Globalization, Culture, and Anxiety: Perspectives and Predictions from Terror Management Theory

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This paper considers the psychological and social consequences of an ascendant global capitalism and its resultant cultural impositions from the perspective of current social psychology theory. Terror Management Theory (TMT) suggests that culture serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence. TMT proposes that cultures serve the vital psychological function of making anxiety-buffering self-esteem available to humans by providing world-views and standards of value to achieve within that description of reality. Persons whose faith in that world-view is strong and who see themselves as living up to its standards of value achieve the anxiety-buffering effects of self-esteem needed in an existentially terrifying world. Because a hegemonic global capitalism and its cultural impositions guarantee that in a cultural meaning system that affords anxiety-buffering self-esteem to only the "winners" of the great competition, most people will perceive themselves as "losers." TMT predicts increased anxiety and social distress because a global capitalist system and culture will offer psychological sustenance to a minority of the world's people. This paper will review the theory, its empirical supports, and offer a set of hypotheses derived from the predictable psychological, social, and behavioral consequences of a global capitalist system and culture.

Humans live their lives in context. The context within which human experience, construal, and action is embedded is composed of forces and currents that are often misunderstood or invisible to the actors within, who seek to meet their essential needs and aspirations (Lewin, 1969; Murphy, 1966). The perceptual process

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of focusing on the person as the singular cause of his or her behavior while the impact of contextual forces are overlooked or their importance minimized has been called the fundamental attribution error (Krull, Loy, Lin, Wang, Chen, & Zhao, 1999; Ross, 1977). This source of attributional bias can be overcome with intention which is required to address this source of perceptual error (the fundamental attribution error) that ignores person-context interactions and places cause primarily within the actor (Salzman, 1995). Such intention is required to comprehend the impact and likely consequences of the powerful forces unleashed by what has been called "globalization." This new context for human activity and experience has unleashed forces that overwhelm traditional sources of culturally derived meaning with its manic logic. It has its historical antecedents but is fueled by new and profound technological innovation. It has begun to reshape our world. It has been called a new revolution whose engine and executive power is finance capital. Its imperatives are the maximization of profit and the return on capital without regard to national identity or social consequences (Greider, 1997). It is a global system characterized not only by free trade in goods and services but even more by the free movement of capital. Interest rates, exchange rates, and stock prices in various countries are intimately interrelated and global financial markets exert great influence on economic conditions and political options of the world's nations and peoples. Given the decisive role that international financial capital plays in the life of individual nations, it is not inappropriate to speak of a global capitalist system (Soros, 1997).

The system is supported by an ideology, world-view and faith that Soros (1998) calls "market fundamentalism" which holds that markets are self-correcting and that the common interest is best served by allowing everyone to look out for his or her own interests. It holds that attempts to protect the common interest by collective decision-making distort the market mechanism. In the nineteenth century it was called laissez-faire. Market fundamentalism has given supreme authority to capital and its imperatives. These imperatives are producing wrenching and anxiety-generating social distress as well as changes in the politics of nations and cultures of the worlds' peoples. The global capitalist system with its political consequences, it's cultural impositions and psychological consequences may well be the meta-context of our time.

Crime, violence, fundamentalism, and xenophobia often come to the fore in societies where the traditional patterns of family and community have been disrupted by economic and cultural forces. These problems are exacerbated by the sense of inferiority that arises in people who perceive themselves as not living up to the standards that define value in the new system. As economic globalization has accelerated in the post Cold War era, new categories of winners and losers have been produced along with a rise in fundamentalism, hyperethnocentrism and the proliferation of neo-Fascist and right-wing extremist organizations (Lee, 2000). Such was the case when the technology-driven revolution unleashed by the industrial revolution uprooted, dislocated and marginalized millions of people.

