

The Mission of His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal: Manifesting Equal Dignity in Global Solidarity — A Personal Homage

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I thank His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal and Dr. Renée Hattar for welcoming me as visiting scholar to the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies (RIIFS) in Amman, Jordan, from September to December 2022 and in May 2023¹

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This text is my personal gift to His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan. I decided to come to Jordan because of my immense admiration for him as a voice for peace in dignity. I would like to contribute to making his voice be heard louder in the world.

This paper is my gift to His Royal Highness and also to the world. My aim is to explain how I see his work fit into the work on dignity that I have been doing for the past decades, and how I see his role in the world. The world is in crisis and therefore needs personalities of a calibre of a Mandela or Gandhi. His Royal Highness has this stature.

Introduction

I was writing this text in December 2022 in Amman, Jordan, where I was a visiting scholar, kindly invited by His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal. He is a member of the Jordanian royal family and one of the most important global thinkers of our time. He has served in many important capacities, among others, as head of the Club of Rome from 1999 to 2007. I am deeply thankful to him for welcoming me to his Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies (RIIFS) from September to December 2022, and again in 2023. The Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network that I lead together with Linda Hartling, and its World Dignity University Initiative, are equally grateful

to him and RIIFS for convening the annual dignity conference of in 2022. The conference was titled ‘From United Nations to United People: From the Brink of Disaster to a Future of Dignity’.²

I was writing these lines at the end of my four months in Jordan, because these months offered me the opportunity to better understand the regional social and societal context within which Prince El Hassan’s work is embedded. I revisited this text in December 2023, as war was being waged a few kilometres away from Amman.

The overarching task of ‘moving from disaster to dignity’ and ‘from United Nations to United People’ entails many sub-tasks at all levels, micro, meso and macro levels. In the six sub-sections of this paper, I will unpick some of these sub-tasks and show how His Royal Highness addresses all of them not just through the kind of work he does, also through the way in which he does this work.

Let me highlight in this Introduction two particular aspects that I notice in Prince El Hassan’s personality, the first relating to courage and the second to care. First to courage. In my work, I connect the macro level with the micro level insofar as I study the details of lived lives on the ground on all continents as a global ambassador for our global community — this is the micro and meso level — and then I address the macro level by envisioning pathways to a dignified future for all living beings on this planet in my academic work. When I observe Prince El Hassan’s life path, I notice that most people he encounters are located at the meso and macro level — many are the pillars of the contemporary world-system,³ some are even leaders at the present-day macro level. His Royal Highness could content himself with mingling with them, he could simply enjoy the privileges he has and do nothing more. I highly appreciate that he is more ambitious. He writes and gives speeches in which he creates visions for how humanity may survive in dignity in the long term. He engages in *future-back* thinking by generating visionary aspirations for a dignified and dignifying future, rather than *present-forward* thinking that focusses on fixing existing broken systems. I will present one of his major original conceptual contributions — the notion of *cogitocide* — further down.

In short, my first point is that Prince El Hassan’s visionary courage is the very kind of courage a world in crisis needs.

Now to the second point. His Royal Highness is a dignitary, a dignitary who is widely respected because he has shown that he has the common good of all people at heart. He understands dignity as the practice of care and responsibility. He is the proverbial benevolent leader in a world that has no scarcity of leaders who exploit their followership for their own gain. Again, he could simply consume his privileges without giving anything back to his people, but he does not do so. He cares, and he cares big — he cares not just for his family and his region, the Levant, but for the world.

This is therefore my second point. Prince El Hassan shows the very sort of care a world in crisis needs.

Let me explain this second point in a little more detail. The term *dignitary* betrays that the concept of dignity came into being long before 1948, the year when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared that ‘All human beings are born with equal rights and dignity. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood’ (we would add sisterhood today and rather speak of solidarity). In former times, such utterances would have been unconceivable because dignity was *unequal* — and still is in many segments of contemporary world society. Very different sentences would have felt ‘right’ in the past, and still do, for instance, ‘All human beings are born unequal in worthiness and rights. Some are endowed with more reason and conscience than others and should preside over inferiors in a spirit of supremacy’. In other words, in former times, a dignitary was a ‘higher’ being who presided over ‘lesser beings’ and was deemed to be worth more than others: His Royal Highness.

Prince El Hassan actively undermines the traditional definition of a dignitary not just by what he says but also in the ways in which he communicates with people. When he relates to people, he does this with humility rather than arrogance, he is warm and personable rather than aloof and cold, in short, he highlights fellow humanness more than highness. Rather than trying to force other people to respect him by way of his title, or by way of threat or coercion, he gains the respect of

people by the personal integrity with which he embraces the responsibility of his leadership role.

In the past, the typical way of being a leader was to act as if he (it was usually a man) was a kind of giant warrior in an armour, standing in the middle of the territory his leadership role had given him, hovering over the masses like a statue on a pedestal. From there, he would defend this territory against whoever dared to climb up the base of the statue intent on taking down its height or shrinking its width. Prince El Hassan, in contrast, refuses to use any armour, he comes down from the pedestal, he steps out of behind the mask of his role, he opens his arms as a fellow human being among other human beings. This does not mean he gives up his role as a member of a royal family, neither does he hide his extraordinary scholarship, he simply defines and lives leadership in humble and caring ways.

Human worthiness can be appraised in two profoundly different ways, which are mutually exclusive at their core. The difference lies between *equal* and *unequal* worthiness, between ranking the worthiness and value of people in *higher* and *lesser*, or of *not* ranking it.⁴ The sentence ‘All human beings are born with equal rights and dignity’ marks the transition from the first to the second approach. Prince El Hassan manifests this transition every day in his actions. He refuses to treat anybody as a lesser being.

Ranking people’s worthiness as ‘higher’ and ‘lesser’ requires the concept of a scale, a ranking order that ranges from high to low. The *great chain of being* is such a scale, with divinity at the top and dirt at the bottom.⁵ This scale can be used in different ways, or it may not be used altogether. It can be used to rank people as ‘higher’ or ‘lesser’ beings, yet, one can also reject this practice and decide to align all human worthiness at the same level. The latter can be done by lining up all people’s worthiness at the bottom, at the top, or in middle of the scale, while the more radical solution is to reject the use of ranking scales for human worthiness altogether.⁶

In my work, I have chosen to apply the label of *honour* to the first practice — that of ranking human worth into higher or lesser value — and I reserve the phrase *dignity* for the second practice, namely, for the un-ranking of human worth, the collapsing of the gradient of high and low into one single line, so that everyone is at the same level of worthiness.

Already philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau differentiated dignity and honour in similar ways, and philosopher Charles Taylor followed him in speaking of two moral universes: dignity as a necessary recognition, and honour as a non-egalitarian value within systems of preference.⁷ The first arrangement, that of honour, is aligned with what systems scientist Riane Eisler calls the *dominator* model of society, while the second fits into Eisler’s *partnership* model of society,⁸ or, as psychologist Linda Hartling would call it, the *mutuality* model of society.⁹ I will come back to this topic further down. Wherever Prince El Hassan goes — and I have observed it several times — he actively disappoints any expectation that he would act as a dominator. Instead, he invites everyone into mutuality. For instance, he often jokes, ‘I always look behind me [wondering who they speak to] when people say Royal Highness to me!’¹⁰

In my work, I describe dignity as a lived experience that cannot be defined academically along the line of laws of nature as stipulated in physics. Equal dignity is an embodied sense of being able to stand tall — independent of one’s body size — and hold one’s head up high, as high as everyone else’s. Equal dignity is an ‘orthopaedic challenge’, it is the art of walking upright.¹¹ It means looking into the eyes of fellow human beings as equals rather than being humiliated into bowing down in submissive servility or sticking one’s nose up in haughty arrogance.¹² Equal dignity is a posture, a *Haltung* in German.¹³ It is a posture of dignified humility — of humble pride¹⁴ — neither looking up to others from humiliated inferiority nor looking down on others from arrogant superiority.

Equal dignity means for inferiors to become aware that they need no longer to accept humiliation in docile meekness, while it means for superiors to learn to step down from arrogating supremacy and stop using humiliation to keep others in inferior positions. This is what other dignitaries may want to learn from Prince El Hassan: how to refuse to arrogate supremacy, how to refuse it with love and humour, and how to value the respect and dignity that such integrity inspires, all of which

is much more valuable and nourishing than any enforced supremacy.

Uppity was once a derogatory word to describe black persons who held their heads ‘too high’ and ‘didn’t know their place’ in the ranking order.¹⁵ Today, equal dignity invites everyone to reject not just ‘uppity’, but to abandon the ranking of human worthiness from superior to inferior altogether, more even, to include also other living creatures on the planet and acknowledge that there can be no human dignity if there is no dignity for all living beings. It is this journey from honour to dignity that Prince El Hassan travels every day in front of the eyes of everyone who can see.

For dignity to manifest, equality is not enough though. Human rights ideals represent more than just an invitation to hold heads up so that all are equals. They invite everyone to do more — and Prince El Hassan does this beautifully — namely, to also open one’s arms and offer respectful solidarity. It means refraining from sticking one’s elbows out in divisive competition, just as much as avoiding smothering others with choking embraces. Everyone is invited to protect unity in diversity through avoiding hostile division as much as avoiding suffocating uniformity. All are invited to meet at the level of equal dignity in shared humility and solidarity, so that all can join hands in co-creating a decent future together.¹⁶ Co-creating a decent future means liberating all living beings on the planet from all undignifying global political and economic frames. This is Prince El Hassan’s life mission.

In my latest book, I delineate the historical journey that the concept of human worthiness has traversed since time immemorial. The journey started from the *pristine pride* of our most ancient ancestors, until it began to veer into *mask-like collectivistic ranked honour* throughout the past millennia, proceeding towards the *ranked decorum of an individual ‘dignitary’* around 250 years ago. In a next step, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights asked us to undo the practice of ranking human worthiness, thus liberating the individual and awarding *equal dignity to all, as individuals*. Even though honour and dignity are both about worthiness,¹⁷ the difference becomes clear: honour systems rank lineages hierarchically — some people are born higher than others — while human rights ideals bestow the same inherent dignity on everyone, just for belonging to the core lineage of *Homo sapiens*. This is, in essence, nothing but *globally united people* mentioned in the title of our 2022 Dignity Conference.

Let me now look at the context into which Prince El Hassan was born. He was born into a world region that lies in the middle of geopolitical crossroads and has been deeply affected by violent competition of domination between empires, kingdoms, and tribes. For millennia, peace has never been lasting, the best to be had was armistice, truce, or ‘peace and quiet’ in indignity. What political scientists call the *security dilemma* was usually strong. In a nutshell, this dilemma indicates, ‘We have to amass weapons, because we are scared. When we amass weapons, you get scared. You amass weapons, we get more scared’.¹⁸ This dilemma causes relations with out-groups to be defined by the motto of Roman thinker Vegetius, *If you want peace, prepare for war*.¹⁹ The dilemma is called dilemma because it is a tragedy — preparations for war, even if intended for peace, tend to produce more war.

Prince El Hassan was born into the middle of this tragedy. In his 2001 book *Continuity, Innovation and Changes* he wrote, ‘The Middle East is an area that has borne more tragedies than most, and that might appear to have inherited a more insoluble conflict than any’.²⁰

Throughout the past millennia, no political leader could escape the security dilemma, as it affected most world regions. Leaders had almost no choice but to become warriors on a pedestal and try to outcompete and dominate their adversaries. The warrior way of being became the norm for leaders. Unfortunately, this way is still the norm today, not just in the Levant. What is overlooked is that historical times call for overcoming the security dilemma and entering a new phase of human history, that of global cooperation, lest competition for domination may cause the self-destruction of the human species.

The warrior way of being is even being idolised and celebrated now. ‘Wall Street today is like war — violence but without the guns’, remembers a financial expert who worked at JPMorgan.²¹

‘Ready, fire, aim’ is the strategy that is being recommended.²² *Strategic Warfare for Managers* is the title of a book²³ written to help managers apply power-over strategies in a ‘mercenary corporate culture’.²⁴ Even average employees pride themselves of being warriors now, or at least followers of warriors, accepting to be cogs in the large cogwheels that are turned by global corporate players that straitjacket everyone into little armies by way of ‘New Public Management’. Even educational institutions — such as universities — succumb to this trend now.²⁵

To be ‘professional’, in such a workplace context, means keeping friendship out of ‘job’ life, it means having a private life separate from a professional life, it means preventing one’s humanity from ‘spilling over’ into ‘work’ unless this is part of the job description. It means that while my colleague might need a loving hug as a fellow human being, I must offer it in my so-called ‘free’ time and might even be scolded for doing so. If my colleague commits suicide because nobody cares, this is sad but part of the system. By the same token, employees in weapon factories may say, ‘I work for mass shootings and war, but I need the salary, and this is my role. I have signed a contract with my employer where there is no mention of any responsibility of mine for the wider world’. Likewise, an employee in extractive industries may say, ‘It is sad that I get my salary from destroying our planet, but I have a contract and I need the money’.

Many agree that we, as humanity, cannot continue in this way. We need to cease being ‘professional’. We overstretch the ecological and social resources of our planet to the extent that we risk humanity’s demise. We live in a world that is globally so interconnected that any local war threatens the survival of humanity as a whole. Nuclear war can wipe out all life on Earth, and the danger has become greater than ever.²⁶

The world should learn from Prince El Hassan’s insights into the Middle East and its political *economy of despair*:

An examination of the history of the Middle East reveals that conflicts over resources, demography and ideology have traditionally been met militarily. Of all aspects of security, it has been the military dimension that has held precedence, at great human cost. It is becoming increasingly apparent that this military dimension of security is incapable of furnishing lasting solutions satisfactory to all.

The most obvious example of the hegemony of the military paradigm concerns territory. In the Gulf alone there have been no fewer than twenty-two active border disputes since 1900, all dealt with by military means. This has in turn fuelled military spending, leading to massive debts as eager suppliers of arms compete for customers. The interrelation between energy, arms and debts is plain to see in this context. It is an enduring and telling irony that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, empowered to uphold peace around the world, together account for approximately 90 per cent of the world’s arms trade. This overemphasis on the military dimension, together with great and growing economic disparities in the Middle East, have given rise to what may be termed the political economy of despair.²⁷

In his 2001 book *Continuity, Innovation and Changes*, Prince El Hassan offers a chapter on nuclear weapons and regional conflicts where he writes, ‘I come from a part of the world where moderation is increasingly viewed as a sign of weakness and where might is often considered right. The Rule of Law is replaced by the law of the jungle in the name of political necessity or military expediency. Some commit acts of aggression and call them pre-emptive actions. Others commit acts of violence and call the heroism’.²⁸

What is the solution? Globally United People for Dignity! If humanity wishes to survive in dignity, there is only one way out, namely, to come together as globally united people with the shared aim to build enough global trust so that the security dilemma can wither away. This is the only way because continuing with competition for domination will translate not into ‘victory’ but into collective suicide. War on each other and war on nature are suicidal strategies. Global mutual partnership is the only game left in town in case survival in dignity shall be the outcome. It is the

practice of loving and caring dialogue with each other as fellow human beings — not as depersonalised ‘professional’ role-bearers — in respect for the fact that we humans are not masters over nature but an integral part of it. It is the dignity of all living creatures that is at stake.

This is what Prince El Hassan works for every day. He builds trust all around the world through his ideas and through his dignified and dignifying ways of communicating. He is the opposite of a depersonalised role-bearer, he brings his full humanity to the table wherever he goes.

In his 2001 book, he asks the crucial questions that all of humanity must ask now, ‘What is the use of knowledge whose main purpose is to destroy? Why develop technology which can only serve to kill those who develop it and all others as well? Why spend two million dollars per minute on military expenditure when we know that arms have never brought about a durable solution to any problem? Why have an arms race which cannot be won and which can only enhance the danger of total annihilation?’.²⁹ ‘These questions may sound simplistic’, he admits, ‘But they do call for convincing answers. Arms industries must undergo conversion to the extent possible. This will not be easy; but those who live on arms must have alternative means of profit. Similarly, the inner dynamics of the war machine needs to be turned to peaceful goals’. He concludes, ‘In the nuclear context, the formula: “if you want peace, prepare for war” is outdated, unrealistic and entirely unacceptable if one cares for the future of mankind. I believe that, whatever the justification — balance of Power or deterrence or national security — going nuclear for military purposes is opting for collective suicide’.³⁰

In the same book, Prince El Hassan offers a chapter titled ‘A personal vision’. There he writes, ‘Let us add our voices to the call for a Human Charter, allied to the ethic of transnational human cooperation, to foster the conviction that the proper focus of politics, economics and security is the individual human person. For however collectivity may be expressed — as community or culture, civilisation, society or state — it is composed of individuals, each with unique needs, abilities and aspirations’.³¹

Anthropologist Margaret Mead is often quoted as saying, ‘Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has’.

I nominate His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal to lead this small group of people when the next ‘Eleanor Roosevelt’ moment comes. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt. The world waits for a new transition towards dignity!

