As for libertarianism, freedom to satisfy one's desire in a capitalistic society depends on individual purchasing power. Allowing full tolerance regarding the satisfaction of desires of individuals, while at the same time limiting their purchasing power is fundamentally contradictory. Clouscard summarizes this contradiction in the following sentence: "Everything is allowed, but nothing is possible" (Clouscard 1981). As the desire to consume luxury goods is constantly kindled, popular incomes remain low.

Such gap between advocated social values and the economic reality causes confusion and frustration among the population. A new condition therefore appears in order to maintain the cohesion of the social body: to blur the line between classes, so that political consciousness disappears and union of the oppressed against the oppressors never happens. Confusion is therefore deliberately created between the working class, the new middle-classes, and the hyperclass. This is where the media and education become essential: they help create a new system of thought which goal is to destroy class-consciousness, and distract the masses from real political issues. The amount of disinformation produced by institutions in this regard can become tremendous. While cementing the whole structure, these lies constantly fragments the social body in order to prevent the union of lower classes. Education and the media become the primary vectors

of such disinformation.

Several strategies can be exposed as typical examples of disinformation born from the liberal-libertarian ideology. Capital's need for cheap labor and demands mass immigration in developed countries. However, mass immigration can mean serious degradation of working and living conditions for local citizens, and populations therefore meet such policy with resistance. Capital owners must therefore find deceiving means to meet their objectives. In close economic ties with the media, large corporations therefore create and support programs glorifying the image of interbreeding and multiculturalism, and presenting it as ideals to achieve. The immigrant worker becomes both a hero and a victim: a courageous risk-taker who must be protected against the angry locals who accuse him of stealing their jobs. Under this new dichotomy, those who attempt to expose the abusive delocalization strategies of large firms and blow the whistle against immigration issues are accused of racism, and their arguments are evicted.

Similar strategies apply to avoid debate over almost all serious economic issues. Women labor, adding 50 percent of the population to work and thus benefitting the world Capital immensely, was presented by popular culture and the media as a the symbol of woman liberation. A similar ideology was at work in advertisement pushing women to smoke and consume alcohol, allowing the tobacco and liquor industries to double their customer target pool. The result was actually the opposite of what it was claimed to be: women have lost considerable amount of liberty in terms of leisure time and financial freedom. "Women's lib" allowed the economy to reduce the salaries of both men and

women, now forcing both parents to work in order to earn the same revenue only one used to earn in the past. The absence of both mothers and fathers at home further degraded living conditions in the household, yet generated new markets for nurseries, babysitting, and legitimated longer school hours. Such strategies have been criticized for severing family ties, and molding children to become lonely productive individuals (Uchiyama 2012:92).

Although such debates are ironically addressed in the media, middle-classes do not have the social power to end the wage-earning cycle, nor to modify its conditions. Public debate creates the false impression that besides economic recession, society is witnessing real social progress. Another blatant example may lie in election campaigns, during which the media divert opinions using debates over social-libertarian issues (i.e. women's rights, L.G.B.T. rights, community rights, non-smokers' rights, etc.). Although such issues have legitimate founding, they are seldom relevant in national elections and drive popular focus away from the true economic issues causing them. This constant delusion generated by the superstructure masks the economic reality and perpetuates economic inequalities. In order to counter popular criticism, the media stigmatizes genuine movements and creates false opposition groups, using them as scapegoats to justify excessive repression measures. Under the security flag, police forces are given orders to repress all anti-government popular claims, and present protesters as being fundamentalists or extreme-right supporters.

From May 1978 events in France to the recent Occupy Wall Street, disinformation has been steadily maintained. Having perfected its art of manipulating information for centuries, the media now have the control to dictate what is acceptable and what is not, and have become one of the most powerful vectors of globalism.

Separating media control from the power structure seems like the only solution, yet sounds extremely difficult, given the degree of connivance that exists between the top positions of media networks and the globalist intelligentsia.

Because of centrally controlled education systems and media networks, the populations of libertarian social-democracies are being controlled by the globalist structure. The ideology promoted by major information networks reflects social values that the elite wants populations to embrace. Political consciousness must remain low for economic oppression to be met without resistance. Citizens become the "battery" tanks from which large Centers draw their power, making world-scale business models possible. Maintaining populations in ignorance of History and economic reality is essential to perpetuate the current balance of power. This task is assigned to knowledge-dispensing institutions, such as public and private schools, universities and the media. The increasing involvement of large firms in financing national and private education is therefore fully understandable.

The culture, or mind frame resulting from such a system is tremendously incapacitating for the average citizen. It fragments the social body, generating communitarianism as well as several other kinds of social tensions. Maintaining such a high amount of thought control over populations proves dangerous, and can only be met with serious popular reprisals on the long term. Hope remains that the information age

and the development of technology will maintain access to information diversity, and bring more transparency within knowledge-dispensing networks.

6.2 Localist Education, Information Networks and Culture

Schools, information networks and cultural institutions in localist communities show several organizational patterns that differ from modern capitalist societies and globalist structures. In most cases, the smaller the size of communities, the lesser dependency those may develop toward the authority of national Centers. Although local institutions may supervise schools, local newspaper agencies or various cultural services, inhabitants still retain a large amount of social responsibility in their function, and can more directly affect how public matters are managed.

In most cases, public facilities in large cities belong to the state, and are often designed for large exhibitions at high costs, limiting their access to wealthy citizens. In localities, official and public buildings are more easily left at the disposal of local inhabitants. Small communities have more modest means, which enables them to propose common-use facilities for all kinds of creative, artistic, cultural or simply collective initiatives. Local schools also tend to be smaller, rendering local initiative from teachers and staff easier, even if conflict with national authorities regarding the contents of programs remains frequent. Local press agencies, although affected by the national media influence as well, primary deal with local events and must therefore adapt to local needs and values. Ecological consciousness also reaches high rates in both localities and

intentional communities, giving birth to some innovative examples of services such as modern water recycling, permaculture, local forest management, etc. In general, localism allows simpler types of social organization, that are often closer to local values and less costly than the ones of large-scale societies.

6.2.1 Localism and alternative education models

Although most rural community schools today still rely on national education boards regarding the choice of disciplines and their contents, the conflict those often have with local needs and beliefs gave birth to alternative ways of managing children education. The dawn of free education in Western countries may have opened doors for poor families who could not afford schooling for their children, yet illiteracy and discrimination rates remain high, especially in North America. According to a survey by the National Institute of Literacy from the U.S. Department of Education, 32 million adults (14 percent of the population) in the U.S. cannot read, 21 percent read below a fifth grade level, and 19 percent of high school graduates cannot read (Statistic Brain 2013). According to the National Assessment of Adult Literacy, these figures are almost identical to what they were 10 years ago (Huffington Post 2013).

Although academic failure is often associated with delinquency, violence and crime by authorities, dissatisfaction with national methods as well as questioning of the neutrality of program contents has also been growing among families. The increasing involvement of the State as well as private organizations, such as the Ford, Carnegie and

Rockefeller foundations in educational programs raised concern and skepticism regarding the actual contents of courses and methods employed by the State (Marshall 2011). For instance, preference for students choosing scientific disciplines over literary ones, the growing and oppressive number of hours children were kept inside each day, as well as the stress involved by constant academic competition, evaluation tests and punishments pushed many families to prefer raising their children at home (Moore 2013:Loc 1076).

Localities that felt threatened by the orientation of national school programs kept program contents in the hands of local teachers. Ecovillage and intentional communities, already concerned about the impact of power centralization and globalism on social management, also developed alternative teaching methods and schooling approaches. By applying more localist principles, many were able to eliminate competition and economic inequalities from the education scheme, and further integrate children into community life. The present section will attempt to distinguish such principles and mechanisms in alternative education models.

Throughout the 20th century, the private schooling sector tremendously developed to meet the demands of families looking for alternative methods of education. Often referred to as "alternative schools," several private schools offer flexible approaches in which teachers adapt the learning rhythms of children, and keep communication at the center of the teacher-learner interaction. In America and Europe, the approach of several thinkers such as Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Foebel, Tolstoi, Freinet, Montessori, Steiner, Waldorf, Dewey, Neill or Gattegno gave birth to many alternative educational

approaches, which influenced alternative education seekers from many other countries (Korn 1991:3).

Refusing to rely on vertical interaction patterns, in which the teacher is the bearer of knowledge and the child the receiver, alternative programs encourage students to ask questions and interact with adults in order to satisfy their curiosity. In Montessori schools, courses are modeled after the contribution of each child, in order to meet his/her ever-changing needs and adapt his/her immediate interest (Woods and Woods 2009:189). In most alternative methods, competition, tests and punishments are left off the scheme. Students are encouraged to express themselves and take decisions, and evaluation systems take much less importance than in national schools (Korn 1991:35).

Western ecovillages such as the ones that have been observed in part 2.2 also provide alternative models of education, in which children can develop a sense of belonging to their communities. The Findhorn community chose the Rudolf Steiner/Waldorf approach to education, and established the Moray Steiner School for its children in 1985 (Findhorn Foundation 2013). Ecological consciousness and the holistic development of each child are at the core of the schools' teachings. There are currently over a thousand Waldorf or Steiner Schools in sixty countries across the world, including over thirty in the U.K. (Moray Steiner School 2013). In Todmorden, England, inhabitants designed local primary schools so that every class manages its own vegetable garden (Incredible Edible 2012). Food production is taught to primary school students so that each child can learn the basics in growing his/her own food, and realizes that local soils are an essential resource of the community. Children are also taught how to raise chicken

and collect eggs, and in the school cafeteria, they eat what they have grown.

In regard to teaching methods in the classroom, alternative approaches have been developed around new philosophies and sciences of education. For instance, Caleb Gattegno's approaches, involving mathematics (Visible and Tangible Math), foreign languages (The Silent Way) and reading (Words in Color), are currently being applied in many American and European alternative schools (Educational Solutions Worldwide 2011). It embraces the way the human brain stores new information, and symbolizes it in time and space using shapes, colors, figures and words. In the Silent Way, teachers do not (or seldom) speak, but instead guide students on their way to learning foreign languages. Such an approach implies that professors are not to be authorities, but helpers that assist others rather than teach.

Finally, in most alternative schools, artistic activities are given meaningful space, and are considered as an essential aspect of education. Alternative approaches believe that art stimulates creativity, self-realization, holism and cement relations between members. Music, painting, drawing, sculpture, craftsmanship, etc. are often subject to free (or close to free) workshops, and shows and exhibitions to be enjoyed by all in many ecovillages. Power decentralization, or the absence of strict authority is tangible at many levels in these alternative approaches.

Although the traditional verticality of Japanese social structures may not seem to be home to representative examples of localism, a few localities have actually developed innovative kinds of social management, especially regarding children-adults relations (Korn 1991:2).

In Konohana Family, an intentional community located in Shizuoka prefecture, innovative educational approach to education, as children participation to social and political life are applied. The community was established in 1994 with 20 people, and now counts over 80 non-blood related members (Fellowship for Intentional Community 2013). Although academic achievement and competition are usually very harsh in Japan, the Konohana community does not pressurize its children to achieve outstanding results, but rather encourage social participation to local events, task sharing and meetings.³³ When they are of age, they can attend the national schools or the nearby village, but are not forced to do so. Children are not confined to the responsibility of their parents alone, but raised by the community as a whole. They mostly spend their daytime together, and are taken care of by all adults rather than their parents only. Children are also invited to participate to the community's meetings. They bear the responsibility of organizing their own meeting every night, held before the adult meeting in the common hall. After talking among themselves, they are encouraged to share what happened to them during the day with the adults, how they felt about it, what made them happy or sad or what they are reflecting on. 34 Should an argument occur, adults might obviously provide assistance and offer advices. During the adult meeting, the community members assign tasks for the next day, share conflicts, discuss everyday issues or psychological struggles and decide

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³³ Most of the following observations are based on personal experience when visiting the community in Summer 2010.

³⁴ It should be mentioned that frequent, compulsory meetings are a strong cultural trait of Japanese culture. Japanese schools, companies and organizations alike usually share the habit of discussing matters among themselves on a regular basis.

how to treat guests. Children can take part in it if they so desire.

Meetings are a place for members to share their thoughts openly to others, without putting the blame on circumstances or people. They strive to be objective and invite those who have trouble expressing themselves to look within and communicate what they find. Self-reflection cements the community and brings harmony to human relations, building an overall positive attitude among members. This is especially important for troubled people (the community counts a few), who are there to overcome their mental problems or illnesses. They learn to open their minds to others and integrate the psychology of the community. The Konohana meetings have taken place for 16 consecutive years. Such type of education shows children that political participation is not a matter of age, power or status, but a right for all members of the community. Every child's opinion can be expressed and heard, and each inhabitant is given a social place without condition.

Although showing very peculiar traits characteristic of Japanese culture, children education in Konohana Family is a good example of localist principles applied.

Many of the abovementioned local communities and alternative education approaches take place in institutions or localities that enjoy a certain amount of independence from national governments. In the localist perspective, education should be the responsibility of the family, and community schools are supposed to be extensions of the children's families (Moore 2013:Loc 1068).

In alternative schools such as the ones of Findhorn and Todmorden, teachers are not mere employees but village inhabitants, community members and often co-owners of

the schools. Teachers and parents collaborate to create environments that better adapt the needs of local children, in order to help them integrate the community (Moray Steiner School 2013). Intermediary education boards do not have authority over the approaches applied there. In contrast to homogenized methods at the national level, teachers in alternative schools have lesser numbers of children to care of, and therefore enjoy more liberty when designing courses and program contents. Such type of management makes it easier for local staff to adapt to the pace and needs of local children. Geographical proximity between educational approach designers and its receivers is essential to create a solid social link between generations, and cement values in communities.

Local schools, as opposed to national schools, are often able to give better attention focus on children, and convey that they all have an important place in the local community from the very start. Such a vision may develop strong responsibility, trust, safety and therefore social sustainability among the local social body. In order to avoid academic failure as well as the growing disinterest of the youth in large-scale education, national systems may benefit from reorganizing at a more local level. Approaches to education at the national scale may need complete reshaping in order to evolve from conditioning to thoughtful awareness (Pappenheim 1959:49).

