

Fostering Global Citizenship

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This draft was written for a chapter in the *Psychological Components of a Sustainable Peace* book, edited by Morton Deutsch and Peter Coleman.

This paper is longer than the envisaged final size of the chapter.

Background information to this paper:

The title of this chapter and its main structure, including most of the main section headings, were suggested by Morton Deutsch. The title and most section headings thus represent a challenge posed by Morton Deutsch to the author to respond to. The text of each section could therefore be read as a response to its own heading.

Abstract

Morton Deutsch wrote in 1973: “In a cooperative situation the goals are so linked that everybody ‘sinks or swims’ together, while in the competitive situation if one swims, the other must sink.” This chapter argues that, at present, global society has not yet learned to swim together, and thus risks sinking together. Global society’s psychological, social, and societal cohesion still fails to match the requirements for cooperation that it faces. Human-made concepts, practices, and institutions still have to live up to the reality of their own embeddedness in nature, as well as the fact that in an interdependent world, local conflicts diffuse and affect everyone. This chapter makes the point that it is of utmost importance that the global community learns to cooperate, so as to create a worthwhile future for the next generation. The emergence of the imagery and reality of One World represents a historic window of opportunity and hope that must be actively seized.

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Introduction

What we do know, we do not know in a way that serves our needs. So, we need to know in different ways, and we need to build new knowledge through new ways of knowing. The new knowledge is in the area of designing new realities, which is likely to be done by speculative and creative thinking that would be communally shared and reflected for common formulation that would be tested in a continual process of social invention.

—Betty Reardon, in a personal conversation with the author of this chapter on July 6, 2010, in Melbu, Norway

This chapter is organized in four parts. The first part characterizes the important psychological and cognitive features of a global citizen, and it does so in a way that is applicable to other types of social actors such as groups, nations, as well as individuals. The second part addresses how these characteristics could be fostered by a global citizens movement and by organizations such as the United Nations, European Union, nation states, or educational institutions. The third part looks at the difficulties that might be expected and suggests how they may be overcome. The fourth part makes suggestions for research.

I. What are the important psychological and cognitive features of a global citizen?

Part I has three sections that address the psychological and cognitive features a global citizen needs to embrace, namely (1) the world as One integrated dynamic equilibrium, (2) an identity of unity in diversity, and (3) an understanding that global citizenship provides a systemic frame for cooperation.

Embracing the world as One integrated dynamic equilibrium

John Paul Lederach, author and practitioner in the fields of conflict transformation and peace building, explains that “violence destroys a person’s capacity to perceive themselves as an integrated part of a whole” (Lederach, 2010). But he also has observed “that people can transcend violence while living in it, and so find the moral imagination to live beyond it” (ibid.). He recounts how campesinos in Colombia, who were embroiled in violent strife, formed the Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos del Carare (ATCC) in 1990, and committed to the following pledge: “We have no enemies, we will seek to understand those who do not understand us” (ibid., see also www.rightlivelihood.org/atcc.pdf).

What Lederach points at, is *metanoia* (Greek for “above, beyond” and “mind” or “changing one’s mind”), or seeing with new eyes and understanding with new minds. It is

a total upheaval of imagination, an upheaval of the fundamental angle of vision so that everything else also changes—values, judgments, priorities, pursuits.

Such upheavals have happened before in human history, usually haphazardly. They represent deep changes in *basic cultural codes* (Richards, 2007), in *epistemes* (Foucault, 1966), shifts in *paradigms* (Kuhn, 1962) and in *states of belief* (Peirce, 1877).

For the sake of world peace, every global citizen is called upon to embark on such a great transition now, this time not a haphazard, but a well thought-through and a well-designed one (Raskin et al., 2002). Building a global identity, an identity that embraces the world as One single integrated dynamic equilibrium is what is at stake.

To do so, curiosity, courage, and patience are needed (Lindner, 2009, p. 134). A global citizen must be willing to test and sometimes surpass her comfort zone. Only a few hundred years ago, slavery was a given. At the utmost, it was acceptable to call for more charitable kindness toward one's slaves. Calling for the abolition of the institution of slavery was unheard of; it needed much more courage. This is the kind of courage that is required now. Also today, it is not sufficient to advocate that we should be more charitable toward those who live as lesser beings. It is time to abolish the systemic conditions that produce and maintain the existence of lesser beings.

Andrew Linklater, scholar in international relations, says this: "Membership of a pluralist or solidarist international society rests upon a prior decision to widen the boundaries of the moral community in order to do justice to the interests of outsiders" (Andrew Linklater, 1998, p. 175).

Many parameters require attention. They can be subsumed under the *scope* and the *process*, or the *what* and the *how*.

The moral *scope of justice* (Coleman, 2000), or the *boundaries of compassion* (Andrew Linklater, 1998, see also Clements, 2011), can be narrow or wide, they can be inclusive or exclusive. The scope is widest when all of creation is included. Michael W. Fox, former vice-president of the Humane Society of the United States (in a personal communication on March 11, 2010): "The Empathosphere is real, and it is through compassion's sympathetic resonance with the Earth and all who dwell therein that we may yet evolve, and give Life a chance before we extinguish the life and beauty of our planet Earth and become even less human than we are already." Fox advocates a evolutionary step from *anthropocentrism* to *ecocentrism*, or what "Earth scholar" Thomas Berry calls *cosmocentrism* (Berry, 1999).