Among its products were the alternative world-views and systems known as fascism and communism. These world-views were attractive to millions because they addressed unmet human psychological needs while promising to alleviate material deprivation. Maslow (1968) proposed a hierarchy of human needs that included the need to feel a sense of belonging and self-esteem. Becker (1971, 1973) suggested that self-esteem, a vital psychological resource, is a cultural construction. As cultures are shaken and millions are marginalized and alienated by the processes of globalization these needs remain. Ideologies and political movements are constructed to address these needs in often cynical and demagogic ways.

Culture in Context: Triandis (1994) noted the relationship of culture and behavior to the ecological context from which it is constructed:

$$ecology—culture—socialization—personality—behavior$$

Ecology is construed as including physical environment, geography, climate, fauna, flora and containing resources such as fertile land, animals, oil, and metals. This ecology and its resources make it possible for certain behaviors (e.g., cooperation while whaling in the Arctic or competition in a capitalist economy) to lead to rewards. In this sense ecologically derived culture may be seen as providing schedules of reinforcement that, indeed, make survival more probable. Behaviors that are rewarded become automatic and become the customs of the culture. However, the relationship of these variables is complex and causality interactive as manifest behavior undoubtedly influences ecology and culture influences ecology. Economic systems and their demands are an essential aspect of the ecological context within which human action is embedded, and culture is a vital aspect of human experience that needs to be considered in context and in the light of its functions and interactions. The economic system and the means through which one must satisfy needs and wants should be considered as part of this ecology. An eco-cultural system and its institutions may not provide sufficient sources of adaptive or positive self-esteem placing humans in an untenable situation where existential terror is unbuffered by that warm and secure feeling that one is of value in a world of meaning. In a competitive meta-culture that values only "winners," how will the "losers" compensate?

This paper considers the psychological and social consequences of an ascendant global capitalism and its resultant cultural impositions from the perspective of current social psychology theory. Terror Management Theory (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszcynski, 1991) suggests that culture serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence by providing a source of anxiety-buffering self-esteem to those who believe in the world-view described by the culture and who see themselves as meeting its standards. Adaptive sources of self-esteem may be those most directly linked to the requirements of a particular ecological context or to the perceived necessity to radically transform it because it is deemed oppressive.

Terror Management Theory (TMT) predicts that an ascendant global capitalist system and culture will dislocate local and traditional cultures and offer psychological sustenance to a minority of the world's people. Essential characteristics of the emerging global capitalist system will be described, followed by a review of TMT and a discussion of their interactions.

TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY: EXISTENTIAL TERROR, CULTURE, AND ANXIETY

Terror Management Theory of Self-Esteem and Cultural World-Views (Greenberg et al., 1997) is anchored in the human condition itself and the existential dilemmas confronted by self-conscious, future-projecting, and meaning-constructing human creatures who are subject to a mortal existence where death and personal annihilation may occur at any moment. Human creatures like all creatures share the fundamental biological motive to continue existence. However, because of highly developed cognitive abilities, humans are aware that this fundamental motive cannot be fulfilled and that personal annihilation is inevitable. This is an existential dilemma that requires resolution in order for humans to be able to function without being overwhelmed by terror, the terror inherent in human existence—existential terror.

Why do groups of humans create and vigorously maintain a shared system of meaning believed to be an absolute representation of reality by its adherents? Becker (1971, 1973) thought that humans, confronted with the terror that results from their existential circumstances, construct a shared conception of the universe that is symbolically created and maintained so that anxiety-prone human creatures may navigate in a terrifying existence with relative equanimity. TMT theorists and researchers (Greenberg et al., 1997; Solomon et al., 1991) see this shared conception, that is culture, as an essential and collective psychological defense that is necessary for anxiety-prone humans to act adaptively. TMT considers the relationships among cultural factors, the terror inherent in human existence, and self-esteem. It appears to offer a powerful explanatory framework for understanding critical social and psychological phenomena occurring in naturalistic settings across persons, time, and place. Death, which is undoubtedly a universal human concern that is addressed in culturally different ways offers a solid theoretical anchor for TMT.