6.2.2 Localism and ecological consciousness

Part 6.1.2 has been focusing on the impact of the globalist mindset on information networks and the media. Because those help centralize knowledge and power, they have

grown to become large and complicated networks which sociological impact was worth analyzing. In localist communities, however, information is less centralized, and does not necessarily rely on large networks to function.

Local TV, radio stations, or newspaper agencies are mostly locally-run, the contents of programs are more locally-oriented, and as long as key information is relayed from one to the other, institutional control from superior institutions is not necessary.

Moreover, as social values differ, what is deemed "relevant" knowledge also differs.

Because of the rural location of small communities, information about natural environment and conditions may often be more relevant than political or economic issues. Intentional communities seeking autonomy, resilience and sustainability, it is only logical for them to pay close attention to their natural resources and ecological footprint. As a result, ecological consciousness positions itself as a central social value in localist models (Uchiyama 2012:11).

The geographical proximity, and therefore vulnerability of localities to their natural environment logically leads to greater concern regarding the maintenance of balance between Nature and human societies. Local and intentional communities rely on local, practical solutions to reduce waste, pollution or environmental degradation. Their small size and limited means enables localities to quickly implement innovative ideas, and achieve high levels of resilience and sustainability. The present section will analyze the correlation between localist principles and ecological consciousness through examples of local communities and recurrent methods of environmental management.

The community of Todmorden, an English town located 27 km North-East of Manchester, U.K, is a relevant example of ecologically conscious transition toward a more localist type of social management. Centuries before the industrial revolution, the Todmorden population (currently counting 17 000 inhabitants) lived in self-sufficiency, enjoying self-sustaining agricultural settlements from local farmers (Hay 2012).

Although the city managed to retain a certain degree of self-sufficiency, capitalism and its means of production brought competition and individualism among local food producers, forcing them to struggle against supermarket culture. In 2008, activists from the "Incredible Edible" local organization created a festival to promote locally-grown organic food (Incredible Edible 2012). The success of the festival encouraged the group to create other events, campaigns and initiatives. Ecologists, organic food lovers, vegetarians or vegans from nearby local communities then gathered to rally the cause. One initiative leading one to another, groups of villagers decided to create vegetables in previously unused public spaces in town.

Today, every citizen cultivates one small free garden, its harvest being at the disposal of passers by. In less than three years, the town managed to reach 83 percent of self-sufficiency in terms of food (Hay 2012). Several inhabitants claim to have reconnected with each other and with the land, and rejected capitalist values. The Incredible Edible movement centered its activity on three main concepts: community, education and business (Incredible Edible 2012). All three fields are said to support the others and contribute to create an autonomous, self-sufficient and satisfactory society for the community. Volunteers and activists did not have to go against the rules of their

localities in their initiatives.

It is the collaboration between local authorities and the Incredible Edible organization that enabled such a project to happen. According to the organizers, local crisis management led to a transition from economic competition toward sufficiency and local re-appropriation of the land. Every member needed to become co-responsible, co-creator and co-owner of food production (Paull 2011). Open source planting beds have been created in unused spaces around town so that inhabitants can grow their own fruits and vegetables. Such spaces have been put to use in front of the police station, the fire station, the train station and even the hospital. They bear the message: "Go on, take some. It's all free!"

In order to work, the project had to be easy, inclusive and accessible to all inhabitants without exception, including children. Children are said to be key to the success of the initiative because they cement the adult community while bringing new ideas and enthusiasm to all projects. Food production is taught in Todmorden schools. Children grow their own vegetables, raise chickens and eat what they have cultivated in the school cafeteria. The "Every Egg Matters" campaign encourages people to raise chicken by themselves and sell their eggs locally. Another campaign, privileging local food (produced within 30 km) in local restaurants and bakeries of the town was met with enthusiasm. Workshops are also organized to teach people the "lost arts of cooking", such as how to kill a chicken or rabbit properly, make bread, make jam, and so forth. Although originally not a very attractive area, Todmorden has developed what it calls "vegetable tourism." Local volunteers take people to the best in town, teach them how to grow

vegetables, cook them, and observe the way of the village.

Todmorden's example has been followed by many other English towns such as Wakefield, Rossendale, Huddersfield, Doncaster, as well as in other countries around the world including Africa, Canada, Australia and Hong Kong (Hay 2012). The Incredible Edible (2012) organizers claim that, thanks to its system and according to its experience, a normal local community can reach self-sufficiency and autonomy within only four months, depending on the degree of enthusiasm of its population.

Another example where local production and environmental management take precedence over national concern is Ueno village, located in Tano district, Gunma Prefecture, Japan. Ueno village spreads across 182 km² and hosts a population of 1328 inhabitants living in 618 houses (Ueno Village Administration 2014). The village is composed of a network of small ramifications hosting between 100 to 200 inhabitants each.

Located in a mountainous area, the villagers have been deeply affected by their natural environment as 90 percent of the Ueno village area is covered by forest. In order to protect the trees and the fertility of the soils, Ueno village practices forestry on the surface of its mountains, and carefully limit human expansion (Uchiyama 2012:9). In dense areas, certain trees are cut in order to help the forest breathe. Major trees are given enough room to grow by having surrounding minor trees cut, which ensures sustainable health for the forest and environment. Natural mountain springs and rivers have helped grow forests with high value plants and trees, creating a rich natural landscape. The

typical wood species that can be found around the village include North chestnuts, Mongolian oaks, Katsura trees, Northern Japanese hemlocks, Pinacae, Azalea, Horn beams, Chinese flowering ashes, Hydrangeahirata and Maple trees, among others (Ueno Village Administration 2014).

This rich wood diversity enabled the village to generate a valuable production, and became the first source of revenue of the village. However, in order to protect the natural landscape, the amount of cutting allowed is strictly limited. The villagers also established regulations for themselves as well as a visitor restriction system. Although everyone is welcome to the village, people have to observe certain rules when hiking. Because forest management in certain fields demand expert knowledge, certain parts of the village are left to the responsibility of local specialists. However, specialists have to communicate their conclusions to the rest of the population and decisions are taken in local meetings.

Because of the difficult access conditions of the village, most inhabitants have developed the habit of cultivating their own food and selling it locally, which is one of the reasons for its quality. The village's organic vegetables are now increasingly exported, and food production has become another source of revenue for the community. Although Ueno village has a mayor and functions as a normal Japanese local agglomeration on the paper, inhabitants enjoy particular freedom in ecology management. Many traditional festivals cement solidarity in the community and attract tourists. Convenient facilities, including Western-style cottages, have been built for temporary visitors to rest and cook their own food.

Although not self-proclaimed as an ecovillage by its inhabitants, Ueno village has reached a high level of autonomy compared to other nearby villages, and is often referred to as one of the leading Gunma villages in terms of autonomy and self-sufficiency (Uchiyama 2012). However, the village still relies heavily on gasoline and motored vehicles due to the difficult access conditions of the mountain area. They also suffer from the rural exodus of the young, as many desire to leave the village when they reach adulthood. Villagers are currently working on registering Ueno as an official ecovillage, in order to attract more tourism. The inhabitants are also looking for more alternative energy sources, and have the project to be completely autonomous by the end of the year 2014 (Ueno Village Administration 2014).

As the Todmorden and Ueno village examples show, the social health of a community highly depends on the location and resources of the land on which it is established, and on its management. Few natural environments can actually allow total autonomy, resilience and sustainability for developing communities, and many require the help of a neighborhood for survival. However, in most cases, the key factor for sustainability remains environmental management. Favorable natural conditions (proximity to rivers or sea, fertile grounds or soothing weather, etc.) have always been the first reason for the establishment and expansion of human communities (San Giorgio 2011:204). However, although environmental concern is usually strong at the beginning, it tends to fade away as agglomerations develop and overcome their surroundings in terms of environmental impact.

As modern agricultural production techniques value productivity over environmental sustainability, land exploitation often leads to disastrous consequences. The perpetual expansion of large cities can only happen at the detriment of its surrounding environment. In the localist perspective, the expansion of human communities should be limited, and its production should adapt the local environments, in order to leave no or almost no ecological footprint. Allowing Nature in the scheme keeps the size of communities smaller. Preserving direct individual access to primary resources will obviously limit the number of people who can live in the same place at the same time. Although many have regarded these natural limits as obstacles to human expansion, it is also possible to see them as a way to preserve balance between human societies and Nature (Fukuoka 1985:31-32). This is the kind of ideology that lies behind permaculture techniques.

Permaculture is the art of developing sustainable, regenerative and self-maintained habitat and agricultural systems modeled from natural ecosystems (Holmgren 2001). The term permaculture is a contraction of the expression "permanent agriculture," elaborated in 1978 by Bill Mollison and David Holmgren (Holmgren and Mollison 1978:15). It is a rational approach to agriculture, inspired by Masanobu Fukuoka's natural farming philosophy (1975), and elaborated throughout the 20th century by farmers, microbiologists and biologists from various countries. It is now being used in many autonomous localities and intentional communities. Holmgren and Mollison claim to have elaborated the system as an attempt to improve existing agricultural techniques, including Western commercial agriculture as well as Third World and local cultures.

Modern agricultural methods in the former use a great deal of chemical additives, which alter the natural fermentation and original properties of the ground, disturb the ecological balance, damage the soils and create erosion (Holmgren 2002). The primary goal of permaculture is to work with nature rather than against it, in the sense that it is organized around a conscious conception of the land and mimics patterns and models observed in nature. Its goal is to stimulate the already existing biological activity of soils in order to obtain production abundance. People, their homeland and the way they are socially organized are at the center of permaculture.

The permaculture model is based on twelve basic principles: to observe and interact with nature, to catch and store energy, to obtain a yield, to apply self-regulation and accept feedback, to use and value renewable resources and services, to produce no waste, to design from patterns to details, to integrate rather than segregate, to use small and slow solutions, to use and value diversity, to use edges and value the marginal, and to use and respond to change creatively (Holmgren 2001:6-17). Permaculture implies observation, response to one's environment, and deep reflection. It does not propose ready-to-use recipes applicable in every point of the globe at any time, but starts with the idea that one specific problem should be dealt with one specific solution (Koeppel 2013). In that sense, permaculture represents the opposite of the globalist approach, which attempts to solve as many problems as possible with unique solutions (Mollison 1981:147).

Permaculture strives to propose solutions that do not create more problems than it

should solve. This does not only concern agricultural production, but also the organization of human life. For instance, it recommends that buildings of localities be made with (almost) entirely biodegradable and/or recyclable materials (Holmgren 2001:10). In order to pass the trial of time, facilities need to integrate their environment and become part of it. The permaculture approach helps the individual become conscious of the fragility of its environment and about natural cycles, which he has to go through as well. Observing the soil, its characteristics, particularities and its differences with other soils will grant valuable knowledge to the locals. Some plants are bio-indicators: they give hints about what type of culture is possible on a particular ground. Contrary to common belief, using herbicides may not solve possible water, nitrogen or compaction excess. It doesn't prevent diseases or low productivity risks from these excesses either.

Permaculture proposes to rely on remediation, phytoromediation or to cultivate adapted plants to solve these problems (Koeppel 2013). The abundance of water, sun and wind in the environment is also essential. One should avoid dry lands and look for trees that bring the water from deep layers of the earth back up the surface to irrigate the land. Most vegetables and fruits need large amounts of sun (yet too much exposition can also become harmful). Moreover, artificial irrigation does not prevent diseases nor low productivity. Irrigation should happen naturally, namely through rain and natural plants, not man-made devices (Fukuoka 1975). Remediation (creating natural water stocks on steep grounds, hedges to cut off winds, making clearings in forests, etc.) helps creating microclimates that will grow plants that are naturally adapted to the soils.

Plants are used to create a cooler and more humid microclimate at the surface of

the soil. Nature does not need man-brought water, nor man-built soil aeration systems. Dead roots, moles, small animals and insects help air through the soil in a natural way, which is what cultures need. Certain plants also grow very deep roots that help soil aeration and should therefore be left untouched. For instance, when picking up a salad, its roots should be left as they are in the ground. Plowing should be avoided at all cost. Humus should also be kept. The layers of the ground are naturally structured and should not be inverted. In order to aerate dense soils, some tools and mechanization can be used such as garden forks (digging only within 60 cm) or fang rippers. Ideally, cultivated soils should contain around 80 percent of air, and one should be able to insert a human arm into it effortlessly.

On the other hand, such soils are very fragile and should be handled with care. Man should bring to the soil as much as he takes from it, in order not to impoverish or unbalance it. Every piece of organic matter should be used by the life of the soil in order to build the argilo-humid complex (the natural combination of minerals and plants created by earthworms), which prevents useless watering and soil instability (Koeppel 2013). The goal of permaculture is to reconstitute an ecosystem with the same characteristics as the local "climax vegetation" (the maximum level of fertility one local environment could achieve). In theory, adding organic matter from the outside should not be needed during the first year of cultivation. This should enable an important humus production, a thick first layer of soil, made of what is commonly referred to as "bad" weed that will render the soil fertile and save man a lot of efforts.

As a result of permaculture practice, the following result was achieved: A 200 m²

garden, costing 43 EUR a year for maintenance and demanding only two hours of work every two days to one man (including a daily 30 minutes transportation) comfortably fed a four-member family with fresh fruits and vegetables all year long. The 43 EUR cost includes one buying of seeds every ten years, and a yearly rent of 32 EUR for the garden. Manufacturing such a garden demanded six weeks of work during the first years. The garden also included a greenhouse for winter (Koeppel 2013). The cost and energy-saving advantages of such methods should not need any further explanation.

Permaculture methods are applied in several of the local and intentional communities mentioned in this research, including Findhorn, Todmorden, Konohana Family and Ueno village (Permaculture Research Institute 2012). The use of innovative permaculture techniques is also at the core of these communities' autonomy, and one of the reasons why those have attracted an increasing amount of attention since their foundation.