‘Contemporary human rights as a set of global moral principles and sentiments ... do not intervene in power politics’, writes historian Samuel Moyn, ‘but just for that reason, they seem often to make little practical difference, amounting to an ornament on a tragic world which they do not transform. Because they are not realistic enough, they end up accommodating reality too much. A better compromise between utopianism and realism is required’.³²

The many tasks on the way to a more decent future

During his lifetime, His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal has received many honorary doctorates, among others, the Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from the University of Oklahoma, U.S.A., in 2002. He was honoured with the following words that show how far ahead of his time he is:

His Royal Highness, Prince El Hassan bin Talal, has devoted his life to the creation of a society in which pluralism is respected and people of all backgrounds and religions can live and work together in freedom and with dignity. His personal vision, his writings, and his leadership for a quarter of a century have greatly impacted Interfaith dialogue, commitment to human rights, educational opportunities, and the alleviation of poverty. He has co-chaired the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. ... As a man of peace who has fostered

mutual understanding among all people by the way in which he has lived his life, the University honors His Royal Highness, Prince El Hassan bin Talal.³³

I will now touch upon some of the many tasks on the way to a more decent future. His Royal Highness has thought deeply about all of them.

1. Away from both, oppressive collectivism, and unhinged individualism, towards inter-connected individuality

My seven years (1984–1991) of working as a psychotherapist in Egypt's capital Cairo taught me many lessons. I learned to appreciate the ability of traditional collectivistic family networks to create social glue among its members. Prince El Hassan lives in a world region where collectivist values and traditions are being widely , such as, for instance, family solidarity. The epidemic of loneliness that afflicts the West³⁴ has not yet reached his region, even though it is on its way. Psychologist Patricia Greenfield has recently mapped how all over the world, as societies urbanise, the terminology changes from 'obey' to 'choose'.³⁵ Greenfield bases her research on the work of sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) and his conceptualisation of the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*.³⁶

I do now wish to idealise *Gemeinschaft* nor *Gesellschaft*. My objective is to highlight the advantages and disadvantages of both and then combine the best of all sides. When I worked in Egypt, I learned to understand the dark sides of collectivism, after all, its victims came as clients to me as a therapist. They taught me that the formation of trust in larger society is impeded when social bonds are limited to tribal settings,³⁷ that, as valuable as it is, mutual trust within each *Gemeinschaft*, when it is accompanied by mistrust of the neighbouring *Gemeinschaft*, will bring division and oppression to larger society. I am therefore well aware of the advantages of larger and more abstract networks of relationships, I am an admirer of educator Paulo Freire's colleague Clodomir de Moraes, who called it the 'artisan weakness' not to let go of control.³⁸ I appreciate sociologist Mark Granovetter's concept of 'weak ties'.³⁹ Altogether, I welcome the liberation from all oppressive and divisive aspects of traditional collectivistic mindsets and society models. I do not aim for any false idealisation of the past.

Yet, there is a 'too little' and a 'too much', and what I observe of individualistic orientations in Western societies, it is 'too much'.⁴⁰ Driven by the promise of liberty and equal dignity, these societies go too far. They sacrifice and forego the solidarity that is embedded in collectivistic settings, despite all oppressive and divisive aspects.⁴¹ In 1929, Virginia Woolf was right that 'a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction'.⁴² Yet, sitting alone for too long leads to *anomie*, a generalised state of alienation and atomisation.⁴³ Both Britain and Japan had recently to appoint special ministers to address their loneliness epidemic, and 'most doctors in Britain see between one and five patients a day who have come mainly because they are lonely', according to the Campaign to End Loneliness.⁴⁴

By ripping the individual out from the collective, Western societies have thrown out the baby with the bath water so to speak, so that *anomie* reigns instead of the hoped-for equal dignity for all in solidarity,⁴⁵ and this predicament is exacerbated by rising inequality.⁴⁶ As *anomie*-creating mindsets and trends are now part of a global 'colonisation campaign' originating from the West, they empty the world of its social and ecological resources and leave behind a ravaged habitat. In this habitat, disconnected lonely 'losers' are blinded by the illusion that they can become 'winners' if only they work hard enough so they can 'buy the right kind of life'.⁴⁷

As so many other terms, the terminology of collectivism and individualism has traversed a long journey throughout history, embedded in social-economic structures and their transformations and transitions over time. Legal historian Sir Henry Maine began to describe the transition from status to contract in 1861,⁴⁸ a transition that was later referred to by historical sociologist and political

economist Karl Polanyi as the disintegration of the feudal *Gemeinschaften* of the Middle Ages and the emergence of capitalism as an economic system that dissolves personal bonds by way of arms-length contractual transactions.⁴⁹ The more market relationships became disengaged from social relationships, Polanyi observed a *double movement* being implemented — a term that Polanyi coined — to repair the harm caused. *Double movement* describes the project of first dis-embedding the economy from society to give market pricing priority, only to have to remedy the damage *post hoc* by re-embedding the economy into society through social interventions, such as, for instance, labour laws.⁵⁰

What is overlooked, and I observe this everywhere, is that laws cannot replace love. Rights alone are not dignifying. Equal rights for every individual in freedom ends in anomic loneliness. What is overlooked are the benefits of collectivistic arrangements, their ability to create relationships that provide society with social glue. Collectivistic arrangements have something to offer. They do not have to be authoritarian hierarchies that exclude equal dignity, they can also foster relationships in which each person is valued, protected, and nurtured. There is a pro-liberal, pro-multicultural kind of communitarianism and collectivism that theorists such as Michael Walzer and Charles Taylor stand up for.⁵¹ Geopolitologist and philosopher Pierre Hassner once rightly observed that ‘the yearning for community and identity on the one hand, and that for equality and solidarity on the other, will always come back’.⁵²

We do not have to sacrifice dignity and freedom, neither for the sake of the group in collectivistic settings nor for the sake of a global monetary system and its hyper-individualism. In the global dignity movement that we began building more than twenty years ago — our global Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network — we nurture precisely this kind of togetherness in freedom.

Non-Western communities hail traditions such as filial piety, and certain aspects of it deserve to be maintained rather than thrown out wholesale. The *reciprocal* aspect of filial piety, for instance, is worth nurturing. What may safely be discarded is the oppressive *authoritarian* aspect.⁵³ The Non-Western diaspora in Western countries is currently building bridges. For example, people of Middle Eastern origins based in America tell us that they appreciate the traditional veneration of the elderly while they ‘turn their backs’ on other main cultural markers, such as, for instance, ‘control over women and their sexuality’.⁵⁴ Even radical feminists who believe in women’s social and sexual self-determination can be ‘proud of the Iranian esteem for parents’.⁵⁵

These are bridge builders, who, like Prince El Hassan, validate and nurture the benign *horizontal* aspects of collectivism, while avoiding the malign *vertical* aspects.⁵⁶ I observe that many do not understand his choice of highlighting the horizontal aspects of collectivism. It is not just a personal trait or inclination that he happens to have. It is a programmatic act, an act that invites the world to follow, because global solidarity in equal dignity is the only path to a decent future.

Me too, I am a bridge builder, and I face the resistance of my social environment. For instance, when my father was close to the end of his life in Germany, I saw caring for him as an integral part of my dignity work. I did that without being paid, sacrificing both my personal freedom and my financial security. For the last three years of my father’s life, I aligned my life with his needs day and night. When I expressed hope that also other members of my family may sacrifice for our father for a few days, this was considered to be a humiliating violation of their freedom. The reason given was, ‘Everyone has their own lives! Nobody should be asked to sacrifice for others!’ The only option for me was to sacrifice myself, and even that was at times maligned. It was seen as impertinent not to adhere to the norm of Western individualism: I had to have ‘my own life’ and my father had to be brought to a retirement home. It was irrelevant that my father, given his traumatic life experience of war and displacement, made it utterly clear that he wanted to die in his bed and not anywhere else. Had he been brought into a retirement home, he would have died in the first week.

I cared for my father not just out of personal preference, but also as a programmatic act. Western individualism would have cut his life short by several years. I gave him three years of high quality

of life at the end of his days, and I am happy that I defended the dignity of both of us against the neglectful cruelty of Western individualism.

Neglectful individualism is as damaging as oppressive collectivism. I call for a new concept that allows for a middle way between *disconnected individualism* on one side and *oppressive collectivism* on the other side — I advocate *interconnected individuality*.⁵⁷ I call on us to heed that we humans are not mere self-interest maximising machines, on the contrary, we can find deep fulfilment and meaning in standing together, we are capable of solidarity in connectedness and compassion.⁵⁸

2. Away from oppressive hierarchy towards communal sharing and a hierarchy of care

Anthropologist Alan Page Fiske has built a theory of meta-relational models⁵⁹ based on his research where he found that people, most of the time and in all cultural settings, use just four elementary and universal forms or models for organising most aspects of sociality. Interaction can be structured according to what people have *in common*, Fiske calls this form of sociality *communal sharing* (CS). Interactions can also be structured according to *ordered differences* or what Fiske calls *authority ranking* (AR), or, third, according to *additive imbalances* or Fiske's *equality matching* (EM). Fourth, interactions can be carried out according to *ratios* or Fiske's *market pricing* (MP).⁶⁰

These four social models⁶¹ follow the four scales of measurement — *nominal*, *ordinal*, *interval*, and *ratio* — the first of which is the most comprehensive and qualitative, while the last is the least comprehensive and most quantitative.⁶²

Alan Page Fiske explains that people use these four modes of coordination to organise nearly every aspect of all social domains, even the most mundane ones. For example, when we invite friends to dinner, we follow these four models — we may share the food and drink without calculating who gets how much (CS), a host command others to provide the meal (AR), the guests might feel obligated to reciprocate the invitation (EM), and the host will decide whether it is economically worthwhile to provide the food (MP).⁶³ Whenever a group or a dyad interacts, 'they can seek a consensus of the group as a whole, the chief can decide (and delegate minor aspects of the decision), people can vote, or they can use a market mechanism based on utilities or prices'.⁶⁴ In general, in the face of any task, people 'can all simply pitch in without assigning individual responsibilities, an authority can give orders down a chain of command, everyone can do an equal share (or take turns), or participants can be compensated in proportion to the amount they each complete'.⁶⁵

Moral judgement follows similar paths. 'Treat each person's needs and suffering as your own, do what the gods or your elders command, treat each person equally, or give every person their due in proportion to what they deserve'.⁶⁶ When people transfer goods or services, 'they can give a gift without expecting any specific return; they can pay tribute in fealty to a superior (or, inversely, bestow a benefit to a subordinate as a gesture of largesse); they can make a balanced, quid-pro-quo exchange; or they can sell and purchase at market rates'.⁶⁷ The social meanings of land are inscribed in this logic as well, as land can be regarded as a shared commons, or as the domain or fief of a lord, or as a marker of equal status (such as eligibility to vote), or as a commercial investment.⁶⁸

Various subfields of psychology, sociology, political science, economics, and cultural anthropology have independently developed similar concepts, as Fiske acknowledges, 'Freudian theorists and cultural anthropologists came right to the verge of recognising that people have directly potent culturally informed cognitive models of configurations of relationships'.⁶⁹

Now comes the big question: If the world wants a dignified future, where should its priorities go? It becomes clear that all societal dealings will need to follow a combination of communal sharing and a version of authority ranking that emphasises care. Equality matching and market pricing need to be de-emphasised. In short: unconditional solidarity first, calculations of reciprocity

last. Very short: love first, money second.

Priority will need to be given to what Alan Page Fiske calls *kama muta*, Sanskrit for ‘moved by love’, connoting the heart-warming feelings of being moved and touched, the very sympathy and empathic concern that can arise when people feel close to others.⁷⁰ *Kama muta* is the emotional glue that connects people and induces communal sharing.⁷¹ *Kama muta* speaks to the Lévinasian way of understanding human rights ideals, rather than to the much colder rational Kantian definition.⁷²

Planet Earth is humankind’s shared commons and protecting it is the order of the day. The planet’s resources became increasingly depleted in the aftermath of the Neolithic Revolution, due to the mindset of competition for domination that arose from it and that has spun out of control. The way to go is to remember that *Homo sapiens* has an earlier legacy that is different. Indigenous and other animist ontologies have held notions of *vibrancy of matter* since time immemorial.⁷³ Archaeologist Ingrid Fuglestad has studied Palaeolithic lifestyles for many years and she reminds us that the culture of sharing is ‘a vitality that is maintained through cooperation between humans and animals, this being a joint venture which, as it were, makes the world go round’.⁷⁴

Throughout the past millennia, some Indigenous groups have maintained the early legacy and have shown that it is possible to succeed in protecting commons from short-term free riding. They did so by maintaining cultures of sharing,⁷⁵ helped by the time-honoured seven-generation rule.⁷⁶ Economist Elinor Ostrom has shown that commons can be protected not just in smaller groups and in the past, but also in larger groups and today — for this work, she received the Nobel Prize for Economics 2009.⁷⁷

Prince El Hassan suggests that, to improve the global environment, ‘we must develop a well-defined holistic strategy including three basic elements’:

The first is to make social development an integral part of economic policies and human welfare a top priority in national policy making. The other two elements may not yet be fully accepted; but without them we can hardly face the next [21st] century. The second element is intergenerational responsibility, which means ensuring that this planet is not inherited by our children with its environment degraded, its resources depleted and its life-support system impaired. Finally, ‘human solidarity’ is sustained by the recognition that adversity anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere. We must accept the reality of a ‘human neighbourhood’ on an ever-shrinking planet. Technological advances have brought human beings closer to each other, for better or for worse; and we have to learn to live with each other, whatever our prejudice, colour or creed.⁷⁸

3. From *pacta sunt servanda* to mutual beneficial responsibility

His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal is very versed in law, be it Islamic law or international law. He thinks systemically and does this at local and global levels. He reminds of H.G. Wells’ dictum that ‘human history is in essence a history of ideas’ and concludes ‘that it becomes clear that we have yet to replace the ideological antagonism of the Cold War with a new reference system based on universal values and Consensus. A new framework of thought has yet to be created to carry us safely into the future we all seek’.⁷⁹ He spells out what he means in more detail:

Issues such as resources, the environment, refugees and arms control are by their very nature transnational’, he asserts, ‘and must therefore be addressed collectively. This includes not only the regional players, but also the international community at large. For any one player to attempt to exert military, political or economic hegemony in the region can only lead to stultification throughout the region, and the perpetuation of the material disparities that currently fuel the political economy of despair.’⁸⁰

The Middle East lies at the cross-roads of many influences and has traditionally been fraught with border disputes in which the military dimension of security has been the means of settlement. Prince El Hassan suggests to ‘favour peaceful negotiation with ultimate recourse to the International Court of Justice, and the implementation of a Regional Environmental Plan’.⁸¹ To take another example, he says, ‘rather than dealing with the scarce resource of water by fighting wars, we advocate a Regional Water Plan administered by a representative Regional Water Authority to ensure fair distribution of this vital resource to all’.⁸²

If peace philosopher Howard Richards could still travel (he is aged and lives in Chile), I would like to invite him to come to Amman and meet with Prince El Hassan. I am certain that Richards’ book *Economic Theory and Community Development: Why Putting community First Is Essential to Our Survival* would interest Prince El Hassan.⁸³

Richards explains why the pillars of law of the world-system are no longer feasible today. The problem is not just conflict between nations, there is also conflict with nature. When we look at present-day entrepreneurs who cut down the Amazonian Rainforest and threaten the last Indigenous populations that live there,⁸⁴ then we realise that they focus on the short-term advantages of filling their coffers or securing shareholder value, while overlooking the long-term interest of their grandchildren to inherit a world worth living in.⁸⁵ They exploit whoever is too weak to speak up, whoever cannot pay for themselves — the trees, the Indigenous peoples, and future generations — and they convince the rest of the world that this strategy should be hailed as ‘economic progress’.⁸⁶

Howard Richards has analysed the world’s dire predicament for decades, and these are his words:

If humanity has painted itself into a corner where neither the private sector nor the public sector can reliably move resources from where they are not needed to where they are needed — not even if they want to — then how can the system be changed so that it will stop producing results nobody wants, like global warming and the eventual death of the biosphere, and that it will start producing results everybody wants, like more equal and less violent societies?⁸⁷

Richards thinks that a proposal submitted to the American Congress in 2019 was a worthy beginning, a proposal known as the ‘Green New Deal Resolution’ that calls for ‘decarbonisation, jobs, and justice’.⁸⁸ However, Richards warns, there is one crucially important condition: the notion of ‘jobs’ needs to be radically redefined. All initiatives that accept that only money-making work is ‘work’ will cause workers and ‘non-workers’ alike to contribute to rising inequality and the depletion of the planet.⁸⁹

Howard Richards offers very practical steps to achieving global systemic change. He starts with the core of the problem, namely, the fact that the institutions that structure today’s world-system are built on successors of Roman law,⁹⁰ to the point that many Roman law rules are by now *systemic imperatives*.⁹¹ Just over the past few decades, over 3000 trade and investment agreements have entrenched Roman law’s property rights ever more deeply.⁹² This is problematic, Richards warns, because these imperatives ultimately lead to the shredding of the social and ecological foundations of life on Earth. To use my words, narrow neo-Roman concepts of property rights stand in the way of dignity because they diminish and degrade the commons, they block and discredit communal sharing, they undermine direct and unconditional solidarity of people with each other and with the rest of life on Earth.

While Roman law imposes a duty not to harm, the problem is that it fails to stipulate a duty to help,⁹³ and in this way, it legitimises de-solidarisation and promotes an impersonal way of relating to other people as mere abstract role-bearers of contracts.⁹⁴ The Roman distinction between private law and public law (now global) allows people to maintain the dysfunctional belief that there is no responsibility when there is no contract.