Self-esteem has been the object of numerous investigations and theorizing. Maslow (1968) proposed that self-esteem is a core human need upon which self-actualization (however that is construed across cultures) depends. Little attention, however, has been paid to why humans need, seek and strive to maintain a sense of personal value (Greenberg et al., 1997). TMT offers a plausible and empirically based explanation for this powerful motive. It suggests that self-esteem, that warm and secure feeling that one is of value in a meaningful universe, serves as

an essential anxiety-buffer against the terror inherent in human existence. TMT suggests that self-esteem is a cultural construction. This paper questions whether global capitalist culture, if accepted, can satisfy essential human psychological needs (e.g., belonging and self-esteem) for most of the world's people because only those who see themselves as "winners" in the great competition may achieve the anxiety-buffering effects of self-esteem.

Existential Terror

Humans are both similar to and different from all other living organisms. Humans, like all other creatures, possess the basic biological motives of self-preservation and procreation. Humans, however, are culture creating organisms. It appears likely that humans are the only creatures that create meaning and support their construction of a world of meaning symbolically and often violently. This culture-creating capacity of humans is the result of highly developed cognitive capacities due to a distinctively "big brain."

Our "big brain" is the source of our greatest strengths as a species and also the source of some unique problems. Because of these highly sophisticated cognitive abilities humans can conceptualize reality in terms of causality, conceive of future events and worry about them, and reflect upon themselves and their worth. Since humans can conceive of future events, we know that terrible things may happen to us. Humans are aware of mortality and that they may be personally annihilated at any moment. We know that, at least on the observable level, we are food for worms (Becker, 1971). Therefore humans know that their basic biological motives of self-preservation and continued existence are ultimately impossible to satisfy. This awareness, if unmediated, is terrifying. It is the terror rooted in human existence. It is existential terror that, if unbuffered, would paralyze us and inhibit our ability to function adaptively.

Self-Esteem and Existential Terror

The motive to defend and seek sources of self-esteem was considered by Alfred Adler as perhaps the most powerful human motive. Self-esteem is used here to mean the sense that one has value and is of significance in the cultural construction of meaning one believes in. Adler noted that, "The supreme law [of life] is this: The sense of worth of the self shall not be allowed to be diminished" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1946, p. 358). The power of the self-esteem motive is manifested by such extreme, apparently inexplicable acts such as suicide bombings, and in other transcendental dramas that may result in death while promising heroism and immortality.

According to this perspective people engage in such actions to feel that their lives have meaning and that the actor has value. The preeminence of the self-esteem

motive may be seen in the behavior of an anorexic individual who will starve herself or himself to death, while being hungry, in pursuit of a mythical, culturally prescribed standard of beauty and value. The power of this motive may be largely explained by the vital anxiety-buffering function of self-esteem as discussed by Becker (1971, 1973) and supported by empirical research (Greenberg et al., 1997).

The Cultural Anxiety-Buffer

The cultural anxiety-buffer has two aspects. The first is a world-view in which one has absolute faith. The second aspect of the buffer is the set of standards for being and acting in the world. This cultural anxiety-buffer, if achieved, provides the individual with a place of belonging, self-esteem and even immortality if one lives up to the cultural standards. It is culture, then, that offers the anxiety-prone human creature the possibility of the heroic transcendence of our existential dilemma. Self-esteem, then, is as necessary as the air we breathe. It is the result of one's having faith in the culturally prescribed world view and seeing oneself as living up to its standards. Feelings of valuelessness, worthlessness, and other forms of inferiority feelings are intolerable and highly aversive conditions. People are motivated to escape from such feelings. The well-documented (Bennett & Holmes, 1975; Burish & Houston, 1979; Leary, Barnes, & Griebel, 1986) inverse relationship between self-esteem and anxiety fuels this motive. It is a function of culture(s) to provide a world of meaning that allows for the achievement and maintenance of self-esteem which serves the essential anxiety-buffering function (Becker, 1971).

