

Humiliation in a Globalizing World: Does Humiliation Become the Most Disruptive Force?

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This paper has four parts:

1. Narrative summary of Humiliation Theory of 5 ½ pages
2. Table summary of Humiliation Theory 5 ½ pages
3. Executive summary of 9 pages
4. Paper of 25 pages

Theory of Humiliation (Narrative Summary)

Evelin Gerda Lindner, 2004

Summary of 5 ½ pages, without references, see a comprehensive overview over references in Lindner, 2003

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Keywords: new **technologies** of communication and mobility, new **visions** of the world, ingathering of humankind (**globalization**, global village), shift to a more **relational global life world**, **weakening** of **Security Dilemma**, shift from **fear** to **humiliation**, **Human Rights ideals**, ingroup ethics, continuous uprising of underlings (**egalization**), ranked worthiness of human beings, equal dignity for all, phenomenon and dynamics of **humiliation** (expressed in acts, feelings and institutions), honor-humiliation, dignity-humiliation, unequal human worthiness, **humility** of equal dignity, **depression** and **apathy**, **genocide**, **terrorism**, **constructive social change** (Mandela), new **public policy**, new **decent institutions**, attention to maintaining **relationships** of equal dignity, new **social skills** for maintaining relations of equal dignity and **healing** and **preventing** dynamics of humiliation, new **leaders**, **Moratorium on Humiliation**, **resolution of violent conflict**, paradigm of **policing**, **social control**, **male and female role descriptions**, **uprisings**, **third parties**, **celebrate humanity**.

In order to understand a globalizing world, we need “global” research, as well as the participation of researchers who have a global outlook and global experience. In my case, a specific biography made me acquire a profoundly global perspective and identity. This experiential background has led me to conceptualize psychology in a specific way, first, as being embedded within broader historic and philosophical contexts, second, as being profoundly intertwined with global changes, and third, as currently gaining significance. I avoid single interest scholarship, work transdisciplinary, and probe how even local micro-changes may be embedded within larger global changes.

I begin by giving attention to **new technologies of communication and mobility** (such as the internet, or transportation by airplanes, for example), that allow for a) new visions of the world, b) the *ingathering* of humankind (*ingathering* is an anthropological term for the coming-together of tribes, Ury, 1999) and c) for a continuous uprising of underlings.

To summarize Ury (1999), most of humankind’s history went by relatively peacefully, with small bands of hunter-gatherers cooperating within noticeably egalitarian societal structures. The available abundance of wild food provided hunter-gatherers with an expandable pie of resources and a win-win frame. Roughly 10,000 years ago, agriculturalism began to emerge, giving rise to hierarchical societies, framing life within a win-lose logic, and fuelling war. In the wake of the most recent transition, technological innovations enable humans to relate to their home, planet Earth, in profoundly new ways. People around the globe communicate and meet as never before. At present Homo sapiens is about to create a global knowledge society, says Ury, thus returning to the win-win frame of hunter-gatherers, and thereby regaining the potential for relatively peaceful egalitarian societal structures for the global “tribe” of humankind.

Ironically, we might add, the technological means for this most recent transition were provided not least by Homo sapiens’ attention to warfare, which turns inappropriate, at

least in its classic form, in the global village. And these technological innovations give underlings the tools to link up and form uprisings, for the first time in history, feeding a continuous uprising. All three features, the new vision of the world, the new means for coming-together, and the continuous uprising of underlings, represent new phenomena and in many ways make “lessons from history” obsolete. Profoundly new ways of thinking must be developed.

The new technologies give humankind access to profoundly **new visions of the world**. Planet Earth has finally become visible as what it always was, a tiny planet in a vast universe, and home to all humankind. Television news programs around the world begin with the image of a turning globe, a view that no human being in the past had access to.

The new technologies also enable humankind to come together; they drive the ingathering of humankind. We can also call this phenomenon *globalization*, or the coming-into-being of *One single global village*, which represents the coming-into-being of *One single* ingroup of humanity. The ingathering of humankind turns formerly rather separate entities into one single entity, where relationships play a more important role than before. No longer have separate entities merely separate “interests.” The quality of their mutual relationships gains weight. In short, the decisive element for potential conflict moves from *separate interests* to the *quality of relationships*. In an atmosphere of mutual respect, conflicting interests will be accommodated, in an atmosphere characterized by dynamics of humiliation, conflicting interests may be used to fuel violence.

The term *global village* signifies that at the global level *One single ingroup* is currently emerging and that the notion of outgroups disappears; what emerges is *One single family of humankind*. As long as rather separate entities dominated the global theatre, the *Security Dilemma* was strong. It left no other option to people than continuous fear of unexpected attacks from outside. The coming-into being of *One single ingroup*, in contrast, brings people into mutual relations. No longer do they belong to separate entities that seem mutually opaque and incomprehensible. People enter into relationships, with all their potential outcomes, from forming friendships to feeling humiliated when respect and recognition are felt lacking. In the wake of a weakening of the *Security Dilemma*, fear of the unknown outsider, as dominant emotion, gives place to the desire to be recognized and appreciated by fellow human beings or to feelings of humiliation when respect, recognition and appreciation are perceived to be lacking. Thus, we can observe a shift to a more **relational global life world**, a **weakening** of the **Security Dilemma**, and a shift from **fear** to **humiliation**.

Intertwined with the ingathering of humankind is the rise of **Human Rights ideals**. Human Rights ideals entail two historically new elements. First, they may be labeled **ingroup ethics**, which now are globalized, while outgroup ethics losing their scope, second, they drive the historically first **continuous uprising of underlings** (Lindner has coined the term *egalization* for this revolution, matching the term globalization; globalization describes the trend towards the horizontal coming-together of humankind, while egalization describes the vertical coming-together of humankind, on one single level of equal dignity for all).

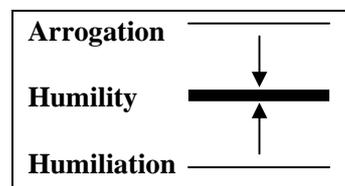
As to the first element, Human Rights ideals in many ways resemble the ethical norms that people usually apply within what they regard their ingroup. In tact with the ingathering of humankind, ingroup ethics apply to the entire world, and outgroup ethics

lose their scope. As to the second element, Human Rights ideals entail a revolution; their advocates drive a transition away from societies where **ranked worthiness of human beings** (*lesser* beings and *higher* beings) was normal, to the notion of **equal dignity for all**. *Equal dignity for all* is a norm that turns a host of formerly appropriate strategies into violations. And these violations carry the potential to elicit feelings of humiliation. For example, security and peace can no longer be attained by parading “strength” and holding down people by sheer force. While this might have rendered humble underlings in former times, it does no longer.

In the new historical context, **the phenomenon of humiliation** (expressed in acts, feelings and institutions), gains significance in two ways, a) as a result of the new and more relational reality of the world, and b) through the emergence of Human Rights ideals. **Dynamics of humiliation** profoundly change in their nature within the larger historical transition from a world steeped in Honor codes of **unequal human worthiness** to a world of Human Rights ideals of equal dignity. Dynamics of humiliation move from **honor-humiliation** to **dignity-humiliation**, and, they gain **more significance**.

As soon as Human Rights ideals have entered the hearts and minds of people, the notion of humiliation changes profoundly as compared to pre-Human Rights contexts, and it gains weight. Formerly it was seen as the duty of underlings to accept being put down. They had no right to invoke feelings of humiliation. Only masters were permitted to label their privileged position as “honorable” and defend their honor against attempts to humiliate it. In Human Rights context the situation is turned on its head. Underlings are empowered, which means that they are permitted to use words such as oppression or humiliation to label their lowly state, while masters are told that they ought to descend from arrogating superiority and adopt the new **humility** of equal dignity, together with risen-up underlings.

The human rights revolution could be described as an attempt to collapse the master-slave gradient to a line of equal dignity and humility (see graphics). The practice of masters arrogating superiority and subjugating underlings is now regarded as illicit and obscene, and human rights advocates invite both, masters and underlings, to join in shared humility at the line of equal dignity. It is important to note that the horizontal line is meant to represent the line of equal dignity and humility. This line does not signify that all human beings are equal, or should be equal, or ever were or will be equal, or identical, or all the same.



Brigid Donelan kindly comments this model as follows (personal message, December 20, 2004), “This is a model with twin features: one a historical trend and the other a contemporary potential/choice. We may think of humanity evolving through stages of pride, honor and dignity. We can also see that each stage is ‘alive and well’ within each contemporary individual, as a choice/potential. The value of the model lies in clarifying the choice, and suggesting a trend towards emergence of a ‘global knowledge society,’ for which there is certainly evidence, and benefits for all.”

Feelings of humiliation may lead to three major consequences, a) to **depression** and **apathy**, b) they may nurture an urge to retaliate with inflicting humiliation (in humiliation entrepreneurs such as Hitler; **genocide, terrorism**), or c) they may lead to

constructive social change (Mandela). The dynamics of humiliation play out at all levels, at macro, meso, and micro interpersonal levels, and even at intrapersonal levels.

New public policies for driving not only *globalization* but also *egalization* and create a peaceful and just world must be developed. They need to entail three elements that are intertwined. First, **new decent institutions** have to be built, both locally and globally, that **heal** and **prevent** dynamics of humiliation (*Decent Society*, Margalit, 1996). Second, **new attention** has to be given to maintaining relationships of equal dignity. Third, **new social skills** have to be learned in order to maintaining relations of equal dignity. We need not least, a new type of **leaders**, Mandelas, who are no longer autocratic dominators and humiliation-entrepreneurs, but knowledgeable, wise facilitators and motivators, who lead toward respectful and dignified inclusion of all humankind as opposed to hateful polarization. All three tasks, albeit informed by ideas and practices developed in the past, are historically new and unparalleled in their scope. To help render a future global society that is peaceful and just, where equal dignity for all is respected and dynamics of humiliation prevented, Lindner calls for a *Moratorium on Humiliation* to be included into new public policy planning.

With respect to **violent conflict**, both at the global and local level, the paradigm of good quality *policing* of *neighborhoods* needs to replace the paradigm of *war* on *enemies*. The global village, as any village, needs to maintain its inner security by good quality policing. War is typically waged with neighboring “villages.” In the case of the global village, there is no “neighboring village” left. Thus the paradigm of war loses its anchoring in reality, and the paradigm of policing is what is left. And good quality policing connects coercion with respect.

During my time in Egypt (1984-1991), I was amazed at the low rate of crime and unrest in Cairo, a huge metropolis of at that time ten to fifteen million people. I soon understood that a high amount of *social control* is part of Egyptian culture. I frequently witnessed incidents that gave testimony to this social control. When I analyzed conflict resolution and containment scenes in the streets of Cairo, I observed a twenty-to-two ratio, or at least a ten-to-two ratio. Ten or up to twenty physically powerful men were required to *cool* and *pacify* two clashing opponents. The young men in the Cairo scenes did not need to exert brute force because they outnumbered the quarrelers. Their overpowering count enabled them to combine coercion and respect. Respect alone would not suffice, and coercion through outnumbering alone neither.

If this scenario is to be taken as a blueprint for attending to violent conflict, it is a combination of coercion and respect that has to be striven for by the international community, the United Nations, and bystanders in general. Resources for the prevention, containment, and resolution of conflicts around the world are to be increased. *Overpowering* numbers of blue helmets/global policepersons with credible *overpowering* mandates and well-devised *overpowering* strategies are required, embedded in an overall approach of respect.

This approach, incidentally, combines elements of coercion and respect that also can be mapped onto traditional **male and female role descriptions**. What is combined is “female” talking, understanding, empathy, perspective-taking and healing on one side, and a “male” potential for overpowering, coercion, and force on the other. “Male” strength and well-dosed counter-aggression are required to hold the clashing opponents. “Female” awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric is needed to take the quarrelers

seriously. To combine the “male” aspect of force with “female” empathy could be described as the modern recipe of conflict resolution.

UNESCO’s Culture of Peace Programme urges precisely the strengthening of the “female” aspect in conflict resolution efforts. The list is a long one: using multi-track, “track II” and citizen-based diplomacy; installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge; keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing “truth commissions;” allowing warring parties to feel the world community’s care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment; taking the adversaries’ personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity; introducing sustainable long-term approaches on the social and ecological level; progressing from spending aid-money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on.

To summarize, the *global village* embodies *One single inside* sphere. The traditional “male” role description of *going out*, fighting the enemy and conquering the unknown – being unidimensional, unilateral and more short-sighted – loses significance since it was only appropriate *outside* the *village* or around its borders. The world as a single *global village* no longer provides an *outside*. Maintaining social cohesion in an *inside* sphere means complex, relational, multilateral, foresighted, integrative and holistic strategies such as mediation, alternative dispute resolution and police deployment (for example peacekeeping forces) instead of traditional military combat. *Subsidiarity*, *quality* (and not quantity) of life, *culture of peace* – all these are keywords and concepts which stem from traditional “female” role descriptions, showing how much the new strategies are, conceptually, “female” approaches.

Thus, *globalization* opens space for women and “female” strategies, inviting both women and men into embracing and combining them with the traditional “male” strategy of coercive containment. And Human Rights ideals call for *egalization*, meaning equal dignity for all humankind, to be the broader guiding framework for globalization.

For the downtrodden around the world, be it women or discriminated minorities of any kind, who wish to carry out a successful and constructive **uprising** and change their lowly lot, a Mandela would have another threefold advice. He himself implemented this strategy most wisely: First, underlings who wish to change their lowly situation constructively, have to psychologically step outside of the master-slave dyad and learn to think autonomously. Second, they have to stop merely re-acting to the master’s actions and definitions, and begin to act. Third, underlings must teach their master elites that change is necessary and unavoidable, both normatively and practically, and that a peaceful transition is preferable to violence and war.

For **third parties** who are trying to secure peace around the world, yet another threefold approach seems significant. First, it is important to identify the fault lines between moderates and extremists in opposing camps. Not the Singhalese or Tamils, for example, are the parties to reckon with, but the Mandelas (moderates) as opposed to the humiliation-entrepreneurs (extremists) on both sides. Second, third parties need to

facilitate alliances between moderates of both camps to transform violent reactions to feelings of humiliation among extremists. Third, humiliating living conditions of the broad masses must be minimized, because otherwise frustrated masses will be open to recruitment by humiliation-entrepreneurs.

Sultan Somjee, Kenyan ethnographer honored by the UN for his efforts to preserve indigenous people's peace traditions, says in response to the Iraqi Prisoner Abuse of 2004, "Humiliation does not have nationality, religion, color or gender. Humiliation of one human being humiliates humanity and our dignity of being." I would add, only if we avoid institutions, attitudes, and behavior with humiliating effects will we create a future for our world in the spirit of Kofi Annan's promotion for the Olympic Games of 2004, namely "**celebrate humanity.**"

Theory of Humiliation (Table Summary)

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In order to understand a globalizing world, we need “global” research, as well as the participation of researchers who have a global outlook and global experience. In my case, a specific biography made me acquire a profoundly global perspective and identity. This experiential background has led me to conceptualize psychology in a specific way, first, as being embedded within broader historic and philosophical contexts, second, as being profoundly intertwined with global changes, and third, as currently gaining significance. I avoid single interest scholarship, work transdisciplinary, and probe how even local micro-changes may be embedded within larger global changes.