Howard Richards suggests that if *disconnection* is our contemporary condition and present-day

neo-Roman law principles the root problem, then *integration* is the solution. He reckons that local governments cannot be counted on for help in this situation, as their primary duty is to serve post-Roman law, enforce contracts, and protect the security of investments, while being forbidden to interfere with the free mobility of certain factors across borders. Richards studied the example of Scandinavian countries and found that even though they have a tradition of equality and have done better for a while, ultimately, also their model is inherently unviable.⁹⁵ He is convinced that even the most ambitious improvement of global *regulatory* rules will be insufficient to create truly level playing fields for all. What is needed is more foundational change, namely, new global *constitutive* rules.⁹⁶ This is Richards' advice in 2019:

Spend enough time, but not too much, denouncing scandals that violate existing basic norms. But remember that the survival of Homo sapiens depends on changing existing basic norms. Use complaints about a billionaire president who refuses to disclose his tax returns as a hinge theme (in Paulo Freire's terminology) to turn the conversation into a critique of the cultural rules that constitute (John Searle's and Tony Lawson's terminology) property. And/or critique some other main feature of today's hegemonic Basic Cultural Structure (BCS).⁹⁷

Future global *constitutive* rules will need to entail a new version of *pacta sunt servanda* (agreements must be kept).⁹⁸ This principle induces people to think that there is no responsibility where there is no contract. Islamic law is not exempt, like international law, it embraces the *pacta sunt servanda* principle.

I thank Prince El Hassan for giving me the book on Islamic Law by Emilia Powell.⁹⁹ There I read that the Quran obliges all Muslims to keep their contractual promises by stating, 'O ye who believe! Fulfill (all your) obligations' (Sura 5, verse 1).¹⁰⁰ Powell explains further:

The Quran also mandates that Islamic collectivities, such as tribes, nations, and states, 'fulfill the Covenant of Allah when you have covenanted' (Sura 16, verse 91) and avoid fighting with 'those who join a group, between you and whom there is a treaty (of peace), or those who approach you with their breasts restraining from fighting you as well as fighting their own people' (Sura 4, verse 90). On a more general note, the Islamic version of *pacta sunt servanda* is elevated by the Quran to the level of a religious duty for all Muslim followers. This principle is to be held in utmost respect not only in the context of relations between the Muslim collectivities, but also with non-Muslim entities. In fact, as Badr (1982, 59) rightly noted, 'The duty of honouring a treaty with non-Muslims is even given priority over the duty of mutual help among believers where the two duties are in conflict' (Sura 8, verse 72).

The *pacta sunt servanda* rule needs to be corrected, Howard Richards stipulates, by mutual beneficial responsibility for one another's welfare regardless of whether there is a contract or not. As it stands, there is no written contract with the next generation and with nature. As Linda Hartling formulates it, human action should seek to promote positive externalities and avoid giving legitimacy to negative externalities — healthy relationships surely are a 'centrality' to survival of humankind, not an externality.¹⁰¹

All this, Prince El Hassan asserts, goes 'beyond questions of national strategy or ideological labels':¹⁰²

They [these questions] form the starting point of a humane discourse that appreciates the common ground and moves towards a constructive dialogue. Growing awareness of the ecological paradigm across the world is a cause for much optimism. We feel that this may in turn lead us to a paradigm in which the human person is restored as the proper focus of politics and economics: a new 'anthropolitics' for the 21st century and beyond. Various proposals, including the implementation of a Human Charter, have been put forward to this end. We find in their

substance much to consider, and much yet to be done, if the World is to develop into the place, we wish our children to inherit. For they will inherit it together, as one; and they will have little patience with antiquated protestations of regional strategic considerations and rivalries.¹⁰³

4. From the dominator model of society to the mutuality model of society

The past twelve millennia, roughly the past three per cent of human history, most societies on our planet manifested what Riane Eisler calls the *dominator model of society*.¹⁰⁴ Eisler is a systems scientist and activist who has developed a cultural transformation theory through which she describes how otherwise widely divergent societies all over the globe followed very similar models of society during the past millennia, namely, coercion- and authority-based models of society with alpha males dominating and leading the pack. From the samurai of Japan to the Aztecs of Meso-America, people lived in hierarchies of domination under a rigidly male-dominant strongman rule, in both family and state. These hierarchies of domination were maintained by a high degree of institutionalised and socially accepted violence, ranging from wife- and child-beating within the family to aggressive warfare at the larger tribal or national level.

Riane Eisler contrasts the dominator model with the collaboration-based *partnership model of society*, or, as psychologist Linda Hartling prefers to call it, the *mutuality model of society*, meaning ‘movement towards mutuality in all relationships’.¹⁰⁵

I became interested in Eisler’s dominator versus partnership dichotomy when I saw that it resonates with the analysis of the human condition that I had developed throughout the past decades of my global life, only that I use a different terminology. I speak of systems of *unequal worthiness* where Eisler speaks of dominator societies, while what I call systems of *equal worthiness* fits into Eisler’s partnership model of society. My experience has taught me that there is a profound and often unbridgeable gulf between societal contexts that ascribe *unequal worthiness* to its members as compared to contexts that define their members as *equal* in worthiness. I point at the first configuration when I speak of honour, and to the second when speak of dignity. To be more precise, it is *ranked honour in a collectivist context* versus *equal dignity for each individual in freedom and solidarity*.

Riane Eisler does not inscribe her theory as explicitly into a historical process as I do. I see the dominator model arise in connection with what anthropologists call *circumscription* and the *Neolithic Revolution*, and what political scientists call the *security dilemma*. In 2010, I wrote a book titled *Gender, Humiliation, and Global Security*, where I dissect how what we call *patriarchy* arose in response to these pressures, only to increasingly taking on a life of its own and thus intensifying these pressures.¹⁰⁶ When we look at the past millennia, we see that Eisler’s dominator model being enacted almost everywhere on the globe, with the exception of a few isolated Indigenous populations. Indeed, the major ‘civilisations’ of the past saw one violent ‘alpha male’ ruler following the next, with anger, ‘wrath’, aggression, brutality, and terror as their ‘badges of honour’.

Not just Riane Eisler, others have developed similar models as well. Whatever names we use — if we speak of the power-and-war paradigm, of the colonial worldview, or the prime-divider polity, or the dominator model of society — it always provides the scaffolding for the honour mindset, which is like the ‘bone’ on which the honour mindset ‘sits like a skin’.¹⁰⁷ This is the place where humiliation is normalised, where it is legitimate to humiliate inferiors routinely to ‘show them their due lowly place’. Inferiors and superiors can become equals only in societal models of mutuality, partnership, civil dialogue, non-degradation,¹⁰⁸ and non-domination.¹⁰⁹ Only when this happens, will acts of humiliation that were formerly regarded as legitimate acquire the suffix *-ism*, showing their transition into objectionable attitudes — racism, sexism, ageism, altogether *rankism*.¹¹⁰ This is why I speak of *ranked honour in a collectivist context* on one side, and of *equal dignity for each individual in freedom and solidarity* on the other side.

A year after the September 11 attacks in New York City in 2001, Prince El Hassan gave a talk

titled *A humanitarian perspective on the autumn of our discontent*.¹¹¹ He professed that he, ‘as a Muslim’, was ‘deeply offended and embarrassed that the perpetrators of this massacre had the audacity to describe themselves as Muslims and as having claimed to have acted in the name of Islam. What a gross indignity to the almost two billion Muslims that inhabit our planet’. He expressed his belief that we need ‘an enlightened centrist platform based on inclusion where men and women of goodwill shared in their common humanity’.¹¹²

As the new millennium began with hatred, anger and violence, Prince El Hassan expressed his greatest fear ‘that if we continue to depend on the rule of force, on power, as a deterrent, we will eventually be unable to disable violence:

We must become more sensitised to the concept of consequences: the consequences of poverty, illiteracy, oppression, lack of opportunity, despair and anger, which can all lead to the contemplation of violence. To my mind, as a citizen of the world, intolerance, prejudice and bigotry can also be seen as forms of illiteracy and ignorance, eroding social values, eating away at our humanity and stamping on our sense of ethical obligations and duties — to one another and to the world as a whole.¹¹³

In 2022, we can conclude that Prince El Hassan was right with his prediction from 2002:

If the world cannot grow beyond the new ‘tribalism’ of ‘regionality’ or unilateralism that has developed apace over the last year, we are going to face a very uncertain future. However, if we can search for commonality through a dialogue of universal values, and establish a code of ethical conduct, we could perhaps achieve the security that safeguards human dignity and enables the fulfilment of human needs through solidarity, ridding society of its erroneous need for individuals who seek to terrorise us.¹¹⁴

Prince El Hassan’ 2002 warnings are even more relevant in 2022 and 2023. He said that ‘...this one act of terrorism must not allow us to degenerate into automatons under crude banners of patriotism or religion. “The greatest challenge lies not in enforcing stability through military might, which can never succeed in the long run, but in building security through foreign policies that address the political roots of terrorism”’.¹¹⁵

5. From the evil of banality to the good of sensitivity

Philosopher Ágnes Heller explains that ‘masculinist models of consciousness objectify world order, obfuscating how fluid and continuously malleable it in reality is’.¹¹⁶ With her theory of the consciousness of everyday life, Heller describes how masculinity reproduces itself at an ordinary everyday level through the interplay of individual consciousness and social structures.¹¹⁷ The very idea of categorising human beings into ‘races’, is one example, it ‘must be rejected as racist and masculinist in its inception and its uses’, warns psychologist Ellyn Kaschak.¹¹⁸

Moral philosopher Elizabeth Minnich is another voice reminding that the prevailing systems of knowledge, morality, and politics are rooted in views that legitimatise injustice, patriarchy, and violence.¹¹⁹ This, in turn, leads to the perversion of entire systems, normalising damage to the point that it may appear banal, she says, because it persists over time through the participation of large numbers of people.¹²⁰ Minnich draws on political thinker Hannah Arendt’s coinage of the phrase *the banality of evil*.¹²¹ In my terminology, this damage is ‘a war injury inflicted by the security dilemma’.

Minnich recommends ‘philosophical fieldwork’ — ‘thinking with others out and about in the *agora* and then reflecting in solitude with them in mind’, a way of thinking that is ‘neither deductive nor inductive, nor is it held within any other single logic. Rather, it is about listening and

hearing, looking and seeing, taking in and trying to comprehend without rushing to interpret, to translate into familiar terms, to explain'.¹²²

On my global path over the past decades, I have met many scholars and practitioners with similar messages. Peace educator Janet Gerson spoke to me about *grappling* in 2011 when she brought me to the Zuccotti Park in New York where the Occupy Movement was meeting.¹²³ Gerson spoke warmly about *capabilities* and *human flourishing*, the terminology used by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen.¹²⁴ The concept of *nudging* can be helpful as well, at least as long as it simultaneously teaches how to resist paternalistic manipulation.¹²⁵ I often reflected on strategies of persuasion and non-violent power together with my mentor Morton Deutsch.¹²⁶

Inga Bostad created a video message for us in 2011, when she was the vice-rector of the University in Oslo. It was just after the 22/7 terror attacks in Norway when she urged everyone to listen and engage in dialogue, particularly with people one would otherwise disagree with.¹²⁷ The lack of listening is the 'new democratic deficit', warns also social scientist Andrew Dobson.¹²⁸ S. Mike Miller advises to engage in 'let-it-flow thinking' instead in 'verdict thinking'.¹²⁹ Anatol Rapaport,¹³⁰ David Bohm,¹³¹ Otto Scharmer,¹³² Leonard Swidler,¹³³ all these thinkers highlight listening for the sake of listening rather than listening for the sake of responding. Linda Hartling's mentor Jean Baker Miller recommended 'waging good conflict'.¹³⁴ My friends in China tells me that I am a *Zhi Yin* 知音, a listener who understands not just the surface of a message but its deep meaning, akin to what Linda Hartling calls the practice of 'listening each other into voice':

The expression 'listening into voice' draws our attention to the fact that human communication is a bi-directional experience. It is a phrase that encourages us to attune to the fundamental relational nature of speaking. It reminds us to look beyond the individualist myth that speaking is a one-way experience in which the speaker is solely responsible for communicating effectively. Speaking is interactive. It is a two-way experience in which both (or all) people participating in the relationship can choose to listen and engage in a way that will help others to effectively express and clarify their ideas.¹³⁵

Deep listening is a pathway to healing humiliation. In my capacity as the global ambassador of the global dignity organisation that we have founded, I look for people with 'dignity talents', talents that are not listed in any curriculum vitae. Many people in the world are very intelligent and diligent, hard-working, and prolific. Few, however, have the sensitivity for humility, for understanding the significance of dignity (with humiliation as its violation), and all related issues, and for walking their talk. This sensitivity is like a foreign language that some people speak, and others do not. I look for people who embody and cultivate the language of dignity through their lives and their work. This sensitivity what is most important for our dignity community, more important than any 'tangible product' or achievement. When I find such a person, I say, 'It is not important if you feel you may not have time or anything "to give"'. What is so valuable for us is your sensitivity and your efforts to speak the language of dignity through your special path in the world. It is a language that people do not learn usually, only some people seem to know it intuitively, perhaps through particularly educative or even harsh life experiences'. I explain that through our work, we wish to spell out in more depth what this new language of equal dignity in solidarity is all about, of which, so far, so few people have an inkling. Clearly, I am also only a learner.

I can attest that Prince El Hassan is a keen observer and listener. Everyone who has ever met him in person will be impressed by how he combines great personal warmth with extraordinary learnedness. Academics all over the world, by looking at him, can learn a new definition of what it means to be an academic. It means to refuse disengaging from one's humanity, from one's physical body, from one's feelings, and from one's desire to connect. It means admitting that it is a futile project to think that it is possible to 'evaporate' into fleshless ideas. Trying to do so would be an utterly unscientific endeavour.

Not even physicists can disengage from the world. Theorist Karen Barad builds on physicist Niels Bohr's work and warns that we humans cannot inter-act with the world, we *intra-act*, since we are part of it — humans are part of the 'worldbody space in its dynamic structuration'.¹³⁶ 'In its causal intra-activity, "part" of the world becomes determinately bounded and propertied in its emergent intelligibility to another "part" of the world. Discursive practices are boundary-making practices that have no finality in the ongoing dynamics of agential intra-activity'.¹³⁷

Prince El Hassan is a master of *intra-action*!

6. From unlimited economic growth to global thriving

In 2012, I wrote a book titled *A Dignity Economy: Creating an Economy Which Serves Human Dignity and Preserves Our Planet*.¹³⁸ Now, more than a decade later, I note that the ever more pressing need for a dignity economy is still being answered with ineffectual window dressing, bluwashing, and greenwashing.

The United Nations organisation is theoretically in a position to be a platform for the supranational goal of building a dignified global future, yet, as for now, it only represents the secretariat of a 'club of nations', which are disunited more often than they are united — some call the United Nations the 'united necrologists', or even the creators of death.¹³⁹ The general secretary-general of the United Nations, António Guterres, does his very best, and the world ought to listen to him. Yet, he has no power, he is only a secretary for a club with many heavy-weight members who put their own interests before the global common good.

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) may serve as an example. They comprise internally contradicting goals.¹⁴⁰ Goal 8 has the potential to undermine all other goals in that it 'lumps together important need-related goals — participation in work and acceptable conditions in work — with economic growth, a questionable means to achieving these goals'.¹⁴¹ 'The UN's sustainable development goals... are clearly not going to be met without drastic recalibration', warned also Philip Alston, outgoing UN special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, as 'the SDG framework places immense and mistaken faith in growth and the private sector'.¹⁴²

In the same year when my book on a dignity economy came out, the Earth Summit Rio+20 in 2012 took place, where the SDGs were drafted. I was invited to Rio de Janeiro for this event, however, our Amazonian dignity network members called out by saying, 'Evelin, come to the Amazon, do not go to Rio, the summit people in Rio have no idea of what is happening in the Amazon!'¹⁴³ Hence, I went to Marabá in the Amazonian State of Pará of Brazil instead, where we co-created an 'alternative' summit.¹⁴⁴

The drafters of the SDGs at the Rio+20 summit made a great start. In the beginning, the SDGs included the concept of planetary boundaries. Yet, in the last moment, the drafters were undermined, and Goal 8 was brought in like a Trojan horse. As the conference drew to a close, the finance ministers and the big ministries 'started turning up', remembers Kate Raworth, economic re-thinker and creator of Oxfam's doughnut of social and planetary boundaries.¹⁴⁵ In the 42nd Schumacher lecture of 2022, Raworth described a meeting where the finance minister of Brazil said, 'What's this: planetary boundaries? That is a limit to our development! Take it out!'¹⁴⁶ And indeed, it was taken out, and the idea of growth was put in. Raworth explains (I transcribe her oral comments):

And it is not just growth for the low-income countries — I profoundly believe that low-income countries like Malawi, like Bangladesh, their economies will and must and should grow, and that kind of growth should be channelled into meeting the needs of all people, and they will need to grow in regenerative ways. So, I want to be very clear, I am not against growth where it is

needed — we are growing until we are grown up — but it uses it to meet the vested interests of all countries. It is like a shield that all countries must grow.¹⁴⁷

Raworth explained the backdrop for this situation, and I encourage everyone to watch her video, because she lays it out with great love and humour.¹⁴⁸ She draws on Bernhard Lietaer, whom I met through Margrit Kennedy, another major economic re-thinker.¹⁴⁹ Among others, Lietaer co-authored *Money and Sustainability: The Missing Link: A Report from the Club of Rome*.¹⁵⁰ Raworth explains:

Now, that is what we are locked into, the growth-centric paradigm of mainstream capitalism. We are locked into an economy where finance has been designed — and this takes me back to the work of Bernhard Lietaer — it has been designed with cumulative interest. So, it assumes this shape [she shows an exponential curve] and it will accumulate endlessly. It's profound! Because everything on this living planet, all life deteriorates — potatoes rot, newspapers rot, human bodies die, metal rusts, we are all subject to the second law of thermodynamics — but money, money accumulates, it has compounding interest! Friedrich Schumacher knew that, and Aristotle knew that, and Marx knew that! So, the design of money means that it is endlessly seeking its return and it exploits and consumes the living world. It exploits and consumes the unpaid care of parents, it also has a racial bias, capitalism exploits black and brown bodies in its name, to drive that return. So, there is a vested interest, and it shows up in the major fossil fuel companies that still, well, today, are raking in record profits, because they have for so long lobbied, to first obfuscate and to delay action on climate change. Major companies are driven by shareholder return, it is the owners of capital, so they invest in protecting the rentier economy. And then many governments are in service of this — I am shocked that even in my own country [England], both the leaders of the conservative party and the leader of the labour party recently have said the goal of our government will be growth, growth, growth! I mean, have we learned nothing left and right in the UK? This is all we can imagine? This is the biggest vision that is been put forward now. It is extraordinary.¹⁵¹

Thomas Pogge, philosopher of global justice, is since a long time warning that it is morally unconscientious to compare existing poverty 'with historical benchmarks', instead, one should compare it with 'present possibilities' — 'How much of this poverty is really unavoidable today?'¹⁵² Pogge concludes that 'by this standard, our generation is doing worse than any in human history'.¹⁵³ I concur.