As the above data shows, the permaculture approach advocates local evaluation of environmental management to solve global agricultural problems. Permaculture cofounder Bill Mollison shares the idea that resources shortage in the world today is mostly the result of resources and energy centralization (Mollison 1981:147). He supports political power decentralization via the empowering localities and local businesses, in order to restore balance between Centers and Peripheries. Re-localizing resources management is not only the core idea behind localism, but also behind permaculture and several other ecological consciousness movements. These principles have already helped

countless communities deal with environmental problems faster and better than large urban areas. The problem is not that alternative lifestyles and models of social and environmental management do not exist; it is rather that globalism's denial of their benefits spreads discredit over them, and thus impedes their development. As a result, the high self-sufficiency and sustainability level reached by ecologically conscious communities gradually pushes them to sever the link with urban societies, and recreate their own habits, culture and tradition outside of the globalist expansion spectrum.

6.2.3 Localist culture and tradition

As the analysis of local education models and environmental management suggested, the social objectives and techniques relative to localism generate peculiar type of habits, interaction patterns, relationships and overall, different lifestyles. The understanding that organizing society on large areas of land is unsustainable led localists to keep communities small, and to establish them preferably in the countryside. While certain aspects of traditional rural lifestyles subsist in many localities, new are also emerging from conscious, intentional approaches of localism. Innovation brought by the trials and errors of modernity reapplied to rural lifestyles brings about new social models, and therefore, new traditions. Besides modern techniques, a large number of facilities are redesigned for group activities such as meetings, celebrations, ceremonies, exchange markets, accommodations for visitors and so forth, encouraging free access to local resources and types of social relations that were disappearing from globalist societies.

Direct involvement of populations in cultural activities contributes to rebuild the social link that currently lacks in so many cities. The present section will observe this cultural aspect and attempt to understand its sociological impact on communities.

According to Japanese localism researcher Takashi Uchiyama, the disintegration of traditional society bonds and the dawn of the modern individualist era originates from three main factors combined: capitalism, governments and citizenship (Uchiyama 2012:91).

Unlike in traditional communities where the common land was sacred and therefore indivisible, the development of commerce brought about private property and class societies (Engels 1884:99). With the development of the state and private banking, communities were progressively alienated from their land and forced to labor in order to buy their share of resources. Current market economies demand easily interchangeable individuals to occupy diverse and rapidly changing working positions. In order to sustain the economic growth, nation-size economies therefore need a constant incoming flow of workers. In such a paradigm, united groups, communities or workers unions such as they have existed in traditional communities constituted an obstacle to market flexibility and productivity. Capital needs individualized, anonymous labor units to keep the machine working. Therefore, several individualizing policies inducing competition and scarcity were developed by state authorities in order to sever the social link between individuals and modify the remaining traditional image of the family.

As Clouscard demonstrated, the globalist argument according to which citizens

actually benefit from this transition (via increased purchasing power, higher qualification levels, prestige positions or manufactured goods, etc.) is a lure (Clouscard 1996:33-35). While the individual citizen seems to be the main point of focus of modern nations, the real benefiters of large capitalistic social bodies remain capital owners. Citizens are expected to take care of their own physiological needs through earning a salary, yet still have to follow the directions of the state. Looking at Maslow's pyramid (1943), it can be argued that the more basic the need, the stronger the physical incentive to fulfill it is. Modern capitalistic societies have been designed to keep citizens dependent on revenues by insuring that rents remain high: private property over a piece of land is the most expensive, and therefore difficult good to acquire. This is especially true in large cities, where owning absolute property over one's housing and food production has become so expensive that it out of reach for the average citizen, or demands a lifetime of savings.

Such inequality also creates precariousness, another factor of individualization. Due to the disintegration of the social bond, the homogeneity and anonymity of the city has replaced the diversity and solidarity of local communities (Uchiyama 2012:90). Delocalization and the individualization problem stroke countryside localities as well, resulting in people being even more isolated in villages than cities. Mutual help and cooperation die as most of the local production is owned by large food companies, and shipped immediately after harvest to feed cities. International war, national education and the progressive infiltration of the state into local communities lured popular concern away from their immediate environment and contributed to destroy the social bond in rural societies. In the media, the very notion of community is often associated with a lack

of liberty and regression (having to conform to the ideas of a group, not having access to consumption goods, etc.). Moreover, what most modern citizens envision when "building" communities is the gain they can derive from it (Uchiyama 2012:90).

Linking communities to profit is a capitalistic approach, originating from a vertical perspective of social bodies, not traditional ones. According to Uchiyama (2012:90), it is impossible to rebuild the social link within such mind frame, since the social link is not about gain or profit. The very essence of communities is relationships, and individuals are not to be considered as tools by others. In the Japanese Shinto ideology, the bond between humans and nature is also connected to the social bond between human beings. The production of agriculture, forestry or fishing is what connects the living to the dead. It is the idea the relationship between ancestors and the land they have built is what brought people together in the present. Access to the resources of the land is perpetuated through this relationship, and honoring it is essential for the harmony of communities.

The idea that access to the resources of the land should be a common legacy and not the privilege of an elite may be one reason behind the fact that cultural activities in localist communities are clearly less-profit oriented than in urban areas. Having more modest objectives, rural customs aim at developing and nurturing relationships between members. Profit is generally out of the way, or of secondary importance. The main goal is generally to develop communication, and therefore harmony between members.

In most local communities and ecovillages, meetings are at the center of localist

life, and most of them take place in a common hall, generally including one or several large spaces for all types of gatherings (i.e. meals, parties, ceremonies, weddings, funerals and so forth). Findhorn, Marinaleda, Emmaüs Lescar-Pau, Todmorden or Konohana Family all have this principle in common, and leave multi-purposes buildings at the disposal of community members, with few or no conditions. Volunteers can generally book facilities in advance via a registry, and this seldom involves fees (Bolze 2009). Besides, volunteers usually have to bear heavier responsibilities than in larger cities, since the maintenance of facilities is expected to be carried out by everyone individually (i.e. cleaning after use, proper disposal of garbage, material maintenance, respecting the presence of others within the facility, etc.

Exchange Markets between villages and local communities are another essential part of community life, and are also often hosted in common halls. Markets are vital to small collectivities because they broaden trade possibilities of between their inhabitants, as well as with those from other villages. Exchanges erase the limits of local production and turn them into abundance and diversity (Gautier 2012). Marketplaces also stimulate the flow of interaction as well as the activity of localities. The Todmorden community, which activities revolve around autonomous food production, organizes countless gathering and events inviting nearby communities, so as to privilege neighbors and local farmers in the competition against large resellers (Hay 2012). By doing so, the community managed to save several local stores and businesses from closing and revitalized local commerce. Flea markets are also common practice, allowing people to exchange, donate or refurbish unused or second-hand goods, ensuring material

sustainability and reducing the amount of waste (Belaali 2011). In order to avoid food waste, unsold production surplus is often offered to the less fortunate in nearby communities. The policy of destroying unsold food is a capitalistic feature that is generally absent of local and intentional communities, which generally despise food waste (San Giorgio 2011).

Local currencies also become increasingly necessary to fill the local economic gaps created by global financial markets. Local currencies empower local economies, and create opportunities for businesses that might not always find customers outside (i.e. social support to the elders, repair, recycling, spiritual services, fortunetelling, etc.). In smaller communities, bartering may be enough to carry out exchanges. However, in order to maintain trade with the outside, most communities retain use of national currencies in certain amounts. They sometimes stock national currencies on common bank accounts (i.e. Konohana Family), or produce local ones in local facilities (i.e. Berkshares, Ithaca Hours, etc.).

Localist cultures also tend to allow particular importance to free forms of spiritual practices. Spiritual gatherings, yoga, mediation or seminars are common in ecovillages and intentional communities. Following the will of its members, several facilities are built to adapt the ever-changing demands for spiritual guidance.

Finally, festivals and celebrations are generally take place regularly in local and intentional communities. Tradition and habit enroot communities by strengthening the social link, as people carry out some kind of group work reminding them of their bonds.

As Uchiyama (2012) argued, traditional rituals in rural communities also serve to remind

the community of its bond with nature. No community can survive while ignoring the impact of its activity on the local environment. Food production and preparation for the cold season calls for consciousness of natural phenomenon, which is why festivals often follow the cycle of seasons. Although no strict rule forces inhabitants to participate to such events and their preparation, most inhabitants are generally willing to. Passing on knowledge from older generations to the young is an important part of the process, which cements the community. Tradition is the backbone of human society, and it is not surprising to find a stronger attachment to traditional values in local communities as compared to large cities.

However, localist lifestyles also present several limits. Sanitary facilities that may allow expert medical treatment such as surgery are complicated to build properly. The lack of doctors and dentists in many communities seldom enables them to offer full time permanence (San Giorgio 2011:229). In case of emergency, local doctors may not have the ability to treat patients and those may have to be sent to larger hospitals, which involves greater risks. As has been argued in section 5.2.2, using medicine tools also requires careful handling and hygiene. Clean tools to cure wounds or perform surgery must be kept in local hospitals and the hygiene level of the facility needs be particularly high; conditions that may be difficult to meet among the locals. This is why doctors are often wanted members of local communities, and why basic medicine skills are one of the primary features that local communities can benefit from teaching all of its members in schools or workshops. Doctors or health specialists of the community may enjoy

privileged access to certain operating facilities, and have their personal houses built close to the sanitary facility so that they can be reached quickly in case of emergency.

In certain rural areas, face-to-face communication or even transportation may not always be easy. Although access to phone or the Internet may be desired in order to facilitate communication between inhabitants and the external world, setting up such devices may not always be possible depending on technical circumstances. However, this does not prove to be a problem for all, as certain communities actually wish to avoid surveillance from national authorities or any kind of influence from the outside. Those may choose to build private internal networks that would be protected from external access.

Finding the right balance of input and output between the inside and outside of communities is certainly a tough task. In this regard, another important problem that local communities have to face is the exodus of the young. Young people often decide to leave the community when reaching adulthood, by will or need to travel, change of interest or to find a mate (Bolze 2009). In large proportions, this may harm the community by depriving it of its greatest workforce, and prevent generation renewal. Several local communities have gone instinct because of the rural exodus of the young. This is why local inhabitants make efforts to pass on local values to their children about the importance of nurturing the link with the land of their ancestors. However, because such a phenomenon cannot be entirely controlled, a certain amount of openness is required from inhabitants toward newcomers. It is important for small communities to remain open to the outside world, in order to attract diversity and avoid consanguinity. For this

reason, accommodation for temporary visitors can be found in most local and intentional communities.

The localist mentality usually encourages visitors to come and spend time in its communities, and villagers often provide tours and workshops for tourists. Contrary to the image that the mainstream media may sometimes spread, local and intentional communities are rarely gregarious collectivities (Hay 2012). Local communities have no reason to reject outsiders unless those are attempting to take away their autonomy and legacy.

As the present research has shown, localist communities bring countless practical, and sometimes innovative solutions to the problems of capitalism-based social models both inside and outside of the nation sphere. In spite of the globalism's promises of progress and wealth, current societies around the world are witnessing the decay of morality and of the fundamental bond with the land on which they are established.

According to Uchiyama (2012:90), although the goal of capitalism was to generate profit, humanity has lost more than it has gained by playing along its rules. Because of their vertical structure, nation-states find themselves unable to rebuild strong, large-scale horizontal communities. In a large social structure where the individual only exists as an anonymous wage-earner, only smaller groups with alternative models of social organization may restore solidarity, and revive the link between the land and its inhabitants. Localism embodies this idea. Applying localist principles in both rural and urban areas, by allowing more power to local institutions and reducing the distance

between decision givers and takers, may actually bring several solutions to the global social crisis. Should people manage to rebuild strong, autonomous and self-sufficient communities, a new kind of social structure may emerge and nation-states, over time, may become obsolete. Although large institutions may not be dismantled overnight, the role of the state should be limited to managing basic, physical needs, or matters about which everybody agrees. To the contrary, for matters that generate debate and demand deep analysis, decisions may increasingly be taken at the local level (Uchiyama 2012:96).

In regard to international cooperation, it should be said that localism does not imply to refuse support to other countries in need. To the contrary, localism favors strengthening the social link with neighbor communities, countries and other networks. However, unlike globalism and imperialism, it gives priority to the near and local before engaging its efforts in solving far away problems. It encourages its own local businesses to develop by benefitting the area, instead of delocalizing their production abroad to cut off costs (Hess 2012:3). Nation-states tend to build societies in which ecological consciousness is of secondary importance. Only local communities can generate a bond between people and their environment that is strong enough to be sustained on the long term. By shifting the focus on the local rather than on the national or global scheme, localism embraces diversity instead of destroying it, and ensures a slow yet effective transition toward more sustainable lifestyles. This is why central powers should stay out of decisions taken in local areas. Nations may need to reorganize from the micro level to the macro level, not from Centers to Peripheries.

Even in the case of a global economic collapse, societies may be rebuilt from

local areas outward. The countries that are currently witnessing severe economic impact from supra-national institutions are already showing signs of emancipation toward more localist types of social management. In the European Union, countries such as Greece, Spain, or Argentina, have been leading the movements in substituting new local currencies to national ones (Boyd 2012). The dawn of an urban exodus and the growing interest for intentional, independent communities may actually be heralding inevitable yet positive future trends, not regression. Rebinding with self-sufficiency lifestyles and occupations may ensure more security from the economic crisis to come.

However, localism also shows limits on many aspects. The size of local communities forces them to limit the number of individuals they can host, and therefore cannot represent a solution for everyone. Populations used to nation-sized societies and human interaction networks would need to shift their perception of community, and have the economic means as well as the will to move out of globalist structures, which represents many obstacles. The lack of a special social class for defense (i.e. police or army) also weakens local communities against external threats, especially the one of the state. In any case, building localist networks would demand complete redesigning and restructuring of current national institutions in order to function properly. In the meantime, the example of localist communities and alternative social models may become sources of inspiration to countries around the world, and may already help shift focus on the local within leaving the shell of capitalist and globalist structures.

7.1 Gathering Differences between Globalism and Localism

The present research has attempted to understand globalism and localism, two major ideologies that are believed to affect social structures, and shape them in two different ways. This final section will summarize its findings, formulate its own perspective on both structures, and analyze the transition that seems to be taking place from one toward the other.