What is a global empathosphere? Is it an utopia better foregone? Political adviser Jeremy Rifkin calls for *empathic civilization* and confirms that empathy is the opposite of the perfection of utopia; it is built on our frailties and imperfections (Rifkin, 2010).

Does more empathy mean that those with the means should become more generous and give more to charity? The systems view indicates that though charity is laudable, it is insufficient.

Article 1 of the of the Human Rights Declaration states that every human being is born with equal rights and dignity. In other words, human rights ideals invite every human being into One single human family, a family where all members, qua being born on planet Earth, as global citizens, enjoy equal rights and dignity and are invited to empathically care about each other and their habitat. New research shows that the spirit of human rights ideals is more than a mere moral utopia and that it opens space for very down-to-earth quantum leap ahead for human life on Earth. Equal societies almost always

“do better” than unequal societies with regard to parameters such as quality of life (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

During the past 10,000 years, until today, most societies were unequal, and they still are, to various degrees (Eisler, 1987, Ury, 1999). People at the bottom were either openly oppressed and/or sophisticatedly co-opted. During the past millennia, as long as everybody accepted the legitimacy of systemic inequality, the damage flowing from this arrangement was not considered to be reason for change. Human rights advocacy changes this. It destabilizes the legitimacy of such systems, and, by doing so, also open space for their harmfulness to become more visible. When inequality is thrown into stark contrast by the promotion of the human rights ideal of equality in dignity, harmony is no longer definable as quiet submission of underlings under their masters, but as revolting humiliation of dignity (Lindner, 2006; Young, 2007).

To summarize this section on the scope of the change that is called for, a global citizen must muster the curiosity, courage, and patience to give priority to the common good of all of human society and envisage all-encompassing empathic love for all of her human family and its habitat. This empathic love can be fashioned according to Gandhi’s term *satyāgraha*. It is assembled from *agraha*, or firmness/force, and *satya*, truth-love (GandhiParel (Ed.), 1997, Sharp, 2005).

With respect to the process, it is important to consider that people have psychological needs for security, belonging, social identity, a sense of worth, and cognitive clarity and simplicity. These needs, however, can be satisfied in two radically different ways. To use a river as a simile for the dynamic nature of the world, as soon as a person can swim, she feels safe moving about in the river and cherishes its fluidity and changing scenery. A person who can not swim, seeks to cling to fixity. In today’s world, a world that grows ever more interdependent, with ever more diverse cultural perspectives meeting, the skill of “swimming” no longer is optional but becomes obligatory. Viewing the world as a dynamic equilibrium, and not a fixed place, and learning to be comfortable in an ever-changing environment, is now indispensable.

Psychologist and scholar of culture and emotion, David R. Matsumoto, has coined the term *voyager* for a person who can swim in the flow of life and who can draw a sense of safety from this skill (Matsumoto, Yoo, & LeRoux, 2005). *Vindicators*, in contrast, establish their worldviews to justify their pre-existing stereotypes, not to challenge them and grow. They attempt to cling to fixities. In water, this strategy undermines the very safety it aims to achieve. People, today, need to learn to swim.

Learning to swim is not easy. It is scary. Courage is needed. When stepping from seemingly firm ground into the water, one has first to disengage from the ground, refrain from acting on one’s fears to lose balance, and overcome one’s anxiety that the water may not carry. *Loss aversion* must be overcome, or the tendency of people to dislike losses significantly more than they like gains.

To become a voyager, certain ties must be loosened, so as to allow for more flexibility. Sociologist Mark S. Granovetter suggests that having many weaker social ties to a number of people provides more individual autonomy than being exclusively bonded into a very closed nexus of relationships (Granovetter, 1973). A certain degree of *detachment* must be learned. Detachment does not mean coldness or disinterest, but keeping emotions under control and avoiding bias in one’s views of the world and one’s self (Elias, 1987).

Sometimes it is more important to place grievances and humiliations in the past rather than experiencing them in the present. This is a form of non-remembering. A person who non-remembers chooses to remember the past, its grievances, and its humiliations, but to forgive and purposively embrace the former enemy in an act of preservation and transformation. Active non-remembering helps prevent memories of humiliation being held onto as a means to keep a victim status and an entitlement for retaliation (Margalit, 2002). “How must our world look like for our children to be worth living in?” is a more fruitful anchor question than “Which humiliations from the past must be avenged?” Peaceful social relations call for weak and flexible bonds with regard to memories, roots, the past, and cultural differences, but for somewhat stronger ties to constructive and common visions for the future.

Deliberate discourse (in Aristotle’s terminology) versus *debate* are related alternatives pointing at “swimming” rather than “clinging” (Johnson, Johnson, & Tjosvold, 2000, p. 66). Likewise, *connected knowing* is preferable to *separate knowing* (Belenky, 1997). A reader of this chapter who takes a connected approach, for instance, will read it with an empathic, receptive eye, instead of only inspecting the text for flaws.

In sum, important psychological features of a global citizen are curiosity, courage, patience, humility, willingness to learn, process-orientation, and a cosmocentrist scope imbued with an all-encompassing empathic love for all of the human family and its habitat.