Self-esteem deficient humans, stressed with unbuffered anxiety, are motivated toward compensatory behaviors that may be maladaptive and destructive for the individual or the community. Our prisons are bursting with people compensating maladaptively for the failure to achieve a positive, stable source of self-esteem that is derived from the cultural drama and meaning system. Behaviors such as pumping oneself up with chemicals, beating one's spouse, and seeking domination over others may be seen as maladaptive attempts to boost self-esteem and manage existential terror. Mental health and social workers may conceptualize many forms of destructive and apparently irrational behavior as logical, though, mistaken and maladaptive efforts to boost self-esteem and manage existential terror. The urge to heroism of which Becker (1971) wrote may be seen as a transcendental motive that seeks to overcome subjective perceptions of helplessness, inferiority, and powerlessness embedded in the awareness of existentially terrified human creatures. Self-esteem, then, is a correlate of a culturally prescribed heroic transcendence drama that affords the anxiety-prone human creature an escape route out of the intolerable inferiority feelings rooted in the human experience (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1946). This urge to heroism may take destructive forms.

Research (Greenberg et al., 1997) indicates that when people's values are threatened they may try to reassert their faith in their world-view by bolstering their world view by derogating, invalidating, or seeking to harm the different "other." Such a perceived threat to core cultural values may be reflected in a recent controversy in Greece regarding a government proposal to remove religious identification from the identity cards of Greek citizens. In response, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church asserted that their religious faith is indivisibly bound with the country's identity. Archbishop Christodoulos then called on the faithful to resist "the forces of globalization and religious marginalization that are out to get us" (New York Times, June 21, 2000).

According to Beckerian (Becker, 1971, 1973) and TMT perspectives, self-esteem is culturally constructed. It consists of the perception that one is a valuable member of a meaningful universe and humans are meaning constructing organisms (Frankl, 1984; Yalom, 1980). If the world-view described by culture is shaken or we maintain our faith in the cultural world-view but do not see ourselves as meeting its standards then our personal value is questioned as well.

Empirical Tests of TMT Hypotheses

Greenberg et al. (1997) reviewed the empirical tests of TMT hypotheses that have been undertaken and replicated in the U.S., Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Canada, Israel, and Australia (Aboriginal Australian sample). Initial empirical assessments of TMT tested two hypotheses: The *anxiety-buffer hypothesis* and the *mortality-salience hypothesis*.

The *anxiety-buffer hypothesis* states that if a psychological structure provides protection against anxiety, then augmenting that structure should reduce anxiety in response to subsequent threats. To test the hypothesis that self-esteem (the psychological structure) serves as an anxiety-buffer TMT researchers manipulated self-esteem (or assessed it dispositionally) then exposed subjects to a variety of threat (e.g., increasing subjects awareness of their mortality) and then measured (self-report and physiological measures) anxiety or anxiety-related behavior. Results indicated that higher levels of self-esteem led to lower levels of self-reported anxiety in response to a graphic death-related video and lower levels of physiological arousal in response to the threat of painful electric shock. Specifically, strengthening either self-esteem or faith in the cultural world-view would reduce anxiety and anxiety-related behavior in response to threat.

The *mortality-salience hypothesis* states that if a psychological structure provides protection against the terror inherent in human existence (knowledge of mortality) then reminding people of their mortality should increase their need for the protection provided by that structure by activating the need for validation of their sense of value (self-esteem) and their faith in the cultural world-view. This hypothesis was tested by exposing subjects to threat (mortality-salience) and