Prince El Hassan explains in his chapter titled 'Holistic development for the 1990s' in his 2001 book *Continuity, Innovation and Changes*, that a holistic approach calls for 'the abandonment of theories popular in the 1950s and 1960s, which overemphasised economic growth to the detriment of the human factor':

In the 1970s the world moved towards greater awareness of growing poverty. The approach adopted, based on basic needs, tailed not only because of the selfishness of the "haves" and the helplessness of the "have-nots," but also because it lacked a holistic vision. The 1980s have so far seen more selfishness and more helplessness, both compounded by the overwhelming problems of debt, deprivation and growing disparities among and within countries.¹⁵⁴

Prince El Hassan admonishes that humanitarianism should no longer be seen as 'do-goodism' or as a 'charity business' 'adopted as a solution to the problem of surplus commodities. Rather, it should be viewed as a manifestation of "enlightened self-interest". ... Addressing humanitarianism problems is the first essential step towards social development, without which economic development can never be sustainable'.¹⁵⁵

In times of dire crisis, I suggest that it helps to step out of here-and-now details and imagine new worlds from a bird's eye perspective, so as to then proceed towards caringly and cautiously nudging dignifying systemic paradigm shifts. As soon as we step into a bird's eye perspective, we realise that systems are not static but dynamic,¹⁵⁶ and that complex problems cannot be addressed by breaking them down into their simplest components. Systems thinkers of complexity science use a *system-of-systems* approach that is informed by Indigenous modes of thinking and visioning,¹⁵⁷ they speak of *co-evolution to the edge of chaos* that follows the principle of the *adjacent possible*.¹⁵⁸

Systems thinkers use phrases such as *glocal eco-civilisation thriving*, *hyperconnectivity* and *deep conviviality* — conviviality intra-personal, trans-species, and trans-generational — they see humanity as 'curator of planetary thriving'.¹⁵⁹

Conclusion: Healing the *cogitosphere* so that the *sociosphere* and *ecosphere* can thrive!

'Right now, we are facing a man-made disaster of global scale. Our greatest threat in thousands of years'. These were the words of natural historian Sir David Attenborough at the opening ceremony of United Nations-sponsored climate talks in Katowice, Poland, in 2018.¹⁶⁰

We live in times in which *sociocide* and *ecocide* are systemic. The suffix *-cide* means 'killing'. Words such as genocide, suicide, or pesticide all end on *-cide*, stemming from Latin *-cida* and the verb *caedo*, *caedes*, *caedere*, *caedi*, *caedum*.

Ecocide is the killing of our *ecosphere*, of our ecological world,¹⁶¹ of which we only are a small part, despite our belief to be its masters.¹⁶² Sociocide is the killing of our *sociosphere*, of the cohesion in our human communities, local and global.¹⁶³ Sociocide and ecocide together are the outcome of humiliation that has been congealed into systems. South Africa was in the grip of humiliation congealed into a system called apartheid. Present-day military-corporate-political systems that drive global races for arms and resources are the most recent expression.¹⁶⁴ Sociocide and ecocide together, as they afflict an entire planet, drive systemic humiliation to hitherto unattained levels.

Ecocide and sociocide are facilitated by the same underlying catalyst, namely, *cogitocide* — the very 'weapon of mass destruction' that systems of humiliation use. The term *cogitocide* was coined in 2020 by Prince El Hassan.¹⁶⁵ *Cogito* comes from *cogitare* in Latin, 'to think',¹⁶⁶ and *cogitocide* means the killing of our *cogitosphere*, the killing of 'the realm of thinking and reflection',¹⁶⁷ the drowning of humanity in a sightless infosphere.¹⁶⁸ It is the misuse of *cogens*, our ability to think.¹⁶⁹

All those *-cides*, all those killings, amplify each other. As a result, *omnicide* looms — the killing of everything, the annihilation of all life on Earth. It would be the first time in this planet's history that one species alone would have caused a mass extinction — in this case, the newly arrived species of *Homo sapiens* itself. This species succeeded to raid an entire planet within a historically very short time span, and, more even, to do so in proud blindness.¹⁷⁰ We are at the end of a lavish party of exploitation¹⁷¹ for which our children will have to pay. We ended the party with fireworks, literally, by burning our fossil fuels. We live in times of systemic decline where the old order is disintegrating, and environmental and political disruptions augment each other. The world risks descending into gloom and despair, while what is needed are solutions that are sober, practical, and fundamentally new in substance.¹⁷²

In this situation, many pin their hopes on artificial *intelligence*. I have great respect for this development and benefit from using it. Still, I fear it may be a misnomer — it may rather be artificial *sightlessness*, it may be the digitalisation of a kind of cogitocidal sightlessness that in former times was called *fog of war*, only taking on new shapes and reaching new levels now.¹⁷³ *Big data*, instead of becoming big success, could also turn into *big disaster*.¹⁷⁴

In my work, I attempt to bridge separate disciplines and overcome academia's cogitocidal siloisation by striving to understand the core messages of various fields of academic inquiry, then bring these messages together on different levels of abstraction, using the *ideal-type* approach of

sociologist Max Weber,¹⁷⁵ with the aim to reconstruct them from the perspective of dignity and humiliation. So far, I have done this with war, genocide, and terrorism (2000, 2017),¹⁷⁶ international conflict (2006 and 2009, translated into Chinese in 2019),¹⁷⁷ gender and security (2010),¹⁷⁸ and economics (2012, translated into Brazilian-Portuguese in 2016).¹⁷⁹

How can we heal our languishing cogitosphere, ecosphere, and sociosphere? Prince El Hassan shows the way. First, he brings more love into the world in the way he acts with people and nature. Yet, as love and personal charity is not enough, he calls for deep structural change. Timid reforms are not sufficient when the world-system requires new regulatory rules. Also here, Prince El Hassan shows the way.

I am a patriot, a patriot of planet Earth and I see myself as part of a long lineage of *Homo sapiens*. I am proud of our egalitarian traditions that lasted throughout the first 97 per cent of our history and I regret that these traditions had to go underground during the past millennia, the past three per cent of our history. It saddens me that the spirit of solidarity in equal dignity was undermined by mindsets of competition for domination during this time and that this spirit could only persist in a few philosophical and religious movements — the *axial age* was one of its manifestations.¹⁸⁰ I am glad that this spirit has been reinvigorated lately by courageous pioneers such as Bertha von Suttner, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Eleanor Roosevelt, Rachel Carson, Paulo Freire, Martin Luther King Jr., and Nelson Mandela, to name but a few. I count Prince El Hassan among these names.

Planet Earth is the commons of humanity that is entrusted to us as its nurturers. We are not empowered to destroy it. I dedicate my entire life to humanising globalisation through equal dignity for all in freedom and solidarity so that dignified life can flourish on this planet in the future. I have coined the term *dignism* (dignity-ism) to describe such a world.

Dignism describes a world where every new-born finds space and is nurtured to unfold their highest and best, embedded in a social context of loving appreciation and connection, where the carrying capacity of the planet guides the ways in which everyone's basic needs are met. It is a world where *unity in diversity* reigns, where we unite in respecting human dignity and celebrating diversity, where we prevent unity from devolving into oppressive uniformity, and keep diversity from sliding into hostile division. Dignism means ending past cycles of humiliation and preventing new ones from emerging. Dignism means loving care for the common good of all of humanity as co-inhabitants of one single finite habitat. Dignism weaves together all dignifying aspects of all the world's cultural traditions into one decent global village.

Prince El Hassan wrote in his 2001 book *Continuity, Innovation and Changes*, 'We in Jordan believe that the key to a successful future is to strive for unity in diversity, and not vice versa'.¹⁸¹ He writes that he observes with gratification, 'simultaneous developments have been discernible towards greater homogenisation within regions of the world, on the one hand; and a rising tide of ethnicity, in terms of small communities taking pride in their language, culture and identities, on the other. It seems, paradoxically, as if we were at once moving towards broader and narrower frames of references'. He asserts that 'the infinite combinations and enrichments possible in a world no longer polarised, the benefits available from unprecedented access to the heritage and wisdom of all cultures of all times, make any other credo unthinkable for a future that is to live up to the promise of the human race'.¹⁸² In such a future, he concludes, 'the challenges of regions and the world as a whole will be met by the peoples of the world not as adversaries but as partners, despite the many tragedies that mark all our histories'.¹⁸³

Systems thinkers have developed a *two loops* model of responding to the existential risks humanity faces, they suggest to 'hospice' a system when it is dying and an alternative system is ushered in, while highlighting the choice between the two.¹⁸⁴ Other thinkers speak of a *two-pronged* approach, first bending environmental and social justice curves within a current framework, then fostering a longer-term shift in consciousness to integrate people and planet.¹⁸⁵ Yet others see *three*

pathways.¹⁸⁶

I suggest a *multi-tiered refolution*, using historian Timothy Garton Ash's term of refolution that mixes reform and revolution. At its core — and also here I follow Max Weber's *ideal-type* approach — I see a two-tiered or two-pronged strategy of first gathering enough support for creating new systemic frames, and then letting those frames do their work in amplifying a new *Zeitgeist*. Following physicist Paul Raskin, I call on a global citizens movement, from civil society to the gatekeepers of political and economic institutions. I call for Globally United People to overcome the damage that Globally Disunited Nations perpetrate. I call on every single citizen to envision how a decent world may be organised and then mandate a small group of thoughtful citizens — just as happened in 1948 under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt — to begin a *dignity transition* by creating new cultural and institutional frames in the spirit of *dignism*.¹⁸⁷

This small group will have to muster enough courage to hold space for 'fuzziness', so that the vision of a future of dignism can be filled with creative ideas for action, ideas that may be so innovative and novel that no one has thought of them so far.¹⁸⁸ It falls short to discuss the details of possible solutions for systemic crises only within the confines of the system that created them. Therefore, holding large enough 'legroom' for deeper questioning — just as philosopher Arne Næss has called for — means refraining from spelling out every detail of how to reach this future prematurely.

This small group will have to muster the courage to envision out-of-the-box ideas for how new dignifying global *constitutive rules*¹⁸⁹ for our *world-system* may look like,¹⁹⁰ how new *generative mechanisms* may be shaped.¹⁹¹ These new mechanisms and rules must have the capacity to manifest unity-in-diversity *convivialism*, *inclusionism*, and *lifeism* beyond humanism.¹⁹² *We the planet*, the instinctive bond between human beings and other living systems, waits to be embraced.¹⁹³ *Livelihood* for all species on our planet waits to be ensured.¹⁹⁴ When a new Eleanor Roosevelt moment finally emerges, we hope that the world will be ready for a Universal Declaration of Human Vulnerability,¹⁹⁵ for Universal Declarations of Human Responsibilities and Duty.¹⁹⁶

For the first time in our history, we humans can fully appreciate our place in the cosmos. Our ancestors could not see pictures of our Blue Marble from the perspective of an astronaut.¹⁹⁷ Unlike our forebears, we have the privilege of seeing our planet from outside and thus experiencing the *overview effect*,¹⁹⁸ an effect that helps us understand that we humans are *one* species living on *one* tiny planet. We can embrace *biophilia*,¹⁹⁹ we can feel 'the ecology of the living' taking place within *one* circumscribed *biopoetic* space that is shared between all beings.²⁰⁰ We have access to a much more comprehensive knowledge base about the universe and our place in it than even our grandparents had. We have all the knowledge and skills required to build mutual trust and solidarity at a global scale. We have everything needed to humanise globalisation by reaping the benefits that the global ingathering of humanity offers. We can co-create a world of *dignism*.

Again, I nominate Prince El Hassan Prince El Hassan bin Talal to lead this small group of people when the next 'Eleanor Roosevelt' moment comes and a new transition towards more dignity in the world is possible.

Let me come to an end with his words from the chapter titled 'Imagination' in Prince El Hassan' 2001 book on *Continuity, Innovation and Changes*:

Great achievements are almost invariably inspired by a great imagination that is informed by both mind and heart. This is true of all explorations that have opened new horizons for humanity — whether in land, sea, space, the human psyche, the gene, and so forth. A great achievement is a labour of love triggered by a great imagination and pursued with much tenacity and devotion.²⁰¹

Let me end with a two-fold plea, one to Prince El Hassan, and the other to the World:

1. Dear Royal Highness, dear Sidi Hassan, please take it seriously that the world needs you! Please raise your voice ever more, as much as you can! Your name belongs into the list of names such as Bertha von Suttner, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Eleanor Roosevelt, Rachel Carson, Paulo Freire, Martin Luther King Jr. and Nelson Mandela! Please accept our Beacon of Dignity Award!

2. Dear World, please listen to Prince El Hassan Prince El Hassan bin Talal! Very often, new solutions do not come from the power centres of the world, as they are too invested in the privileges of the status-quo. Please listen to people who have the wisdom of ancient history and long lineages, from centuries of experience in one of history's hotbeds. Please listen to people who have the intellectual ability to look at the world from a bird's eye perspective and who can then form visions that serve the common good of all. Please listen to people who can love! Without loving solidarity, no living creature on this planet may survive, and this includes the human animal!

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www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00723/full.
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¹ This article is adapted from Lindner, 2023. See also Lindner, 2006, 2009, Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010, Lindner, 2012b, and Lindner, 2017.

² The 2022 dignity conference was titled 'From United Nations to United People: From the Brink of Disaster to a Future of Dignity'. <https://humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/37.php>.

³ For the notion of a world-system, see Wallerstein, 1974–1989. See also Harvey, 2005, or Hudson, 2003. See also former top World Bank economist Branko Milanović, 2019, discussing 'the future of the system that rules the world'. Sociologist William Robinson, 2011, added to world-systems theory an account of the influence of transnational social forces on global institutions serving their interests. See also note 1328 in chapter 5, and notes 4049 and 4272 in chapter 12 of Lindner, 2023. Howard Richards in a personal communication, 23rd October 2016, 'According to Immanuel Wallerstein the global economy is the one and only object of study of the social sciences today; everything else is caught up in a web of causes and effects where the structure of the global economy is the principal cause'. See also Lindner, 2012b.

In his work, Richards points out that many people around the world have never accepted nor internalised the rules of the market, and if so, then only grudgingly. Richards works with Catherine Odora Hoppers, who refers to Chirevo Kwenda, expert on African traditional religion in South Africa, saying that social cohesion in Africa does not flow from state sovereignty, liberal democracy, the advance of modernity, or the global economy. Rather, it is paid for by the suffering of millions of African people, as they are forced to live alienated lives. See *Engaging critically with tradition, culture, and patriarchy through lifelong learning: What would Julius Nyerere say?* 6th Julius Nyerere annual lecture on lifelong learning by Catherine A. Odora Hoppers, University of the Western Cape, 3rd September 2009.

⁴ In my work, I apply the *ideal-type* approach as described by sociologist Max Weber, 1904/1949. See Coser, 1977, p. 224:

Weber's three kinds of *ideal types* are distinguished by their levels of abstraction. First are the *ideal types* rooted in historical particularities, such as the 'western city', 'the Protestant Ethic', or 'modern capitalism', which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract elements of social reality — such concepts as 'bureaucracy' or 'feudalism' — that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, there is a third kind of *ideal type*, which Raymond Aron calls 'rationalising reconstructions of a particular

kind of behaviour'. According to Weber, all propositions in economic theory, for example, fall into this category. They all refer to the ways in which men would behave were they actuated by purely economic motives, were they purely economic men.

See more in note 65 in the Preface of Lindner, 2023.

⁵ I appreciate the summary of political researcher Noha Tarek in her contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'Feminism and revolution: Looking back, looking ahead', 13th May 2018, in response to the essay of the same title by Julie Matthaei, 2018:

The 'Great Chain of Being', in which human dominates over life / nature / animals and plants, man dominates over woman, adult dominates over child, the able-bodies / healthy / powerful dominates over the disabled / ill / weak, the White dominates over the Black (and this is not only in Western societies, but in all societies), the wealthy / elite dominates over the poor / mass, the citizen / national dominates over the immigrant / stranger / foreigner, (recently) the Northerner dominates over the Southerner, & finally God 'Almighty & Powerful' dominates over everyone else!