Embracing unity in diversity

Individual identity benefits from being built according to the principles of unity in diversity and subsidiarity. Desmond Tutu, in his book *Exploring Forgiveness*, uses the metaphor of the *rainbow* for the unity in diversity principle: there is only One rainbow, not two, nor three or more (this speaks to the unity element), but the colors should not be mixed (this is the diversity element), only unity in diversity renders the full beauty of the rainbow (Enright, North, & Tutu (Eds.) 1998).

My own identity is a rainbow identity. I also use the *sunflower* as a metaphor for my identity (Lindner, 2007). The core of the sunflower represents the unity element, it represents the primordial essence of me being a human being. Three layers of petals represent the diversity of my identifications: one circle of petals stands for my fond connections with the people I love, including my love for humanity in general, another circle points at all the dignifying cultural practices around the world that I cherish, and a third shows all those geographical places around the world that give me joy.

The core of the sunflower identity model stands for the common ground that I share with all human beings, while at the periphery the numerous petals signify the diversity of my idiosyncratic personal attachments and identifications. Core and a periphery are arranged in nested layers of subsidiarity, with commonalities lifted to a higher level and diversity relegated to lower levels. Subsidiarity, in political terms, means that local decision making and local identities are retained to the greatest extent possible. The European Union uses this principle (see, for instance, europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm).

Subsidiarity protects unity in diversity against uniformity and division in institutional contexts as much as in one's psyche. As soon as differences are encountered, they can be ranked with respect to their scope. Subsidiarity de-emphasizes uniform and divisive beliefs and practices without disrespecting the core of humanity: I can respect myself and others, while at the same time rejecting outdated beliefs and practices, both in me and in others—for instance, I can love myself and my mother, while rejecting outdated scripts of female submissiveness that still may linger in both of us.

A sunflower identity allows for a global identity, while concurrently celebrating local identities. I avoid saying, for example, “I am a national of this or that country.” I have chosen to reserve the verb *am* to connote the essence of my being, representing the center of the sunflower. I use more processual verbs for the periphery. What I say is this: “I *am* a human being (unity). I *was born* into a displaced family with a deep sense of non-belonging and *have learned to become* a global citizen who *feels* at home everywhere on the globe; I *draw* on aspects from many cultural scripts, from all those I had the privilege *to learn from* in the course of my life (diversity).”

The sunflower metaphor illustrates also that the unity in diversity principle offers a win-win frame. The core is not damaged by the petals, and the petals are not weakened by the core; all elements strengthen each other. In my case, this identity emerged throughout 35 years of international life, on the background of a family history of trauma from war and displacement. The sunflower shape of my identity came into being because I was exposed to intercultural “interactions of mutually contradictory but equally compelling forces” (Hayashi, 2002). Disorienting dilemmas brought about transformative learning in me (Fisher-Yoshida, 2008). I was often forced to choose between creating a monolithic identity built on a single local perspective, thus rejecting diversity, or creating a sunflower identity. I chose the latter, and many concepts have lost their meaning for me since, such as “traveling,” “immigration,” “homesickness,” “foreigner,” or exclusively “national identity.” I live in the global village, which is my home, with the human family as my family, whom I deeply care about with a global identity. My identity is cosmocentrist. It is a *postindividual consciousness* (Heard, 1963), a *unity consciousness* (Hollick, 2006).

Embracing global citizenship as a frame for cooperation

“Cooperation breeds cooperation, while competition breeds competition” this is the gist of Morton Deutsch's *crude law of social relations* (Deutsch, 1973, p. 367). Deutsch's observation is among the most important insights a global citizen can embrace. And it is every global citizen's duty, for the sake of world peace, to invite those into studying this insight who still are convinced that win-lose cut-throat competition is useful, or, if not useful, then at least “natural” and thus “unavoidable.”

Cooperation induces and is induced by a perceived similarity in beliefs and attitudes, a readiness to be helpful, openness in communication, trusting and friendly attitudes, sensitivity to common interests and de-emphasis of opposed interests, an orientation toward enhancing mutual power rather than power differences, and so on. Similarly, competition induces and is induced by the use of tactics of coercion, threat, or

deception; attempts to enhance the power differences between oneself and the other; poor communication; minimization of the awareness of similarities in values and increased sensitivity to opposed interests; suspicious and hostile attitudes; the importance, rigidity, and size of the issues in conflict; and so on (Deutsch, 1994, p. 112).

Social psychologist Lee D. Ross and his colleagues worked on the role of the situation and of framing (Ross & Nisbett, 1991; Liberman, Samuels, & Ross, 2004). When students were asked to play a game where they had the choice to cooperate or to cheat on one another (prisoner's dilemma game) and were told that this was a community game, they cooperated; however, they cheated on each other when told that the same game was a Wall Street game.

When we combine the powers of cooperation and framing, then we can conclude that the notion of global citizenship, of membership in One family of humankind, if grounded in human rights ideals of equality in dignity and rights, offers a unifying win-win community frame that can lift cooperation and its benefits from a haphazard to a systemic level.

Global citizenship represents a frame for a globally cooperative community game. The notion of national citizenship, in contrast, particularly when it entails win-lose elements of “either we or them,” represents a competitive frame that entails the seeds for division. Many recoil from this insight, because in-group unity is such a cherished source of sense of security and sense of worth for many in-group members—from Turkish unity to Kurdish unity, from Serbian unity to Kosovan unity, in-group unity is being celebrated. Yet, as these cases show, in-group unity, as pleasant as it may feel to its proponents, can carry the seeds for destructive conflict when one's unity represents the other's humiliation.