<p>New technological means (technology of communication and mobility, internet, airplanes, etc.) that allow for a) new visions of the world, b) the <i>ingathering</i> of humankind (anthropological term for the coming-together of tribes, Ury, 1999) and c) for a continuous uprising of underlings</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">➔</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To summarize Ury (1999), most of humankind's history went by relatively peacefully, with small bands of hunter-gatherers cooperating within noticeably egalitarian societal structures. The available abundance of wild food provided hunter-gatherers with an expandable pie of resources and a win-win frame. Roughly 10,000 years ago, agriculturalism began to emerge, giving rise to hierarchical societies, framing life within a win-lose logic, and fuelling war. In the wake of the most recent transition, technological innovations enable humans to relate to their home, planet Earth, in profoundly new ways. People around the globe communicate and meet as never before. At present Homo sapiens is about to create a global knowledge society, says Ury, thus returning to the win-win frame of hunter-gatherers, and thereby regaining the potential for relatively peaceful egalitarian societal structures for the global “tribe” of humankind. • Ironically, we might add, the technological means for this most recent transition were provided not least by Homo sapiens' attention to warfare, which turns inappropriate, at least in its classic form, in the global village. And these technological innovations give underlings the tools to link up and form uprisings, for the first time in history, feeding a continuous uprising. All three features, the new vision of the world, the new means for coming-together, and the continuous uprising of underlings, represent new phenomena and in many ways make “lessons from history” obsolete.
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		Profoundly new ways of thinking must be developed.
<p>↑</p> <p>New visions of the world</p> <p>↓</p>	➔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Planet Earth has finally become visible as what it always was, a tiny planet in a vast universe, and home to all humankind. Television news programs around the world begin with the image of a turning globe, a view that no human being in the past had access to.
<p>↑</p> <p>Ingathering of humankind (we could also label it globalization, or the coming-into-being of <i>One single</i> global village, which represents the coming-into-being of <i>One single</i> ingroup of humanity)</p> <p>↓</p>	➔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ingathering of humankind turns formerly rather separate entities into one single entity, where relationships play a more important role than before. No longer have separate entities merely separate "interests." The quality of their mutual relationships gains weight. In short, the decisive element for potential conflict moves from <i>separate interests</i> to the <i>quality of relationships</i>. In an atmosphere of mutual respect, conflicting interests will be accommodated, in an atmosphere characterized by dynamics of humiliation, conflicting interests may be used to fuel violence.
<p>Shift to a more relational global life world, weakening of the Security Dilemma, shift from fear to humiliation</p>	➔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The term <i>global village</i> signifies that at the global level <i>One single ingroup</i> is currently emerging and that the notion of outgroups disappears; what emerges is <i>One single family of humankind</i>. As long as rather separate entities dominated the global theatre, the <i>Security Dilemma</i> was strong. It left no other option to people than continuous fear of unexpected attacks from outside. The coming-into being of <i>One single ingroup</i>, in contrast, brings people into <i>mutual relations</i>. No longer do they belong to separate entities that seem mutually opaque and incomprehensible. People enter into relationships, with all their potential outcomes, from forming friendships to feeling humiliated when respect and recognition are felt lacking. In the wake of a weakening Security Dilemma, fear of the unknown outsider, as dominant emotion, gives place to the desire to be recognized and appreciated by fellow human beings or to feelings of humiliation when respect, recognition and appreciation are perceived to be lacking.
<p>Human Rights (entailing two historically new elements, a) representing ingroup ethics, now globalized, with</p>	➔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Human Rights ideals in many ways resemble the ethical norms that people usually apply within what they regard their ingroup. In fact with the <i>ingathering</i> (anthropological term for coming-together) of humankind, ingroup ethics apply to

<p>outgroup ethics losing their scope, and b) the historically first continuous uprising of underlings)</p>		<p>the entire world, and outgroup ethics lose their scope.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Rights ideals in addition entail a revolution; their advocates drive a transition away from societies where <i>ranked worthiness</i> of human beings (<i>lesser</i> beings and <i>higher</i> beings) was normal, to the notion of <i>equal dignity for all</i> (Lindner has coined the term <i>egalization</i> for this revolution, matching the term globalization; globalization describes the trend towards the horizontal coming-together of humankind, while egalization describes the vertical coming-together of humankind, on one single level of equal dignity). • <i>Equal dignity for all</i> is a norm that turns a host of formerly appropriate strategies into violations. And these violations carry the potential to elicit feelings of humiliation. For example, security and peace can no longer be attained by parading “strength” and holding down people by sheer force. While this might have rendered humble underlings in former times, it does no longer.
<p>Dynamics of humiliation (from honor-humiliation to dignity-humiliation; the phenomenon of humiliation gains significance through a) the emergence of Human Rights ideals, and b) as a result of the new and more relational reality of the world)</p> <p>Arrogation _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p>Humility —————</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↑</p> <p>Humiliation _____</p>	<p>➔</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As soon as Human Rights ideals have entered the hearts and minds of people, the notion of humiliation changes profoundly as compared to pre-Human Rights contexts, and it gains weight. Formerly it was seen as the duty of underlings to accept being put down. They had no right to invoke feelings of humiliation. Only masters were permitted to label their privileged position as “honorable” and defend their honor against attempts to humiliate it. In Human Rights context the situation is turned on its head. Underlings are empowered, which means that they are permitted to use words such as oppression or humiliation to label their lowly state, while masters are told that they ought to descend from arrogating superiority and adopt the new <i>humility</i> of equal dignity, together with risen-up underlings. • The human rights revolution could be described as an attempt to collapse the master-slave gradient to a line of equal dignity and humility (see graphics). The practice of masters arrogating superiority and subjugating underlings is now regarded as illicit and obscene, and human rights advocates invite both, masters and underlings, to join in shared humility at the line of equal dignity. It is important to note that the horizontal line is

		<p>meant to represent the line of equal dignity and humility. This line does not signify that all human beings are equal, or should be equal, or ever were or will be equal, or identical, or all the same.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brigid Donelan kindly comments this model as follows (personal message, December 20, 2004), "This is a model with twin features: one a historical trend and the other a contemporary potential/choice. We may think of humanity evolving through stages of pride, honor and dignity. We can also see that each stage is 'alive and well' within each contemporary individual, as a choice/potential. The value of the model lies in clarifying the choice, and suggesting a trend towards emergence of a 'global knowledge society,' for which there is certainly evidence, and benefits for all."
<p>Consequences of dynamics of humiliation</p>	<p>➔</p>	<p>Feelings of humiliation may lead to</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depression and apathy • Urge to retaliate with inflicting humiliation (in humiliation entrepreneurs such as Hitler; genocide, terrorism) • Constructive social change (Mandela) <p>The dynamics of humiliation play out at all levels, at macro, meso, and micro interpersonal levels, and even at intrapersonal levels.</p>
<p>New public policies for driving not only <i>globalization</i> but also <i>egalization</i> and create a peaceful and just world</p>	<p>➔</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New decent institutions have to be built, both locally and globally, that heal and prevent dynamics of humiliation (<i>Decent Society</i>, Margalit, 1996). • New attention has to be given to maintaining relationship of equal dignity. • New social skills have to be learned in order to maintain relations of equal dignity. We need not least, a new type of leaders, Mandelas, who are no longer autocratic dominators and humiliation-entrepreneurs, but knowledgeable, wise facilitators and motivators, who lead toward respectful and dignified inclusion of all humankind as opposed to hateful polarization. • All three tasks, albeit informed by ideas and practices developed in the past, are historically new and unparalleled in their scope. To help render a future global society that is peaceful and just, where equal dignity for all is respected and dynamics of humiliation prevented, Lindner calls for a <i>Moratorium on Humiliation</i> to be included into new public policy planning.

<p>Resolution of violent conflict</p>	<p>➔</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both at the global and local level, the paradigm of good quality <i>policing</i> of <i>neighborhoods</i> needs to replace the paradigm of <i>war</i> on <i>enemies</i>. The global village, as any village, needs to maintain its inner security by good quality policing. War is typically waged with neighboring “villages.” In the case of the global village, there is no “neighboring village” left. Thus the paradigm of war loses its anchoring in reality, and the paradigm of policing is what is left. And good quality policing connects coercion with respect. • A combination of coercion and respect that has to be striven for by the international community, the United Nations, and bystanders in general. Resources for the prevention, containment, and resolution of conflicts around the world are to be increased. <i>Overpowering</i> numbers of blue helmets/global policepersons with credible <i>overpowering</i> mandates and well-devised <i>overpowering</i> strategies are required, however, embedded in an overall approach of respect.
<p>Male and female role descriptions</p>	<p>➔</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This approach, incidentally, combines elements of coercion and respect that also can be mapped onto traditional male and female role descriptions. What is combined is “female” talking, understanding, empathy, perspective-taking and healing on one side, and a “male” potential for overpowering, coercion, and force on the other. “Male” strength and well-dosed counter-aggression are required to hold the fighters. “Female” awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric is needed to take the fighters seriously. To combine the “male” aspect of force with “female” empathy could be described as the modern recipe of conflict resolution. • <i>UNESCO’s Culture of Peace Programme</i> urges precisely the strengthening of the “female” aspect in conflict resolution efforts. The list is a long one: using multi-track, “track II” and citizen-based diplomacy; installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge; keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes;

		including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing "truth commissions;" allowing warring parties to feel the world community's care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment; taking the adversaries' personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity; introducing sustainable long-term approaches on the social and ecological level; progressing from spending aid-money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on.
Uprisings	➔	For the downtrodden around the world, be it women or discriminated minorities of any kind, who wish to carry out a successful and constructive uprising and change their lowly lot, a Mandela would have another threefold advice. He himself implemented this strategy most wisely: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First, underlings who wish to change their lowly situation constructively, have to psychologically step outside of the master-slave dyad and learn to think autonomously. • Second, they have to stop merely re-acting to the master's actions and definitions, and begin to act. • Third, underlings must teach their master elites that change is necessary and unavoidable, both normatively and practically, and that a peaceful transition is preferable to violence and war.
Third parties wishing to ensure peace	➔	For third parties who are trying to secure peace around the world, yet another threefold approach seems significant: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First, it is important to identify the fault lines between moderates and extremists in opposing camps. Not the Singhalese or Tamils, for example, are the parties to reckon with, but the Mandelas (moderates) as opposed to the humiliation-entrepreneurs (extremists) on both sides. • Second, third parties need to facilitate alliances between moderates of both camps to transform violent reactions to feelings of humiliation among extremists. • Third, humiliating living conditions of the broad masses must be minimized, because otherwise frustrated masses will be open to recruitment by humiliation-entrepreneurs.
Celebrate humanity	➔	Sultan Somjee, Kenyan ethnographer honored by the

	<p>UN for his efforts to preserve indigenous people's peace traditions, says in response to the Iraqi Prisoner Abuse of 2004, "Humiliation does not have nationality, religion, color or gender. Humiliation of one human being humiliates humanity and our dignity of being." I would add, only if we avoid institutions, attitudes, and behavior with humiliating effects will we create a future for our world in the spirit of Kofi Annan's promotion for the Olympic Games of 2004, namely "celebrate humanity."</p>
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Humiliation in a Globalizing World: Does Humiliation Become the Most Disruptive Force?

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Executive Summary

(9 pages, without references, see a comprehensive overview over references in Lindner, 2003)

Keywords: new **technologies** of communication and mobility, new **visions** of the world, ingathering of humankind (**globalization**, global village), shift to a more **relational global life world**, **weakening of Security Dilemma**, shift from **fear** to **humiliation**, **Human Rights ideals**, ingroup ethics, continuous uprising of underlings (**egalization**), ranked worthiness of human beings, equal dignity for all, phenomenon and dynamics of **humiliation** (expressed in acts, feelings and institutions), honor-humiliation, dignity-humiliation, unequal human worthiness, **humility** of equal dignity, **depression** and **apathy**, **genocide**, **terrorism**, **constructive social change** (Mandela), new **public policy**, new **decent institutions**, attention to maintaining **relationships** of equal dignity, new **social skills** for maintaining relations of equal dignity and **healing** and **preventing** dynamics of humiliation, new **leaders**, **Moratorium on Humiliation**, **resolution of violent conflict**, paradigm of **policing**, **social control**, **male and female role descriptions**, **uprisings**, **third parties**, **celebrate humanity**.

In order to understand a globalizing world, we need "global" research, as well as the participation of researchers who have a global outlook and global experience. In my case, a specific biography made me acquire a profoundly global perspective and identity. This experiential background has led me to conceptualize psychology in a specific way, first, as being embedded within broader historic and philosophical contexts, second, as being profoundly intertwined with global changes, and third, as currently gaining significance. I avoid single interest scholarship, work transdisciplinary, and probe how even local micro-changes may be embedded within larger global changes.

In my case, the lack of a clear sense of belonging during childhood (being born into a family of displaced people) made me particularly sensitive to identity quests and urged me to learn about and become part of the rich and diverse *world culture* that belongs to

all of us, as opposed to being part of any particular national *sub-culture*. Nagata, 1998, wrote an article, *Being Global: Life at the Interface*, whereby living at the interface means living as an immigrant in another culture. In my case, I have accustomed myself to living in many cultures and in many interfaces, more so, have made the very interface my home.

Over the years my intuition grew that basically all human beings yearn for recognition and respect, and that the withdrawal or denial of recognition and respect, experienced as humiliation, may be the strongest force that creates rifts between people and breaks down relationships. Thus, I believe that the desire for recognition unites us human beings, that it is universal and can serve as a platform for contact and cooperation. I suggest that many of the rifts that we can observe stem from a related universal phenomenon, namely the humiliation that is felt when recognition and respect is lacking. I do not believe that ethnic, religious, or cultural differences create rifts by themselves; on the contrary, diversity can be a source of mutual enrichment – however, diversity is enriching only as long as it is embedded within relationships that are characterized by respect. It is when respect and recognition are failing, that those who feel victimized are prone to highlight differences in order to “justify” rifts that were caused, not by these differences, but by something else, namely by humiliation.

Are feelings and acts of humiliation increasingly the most significant phenomena to be reckoned with in a globalizing world?

Therefore I ask: Could it be the case that in a globalizing world, *feelings and acts of humiliation* increasingly represent *the* most significant phenomena to be reckoned with? In this paper, a framing of current and past events is put forward that defends this conceptualization.

Humiliation as a historical-cultural-social-emotional construct

In my work, I conceptualize humiliation as a historical-cultural-social-emotional construct that is changing over time rather than as an a-historic emotional process (for mechanisms of emotional production, classic names come to mind, such as Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, George Herbert Mead, or Erving Goffman; see, furthermore, Collins and Makowsky, 1993, as well as Collins, 1999). I describe currently living generations as finding themselves in a crucial historical transition from an old *honor world* to a vision of a future world of *equal dignity* (with a related transition from honor-humiliation to dignity-humiliation).

In traditional hierarchical societies, aristocrats defended their honor against humiliation with the sword (in duels, or in duel-like wars, with increasingly more lethal weapons) while underlings (women and lowly men) had to humbly, subserviently and obediently accept being subjugated without invoking feelings of humiliation. Men, when they belonged to ruling elites, were socialized into translating feelings of humiliation into an urge to fight back, while lowly men and particularly women learned that they had to swallow any such feelings aimed at superiors and keep quiet.