⁶ See also Lindner, 2006.

⁷ See Taylor, 1992.

⁸ See Eisler, 1987. Her most recent books are Eisler, 2007, and Eisler and Fry, 2019. It is a privilege to have Riane Eisler as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See more in note 247 in chapter 1 of Lindner, 2023, and in chapter 3, look for note 698. Among the many illustrations of how rank has been institutionalised across time, see, for instance, Jordan, 2012, or Kendi, 2019. See, furthermore, Wilkerson, 2020, exploring eight pillars — including divine will, bloodlines, and stigma — that underlie hierarchies of human rankings across civilisations.

⁹ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 5th October 2020.

¹⁰ *HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal on The InnerView with Imran Garda / TRT World*, 21st November 2022, <https://youtu.be/rN2D1kkUtMA>.

¹¹ See Wetz, 2014.

¹² See Lindner, 2000, based on Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, 1999. See also chapter 4 in Lindner, 2023.

¹³ See Weber-Guskar, 2016.

¹⁴ Psychotherapist Carol Smaldino uses the phrase *intrinsic pride* in 'Addressing the "Toxins in Our Hearts": A Conversation with Mary Gordon, Founder of Roots of Empathy', *Huffington Post*, 21st December 2017, www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/addressing-the-toxins-in-our-hearts-a-conversation_us_5a3c7b0ce4b0d86c803c70a0.

¹⁵ A collection of nineteenth-century African American folktales known as Uncle Remus stories became a derogatory way to describe blacks. Uncle Remus is a fictional black narrator, who calls a stuck-up sparrow 'uppity'.

¹⁶ See also *Dignity is a vital force*, by Beth Boynton, 2019, www.confidentvoices.com/2019/04/23/dignity-is-a-vital-force-medical-improv-holds-the-key/.

¹⁷ Pauketat, 2013. I thank Gary Page Jones, 2019, for making me aware of Pauketat's doctoral research on honour and dignity. See also Jones, 2016. It is a privilege to have Gary Page Jones as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹⁸ See Herz, 1950. Under the conditions of a strong security dilemma, the Hobbesian fear of surprise attacks from outside one's borders is inescapable for a nation and defines the limits of its space for action also in times of peace. Barry Posen, 1993, Russell Hardin, 1995, and Rose, 2000, discuss the emotional aspects of the security dilemma and how they play out not just between states, but also between ethnic groups. An ever-increasing amount of literature addresses related questions, among others, there is the anthropological literature in peace studies that researches the universality and inevitability of war versus the chances for peace, and that looks at the causes and effects of war and peace and its biological versus cultural explanations and inquiries about tribal warfare versus that of states and its impact within and among tribes. See, among others, Sponsel, 2014, or Fry, 2013. See, furthermore, Collins, 2004, Hansen, 2000, Jervis, 1978,

Job, 1992, Musah and Fayemi, 2000, Posen, 1993, Snyder, 1985, Snyder and Walters, 1999, and Schweller, 2011. See for the *critical turn* in international relations theory, the notion of positive security and the Copenhagen School, among others, Roe, 1999, 2005. I appreciate political scientist Jack S. Levy's 2016 course 'Theories of war and peace' at Rutgers University, <http://home.uchicago.edu/~mjreese/CurrentStudents/LevyPS522.pdf>. Levy recommends, among others, Glaser, 1997, Montgomery, 2006, Schweller, 1996, Snyder and Jervis, 1999, and Tang, 2011.

¹⁹ Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus and Reeve, 2004. Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, commonly referred to simply as Vegetius, was a writer of the Later Roman Empire in late 4th century CE.

²⁰ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 58.

²¹ John B. Fullerton, founder and president of the Capital Institute, in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'The church of economism and its discontents', on November 30, 2015, in response to Norgaard, 2015, he writes:

As some readers of this thread know, I am trained as a finance practitioner, not an academic. One observation I can offer to those deep in the inquiry of how to transition our economic system to one that 'works' is that in the field of 'high finance' (oxymoron if there ever was one), economists are not at the top of the food chain at all. When I worked at JPMorgan for nearly two decades (ending 2001 I hasten to add), the economists were 'staff', and I'm confident that remains true today. They were used primarily for two purposes: (1) input (one of many factors and becoming less important over time) for trading and market risk management decisions of the bank and its trading clients (these decisions were made by people rarely trained as economists, at least beyond a bachelor's degree like I was), and (2) to be rolled out in front of corporate or sovereign clients to sound smart and make long term forecasts of economic conditions — essentially for entertainment and relationship building. High finance is about one thing today: making money in the financial system. Financial statesmanship is so 1970s and 1980s. Very few in high finance (I'm tempted to say no one, but I could always be surprised) are even aware that questions about fatal flaws of neo-liberalism exist (beyond the well-worn issues of liberal/conservative debates). And much to my surprise over the past decade since I've been wrestling with these questions, few are even curious once I place the issues of economic system design flaws under their nose. 'I must be a liberal or something worse'

Of course this lack of curiosity holds true for the 'economists' (or otherwise) teaching finance inside business schools in my experience, who are largely immersed in questions about the financial system, how to beat the market, how to lower trading costs (when did trading become a legitimate 'business'?), how to improve the performance of hedging strategies for options, etc. Some exceptions exist like Frank Werner who teaches finance at Fordham, but they are few and far between. Nearly all of my invitations to speak at business schools come from departments outside finance. And finance is generally the top of the food chain in business schools.

A couple of years ago, I participated with Frank in the Academy of Management annual conference (business school management professors) and the equivalent conference for finance professors as part of a panel challenging the 'religion' of shareholder value (the purpose of a corporation is to optimise shareholder value and the rest will take care of itself). What amazed me most was that even in post-crash 2013, and even when the AMA bravely titled the conference 'Capitalism in Question', it took work to get the conference organisers to accept the question we were asking, and from what I could tell, we were one of the few truly heretic panels at the conference. The conference was held at Disney World — fitting. My point? There is a denomination of the Church of Economism, perhaps called 'Finance ism' (Wendell Berry I am not!), which is more dangerous even than its parent Church for three reasons.

(1) Ignorance: It is largely ignorant even of the doctrine of the Church of Economism and has certainly never invited Richard Norgaard as a guest minister to explore it thoughtfully. It is ignorant of much of what those on this thread would generally consider important if one is to influence society. For example, I doubt 10 per cent — make that 5 per cent — of this parish of finance ism would have any idea why the 'Anthropocene' is important, or even heard of the word. At this parish, they pray to a far simpler God. The God of 'does it make money?' Well trained for sure, degrees from prestigious universities, but not that well educated in the true sense of the word. And certainly not curious. Smug ignorance feels like bliss in this parish.

(2) Competition: The players of this game value competition as the great qualifier (other values exist in most, but are for after work). The best man (usually a man) wins. The measure is the ranking in the

Forbes 400 and the machismo of lending one's private jet to a 'friend' in need. But of course, the logical extreme of competition is war. Wall Street today is like war — violence but without the guns.

(3) Entitlement: The winning creates a sense of entitlement — not just for stuff, but to influence society at all scales of winning. We see this steering our politics (at the national level of course but also at the state level — see *New York Times* today about the race for Governor of Illinois (www.nytimes.com/2015/11/30/us/politics/illinois-campaign-money-bruce-rauner.html?_r=0), and in our communities) and affecting pretty much all our institutions. Think about metrics (teach to the test) in the Charter School movement as just one example, driven in part by all the (well meaning) finance honchos on Charter School boards (part of the after-work values that exist but are corrupted by the religion and its narrow, reductionist set of values). And what's most concerning, our culture appears willing to grant that entitlement. In part because the institutions need the money — this is a design flaw of our system but few in the church of finance ism will ever see it that way. But in part because we somehow believe as a culture that 'success' (regardless of whether it comes from leveraged securities speculation, real estate speculation, or something socially useful) connotes wisdom and therefore entitles one to influence.

²² 'Ready, fire, aim' used as a reminder in business, stipulating that quick action sometimes renders profits more surely than thoroughly planned action.

²³ Gilad and Junginger, 2010. The German title of this book is *Strategische Kriegsführung für Manager*, English *Strategic Warfare for Managers*. See also www.clausewitz.org.

For sociologist Max Weber as well, war was a kind of natural phenomenon of political history, a form of unavoidable 'eternal struggle of nations' (ewiges Ringen der Nationen) comparable to economic competition, only that economic war is conducted with 'peaceful ammunition' (friedliche Kampfmittel). See Bruhns, 2014, p. 63. I thank Hinnerk Bruhns for sharing his work on Max Weber with me. The first two conferences of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies were inspired and hosted by Hinnerk Bruhns, and supported by Michel Wieviorka at the Maison des Sciences in 2003 and 2004, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeetings.php. It is a privilege to have Hinnerk Bruhns and other renowned colleagues as esteemed members in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also note 2412 in chapter 8 of Lindner, 2023.

²⁴ See *The corporation*, a documentary film by law professor Joel Bakan, directed by Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott, 2003, see www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sociopolitica/sociopol_globalelite08.htm. See also *The corporation: The pathological pursuit of profit and power* by Bakan, 2004. I thank ecological economist, environmental scientist and futurist Richard Sanders for making me aware of this work. See also: • *L'irrésistible ascension d'Amazon / Der unaufhaltsame Aufstieg von Amazon*, documentary film by David Carr-Brown, 2018, Arte France, www.arte.tv/fr/videos/058375-000-A/l-irresistible-ascension-d-amazon/. See also Malet, 2013.

• *Quand les multinationales attaquent les États / Die Macht der Konzerne*, documentary film by Laure Delesalle, 2016, Arte France, www.arte.tv/fr/videos/069785-000-A/quand-les-multinationales-attaquent-les-etats/.

²⁵ Magnus Haavelsrud in a personal communication, 12th August 2018. It is a privilege to have Magnus Haavelsrud as esteemed member in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community from its very inception. See also the book by Thomas Klikauer, 2013, *Managerialism: A critique of an ideology*, and 'Academentia: The organization insanity of the modern university', by Thomas Klikauer and Meg Young, *Counterpunch*, 28th July 2021, www.counterpunch.org/2021/07/28/academentia-the-organization-insanity-of-the-modern-university/.

Note also historian Johann Chapoutot, 2020, who wrote the book *Free to obey. The management of business, from Nazism to today* (published in French, not translated), where he illuminated the continuity between the organisational methods of Nazi Germany's National Socialism and the world of contemporary business and economic liberalism. Chapoutot tells the story of how a former Nazi jurist contributed decisively to modelling German post-war capitalism. After the end of WWII, in 1956, Reinhard Höhn (1904–2000), a jurist and general of the Nazi SS, founded the business school of Bad Harzburg, where the business elites of the Federal Republic of Germany (RFA) would be formed, a German version of the Harvard Business School that was also replicated in France with INSEAD in 1957. Employers sent their employees to this school to undergo short periods of training. The Bad Harzburg method saw the employee not a 'subordinate' but as 'a collaborator', as 'a person who acts and thinks autonomously', an approach that related to the RFA's concept of 'ordoliberalism' and 'social market economy', where *Mitbestimmung* or co-decision

allows workers to have a voice in the management of the company. The aim of the training in Bad Harzburg was to achieve consensus through ‘management by delegation of responsibility’, so as to achieve consent from the subject or the governed with the aim that they would ‘freely obey’. In this way, ‘freedom to obey’ reigned both before and after the war. See an English book review by Nadia Matringe, The London School of Economics (LSE), 24th June 2020, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2020/06/24/book-review-libres-dobeir-le-management-du-nazisme-a-aujourd'hui-free-to-obey-management-from-nazism-to-today-by-johann-chapoutot/>:

Höhn and his fellow Nazis relied on a form of Social Darwinism which claimed to reject the state and envisaged ‘freedom’ as the driving force underlying economic performance. ... Contrary to the healthy logic of natural selection, the state, for Höhn, had a counter-selective role, since it enabled the diseased, the dreamer, the idle and the madman to prosper at the expense of the wholesome, and thus threatened the accomplishment of the Germanic race.

²⁶ ‘The world is one step from “nuclear annihilation”, U.N. chief says’, by Edith M. Lederer, *Los Angeles Times*, 1st August 2022, www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2022-08-01/un-chief-warns-the-world-is-one-step-from-nuclear-annihilation.

²⁷ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 52–53.

²⁸ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 48.

²⁹ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 49.

³⁰ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 49–50.

³¹ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 5–6.

³² {Moyn, 2017 #58876}, conclusion.

³³ Bin Talal and Elkann, 2004, vii–viii. See for the breadth of HRH’s dignity work over the past decades, for instance, Bin Talal, 2014, Bin Talal, et al., 2015, Bin Talal, 2006, Bin Talal, 2001, The Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, et al., 1998, Bin Talal and Prince of Wales (Foreword), 1995, Bin Talal, 1984, or Bin Talal, 1979.

³⁴ In the U.S.A., ‘Researchers call for national public health effort to prevent loneliness’, by Linda Fried, Dean of the Columbia Mailman School of Public Health and DeLamar Professor of Public Health Practice, *Public Health Now*, 1st August 2022, www.publichealth.columbia.edu/public-health-now/news/researchers-call-national-public-health-effort-prevent-loneliness.

³⁵ Greenfield, 2015. I had the privilege of listening to her APSS International Scholar Talk titled *Social change, cultural evolution, and human development: United States and China*, given online at the Department of Applied Social Sciences (APSS), The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, on 23rd November 2022.

³⁶ Tönnies, 1887/1955.

³⁷ It was an honour to have Ishac Diwan, 2016, come to the pre-launch of this book at Columbia University in New York City on 5th December 2018, where he commented on the advantages and disadvantages of collectivist settings. For the complexity of notions such as collectivism, see also ‘Why your understanding of collectivism is probably wrong’, by Thomas Talhelm, *Association for Psychological Science (APS) Observer*, 29th October 2019, <https://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/why-your-understanding-of-collectivism-is-probably-wrong>. See also note 358 in chapter 2, and note 2375 in Lindner, 2023.

³⁸ See Morais, 1979, 1983. See also Andersson and Richards, 2013, chapter IV, p. 15, of the unpublished manuscript:

De Morais, in contradistinction to Freire, sets forward not two but three levels of awareness. He adds to Freire’s two, which are: the naïve level and the critical level. The third is the organisational level of awareness. At the naïve level a person is aware of problems but is unable to understand their cause (and so may blame God or the Fates). The critically conscious person is able to identify the factors responsible for problems, and their inter-relationship. Organisational awareness is reached when the person has the ability to act together with others to address a problem or attain particular results. Organisational awareness manifests what de Morais calls a ‘methodological rationality’.

It was a great inspiration for me to learn about the work of Iván Labra based on Clodomir Santos de Morais' concepts in Howard Richards' Dialogue Home and Centro para el Desarrollo Alternativo en Limache, Chile, on 26th April 2012. See *Iván Labra and the organisation workshop* at <http://youtu.be/SaxNvVBDfks>, and *Iván Labra: Consciousness is in the act* at <http://youtu.be/Vn05XK8McEM>. See also notes 411 and 412 in chapter 2 of Lindner, 2023.

³⁹ See Granovetter, 1973.

⁴⁰ See also van Hoorn, 2015.

⁴¹ See as an illustration Jablensky and Sartorius, 2008:

The sobering experience of high rates of chronic disability and dependency associated with schizophrenia in high-income countries, despite access to costly biomedical treatment, suggests that something essential to recovery is missing in the social fabric.

See also note 557 in chapter 2 of Lindner, 2023. It is a privilege to have Norman Sartorius as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

⁴² See Virginia Woolf, 1929.

⁴³ As to *anomie*, see sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who formulated the concept to help describe the new relationship between the individual and economic society during the nineteenth century Industrial Revolution. In today's context, it describes the general alienation of individuals. Several turn-of-the-century films illustrate anomie, see, among others, *Office space* (1999), *American psycho* (2000), or *Fight club* (1999).

⁴⁴ See 'Britain appoints minister for loneliness amid growing isolation', by Lee Mannion, *Reuters*, 17th January 2018, www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-politics-health/britain-appoints-minister-for-loneliness-amid-growing-isolation-idUSKBN1F61I6. See also *PM commits to government-wide drive to tackle loneliness. Theresa May will host a reception and set out the government's plans to tackle loneliness*, press release, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, Office for Civil Society, and The Rt Hon Theresa May MP, 17th January 2018, www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-commits-to-government-wide-drive-to-tackle-loneliness.

For Japan, see 'Japan: "Minister of loneliness" tackles mental health crisis', by Julian Ryall, *Deutsche Welle*, 23rd April 2021, www.dw.com/en/japan-minister-of-loneliness-tackles-mental-health-crisis/a-57311880: 'Increasing social and economic isolation is causing Japan's suicide rate to climb, with working women and single mothers most at risk. The newly appointed "minister of loneliness" plans to alleviate this phenomenon'.

Extended loneliness diminishes immunity, a risk factor that is particularly relevant in times of a virus pandemic. See an easy-to-read article, 'Activating the Vagus nerve might lower your Covid-19 risk: While physical distancing and masks are crucial, social interaction could calm the immune system and turn down inflammation', by Markham Heid, *Medium*, 25th November 2020, <https://elemental.medium.com/activating-the-vagus-nerve-might-lower-your-covid-19-risk-e08ed0ce7a04>. See the book *Loneliness: Human nature and the need for social connection* by Cacioppo and Patrick, 2008, and Cacioppo, et al., 2015, Cohen, et al., 2012, Hanscom, et al., 2020. See, furthermore, the work on loneliness by economist Noreena Hertz, 2020.