Early peace psychologist Edward Tolman (1886–1959) believed that world peace can only be achieved through the creation of a world state, for which the concept of a common enemy is indispensable. He suggested that minorities who wanted to break away could fill this role (Rudmin, 1991). I urge the abandonment of the enemy concept altogether. My identity draws its strength from within, not from contrasting itself with a hostile outside. Leaving behind the concept of enemy, however, does not mean *laissez-faire* or appeasement in the face of violators. On the contrary. *Conscientization* can replace the motivating force flowing from a common enemy and can inform responses of *satyāgraha*.

Paulo Freire's notion of *conscientização* refers to a process of increasing awareness of social injustice, coupled with action or praxis associated with social change and liberation from oppression (Freire, 1970). Peace psychologist Daniel J. Christie explains conscientization as “a psychological process in which individuals and groups are politically transformed by building a common consciousness” (Christie, 2006, p. 13). Lederach describes it as the laborious venture of patching together a growing awareness of the fact that the self is not existing in a vacuum, but in a context (Lederach, 1995, p. 119).

New research on mirror neurons underpins that conscientization is possible. This research shows that one can feel hurt on behalf of others. Indeed, the ability to feel humiliated, not only on behalf of oneself, but also of others, in the face of violations of

honor and dignity, represents a strong emotional driving force. Its impact becomes apparent when it drives terrorism, yet, it can also inform the conscientization of a Mandela (Desmond Tutu in Lindner, 2010, p. 8).

Global identity and citizenship introduce an entirely new level of cooperative framing that unites, under one roof of unity in diversity, all the myriad personal ideologies, values, resources, traits and skills, local political, cultural, social, economic, and institutional contexts that make the world rich.

Only a comprehensive global in-group identity of well-calibrated unity in diversity can transcend a world of too much uniformity on one side and too much division on the other. A global in-group identity creates an all-encompassing win-win frame, a frame of mutual respect for everybody's equality in dignity that leaves nobody out. This is a systems view for world peace. The task is to "think globally and act locally," and to "think locally and act globally."

II. How can these characteristics be fostered by national and international change agents?

Part II illustrates what individuals and groups can do to shape and influence important institutions to adopt practices that foster global consciousness, identification, and citizenship. It has two sections that focus on systemic change, (1) beyond and (2) within existing institutions.

Fostering systemic change by thinking beyond existing institutions

Times of crisis require novel thinking and experimentation with novel solutions. As Albert Einstein reportedly said: "We can't solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them."

John Paul Lederach and Katie Mansfield offer a comprehensive graphical presentation of the main components and subcomponents of peace building practices (kroc.nd.edu/alumni/career-resources/strategic-peacebuilding-pathways). An inner circle highlights the three major areas of strategic peace building: (1) efforts to prevent, respond to, and transform violent conflict; (2) efforts to promote justice and healing; and (3) efforts to promote structural and institutional change. An outer circle highlights sub-areas of practice within those three areas: restorative justice, transitional justice, trauma healing, humanitarian action, government and multilateral efforts, nonviolent social change, dialogue/conflict resolution strategies, education, development, dealing with transnational and global threats, law (advocacy and solidarity).

The systems view of this chapter indicates that all of these components need to receive more sturdy institutional anchorings. However, the aim cannot be to implement a new fixed state of institutions—not only Betty Reardon (see her quote at the outset of this chapter), also educator John Dewey, or philosopher Karl Popper warn against new fixity (Richards, 2007). Along the lines of the concept of *voyagers* (see Part I), what is required are continuously evolving processes of perfecting mixed institutions, and systematic efforts that maintain and guide the old plurality of dynamics while the new plurality of

dynamics is being invented and tried out.

Rigid institutions are obsolete in a context where balance is a never-ending calibration process of continuous regulatory feedback loops. Only a carefully sustained balancing, a flexibly nested unity-in-diversity design of institutions, locally and globally, can provide the appropriate frames for the right kind of relationships between people, as well as between people and their ecosphere. Both extremes, “too much government” and “too little government,” must be avoided.

The task at hand is therefore not just to fashion new institutions, but new ways of envisioning institutions. To do so, brainstorming cannot be based too rigidly on traditional fixed templates, but needs space to think outside of the box. The tool box of human culture and imagination may not yet entail what is needed; new thinking has to embark on inventing yet unknown futures.

A high official in the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Per Menzony Bakken, looks back on many decades of experience in international work (Lindner, 2010, pp. xxvi–xxvii). He differentiates between four tasks: (1) policy, (2) strategy, (3) network building, and (4) organization/logistics/implementation. He warns that novel and groundbreaking visions for new policies will never manifest if the difficulties of implementing them are allowed to stop them before they germinate. The most common mistake is to allow strategic considerations to exclude policy options too early in the process. During brainstorming, strategy has to be held at a distance, keeping the destructive “but, this is too difficult to achieve!” at bay with “if it were not difficult, it would have been done a long time ago.”

Cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead said, “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.” Thoughtfulness, at the present point in history, means stepping out of the box, into a bird’s eye perspective, imagining new worlds (policy), and, from there, caringly and cautiously nudging systemic paradigm shifts (strategy).