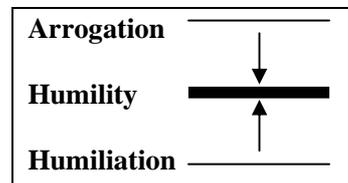
This state-of-affairs began to hold sway about ten thousand years ago, when hierarchical societal systems developed together with upcoming complex agriculturalism (Ury, 1999). Until recently, such hierarchical systems were regarded as thoroughly

legitimate, even as divinely ordained. Still today, in many places, people subscribe to such concepts.

To summarize Ury (1999), most of humankind's history went by relatively peacefully, with small bands of hunter-gatherers cooperating within noticeably egalitarian societal structures. The available abundance of wild food provided hunter-gatherers with an expandable pie of resources and a win-win frame. Roughly 10,000 years ago, agriculturalism began to emerge, giving rise to hierarchical societies, framing life within a win-lose logic, and fuelling war. In the wake of the most recent transition, technological innovations enable humans to relate to their home, planet Earth, in profoundly new ways. People around the globe communicate and meet as never before. At present Homo sapiens is about to create a global knowledge society, says Ury, thus returning to the win-win frame of hunter-gatherers, and thereby regaining the potential for relatively peaceful egalitarian societal structures for the global "tribe" of humankind.

Indeed, currently, rising awareness of Human Rights ideals is about to change the old hierarchical order of things. With the advent of human rights ideals, the notion of humiliation changes its attachment point. It moves from the top to the bottom, from the privileged to the disadvantaged. In the new framework, the downtrodden underling is given the right to feel humiliated. Underlings around the world are increasingly socialized in new ways and are "allowed" to feel humiliated by their lowliness, a lowliness that is now defined as illegitimate. The master elites, on the other side, face the opposite call: they are called upon to regain humbleness and are not anymore given permission to resist this call by labeling it as humiliating. Elites who arrogate superiority lose their age-old right to cry "humiliation!" when they are asked to descend and humble themselves.

The human rights revolution could be described as an attempt to collapse the master-slave gradient to the line of equal dignity and humility. The practice of masters arrogating superiority and subjugating underlings is now regarded as illicit and obscene, and human rights advocates invite both, masters and underlings, to join in shared humility at the line of equal dignity.



It is important to note that the horizontal line is meant to represent the line of equal dignity and humility. This line does not signify that all human beings are equal, or should be equal, or ever were or will be equal, or identical, or all the same. This horizontal line is to represent a worldview that does not permit the hierarchical ranking of existing differences of human worth and value. Masters are invited to step down from arrogating *higher* worthiness, and underlings are encouraged to rise up from *lowliness*. Masters are humbled and underlings empowered.

Brigid Donelan kindly comments this model as follows (personal message, December 20, 2004), "This is a model with twin features: one a historical trend and the other a contemporary potential/choice. We may think of humanity evolving through stages of pride, honor and dignity. We can also see that each stage is 'alive and well' within each contemporary individual, as a choice/potential. The value of the model lies in clarifying the choice, and suggesting a trend towards emergence of a 'global knowledge society,' for which there is certainly evidence, and benefits for all."

It is often forgotten and important to emphasize that Human Rights advocates expect underlings not to translate their newly legitimized feelings of humiliation crudely into violent retaliation; Human Rights promoters do not encourage underlings to merely replace elites and take their place as new dominators and humiliators. Human Rights campaigners encourage underlings to do more than bring down abusive masters; they encourage them to also dismantle the very hierarchal systems that are now regarded as unjust. Human Rights stipulate, furthermore, that this ought to be done without the sword and without humiliating anybody, in the spirit of Gandhi, or Mandela (at least at the end of his career, see Mandela, 1996).

Thus, Human Rights advocates expect men and women around the world to evolve from translating feelings of humiliation into either aggression or apathy; men and women are encouraged to learn how to use feelings of humiliation in more constructive forms so as to bring about constructive peaceful social change.

This is where, to my understanding, Thomas J. Scheff's work is positioned (see his work on shame, for example, in Scheff, 1988, Scheff, 2003, Scheff, 1990c). An important focus in his work is that males should learn to feel and acknowledge feelings of shame and humiliation without covering up these feelings by translating them immediately into aggression. This new awareness of feelings of humiliation and shame should then, hopefully, enable these *new males* to devise action that is more constructive and more in line with Human Rights ideals. Thus, Thomas Scheff's "vision" and "project," as far as I gather, is to teach males that acknowledging feelings of humiliation and shame and allowing oneself to indeed feel these emotions, is a way to a more constructive "use" of these emotions than merely becoming aggressive.¹

Scholars such as Howard Zehr (see Zehr, 2002, Zehr, 1990) and Avishai Margalit, 1996, focus on social and societal institutions and how they have to be reformed so as to no longer humiliate citizens. Scholars and practitioners such as Joseph Stiglitz or George Monbiot discuss ways as to how the global system could be changed in order to grow congruent with Human Rights ideals (Stiglitz, 1998, Stiglitz and Squire, 1998, Monbiot, 2003).

Human Rights, equal dignity for all, fear and humiliation

As mentioned earlier, I see the currently rising awareness of Human Rights in the context of what anthropologists call the *ingathering* of humankind (Ury, 1999; see also World Systems Analysis, for example, by Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1997), namely the coming together of all humankind into *One single family*. The term *global village* is deeply indicative, I suggest. I believe, it entails profoundly transformative seeds for change. The rise of the vision and reality of *One single global village* is concurrent with something extremely significant, namely the almost subversive loss of ground for the notion of outgroups (together with all outgroup biases, prejudices and hostile "outgroup ethics"). Thus, to my view, human rights ideals represent "ingroup ethics" whose scope is

¹ The neurologist Antonio Damasio, 1999, differentiates emotions and feelings as follows. He separates three stages of processing along a continuum, firstly *a state of emotion*, secondly *a state of feeling*, and thirdly, *a state of feeling made conscious*. The first state can be triggered and executed nonconsciously, the second can be represented nonconsciously, while the third is known to the organism as having both, emotion and feeling (Damasio, 1999, p. 37)

expanded to the entire global village. Usually the so-called “scope of justice” (Coleman, 2003) for ingroups emphasizes social cohesion and its maintenance, so do Human Rights.

However, this is not all. As mentioned above, Human Rights ideals do not condone the mere replacement of old tyrants with new ones; they envisage the dismantling of entire hierarchical systems. Human Rights ideals represent an encouragement for underlings to continuously challenge domination and oppression (Deutsch, 2002, Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Thus, I conceptualize Human Rights ideals to represent “inside ethics” as we know them from age-long history, however, now applied to the entire globe, and intertwined with an egalitarian message.

In former times, guardians of “inside ethics” often defended hierarchical rankings of human worthiness with the “need” to have safe, stable and coherent societies. Confucianism, still today, is not far away from such conceptualizations; obedience to authorities is regarded as a high value. And indeed, as long as the world had not yet begun to evolve into *One single global village*, but still contained “*many villages*,” these people had a point. “*Villages*” (groups, nations, states, etc.) faced a dangerous Hobbsian “might-is-right” world and had to stay internally cohesive and perpetually prepared for war. Males typically were sent out to die in war and obedient readiness for aggression, honed in the language of honor, was perhaps a suitable adaptation. At any time, outsiders were prone to attack, and fear of surprise attacks was rampant. International Relations theory uses terms such as the *Security Dilemma* to describe how arms races and war were almost inevitable in this atmosphere of fear.

The new global “inside ethics,” or Human Rights ideals, however, aim at a new combination, not anymore maintenance of social cohesion embedded within *hierarchical rankings of human value*, but maintenance of social cohesion linked to attitudes, behaviors and institutions that promote *equal dignity for all*. I believe that this transition enshrined as the central Human Rights call for *equal dignity for all* (Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights) currently gains mainstream acceptance mainly because of the rise of the vision and reality of *One single ingroup of humanity*.

I claim that as soon as there is only *One single ingroup* left on the globe, fear of surprise attacks from distant *outsiders* is bound to subside. What gains visibility, however, is interaction with *insiders*. And this interaction is fraught with quests for recognition, appreciation and respect, quests that may lead to feelings of humiliation, and their violent handling, if unsatisfied. While formerly distant outsiders held the *many villages* of the world in fear of sudden and incomprehensible attack, today we share *One single global village* not with far-away outsiders, but with close-by fellow insiders, who ask us whether we respect them as equals. We enter a relational era. Isolated “differences,” or separate “interests” lose significance, while the quality of relationships gains weight.

It is therefore, to my view, no longer *fear* of a distant enemy that is the leading emotion that subordinates all other emotions and deliberations, but *feelings of humiliation* in the face of lacking recognition for equal dignity from fellow human beings, or more precisely, feelings of *dignity-humiliation*. Fear was an inescapable emotional state that was bound to hold center stage as long as a strong Security Dilemma defined the condition of the peoples of the globe. If humiliation played a role, then it was the terminology of honor and honor-humiliation that negotiated this fear like a collective armor. Yet, at present, the Security Dilemma weakens in the wake of increasing global

interdependence and gives rise to the new notion of equal dignity for all, and, in its tail, to feelings of dignity-humiliation in case of lack of respect for equal dignity (real or imagined). Elsewhere, Lindner (2003) analyses why dignity-humiliation is bound to be more salient than honor-humiliation: while honor-humiliation keeps most humiliated people still within the ingroup, dignity-humiliation excludes people from humankind.

Cycles of humiliation are not being healed or prevented by inflicting humiliation

To the detriment of all of us, the feelings of humiliation that currently are holding hearts and mind around the world in their grip are not always honed into Gandhi/Mandela-like wisdom for constructive change. “Pre-emptive prevention” of expected future humiliation, for example, was perpetrated in the Rwandan genocide in 1994, as in Hitler’s Holocaust in World War II. Global terrorism seems to follow a similar logic, led by humiliation-entrepreneurs who instrumentalize feelings of humiliation among the broad masses for violence.

Most of those on the globe, who currently regard each other as “enemies,” respond to attempts to be humiliated with defiance. U.S. President George W. Bush comments the beheading of South Korean hostage Kim Sun-il, in Iraq on June 23, 2004 by saying that even though “they” try to humiliate “us,” even though “they” try to “shake our wills,” “we” do not bow. “We” are proud of our resistance; there is no need to be ashamed as long as we do not give in. Bush said, “See, what they are trying to do, they are trying to shake our will and our confidence! They are trying to get us to withdraw from the world! So that they can impose their dark vision on people!” (U.S. President Bush June 23, 2004, seen on BBC World). From “them,” we hear in the news (June 20, 2004), “Foreign affairs adviser Adel al-Jubeir said a Saudi campaign which included the shooting of Abdul Aziz al-Muqrin had destroyed al-Qaeda’s capabilities. The group later confirmed in a statement on an Islamist website that Muqrin and three others were killed. It said earlier it had carried out the beheading of US hostage Paul Johnson. It also pledged to continue what it called its holy war” (retrieved June 20, 2004, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3822527.stm).

In other words, attempts to humiliate “enemies” in order to humble them, typically end in proud and noncompliant defiance, on all sides, defiance that is then translated into cycles of humiliation and humiliation-for-humiliation instead of Mandela-like social transformation. Clearly, insubordinate defiance occurs in all contexts, in contexts of ranked worthiness as much as in contexts of equal worthiness, however, in human rights contexts it is intensified by the fact that Human Rights, unlike honor codes, no longer legitimate any rankings of human worthiness.

I have coined the word *egalization* to match the word *globalization*. I conceptualize the currently growing level of malign global injustice and rampant inequality that provide humiliation entrepreneurs with willing perpetrators as “lack of *egalization*” (*egalization* versus systematic humiliation), while I reserve the term *globalization* (versus fragmentation) for the rather benign coming-together of humankind.

What are the main kinds of interventions (best practices)?

A Moratorium on Humiliation

Respect, recognition and safeguarding equal dignity for all were terms that did not figure large in old Realpolitik. However, this does not mean that they should not be introduced into the new Realpolitik that is necessary for a new globalizing world. Public policy planning has to embrace the entire global village and include considerations for safeguarding social cohesion therein. Merely “hitting” at some “evil guys,” in a “War on Terror,” despite laudable intentions and noble motives, and despite the fact that sound policing should not be neglected – if applied as overarching strategy – might rather prove to be out-dated, ineffective and insufficient, even counterproductive. A *Moratorium on Humiliation*, operationalized, mainstreamed and incorporated in public policy planning might be a more suitable approach.

Triple strategy for new public policies

In practice, a triple strategy seems appropriate for the planning of new public policies. Institutions need to be built, both globally and locally, that ensure that people are not being oppressed, discriminated against, or humiliated (as called for in *Decent Society* by Avishai Margalit, 1996). For example, at the global level, at present a mechanism is sorely missing that helps the world avoid genocide as currently occurring in Sudan. United Nations institutions are merely not yet developed sufficiently.

However, better institutions are not the whole solution. They must be filled with different contents as compared to former times. Marriage might serve as an example. In former times it was a rather contractual relationship. It was sufficient to enter the institution and follow its rules thereafter. Nowadays, a marriage is a fluid relationship that requires continuous attention and nurturing. None of the partners can merely lean back and trust that the institution is guaranteeing the success of the marriage. Permanent relationship work is needed. Likewise, relationships between groups at local and global levels require continuous nurturing. First, attention needs to be given to this new necessity, and second, the social skills for doing so must be learned.

Bennet, 2004, writes about Israel’s Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and his allegiance to a “we won’t-be-fooled-again attitude.” Sharon received advice from his mother in the early 80’s, when he was negotiating with the Egyptians: “Do not trust them! You cannot trust a piece of paper!” Sharon’s answer is the appliance of sheer force on his “marriage partner,” the Palestinians.

While the insight belongs into present times, namely that a piece of paper indeed is not sufficient and that anybody blindly relying on a contract may be fooled, the remedy found by Ariel Sharon is belonging to the past. While sheer force as a strategy was common and efficient in former times, in marriages and elsewhere, nowadays, relationships are expected to be maintained in different ways. Human Rights ideals turn the appliance of sheer force into illegitimate humiliation. No wife, no fellow human being, in a world that is steeped in the Human Rights message, can accept sheer force and respond with humility; violence might be a more probable result. Old methods do not anymore work in a new framework of novel moral norms and expectations.

First, new decent institutions have to be built, both locally and globally, that heal and prevent dynamics of humiliation (*Decent Society*, Margalit, 1996). Second, new attention has to be given to maintaining relationships of equal dignity. Third, new social skills have to be learned in order to maintaining relations of equal dignity. We need not least, a new type of leaders, Mandelas, who are no longer autocratic dominators and humiliation-entrepreneurs, but knowledgeable, wise facilitators and motivators, who lead toward respectful and dignified inclusion of all humankind as opposed to hateful polarization. All three tasks, albeit informed by ideas and practices developed in the past, are historically new and unparalleled in their scope.

Triple strategy for the resolution of violent conflict

With respect to violent conflict, both at the global and local level, the paradigm of good quality *policing of neighborhoods* needs to replace the paradigm of *war on enemies*. The global village, as any village, needs to maintain its inner security by good quality policing. War is typically waged with neighboring “villages.” In the case of the global village, there is no “neighboring village” left. Thus the paradigm of war loses its anchoring in reality, and the paradigm of policing is what is still relevant. And good quality policing connects coercion with respect.