Globalism organizes society around power centralization, while localism strives to decentralize that same power. Globalism tends to gather social power in the hands of an elite that eventually takes political decisions in place of the people. Such an elite usually enjoys privileged access to physical and social resources (capital and labor) available within one territory, and at the same time establishes rules toward limiting that same access for the population. Over time, power centralization tends to intensify, deteriorating living conditions for populations and generating social unrest. Globalism develops panoptic and repressive measures in order to limit popular uprising, which renders any major change in the structure difficult.

In response to globalism, an philosophy of society was born under the name of localism. Attempting to restore the power balance through decentralization, localism gathers several social movements that strive to drive local communities away from power

centers, both geographically and ideologically. By redistributing political power to local institutions, these movements attempt to rebuild small social systems independently of national authority. They may take the form of intentional communities (i.e. ecovillages, transition towns, survivalist communities etc.), but also consist in localities that decide to apply more inward-focused and autonomous policies.

Two philosophies, two projects or two movements are clearly emerging from previous observations. The present research will formulate its own theory of both types of social management. In order to summarize these and for the sake of clarity, the concepts and adjectives that best apply to both movements have been listed in the table below. It may be noted that those best apply to general, representative cases of globalist and localist structures, such as large cities as opposed to advanced local communities.

GLOBALISM	LOCALISM
Power centralization	Power decentralization
Large scale societies	Small scale societies
Outward political focus	Inward political focus
Predominance of vertical relations	Predominance of horizontal relations
Governments, political elite	Councils and meetings, relative
	absence of elite

Elected officials, mandates	Temporary leaders, random drawing
Class conflict	Relative political and economic equality
	equanty
Strong law enforcement systems	Weak law enforcement systems
High profitability of lucrative	Relative absence of lucrative
property	property
Usage property precariousness	Usage property sustainability
(high rents, owner sovereignty)	(low rents, user sovereignty)
Low L.C.	High L.C.
(housing, income, resources, etc.)	(housing, income, resources, etc.)
Access to fundamentals is limited	Access to fundamentals is relatively
and regulated by the elite	simple
Fast economic growth	Limited economic growth
International and national banking	National currencies, local currencies,
systems, national currencies	alternative means of exchange,
	bartering, etc.
Low amount of social responsibility	High amount of social responsibility
at the individual level	at the individual level
High amount of dependency toward	Low amount of dependency toward
national institutions	national institutions
Low amount of ecological	High amount of ecological

consciousness	consciousness
Nomadic cosmopolitanism	Enrooted lifestyles
State religions and international	Local religions and spiritual
religious dogma, monotheism	eclecticism
National education system	Local schools and education centers
Nationally controlled media and	
information networks	Local media information networks
Favoring cultural homogenization	Favoring cultural diversity
Nations, empires, international	Localities, ecovillages, transition
corporations with large political	towns, networks of locally-managed
power	communities

Figure 6. Gathering Differences between Globalism and Localism

Such a classification allows for a clearer understanding of both philosophies and structures. The two are obviously walking opposite ways to organize society, and therefore seem utterly incompatible with each other. On the one hand, globalism aims at building outward, expanding structures over increasingly large pieces of land. Its primary objective is not to improve living conditions, but to rule and homogenize cultures and lifestyles. On the other hand, localism aims at building inward-focused limited structures over small pieces of land. Its primary objective is to improve the living conditions of its inhabitants, to protect cultural diversity and to avoid any power centralization.

Under such circumstances, having both philosophies cohabit within the same territory may certainly prove difficult. Conflict regarding how each should allow access to physical, social and spiritual resources to citizens is central, and must be addressed in order to find solutions. While such access is controlled by the intermediary elite and therefore strictly limited under globalism, it is seldom regulated under localism. This core element of social organization does not appear to have been subject to detailed analysis in other sociological studies. The next section will attempt to further theorize the idea of social resource management, as well as to understand how its access is regulated under both social models.

7.2 A Structural Theory of Globalism

After gathering information about both ideologies, the current section will attempt to build its own general theory of the globalist and localist social structures, starting with globalism. It will strive to keep the number of parts in both structures to a minimum, in order to make superposition on other fields of analysis possible. Figure 10 shows a simplified, general view of the globalist structure as it can be drawn from previous analysis.

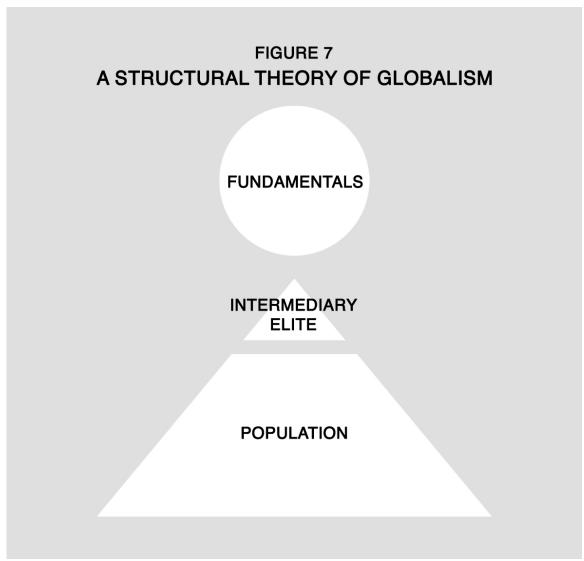


Figure 7. A Structural Theory of Globalism

Three main elements can been distinguished, and described as follows.

1. Fundamentals: The "fundamentals" element symbolizes the fulfillment of primary physical needs, fundamentally shared social values or key information that may emerge within any given human community. It may concern the degree of physical access to

essential resources such as water, food or housing, the social realization of immaterial social values such as freedom, democracy, peace, security, material abundance, spiritual consciousness, or the amount of information needed to enable inhabitants to live their life as they see fit, etc. The degree of access to fundamentals may be quantified through the use of indexes between 0 and 1, in which 0 would mean free, unregulated and unlimited access to quality fundamentals, and 1 would mean impossible access without the consent or cooperation of the intermediary elite. Secondary needs or social values may be classified as sub-categories of primary ones and be considered as regulated through the same process.

- 2. Intermediary Elite: This social category stands between fundamentals and the people. It generally enjoys privileged access to fundamentals, as well as the authority to supervise and regulate access to it by the rest of the population. With time, the whole social structure tends to be designed so that the people can never achieve full realization of primary physical needs and/or shared social value without the approval (and usually cooperation) of the elite. In most cases, the intermediary elite demands that the people "earn" their right to access fundamentals by providing some sort of payment (i.e. money or labor). The objective of such requirement is to force social cooperation, and assert the elite's legitimacy over social power. The raison d'être of the intermediary elite is to insure its survival through maintaining the structure as a whole.
- 3. Population: This category refers to all citizens of a given area administrated by an

intermediary elite. It may be divided into several sub-categories depending on the field of analysis (i.e. higher/middle/lower classes, primary/secondary/tertiary sectors, Center/Periphery, etc.).

The simplicity of figure 10 presents both strengths and weaknesses. It is useful because it helps simplify the concept of globalist structure as a social model that can be immediately understood by anyone, and because it is applicable on all fields of analysis. However, it is also weak because it does not take in account the complexity of the inner structure of each part, and as such, appear stereotypical or as oversimplifying. Such simplification is nevertheless useful in order to apprehend the similarity in the world's social structures, when comparing all fields of analysis to each other. It helps the viewer focus on the pillar of the whole structure: the existence of the intermediary elite and its function. The structure proposed in figure 10 can apply to several other fields of analysis. Some chosen examples have been listed below (this list is non-exhaustive).

Politics: Liberty/Equality/Democracy > Government > Citizens

Economy: Abundance/Satisfaction of physical needs > Banking system > People

Religion: God/Spiritual consciousness > Religious elite > People/Followers

Defense: Peace/Security > Military elite/Defense forces > Civilians

Education: Knowledge > Scientific elite/National Education board > People/Students

Media: Information > National Media > People

As stated above, the core component of the globalist structure is the existence of an intermediary elite. It is the core of power centralization. The fact that a limited number of people enjoy the exclusivity of social power over the rest allows them to stand out as a separate social class, creating a vertical, bipolarized structure. The very existence of the intermediary elite transforms the unconditional access to fundamentals (that is supposed to be the final objective of any society) into a conditional one. The fundamental right of every citizen to enjoy property over the land he/she uses is denied. Usage property becomes the privilege of the elite, which transforms it into lucrative property: people now have to pay the elite to use the land they live on.

The tool used to legitimize such power is the "fundamentals against labor/money" exchange mechanism. Citizens are not denied access to fundamentals, but asked to earn it through labor. In other words, citizens are forced into the trading terms of the elite in order to survive. The only alternative proposed is to buy one's labor with money, a luxury that only the wealthy can afford. Since the whole structure drains the wealth of society toward its top, it tends to centralize wealth and power into the unique social class that can afford the time and means to structure society while others work: the elite. Finding itself in such a favorable position, it is only understandable that the elite would tend to design the terms of the trade so that such inequality remains unchangeable.

With time, laws and regulations are therefore being modified accordingly. On the one hand, the amount of money and wealth that people can earn through labor is inferior to the actual wealth that they produce, which prevents them from ever freeing themselves from their chains. Salaries and the amount of capital necessary for enterprise survival are

set up so that those born without capital can never achieve the wealth of those born with it. On the other hand, accumulated labor contributes to increase the original amount of wealth guarded by the elite, which reinforces the overall structure and its power.

Viewing fundamentals as social values, the same process applies. The officially claimed role of the intermediary elite is to build institutions which objective is to physically realize the social values desired by the people. Although the logical outcome of such a process should be free, unlimited access to such realizations, the structure tends to be shaped so that the existence of the elite remains a necessary condition to its realization. This contradiction gave birth to wrong beliefs such as "democracy cannot be achieved without governments", "economy cannot function without banks", "spiritual elevation cannot be achieved without official religious teachings" etc.

However, democracy cannot happen in a class conflict society, and even less under the reign of a social class that holds exclusive rights to writing the law. Equality cannot happen in a society in which lucrative property prevails, and if capital holds more social value than labor. Peace cannot happen in a society where there is conflict of interest between the people and its elite. Whichever the social value one may choose to achieve, the intermediary elite will forbid access to it without its approval, in order to retain control. The elite is therefore forced to lie to its population, promising a close "unconditional access to fundamentals" that never happens. The only way for it to happen would be the disappearance of the intermediary elite, which is what the whole system is built to prevent at all cost.

The eternal inequalities, conflict of interest and structural violence generated by the globalist structure renders it unsustainable. This is why one may argue that the intermediary elite and the globalist structure are bound to disappear on the long term, brought by the general realization of its flaw. Just as every living organism, the intermediary elite will strive to survive, and therefore to protect itself as well as the globalist social structure as long as possible. A time race therefore appears between, on one side, the general consciousness that the system is fundamentally flawed and its will to see it disappear, and on the other side, the effort of the elite to do everything that is in its power to delay this moment.

The intermediary elite's function naturally evolves toward preventing citizens from understanding their condition, revolt or change the balance of power in their favor. Above anything else, the elite must prevent the people to create any other alternative structure allowing permanent free access to the realization of the fundamentals, as this would mean its end. This is why it can be argued that the longer the globalist structure stands, the more repressive and structurally violent it is bound to become. It may well be argued that the nations of the capitalist world system have already entered such a stage, and that radical change is bound to happen on the global scale in the near future.

Such a view of the globalist structure may certainly present similarities with the Marxist theory of capitalism. The "Fundamentals" notion may recall the "Capital" one, and the "People" notion may recall the "Labor" one. However, the present theory differs on several points. First, it exceeds economic analysis. While the notion of "Capital"

generally refers to core natural and economic resources (Marx [1867, 1885, 1894] 2007:123-126), the "fundamentals" notion includes a social dimension, in which the relation between human beings and resources, as well as the amount of well-being generated by such relation are taken into account. Another aspect in which the present analysis differs from the Marxist one is that in Marx's time, labor on a massive scale was necessary to transform resources into consumable goods, while today, tertiary sector-based consumption society considerably changed the amount of labor needed. While the world population increased exponentially, technology evolved, enabling less people to generate an even greater amount of work in less time. The result is the emergence of massive unemployment in the tertiary sector of developed countries, which led to the announced downfall of the capitalist structure and called for a transition toward of a new one.

These new proposals of social design severely threaten the position of the intermediary elite, which is therefore doing everything in its power to maintain the old structure as it is. By attempting to systematize its intermediary position on the global scale, the elite may manage to preserve its privileged status for a time, but not on the long term. Marx also predicted the downfall of the capitalist structure and the need for a new mode of production, yet he based his prediction on the gradual fall in the rate of profit in business rather than on the effects of technology on the marketplace (Marx [1867, 1885, 1894] 2007:320-332). While still supporting Marx's claims, the present research aims at emphasizing the impossibility to keep an exponentially increasing world population employed full-time in all business sectors.

Moreover, the world's elites are now forming an increasingly homogenous social class organized on the global scale, proceeding toward its best interests with or without the consent of nations. While Marx recognized and theorized the existence of elite classes owning the productive capital assets and means of production in every nation, he may not have foreseen the tremendous speed at which the interest of each class was leading the world structure (or world system) to become globally organized. Galtung, Wallerstein, Hillard or Clouscard, all following in Marx's footsteps, further identified this global threat and attempted to theorize the newly forming imperialist and globalist structures. This forced the analysis out of the economic field alone, and broadened it to others: politics, religion, education, etc. Understanding the overall implication of such organization on the global scale was also the goal of the present research.

The globalist structure can apply to as many layers of social structures as there are types of resources, social values or critical social issues. With time, power tends to centralize both vertically and horizontally on each layer, creating centers of control that overlap, and eventually merge with each other to form a unique "elite" entity. It is the writer's belief that evolving toward a centralized structure managed by an intermediary elite is the fate of every society that fails to implement institutional structures that are strong enough to limit the power of the elite in quantity and time. Although few doubts remain toward the fact that no federation nor supranational cooperation structure was ever built with the explicit purpose to create such power inequality, history has repeatedly proved that power centralization does happen, and favors the already rich and powerful.