Physicist Paul Raskin, leading author of the influential essay “Great Transition” (Raskin et al., 2002) and founder of the Great Transition Initiative (GTI, www.gtinitiative.org), works with scenarios that combine quantitative modeling with qualitative narratives. According to his analysis, only “the quality of awareness and engagement of a global citizenship movement” is in the position to perform the transition needed. He doubts that intergovernmental organizations, civil society, or the private sector can affect sufficient impact (www.gtinitiative.org/resources/stream.html). Raskin advises changing not only human choices, but the base of human choices. He recommends to concentrate on ultimate drivers, such as values, understanding, power, and culture, rather than on proximate drivers, such as economic patterns, technology, demographics and institutions. A *great transition* has to go deeper, to the root causes that shape society and the human experience.

Social scientist and activist Riane T. Eisler calls for new social categories to go beyond conventional dichotomies such as religious versus secular, right versus left, capitalist versus communist, Eastern versus Western, or industrial versus pre- or postindustrial. We could extend this list with realism versus idealism, hatred versus love, victory versus defeat, altruism versus egoism, self-interest versus common interest, collectivist versus individualist, big versus small government, globalization versus localization, women versus men, and so forth (Lindner, 2010, p. 95).

Changing the base of human choices by transcending existing practices and institutions is like the swimmer leaping from seemingly firm ground into the water (Part I). Detachment is necessary because even the most familiar and well-established terms, concepts, beliefs, practices, and institutions may represent outdated strategies and preclude new policies.

The most important task is to recast the notion of globalization, away from accepting or rejecting it wholesale, to humanizing it. Globalization has many malign aspects, but it has also benign effects. Admittedly, the economic activities that drive globalization have so far not overcome the dominator culture of the past 10,000 years. However, globalization does also have connective effects. Most importantly, the emergence of the imagery and reality of One World weakens what is called the *security dilemma*. This term is used in political science to describe how mutual distrust can bring states that have no intention of harming one another into bloody war (Herz, 1950). The security dilemma is tragic because its “logic of mistrust and fear” is inescapable in a fragmented world. Global connections open unprecedented space for global community building initiatives to succeed and to further reduce the security dilemma.

Only pro-active and well-designed global framing can prevent the present window of opportunity from closing again. A system of sovereign nation-states ascribes national identities, allowing for patriotism being informed by out-group enmity. Such divisive ascriptions of enmity must be transcended. Nested global layers of institutions and identities must coordinate local institutions and identities in ways that secure harmony through unity in diversity. Global public policy makers must become more daring and sincere in making policies for egalization to humanize globalization, or what Raskin calls the *planetary phase*.

According to Raskin’s research, societal complexity increases in the course of transitions. Each phase absorbs and transforms its antecedents. The form of social organization, the character of the economic system, and the capacity for communication are the three critical and interacting aspects at each stage, see Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of Historical Eras

	Stone Age	Early Civilization	Modern Era	Planetary Phase
Organization	Tribe/village	City-state, Kingdom	Nation-state	Global governance
Economy	Hunting and Gathering	Settled agriculture	Industrial system	Globalization
Communications	Language	Writing	Printing	Internet

Adapted from Raskin et al., 2002, p. 3

At the current point in time, according to Raskin, “business-as-usual” is a utopian fantasy and bound to miss the planetary phase. What is needed is to complement technology improvements with lifestyles and values changes that provide an alternative vision of development globally.

How can appropriate new global governance be fashioned? Anthropologist Alan P.

Fiske found four basic forms of organizing sociality—(1) communal sharing, CS, (2) authority ranking, AR (3) equality matching, EM, and (4) market pricing, MP. Family life is often informed by communal sharing, need and ability are definitorial. Trust, love, care, and intimacy can prosper in this context. Authority ranking involves asymmetry among people who are ordered along vertical hierarchical social dimensions. Equality matching implies a model of balance such as in turn taking, for instance, in car pools or babysitting cooperatives. Market pricing builds on a model of proportionality with respect to ratios and rates. The presently largest frame is MP, which means competition. As long as profit maximization defines global culture, while leaving a power vacuum at the global level through the divisions of a nation-state system, a culture of competition divides and weakens the human family.

To reach a planetary phase of global unity in diversity and build a dignified harmonious world society of citizens with a global identity, it may be helpful to design institutional frames to re-arrange the order of embeddedness of CS, AR, EM and MP. Perhaps communal sharing can be given priority? Perhaps this will persuade people to develop a global identity of unity in diversity, or what I call a sunflower identity? Perhaps this will convince individuals and groups, from local to global levels, from citizens to the United Nations and other international organizations, to think and evaluate how what they do, or could do, affects the global community?

Countries such as Norway offer an illustration. Norway is a country with a highly developed modern market-based economy. However, weather conditions can be extreme. As soon as people find themselves in emergency situations, communal sharing kicks in, together with protective authority ranking. Attempts to exploit an emergency through equality matching or market pricing, are blocked. Emergencies are not seen as “business opportunities.” Indeed, emergency qualifies as appropriate description of the situation of present world society.

I have coined the term *egalization* to denote equality in dignity. If we define *globalization* as “the coming together of the human family into One World,” and *egalization* as “the realization of equality in dignity for each member of this family,” we can coin the word *globegalization* (Lindner, 2010). This is shorthand for “coming together and humanizing globalization with egalization.” I call for egalization to humanize globalization. Globegalization can dignify our world.