then measuring their tendency to defend their cultural world-view by how they responded to those who challenged or supported them. It was consistently found that subjects under mortality-salience conditions responded more negatively to those who challenged their cultural world-views directly or simply because they appeared different. Experimental studies testing TMT hypothesis (see Greenberg et al., 1997 for review) have indicated behavioral as well attitudinal tendencies to favor those seen as culturally similar and to derogate those seen as different under mortality-salience conditions. For example, German subjects chose to sit closer to German confederates and further away from Turkish confederates than controls did. It was also found that those who upheld subjects' world-views would be evaluated more positively by subjects under the mortality-salience conditions than those who were not. The effects of TMT dynamics on human aggression were indicated in an experiment which found that subjects under mortality-salience conditions administered substantially greater amounts of hot sauce (intention to inflict pain) to targets who criticized their political views than controls did. These hypotheses were supported by multiple experimental tests using varied operationalizations of the self-esteem, mortality-salience, cultural world-view, and anxiety variables. These findings have been replicated in six countries and have profound implications. Holloran & Dashima (2001) tested and replicated the mortality-salience hypothesis with a non-western sample. Their results also showed that thoughts of their mortality motivated Aboriginal Australian subjects to validate their cultural world-view and were consistent with previous evidence that mortality-salience strengthened the tendency to reject those who violated norms prescribed by the relevant cultural world-view. Interestingly, another study showed that subjects whose world-views included tolerance (liberal judges) actually exhibited greater tolerance under the mortality-salience condition than did presumably less tolerant subjects (conservative judges). These findings link the self-esteem anxiety-buffer to culture and its description of reality indicating an essential psychological function served by culture(s). TMT, therefore, provides a useful lens through which to consider a wide range of social phenomena resulting from perceived threats to the cultural anxiety-buffer such as inter-group conflict, intolerance, and even genocide.

Recent developments in Europe and the United States seem to reveal the reappearance of a dangerous form of terror management that while constructing sources of self-esteem that may buffer one against the terror inherent in human existence may endanger human existence itself.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM

Greider (1997) and Soros (1998) described characteristics of the meta-context that is hegemonic global capitalism.

Global producers are caught up in a desperate competition to lower costs and prices to hold on to market share and increase share value. The imperatives of the system promote conditions that are hospitable to capital that include cheap labor and minimal environmental protection safeguards. Capital seeks the greatest return on its investment. While global capital generates new wealth it stands in contradiction to the physical capacity of the ecosystem and results in wealth concentration, inequality, and human marginalization. Leaders of some of the world's developing nations, such as Jamaica's Prime Minister J. P. Paterson, expressed concerns that globalization had favored a few and marginalized the weakest. President Mubarak of Egypt noted that the imbalance in the world's economy is increasing instead of decreasing, contradicting his belief that globalization would lead to an improvement in the standard of living in developing countries (BBC, 2000). Globalization has been cited as a cause for increasing ethnic tensions in the Pacific islands where the new reform agenda has shown far greater concern for economic growth than for equity or social stability and that "private-sector development has tended to favor either foreign investors or entrepreneurs who are already well established, and tends to widen gaps in income and class. Increasing inequality appears to be a common feature of all Pacific Island hotspots" (Honolulu Advertiser, June 25, 2000, p. B4). The Associated Press (2000) reported on the United Nation's General Assembly investigation as to why, after trade barriers were lowered around the world, the number of people living in poverty has increased despite the stated intention to dramatically reduce poverty. The report quoted a Chilean diplomat and economist as stating that "In five years poverty has increased, work is more precarious and inequality has grown" (p. 3). Trends, then, indicate growing inequality both within and among nations. As growing inequality in the developed world increases dislocated, marginalized workers become motivated to account for their "loser" status in ways that preserve a tenuous self-esteem anxiety-buffer. Rising inequality between developed and developing nations fuels immigration to and resentments among marginalized workers in the developed countries. These are conditions that are fertile for demagogic politicians and fascistic and racist popular responses.

Core human concerns and needs are overwhelmed by market imperatives. More and more is being yielded to the marketplace in the hope that the global market will eventually address them. The increase in inequality produced by globalization is becoming an urgent issue of world politics (Hurrell, 1999). The demands of finance capital dictate that core social and cultural values be abandoned in order for enterprises to be competitive in the global market (e.g., laying off loyal employees in Japan and Korea). What will happen when this god fails and the faith in market fundamentalism is shaken or masses of people see themselves as not meeting its standards of value due to the imperatives of the unfettered free market?