Once established, the presence of the intermediary elite can be defined as parasitic and harmful for the long-term well-being of any given society or federation. It is obviously easier and safer to work toward preventing the intermediary elite to form from the very start, rather than attempt to reduce its power when its establishment is complete. At that point, the use of force in order to regain political equality seems inevitable. Looking at the situation of most developed countries in the capitalist world system, the active population in all business sectors is forced to accept increasingly decaying living conditions, enslaved by the social lie that are representative government structures, national and individual debt, the demands of privately owned lucrative property, the lack of access to usage property, disinformation in the media and education, dependency toward the pharmaceutical industry, health hazard due to the mass production of food, to name but the most harmful aspects of globalism. Hope for a peaceful transition toward better access to fundamentals for the population is therefore seriously compromised.

Should access to fundamentals be achieved on the global scale, the raison d'être of the intermediary elite would disappear. Alternative systems, such as localist structures, true NGO and NPOs, ecovillages, transition towns, as well as initiatives such as the creation of local currencies or basic incomes may appear as a real improvement for the population, yet as a serious threat to the globalist elite and structure. Should one country achieve free, unlimited access to fundamentals in any field through one of such alternatives, the risk remains that other countries would imitate it, and demand out of the globalist dependency grip. In order to avoid conflict as much as possible, and at least reduce the wave of global structural violence coming at future generations, society's best

chances may lie in re-education. It is the writer's belief that the clearer the globalist structure will appear to the people, the more chances societies will stand to take appropriate measures, and operate a clean transition toward more ethical social structures such as localism.

7.3 A Structural Theory of Localism

The present section will aim at building a structural theory of localism, based on the understanding of previously exposed theories and studies of practical cases. It will strive to summarize all approaches into a simpler, broader view of the localist ideology, in comparison to globalist structures. Discussion will follow regarding whether transition between the two may or may not be achieved depending on cases. The following diagram presents a general structural theory of localism, as simplified in the form of a graphic illustration.

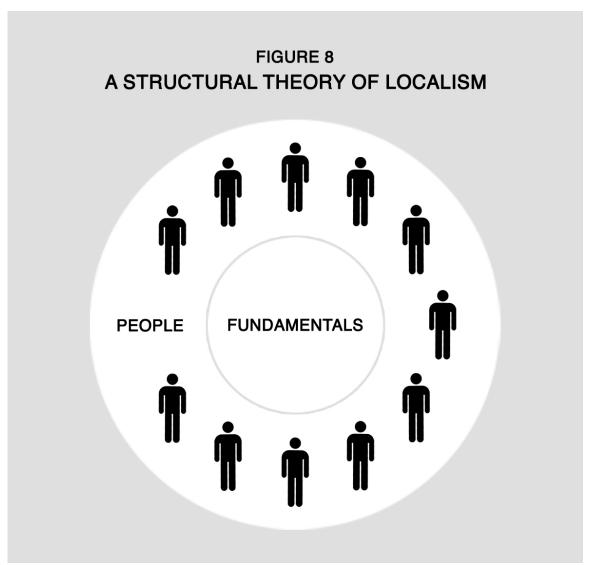


Figure 8. A Structural Theory of Localism

Figure 11 shows a simplified, general view of the localist structure as it appears from previous observations. Contrary to globalism, only two essential elements can be observed instead of three: fundamentals and the people.³⁵ The absence of an intermediary

³⁵ Description of the "fundamentals" and "people" elements can be found in section 7.2

elite allows human relations within the whole structure to remain mostly horizontal.³⁶ Localist structures therefore appear circular, symbolizing a horizontal disc observed from above, as opposed to the vertical pyramid shape of the globalist structure illustration, which is supposed to be observed from the side. While the globalist structure forces human interaction and exchanges to pass through the supervision of a small number of people, thus generating verticality, the localist structure apparently strives to allow every individual free, unlimited access to fundamentals. The present section will aim at theorizing how such access can be granted, while reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses.

Fundamentals in localist structures are more locally defined than in globalist ones. Whether it takes the form of social values or primary physical needs, it will be defined by smaller groups of people, on rather limited areas. In the case of material goods, the result is a relatively short distance between production and consumption. Localist societies generally strive to keep resources exploitation as well as the production of goods geographically close to its consumers, for several practical reasons such as transportation, cost, convenience, etc. Impact on the environment is taken into account, as shorter transportation distances means less pollution. Local production also means more adaptability to the specificity of inhabitants' needs. Rapid change and innovation can more easily be implemented with local methods of production or distribution. Also, the

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³⁶ The term "mostly" is here used as some kind of precaution, as a certain degree of verticality may emerge depending on cases.

negative impact of production methods on natural or social environments can be quickly felt, and therefore dealt with. Such flexibility may lessen the need for crisis management measures.

The downside is that local resource management may also limit possibilities. In the case of fulfillment of primary physical needs, for instance, resources are likely to be of less quantity than in globalist ones, since they usually rely on local resources and more limited networks of importation. In most cases, since localist communities contain a lesser number of inhabitants, this may not affect them too much, but can be seen as poorly competitive in a world in which localist and globalist economies coexist.

When fundamentals take the form of social values, those tend to be defined by less inhabitants within smaller areas, and are therefore likely to reflect local needs and beliefs adequately. As local environment influences local culture, the inhabitants of a small village are likely to develop similar lifestyles and social values. It is therefore understandable that the type of social structure they will develop by themselves will best fit their needs, and that applying one that has been developed by another community in another environment wouldn't. Because of such local organization, it is better for communities to remain small. The limited amount of resources of localist structures also calls for a limited number of inhabitants, in order to protect unconditional access to fundamentals for all of them. In that sense, localism intrinsically tends toward geographically smaller social structures.

The absence of intermediary elite in localist structures does not mean that

vertically-shaped social organization may never exist within them. Limited leadership is compatible, and can even prove useful to local communities as long as the social power associated with it remains limited and removable at all times by its members. As studies of practical cases have shown, local communities often include a mayor, one or several charismatic leaders, local officials, or an assembly of elected people to regulate political affairs, and provide some kind of authority reference to the community. Relying on intermediaries for certain tasks, such as managing general assemblies, operations that requires specific knowledge, or simply teaching by a single expert can sometimes be the most convenient way to organize social activities. Specialization does save valuable time and efforts, and it can be highly beneficial as long as it does not grant abusive or permanent social privileges to a group of selected individuals.

The social power of charismatic leaders in Marinaleda, Findhorn or Emmaüs Lescar-Pau, for instance, is not a permanent one: it is controlled and revocable. Elected officials can lose their status immediately should their behavior be met with disapproval. In that sense, their function does not stand between fundamentals and the people, but rather accelerates and enhances access from one to the other. Although it is highly probable that a charismatic or spiritual elite emerges in every localist community, its social status should not differ enough from the one of other members to justify particular treatment. It is understood that, the smaller the community, the easier it is to set control and flexibility to leadership. Leadership in localist communities does not split members into two distinct social classes, or at least not in a manner significant enough to deserve to appear on figure 11. Small size communities intrinsically tend to limit the scale of

social power that one leader can acquire, and stop its expansion before it reaches proportions beyond control.

Power sub-structures covering fields such as politics, economy, religion, defense, education or information demand less complex organization than in the globalist one, mostly because they tend to be smaller. The strict separation of powers such as it appears in large, vertical social structures mostly comes from the existence of intermediaries, and the chain of command they create. As localist politics generates decentralized power, it prevents one political Center (i.e. one person or one group of people) to enjoy political control over large areas and/or for a long time period. The imperialist model, including one Center and several Peripheries is therefore not likely to proliferate since, in general, localist communities have no interest in leaving their sovereignty in the hands of external Centers.

Local sovereignty usually allows greater horizontality in politics. By participating to political life directly, members of a given community can, in theory, enjoy direct access to political fundamentals, such as liberty or equality. The absence of a political elite makes democracy possible, since every citizen is allowed the same political rights as any other, which includes the right to propose laws, sue officials or defend themselves against others without the need for a complex judiciary system.

In regard to economics, the localist structure insures that no economic authority hold exclusivity over transaction regulation, nor change the intrinsic value of the local currency. As with the case of Berkshares or the Eko, local currencies are generally

printed by a local foundation, which function is limited and controlled by the community. Banking activities involving interest loans are usually banned. Localist communities can usually afford, and therefore prefer human partnership and cooperation in order to satisfy costly investments. This is the case, for instance, in Marinaleda, where villagers participate in the construction of accommodations for new members of the community. Global scale banking and international finance need both material and human distance to function, which is incompatible with the small-scale economics of localism.

As for religion, spiritual teachings may certainly call for certain knowledgeable authorities to hold influence on local community members. Such authority may also attract members from nearby communities, creating population movements. However, there is a geographical limit to how profitable the application of spiritual teachings can be to a community. As has been argued before, spiritual values are closely tied to local environment and social history. The influence of knowledgeable religious authorities therefore tends to be limited to local areas. Most of the communities observed in the present research allow religious and spiritual freedom at the individual level, but do not recognize the authority of religious intermediaries (in the sense of international religious leaders). This does not mean that spiritual guides or charismatic leaders cannot exist within, or be beneficial to the community. However, as long as they are not deliberately trying to impose a dogma that goes against the local values and interest of the local community, there is little risk for it to develop into a centralization of religious power.

Regarding information control and education, knowledge transmission in localist communities is generally operated by the locals, to and for the locals. Large, national

information networks need Centers and intermediaries that filter information over the distance, yet such distance is tremendously reduced at the local level. It is therefore very unlikely that any external authority may dictate the content of local teachings, and therefore create a gap between local knowledge and local needs. Should such a gap exist nonetheless, it would be felt immediately by the locals, and call for fast social redesign. As for information control, possibilities are obviously limited in small communities. Networks of intermediaries filtering social power proliferate quickly within large, national or international communities, because they are needed to tie large groups of people together. Such thing is not needed in local communities, and the probability that such power networks survive in small social structures is considerably limited.

A comparative study of globalism and localism leads to certain conclusions regarding the essential differences generated by both structures in terms of social interaction. On the one hand, the existence of an intermediary elite, central in globalist structures, develops a fundamentally vertical social responsibility network, which affects all social relations within it. The globalist structure is thus shaped outward (from Center to Periphery) or downward (from elite to people), in a one-way fashion. The result is that the elite enjoys a high degree of social responsibility toward the people, while the people are very seldom held responsible for the action of the elite. In exchange for their responsibility withdrawal, people are generally asked for a high degree of submissiveness to the law, or the rules defined at the top. This lack of reciprocity in social responsibility is what generates verticality. The lack of reciprocity in responsibility is also what creates

disharmony of interest between the elite and the people, ending up in class conflict. It is there that social design should act in order to restore balance, or simply insert more horizontality in the system.

On the one hand, localist structures strive to preserve a high degree of horizontality, which is achieved by encouraging reciprocate social responsibility between each member toward all others. This criteria alone both generates independence and solidarity, two positive notions that are not as contradictory as they may appear. Responsibility ensures that one always feel responsible for one's own L.C, developing the need for an independent way of life, while understanding that strong social bonds with fellow members means security (which is part of quality L.C.), developing the need for solidarity. Mutual social responsibility is therefore a central mechanism of the localist structure. As opposed to this, globalist societies become increasingly vertical as they grow larger, and their L.C. decreases for the people while it increases for the elite. Localist structures manage to get rid of such expansion, and to preserve a high degree of political horizontality thanks to their small size. While globalism, over time develops inequality and class conflict between the elite and the people, localism seems to prevent such risks, and develop strong responsibility bonds among its members. Size is definitely a key factor that will define the degree of verticality and horizontality among human relationships in any given community. These relationships will in turn define the degree of social responsibility of every member at the individual level.

This leads to the conclusion that the notion of individual responsibility toward a group is essential for building strong and sustainable social structures, and is therefore the

backbone of horizontality and verticality. Vertical structures develop bonds of dependency toward an elite instead of individual autonomy. Horizontal structures encourage the development of a mutual sense of responsibility between members, and is therefore much more prone to create individual as well as overall autonomy within the group. But how exactly is social responsibility developing in horizontal and vertical interaction? What kind of social mechanism develops at the core of each structure? These questions will be addressed in the following section.

7.4 Horizontality, Verticality and Social Responsibility

The degree of social responsibility experienced by each community member at the individual level seems to have a key role in the development of both vertical and horizontal social structures. Previous analysis has led to the conclusion that the primary feature of social interaction in local and intentional communities is the prevalence of horizontal relations over vertical ones. True political horizontality means that no individual may enjoy a higher social status than other members of the community. The degree of verticality and horizontality in the whole structure is linked to the degree of social responsibility that each member is sharing with every other. However, the one-way, or reciprocity of social responsibility is what sets both models apart.

While one-way responsibility generates verticality, reciprocated responsibility generates horizontality. The latter creates a sense of social cohesion and solidarity that eliminates the need for strict vertical hierarchy. Reciprocated social responsibility bonds

may still let charismatic or temporary political leaders emerge, but they modify the nature of the relation that each community member will share with him/her. A mayor or a charismatic leader may thus hold a key political position, but may not be legally granted more social responsibility that any other citizen or member. Each member is also responsible for following the leader's orders or decisions or not, without it affecting its right to belong to the community. Under true localism, no leader may claim to represent the will of the community by him/herself, speak in its name and therefore be in a position where he/she enjoys a higher level of responsibility than others. If having a leader assume full responsibility for a group may appear to be the simplest and therefore most convenient way of interacting as a group, it is also the most dangerous since it alienates the individual from a key feature of his/her social role.

The objective of society is not to trade responsibility for security, but to generate security by developing a strong sense social responsibility in its every member. The responsibility bond, in spite of the initial burden it may appear to be, is what creates the social man. It must be felt and shared as strongly as possible by all members of the community toward all others in order to create true social security. It is the fundamental point to emphasize in a cohesive and sustainable social structure. In vertical structures, responsibility bonds become the burden (or privilege) of the elite, while in horizontal ones they are shared by every member. Although generating a massive network of vertical relations, vertical structures tend to actually contain fewer social responsibility relations than horizontal ones, with each relation relieving the lower status citizen from its own. Although verticality presents the advantage of simplifying the social picture, it

also considerably reduces its richness, strength and sustainability. The following diagram may help better illustrate the difference between both structures.