During my time in Egypt (1984-1991), I was amazed at the low rate of crime and unrest in Cairo, a huge metropolis of at that time ten to fifteen million people. I soon understood that a high amount of *social control* is part of Egyptian culture. I frequently witnessed incidents that gave testimony to this social control. When I analyzed conflict resolution and containment scenes in the streets of Cairo, I observed a twenty-to-two ratio, or at least a ten-to-two ratio. Ten or up to twenty physically powerful men were required to *cool* and *pacify* two clashing opponents. The young men in the Cairo scenes did not need to exert brute force because they outnumbered the quarrelers. Their overpowering count enabled them to combine coercion and respect. Respect alone would not suffice, and coercion through outnumbering alone neither.

If this scenario is to be taken as a blueprint for attending to violent conflict, it is a combination of coercion and respect that has to be striven for by the international community, the United Nations, and bystanders in general. Resources for the prevention, containment, and resolution of conflicts around the world are to be increased. *Overpowering* numbers of blue helmets/global policepersons with credible *overpowering* mandates and well-devised *overpowering* strategies are required, embedded in an overall approach of respect.

New application of traditional “male” and “female” role descriptions

This approach, incidentally, combines elements of coercion and respect that also can be mapped onto traditional male and female role descriptions. What is combined is “female” talking, understanding, empathy, perspective-taking and healing on one side, and a “male” potential for overpowering, coercion, and force on the other. “Male” strength and well-dosed counter-aggression are required to hold the fighters. “Female” awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric is needed to take the fighters seriously. To combine the “male” aspect of force with “female” empathy could be described as the modern recipe of conflict resolution. The old “male” strategy of hitting, of destructive force, is no longer appropriate in an interdependent modern *global village*, while the “male” ability to use

restraining force continues to be an important tool, though in a more steady and long-standing application and combined with empathy and respect.

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme urges precisely the strengthening of the “female” aspect in conflict resolution efforts. The list is a long one: using multi-track, “track II” and citizen-based diplomacy; installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge; keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing “truth commissions;” allowing warring parties to feel the world community’s care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment; taking the adversaries’ personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity; introducing sustainable long-term approaches on the social and ecological level; progressing from spending aid-money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on.

To summarize, the *global village* embodies *One single inside* sphere. The traditional “male” role description of *going out*, fighting the enemy and conquering the unknown – being unidimensional, unilateral and more short-sighted – loses significance since it was only appropriate *outside* the *village* or around its borders. The world as a single *global village* no longer provides an *outside*. Men themselves, as travelers and explorers, were responsible for this development which now makes their traditional strategies in many ways inappropriate and dysfunctional.

Maintaining social cohesion in an *inside* sphere means complex, relational, multilateral, foresighted, integrative and holistic strategies such as mediation, alternative dispute resolution and police deployment (for example peacekeeping forces) instead of traditional military combat. *Subsidiarity*, *quality* (and not quantity) of life, *culture of peace* – all these are keywords and concepts which stem from traditional “female” role descriptions, showing how much the new strategies are, conceptually, “female” approaches.

Thus, *globalization* opens space for women and “female” strategies, inviting both women and men into embracing and combining them with the traditional “male” strategy of coercive containment. And Human Rights ideals call for *egalization*, meaning equal dignity for all humankind, to be the broader guiding framework for globalization.

Triple strategy for underlings who wish to carry out uprisings

For the downtrodden around the world, be it women or discriminated minorities of any kind, who wish to carry out a successful and constructive uprising and change their lowly lot, a Mandela would have another threefold advice. He himself implemented this strategy most wisely: First, underlings who wish to change their lowly situation constructively, have to psychologically step outside of the master-slave dyad and learn to think autonomously. Second, they have to stop merely re-acting to the master’s actions and definitions, and begin to act. Third, underlings must teach their master elites that change is necessary and unavoidable, both normatively and practically, and that a peaceful transition is preferable to violence and war.

Triple strategy for third parties wishing to ensure peace

For third parties who are trying to secure peace around the world, yet another threefold approach seems significant. First, it is important to identify the fault lines between moderates and extremists in opposing camps. Not the Singhalese or Tamils, for example, are the parties to reckon with, but the Mandelas (moderates) as opposed to the humiliation-entrepreneurs (extremists) on both sides. Second, third parties need to facilitate alliances between moderates of both camps to transform violent reactions to feelings of humiliation among extremists. Third, humiliating living conditions of the broad masses must be minimized, because otherwise frustrated masses will be open to recruitment by humiliation-entrepreneurs.

Celebrate humanity

Sultan Somjee, Kenyan ethnographer honored by the UN for his efforts to preserve indigenous people's peace traditions, says in response to the Iraqi Prisoner Abuse of 2004, "Humiliation does not have nationality, religion, color or gender. Humiliation of one human being humiliates humanity and our dignity of being." I would add, only if we avoid institutions, attitudes, and behavior with humiliating effects will we create a future for our world in the spirit of Kofi Annan's promotion for the Olympic Games of 2004, namely "celebrate humanity."

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In order to understand a globalizing world, we need “global” research, as well as the participation of researchers who have a global outlook and global experience. In my case, a specific biography made me acquire a profoundly global perspective and identity. This experiential background has led me to conceptualize psychology in a specific way, first, as being embedded within broader historic and philosophical contexts, second, as being profoundly intertwined with global changes, and third, as currently gaining significance. I avoid single interest scholarship, work transdisciplinary, and probe how even local micro-changes may be embedded within larger global changes.

In my case, the lack of a clear sense of belonging during childhood (being born into a family of displaced people) made me particularly sensitive to identity quests and urged me to learn about and become part of the rich and diverse *world culture* that belongs to *all of us*, as opposed to being part of any particular national *sub-culture*. Nagata, 1998, wrote an article, *Being Global: Life at the Interface*, whereby living at the interface means living as an immigrant in another culture. In my case, I have accustomed myself to living in many cultures and in many interfaces, more so, have made the very interface my home.

My personal development parallels recent epistemological trends in many ways. Psychologists, for example, are at present beginning to overcome their “physics envy” (Ray and Anderson, 2000, p. 180) and start to integrate quantitative research approaches into larger contexts and allow for triangulation with qualitative research paradigms. My personal development also parallels the current trend towards rather relational theories in social science, away from individualist concepts that do not capture the complexities of a relational, emotional, and social world.

I believe that both, my personal maturation and current epistemological trends are intertwined with and nurtured by a growing awareness that humankind is *One single family*. As long as people lived rather apart, it was not seen as possible, really, that people from different cultures could indeed *understand* each other. Cultures were regarded as a priori separate, and not as part of one single culture of homo sapiens, where people react to each other in relational ways, and altogether are perhaps more similar than different.

My conclusion after three decades of global experience is that we, the human inhabitants of the earth, are more similar than different and that there is ample common ground on which we can build. I suggest that this common ground connects people and draws them into relationships, and, if this trend is cherished, respected and nurtured, and if people are attributed equal dignity, it can help turn separating differences into valuable diversities and into sources of enrichment as opposed to sources of disruption.

Even though having a “global horizon” is on the increase,² still most people respond to the question “where are you from?” with the name of a country. This outlook entails a framing of the world in terms of *my* people, *my* history, in relation to *your* history and *your* people. In my case, I have developed an identity of being a citizen of the global village, and thus *all* people’s history is *my* history and *all* people are *my* people. This does not mean a rejection of local, national or regional identifications; it means lovingly including them within larger outlooks, broadening inner horizons and going beyond usually taken-for-granted inner boundaries. In my case, side-effects of this inner development are, among others, a longer time horizon as to my academic analysis, and transdisciplinarity in my academic positioning, both incidentally representing also current avant-garde trends.

There are still few people around with such broad backgrounds and global anchoring, yet their number is increasing and more and more people are drawn into this trend at least to some extent. Thus, my perspective and standpoint is not only particularly “global” but also future-oriented. My experiences and analyses will probably become more common in the future, both in the daily lives of lay persons as well as in scientific practice.

Ray and Anderson, 2000, carried out surveys and interviews, which show that we currently witness the emergence of a new movement, the *Cultural Creatives*. When I read their characterizations, I appear to be at the forefront of this movement with my global outlook, my quest for broader meaning³ (as opposed to narrow material or status gratifications), my desire to build bridges, between what Ray and Anderson call *Moderns* and *Traditionals* as well as toward what Ray and Anderson would perhaps call *Pre-Moderns*. I also bridge the *Consciousness Movement* and *Social Movement* that make up the *Cultural Creatives Movement*, according to Ray and Anderson.

To my view, my intuition that humiliation, a deeply relational concept, plays a core role in a globalizing world is deeply anchored in my global life world. Few people from the rich West try to enter into deep relationships with the rest of the world. Even when they travel, they pay *visits*, from *my* country to *your* country, and maintain the illusion that the West is somewhat independent from the rest and that discord can be attributed to culture difference, to *them* and *their* (backward) culture, or *their* unfathomable evil motives. Many travelers overlook that the rest of the world is deeply connected with the rich parts of it and that this relationship is probably more relevant than cultural differences. And, this relationship may be characterized by feelings, such as admiration, or envy, or, when we talk about serious disruptions such as terrorism, by feelings of humiliation.

² Ray and Anderson, 2000, carried out surveys and interviews and report that there is a newly emerging movement, the *Cultural Creatives*, who have a global outlook, even if global experience is lacking.

³ I was early on influenced by Victor E. Frankl and his work on Sinn (meaning), see Frankl, 1972, Frankl, 1963, and recently I detected a related Japanese approach of “Meaningful Life Therapy” by Morita and Levine, 1998, see also Reynolds, 1987.

Over the years my intuition grew that basically all human beings yearn for recognition and respect, and that the withdrawal or denial of recognition and respect, experienced as humiliation, may be the strongest force that creates rifts between people and breaks down relationships. Thus, I believe that the desire for recognition unites us human beings, that it is universal and can serve as a platform for contact and cooperation. I suggest that many of the rifts that we can observe stem from a related universal phenomenon, namely the humiliation that is felt when recognition and respect is lacking. I do not believe that ethnic, religious, or cultural differences create rifts by themselves; on the contrary, diversity can be a source of mutual enrichment – however, diversity is enriching only as long as it is embedded within relationships that are characterized by respect. It is when respect and recognition are failing, that those who feel victimized are prone to highlight differences in order to “justify” rifts that were caused, not by these differences, but by something else, namely by humiliation.

Therefore I ask: Could it be the case that in a globalizing world, *feelings and acts of humiliation* increasingly represent *the* most significant phenomena to be reckoned with? In this paper, I would like to put forward a framing of current and past events that defends this conceptualization. In my work, I treat humiliation as a historical-cultural-social-emotional construct that is changing over time rather than as an a-historic emotional process (for mechanisms of emotional production, classic names come to mind, such as Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, George Herbert Mead, or Erving Goffman; see, furthermore, Collins and Makowsky, 1993, as well as Collins, 1999). I take that the currently living generations find themselves in a crucial historical transition phase from an old *honor world* (and honor-humiliation) to a vision of a future world of *equal dignity* (and quite distinct dignity-humiliation).

To say it shortly and bluntly: Was not the downing of the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, a cruel attempt to humiliate the only still existing super-power, the United States?

We learn from the *National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (also known as the 9-11 Commission) in their *Outline of the 9/11 Plot* the following,

As originally envisioned, the 9/11 plot involved even more extensive attacks than those carried out on September 11. KSM maintains [the idea for the September 11 attacks appears to have originated with a veteran jihadist named Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, or KSM] that his initial proposal involved hijacking ten planes to attack targets on both the East and West coasts of the United States. He claims that, in addition to the targets actually hit on 9/11, these hijacked planes were to be crashed into CIA and FBI headquarters, unidentified nuclear power plants, and the tallest buildings in California and Washington State. The centerpiece of his original proposal was the tenth plane, which he would have piloted himself. Rather than crashing the plane into a target, he would have killed every adult male passenger, contacted the media from the air, and landed the aircraft at a U.S. airport. He says he then would have made a speech denouncing U.S. policies in the Middle East before releasing all of the women and children passengers” (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9-11 Commission), 2004a, p. 13).

Later we read in *Overview Over the Enemy*, “Al Qaeda remains extremely interested in conducting chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear attacks” (National Commission

on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9-11 Commission), 2004b, p. 12).

We learn about the roots of Al Qaeda as follows, “By 1992, Bin Ladin was focused on attacking the United States. He argued that other extremists, aimed at local rulers or Israel, had not gone far enough; they had not attacked what he called ‘the head of the snake,’ the United States. He charged that the United States, in addition to backing Israel, kept in power repressive Arab regimes not true to Islam. He also excoriated the continued presence of U.S. military forces in Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War as a defilement of holy Muslim land” (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9-11 Commission), 2004b, p. 2).

How come, we might ask, that the United States, priding themselves for promoting happiness for everybody and promising unprecedented wealth, a vision enshrined in an enthusiastically idealistic “American Dream,” is being called “the head of the snake”? And how come that this is the view harbored not only by some lone crazy lunatic, but that it inspires hundreds of active followers, and thousands, or even millions of sympathizers? Why do these people hold on to such gloomy outlooks as martyr death? Why do they not flock to American lands, or at least embrace American values and get happy and wealthy? Money does not seem to motivate them, at least not the leaders. Bin Laden and supporters have enough of it. Mohammed Atta had nothing standing between him and a comfortable western life.⁴ So, what does motivate these people? Envy? Humiliation?

Would it not be wise to tackle such questions, in order to avoid descending in nuclear, chemical and biological destruction? Terrorists are hard to track down and difficult to combat; they eclipse traditional warfare methods. Should we not embrace new strategies of safeguarding “security” that include the mindsets of people in violent conflicts?

I have elsewhere pointed out that feelings of humiliation may lead to violent acts of humiliation and that spirals of violent humiliation-for-humiliation may represent the only real *Weapons of Mass Destruction* we face. Hijacking planes (9-11), or hacking neighbors to death with machetes (genocide in Rwanda 1994), are all “cost-effective” methods of mayhem that work when willing perpetrators are driven by what? Perhaps by feelings of humiliation, both authentically felt and/or instigated by ruthless extremist leaders, the Hitlers of our days? I suggest that feelings of humiliation represent the *Nuclear Bombs of the Emotions*.

On April 28, 2003, conservative Lord Douglas Hurd (British Foreign Secretary 1989-1995, in office during the first Gulf War) spoke about the state of the world after the 2003 Iraq war.⁵ Hurd had just returned from a tour through the Arab world and reported that the populations there were in a state of *sullen humiliation*. Not the governments, he noted, – they were rather US friendly – but the people in the streets. Hurd referred to the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak saying that U.S. policy is stimulating the bin Laden

⁴ I remember an Iranian friend living in Norway, a scholar at university, telling me that he came to the West full of hope, feeling that he was “one of us.” However, so he recounted, his feelings turned sour when he realized that he was frowned upon, discriminated, and repeatedly humiliated as “one of them.” He did not expect to meet such ingrained contempt for “other” people, particularly those coming from the Arab world or Africa. He explained to me that the West should not be surprised that some people, returning home from such disappointing encounters with the West, would promote anti-Western views. He referred to Frantz Fanon (Fanon, 1986, Fanon, 1963), who experienced a similar shift from admiration to humiliation and subsequent rage.

⁵ On BBCWorld in BBC Hardtalk with Jon Sopel.

phenomenon rather than counteracting it. There is the *wounded giant* on one side, Hurd explained, erupting in energy since September 11, not anymore isolationist but rather imperialist, and on the other side Arab populations who are enwrapped in gloomy humiliation opposed to America roaming their region. Arab citizens want to travel and study in US universities, but not have Americans act like masters.