Table 2: How Globalization Can Frame Global Citizenship

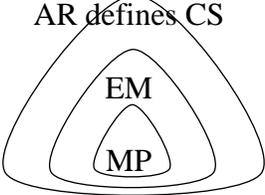
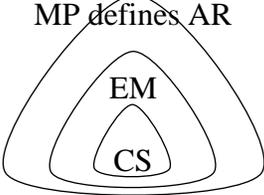
<p>(1) First 95 percent of human history: CS defines AR</p>	<p>(2) Past 5 percent of human history: AR defines CS</p>	<p>(2-3) Present-day humiliating globalization: MP defines AR</p>	<p>(3) Future globalization: CS defines AR</p>
<p>CS defines AR</p> 	<p>AR defines CS</p> 	<p>MP defines AR</p> 	<p>CS defines AR</p> 

Table 2 offers brainstorming on how the humanization of globalization through egalization, a process I call globalization, could be envisaged by a global citizens movement.

Fostering systemic change by thinking within existing institutions

The previous section addressed what Raskin calls large-scale proximate levers of change. Some illustrative examples for smaller-scale initiatives are given in the following.

In his paper on constructive conflict management, Morton Deutsch spells out how all levels of society, from the individual to national and international organizations and institutions can innovate in similar ways. Adapting his recommendations for the global citizens movement, we can suggest that in each institution—at every level, from government, education, the media, religion, and industry—the leading figures can

- (1) articulate and support a normative framework that encourages global citizenship and the sense of being a member of a world community that inhabits the same neighborhood in the universe, the Earth; they can help to make it widely known, salient, and popular;
- (2) serve as good models in the way they develop global citizenship and provide leadership;
- (3) develop and provide incentives for globally inclusive behavior that strengthens the notion and reality of a united global community, and deters polarizing behavior;
- (4) develop and provide opportunities, through education and training, for the acquisition of the skills involved in developing a sense of global citizenship;
- (5) develop and provide third-party facilities that support global citizenship, such as conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and judicial procedures, not only locally, but at a systemic global level (adapted from Deutsch, 1994, p. 114).

Citizens all over the world can use Deutsch's recommendations as starting points for a brainstorming process on how existing institutions can be developed further.

For example, even though many suitable institutions already exist, they are not yet sufficiently known. The UN's Declaration of Human Rights is central to the development of global citizenship. However, few people know about it. How can the Internet, as well as other communication facilities, be employed to and from people throughout the world of its existence to make it more salient in people's awareness?

Existing institutions benefit from adapting their cultures and outreach. For instance, how can schools foster a global, cooperative consciousness? How can schools be helped to become cooperative institutions with a pedagogy that fosters a culture of global cooperation? How can methods of learning draw on the world's cultural diversity so as to nurture global unity in diversity? Can the concept of learning and its institutional structures adapt to educate people to be responsible global citizens rather than submissive subalterns? To give an example: with a handful of students in New York City in 2005, the Global Citizen Corps program has grown to develop 1,100 youth leaders and engage 24,000 young people around the world in eight countries (www.globalcitizencorps.org). Students are able to use the Internet, Web chats, and videoconferencing to have discussions, engage in dialogue and form friendships with peers from across the globe. Or, the Global Citizen Year program is a cross-sector model that partners with high schools and colleges in the United States and NGOs around the world to create opportunities for emerging leaders to work as apprentices in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the year between high school and college (GCY, globalcitizenyear.org). GCY has pledged to engage 1,000 young people in the program by 2015 to unleash a pipeline of emerging leaders to find innovative solutions to the global challenges of the 21st century.

Also entirely new mandates can be created within existing institutions. Farida Shaheed, sociologist from Pakistan, for example, was appointed as the first Independent Expert in the field of Cultural Rights by the Human Rights Council in October 2009. This new mandate highlights the importance of, and the right to, cultural life and cultural development as an essential and inherent right of all individuals and peoples and stresses that cultural rights must celebrate the diversities that define our collective humanity while ensuring that the right to pursue, develop and preserve culture in all its manifestations is in consonance with and serves to uphold the universality, indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights.

New legal frameworks can be brought on their way. A new standard for urban and community accounting, for instance, was ratified in early 2007. United Nations and Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI) ratified the triple bottom line approach, abbreviated as "TBL" or "3BL," and also known as "the three pillars" of "people, planet, profit" or "economic, ecological and social." TBL became the dominant approach to public sector full cost accounting (see also the ecoBudget standard for reporting ecological footprint). Also in the private sector, a commitment to corporate social responsibility implies some form of TBL reporting. New information and communication technologies give rise to new kinds of global nonmarket practices, such as peer-to-peer models (P2P), used by initiatives such as the Free Software and Open Source movement (Bauwens, 2008).

In sum, large-scale visions are needed to guide the thrust of smaller-scale change

efforts. When existing institutions want to re-think themselves, they need to have a vision of where to go. Educational institutions as they are organized now do not need to regard themselves as givens but can be made to promote globalizaton; faith groups can reinvent themselves; the terms “business” and “corporation” can be filled with innovative contents; and also national governments, groupings such as the European Union, the United Nations and other international organizations can re-think themselves to get ready for a sustainable future for all world citizens. Of utmost importance is the re-fashioning of global systems. Currently, global players—global speculators achieved notoriety only very recently—abuse the power vacuum left by a fragmented nation-state system.