FIGURE 9 RESPONSIBILITY RELATIONS IN VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

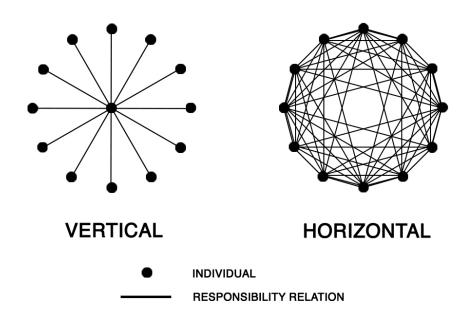


Figure 9. Responsibility Relations in Vertical and Horizontal Social Structures

The main differences symbolized by the two diagrams in figure 9 can be described as follows:

1. The number of responsibility relations is greater in the horizontal structure than in the vertical one (138 versus 12).

- 2. The number of personal responsibility relations that each individual enjoys is much higher in the horizontal structure than in the vertical one (12 versus 1, except for the leader in the vertical structure).
- 3. For someone to occupy the central (or top) position in the vertical structure is indispensable, while it is only optional in the horizontal one.

Because of its low number of responsibility relations, the vertical power structure may appear simpler and therefore more convenient to its members. The leader is the only individual to share an official social responsibility relation with every other. He/she carries a heavy responsibility burden for the whole community. Other individuals are only responsible for respecting the rules or carrying out the tasks assigned by the leader. It is a light responsibility burden, since it does not involve caring about the community as a whole when deciding upon one's behavior or carrying out tasks. Such a pattern of interaction centralizes responsibility into the hands of one individual.

The leader is responsible for the well-being and satisfaction of each member of the community, and must be answerable for his/her actions and behavior. In theory, carrying out such a task successfully may appear possible, but in practice, it is often way too important for one individual. This is why the individual is often granted privileged status as a compensation, and surrounds him/herself with experts, forming the premise of a government and starting long-term power centralization. On the other hand, the fact that each community member shares a unique social responsibility relation toward one and the same person has a negative impact on each member's perception of the social

structure as a whole. One's social responsibility burden, which should be shared equally between every member to insure social balance, is lightened by the role of the leader. As a result, each individual will tend to feel more responsible toward the leader than toward the community as a whole.

The result of such unbalance leads to irresponsible behavior, such as degrading public environment (assuming that it is the authorities' task to clean up), slacking off at work, not caring about common-use facilities or goods, and other kinds of disrespectful behavior. This may force the leader to engage in repressive measures to restore order, and generate conflict. Instead of developing a sense of responsibility within members, time and habit will simply strengthen the bond between the leader and each member in a negative way, since this interaction will be based on fear rather than genuine care for fellow members. Instead of responsibility and autonomy, vertical bonds therefore develop a habit of dependency toward authority figures, and weaken the bond between members. This is the main reason why verticality appears incompatible with autonomy.

In the horizontal structure of figure 9, each member equally shares the responsibility burden. This is symbolized by the fact that each of the 12 individuals has a direct responsibility link toward every other, which means 12 per individual against one in the vertical structure. Such feature has several consequences. First and foremost, it develops essential consciousness of one's social position within a group as a fully equal member. The price to pay for the security obtained by belonging to the group is social responsibility toward it. Should one member meet trouble, the implicit social contract

stipulates that each one of the members is equally responsible for helping him/her. This is a mutually shared responsibility, which principle can be summed up in the saying: "one for all and all for one." This type of social insurance actually presents more advantages than disadvantages, because one enjoys 12 chances (held concurrently) to be helped in case of trouble instead of one. The efforts that one individual has to put in for the group is also less important than the combined help he/she can receive in case of trouble. Such a social position is highly beneficial, especially when compared to the fear and stress derived from the unique individual responsibility bond in vertical structures.

Horizontal structures change the social perception toward a fully equal relationship (which is part of the fundamentals), accessible by all members. In case of conflict between two members, their direct responsibility bond enables them to solve the problem together instead of involving a third party in the solving process. This does not mean that trial or judgment by a third party should never be needed or may not happen, but simply allocates more autonomy for each member in resolving problems. The feeling that one is not only responsible for oneself or one's own family, but also for the whole neighborhood in each one of his/her actions, is likely to help conflicts resolve peacefully, as it is also what creates true local solidarity. Multilateral social responsibility may not prevent the emergence of all conflicts, but may certainly help in reducing them.

Comparing the two diagrams gives a clear understanding that the central position in any given social structure must be left vacant in order to allow equality in responsibility bearing. The central position symbolizes top social power, such as the one

an elite, a government or any authority group would occupy. Although it is true that, in theory, a leader can exist in a horizontal society without affecting responsibility bonds among members, time and practice renders it highly unsustainable. The longer one individual or group may stand at the central position, the more chances are that more social responsibility will be cast onto him/her/it. The visibility of the central position represents both its strength and its danger: it helps focus the attention of the community toward certain problems, but leads it away from others. The person or group occupying the central position cannot possibly be omniscient and almighty, and can never make up for the strength of a multilaterally responsible community. In a sense, when occupied by one or several human beings, the central position can therefore be seen as the origin of all social power unbalance. This is why it must be left vacant in order to achieve social horizontality.

As a corollary, a vertical structure cannot exist without one or several individuals occupying the central position. Since social responsibility links between social members are ignored, discouraged and/or forbidden, the system needs a central authority to tie it all at the top. With time, these vertical relations reinforce themselves, and end up defining the structure as a whole. Once such a social structure is established and working, its role is not to change, but to survive as it is. Therefore, it will strive to justify the need for an elite to manage social interaction in all fields. This is the reason why the center position creates social dependency. Presidents or Prime ministers in representative governments are representative of such position, since they symbolize the social responsibility that each citizen should actually bear, concentrated in one man. However, visibility isn't

everything. Even when the top person of a social structure isn't directly visible or accessible, its power affects the whole social body.

In the globalist world-system, the real top of the power structure climbs much higher than the centers of nations, and is mostly invisible to the public. This is why dismantling its occupiers in already existing vertical political structures may prove tedious, if not impossible. In local communities such as Marinaleda, Findhorn or Emmaüs Lescar-Pau, no individual occupies the top (or central) place, since there is simply no such a position. At worse, designating a leader may be a temporary choice for the achievement of a specific goal, but in no case should there exist a long-term position of authority for anyone. As soon as a non-temporary leader position emerges in the horizontal structure, it ceases to be horizontal and becomes vertical. In other words, the leader position itself can only exist in a vertical social structure. As long as no individual enjoys the benefits of power centralization or higher privilege status, horizontal relations prevail.

An analogy between the two structures shown on figure 9 and traffic management is worth making. Vertical social structures may be compared to signalized intersections, regulated by traffic lights, and horizontal social structures may be compared to roundabouts,³⁷ regulated by simple rules and each driver's evaluation of risks. Signalized intersections demand few responsibility on the part of the driver, since one simply needs

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³⁷ A roundabout is an intersection where traffic travels around a central island in a counterclockwise direction. Vehicles entering or exiting the roundabout must yield to vehicles, bicyclists, and pedestrians (San Diego Transportation Planning Division 2002).

to follow the signal given by traffic lights: moving forward when the light is green, staying put when the light is red. In a roundabout, one must yield to the traffic already flowing around the central island, and proceed according to the movement of others. In other words, the fundamental difference between the two is that signalized intersections rely on a static, automated and centralized power source, while roundabouts rely on dynamic social interaction between individuals in order to manage traffic. In that sense, the mechanisms of signalized intersections may recall the ones of globalist social structures, while roundabouts may be reminiscent of localist ones.

The way signalized intersections and the globalist ideology organize human interaction show similarities. Just as in a vertical structure, individuals are mostly obeying rules established by the engineers that initially designed the intersection. After analysis of the situation, traffic experts elaborate a typical pattern of interaction that drivers have to follow. The traffic flow is thus totally automated, leaving no room for driver initiative in the interaction. Although traffic light technology has now become common usage throughout the world, it has also been the cause of a large number of accidents, and has been criticized for its lack of flexibility in managing traffic (Gagnon 2013:3).

Signalized intersections present several limiting aspects, to which generations of engineers attempted to find solutions. Problems include restricted access (certain trajectories from one point to another are impossible), traffic congestion, low traffic capacity, high risk of accidents, regular pedestrian and bike connectivity, destruction of environment and pollution, regular livability and usually high cost (electricity +

maintenance) (Wisconsin Department of Transportation 2013:4). Most of these problems deal with a lack of liberty in the way drivers can interact within the local environment, and adapt to unexpected situations. Signalized intersections do not demand any particular responsibility to drivers, apart from the memorization of traffic rules. They homogenize responses to traffic problems by lightening the cognitive burden necessary to deal with risk management. With time, such lack may tend to generate passivity in drivers, who slowly lose initiative and connection with the realities of traffic dangers.

A parallel with globalist societies can clearly be made here. Traffic management is not operated by its actors at the local level, but by authorities that reside far away and manage problems in a homogenized way. Such bureaucratic distance adds to the risks and insecurity already present in intersections. Should an accident happen, regulations might have negative impact on the behavior of actors (i.e. acting in accordance with the law rather than according to what is appropriate for each situation). By removing an important part of the social responsibility burden each driver should bear, national authorities may actually deprive them of crucial social consciousness in everyday interaction, and as such, increase rather than decrease risks in traffic management.

Similarities can also be found in the way roundabouts and localism, or horizontal societies organize human interaction. Roundabouts may not be as common as signalized intersections, yet their utilization has increased in many countries around the world in the latter half of the 20th century (New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 1993:2632). Roundabouts have brought several improvements to traffic management, such as full access (from and to any direction), improved circulation flow (less or no congestion),

higher traffic capacity, improved safety (reduced number of accidents and impact on the surrounding environment), improved pedestrian and bike connectivity, aesthetic and beautification opportunities (preserved environment), enhanced livability and low cost (Wisconsin Department of Transportation 2013:4). These features can stand in parallel with localist structures, as roundabouts leave most of the traffic management decisions to the actors of the interaction at the local level.

First, a full stop is generally required at the periphery of central islands, preventing vehicles from entering the circle without carefully analyzing the situation first. Roundabouts imply that all drivers who enter it are subjected to the same simple rules: full stop, clockwise or counter-clockwise rotation and right of way. While all actors must respect those, they are then free to move as they wish. This presents much more flexibility than signalized intersections.

Second, the central island of a roundabout may recall the vacant space that is reserved for fundamentals in figure 8. It represents the absence of conscious authority, while still providing an abstract central axis (the basic rules of social organization) so that any interaction can happen harmoniously within the structure. Only a principle agreed upon by every member of a community may stand in its center. Just as the center island is the core element of a roundabout, horizontality is the core element of a healthy social model. It is because the center island is left vacant that cars can circulate around it. At the same time, it is because no individual stands above the law that everybody should respect it.

Finally, the right of way principle may also recall localism. Although any driver

may enter the roundabout at any time, priority is always given to those who are already in it (Maquis, Lacasse and Guimond 2004:3-4). Showing any newcomer the importance of respecting the local environment before setting its foot on it seems a sound principle for both traffic and political safety. All drivers entering a roundabout have to take responsibility for their actions, in order not to put their lives or the lives of others in danger. This demands constant attention and civility on the part of community members.

The idea of a central axis seems to be a fundamental organization element in both globalism and localism, even if its function differs. Should the central position be occupied by one of the elements, its importance in regard to the whole will increase and the importance of others will decrease. The harmony between all will thus be redefined in regard to the new central element, which will generate power centralization. The new central element may therefore be forced to assume a new function, such as having to coordinate all interaction from and toward itself. This is the case of a policeman having to replace traffic lights in case of power failure, for instance. It is at this precise moment that verticality appears in the structure. This, over time, leads to the development of dependency relations regulating people's access to fundamentals, as it is the case in globalist societies.

The power unbalance created by an occupied central axis generates inequality, disharmony and structural violence. In order to avoid such violence, the non-central elements start to seek a higher degree of individual autonomy and self-sufficiency. If power centralization remains on the long term, they will eventually be forced to flee the

unbalanced structure, and seek shelter in another, more balanced one. From such logic, it may be safe to assume that the components of a given structure will always give their preference to one of which the central position is left vacant. This may be the origin of the localist mind frame.

The growing popular thirst for more social autonomy is a sign that the centralization of power in globalist societies has reached a point where it has become threatening for the social structure as a whole. It means that the structure is undergoing a phase of crisis. Emancipation from a social structure is a painful, complicated task for its composing elements. It requires conscious choice, self-responsibility and self-discipline, indicators that there is too much disharmony of interest between them and the core of the structure. In an attempt to survive, the center may do everything it can to retain the elements. It may even use force. However, such attempts are most likely to drive the elements away faster. Consciousness of the importance of the center (not of its occupiers), and respect for its natural function may be the only way to save social structures from disintegration.

But can structures that have grown too large for sustained human life under the influence of power centralization, survive on the long term? Can national management ever fulfill local communities' needs and be profitable for all its inhabitants on such large and disparate pieces of land? Although it may be hard to give an absolute answer to this question, the centralization of power does certainly seem to drive authority concern away from populations' local needs. This, over time, causes disharmony of interest between the center and the periphery of the structure, calling for the emancipation of the latter from

the former. As a corollary, because of their smaller size and often greater connection with their local environments, localist structures do not appear to benefit from national and supranational authority. The importance of creating a sustainable lifestyle for each element of the structure takes precedence over the need for a strong occupied central power.