Hurd's observations are confirmed by others. Shibley Telhami (2002) writes, "Today militancy in the Middle East is fueled ...by a pervasive sense of humiliation and helplessness in the region. This collective feeling is driven by a sense that people remain helpless in affecting the most vital aspects of their lives, and it is exacerbated by pictures of Palestinian humiliation. There is much disgust with states and with international organizations" (Telhami, 2003a, p. 1⁶).⁷

Having lived in Cairo, Egypt, for seven years, from 1994-1991, working there as a psychological counselor and clinical psychologist – I can only agree with Hurd's and Telhami's observations. Most importantly, feelings of humiliation were relevant long ago, not just subsequent to 9-11. Western analysts, with the relatively short historical horizon that prevails in Western culture, often underestimate the much longer time-frames within which other cultures place their feelings and deliberations. Western experts therefore tend to quickly dismiss the humiliation hypothesis, because in their eyes "valid" tangible grievances lack prior to 9-11. However, I suggest, that it might pay to look for longer time-frames and consider that not all players follow the Western construct of homo economicus who merely is interested in short-term material gain. The need to be recognized, validated, appreciated and respected as important and weighty player on the world stage might be as salient, as may be feelings of humiliation when such respect is perceived to be failing (whether this is real or imagined).

Current State-of-Art

Lindner's approach to research on humiliation

In 1994, after many years of international experience – in the fields of medicine and psychology in Asia, Africa, Middle East, America and Europe, and later seven years in Egypt – I asked myself: "What is the most significant obstacle to peace and social cohesion?" My hunch was that dynamics of humiliation may be central. This hunch was based not only on my clinical experience, but also on other evidence. There is a widely shared notion that German was humiliated through the Versailles Accords and that this gave Hitler the necessary platform to unleash World War II and the Holocaust. Marshal Foch of France said in 1919 about the Versailles Treaties: "This is not a peace treaty – it will be a cease-fire for 20 years."

In 1996, I began to examine the available literature and was surprised that humiliation had not received much academic attention. Search terms such as "shame" or "trauma" would render innumerable hits, however, not "humiliation." I was astonished, because, if humiliation indeed can trigger war, there must be a large body of research to be found. However, this was not the case. I thus designed a doctoral research project on humiliation (for a doctorate in psychology).

⁶ See also Telhami, 2003b, Zakaria, 2001.

⁷ See also the work done by Stern, 2003. American commentator and *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, 2003, defines humiliation as "the single most underestimated force in international relations."

In the following, I will briefly describe how I researched the notion of humiliation that formed the starting point for my subsequent theoretical work on humiliation. I am currently building a *theory of humiliation* that is transdisciplinary and entails elements from anthropology, history, social philosophy, social psychology, sociology, and political science.⁸ After laying out my research, I will explain the current state-of-the-art of related research carried out by other scholars. Thereafter I will discuss how the phenomenon of humiliation is embedded into a larger historical time-line. I will describe in what way I see globalization at work. At the end I will address what can be done about the destructive effects of humiliation.

Before proceeding further, let me make a little note. In everyday language, the word humiliation is used at least threefold. First, the word *humiliation* points at an *act*, second, at a *feeling*, and third, at a *process*: “I humiliate you, you feel humiliated, and the entire process is one of humiliation.” In this text the reader is expected to understand from the context which alternative is referred to, because otherwise language would become too convoluted.

Let me give you, furthermore, the definition of humiliation that I use in my work: Humiliation means the enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will (or in some cases with your consent, for example in cases of religious self-humiliation or in sado-masochism) and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. It may involve acts of force, including violent force. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of humiliation as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless.

People react in different ways when they feel that they were unduly humiliated: some just become depressed – anger turns against oneself – others get openly enraged, and yet others hide their anger and carefully plan for revenge. The person who plans for revenge may become the leader of a movement. ... Thus, feelings of humiliation may lead to rage, that may be turned inwards, as in the case of depression and apathy. However, this rage may also turn outwards and express itself in violence, even in mass violence, in case leaders are around who forge narratives of humiliation that feed on the feelings of humiliation among masses.

There are many points that would merit closer attention and that are not discussed here, out of lack of space. For example, what is the difference between humiliation that is felt

⁸ See, for example, Lindner, 2006d, Lindner, 2006a, Lindner, 2006b, Lindner, 2006c, Lindner, 2006e, Hudnall and Lindner, 2005, Lindner, 2005, Lindner, 2004, Lindner, 2003b, Lindner, 2002, Lindner, 2001c, Lindner, 2001b, Lindner, 2001f, Lindner, 2001d, Lindner, 2001a, Lindner, 2000c, Lindner, 2000a, Lindner, 2000b, Lindner, 1999. The concept of humiliation may be deconstructed into at least seven layers, Lindner, 2001e, each requiring a different mix of interdisciplinary research and analysis. The seven layers include a) a core that expresses the universal idea of “putting down,” b) a middle layer that contains two opposed orientations towards “putting down,” treating it as, respectively, legitimate and routine, or illegitimate and traumatizing, and c) a periphery whose distinctive layers include one pertaining to cultural differences between groups and another four peripheral layers that relate to differences in individual personalities and variations in patterns of individual experience of humiliation.

genuinely and feelings of humiliation that are instigated by propaganda or prescribed culturally? The nature and nurture debate that applies to aggressive behaviour, and ethnic and religious identity, is also relevant for humiliation. Primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist views offer different emphases. Are all three conceptualizations relevant to feelings of humiliation, at different times and in different circumstances? In other words, are feelings of humiliation sometimes felt authentically, and at other times constructed and instrumentalized as narratives of humiliation? Or, yet another question, if feelings of humiliation are felt by individuals, how are they elevated to group levels, if at all? Or, what about people who are resilient to feeling humiliated even in the face of serious attempts to humiliate them? Why did Nelson Mandela find a constructive way out of humiliation, and a Hitler unleashed a world war? Why did Mandela not instigate genocide on the white elite in South Africa? All these questions and many more are attended to elsewhere in Lindner's writing – see reference list further down.

Furthermore, what should be discussed in more length is my personal stance in relation to Human Rights. I promote Human Rights ideals, where human worthiness and dignity is regarded to be equal for every human being. However, I stand in for Human Rights not because I enjoy presenting myself as an arrogant Westerner who humiliates the non-West by denigrating their honor codes of ranked human worthiness. On the contrary, to my view, people who endorse honor codes may not be looked down upon; my conceptualization is that honor codes had their respected place in a world that did not yet experience the coming-together of humankind into *One single* family. I believe that Human Rights represent a normative framework that is better adapted to an emerging *global village*. Thus, I wish to encourage every inhabitant of the globe to abandon “we” and “them” differentiations and define herself as “we,” as “we humanity,” who *together* searches for the best ways to provide our children with a livable world.

I conducted a four-year doctoral research project (1997-2001) at the University of Oslo (1997-2001). It was entitled *The Feeling of Being Humiliated: A Central Theme in Armed Conflicts. A Study of the Role of Humiliation in Somalia, and Rwanda/Burundi, Between the Warring Parties, and in Relation to Third Intervening Parties* – see Lindner, 1996. I carried out 216 qualitative interviews addressing Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi and their history of genocidal killings. From 1998 to 1999 the interviews were carried out in Africa (in Hargeisa, capital of Somaliland, in Kigali and other places in Rwanda, in Bujumbura, capital of Burundi, in Nairobi in Kenya, and in Cairo in Egypt), and from 1997 to 2001 also in Europe (in Norway, Germany, Switzerland, France, and in Belgium).

As the title of the project indicates, three groups had to be interviewed, namely both the conflict parties in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi, and representatives of third parties who intervene. These three groups stand in a set of triangular relationships (at least this is the minimum version – where there are more than two opponents, as is the case in most conflicts, the pattern, obviously, has more than three corners). Both in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi, representatives of the “opponents” and the “third party” were approached.⁹

⁹ The following people were included in the “network of conversations” that was created in the course of the research:

- Survivors of genocides were interviewed, that is people belonging to the groups that were targeted for genocidal killing. In Somalia this included, among others, the Isaaq tribe, in Rwanda the Tutsi, in

Burundi Hutu and Tutsi. The group of survivors is typically divided into two parts, namely those who survived because they were not in the country when the genocide happened, - some of them returned after the genocide, - and those who survived the onslaught inside the country. The German background of this fieldwork consists of the network of contacts that I have established, over some decades, with survivors from the Holocaust and, especially, their children.

- Freedom fighters were included into the “network of conversation.” In Somalia, interviews were conducted with SNM (Somali National Movement) fighters in the North of Somalia, who fought the troops sent by the central government in Mogadishu in the South; in Rwanda the interviewees were the former Tutsi refugees who formed an army, the RFP (Rwandese Patriotic Front), and attacked Rwanda from the North in order to oust the extremist Hutu government which carried out the genocide in Rwanda in 1994; in Burundi there were also Hutu rebels. In Germany, the equivalent of these contacts were exchanges with those aristocratic circles in Germany that fed opposition against Hitler, but also with those, especially from the researcher’s family, who advocated Human Rights in the middle of World War II and paid a high price for their human compassion. Furthermore, the researcher’s contacts with people from the occupied countries who tried to sabotage German oppression, for example the Norwegian resistance movement, belong into this group, as well as representatives of the allies who finally put an end to German atrocities.
- Some Somali warlords who have their places of retreat in Kenya were interviewed.
- Politicians were included, among them people who were in power before the genocide and whom survivors secretly suspected of having been collaborators or at least silent supporters of those who perpetrated the genocide. The equivalent in Germany is the atmosphere of underlying suspicion in which I grew up, generally a mistrust towards everybody of a certain age, but in particular suspicion towards the past of those people in power, a suspicion that only diminishes as the years pass and people die.
- Somali and Rwandan/Burundian academicians who study the situation of their countries were interviewed. For Germany the last striking manifestation in this field, and a focal point for discussions, has been Daniel Jonah Goldhagen’s book on *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*.
- Representatives of national non-governmental organizations who work locally for development, peace and reconciliation were included. In Germany, the response to the atrocities of World War II permeates everybody’s life – even the generation born after the war – and the researcher’s intimate knowledge of a culture of German self-criticism may stand as an equivalent to the pre-occupation with past, present, and future anticipated bloodshed that characterizes people’s lives in Somalia, Rwanda, and Burundi.
- Third parties were interviewed, namely representatives of United Nations organizations and international non-governmental organizations who work on emergency relief, long-term development, peace, and reconciliation in all parts of the world.
- Egyptian diplomats in the foreign ministry in Egypt who deal with Somalia were visited; Egypt is a heavyweight in the OAU.
- African psychiatrists in Kenya who deal with trauma and forensic psychiatry were asked about their experience with victims and perpetrators from Rwanda/Burundi and Somalia. In Kenya many nationals from Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi have sought refuge, some in refugee camps, others through various private arrangements. Some, both victims and perpetrators, seek psychiatric help. The equivalent in Germany are those researchers who focus on the effects of the German Holocaust and other World War II atrocities.
- Those who have not yet been interviewed are the masterminds of genocide in Rwanda, those who have planned the genocide, and organized it meticulously. Some of them are said to be in hiding in Kenya and other parts of Africa, or in French-speaking parts of Europe, or in the United States and Canada. Some are in prisons in Rwanda and in Arusha, Tanzania. However, accounts of people who were close to Somali dictator Siad Barre have successfully been collected. In the case of Hitler and those who supported him, a culture of openness and frank discussion is currently unfolding in Germany – the whole country has entered into a phase of “working through” these past experiences, and people who never talked before, do so now, more than 50 years after World War II.

The topic has also been discussed with more than 500 researchers working in related fields. The current state-of-the-art has been mapped, showing that few researchers have turned their attention to this field. A

Some of the interview conversations were filmed (altogether the author produced 10 hours of film, comprising many interviews, but also images of Somaliland and Rwanda), other interviews were taped on mini discs (altogether more than 100 hours of audio tape), and in situations where this seemed inappropriate the researcher made notes. The interviews and conversations were conducted in different languages; most of them in English (Somalia) and French (Great Lakes), many in German, and in Norwegian.

Work on humiliation and related themes covered by other scholars

Few researchers have studied humiliation explicitly. In many cases the term humiliation is not differentiated from other concepts; humiliation and shame, for example, are often used exchangeably, among others by Silvan S. Tomkins (1962–1992) whose work is carried further by Donald L. Nathanson. Nathanson describes humiliation as a combination of three innate affects out of altogether nine affects, namely as a combination of shame, disgust and dissmell (Nathanson in a personal conversation, October 1, 1999).¹⁰ Jan Smedslund developed *Psycho-Logic*, within which he describes anger, forgiveness and humiliation (Smedslund, 1998, Smedslund, 1993, Smedslund, 1991).

In Lindner's work, humiliation is distinctly addressed on its own account and differentiated from other concepts. Humiliation is, for example, not regarded as a sub-variant of shame. To Lindner, shame carries a host of pro-social connotations. People who are shameless, for example, are not seen to be fit for constructive living-together (see Elias, 1994, and his work on civilization). Shame is an emotional state that is only salient when we accept it, albeit painfully, while being humiliated is an assault we typically try to repulse and feel enraged by. Thus, following Lindner's conceptualization, Hitler managed to transform feelings of shame into feelings of humiliation in the German populace. Marks and Mönnich-Marks, 2003, demonstrate this point in their work. They interviewed Germans and asked them about their motives to support Hitler. One interviewee, born 1917, describes the boring and hard life in his village and how Hitler's vision lifted him out of his lowly condition. He reports how Hitler "showed" him that his lowliness was not something to be shamefully accepted, but a humiliation that had to be rejected and fought.

The view that humiliation may be a particularly forceful phenomenon is supported by the research of, for example, Suzanne M. Retzinger, 1991 and Thomas J. Scheff and Retzinger, 1991, who studied shame and humiliation in marital quarrels. They show that the suffering caused by humiliation is highly significant and that the bitterest divisions have their roots in shame and humiliation. Also W. Vogel and Lazare, 1990 document *unforgivable humiliation* as a very serious obstacle in couples' treatment. Robert L. Hale, 1994 addressed *The Role of Humiliation and Embarrassment in Serial Murder*. Humiliation has also been studied in such fields as love, sex and social attractiveness, depression, society and identity formation, sports, history, literature and film.

Donald Klein, 1991 carried out very insightful work on humiliation in, for example, the *Journal of Primary Prevention* that devoted a special issue to the topic of humiliation

Theory of Humiliation is currently being developed by the author, and a larger book project is envisaged (in co-operation with Dennis Smith, professor of sociology).

¹⁰ See also Nathanson, 1992.

in 1991, 1992, and 1999. Hartling and Luchetta, 1999 pioneered a quantitative questionnaire on humiliation (Humiliation Inventory) where a rating from 1 to 5 is employed for questions measuring *being teased, bullied, scorned, excluded, laughed at, put down, ridiculed, harassed, discounted, embarrassed, cruelly criticized, treated as invisible, discounted as a person, made to feel small or insignificant, unfairly denied access to some activity, opportunity, or service, called names or referred to in derogatory terms*, or viewed by others as *inadequate*, or *incompetent*. The questions probe the extent to which respondents had felt harmed by such incidents throughout life, and how much they feared such incidents.