III. Which difficulties might be expected and how could they be overcome?

Two main obstacles to global citizenship can be observed and expected, (1) obstacles within individuals, and (2) obstacles in the present world structure.

As to obstacles within individuals, they range from simple unawareness to active resistance. First, people lack information and are ignorant about the possibilities of global citizenship—it is just outside of their consciousness. Then, people are strongly identified with their tribe, group, nation, or religion, and do not recognize the possibility of a world of unity in diversity. This problem is exacerbated in a world that is ever more interconnected through globalization. The resulting confusion and contradictions might instigate fear of global identification more than willingness to engage in it. Also the legacy of colonialism, the Cold War, and authoritarian regimes is likely to cause apprehension. Rather than enthusiasm to create a world of unity in diversity, people fear Malthusian global division and anarchy or Orwellian global uniformity. Last but not least, those in power, who benefit from the existing system, use the media, education, and other influences to create a “false consciousness” about the lessons and dangers that will be experienced by “globalization.” This may be due to their anxiousness of the uncertainties connected with change, or to a desire to hold on to privileges, even if at the disadvantage of others.

With regard to obstacles within world structure, there is no clear image of how a global society would function, nor of its possible problems as well as advantages. Furthermore, there are many institutions that depend on the status quo for their existence. Their members therefore have a vested interest to keep these institutions in place.

What would a global unity-in-diversity society look like? Paul Raskin’s work on scenarios was mentioned earlier. Global futures cannot be predicted with certainty due to three types of indeterminacy—ignorance, surprise, and volition (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 13). Raskin uses scenarios because, even though they cannot give certain predictions, they can provide insight into the scope of the possible to support informed and rational action. His *Great Transition* scenario would change the character of global civilization and validate global solidarity, cultural cross-fertilization and economic connectedness while seeking a liberatory, humanistic and ecological transition.

How can this transition be brought about? Following Margaret Mead’s adage, a global citizens movement at all levels, from civil society to the gatekeepers of political and economic institutions, needs to implement institutional frames that secure this transition systemically. As soon as new frames are in place, they will nudge people to widen the

boundaries of empathy and compassion to match the size of those frames. The transition can be described as proceeding in several intertwined loops (Lindner, 2009, p. 71). Institution-building is of primary importance because dignified institutions can frame subsequent feedback loops and foster global cooperation in a systemic rather than haphazard way. Any subsequent loop will have the advantage of enjoying the support from the system, no longer only depending on a few gifted Gandhi-like individuals. As soon as new nested layers of self-reforming global institutions are implemented, they will transform local cultures accordingly.

To bring such a change on its way, it is necessary to develop widespread communications about the nature and benefits of global citizenship and to develop worldwide groups that can support and promote global identification and global citizenship. Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah views cosmopolitanism as a moral code characterized by conversation: “It begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association” (Appiah, 2006, p. xix).

In this spirit, the 12th session of the Provisional World Parliament convenes in Kolkata, India, December 27-31, 2010 (Martin, 2010; www.earthfederation.info). Since 2010, a World Dignity University is being developed (www.worlddignityuniversity.org).

IV. Suggestions for research

Part IV addresses the research needed to organize the world as One integrated dynamic equilibrium based on the principle of unity in diversity and global citizenship as frames for cooperation. Researchers can analyze and synthesize; this is their expertise. They are therefore among the first to be called on to step up to the challenges of global crises. Not just the surface of social and societal arrangements needs re-evaluation, but their deep structures.

Philosopher Immanuel Kant suggested a world federation as path to perpetual world peace, and even though “the politics of world federation” have been analyzed further since (see Baratta, 2004), more research on global governance models is needed. Early peace psychologists have developed different proposals of how to develop a peaceful global community (Rudmin, 1991), and present-day psychologists are called on to follow suit. New ways of living together must be experimented with. Sociologist Amitai Etzioni founded the communitarian movement. He calls for individual rights and aspirations to be inserted into a sense of community, at national and international levels (Etzioni, 2006). Philosopher Avishai Margalit speaks to public policy makers when he stipulates that it is not enough to create a just society, but that we need a *decent* society, with institutions that do not humiliate their citizens (Margalit, 1996). Can *globalization* create a decent world? Research is needed.

Concepts such as unity in diversity and subsidiarity are central. Research must elucidate how local diversity can flourish under an umbrella of global unity, and how the nesting of subsidiarity can help to realize this. The concept of unity in diversity is bound to face many problems, for instance, What is the definition of unity in diversity? How should unity be defined? At what point does unity degrade into uniformity and when does diversity become divisive? Conflicts will emerge between the global community and a

unit within it and also between two units within it. Research needs to indicate what sorts of conflict are most likely and how they can be managed constructively.

At present, large world-regions adhere to a culture of collectivist and authoritarian uniformity rather than unity in diversity. On October, 8, 2010, China, for instance, angrily summoned Norway's ambassador to protest at the Norwegian Nobel Committee's decision to give the Peace Prize to Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo. This incident highlights that Chinese ways of conceptualizing harmony are not necessarily congruent with European visions of social cohesion. To put it crudely, in the traditional cultures that characterized the past 10,000 years almost everywhere on the globe, unity, peace, conflict resolution, or reconciliation were defined as successful patronage over unequals (uniformity), and safely keeping enemies out (division). In contrast, in a context of global unity in diversity, the same aims are sought by all-inclusive mutual collaboration between equals.