Structure management in small societies tends to have a more inward that outward focus. It gives priority to the composing elements of the structure without discrimination, rather to a selected few that have decided to occupy its center. In that sense, the permaculture approach applied in many ecovillages bears strong similarities with the localist one, as it demands to newcomers to observe their new environment and understand it before undertaking any action that might disturb its harmony. The circle analogy found in both localism and roundabouts, as well as the importance of preserving an empty central axis are also present in permaculture founder David Holmgren's approach:

In every aspect of nature from the internal workings of organisms to whole ecosystems, we find the connections between things are as important as the things themselves. Thus "The purpose of a functional and self-regulating design is to place elements in such a way that each servers the needs and accepts the products of other elements." The icon of this principle can be seen as a top-down view of a circle of people/elements forming an integrated system. The apparently empty hole represents the abstract whole system which both arises from the organization of the elements but also gives them form and character. (Holmgren 2001:13)

Such perspective is representative of the localist ideology, not of the globalist one. The central "empty hole" of the structure that Holmgren refers to may stand in the place of

what has previously been defined as fundamentals. The importance of the center of a social structure for its elements to coordinate in harmony also calls for the necessity to leave it vacant. Should one element take the central position, it would break the balance of the whole, by shifting focus of all the other composing elements upon itself. Such abuse may lead to power centralization on the short term, but also to destruction on the long term, followed by a return to the original center-free structure. This is why globalist structures appear unsustainable, and that such an understanding creates an incentive to operate a transition toward more localist ones. However, is such a transition truly possible? Modern societies have their vertical bonds so solidly enrooted into social cognition, that is seems highly improbable that such an important shift would succeed without generating serious social turmoil. Can a transition from globalism to localism happen in spite of the inherent incompatibility of the globalist and localist ideologies? If so, how can it be carried out in a smooth fashion? It is the final question that the present research will address.

7.5 Transition from Globalism to Localism

Previous analysis led to the conclusion that the globalist and localist ideologies, as well as the social structures they have given birth to, are fundamentally incompatible. As mentioned in section 1.3, localism as an intentional movement was born in reaction to the predominance and abuse of globalism and power centralization. If the raison d'être of modern localism is to resist globalism, both are bound to exist separately and struggle

with each other. The question therefore remains to know whether one is going to overcome the other over time. It is a complicated issue, as globalist structures may currently be showing signs of weakness, but are still predominant and doing everything in their power to survive. Moreover, they generally show hostile attitude toward localist ones. On the other hand, localist structures may definitely seem more sustainable once they have developed a high degree of independence, which is not often the case. Because of their small size, they also lack the defense means of globalist ones, and as such, appear very vulnerable. However, localist principles slowly start to reappear in nations' localities in response to extreme globalist measures, and global consciousness regarding the inadequacies of global capitalism pushes several nations toward structural change.

Analysis tends to indicate that, rather than an abrupt shift, the world's social structures are already witnessing a slow transition from globalism to localism. The present section will attempt to reflect upon how such a transition can be operated.

In regard to politics, the political power owned by national governments and international centers ought to be decreased, and the one of smaller communities in the periphery increased. From a localist perspective, removing the intermediary elite from the center of globalist structures may certainly be a goal, yet complete dismantlement of its composing institutions may prove difficult, if not impossible on the short term. What can be done at first, is questioning the legitimacy of the current political elite, the two political parties mind frame, as well as the relevance of the election system. One solution for national structures may be to propose a national reconciliation between left and right,

as well as alternative solutions such as a return to random drawing for choosing magistrates, shorter mandate periods, more strict punishment in case of corruption, etc. In a federal structure, clear separation should be made between candidates who run for federal office and those who run for local offices, and political parties may not include officials from both levels in order not to create a federation-sized hierarchy.

Overall, the very concept of political parties should be discouraged, since it is one of the strongest vectors of power centralization. Serious re-information campaigns might be required for this task, since the right/left dichotomy, as well as the belief that national elections are democratic are too well printed into societies to disappear on a fortnight. Such campaigns may better work when operated from the bottom than from the top of structures. Constitutional workshops, where citizens are welcomed to think together about the type of constitution and rules they want to see applied, may be organized in order to help people reconnect with the forgotten mechanisms of true democracy. Several constitutional websites already exist, enabling civilian participation in real time and beyond geographical distance.³⁸

It is also very important that both local inhabitants and legal immigrant workers participate to such meetings and workshops together, in order to recreate national solidarity, and avoid communitarianism. At the local level, states, regions, prefectures, villages and communities may be reorganized around more empowering principles.

Localities may organize referendums to gauge local desires and evaluate how much

³⁸ Here is an example of a French online constitution workshop, founded by Etienne Chouard: http://wiki.gentilsvirus.org/index.php/Constitution_Wiki_Etienne_Chouard

restructuring needs to be done, and redesign local policies accordingly. Priority should be given to increasing the independence and autonomy level of the state or regions from central governments.

Finally, intentional communities should be fully integrated into local exchange networks and their independence protected by the law. This may not mean that any kind of behavior may be tolerated on the part of these communities: a certain amount of cooperation and understanding may be required from both sides. Such measures ought to insure that political power is as divided as possible among all institutions at all levels of any given society, in order to prevent centralization and inequalities. At a further point in time, the question of forbidding lucrative property may be addressed, but much ought to be accomplished before that.

In regard to the economy, the involvement of international finance institutions and governments in national economies ought to be reduced while local markets, initiatives and means of exchanges protected and encouraged. The global economy is certainly the field where power centralization has become the most threatening to social equality. A transition toward a more localist type of power distribution is not possible in a structure where a financial oligarchy controls monetary creation and regulates currency exchanges.

First, links toward foreign central banks ought to be severed, and national sovereignty regarding monetary creation and loan allowance regained. No further priority should arise as long as national debt toward foreign banks hasn't been abolished completely.

Second, once national economic sovereignty is restored, efforts should be made so that governments do not enjoy monopoly over monetary creation. The government's role is not to print money, but to insure that contracts are honored, and agreements honest. This implies that the government itself shouldn't be a party in transactions, so that no conflict of interest would arise. Such an agreement would leave the power to create money in the hands of national or local banks, and insure a certain level of equality among them.

Third, the government should not have the authority to decide which currency is acceptable for payment at the national level. Any form of currency, be it gold, silver or any other locally printed note which use is recognized at the local level ought to be accepted by national institutions as a valid form of payment. In parallel, the development of local currencies which field of exchange is adapted to local needs ought to be encouraged and supported by governments.

Fourth, the minimum reserve limit (around 20 percent) required of national deposit banks ought to be restored and honored. The directors and shareholders should be held personally responsible for the failure of their banks, should the case happen.

Fifth, the use of interest rates ought to be strictly limited to cases where it does not harm people over corporate entities, nor generate power centralization for banks. In order to become harmless, interest rates should not be decided freely by lenders, but should lead toward agreements promising ownership equality, such as ending up in complete partnership of the two parties. Governments should be able to borrow money from national banks at zero interest rate, preventing any kind of national debt in favor of

the bank(s) to arise.

Sixth, the current legislation allowing the superiority of corporate entities over real citizens ought to be reformed, and balance restored in favor of the people. This must be particularly explicit when dealing with banking corporations. All these measures ought to prevent banking cartels to take control over governments and countries, and give room for the development of local currencies. Should these principles be followed, the use of both national and local currency may be able to cohabit, and may serve the economic needs of each geographical area more adequately.

In regard to religion, national or supra-national religious authorities' involvement in teachings ought to be reduced, and the law should protect and encourage individual spiritual quest in this matter. Although insuring that religious dogma has no negative influence of officials' behavior may prove impossible, certain security measures may be taken in order to limit damage.

First, there must be no such thing as a state religion. Preference for one type of spiritual dogma over others creates tremendous negative pressure on citizens. On the contrary, each inhabitant and locality should be free to apply the spiritual principles it sees to fit to him/herself and his/her community. Individual freedom to choose one's religion must be protected, and all means to access information regarding this matter should be made available through information centers and libraries at the local level. The management of such places may not belong to the government or to the same organization(s), but left to local authorities and volunteers.

Second, involvement between religious organizations and political institutions ought to be strongly discouraged until forbidden. Regular control ought to be applied to elected candidates in order to limit risks of corruption.

Third, spiritual guides, groups or workshops may form and exist at any local level, but none should be allowed to impose its views onto others via national or supra-national institutions. The goal of such measures is to reconnect spiritual beliefs with local social values and lifestyles, and to prevent them from falling in the hands of power-seeking organizations. Spiritual consciousness ought to be linked to personal experience and independence, not power centralization purposes.

In regard to defense, governments' involvement in public safety ought to be reduced, and effort for protection at the local and individual level increased. National armies devoted to government protection constitute a threat to human liberty. The ban on weapon ownership at the local level may only be a wise and sane goal once all possible danger for populations coming from national armies has been eliminated, which is currently not the case.

The obvious firepower gap between an individually armed citizen (or group of citizens) and a national army is so great that the former may never overcome the latter. In the case of mass disapproval regarding national or supra-national policies, armies are designed to protect the state against the people, not the opposite. Recent national uproars such as the ones of the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street movements have once again proved it. Decentralization of military power can only become effective once

troops are reassigned to the authority of localities (i.e. states or regions). The sovereignty of national armies therefore ought to be split among as many constituting elements as there is within the nation. National governments may then only borrow them upon their approval, and could only use as many as has been agreed by the co-sovereign elements themselves. National borrowing of local forces might also involve payment. Such arrangements would also generate less incentive for national governments to pursue imperialist ideals and unpopular wars, since they would have to ask for the approval of all, and pay for it. Decisions regarding how to manage troops, both in time of war and peace should remain in the hands of localities. This way, it would become very difficult for governments to turn armies against the population.

Should such agreements prove impossible, localities are left with the only choice but to create their own defense forces, in order to balance firepower with the national one. If creating troops fully dedicated to protection isn't regarded as a priority by the locality, consciousness training at the individual level should be required. Localist facility design enabling both defense and autonomy at the individual level, such as the one of Sustainable Autonomous Bases might become of great help in such regard. Special classes in local community schools might also be created to teach defense awareness to children.

In regard to education, national governments' involvement in public education ought to be reduced, and local decision power increased. The education of each child should be the responsibility of his/her family, as well as of local community schools

which teachings should be defined by associations of parents. No superior national institution should have the authority to infer on the contents of courses and on teacher training, unless it is to bring support and help to locally taken decisions. No national organization should have the right to enforce its morals on each locality that composes it without their consent. Social values taught to children should not be designed far away from them, but by those who live with them on an every day basis, as the latter are the most capable of understanding what may be good for them.

Educational institutions willing to apply such principles may thus take various forms. The first, most instinctive one may be to leave education in the hands of parents. Several localities and ecovillages already have chosen to withdraw their children from national institutions, and to carry out education at home. However, such a system obviously presents limits in terms of time, space and means. This is why the second may be to create local community schools, where education is designed by local parents for local children. This may create more flexibility for families, while still leaving them in control of educational contents. A very good example of such an application is Todmorden's local schools, which all include vegetable gardens. Those ought to increase children awareness about the importance of agriculture and self-production, which is a central element in the village's social values.

For those who may still prefer an "official," centralized education system, several types of classes may exist within community schools, including nationally designed ones. This way, parents would retain choice, and therefore control over what would be taught to their children. They may also choose to mix both locally designed and globally

designed classes, if they so desire. The classes that would satisfy both local parents and children the most would then naturally become more popular, which would be a true locally satisfying selection. Teachers would not have to choose between one or the other, but simply alternate (one teacher may teach both nationally and locally designed classes). The same principle may apply to the relevance of religious teachings: localities may decide whether or not such classes should be created, and families may be free to register their children or not.

Regarding the money necessary to fund community schools, several possibilities arise. Some localities may decide that access to its schools ought to be free, and compensate the teachers' efforts via local contribution, local currency coupons, etc. Should they set a school allowance, means of financial support should be created for local inhabitants who cannot afford it. Such system may be established by local councils, if not by national services and authorities.

In regard to information control, governments and corporate entities' involvement in public media ought to be forbidden, and local, independent information centers should receive full support from localities. The neutrality, transparency and independence of the press as well as information networks may be achieved through the application of a certain number of rules. Collaboration between the government or political institutions and the media ought to be severely punished. Information networks ought to remain free of all external organization's control and influence. In order to do so, strict rules such as systematically quoting the source of the information being relayed may be applied.

These proposals may cover the key areas where a transition is needed, yet fail to cover the whole spectrum of structural changes that are currently happening. Although the transition from globalism to localism has already started, it is considerably impeded by the old structure's machinery. Both movements are fiercely fighting for survival. The efforts of local organizations and well-intentioned officials tend to be diluted in the mass of disinformation and institutional barriers that the globalist structure has erected for its own protection. Although it seems very much likely that the world's societies are headed toward more localist types of social management in the future, it is very difficult to tell whether this tendency is going to prevail, and even less when.

However, popular will for social change is definitely leading to a growing consciousness about the social system's inconsistencies, and generating innovative ways of managing inequalities. On the short term, one might witness a strengthening of globalist structures, as well as a progression toward more power centralization in order to prevent its fall. However, the bottom end of the power pyramid may progressively leave the boat for more sustainable and financially comfortable social environments, such as the ones localities or intentional communities are offering. Such conclusions might give one clues regarding the structure of future societies.

7.6 Toward Global Governance or a Localist Transition?

Throughout this research, fundamental questions regarding the globalist and

localist social structures, as well as both philosophies' approach to social organization have been addressed. Globalism and localism appear fundamentally opposed, essentially on the question of how to allocate power, and therefore resources, to individuals for the following reasons.

One society cannot recognize the sovereignty and liberty of each of its citizens while forcing them to recognize the superior social status of an elite at the same time. True democracy suffers no compromise: all citizens must enjoy an equal amount of political power for a society to deserve such a title. Should representatives of the people arise, they must come from the popular class, only enjoy temporary privileges that may be the result of the will or all, and be revocable at any time. Those are non-negotiable conditions. A society ruled by a constant, non-revocable elite claiming to deserve more for itself than the average citizen can never give birth to democracy. In most political regimes nowadays, the thirst for more political equality hints at a need for radical political changes in order to restore balance.

However, under the current globalist tendency, democracy appears seriously compromised. Globalism and capitalism have led to growing inequalities around the world, leading to high levels of civil disobedience and the formation of countless resistance movements. Tired of waiting for authorities to grant their wishes, localist advocates have already started building the world they want with their own hands. Reorganizing around local needs and values, they have created an alternative network of independent micro-societies, operating under different social systems. With its redesigned approaches to housing, food production and social life, localism has become a

tangible alternative to large-scale social management, and provides clues toward possibilities for post-capitalist societies. The localist focus on local needs and social horizontality obviously addresses essential issues that globalism has proved unable to solve until now. In order to escape capitalism and the forthcoming global economic crisis, operating a global transition from globalism to localism therefore seems, if not inevitable, advisable on the long term.