Scheff and Retzinger extended their work on violence and Holocaust and studied the part played by *humiliated fury* in escalating conflict between individuals and nations – see Scheff 1997, p. 11; the term *humiliated fury* was coined by Helen Block Lewis, 1971. Consider Scheff, 1988, Scheff, 1990a, Scheff, 1990b, Scheff, 1997, Masson, 1996, Vachon, 1993, Znakov, 1990, and see, furthermore, Charny, 1997, and his analysis of excessive power strivings. Psychiatrist James Gilligan, 1996, as well, focuses on humiliation as a cause for violence, in his book *Violence: Our Deadly Epidemic and How to Treat It*.

Dennis Smith, professor of sociology at Loughborough University, UK and founder of LOGIN, has been introduced to the notion of humiliation through Lindner's research and has since incorporated the notion actively into his work in a fascinating way; see, for example, Smith, 2002.

Vamik D. Volkan and Joseph Montville carried out important work on psycho-political analysis of intergroup conflict and its traumatic effects. See Volkan, 1988, Volkan, 1992, Volkan, 1994, Volkan and Harris, 1995, Volkan, 1997, and Montville, 1993, Volkan, Demetrios, and Montville (Eds.), 1990, Montville, 1990. See also Blema S. Steinberg, 1996. Furthermore, Ervin Staub's work is highly significant. See Staub, 1989, Staub, 1990, Staub, 1993, and Staub, 1996. See also the journal *Social Research* in 1997, whose special issue was stimulated by the *Decent Society* by Avishai Margalit, 1996.

Nisbett and Cohen, 1996 examined an honor-based notion of humiliation. The honor to which Cohen and Nisbett refer is the kind that operates in the more traditional branches of the Mafia or, more generally, in blood feuds. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, 1982 wrote about Southern Honor. William Ian Miller, 1993, wrote a book entitled *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence*, where he links humiliation to honor as understood in *The Iliad* or Icelandic sagas, namely humiliation as violation of honor.

There is a significant literature in philosophy on *the politics of recognition*, claiming that people who are not recognized suffer humiliation and that this leads to violence; see also Honneth, 1997, on related themes. Max Scheler, 1912 set out these issues in his classic book *Ressentiment*. In his first period of work, for example in his *The Nature of Sympathy*, Scheler, 1954 focuses on human feelings, love, and the nature of the person. He states that the human person is at bottom a loving being, *ens amans*, who may feel *ressentiment*.

This overview does not exhaust the contributions to be found in the literature on the topic of humiliation – or rather on related issues, since, to my awareness, only Miller, Hartling, and the two above-mentioned journals explicitly put the word and concept of

humiliation at the centre of their attention. In later chapters other authors will also be introduced and cited.

However, as soon as we turn to issues that are related to humiliation then a wide field of research opens up: Research on mobbing and bullying touches upon the phenomenon of humiliation and should therefore be included.¹¹ Research on mobbing and bullying leads over to the field of prejudice and stigmatization,¹² which in turn draws on research on trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder PTSD,¹³ aggression (see further down), power and conflict,¹⁴ stress,¹⁵ and last but not least emotions.¹⁶

¹¹ See especially Heinz Leymann for work on mobbing, Leymann, 1990, Leymann, 1996, Leymann and Gustafsson, 1996, as well as Dan Åke Olweus on mobbing and bullying at school, Olweus, 1993, Olweus, 1997. The confusion around the use of the terms mobbing and bullying stems from the fact that these phenomena are addressed differently in different countries. Leymann suggests keeping the word bullying for activities between children and teenagers at school and reserving the word mobbing for adult behavior at workplaces.

¹² Edvard E. Jones, 1984, *Social Stigma - The Psychology of Marked Relationships*, is a central book on stigmatization.

¹³ There exists a huge body of research and literature, see, for example, Bremner et al., 1992, Eitinger, 1990, Everly, 1993, Figley, 1989, Gerbode, 2000, Havermans, 1998, Horowitz, Weine, and Jekel, 1995, Kardiner, 1941, Lavik et al., 1999, McCann and Pearlman, 1992, Nadler and Ben Shushan, 1989, Pearlman, 1998, Pearlman, 1994, Perry, 1994, van der Kolk et al., 1984, van der Kolk, 1994, van der Kolk and van der Hart, 1989, van der Kolk and van der Hart, 1991, van der Kolk and Kadish, 1987.

¹⁴ Political scientists P. Bachrach and Baratz, 1962, were among the first to address power and conflict in their article 'The Two Faces of Power' that is placed within the context of the civil rights movement in the USA of the nineteen sixties. See also Tedeschi, Schlenker, and Bonoma, 1973 on Conflict, Power, and Games: the Experimental Study of Interpersonal Relations.

¹⁵ Standard reading on stress psychology is Richard S. Lazarus, 1966, *Psychological Stress and the Coping Process* and Lazarus and Folkman, 1984, *Stress, Appraisal and Coping*. Stress is not necessarily negative, it may also be a stimulating challenge – and there are individual differences why some people thrive under stress and others break. See, for example, *Resilience and Thriving: Issues, Models, and Linkages* by Carver, 1998, *Embodying Psychological Thriving: Physical Thriving in Response to Stress* by Epel, McEwen, and Ickovics, 1998, *Quantitative Assessment of Thriving* by Cohen et al., 1998, *Beyond Recovery From Trauma: Implications for Clinical Practice and Research* by Calhoun and Tedeschi, 1998, *Exploring Thriving in the Context of Clinical Trauma Theory: Constructivist Self Development Theory* by Saakvitne, Tennen, and Affleck, 1998.

¹⁶ Antonio R. Damasio, 1994, with his book *Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain*, provides a perspective on the important "constructive" role that emotions play for the process of our decision making; it shows how the traditional view of "heart" versus "head" is obsolete. Daniel Goleman, 1996, in his more widely known book *Emotional Intelligence* relies heavily on Damasio. Goleman gives, among others, a description of the brain activities that lead to post-traumatic stress disorder. The *Handbook of Emotion and Memory* by Christianson (Ed.), 1992, addresses the important interplay between emotions and memory. Humiliation is a process that is deeply embedded in the individual's interdependence with her environment, and therefore relational concepts of mind such as Gibson's ecological psychology of "affordance" are relevant. Gibson "includes environmental considerations in psychological taxonomies" writes de Jong, 1997 (Abstract). M. A. Forrester, 1999 presents an related approach, that he defines as "discursive ethnomethodology," that focuses on "narrativization as process bringing together Foucault's (1972) discourse theory, Gibson's (1979) affordance metaphor and conversation analysis. I thank Reidar Ommundsen and Finn Tschudi for kindly helping me to get access to psychological theories on emotion, especially as developed by Tomkins and Nathanson. Silvan S. Tomkins, 1962, developed one of the most interesting theories of the human being and emotions; see his four volumes of Affect Imagery and Consciousness. See also Virginia Demos (Ed.), 1995, editor of *Exploring Affect*, a book that eases the otherwise difficult access to Tomkins' thinking. Donald L. Nathanson, 1996 builds on Tomkins' work; he writes on script, shame, and pride. Tomkins does not always differentiate between humiliation and shame and uses it exchangeably, while

In cases where humiliation shall be studied in cross-cultural settings, cross-cultural psychology has to be included,¹⁷ and the anthropological, sociological and philosophical embeddedness of processes of humiliation in different cultural contexts has to be addressed. If humiliation between groups or even nations is to be studied then history and political science play a central role.

Work on causes of deadly conflict

Conflict and peace are topics that have been widely studied; thousands of publications are to be found that cover a wide range of conflicts, from interpersonal to intergroup and international conflict. The search word *terrorism* renders thousands of hits in databases. Instead of presenting large lists of publications at this point I would like to mention some of those that had particular significance for this research project on humiliation. A pioneer of conflict studies in social psychology was Morton Deutsch, the founder of the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR) at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, see, for example, Deutsch and Coleman (Eds.), 2000. Andrea Bartoli is the Director of the Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR)¹⁸ and Chairman of the Columbia University Conflict Resolution Network, where the network Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies (www.humiliationstudies.org) that Lindner currently develops, has a core affiliation.

Also Herbert C. Kelman was among the first to work in this field, see, for example, Kelman and Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, 1965, Kelman, 1999. David A. Hamburg's work for prevention, as President of the Carnegie Corporation, has been crucial, see, for example, Hamburg, 2002.

William L. Ury, Director of the *Project on Preventing War at Harvard University*, and co-author of *Getting to Yes* (Fisher, Ury, and Patton, 1991), and author of *Getting to Peace* (Ury, 1999), focuses in his anthropological work on conflict. Lee D. Ross, principal investigator and co-founder of the *Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation (SCCN)*, addresses psychological barriers to conflict resolution, see, for example, Ross and Ward, 1995. Bar-On and Nadler, 1999, call for more attention to be given to conflicts in contexts of power asymmetry.

Historic and cultural grievances and cleavages are usually identified as representing the core of deadly conflicts.¹⁹ Such grievances and cleavages are usually identified as

Nathanson describes humiliation as a combination of three innate affects out of nine, namely a combination of shame, disgust and dissmell (Nathanson in a personal conversation, October 1, 1999 in Oslo). Abelson, 1976 addresses the issue from the cognitive perspective, compared to Tomkins personality-psychological perspective. Also the sociology of emotions is relevant; see especially the work of Thomas J. Scheff on violence and emotions such as shame.

¹⁷ See, for example, the work of Michael Harris Bond that has been already mentioned. Only a small selection of important books can be presented here, together with some articles, see, for example, Bond, 1997, Bond, 1998, Smith and Bond, 1999, Bond, 1992. Harry Charalambos Triandis is an important name as well, see, for example, Triandis, 1980, Triandis, 1990, Triandis, 1995, Triandis, 1997, Schwartz, 1994. Richard W. Brislin is another very relevant name, see, for example Brislin, 1993, Cushner and Brislin, 1996, Landis and Brislin, 1983.

¹⁸ See Bartoli, Girardet, and Carmel (Eds.), 1995, as well as work by to scholars at the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University, such as Robert Jervis, 1978, and George J. Mitchell, 1999.

¹⁹ Parts of this overview over conceptualizations of causes of deadly conflict are based on the work of Scheper, 2004, who examines the role of local NGOs in conflict, a role that hitherto has been neglected.

regional, historic, cultural, ethnic, religious, or class-based (land and labor). However, once violent conflict has begun, such grievances may become secondary, and a “diffusion of insecurity” may occur, spreading the disposition to use violence through social networks and thus leading to the “development” of protracted conflict regions (Marshall, 1999, as documented in *Third World War*). And, furthermore, grievances and cleavages may prove to be instrumentalized or even constructed on the basis of secondary motives. Tharoor, 1999, concludes that often opportunistic political leaders find in ethnic conflict “the ideal vehicle” to maintain or increase power, or to conceal domestic failures (quoted in Scheper, 2004).

The *Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (ICAR)* at George Mason University is a central player in the field.²⁰ Ted Robert Gurr’s *Minorities at Risk (MAR)* project elaborates on the notion of ethnic groups, ethnopolitical conflict and studies core variables determining the emergence of ethnopolitical conflict among 275 ethnic groups worldwide. The results show four variables that impinge on the probability that ethnic groups will initiate political or armed action: the salience of the group identity, the collective incentives, the capacity for joint action, and the external opportunities (Gurr, 2000, p. 7-12). Monty Marshall, 1999, founding director of the *Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSCR)* program at the *Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM)*, University of Maryland, wrote a seminal book on protracted conflict and the hypothesis of *diffusion of insecurity*.

In 1999 and 2000, the *Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict* identified “systematic frustration of human needs” as a major cause of deadly conflict. Peck, 1998, highlights five factors that influence a group’s readiness to mobilize: the ethnic geography, the leadership and political organization of the group, changing circumstance in the political environment, demonstration effect of efforts of groups in similar circumstances and/or neighboring countries; and lastly the specific group identification and grievances.

Also Ervin Staub, 1989, author of the classic study *Roots of Evil*, links the evolution of “evil” in a society with the “frustration of basic human needs and the development of destructive modes of need fulfillment” (Staub, 2000, Staub, 1999, p. 181). Staub defines “evil” as extreme human destructiveness that is not proportionate with the causative condition. Basic human needs include, according to Staub, security, positive identity, effectiveness and control over essentials, connections to others and autonomy, and an understanding of the world and our place in it. And in case such needs are being frustrated, scapegoats sought that can be blamed for the dissatisfaction (adapted from Dutton and Bond, 2004).

Nat Colletta’s work on *Social Cohesion* emphasizes the importance of vertical linkages between the state, its citizens and good governance, and horizontal social capital building and bridging relations among communities in multicultural societies. See, for example, Colletta and Cullen, 2000.²¹

Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy is a research program undertaken by the World Bank Group. See, for example, Collier et al., 2003, Collier,

²⁰ See, for example, Avruch, 1998, Avruch, Narel, and Combelles-Siegel, 2000, and Sluzki, 1993.

²¹ I thank Elisabeth E. Scheper for making me aware of Coletta’s work founder and former manager of the World Bank’s Post Conflict Reconstruction Team.

2000, Collier and Hoeffler, 2001. Low economic growth, dependence on natural resource exports, and prior deadly conflicts are highlighted as principal drivers of civil war.

At the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2003, fifty scholars and practitioners studied how the next wave of conflict could be prevented and how non-traditional threats of global stability can be better understood and addressed. They suggest that conflict and instability are increasingly determined by non-traditional factors like failures in governance, health crises, and environmental degradation.²²

Humiliation as a Historical-Cultural-Social Construct

The questions that formed the starting point for my research in 1996 were the following:²³ What is experienced as humiliation? What happens when people feel humiliated? When is humiliation established as a feeling? What does humiliation lead to? Which experiences of justice, honor, dignity, respect and self-respect are connected with the feeling of being humiliated? Which role do globalization and Human Rights play for humiliation? How is humiliation perceived and responded to in different cultures? What role does humiliation play for aggression? What can be done to overcome violent effects of humiliation?

How can these questions be addressed? Consider the case of so-called “honor killings.” A family in Norway, for example, whose daughter was raped, might send their child into trauma therapy and not want to kill her in order to remedy humiliated family honor. This stark and brutal example shows that what is experienced as humiliation and what it leads to, together with experiences of justice, honor, dignity, respect and self-respect, varies deeply depending on the overall cultural context. Even the use of the honor-killing example itself in this text, employed by me, a Western author with the best intentions, elicits angry protests, for example, among Palestinian female students, who claim that it exposes humiliating arrogance on behalf of the author (March 2004, Jerusalem). Or, in Japan, merely going around in public with the leaflet of the Osaka Human Rights Museum, where occurrences of discrimination in Japanese society are being displayed, causes embarrassment (as happened to Lindner, 2004).

Thus, I see humiliation rather as a historical-cultural-social-emotional construct that is changing over time than as an a-historic emotional process. I see the currently living generations in a crucial historical transition from an old *honor world* that entails *honor-humiliation*, to the vision of a future world of *equal dignity* entailing *dignity-humiliation*.

In traditional hierarchical societies, aristocrats defended their honor against humiliation with the sword (in duels, or in duel-like wars, with increasingly more lethal weapons) while underlings (women and lowly men) had to humbly, subserviently and obediently accept being subjugated without invoking feelings of humiliation. Men, when they belonged to ruling elites, were socialized into translating feelings of humiliation into an urge to fight back, while lowly men and particularly women learned that they had to swallow any such feelings aimed at superiors and keep quiet.