The strength of cultures of collectivist and authoritarian uniformity was illustrated in the well-known Milgram experiments (Milgram, 1974). People gave electric shocks to others because those with authority in the lab, those leading the experiment, told them to. Even when the destructive effects of their work became clear, and their actions were incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, few people were able to resist authority (ibid., pp. 5-6). The earlier mentioned experiments by Ross et al. show that cooperative approaches are chosen when the context is framed as a community situation.

Peter T. Coleman and his colleagues use a *dynamical systems* approach to conceptualize the intransigence entailed in intractable conflict (Vallacher et al., 2010). Their approach can also illuminate the intractable unsustainability of present arrangements of human affairs. Coleman et al. identify *attractors*, or dominant mental and behavioral patterns that offer a coherent map of the world and a stable platform for action. More research is needed on how institutions built on the principle of unity in diversity can offer unifying frames and attractors that systemically induce cooperation between diverse concepts and actors.

In my work, I call on scholars to "harvest" from all cultures of the world those practices and approaches that can support a more dignified future. The African philosophy of *ubuntu* ("I am because of you") is exemplary. Desmond Tutu used it as foundation for his Truth Commissions in South Africa (Battle, 1997). In pastoralist and tribal societies, *jirga* is a tribal assembly of elders which takes decisions by consensus. *Musyawah*, *silaturahmi*, *asal ngumpul*, *palaver*, *shir*, are only a few more terms from the list of traditional approaches to deliberation and compromise used around the world that can create inclusive consensus. To institutionalize this harvesting research, I suggest focusing on the individual, away from reifying culture, and propose to extend the field of intercultural communication into the field of *Global Interhuman Communication* (Lindner, 2007).

Recent trends in research already point into this direction. There is a renewed interest in the ancient idea of cosmopolitanism (Hansen, 2008), ranging from political to moral, cultural, and economic cosmopolitanism. Scholars and practitioners in many fields are presently inquiring what it means to conceptualize all human beings as connected by their membership in a shared cosmos. Cosmopolitanism is a "humanist" ideology of identity politics, concerned with the cultivation of "global citizens" who celebrate difference but give preeminence to their transcendent ethic of conversation as a universal value (Sellers

et al., 1998). Its narrative leads away from a categorical approach to culture (Gjerde, 2004), and challenges the stability of a received taxonomy of identity (Hollinger, 2006).

Cosmopolitanism has emerged as a central idea in moral and political philosophy (e.g., Appiah, 2006; Benhabib, 2006), as well as political science (e.g., Ypi, 2008) and education (e.g., Hansen, 2008; Unterhalter, 2008), not least as a response to the identity threats of globalization (Arnett, 2002) and as a corrective to the potential essentialism of multiculturalism (Verkuyten, 2007). There is increasing recognition in the social science literature of the multiracial identity experience (e.g., Shih & Sanchez, 2009) and intersectionality (Cole, 2009). As an ideology of ideal intergroup relations, cosmopolitanism seeks to cultivate conversation across distinct human communities, coupled with recognition of the legitimacy of that distinctiveness.

[Cosmopolitanism] is the idea that we have obligations to others . . . that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kin, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. [It is the idea] that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. (Appiah, 2006, p. xv)

Barrack Obama's election in the United States signaled a shift toward a cosmopolitan code of identity ethics and a recognition of the inherent intersectionality of identity politics (Hammack, 2010). It is not a "power-differential-blind" view of diversity; it allows for a cosmopolitanism that is combined with the *conscientização* needed to work for social justice.

Obama does not seek to *neutralize* or to *deny* the role of power and hegemony but to *use* conversation as a strategy of *action*, action fundamentally characterized by *conversation*, rather than *confrontation*, by *negotiation* rather than *negation*, and by *words* rather than *war*. In this way, Obama's cosmopolitanism is rooted in pragmatism, he works to transform division into diversity, and this pragmatism is fused with an ideological commitment to social justice, which stands for the unity he advocates. The unity of shared humanity is normative, while it requires pragmatic work to manifest this message in reality, to invite division to transform into unity in diversity. It integrates the double consciousness (Du Bois, 1903) of principled pragmatism of standing by the lofty norms of humanism at the core of the sunflower, while pragmatically living in diversity (petals). Obama's personal narrative provides a template of resilience in the context of potential fragmentation (Lifton, 1993).

We live in times of greater threat than ever but also of greater promise. Never before in human history has anything comparable occurred. Never did a unification process comprise the entire globe and touch so many hearts and minds. Never before did a concurrent continuous revolution—the human rights revolution—call into question traditional norms so radically.

In a cooperative situation the goals are so linked that everybody 'sinks or swims' together, while in the competitive situation if one swims, the other must sink." This chapter argues that, at present, global society has not yet learned to swim together, and thus risks sinking together. Global society's psychological, social, and societal cohesion

still fails to match the requirements for cooperation that it faces. Human-made concepts, practices, and institutions still have to live up to the reality of their own embeddedness in nature, as well as the fact that in an interdependent world, local conflicts diffuse and affect everyone. This chapter makes the point that it is of utmost importance that the global community learns to cooperate, so as to create a worthwhile future for the next generation. The emergence of the imagery and reality of One World represents a historic window of opportunity and hope that must be actively seized.

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