DISCUSSION: HEGEMONIC GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY

Solomon et al. (1991) suggested that there may be circumstances under which individuals cannot maintain the cultural anxiety-buffer, either because they cannot achieve a sense of value within the cultural drama, or because their faith in the cultural drama itself is shattered. In a global capitalist system and culture which guarantees that great numbers of the world's people will perceive themselves as "losers" in the great competition, a sense of value and self-esteem will be achieved only by the relatively few who perceive themselves as "winners" and who have faith in the world view described by global capitalism and its ideology of market fundamentalism. Indeed, globalization-proponent Friedman (2000) notes that analysts have "been wondering for a while now whether the turtles who are left behind by globalization, or most brutalized or offended by it, will develop an alternative ideology to liberal, free-market capitalism (p. 324)." He reminds us that there is historical precedent "in the first era of globalization when the world first experienced the creative destruction of global capitalism, the backlash eventually produced a whole new set of ideologies-communism, socialism, fascism that promised to take the sting out of capitalism particularly for the average working person (p. 324)." That sting is psychological as well as material. People whose faith in a world-view is lost or shattered are placed in a state of psychological stress even if they perceive themselves as meeting its standards of value. According to Faison (2000), a Pacific scholar and former New York Times China correspondent, the Falun Gong movement in China has tens of millions of followers fed by people's search for something to believe in because of the rapid change, social dislocation, market reforms, and a loss of faith in the communist cultural drama occurring in China. Interestingly, this movement has constructed a belief system and world-view rooted in a "nativist blend of Buddhist and Taoist elements and an emphasis on clean living, self-sacrifice and health through breathing exercises and meditation" thus offering "an appealing refuge from the big social trends in China today, crass commercialism and the pursuit of money (p. A6)." So a compelling alternative ideology and world-view has emerged from a discredited communist faith and an ascendant global capitalist culture which tens of millions of Chinese seem not to find compelling enough to believe in. TMT indicates that the cultural anxiety-buffer can only be constructed in a world of meaning that is compelling enough to attract the faith of people. In this example, neither the communist nor global capitalist cultures seem to satisfy this requirement for millions of people; consequently, an alternative ideology rooted deeply in traditional culture has arisen.

After an extensive examination of recent developments in Europe and the United States, Lee (2000) suggests that fascism is on the march again. He noted that a vibrant democratic culture is not conducive to the growth of fascism but that corporate power has stultified the democratic process and that fascist groups feed

upon the malaise. It is significant that right-wing extremists present themselves "first and foremost, as protectors of Western Europe's cultural identity and economic prosperity (p. 389)" thus gaining access to the mainstream by bolstering a threatened cultural world view through the derogation of the different "other." This is echoed in the United States by Buchanan's call to battle to fight the "culture wars." These arguments find receptive ears to the marginalized who cannot achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem in the global capitalist system which is relatively miserly in its provision of this essential psychological resource. TMT predicts that such people, produced in growing numbers, will seek psychological sustenance in alternative world-views that they find compelling enough to have faith in and where they see themselves as meetings its standards of value thus assuaging the aversiveness of unbuffered existential terror. The ideologies constructed by neo-Nazi, white supremacist, and religiously fundamentalist groups address such needs albeit in potentially dangerous and destructive ways.

The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) tracks hate groups in the United States. They note that an expanding "Race-Hate Faith" underlies the right-wing extremist movements in the United States. Consistent with its world-view the standards of value defined by that world-view and faith are easily achievable by White people. All one needs to do is to be White and support the world-view described by "faith." The Christian Identity movement has more than 50,000 followers in North America and has influenced significant numbers of fundamentalist churches and is growing (Intelligence Report: "Expanding race-hate," 1998). Its central theses have been that Jews descend from the sexual union of Eve and the Serpent, whites are the progeny of Adam and Eve and non-Whites are soulless "mud people." It is not difficult to see how this world-view would offer a boost to market-battered self-esteem for uneducated anxiety-ridden marginalized White people searching for a cause for their predicament. Lee (2000) noted that U.S. militias offered scapegoats rather than solutions, "the militias tended to attract deeply disenchanted individuals with real, down-home gripes. Shunted aside while multinational corporations got leaner and meaner, many of these people were treading water economically and aching for someone to blame" (p. 350). Associated ideologies offered an explanatory framework and world-view that bolsters self-esteem while attributing cause to identified targets.