This conceptualization of the world began to hold sway about ten thousand years ago, when hierarchical societal systems emerged together with upcoming complex agriculturalism (Ury, 1999). Until recently, such hierarchical societal systems were

²² I thank Elisabeth E. Scheper for making me aware of the WWICS’s work.

²³ I thank Dagfinn Føllesdal for his support in formulating these questions.

regarded as thoroughly legitimate, even as divinely ordained. Still today, in many places, people subscribe to such concepts.

To summarize Ury (1999), most of humankind's history went by relatively peacefully, with small bands of hunter-gatherers cooperating within noticeably egalitarian societal structures. The available abundance of wild food provided hunter-gatherers with an expandable pie of resources and a win-win frame. Roughly 10,000 years ago, agriculturalism began to emerge, giving rise to hierarchical societies, framing life within a win-lose logic, and fuelling war. In the wake of the most recent transition, technological innovations enable humans to relate to their home, planet Earth, in profoundly new ways. People around the globe communicate and meet as never before. At present *Homo sapiens* is about to create a global knowledge society, says Ury, thus returning to the win-win frame of hunter-gatherers, and thereby regaining the potential for relatively peaceful egalitarian societal structures for the global "tribe" of humankind.

Indeed, currently, rising awareness of Human Rights ideals is about to change the old hierarchical order of things. With the advent of human rights ideals, the notion of humiliation changes its attachment point. It moves from the top to the bottom, from the privileged to the disadvantaged. In the new framework, the downtrodden underling is given the right to feel humiliated. Underlings around the world are increasingly socialized in new ways and are "allowed" to feel humiliated by their lowliness, a lowliness that is now defined as illegitimate. The master elites, on the other side, face the opposite call: they are called upon to regain humbleness and are not anymore given permission to resist this call by labeling it as humiliating. Elites who arrogate superiority lose their age-old right to cry "humiliation!" when they are asked to descend and humble themselves.

The human rights revolution could be described as an attempt to collapse the master-slave gradient to the line of equal dignity and humility. The practice of masters arrogating superiority and subjugating underlings is now regarded as illicit and obscene, and human rights advocates invite both, masters and underlings, to join in shared humility at the line of equal dignity.

It is important to note that the horizontal line is meant to represent the line of equal dignity and humility. This line does not signify that all human beings are equal, or should be equal, or ever were or will be equal, or identical, or all the same. This horizontal line is to represent a worldview that does not permit the hierarchical ranking of existing differences of human worth and value. Masters are invited to step down from arrogating *higher* worthiness, and underlings are encouraged to rise up from *lowliness*. Masters are humbled and underlings empowered.

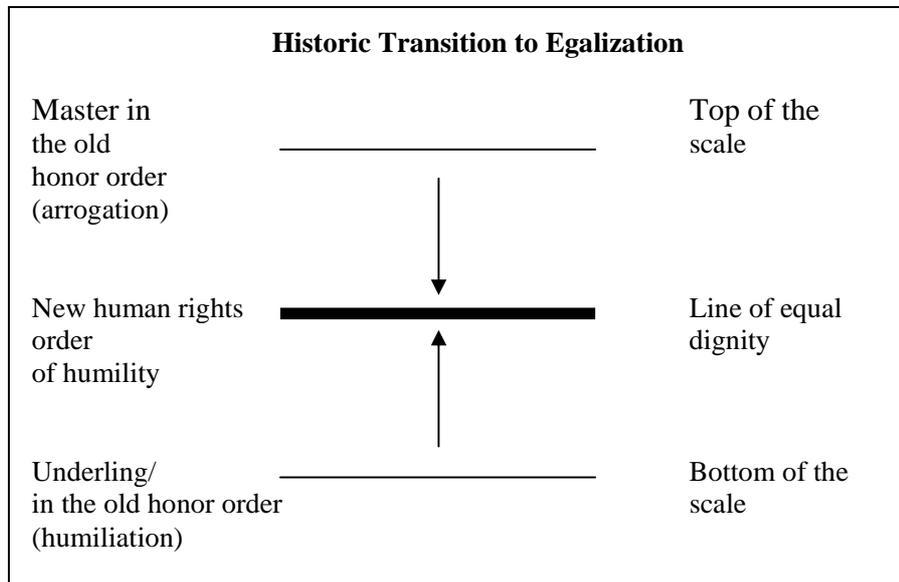


Figure 1: The historic transition to egalization

Brigid Donelan kindly comments this model as follows (personal message, December 20, 2004), “This is a model with twin features: one a historical trend and the other a contemporary potential/choice. We may think of humanity evolving through stages of pride, honor and dignity. We can also see that each stage is ‘alive and well’ within each contemporary individual, as a choice/potential. The value of the model lies in clarifying the choice, and suggesting a trend towards emergence of a ‘global knowledge society,’ for which there is certainly evidence, and benefits for all.”

It is often forgotten and important to emphasize that Human Rights advocates expect underlings not to translate their newly legitimized feelings of humiliation crudely into violent retaliation; Human Rights promoters do not encourage underlings to merely replace elites and take their place as new dominators and humiliators. Human Rights campaigners encourage underlings to do more than bring down abusive masters; they encourage them to also dismantle the very hierarchal systems that are now regarded as unjust. Human Rights stipulate, furthermore, that this ought to be done without the sword and without humiliating anybody, in the spirit of Gandhi, or Mandela (at least at the end of his career, see Mandela, 1996).²⁴

Thus, Human Rights advocates expect men and women around the world to evolve from translating feelings of humiliation into either aggression or apathy; men and women are encouraged to learn how to use feelings of humiliation in more constructive forms so as to bring about constructive peaceful social change.

This is where, to my understanding, Thomas J. Scheff’s work is positioned (see his work on shame, for example, in Scheff, 1988, Scheff, 2003, Scheff, 1990c). An important focus in his work is that males should learn to feel and acknowledge feelings of shame

²⁴ See also, for example, Freire, 1970, Gurr, 1970, Gurr, 1993, or Wink, 1992, and Tilly, 1978.

and humiliation without covering up these feelings by translating them immediately into aggression. This new awareness of feelings of humiliation and shame should then, hopefully, enable these *new males* to devise action that is more constructive and more in line with Human Rights ideals. Thus, Thomas Scheff's "vision" and one of his "projects," as far as I gather, is to teach males that acknowledging feelings of humiliation and shame and allowing oneself to indeed feel these emotions, is a way to a more constructive "use" of these emotions than merely becoming aggressive.²⁵

I assume Scheff welcomes what a friend wrote to me recently (April 9, 2004): "I worked before with drug addicts, and physically abusive individuals. I couldn't take the 'rage' out of them. But I could show them the consequences of that rage and re-teach them what to do if they felt that coming on, knowing that they would hurt, kill, or end up in jail."

Scholars such as Howard Zehr (see Zehr, 2002, Zehr, 1990) and Avishai Margalit, 1996, focus on social and societal institutions, and how they have to be reformed so as to no longer humiliate citizens. Scholars and practitioners such as Joseph Stiglitz or George Monbiot discuss ways as to how the global system could be changed in order to grow congruent with Human Rights ideals (Stiglitz, 1998, Stiglitz and Squire, 1998, Monbiot, 2003).

Awareness of Human Rights and Humiliation

I see the currently rising awareness of Human Rights in the context of what anthropologists call the *ingathering* of humankind (Ury, 1999; see also World Systems Analysis, for example, by Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1997²⁶), namely the coming together of all humankind into *One single family*. The term *global village* is deeply indicative, I suggest. I believe it entails profoundly transformative seeds for change. The rise of the vision and reality of *One single global village* is concurrent with something extremely significant, namely the almost subversive loss of ground for the notion of outgroups (together with all outgroup biases, prejudices and hostile "outgroup ethics").²⁷ Thus, to my view, human rights ideals represent "ingroup ethics" whose scope is expanded to the entire global village. Usually the so-called "scope of justice" (Coleman, 2003) for ingroups emphasizes social cohesion and its maintenance, so do Human Rights.

However, this is not all. As mentioned above, Human Rights ideals do not condone the mere replacement of old tyrants with new ones; they envisage the dismantling of entire hierarchical systems. Human Rights ideals represent an encouragement for underlings to continuously challenge domination and oppression (Deutsch, 2002, Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Thus, I conceptualize Human Rights ideals to represent "inside ethics" as we know them from age-long history, however, now applied to the entire globe, and intertwined with an egalitarian message.

²⁵ The neurologist Antonio Damasio, 1999, differentiates emotions and feelings as follows. He separates three stages of processing along a continuum, firstly *a state of emotion*, secondly *a state of feeling*, and thirdly, *a state of feeling made conscious*. The first state can be triggered and executed nonconsciously, the second can be represented nonconsciously, while the third is known to the organism as having both, emotion and feeling (Damasio, 1999, p. 37).

²⁶ See also classics such as Polanyi, 1944, and later Friedman, 1982, Wagar, 1992, Taylor, 1996, Hall (Ed.), 2000.

²⁷ Muzaffer Sherif et al., 1988, carried out classic research on in- and outgroups, see the famous *Robbers' Cave experiment*.

In former times, guardians of “inside ethics” often defended hierarchical rankings of human worthiness with the “need” to have safe, stable and coherent societies. Confucianism, still today, is not far removed from such conceptualizations; obedience to authorities is regarded as a high value. And indeed, as long as the world had not yet begun to evolve into *One single global village*, but still contained “*many villages*,” these people had a point. “*Villages*” (units such as groups, nations or states) faced a dangerous Hobbsian “might-is-right” world and had to stay internally cohesive and perpetually prepared for war. Males typically were sent out to die in war and obedient readiness for aggression, honed in the language of honor, was perhaps a suitable adaptation. At any time, outsiders were prone to attack, and fear of surprise attacks was rampant. International Relations theory uses terms such as the *Security Dilemma* to describe how arms races and war were almost inevitable in this atmosphere of fear.

The new global “inside ethics,” or Human Rights ideals, however, aim at a new combination, not anymore maintenance of social cohesion embedded within *hierarchical rankings of human value*, but maintenance of social cohesion linked to attitudes, behaviors and institutions that promote *equal dignity for all*. I believe that this transition enshrined as the central Human Rights call for *equal dignity for all* (Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) currently gains mainstream acceptance mainly because of the rise of the vision and reality of *One single ingroup of humanity*.

I claim that as soon as there is only *One single ingroup* left on the globe, fear of surprise attacks from distant *outsiders* is bound to subside. What gains visibility, however, is interaction with *insiders*. And this interaction is fraught with quests for recognition, appreciation and respect, quests that may lead to feelings of humiliation, and their violent handling, if unsatisfied. While formerly distant outsiders held the *many villages* of the world in fear of sudden and incomprehensible attack, today we share *One single global village* not with far-away outsiders, but with close-by fellow insiders, who ask us whether we respect them as equals. We enter a relational era. Isolated “differences,” or separate “interests” lose significance, while the quality of relationships gains weight.

It is therefore, to my view, that no longer *fear* of a distant enemy is the leading emotion that subordinates all other emotions and deliberations, but *feelings of humiliation* in the face of lacking recognition for equal dignity from fellow human beings, or more precisely, feelings of *dignity-humiliation*. Fear was an inescapable emotional state that was bound to hold center stage as long as a strong Security Dilemma defined the condition of the peoples of the globe. If humiliation played a role, then it was the terminology of honor and honor-humiliation that negotiated this fear like a collective armor. Yet, at present, the Security Dilemma weakens in the wake of increasing global interdependence and gives rise to the new notion of equal dignity for all, and, in its tail, to feelings of dignity-humiliation in case of lack of respect for equal dignity (real or imagined). Elsewhere, Lindner (2003) analyses why dignity-humiliation is bound to be more salient than honor-humiliation: while honor-humiliation keeps most humiliated people still within the ingroup, dignity-humiliation excludes people from humankind.

To the detriment of all of us, the feelings of humiliation that currently are holding hearts and mind around the world in their grip are not always honed into Gandhi/Mandela-like wisdom for constructive change. “Pre-emptive prevention” of expected future humiliation, for example, was perpetrated in the Rwandan genocide in

1994, as in Hitler's Holocaust in World War II. Global terrorism seems to follow a similar logic, led by humiliation-entrepreneurs who instrumentalize feelings of humiliation among the broad masses for violence.

Still, most of those on the globe, who currently regard each other as "enemies," respond to attempts to be humiliated with nothing more than "defiance." U.S. President George W. Bush comments the beheading of South Korean hostage Kim Sun-il, in Iraq on June 23, 2004 by saying that even though "they" try to humiliate "us," even though "they" try to "shake our wills," "we" do not bow. "We" are proud of our resistance; there is no need to be ashamed as long as we do not give in. Bush says, "See, what they are trying to do, they are trying to shake our will and our confidence! They are trying to get us to withdraw from the world! So that they can impose their dark vision on people!" (U.S. President Bush June 23, 2004, seen on BBC World). From "them," we hear in the news (June 20, 2004), "Foreign affairs adviser Adel al-Jubeir said a Saudi campaign which included the shooting of Abdul Aziz al-Muqrin had destroyed al-Qaeda's capabilities. The group later confirmed in a statement on an Islamist website that Muqrin and three others were killed. It said earlier it had carried out the beheading of US hostage Paul Johnson. It also pledged to continue what it called its holy war" (retrieved June 20, 2004, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3822527.stm).

In other words, attempts to humiliate "enemies" in order to humble them, typically end in proud defiance, on all sides, defiance that is then translated into cycles of humiliation and humiliation-for-humiliation instead of Mandela-like social transformation. Clearly, proud defiance occurs in all contexts, in contexts of ranked worthiness as much as in contexts of equal worthiness, however, in human rights contexts it is intensified by the fact that Human Rights, unlike honor codes, no longer legitimate any rankings of human worthiness.

I have coined the word *egalization* to match the word *globalization* (see Lindner, 2003a, or Lindner, 2003c, or www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin15.php). I conceptualize the currently growing level of malign global injustice and rampant inequality that provide humiliation entrepreneurs with willing perpetrators as "lack of *egalization*" (*egalization* versus systematic humiliation), while I reserve the term *globalization* (versus fragmentation) for the rather benign coming-together of humankind. Lindner, 2003a, defines *egalization* as follows:

The word *egalization* has been coined by Lindner in order to match the word *globalization* and at the same time differentiate it from words such as equality, because the main point is not equality. The point is rather equal dignity, even though there is a connection between equality and equal dignity. (The connection is "hidden" in the Human Rights stipulation that equal chances and enabling environments for all are necessary to protect human dignity.)

The term *egalization* is meant to avoid claiming that everybody should become equal and that there should be no differences between people. Equality can coexist with functional hierarchy that regards all participants as possessing equal dignity; equality can not coexist, though, with hierarchy that defines some people as lesser beings and others as more valuable.

If we imagine the world as a container with a height and a width, *globalization* addresses the horizontal dimension, the shrinking width. *Egalization* concerns the vertical dimension, reminiscent of Hofstede's power distance [Hofstede, 2001].

Egalization is a process away from a very high “container” of masters at the top and underlings at the bottom, towards a flat “container” with everybody enjoying equal dignity.

Egalization is a process that elicits hot feelings of humiliation when it is promised but fails. The lack of egalization is thus the element that is heating up feelings among so-called “globalization-critics.” Their disquiet stems from lack of egalization and not from an overdose of globalization. What they call for is that *globalization* ought to marry *egalization* (Lindner, 2003c, pp. 262-263).