⁴⁵ See also Tamler Sommers, 2018, who makes a similar argument. I thank Bonnie Selterman for making me aware of this book.

⁴⁶ Since I wrote my book *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012b, the topic of inequality has become ever more prominent. See more in note 3221 in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023. See also note 772 in chapter 3, note 1591 in chapter 6, note 2266 in this chapter, note 3967 in chapter 11, and note 4404 in chapter 12 of Lindner, 2023. See a longer overview also in endnote 1 of chapter 11 in my 2017 book *Honor, humiliation, and terror*.

When I wrote the book *A dignity economy*, everyone told me about Richard Wilkinson's and Kate Pickett's work. See, among others, Wilkinson, 2005, and Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009. See also <https://youtu.be/zYDzA9hKCNQ>. See, furthermore, the Equality Trust at www.equalitytrust.org.uk. Since then, more authors have become household names, such as Stiglitz, 2012, Thomas Piketty, 2013/2014, Atkinson, 2015, Frank, 2016, or Milanović, 2019. See also a publication by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2015, for why all benefit from more equality.

Evidence has accumulated that ‘inequality damages family life by higher rates of child abuse, and increased status competition is likely to explain the higher rates of bullying confirmed in schools in more unequal countries’.

See ‘The *spirit level* authors: Why society is more unequal than ever: Five years after the spirit level’, by Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson, *The Guardian*, 9th March 2014, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/mar/09/society-unequal-the-spirit-level. I thank Rigmor Johnsen for drawing my attention to this article where Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson look back on their pathbreaking publication from 2009 and report on recent research that backs up their views on the iniquity of inequality. Wilkinson and Piketty write: ‘human beings have deep-seated psychological responses to inequality and social hierarchy. The tendency to equate outward wealth with inner worth means that inequality colours our social perceptions. It invokes feelings of superiority and inferiority, dominance and subordination — which affect the way we relate to and treat each other’. See also Due, et al., 2009, Eckenrode, et al., 2014, Johnson, et al., 2012, and Zucman and Saez, 2019.

See an easy to read article, ‘Was there ever a time when so few people controlled so much wealth? Two things are clear: radical new ways of getting rich have been invented, and things have probably never been this unequal since before the second world war’, by Eoin Flaherty for the Conservation, *The Guardian*, 29th January 2016, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/29/wealth-inequality-unequal. See more in the section titled ‘Economic systems are human-made and no laws of nature’ in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023, and in the section ‘Well-intended solutions have often unintended consequences’ in the same chapter.

⁴⁷ See *Cigna study reveals loneliness at epidemic levels in America*, 2018, www.cigna.com/newsroom/news-releases/2018/pdf/new-cigna-study-reveals-loneliness-at-epidemic-levels-in-america.pdf. In the 1980s, 20 per cent of Americans said they were ‘often lonely’, and this figure had doubled by 2018. Suicide rates are at a 30-year high in America, and depression rates have increased tenfold since 1960, and this not just as a result of improved reporting. See the book *Loneliness: Human nature and the need for social connection* by Cacioppo and Patrick, 2008, and Cacioppo, et al., 2015, Cohen, et al., 2012, Hanscom, et al., 2020. See, furthermore, the work on loneliness by economist Noreena Hertz, 2020.

⁴⁸ Henry Maine, 1861/1963. *Ancient law*. Boston: Beacon Press.

⁴⁹ Polanyi and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Foreword), 1944/2001. See also Richards, 2013.

⁵⁰ Polanyi and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Foreword), 1944/2001.

⁵¹ Walzer, 1983, Taylor, 1989.

⁵² ‘L’Europe et le spectre des nationalismes’, by Pierre Hassner *Esprit*, October 1991, p. 22. In 2003, he received the Alexis de Tocqueville award (see more on de Tocqueville in note 2402 in chapter 8 of Lindner, 2023). It was a privilege to be in conversation with Pierre Hassner since 2002 until his passing in 2018, and to have him as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

⁵³ Kuang-Hui Yeh, professor at the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica in Taipei, and at the department of psychology, National Taiwan University, in a personal message to Louise Sundararajan’s Special Interest Group for Indigenous Psychology, 16th August 2018:

Based upon the dual filial piety model, there are at least two intertwined but distinct aspects, reciprocal and authoritarian, of filial piety. The latter (authoritarian) aspect of filial piety might be gradually decayed in many modern countries, but the front (reciprocal) aspect of filial piety is still strong in most of countries.

See also Yeh, et al., 2013.

⁵⁴ Hegland, 2006, p. 210.

⁵⁵ Hegland, 2006, p. 210.

⁵⁶ See Lalwani, et al., 2006, Singelis, et al., 1995, Vargas and Kimmelmeier, 2013. See also note 358 in chapter 2, and notes 2224 and 2375 in Lindner, 2023.

⁵⁷ I advocate *interconnected individuality*. See also note 358 in chapter 2, and note 2224 in Lindner, 2023. Consider social psychologists Markus and Kitayama, 2010, who suggest that collectivism and individualism do not need to exclude each other but can be furthered independently and potentially to the same degree.

Philosopher Kwame Gyekye once said that ‘communality does not obliterate individuality’, Gyekye, 1987, p. 159. For the complexity of notions such as collectivism, see also ‘Why your understanding of collectivism is probably wrong’, by Thomas Talhelm, Association for Psychological Science (APS) Observer, 29th October 2019, <https://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/why-your-understanding-of-collectivism-is-probably-wrong>. It is possible that Daudi Azibo, 2014, a theorist in African-centred psychology, may be too optimistic about collectivism when he includes individualism — in contrast to individuality — in the list of 55 culture-focused personality-based mental disorders particular to African descended people in the Azibo Nosology, Azibo, 2014, p. 71.

⁵⁸ See, among others, Niemi and Young, 2016, Abstract:

Why do victims sometimes receive sympathy for their suffering and at other times scorn and blame? Here we show a powerful role for moral values in attitudes towards victims. We measured moral values associated with unconditionally prohibiting harm (‘individualising values’) versus moral values associated with prohibiting behaviour that destabilises groups and relationships (‘binding values’: loyalty, obedience to authority, and purity). Increased endorsement of binding values predicted increased ratings of victims as contaminated (Studies 1–4); increased blame and responsibility attributed to victims, increased perceptions of victims’ (versus perpetrators’) behaviours as contributing to the outcome, and decreased focus on perpetrators (Studies 2–3). Patterns persisted controlling for politics, just world beliefs, and right-wing authoritarianism. Experimentally manipulating linguistic focus off of victims and onto perpetrators reduced victim blame. Both binding values and focus modulated victim blame through victim responsibility attributions. Findings indicate the important role of ideology in attitudes towards victims via effects on responsibility attribution.

See also ‘Who blames the victim?’ by Laura Niemi and Liane Young, *New York Times*, 24th June 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/06/26/opinion/sunday/who-blames-the-victim.html. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this research. Linda Hartling and I, while we highly appreciate the work of Niemi and Young, suggest a more relational approach to ‘caring’ and ‘fairness’. We would speak of ‘caring’ and ‘fairness’ as ‘connectedness-compassion values’ rather than as ‘individualising values’. See also Opatow, 1995.

⁵⁹ Fiske, 2012, 9.

⁶⁰ See an introduction on www.sscnet.ucla.edu/anthro/faculty/fiske/reimodov.htm. See also Fiske, 1991.

⁶¹ There is maybe also a fifth basic type of scale, a discrete interval scale that is intermediate between interval and ratio scales, which, Fiske suggests, could inspire also future research on forms of sociality as it might represent a fifth fundamental model. See Fiske and Kintsch, 1992, 692.

⁶² Psychologist Stevens, 1946, See also www.mymarketresearchmethods.com/types-of-data-nominal-ordinal-interval-ratio/.

⁶³ Fiske and Haslam, 2005, 268.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Fiske, 2012, 9.

⁷⁰ See Zickfeld, et al., 2017. See other literature on empathy, among others, Batson, 2009, Bloom, 2017, Bråten, 2007, 2013, Bruneau, et al., 2017, de Waal, 2009, Decety and Ickes, 2009, Fox, 2017, Kohn, 1990.

⁷¹ See Zickfeld, 2015.

⁷² Lindner, 2006, p. 66. See more in chapter 4 in Lindner, 2023, look for note 1055.

⁷³ See, for example, Vosters, 2015.

⁷⁴ Fuglestad, 2018, p. 397. It is a great privilege to have Ingrid Fuglestad's support for my dignity work. See, furthermore, 'The key to a sustainable economy is 5,000 years old', by Ellen Brown, *Web of Debt & TRANSCEND Media Service*, 2nd September 2019, <https://ellenbrown.com/2019/08/30/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/>, and www.transcend.org/tms/2019/09/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/. See also Graeber, 2011, for the insight that Indigenous communities used to practice mutual sharing and *giving forward* rather than *exchange*, and consider the *substantivist* economic model conceptualised by Karl Polanyi discussed in this chapter. See more in note 1998 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023.

See also the work of zooarchaeologist Sarah Pleuger, who observes that research was for a long time 'based on a linear model of human development and almost inevitably from a mobile life to sedentism and finally to urbanisation. It was mainly a matter of othering "nomadic" groups from sedentary civilisations'. In her opinion, 'this approach and treatment of nomadic groups has no place in research today'. See '*A close coexistence of humans and animals*': Interview with Sarah Pleuger on livestock farming in eastern Mongolia, by Judith Wonke, Gerda Henkel Stiftung, 10th July 2021, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/livestock_farming.

⁷⁵ Research on *multi-level selection* has shown that altruists often lose out within groups, but groups with more altruists win. See, for instance, Wilson, 2002. See also 'The indigenous "people of wildlife" know how to protect nature', by Baher Kamal, *Inter Press Service*, 10th March 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/03/the-indigenous-people-of-wildlife-know-how-to-protect-nature/. See, furthermore, *Indigenous peoples and climate change: Emerging research on traditional knowledge and livelihoods*, edited by Ariell Ahearn, Martin Oelz and Rishabh Kumar Dhir, International Labour Organization (ILO), 16th April 2019, www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/publications/WCMS_686780/lang--en/index.htm. See also our 33rd Annual Dignity Conference in the Brazilian Amazon, 28th August–7th September 2019, where we were introduced to traditional knowledge and livelihoods first hand. See more in note 52 in the Preface. For a definition of indigeneity, and a view on the difference between Indigenous and indigenous, please see note 72 in the Preface of Lindner, 2023, see the common *Indigenous worldview* manifestations described by Four Arrows (Wahinkpe Topa of Cherokee and Muscogee Creek ancestry, aka Donald Trent Jacobs) presented in note 701 in chapter 3 of Lindner, 2023, and consider the *substantivist* economic model conceptualised by Karl Polanyi discussed in chapter 9 of Lindner, 2023.

⁷⁶ The Long Now Foundation was established in 01996 (sic) to foster long-term thinking and responsibility in the framework of the next 10,000 years. The Long Now Foundation uses five-digit dates, the extra zero is to solve the deca-millennium bug which will come into effect in about 8,000 years. See <http://longnow.org>.

⁷⁷ See Ostrom, 1990, 2010. See Graeber, 2011, for the insight that Indigenous communities used to practice mutual sharing and *giving forward* rather than *exchange*. See also the common *Indigenous worldview* manifestations described by Four Arrows (Wahinkpe Topa of Cherokee and Muscogee Creek ancestry, aka Donald Trent Jacobs) presented in note 701 in chapter 3 of Lindner, 2023, and consider the *substantivist* economic model conceptualised by Karl Polanyi discussed in Lindner, 2023.

⁷⁸ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 67–68.

⁷⁹ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 53.

⁸⁰ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 53.

⁸¹ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 54.

⁸² Bin Talal, 2001, p. 54.

⁸³ Richards and Andersson, 2022.

⁸⁴ 'Jair Bolsonaro could face charges in The Hague over Amazon rainforest: Indigenous leaders and human rights groups accuse Brazilian president of crimes against humanity', by Flávia Milhorange, *The Guardian*, 23rd January 2021, www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/23/jair-bolsonaro-could-face-charges-in-the-hague-over-amazon-rainforest.

⁸⁵ Lindner, 2006, p. 46.

⁸⁶ ‘Four ways to redesign democracy for future generations: A new movement of time rebels is challenging the myopia of conventional politics’, by Roman Krznaric, *Open Democracy*, 12th July 2020, www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/four-ways-redesign-democracy-future-generations/.

⁸⁷ Howard Richards in a personal communication, 20th January 2018.

⁸⁸ *House Resolution 109 / Senate Resolution 59 — Recognizing the duty of the Federal Government to create a Green New Deal* is a proposal currently known as the ‘Green New Deal Resolution’, presented to U.S. Congress on 7th February 2019 by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Ed Markey. See www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-resolution/109.

⁸⁹ See, for instance, ‘Against workerism: People have value because they’re people, not because they work’, by Noah Berlatsky, *Medium*, 1st October 2019, <https://arcdigital.media/against-workerism-679779c1f4a3>. See also note 2294 in chapter 7, and note 3947 in chapter 11 of Lindner, 2023.

⁹⁰ See Richards, 2013, as well as Iglesias, 2010, Richards, 1995, 2010, Richards and Swanger, 2006, and chapter four in Odora Hoppers and Richards, 2012. I thank Howard Richards for making me aware of the analysis of the sociological background of Roman law by Ferdinand Tönnies, 1887/1955, and Karl Renner, 1904. See also Jolowicz, 1932, and Merryman, 1969. See, furthermore, the work of Norbert Elias, 1969, Elias, 1939/1994. Howard Richards in a personal communication, 15th October 2016:

My point about Roman law is that it deliberately abstracted from primary groups and local culture in order to create a Law of Nations suitable for organising their vast empire and commerce within it on the basis of a few simple rules applicable to everybody. Now their civil law has become the frame for the global economy.

See for a recent overview over Roman law and society, Ando, et al., 2016. Roman law (Latin: *ius romanum*) has its origins in ancient Rome, including the Roman military jurisdiction and the legal developments spanning a thousand years of jurisprudence, from the Twelve Tables or *lex duodecim tabularum* (ca. 449 BCE) to the Corpus Juris Civilis (529 CE) by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I. It got renewed attention in the early Middle Ages. English and North American common law, among others, is strongly influenced by Roman law, actively using a Latin legal glossary, such as *stare decisis*, *culpa in contrahendo*, *pacta sunt servanda*.

See on world-system theory also note 1328 in chapter 5 of Lindner, 2023.

⁹¹ See Wood, 2003, for ‘systemic imperatives’. See also ‘Why physicians are more burned out than ever: Nothing will change for health care workers until the American public gets involved’, by Elizabeth Métraux, *Medium*, 7th December 2018, <https://medium.com/s/story/we-cant-fix-the-problem-of-physician-burnout-until-we-address-the-problem-of-american-neglect-65744b9d7d03>.

⁹² Economist Guy Standing, 2018, p. 2:

As the social democratic era collapsed in the 1970s, an economic model emerged now known as ‘neo-liberalism’. Its advocates preached ‘free markets’, strong private property rights, financial market liberalisation, free trade, commodification, privatisation, and the dismantling of all institutions and mechanisms of social solidarity, which, in their view, were ‘rigidities’ holding back the market. While the neo-liberals were largely successful in implementing their programme, what transpired was very different from what they had promised.

The initial outcome was financial domination. The income generated by US finance, which equalled 100% the size of the US economy in 1975, grew to 350% in 2015. Similarly, in the UK, finance went from 100% to 300% of GDP. Both countries experienced rapid deindustrialisation as the strength of finance led to an overvalued exchange rate that, by making exports uncompetitive and imports cheaper, destroyed high-productivity manufacturing jobs. Financial institutions, most notably Goldman Sachs, became masters of the universe, their executives slotted into top political positions in the US and around the world.

Finance linked up with Big Pharma and Big Tech to forge a global architecture of institutions strengthening rentier capitalism, maximising monopolistic income from intellectual property. The pivotal moment came in 1995 with implementation of the World Trade Organization (WTO)’s Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), in which US multinational corporations helped secure the globalisation of the US intellectual property rights system. This shift gave

unprecedented rent-extracting capacity to multinationals and financial institutions.

Patents, copyright, protection of industrial designs, and trademarked brands have multiplied as sources of monopolistic profit. In 1994, fewer than one million patents were filed worldwide; in 2011, over two million were filed; in 2016, over three million. By then, twelve million were in force, and licensing income from patents had multiplied sevenfold. Growth was similar with other forms of intellectual property.

The rent-extracting system was enforced by over 3,000 trade and investment agreements, all entrenching property rights, topped by a mechanism (Investor-State Dispute Settlement) that empowers multinationals to sue governments for any policy changes that, in their view, negatively affect their future profits. This has had a chilling effect on policy reform efforts, notably those seeking to protect health and the environment.

⁹³ See Richards and Swanger, 2006, Rose, 1984, see also Renner, 1929.

⁹⁴ Consider Noam Chomsky, a major figure in analytic philosophy and one of the founders of the field of cognitive science, also called ‘the father of modern linguistics’. He highlights the dark side of institutional roles when they trap their bearers in what Hannah Arendt, 1963, called ‘banality of evil’. Modern state capitalism binds business leaders in roles that leave them no option but to destroy the environment, thus selecting either unthinking bureaucratic functionaries or people who act against their better judgement, if they are not ‘willing executioners’ as Daniel Goldhagen would say. Nazi official Adolf Eichmann insisted that he had no choice but to follow orders, as he was bound by an oath of loyalty to Hitler, see also Cesarani, 2004.