Ancient Norse and pre-Christian northern European religions such as Odinism have become increasingly popular for those feeling estranged from Christianity. Right-wing extremists are intoxicated by a theology that feels fresh and insurgent while being rooted in a perceived heroic and glorious past. Odinism is spreading in the burgeoning U.S. prison population (Intelligence Report, Spring 2000) and may be rising at the expense of Christian Identity. Many officials around the country say that Odinism/Asatru is the fastest growing religion behind prison walls.

The demonstrations that occurred at the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund meeting in

Washington brought together some interesting bedfellows. The SPLC (2000) noted that alongside the "progressive" groups that demonstrated in Seattle were the "hard edged soldiers of neo-Fascism" ("Neither left nor right," 2000, p. 41). These groups protested the "New World Order" and denounced "Jewish media plus big capital" (p. 41). New ideological forms are being created that seem to represent a left-right convergence united in opposition to globalization. One such trend is called the "Third Position" that seem to mix "left" and "right" ideas albeit with strong neo-Fascist overtones. Despite this kind of "flirtation with the left, virtually all Third Positionists identify their prime enemy as the multiculturalist Jew" (p. 43).

These systems as well as others that provide for psychological sustenance by conferring upon its believers a sense of compensatory superiority are compelling for the marginalized, as they seek answers that may explain their circumstances and status according to the standards of value defined by the culture of global capitalism. It is a form of terror management that tends to produce extremely negative consequences. It has happened before.

IMPLICATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Heightened anxiety of "losers" will increase world-view bolstering and derogation of the other and increase ethnic conflict. Scapegoating and racist ideologies will gain new adherents because its standards of value are achievable because they require only the appropriate racial or ethnic identification and support for its world-view.

The pressures and demands of global capital to cut costs through layoffs may violate core cultural values that stress mutual obligations and reciprocal responsibility such as in Korea and Japan. In such cases it is predictable that employers and workers will not see themselves as meeting cultural standards of value. When faith in the cultural world-view remains strong employers that are forced to lay off loyal workers will experience decreased self-esteem, and consequently heightened anxiety and anxiety-related behaviors due to an inadequate cultural anxiety-buffer. Workers will also be forced to compromise cultural values in pursuit of security and are likely to experience heightened anxiety and anxiety-related behavior. People whose faith in the traditional local or national culture is high and who see themselves as meeting its standards will bolster and defend that world-view when confronted by global capitalist culture. An example of this is the French sheep farmer who was charged with trashing a McDonald's restaurant and is receiving broad support for an action that is seen as opposing globalization and defending French culture ("Fast-food," 2000). Such reactions are likely to increase as globalization pressures increase. People rallying in his defense wore t-shirts with slogans such as "the world is not merchandise and neither am I." The global imposition of the American style rat race may not be compelling for those who define a good and meaningful life differently.

In response to anxiety-provoking globalization pressures national cultures may reassert themselves by tapping into traditional cultural archetypes such as the "militia man" in the United States and the Teutonic Knights of Nazi propaganda.

People who see themselves as succeeding or think they will succeed in the global capitalist system and culture (i.e., making money) will tend to faithfully support the world view described by that culture and successfully manage their existential terror (as well as meet material needs) because they see themselves as meeting the standards of value within a cultural world-view they believe in faithfully. Indeed Friedman (2000) notes that great efforts are required to maintain people's faith in the system, "Globalization is always in the balance, always tipping this way or that. Our job as citizens of the world is to make certain that a majority of people always feel that advancing issues are leading the declines. Only then will globalization be sustainable. And no nation has a greater responsibility and opportunity to ensure this than the United States of America (p. 433)."

Religious fundamentalism and a reassertion of traditional cultural values as the cultural impositions of global capitalism heighten anxiety. This may be seen, for example, in Greece where a powerful movement has developed to assert the primacy of Orthodoxy as the defining element of Greek culture and cosmology.