Nevertheless, globalism seems to have no intention of leaving its throne and is still hostile to localist initiatives. Will globalism achieve completion by eliminating all opposing social systems, or will localism manage to affect enough minds to reverse the tendency? Two probable outcomes emerge for future societies: One is the achievement of global governance desired by the global elite; the other is popular uprising against that same elite, leading to a progressive rejection of globalist principles and eventually a slow revolution toward localism.

Under current circumstances, things seem to indicate that the upcoming years may witness the dawn of global governance. Throughout the years, globalism has reorganized the entire world map around small Centers and large Peripheries. The centralization of social power tends to have been both a cause and a consequence of the development of the globalist mind frame, and contributed to accumulate the highest level of wealth and political power in the hands of a very small elite group. Empirical examples have shown how, through the development of supranational entities, representative governments, global banking and corporations cartels, state religious dogmas, police states, excessive

military forces, national education boards and media control among other aspects, capitalism-driven economies have morphed into a giant machine designed to take control of all fields of social management on the global scale.

Under capitalism, the members of the highest social classes of a country tend to develop harmony of interest with each other (to the detriment of lower classes), and form a national elite. These national elites often share interest with the ones of other countries. and also tend to join forces. In time, all these groups tend to unite to a certain extent at the international level, and form a global elite: the hyperclass. Once established, its objectives become to expand and eradicate all opposition to its power. However, the middle-classes greatly benefitted from the rapid economic growth following the industrial revolution, and considerably improved their living conditions. Consumption societies pushed this trend one step forward, allowing the populations of developed countries to narrow the L.C. gap with the elite class. The improved access to education brought about a new kind of global political consciousness, demanding less power for the elite and more power for itself. This constituted a threat for the hyperclass, which established several strategies (misleading political systems, delocalization of production, national debt, increased taxes, police states, disinformation etc.) to take down the economic wealth of the middle-class, and bring back bipolarized societies.

While capitalism generated constant social class conflict through the exploitation of the Earth resources and human labor, globalism forced all societies and cultures into cultural homogenization, while establishing global control through its various institutions. The globalist structure and the amount of social power it is enforcing onto populations at

present is so overwhelming that it simply appears indestructible. Should such a structure continue to gain ground, societies of the future will have to endure increased cultural homogenization, behavioral control, and submissiveness to the institutions of the world system. What is left of democratic institutions may progressively disappear from political systems, and give way to police states within which individual liberty will be reduced to a minimum. The economic system may grow increasingly digital and virtual, linking human beings to their bank accounts, as well as tracking and limiting individual spending in real time. If religion remains, it may not be in favor of individual spiritual development but to impose a unique, global dogma to humanity as a whole, as H.G. Wells (1914) envisioned it. The world government may enjoy monopoly over all nations' army forces, to a much greater extent than the U.N. does today. Its firepower grows to be unrivalled, and popular movements may not be able to overtake it. Education and information will be globally centralized and homogenized, leaving top institutions tremendous power over the control of human thought. Without mincing words, future societies may well be headed toward a model that reminds of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World.

If so, the question remains to know whether such a process can be stopped. As it has already argued, the key component of the globalist structure is the intermediary elite. Although the top positions of the structure are clearly occupied by identifiable individuals, simply exposing or arresting them will not solve the problem. The current members of the elite may indeed hold a large amount of political power, yet positions should not be confused with human beings. Should one be eliminated, another will take his/her place, and the system will remain. In that sense, the current members of the elite may as well be

seen as victims of globalism. Those in power constantly have to serve the virtual interests of the evolving system in order to remain its owners. Yet from another perspective, it may actually be the elite being owned by the very system it created. Danger comes from the globalist structure itself, and of its institutions. Globalism is a giant machine built by man and designed to help him, but it is now causing him more harm than good. The only way to stop it from functioning may be to vacate it, abandon it, and build another social system that better meets humanity's current needs.

The alternative to global governance lies in the development of a new kind of social management, and therefore, in the emergence of new social structures. The global system built by capitalist societies has reached a level of material wealth and political power unprecedented in history, and those currently in power have too much to lose. In parallel with the increasing popular demand for structural change, the tenants of the economic superstructure are desperate to keep it as it is, and prevent it from collapsing. By trying to conceal the breaches, globalists attempt to slow down, and if possible stop the however inevitable transition toward localism. The shift toward a non-utilitarian society would mean the end of the plutocratic empire, forcing the world's richest families to give up the privileges they have been accumulating for centuries. It would not be surprising that the people who hold power over the world today be ready to die to protect their gains, and negotiation may prove difficult.

Once such popular consciousness reaches critical mass level, conflict on a global scale may become inevitable. On the short term, this may lead to serious popular protest

in several countries around the globe. In federations such as the United States of America, several states may call for secession and independence, leading to civil war. In other countries, popular uproars and revolutions may ignite, causing various political regime changes. Opponents to the empire may flee large cities and retreat to the countryside, like survivalists, and start their own autonomous communities. At this point, however, it seems highly unlikely that abrupt structural shift toward localism happen on the global scale overnight. Rather, one might witness progressive, step-by-step transition toward more equal social structures. Conflict on the short term, to some extent, appears unavoidable, yet may itself be a necessary step toward a clean transition. It may only be later in time that localism will take the lead. For the time being, it may actually prove wiser to rebuild social structures from scratch in local areas than to reshape the world's great centers.

Should economic crisis further deteriorate living conditions, national governments may actually encourage local initiative by increasing the independence and political power of its regions. Urban exodus, in case of serious economic downfall, is not a possibility that can be dismissed. Although those may be rough times for populations, new localist lifestyles may actually prove beneficial on the longer term, helping populations to develop more autonomous, self-sufficient lifestyles. Small-size communities will force its inhabitants to rely much more on their own means for political participation, food production, exchanges, self-defense, education and so forth.

Sustainable Autonomous Bases may become useful blueprints for designing community houses. Danger awareness toward power centralization, as well as more social

responsibility may thus arise naturally.

Local community networks may create a fertile ground for solidarity, while keeping social verticality at bay. Politics, relieved of heavy global strategies, may take the form of general assemblies where democratic principles could be applied with ease. New economic models may emerge around exchanges of personal production, local currencies and bartering. Spiritual freedom may replace religious dogmas, keeping human intermediaries at bay. Defense education at the individual level may remain necessary as long as conflict with power centers hasn't come to an end. It may be taught to inhabitants from a very young age, in order for all people to be able to protect their pairs, community and land individually. Networks of information may be run locally, far from the influence of Centers. Overall, local cultures would be redesigned to include human diversity and horizontality as its core components. Just as in roundabouts, the small size and structure of localities may prevent anyone from occupying centers or top positions on the long term, and prevent any kind of power structure to develop within it.

Localist lifestyles may arouse self-awareness and self-responsibility while organizing human interaction, thus generating autonomy faster than in larger social models. In the course of this research, numerous examples of concrete, tangible success at creating a more equitable, sustainable and viable space for human life have been found. It is truly encouraging to realize that the number of local and intentional communities that have achieved such a state, and how they still seem to be growing. However, it can also be disappointing to realize that, because of their incompatibility with the core principles of globalist structures, localist innovations and achievements mostly remain in the

shadows. One of the objectives of the present research was to cast light on localist achievements, in the hope that enthusiasm regarding its application may spread even further.

Localism is an attractive philosophy in many aspects, yet it is certainly not the answer to all society's problems. Like all ideologies, it may sound perfect in theory but shows limits as soon as it is put into practice. Most localist attempts have failed to reach their autonomy objectives, and still rely on globalist economic networks for survival. The few that have succeeded are often seen as exceptions or miracles, and therefore haven't managed to attract the interest of the majority. To some, localism may even appear as a pessimistic way to deal with the present, and that more compromising changes should be attempted before deciding to leave the shell of current societies and start again from scratch, and they might be right. However, as things appear at present, radical change seems unlikely to emerge from globalist social systems. Although globalism has already driven humanity toward an irreversible crisis state, the tenants of the old structure have too much too loose to surrender. They may be ready to turn all resources of this planet against its populations in order to protect their castle. Leaving the mad kings to their fantasies and rebuilding society at the local scale is a faster way to reduce global suffering and ensure a sustainable way of life for the next generations.

The several examples of ecovillages, transition towns and autonomous communities that have been observed throughout this research have demonstrated that localism functions, and that it can serve as a blueprint for designing future societies. Such

a model can solve many of the economic, political and religious conflicts originating from meaninglessly large power structures, and restore high living conditions in societies around the world. Moreover, research about globalism and localism is still ongoing. After all, localism as an intentional ideology is still young, and it applications at experimental level. It needs to be strengthened, polished and rethought until it becomes closest to achieving its goals: true local autonomy, self-sufficiency, social responsibility, sustainability, true political equality, liberty and peace among men.

It may indeed take a while before humanity is ready to apply such a social model in the near future. That is fine, since the goal is not to impose such a model by force or with a deadline. Globalism is doing that well enough. One should simply choose to respect diversity among men, and build society from it rather than over it. Yet, in order to do this, clear objectives are necessary. It is only by evaluating the gap between one's goal and one's current position that one can know which direction to take, and how much distance there is left to cover. One should also remain flexible in one's approach, and correct the flaws of social models along the way. Human mentality evolves in time, and so should the social system it lives in.

Believing in localism does not demand to exclude all other political philosophies from one's perspective. One should not remain enclosed within one ideology or one political party, but strive to become consciously independent. People may choose to support republicans or democrats, socialists or liberals, globalists or localists, and even several movements at once, as long as they do not let these entities think and decide for them. Following dogma may offer a comfortable alternative to critical thinking, yet

belonging to a pack will only pass on political power to an elite, and deprive people of their liberties. The future needs individualized consciousness in order to build sustainable and equal societies.

Indeed, the main problem remains around the question of popular consciousness, and therefore, about information. The greater the quantity and quality of information an individual may be able to choose from, the greater political consciousness he/she may develop. In order to take adequate decisions, one needs to have access to relevant information. Should the amount of information available in one community be limited, individuals' decisions can be easily influenced and altered, to the detriment of individual freedom. The problem is not that the means to educate and inform populations do not exist at present, but rather that relevant information regarding key social issues does not get through. Information that is deemed harmful to the globalist structure is mostly filtered out by institutions, and replaced by misleading or irrelevant information.

The digital age and the Internet have certainly broadened possibilities, erasing the distance and decreasing costs between people and information sources. Unfortunately, the Internet is also increasingly subject to global control, and the golden time of unlimited access to information may soon come to an end. Individual empowerment through information is where the current battle lies. The information age could well have brought a fifth generation warfare. Should the primary goal of society be to offer individuals more choices than they would have alone, the type of education and information brought by society act as fertilizers for those choices. Informing and re-educating people about

alternative models of social management, local communities, local currencies, existing associations and overall popular innovation should become a priority. It is our responsibility to insure that people enjoy the largest panel of quality information, in order to allow them to make their own choices, with as little external influence as possible. It was also the primary goal of this research.

Globalism, imperialism, capitalism and the alienation of man from its own creation as Marx, Engels, Galtung, Wallerstein, Pappenheim, Clouscard, Foucault, Baudrillard, and many other philosophers have argued, may be temporary, yet necessary phases in human evolution. In order to overcome fear, men must first experience it. The relevance of the globalist era may soon meet its end, as several social phenomena are already suggesting.

In parallel with the rise of globalism, worldwide political consciousness about class conflict, the origin of global inequalities and problems linked to resources shortage or environmental destruction is steadily increasing. Consciousness of the peak oil, environmental destruction, the downfall of the banking system and finance empire, as well as the accelerated bipolarization of society, among others, are already showing the limits of what our current social systems can accomplish. However, structures that took hundreds of years to build cannot be fundamentally modified overnight. Radical change will only take place once a critical mass of people becomes aware of the absurdity of its living conditions, and decides to walk out. In this respect, the information age has already accomplished much, helping knowledge and consciousness travel across borders faster

than ever before in history.

The latest popular protests for radical change, such as anti-G8 rallies or the 2011 Occupy movement inspired by the Arab Spring, have been resonating internationally and sprouted doppelgangers in several countries around the globe. Populations are increasingly able to sympathize with their foreign neighbors, and support them by protesting against their own elite. This is proof that the world populations are starting to understand where the actual enemy stands, and have begun to unite against it. In spite of media control, solidarity and universal class-consciousness seem to be slowly but surely spreading among populations, regardless of their level of poverty. Theories like the one of the hundredth monkey³⁹, or Jung's collective unconscious⁴⁰ and their implication in sociology may require further thinking.

Under such perspective, humankind may be compared to one large organism, where every individual is connected to others while enjoying a certain amount of autonomy. In the way that the cells of a body create antibodies to fight viruses, diseases and intruders that are potentially dangerous to the structure, humankind mobilizes individuals to restore balance where it is needed. Nature demands balance, and so does society. Yet, passively waiting for change would not be responsible behavior from those who already understand where the danger is coming from. It is the duty of those who

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³⁹ The hundredth monkey effect is a supposed phenomenon in which a new behavior or idea is claimed to spread rapidly by unexplained, even supernatural, means from one group to all related groups once a critical number of members of one group exhibit the new behavior or acknowledge the new idea (Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature 2005:802).

⁴⁰ According to Jung, in addition to man's immediate consciousness, there would exist a collective unconscious, a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which would be identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious would not develop individually but would be inherited (Jung 1996:43).

have already drawn those conclusions to prevent damage and prepare the transition for the next generation. In this regard, we will let the words of Johan Galtung conclude this research, as we believe it best summarizes the spirit that motivated it.

And yet the peace forces are there, like billions of ants, even termites, gnawing at something that looks very impressive, very solid. Perhaps one day the tenants of that structure will decide to vacate it, move out before it all crumbles, falling on their heads and killing them, creating a structure/process for peace and development instead? As things are going, that day should come sooner rather than later (Galtung 1985:126).

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