See *Noam Chomsky on the state-corporate complex: A threat to freedom and survival*, at the Hart House Debates and Dialogue Committee of the University of Toronto, 12th April 2011, <https://youtu.be/PTuawY8Qnz8>, starting at 1:20 minutes:

Nobody will come to the rescue if the environment is destroyed, and that it must be destroyed is close to an institutional imperative under contemporary state capitalism. Just think it through. Business leaders right now are conducting massive propaganda campaigns to convince the population that anthropogenic global warming — global warming because of human interference — is a liberal hoax. And they are succeeding. Like in the United States probably two thirds of the population believes this by now. Well, the CEOs, who are running these campaigns, they understand what all of us understand, they understand that the threat is very real, very grave, that it will destroy everything they own, wreck the lives of their grandchildren, they know all of that. But as CEOs of a corporation, in that institutional role, they have no choice. They can pull out, of course, but if they stay there, they have to maximise short-term gain and market share. That is a legal requirement under Anglo-American law. If they don’t do it, they will be out and somebody else will come in who does do it. So it is an institutional property, not an individual one. And it does set off a vicious cycle, a one that could be lethal. And to see how imminent the danger is, just have a look at the new congress in the United States, the one that was propelled into power by large-scale business funding and propaganda. Almost everyone there is a climate change denier. And they have already been acting on those assumptions, they have been cutting the limited expenditures there are for dealing with environmental problems. And if the United States does not do anything significant, the rest of the world does not either. Worse than that, some of them are true believers. So, for example, the new head of one of these committees on the environment. He explained that global warming can’t be a problem because God promised Noah that there would not be another flood.

⁹⁵ Richards and Swanger, 2006.

⁹⁶ I resonate with Howard Richards and Catherine Odora Hoppers, who insist that ever more *regulatory* rules are not enough, what is needed are new *constitutive* rules. See, among others, Richards and Swanger, 2006, Richards and Swanger, 2013, Odora Hoppers and Richards, 2012, and Richards, et al., 2018, inspired by the lecture series ‘Against Foucault’, given by Howard Richards and followed by dialogues with Catherine Odora Hoppers and Evelin Lindner in Pretoria, South Africa, in 2013. See also political economics Gerhard Hanappi, 2019, for the challenges awaiting those who wish to reinvigorate the welfare state, and why right-wing populism has an advantage:

The representatives of Integrated Capitalism are discredited and cannot act as leaders, the movement therefore is forced to experiment with new forms of national organisation. More participatory forms of democratic organisation take more time, and with multiple social groups involved this weakens this

movements strength vis-à-vis right-wing populism. Furthermore, its vision of an improved national Integrated Capitalism is handicapped by the fact that many people still remember its failures, while the song of national glory that right-wing populism sings refers to an imagined far-away past that no one ever had seen.

⁹⁷ ‘The basic cultural structure: A comment from Chile as it burns’, by Howard Richards, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Editorial #613, 18th November 2019, www.transcend.org/tms/2019/11/the-basic-cultural-structure-a-comment-from-chile-as-it-burns/Media. See Taylor, 1971, 1993, Searle, 1995. Searle uses the phrase *institutional facts* when he speaks of, for instance, property rights and contract rights. See Manicas, 2006. See, furthermore, Porpora, 1993, Donati and Archer, 2015, and Richards, 2004, and Lawson, 2019. I thank Howard Richards for including me into his lifelong journey of reflecting on social change. See also Haavelsrud, 1981, for four kinds of peace education: idealistic, scientific, critical, and political. See also Bill McKibben, 2019, founder of the environmental organisation 350.org, and his essay ‘Climate movement: What’s next?’ for the May 2019 discussion of Paul Raskin’s Great Transition Network Forum. When asked where I stand with respect to the reform versus transformation debate, then I stand on the side of transformation.

My experience indicates that ‘green capitalism’ does not reach far enough. Climate degradation is only one of many deeply embedded structural problems that require transformations at the appropriate level. Single-issue Band Aids are insufficient.

See also note 2355 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023.

⁹⁸ The principle *pacta sunt servanda*, meaning ‘agreements are to be kept’, grew out of Roman law later. The first known expression of this principle is known from the thirteenth century, yet, published only in the sixteenth century. See more, for instance, in ‘The erosion of a fundamental contract law principle: Pacta sunt servanda vs. modern insolvency law’, by Christoph G. Paulus, in *Eppur si muove: The Age of Uniform Law, Essays in honour of Michael Joachim Bonell to celebrate his 70th birthday, Volume 1*, 2016, www.iiiglobal.org/sites/default/files/Pacta-sunt-servanda.pdf, p. 740, italics in original:

The principle (or *regula*) of *pacta sunt servanda* was never expressed by the ancient Romans. Quite to the contrary, in Roman law, *pacta* originally were not actionable at all. They were mere promises without any legally binding character and as such contrasted with contracts, *contractus*. Only if and when the relevant formalities had been complied with did such promises become obligatory and could their fulfilment be sued for. However, in some cases, the *praetor* saw the need to vest certain *pacta* with the force of legal enforceability; these so-called *pacta praetoria* thus became a special segment of the body of binding agreements. This practice marked the beginning of a development in the course of which the clear distinction between *contractus* and *pacta* became blurred. Justinian later created an additional segment of binding agreements in the form of so-called *pacta legitima*.

See also note 2206 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023.

⁹⁹ Powell, 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Powell, 2020, p. 122.

¹⁰¹ I thank Linda Hartling for emphasising the centrality of human relationships.

¹⁰² Bin Talal, 2001, p. 57.

¹⁰³ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 57–58.

¹⁰⁴ See Eisler, 1987. Her most recent books are Eisler, 2007, and Eisler and Fry, 2019. It is a privilege to have Riane Eisler as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See more in note 247 in chapter 1 of Lindner, 2023, and in chapter 3, look for note 698.

Among the many illustrations of how rank has been institutionalised across time, see, for instance, Jordan, 2012, or Kendi, 2019. See, furthermore, Wilkerson, 2020, exploring eight pillars — including divine will, bloodlines, and stigma — that underlie hierarchies of human rankings across civilisations.

¹⁰⁵ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 5th October 2020.

¹⁰⁶ Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010.

¹⁰⁷ Isabel Wilkerson, 2020, explained, 'I think of caste as the bones and race as the skin... race is merely the signal and cue to where one fits in the caste system'. See *It's more than racism: Isabel Wilkerson explains America's 'caste' system*, by Terry Gross, Fresh Air, National Public Radio (NPR), 4th August 2020, www.npr.org/transcripts/898574852.

¹⁰⁸ See Kleinig, 2011, Kleinig and Evans, 2013.

¹⁰⁹ See Pettit, 1997.

¹¹⁰ See Fuller, 2003, and Fuller and Gerloff, 2008. In a human rights context that stipulates that all human beings ought to be treated as equal in dignity and rights, hurtful psychological dynamics of humiliation are set in motion when socially constructed rankings are essentialised, for instance, when 'women' are regarded as lowly beings, or 'children', 'the elderly', 'foreigners', and so forth. It is a privilege to have Robert Fuller as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹¹¹ *A humanitarian perspective on the autumn of our discontent*, statement by NTI Board Member HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, 9th September 2002, www.nti.org/news/statement-hrh-prince-el-hassan-bin-talal/.

¹¹² *A humanitarian perspective on the autumn of our discontent*, statement by NTI Board Member HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, 9th September 2002, www.nti.org/news/statement-hrh-prince-el-hassan-bin-talal/.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Philosopher Ágnes Heller, 1984. See also 'A star philosopher falls, and a debate over sexism is set off', by Jennifer Schuessler, *New York Times*, 2nd August 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/08/03/arts/colin-mcginin-philosopher-to-leave-his-post.html.

See, furthermore, Berit Ås, 2008. Berit Ås explained her concept of male master suppression techniques to me in her home in Asker, Norway, 31st May 2014. See <https://youtu.be/mRASpPcI8hk>, where she describes that she started out with five master suppression techniques and later extended them. Berit Ås is professor of social science, the first female party leader in Norway (Democratic Socialists, AIK), and a peace activist and feminist. She has been a Member of Parliament in Norway, and founder of the Norwegian Women's University and is a Knight of the Order of St. Olav first class. Her areas of research are accident and consumer research and in-depth women's studies, and she has lectured on her theory of five male master suppression techniques in more than forty countries on four continents. Among others, she refers to Robert Merton ('damned if you do and damned if you don't'), Ingjald Nissen, and her mentor Harriet Holter. It was a privilege to have Berit Ås as opponent when I defended my doctoral dissertation in 2001 at the University of Oslo, and to have her as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹¹⁷ See Ágnes Heller, 1984.

¹¹⁸ 'Little white lies: Who is white and why?' by Ellyn Kaschak, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 10th November 2018, <https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/45383-little-white-lies>. See also Kaschak, 2015.

¹¹⁹ I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of the work of Elizabeth Minnich, 2010.

¹²⁰ See Minnich, 2016.

¹²¹ Arendt, 1963, Sennett, 1998, Haslam and Reicher, 2007, Minnich, 2016. See also note 4304 in chapter 12 Lindner, 2023.

¹²² Minnich, 2010, p. 4.

¹²³ On 16th November 2011, writer and peace scholar Janet Gerson took me to Zuccotti Park and the Atrium in New York City, where most of the Occupy Wall Street activities took place. Janet Gerson shared with me her doctoral research, see Gerson, 2014, and I thank her for reminding me of the significance of the notion of grappling. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoware/evelinpics11.php.#OWS. It is a privilege to have

Janet Gerson as an esteemed member of the board of directors of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

¹²⁴ See Nussbaum and Sen, 1993. See also Orton, 2011. See Gerson and Snauwaert, 2021.

¹²⁵ As to the concept of *nudging*, see, among others, Thaler and Sunstein, 2008, or Sunstein, 2016. For reflections on *conditions of freedom*, see, for instance, John MacMurray, 1949/1991, and on resistance to manipulation, see, among others, Thomas Teo, 2015. I thank Louise Sundararajan for making me aware of Teo's work.

¹²⁶ See Deutsch, 2006.

¹²⁷ Inga Bostad, Vice-Rector of the University in Oslo, Norway, sent a personal message after the 22nd July 2011 terror attacks in Oslo and Utøya. In this message, she encouraged and urged everybody to engage in dialogue. Her message was recorded by Lasse Moer on 26th August 2011, see http://youtu.be/hbOBj_UJt2Y. See also Bostad and Ottersen, 2014. It is a privilege to have Inga Bostad as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community, and we are very grateful to her for hosting the launch of our World Dignity University initiative on 24th June 2011 at the University of Oslo in Norway, of which she was the vice-rector at the time.

See also *Why dialogue matters for conflict prevention and peacebuilding*, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), February 2009,

www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/crisis%20prevention/dialogue_conflict.pdf. See, furthermore, 'Complicating the narratives', by Amanda Ripley, *The Whole Story*, 27th June 2018,

<https://thewholestory.solutionsjournalism.org/complicating-the-narratives-b91ea06ddf63>: 'If we want to learn the truth, we have to find new ways to listen'.

See also note 2916 in chapter 11 of Lindner, 2023.

¹²⁸ Dobson, 2012.

¹²⁹ See Miller, 2013.

¹³⁰ I thank psychotherapist Peter Hanley for reminding me of the *Rogerian argument*, or *Anatol Rapaport's rules*, as philosopher Daniel Dennett called it. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rogerian_argument#Rapoport's_rules.

¹³¹ See Bohm, 2014.

¹³² See Scharmer, 2009.

¹³³ See Swidler and Mojzes, 2000.

¹³⁴ The formulation 'waging good conflict' was coined by Jean Baker Miller, 1976/1986. Note also Jean Baker Miller's husband Seymour 'Mike' Miller, 2008, who reflected on sociologist Joseph Michels, 1911/1915, and his classic *iron law of oligarchy* with respect to left-wing organisations:

Many of these organisations flourished mainly because they had a charismatic leader who dominated their thinking and activities. While I am all for democracy, I have realised from my many activities and involvements that the quality of organisational leadership is crucial. Unfortunately, too few studies of social movements adequately explore the ongoing life of organisations that seek to change a neighbourhood, company, the nation or the world. Nor has that literature explored how some social movements achieved important transformations.

It was a privilege to have Jean Baker Miller as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community until her passing in 2007, and we will always honour her spirit. It is equally gratifying to have also her husband Seymour M. (Mike) Miller in our global advisory board.

¹³⁵ Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 4th June 2009. A very hands-on illustration is to be found in *How to talk with your relatives over the holiday*, by Sharon Salzberg, 'On Being', with Krista Tippett, WNYC (non-profit, non-commercial, public radio stations located in New York City), 17th November 2017, <https://onbeing.org/blog/sharon-salzberg-how-to-talk-with-your-relatives-over-the-holidays/>. Read more about *Zhi Yin*, the deep listener, in note 71 in the Preface of Lindner, 2023.

¹³⁶ Barad, 2003, p. 829. Karen Barad earned her doctorate in theoretical physics, building on insights from

Niels Bohr, and is known for her theory of *agential realism*, where she follows Niels Bohr in questioning the dualisms of object/subject, knower/known, nature/culture, and word/world. Barad, 2003, asks: Does scientific knowledge represent an independently existing reality accurately? Does language accurately represent its referent? Does a given political representative, legal counsel, or piece of legislation accurately represent the interests of the people allegedly represented? (p. 804). Barad explains that for Bohr, 'things do not have inherently determinate boundaries or properties, and words do not have inherently determinate meanings'; Bohr 'calls into question the related Cartesian belief in the inherent distinction between subject and object, and knower and known' (p. 813).

Barad builds also on Donna Haraway's work on the practices through which the differential boundaries between categories of 'human' and 'nonhuman' are being stabilised and destabilised. Names such as Donna Haraway, Judith Butler, Andrew Pickering, Bruno Latour, and Joseph Rouse are relevant to Barad with respect to *performativity*.

In her 2003 article 'Posthumanist performativity: Towards an understanding of how matter comes to matter', Barad offers a deep analysis of her relational ontology that rejects the metaphysics of *words and things* (p. 812), that rejects the *thingification* — the turning of relations into 'things' and 'entities' (p. 812). It rejects representationalism as a Cartesian by-product, it rejects the 'particularly inconspicuous consequence of the Cartesian division between 'internal' and 'external' that breaks along the line of the knowing subject' (p. 806). It rejects that there are 'representations on the one hand and ontologically separate entities awaiting representation on the other', that 'representationalism separates the world into the ontologically disjoint domains of words and things, leaving itself with the dilemma of their linkage such that knowledge is possible' (p. 811). Barad observes that both scientific realists and social constructivists believe that scientific knowledge mediates our access to the material world, scientific knowledge as it presents itself in its multiple representational forms such as theoretical concepts, graphs, particle tracks, photographic images. Both groups — scientific realists and social constructivists — subscribe to representationalism, they differ only on the question of referent, whether scientific knowledge represents things as they really are in 'nature', or represents objects that are the product of culture (pp. 805–806).

Barad instead recommends 'a performative understanding, which shifts the focus from linguistic representations to discursive practice' (p. 807). 'Reality is not composed of things-in-themselves or things-behind-phenomena but "things"-in-phenomena' (p. 817). In an 'ongoing flow of agency "part" of the world makes itself differentially intelligible to another "part" of the world', and in this way, 'local causal structures, boundaries, and properties are stabilised and destabilised', something which does not take place in space and time 'but in the making of spacetime itself' (p. 817). 'The universe is agential intra-activity in its becoming' (p. 818). For Barad, the primary ontological units are not 'things' but *phenomena*, namely, dynamic topological reconfigurings — or entanglements, relationalities, (re)articulations. *Words* are not 'primary semantic units', but 'material-discursive practices through which boundaries are constituted' (p. 818). This dynamism of ongoing reconfigurings of the world is *agency*, where the term *humans* refers to phenomena, to 'beings in their differential becoming, particular material (re)configurings of the world with shifting boundaries and properties that stabilise and destabilise along with specific material changes' (p. 818).

Humans are neither pure cause nor pure effect but part of the world in its open-ended becoming (p. 821).

Meaning is not a property of individual words or groups of words. 'In its causal intra-activity, "part" of the world becomes determinately bounded and propertied in its emergent intelligibility to another "part" of the world. Discursive practices are boundary-making practices that have no finality in the ongoing dynamics of agential intra-activity' (p. 821). *Knowing* means that part of the world makes itself intelligible to another part. Practices of knowing and being are mutually implicated and not isolatable. It is not possible to obtain knowledge by standing outside of the world: we know because we are of the world, we are part of the world in its differential becoming. 'The separation of epistemology from ontology is a reverberation of a metaphysics that assumes an inherent difference between human and nonhuman, subject and object, mind and body, matter and discourse. Onto-epistem-ology — the study of practices of knowing in being — is probably a better way to think about the kind of understandings that are needed to come to terms with how specific intra-actions matter' (p. 829).