When the global capitalist system experiences major and prolonged crises, people's faith in the cultural world view described by market fundamentalism will weaken and other ideologies and world views with accessible standards of value will be sought.

Faith in the cultural world-view promoted by global capitalism may not be compelling for people whose sustaining cultural values are being contradicted or violated. Therefore even the achievement of its standards may not offer an adequate anxiety-buffer leading to the development of alternative ideologies or syncretic forms of meaning-construction. Perhaps a global system and culture can be constructed where all may feel a sense of belonging, meaning, and value. A system and culture that does not marginalize millions of people or threaten the fragile ecosystem that supports us would be an optimum outcome to the dilemma.

CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

The exigencies of global capitalism and its cultural impositions allow for a small minority of the world's people to see themselves as of value in a meaningful universe according the standards embedded in the cultural world-view. People seen as winners are celebrated in capitalist culture and losers are disparaged and even despised. The apparent failure of communism as an alternative system has not solved the problems of global capitalism and its attendant instability, inequities, and psychological consequences. It is a system that continues to produce inequality, inequities, and masses of marginalized people who cannot see themselves as having value in the system. They will therefore face the terror inherent

in human existence unbuffered by self-esteem and be susceptible to intolerable anxiety that will be addressed for better or worse. Mental health and social workers confronting these developments and dynamics can assist through interventions designed to meaningfully integrate the marginalized and connect the disconnected to their referent communities. The construction of meaning beyond that dictated by market fundamentalism is a therapeutic form that addresses the core concerns of those who perceive themselves to be "losers" in the capitalist culture. Classrooms, schools, and families can be organized and influenced to include all in its fabric of meaning thus allowing all to achieve a sense of significance and value in its endeavors. Mental health and social workers need to be politically and socially sophisticated in order to help clients understand the forces that are impinging upon them, and to correctly attribute cause to their conditions and subjective experience.

As stated, TMT researchers have found that when subjects whose world-views valued tolerance and respect for diversity are exposed to the mortality-salience condition, they bolstered that world-view and actually exhibited greater tolerance (Greenberg et al., 1997). This is cause for optimism. Those elements of world-views that produce tendencies toward intolerance may be reexamined, reframed, or modified through education. Educators, mental health, and social workers can and should develop curricula and interventions that address the inherent intolerance of "onetruth" ideologies and world-views. This may be seen as a form of inoculation against destructive forms of terror management that correspond to periods of cultural threat and economic anxiety. Such an inoculation is especially important when anxieties and their compensations lead to conflict and the blood begins to flow. Under such (mortality-salience) circumstances demonization of the different "other" is likely unless the world-view that gets bolstered includes tolerance and respect for diversity.

The process of globalization is revolutionizing the world (Greider, 1997). Its forces overwhelm domestic politics and national sovereignty. Its consequences dislocate and disrupt national cultures whose people often feel more loss than gain. It represents, perhaps, the meta-context of our time and it behooves social scientists to study the process and address its consequences.

LIMITATIONS AND ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

The characteristics of local cultures interacting with the global capitalist system and culture may be an important moderator variable to examine in this dynamic process. Will people from individualistic cultural orientations react to "loser" status differently than people from more collectivist orientations where attribution for success and failure are shared collectively rather than shouldered individually? Will workers in developed countries whose jobs have been exported to cheaper labor markets react differently than those of developing countries who may see globalization as their hope for development?

This paper applied TMT to help illuminate some of the consequences of that process known as globalization. It focuses on the effects of increasing inequality and inequities occurring both within and among nations and its consequent marginalization of masses of people. Globalization's positive effects have not been addressed because they have been amply discussed by its proponents. The purpose of this paper has been to illuminate the psychodynamics of these processes from a particular existential and social psychological perspective. There are other perspectives that offer useful insights and this paper does not mean to imply that terror management is the only dynamic at work. Hopefully, it will add to the analyses and help generate solutions to the problems and promises that we face on this planet given our natures and propensities.

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