The most important change that is brought about by the current rise of the vision and reality of *One global village*, or *One single ingroup of humankind*, is, to my view, thus the rise of the significance of feelings of *humiliation* as compared to *fear*. I believe that feelings of humiliation were rather secondary in former times, instigated and taught in order to tackle *fear* of emergency attacks from other *villages*. Honor was worn like a collective armor and defended against honor-humiliation, particularly by males, and this was embedded in the service of these males in the defense of their groups against outside attackers.²⁸ Nowadays, in Human Rights contexts, feelings of humiliation are no longer attached to honor, but to equal dignity. In Human Rights contexts, it is no longer the soiling of honor that elicits feelings of humiliation, but failing respect for equal dignity. Feelings of dignity-humiliation become are less a collective phenomenon, prescribed within group relations, but primary, direct, salient, and personal for each individual who feels them within his or her personal relationships.

However, since both cultural contexts, those of unequal honor and of equal dignity, coexist in current transition times, both forms of humiliation often co-exist, merge, blur, and enhance each other. An Iraqi man, for example, might not find anything wrong in honor killings, where a raped girl may be killed so as to repair soiled family honor; however, he might nevertheless criticize American occupiers of hypocrisy when not obeying their own Human Rights rhetoric.

Human Rights contexts represent new scripts, or templates, for ethics and morals, and they require affected human beings to learn new skills. Where formerly obedience was a deed, it is now another skill that has to be honed, namely the skill to form cohesive relationships of respect for equal dignity for *all global village citizens*.

Much has been written on Human Rights and the emerging global context of the information age and globalization, with the unprecedented novel challenges as to new identities, new skills, and new world orders.²⁹ The challenges for the *global village*, apart from containing tyrants and terror, are well described in the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* of September 2000:

- eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- improve maternal health

²⁸ Berger, 1970, wrote an article “On the Obsolescence of the Concept of Honor.” See also Charles Taylor, 1993, and his description of the paradigm shift from honor to dignity and recognition. According to Taylor, social hierarchies are the basis for honor and the collapse of these hierarchies is the precondition of honor’s transmutation into dignity and recognition. The Enlightenment emphasizes the equality of every human person and the abolition not just of social hierarchies but of the concept of honor. I thank Eric van Grasdorff for making me aware of Taylor’s work.

²⁹ See, among others, the work by Bauman, 1998, Castells, 1996, Castells, 1997b, Castells, 1997a, Giddens, 1991, Legrain, 2002, Sennett, 1996, Tajfel and Turner, 1986, Wilkinson, 1996.

- achieve universal primary education
 - combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
 - promote gender equality and empower women
 - ensure environmental sustainability
 - reduce child mortality
- develop a global partnership for development

Let me I conclude this section by quoting George Monbiot, 2003,

Globalization is not the problem. The problem is in fact the *release* from globalization which both economic agents and nations states have been able to negotiate. They have been able to operate so freely because the people of the world have no global means of restraining them. Our task is surely not to overthrow globalizing, but to capture it, and to use it as a vehicle for humanity's first global democratic revolution (Monbiot, 2003, p. 23, italics in original).

Conclusion

Need for a new global order

Perhaps Douglas Hurd's message could be projected into the future as follows. *Global village building*, in the spirit of by now well-known *nation building* requires support from all world states and citizens for a new global order, enacted through global institutions such as they can be developed from current United Nations institutions. Perhaps one day we will have a global passport, a global welfare net and global institutions that protect people within a global democracy. Perhaps one day tribal and national identities will be secondary to the core identity of global citizenship everywhere on the globe. The principle of *subsidiarity* will perhaps be the blueprint for organizing global structures, as well as for building personal identities: shared humanity at the core, as primary element, and cultural diversity at the periphery, cherished and celebrated, but secondary. There will be no need for *enemies*; all will be *neighbors*, "good" as well as "bad" neighbors. And democratically legitimated police aided by a global culture of responsible social control and respect will keep "bad neighbors" in check. A "roof" of super-ordinate global institutions, democratically legitimated, will protect global citizens in the same way democratically legitimated nation states at present attempt to guard the interests of their national citizenry.

A *Moratorium on Humiliation*

Thus a *decent global village* could be built, following the call by Margalit, 1996, for a decent society. Lindner frequently calls for eliminating humiliation, and a *Moratorium on Humiliation*³⁰ to be incorporated within public policies.

Many criticize that humiliation cannot be eliminated and that a call for a *Moratorium of Humiliation* is not realistic. This is argument is partly valid, partly not. It is valid because one of the problems with the notion of humiliation is that the same word is used

³⁰ Similar to the *Moratorium On Trade In Small Arms*, or the *Moratorium On Commercial Whaling*. Read, for example, Patten and Lindh, 2001.

for a) *feelings* and b) *acts*, and c) for processes including *institutional* humiliation, where the act is embedded within institutions (see, for example, Apartheid): “I humiliate you” (act) and “you feel humiliated” (feeling), and “the entire process may be played out in institutions that humiliate.” Feelings of humiliation clearly are part of human emotions and cannot be eliminated nor should they. However, it is still possible to hold on to the call to decrease, or eliminate, acts and institutions of humiliation. Consider Apartheid and Apartheid-like social and societal structures such as autocratic cultures in schools, workplaces, homes; presumably, all Human Rights promoters would agree that it is beneficial not only to decrease such structures, but to eliminate them. So, public policy planning ought to diminish acts of humiliation, those that are institutionalized as well as those that occur “at random,” and heighten awareness as to acts of humiliation – random and institutionalized – and to how destructive they can be.

Human rights stipulate that every human being is equal in dignity. Still, this is an ideal that is not attained anywhere, on the contrary, we find many social settings where human worthiness and value are being ranked (men are regarded to possess more worthiness than women, colored people face discrimination; the list is still long), and it is this ranking of human worthiness that human rights declare to be illegitimate. Robert Fuller, 2003, wrote a book on *rankism*. What we have to overcome, is rankism. Rankism has humiliating effects as soon as we take Human Rights ideals seriously. And rankism forms the core of many traditional cultures; honor typically is ranked, there are higher and lesser beings. In contrast to that, Human Rights ideals stipulate that people’s worthiness should not be ranked.

According to Lindner’s conceptualization there are, simplified, three ways out of feelings of humiliation: a) depression/apathy, b) the “Hitler way” (violence, war, genocide, terror, etc.), and c) the “Mandela way” (constructive social change that includes the humiliator, in Mandela’s case, he quite remarkably did not unleash genocide on the white elite in South Africa). Considering Mandela, we recognize that he did not attempt to put in place a perfect society in one year or so; he explained to his followers that such impatience would be counterproductive. Social change is a process, during which we have to keep the goal in front of our eyes in order to keep on track, and the goal would be to *eliminate* particularly institutionalized humiliation, and *diminish* otherwise rampant acts of humiliation with a *Moratorium on Humiliation*.

Will a *Moratorium on Humiliation*, if incorporated and mainstreamed in public policy planning, increase human security and decrease perils such as global terror? Yes. What are we to do, if killing, “eliminating,” “hunting down,” and “smoking out” terrorists only leads to their defiance? What if military approaches are only second-best, due to the fact that feelings of humiliation smoldering within broader masses provide reservoirs for innumerable new terrorists? Do we not need better methods for securing the world?

Respect, recognition and safeguarding equal dignity for all were terms that did not figure large in old Realpolitik. However, this does not mean that they should not be introduced into the new Realpolitik that is necessary for a new globalizing world. Public policy planning has to embrace the entire global village and include considerations for safeguarding social cohesion therein. Merely “hitting” at some “evil guys,” in a “War on Terror,” despite laudable intentions and noble motives, and despite the fact that sound policing should not to be neglected – if applied as overarching strategy – might rather prove to be out-dated, ineffective and insufficient, even counterproductive. A

Moratorium on Humiliation, operationalized, mainstreamed and incorporated in public policy planning might be a more suitable approach.

Triple strategy for new public policies

In practice, a triple strategy seems appropriate. Institutions need to be built, both globally and locally, that ensure that people are not being oppressed, discriminated against, or humiliated (as called for in *Decent Society* by Avishai Margalit, 1996). For example, at the global level, at present a mechanism is sorely missing that helps the world avoid genocide as currently occurring in Sudan. United Nations institutions are merely not yet developed sufficiently. However, better institutions are not the whole solution. They must be filled with different contents as compared to former times.

Marriage might serve as an example. In former times it was a rather contractual relationship. It was sufficient to enter the institution and follow its rules thereafter. Nowadays, a marriage is a fluid relationship that requires continuous attention and nurturing. None of the partners can merely lean back and trust that the institution is guaranteeing the success of the marriage. Permanent relationship work is needed. Likewise, relationships between groups at local and global levels require continuous nurturing. First, attention needs to be given to this new necessity, and second, the social skills for doing so must be learned.

Bennet, 2004, writes about Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and his allegiance to a "we won't-be-fooled-again attitude." Sharon received advice from his mother in the early 80's, when he was negotiating with the Egyptians: "Do not trust them! You cannot trust a piece of paper!" Sharon's answer is the appliance of sheer force on his "marriage partner," the Palestinians.

While the insight belongs into present times, namely that a piece of paper indeed is not sufficient and that anybody blindly relying on a contract may be fooled, the remedy found by Ariel Sharon is belonging to the past. While sheer force as a strategy was common and efficient in former times, in marriages and elsewhere, nowadays, relationships are expected to be maintained in different ways. Human Rights ideals turn the appliance of sheer force into illegitimate humiliation. No wife, no fellow human being, in a world that is steeped in the Human Rights message, can accept sheer force and respond with humility; violence might be a more probable result. Old methods do not anymore work in a new framework of novel moral norms and expectations.

Attention to building relationships of equal dignity, acquisition of appropriate social skills, and continuous mutual engagement and nurturing, embedded within appropriate institutions, is the triple strategy that needs to be applied today. All three elements of this new strategy must be designed to prevent and avoid dynamics of humiliation in a world where Human Rights ideals of equal dignity define our life world, because Human Rights turn the holding down of people by sheer force into an unacceptable violation.

Triple strategy for the resolution of violent conflict

With respect to violent conflict, both at the global and local level, as mentioned earlier, the paradigm of good quality *policing of neighborhoods* needs to replace the paradigm of *war on enemies*. The global village, as any village, needs to maintain its inner security by good quality policing. War is typically waged with neighboring "villages." In the case of the global village, there is no "neighboring village" left. Thus the paradigm of war loses

its anchoring in reality, and the paradigm of policing is what is still relevant. And good quality policing connects coercion with respect.

During my time in Egypt, I was amazed at the low rate of crime and unrest in Cairo, a huge metropolis of at that time ten to fifteen million people. I soon understood that a high amount of *social control* is part of Egyptian culture. I frequently witnessed incidents that gave testimony to this social control. When I analyzed conflict resolution and containment scenes in the streets of Cairo, I observed a twenty-to-two ratio, or at least a ten-to-two ratio. Ten or up to twenty physically powerful men were required to *cool* and *pacify* two clashing opponents. The young men in the Cairo scenes did not need to exert brute force because they outnumbered the quarrelers. Their overpowering count enabled them to combine coercion and respect. Respect alone would not suffice, and coercion through outnumbering alone neither.

If this scenario is to be taken as a blueprint for attending to violent conflict, it is a combination of coercion and respect that has to be striven for by the international community, the United Nations, and bystanders in general. Resources for the prevention, containment, and resolution of conflicts around the world are to be increased. *Overpowering* numbers of blue helmets/global policepersons with credible *overpowering* mandates and well-devised *overpowering* strategies are required, embedded in an overall approach of respect.

New application of traditional “male” and “female” role descriptions

This approach, incidentally, combines elements of coercion and respect that also can be mapped onto traditional male and female role descriptions. What is combined is “female” talking, understanding, empathy, perspective-taking and healing on one side, and a “male” potential for overpowering, coercion, and force on the other. “Male” strength and well-dosed counter-aggression are required to hold the fighters. “Female” awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric is needed to take the fighters seriously. To combine the “male” aspect of force with “female” empathy could be described as the modern recipe of conflict resolution. The old “male” strategy of hitting, of destructive force, is no longer appropriate in an interdependent modern *global village*, while the “male” ability to use restraining force continues to be an important tool, though in a more steady and long-standing application and combined with empathy and respect.

UNESCO’s Culture of Peace Programme urges precisely the strengthening of the “female” aspect in conflict resolution efforts. The list is a long one: using multi-track, “track II” and citizen-based diplomacy; installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge; keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing “truth commissions;” allowing warring parties to feel the world community’s care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment; taking the adversaries’ personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity; introducing sustainable long-term

approaches on the social and ecological level; progressing from spending aid-money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on.

To summarize, the *global village* embodies *One single inside* sphere. The traditional “male” role description of *going out*, fighting the enemy and conquering the unknown – being unidimensional, unilateral and more short-sighted – loses significance since it was only appropriate *outside* the *village* or around its borders. The world as a single *global village* no longer provides an *outside*. Men themselves, as travelers and explorers, were responsible for this development which now makes their traditional strategies in many ways inappropriate and dysfunctional.

Maintaining social cohesion in an *inside* sphere means complex, relational, multilateral, foresighted, integrative and holistic strategies such as mediation, alternative dispute resolution and police deployment (for example peacekeeping forces) instead of traditional military combat. *Subsidiarity*, *quality* (and not quantity) of life, *culture of peace* – all these are keywords and concepts which stem from traditional “female” role descriptions, showing how much the new strategies are, conceptually, “female” approaches.

Thus, *globalization* opens space for women and “female” strategies, inviting both women and men into embracing and combining them with the traditional “male” strategy of coercive containment. And Human Rights ideals call for *egalization*, meaning equal dignity for all humankind, to be the broader guiding framework for globalization.

Triple strategy for underlings who wish to carry out uprisings

For the downtrodden around the world, be it women or discriminated minorities of any kind, who wish to carry out a successful and constructive uprising and change their lowly lot, a Mandela would have yet another threefold advice. He himself implemented this strategy most wisely: First, underlings who wish to change their lowly situation constructively, have to psychologically step outside of the master-slave dyad and learn to think autonomously. Second, they have to stop merely re-acting to the master’s actions and definitions, and begin to act. Third, underlings must teach their master elites that change is necessary and unavoidable, both normatively and practically, and that a peaceful transition is preferable to violence and war.

Triple strategy for third parties wishing to ensure peace

For third parties who are trying to secure peace around the world, yet another threefold approach seems significant. First, it is important to identify the fault lines between moderates and extremists in opposing camps. Not the Singhalese or Tamils, for example, are the parties to reckon with, but the Mandelas (moderates) as opposed to the humiliation-entrepreneurs (extremists) on both sides. Second, third parties need to facilitate alliances between moderates of both camps to transform violent reactions to feelings of humiliation among extremists. Third, humiliating living conditions of the broad masses must be minimized, because otherwise frustrated masses will be open to recruitment by humiliation-entrepreneurs.

Celebrate humanity

Sultan Somjee, Kenyan ethnographer honored by the UN for his efforts to preserve indigenous people’s peace traditions, says in response to the Iraqi Prisoner Abuse of

2004, “Humiliation does not have nationality, religion, color or gender. Humiliation of one human being humiliates humanity and our dignity of being.” I would add, only if we avoid institutions, attitudes, and behavior with humiliating effects will we create a future for our world in the spirit of Kofi Annan’s promotion for the Olympic Games of 2004, namely “celebrate humanity.”

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