Human bodies and *human subjects* do not pre-exist as such and are no mere end products either. 'Matter is not little bits of nature, or a blank slate, surface, or site passively awaiting signification; nor is it an uncontested ground for theories... matter is substance in its intra-active becoming — not a thing, but a doing, a congealing of agency. Matter is a stabilising and destabilising process of iterative intra-activity... matter refers to the materiality/materialisation of phenomena, not to an inherent fixed property of abstract independently existing objects of Newtonian physics... Neither discursive practices nor material phenomena

are ontologically or epistemologically prior. Neither can be explained in terms of the other. Neither has privileged status in determining the other' (p. 822). Matter is substance in its intra-active becoming — not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency, not a fixed essence (p. 828).

The reconceptualisation of materiality offered by Barad allows for the empirical world to be taken seriously again, yet, not as the seeming 'immediately given-ness' of the world, but with the understanding that *phenomena* are the objective referent. All bodies, not merely 'human' bodies, 'come to matter through the world's iterative intra-activity'. Bodies are not objects with inherent boundaries and properties', they are 'material-discursive phenomena'. 'Human' bodies are not different from 'nonhuman' ones (p. 823), there is no exterior observational point where a 'knower' can stand in externality to the natural world being investigated. The condition of possibility for objectivity is exteriority within phenomena, agential separability, not any absolute exteriority. 'We' are not outside observers of the world, and we are not located at particular places in the world either, we are part of the world in its ongoing intra-activity... 'we are a part of that nature we seek to understand' (p. 828). *Humans* are part of the 'worldbody space in its dynamic structuration' (p. 829).

¹³⁷ Barad, 2003, p. 821.

¹³⁸ Lindner, 2012b. I very much value the support of economy professor Ove Jakobsen, who wrote a deeply insightful review of my book on a dignity economy, see www.cultura.no/arkiv/pengevirke/evelin-lindner. He states in Jakobsen, 2018, that 'in order to establish ecological economics as a radical new economy right for the 21st century, neoliberal economics needs to be replaced'. Jakobsen's message resonates with that of Richards and Swanger, 2006, who argue that the Scandinavian model, although superior to others, can ultimately not be sustained.

¹³⁹ Alberto Portugheis, 2009, p. 200. Portugheis is the CEO of Humanity United for Universal Demilitarisation (HUFUD, www.hufud.org). The term United Nations was coined by President Roosevelt when he convened a conference of 26 nations in January 1942 to reaffirm the commitment to fight 'the Axis' of Germany, Italy, and Japan in the Second World War. The Allied countries — the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and China — met from August to October 1944 in Dumbarton Oaks, U.S.A., to prepare the Charter and design of the future United Nations.

¹⁴⁰ For the Sustainable Development Goals, see <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs>. If the exponential growth curve of Goal 8 were to be taken seriously, it would undermine the success of the other goals. Goal 8 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals: 'Promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all', www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/economic-growth/. See an interdisciplinary introduction to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that looks at all SDGs and their progress and challenges and is offered by Johan Schot, a historian working in the field of science and technology policy. See www.edx.org/course/the-un-sustainable-development-goals-an-interdisci?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI1ILQ_qOR7QIViNptCh1Vzg-4EAAAYASAAEgL4TfD_BwE.

Consider also Inger Andersen, UNEP Executive Director, who warns, 'There's this idea out there that we have to log, mine, and drill our way to prosperity. But that's not true. By embracing circularity and re-using materials we can still drive economic growth while protecting the planet for future generations', see *New trade rules vital to protecting the planet*, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 20th November 2020, www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/new-trade-rules-vital-protecting-planet.

I resonate with the conclusion of the member of the Club of Rome Stefan Brunnhuber that the monetary system is the missing link in the debate of sustainability. See Brunnhuber, 2021, and Lietaer, et al., 2012a. This is why I wrote the book *A dignity economy*, Lindner, 2012b.

Green New Deal proposals suffer from the same problem, as they intend to implement public policies built on the same economic principles that led to ecocide and sociocide in the first place. For European efforts, see, for instance, 'Statement by President von der Leyen on delivering the European Green Deal', European Commission, Brussels, 14th July 2021,

https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_21_3701.

See also 'Beware UN food systems summit Trojan horse', by Jomo Kwame Sundaram, *Inter Press Service*, www.ipsnews.net/2021/07/beware-un-food-systems-summit-trojan-horse/.

For an easy-to-read text on financial instability, see, among others, 'The stock market is one black swan away from the greatest reset in history: How a hidden stock market crash exposed the illusion of stability', by Concode, *Medium*, 15th May 2021, <https://medium.com/concode/the-financial-system-is-a-lot-more-fragile-than-were-led-to-believe-7303fb6bcac8>.

¹⁴¹ Scholar of human needs Ian Gough, 2017, p. 56. In his book *Heat, greed and human need*, Gough refers to an eudaimonic psychology definition of three universal needs, *autonomy*, *competence*, and *relatedness*, see page 44. Katherine Trebeck, a research and policy adviser with Oxfam, summarises Gough's definition of basic needs on 17th July 2019, on www.opendemocracy.net/en/oureconomy/book-review-heat-greed-and-human-need/:

...basic needs encompass physical health, autonomy of agency (mental health, cognitive understanding, opportunities to participate), and critical autonomy. They are satisfied by access to things such as adequate food and water, protective housing, safe work environment, healthcare, and significant primary relationships, and in turn optimised by freedoms from (civic and political rights), freedoms to (rights of access to need satisfiers), and political participation.

I resonate with Trebeck's appreciation of Gough's work, as it helps those who are 'sceptical about the merit of wellbeing as individual self-reported happiness in the hedonic sense'. While it is true that preferences and wants depend on context, which means that it is not advisable to make simplistic assumptions about how people feel, 'human needs are objective, plural, non-substitutable and satiable', Gough, 2017, p. 3.

¹⁴² 'Covid-19 has revealed a pre-existing pandemic of poverty that benefits the rich', by Philip Alston, outgoing UN special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, *The Guardian*, 11th July 2020, www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/jul/11/covid-19-has-revealed-a-pre-existing-pandemic-of-poverty-that-benefits-the-rich. See also Hickel, 2018, and *The parlous state of poverty eradication: Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Advance Unedited Version*, Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, NYU School of Law, 2nd July 2020, <https://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Alston-Poverty-Report-FINAL.pdf>.

¹⁴³ Lindner, 2012a. See also Raskin, 2014, p. 4: 'The Rio+20 Summit could muster only a constricted vision of a greener economy, bookending a quarter century of the decline of hope'.

¹⁴⁴ See, among others, www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/pics12.php#summit2012.

¹⁴⁵ Raworth, 2017.

¹⁴⁶ *Planetary economics: New tools for local transformation* with Kate Raworth, Schumacher Center for New Economics, November 12, 2022, <https://youtu.be/aPWOHR6dM-4>.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ It was a privilege for me to be introduced to Gus Speth by Margrit Kennedy in 2010, and to meet him in person at the Thirtieth Annual E. F. Schumacher Lectures 'Voices of a New Economics', in New York City on 20th November 2010.

¹⁵⁰ See, for instance, Lietaer, et al., 2012b.

¹⁵¹ *Planetary economics: New tools for local transformation* with Kate Raworth, Schumacher Center for New Economics, November 12, 2022, <https://youtu.be/aPWOHR6dM-4>.

¹⁵² 'The end of poverty?' by Thomas Pogge, *The Mark News*, 7th February 2016, www.themarknews.com/2016/02/07/the-end-of-poverty/. See also Pogge, 2008. It has been a privilege for me to learn from Thomas Pogge, starting more than twenty years ago, when he was part of the Ethics Programme of the Norwegian Research Council, led by Dagfinn Føllesdal. When I studied psychology at Hamburg University in the 1970s, Pogge studied sociology there at the same time, however, we did not meet then. See also the work of Norwegian economist Kalle Moene, 2018.

¹⁵³ 'The end of poverty?' by Thomas Pogge, *The Mark News*, 7th February 2016.

¹⁵⁴ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 67.

¹⁵⁵ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 70.

¹⁵⁶ Coleman, et al., 2007, Coleman, 2011, Coleman, et al., 2008, Vallacher, et al., 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Merle Lefkoff in a personal communication on 18th December 2015. See also the Center for Emergent Diplomacy (ECOS), www.emergentdiplomacy.org. It is a privilege to have Merle Lefkoff as an esteemed

member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See also *Indigenous peoples and climate change: Emerging research on traditional knowledge and livelihoods*, edited by Ariell Ahearn, Martin Oelz and Rishabh Kumar Dhir, International Labour Organization (ILO), 16th April 2019, www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/publications/WCMS_686780/lang--en/index.htm. See more in note 52 in the Preface of Lindner, 2023.

See, furthermore, 'The key to a sustainable economy is 5,000 years old', by Ellen Brown, *Web of Debt & TRANSCEND Media Service*, 2nd September 2019, <https://ellenbrown.com/2019/08/30/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/>, and www.transcend.org/tms/2019/09/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/. See more in note 1998 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023. See also our 33rd Annual Dignity Conference in the Brazilian Amazon, 28th August–7th September 2019, where we were introduced to traditional knowledge and livelihoods first hand.

¹⁵⁸ Merle Lefkoff lives in the Santa Fe region, where theoretical biologist and complex systems researcher Stuart Alan Kauffman was a faculty member in residence at the Santa Fe Institute dedicated to the study of complex systems from 1986 to 1997. We thank Merle for reminding us of the paper 'Coevolution to the edge of chaos', by Kauffman and Johnsen, 1991, and of the classic *At home in the universe* by Kauffman, 1995. For his thoughts on the *adjacent possible*, see the Edge Foundation, 9th November 2003, www.edge.org/conversation/the-adjacent-possible. See also recent work by Kauffman, 2016, Kauffman and Gare, 2015. Merle Lefkoff shared her insights at the 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, on 21st September 2016, where she facilitated a Dignilogue titled 'Indigenous knowledge and the new science of complex adaptive systems'. See <https://youtu.be/ZmVxqHnSo40>.

¹⁵⁹ Laszlo, 2014. I thank Dino Karabeg for connecting me with Alexander Laszlo.

¹⁶⁰ See the transcript of the speech by Sir David Attenborough on 3rd December 2018, at https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/The%20People%27s%20Address%202.11.18_FINAL.pdf. The 2018 United Nations Climate Change Conference was the 24th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP24), also known as the Katowice Climate Change Conference. It was held between 2nd and 15th December 2018 in Katowice, Poland. See also Attenborough, 2020, and his 2020 documentary film *A life on our planet* at <https://attenboroughfilm.com>. See, furthermore, his interview on PBS News Hour, 6th October 2020, www.pbs.org/video/october-6-2020-pbs-newshour-full-episode-1601956801/.

¹⁶¹ As a term, *ecocide* dates to 1970, when Arthur Galston, an American botanist, used it to describe the appalling effects of Agent Orange on the vast forests of Vietnam and Cambodia. See also Higgins, 2016.

¹⁶² Green New Deals (GNDs), in their attempt to remedy ecocide, fail when they simply replace one mastery strategy with another one, when they implement public policies built on the same economic principles that led to ecocide and sociocide in the first place. Current GND proposals usually aim to address not only ecocide but also sociocide insofar as they aspire to achieve social aims like job creation and reducing economic inequality. I resonate with the conclusion of the member of the Club of Rome Stefan Brunnhuber that the monetary system is the missing link in the debate of sustainability. See Brunnhuber, 2021, and Lietaer, et al., 2012a.

See also *The youth have seen enough*, by Rex Weyler, Greenpeace, 4th January 2019, www.greenpeace.org/international/story/20260/the-youth-have-seen-enough/.

The name Green New Deal (GND) refers back to the New Deal by the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in response to the Great Depression in the 1930s. For European efforts, see, for instance, 'Statement by President von der Leyen on delivering the European Green Deal', European Commission, Brussels, 14th July 2021, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/STATEMENT_21_3701.

¹⁶³ 'Sociocide is the intended wounding-killing of a society by eliminating the prerequisites for a live, vibrant, dynamic society', writes peace researcher Johan Galtung, in 'Sociocide, Palestine and Israel', *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 8th October 2012, www.transcend.org/tms/2012/10/sociocide-palestine-and-israel/, italics in original:

Sociocide, the killing of a society's capacity to survive and to reproduce itself, should become equally and prominently a crime against humanity. A society is a self-reproducing social system. So are human beings, with our basic needs for survival, wellness, identity, freedom. Society is also an organism, with a lifespan far beyond that of individuals. For humans to survive as humans, their basic needs have to be met. For that to happen the society has to survive. For the society to survive the basic social prerequisites

must be met:

- for *security*, against violence, killing, wounding the members
- for economic *sustainability*, against their starvation, illness
- for *identity* culturally, a meaning with life, against alienation
- for *autonomy* politically, to be a master of their own house.

As society unfolds, so do humans, and vice versa. Life breeds life.

This also holds for nomadic societies based on hunter-gatherers. Monasteries are incapable of self-reproduction biologically when based on one gender, but are highly viable societies based on recruitment. Under modernity, identity is carried by the *nation*, with four characteristics: an *idiom*, a *religion-worldview*, a *history* — of the past, present and future — and *geographical attachment*. *Time*, *space*, with the means to communicate and something to believe is crucial.

Under modernity the state is the key executor of all the above.

Sociocide is the intended wounding-killing of a society by eliminating the prerequisites for a live, vibrant, dynamic society.

Sociocide molests the human members. In the longer run, lethally. *Sociocide* is what Western, and not only Western, colonialism has done for centuries, denying others their autonomy, imposing their own identity — language and worldview — moving others out of their own historical dialectic and into history as Western periphery, denying them the land they are attached to with their hearts and minds. And their bodies for security and sustenance, for food, water, health.

See also Cormann, 2015.

¹⁶⁴ See ‘The vengeance of history: Thirty years of foreseeable retrogression’, by Hall Gardner, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 18th December 2018, <https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/46316-the-vengeance-of-history>. Hall Gardner is professor and chair of the ICP Department at the American University of Paris, and author of *World war Trump: The risks of America’s new nationalism*, Gardner, 2018. It is a privilege to have Hall Gardner on the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community.

See also ‘UN General Assembly: Guterres warns against “new Cold War”’, *Deutsche Welle*, 22nd September 2020, <https://p.dw.com/p/3iqdT>. See, furthermore, ‘Former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd: “A Cold War with China is probable and not just possible”’, interview conducted by Bernhard Zand, *Der Spiegel Online International*, 24th September 2021, www.spiegel.de/international/world/former-australian-pm-kevin-rudd-a-cold-war-with-china-is-probable-and-not-just-possible-a-959ebfec-826e-4961-821c-29b7d1e8736c. See also the work of Ankit Panda, expert on the Asia-Pacific region, and his warning of ‘chaotic armament’ in the Indo-Pacific region, frequently quoted in the magazine *Der Spiegel*, see www.spiegel.de/thema/kim_jong_un/.

See, furthermore, *Global arms industry: US companies dominate the Top 100; Russian arms industry moves to second place*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 10th December 2018, www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2018/global-arms-industry-us-companies-dominate-top-100-russian-arms-industry-moves-second-place.

¹⁶⁵ I very much thank His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal, for his personal message from 19th May 2020, where he suggested the term *cogitocide*. He proposed the term *cogitosphere* in his Opening Address to the 2004 Annual Conference of the Club of Rome ‘On limits to ignorance: The challenge of informed humanity’, 11th–12th October 2004 in Helsinki, Finland. His address was titled *The challenge of informed humanity: From ‘infosphere’ to ‘cogitosphere’*. In this address, he called on the Club of Rome to elevate the ‘Cogitosphere’, or the realm of thinking and reflection, ‘above that of the Infosphere in order to avoid sightless vision and to focus our deliberative process on the real challenges facing informed humanity’. See also notes 1779, 1780, and 1781 in this chapter, and note 4105 in chapter 12 of Lindner, 2023.

Prince El Hassan bin Talal is an important international thinker and member of the Jordanian royal family, the uncle of the sitting King Abdullah II, and he is deeply engaged in conversations regarding issues of human rights and development and how they are increasingly integrated with security matters on the international agenda and in the Arab World. See, among others, Bin Talal and Schwarz, 2013, ‘The responsibility to protect and the Arab World: An emerging international norm?’ in *Contemporary Security Policy*.

As one of the many expressions of cogitocide, we may identify the rise of conspiracy narratives. I could refer to many examples here, yet, I limit myself to the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative, as this functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All appear to follow a

similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — ‘smaller profiteers’ profit from the suffering caused by ‘larger profiteers’. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁶⁶ *Cogito, ergo sum* is a well-known philosophical proposition by philosopher René Descartes, meaning ‘I think, therefore I am’. *Cogito, ergo sum* originally appeared in French as *je pense, donc je suis* in 1637, in Descartes’ oeuvre *Discours de la méthode*. Descartes intended to say *dubito, ergo cogito, ergo sum*, or ‘I doubt, therefore I think, therefore I am’.

¹⁶⁷ *The challenge of informed humanity: From ‘infosphere’ to ‘cogitosphere’*, Prince El Hassan bin Talal’s Opening Address to the 2004 Annual Conference of the Club of Rome ‘On limits to ignorance: The challenge of informed humanity’, 11th–12th October 2004 in Helsinki, Finland.

¹⁶⁸ Bin Talal refers to cultural theorist Paul Virilio, 1977/2006, originator of the concept of *dromology*, ‘the science of speed’, where he points at the media-driven acceleration that results in an infosphere that diminishes and engulfs the political subject — the accountable leader as much as the participatory citizen and the deliberative process itself. The outcome is what bin Talal calls *infoterror* and *infowar*, and what Virilio describes as the ‘aesthetics of disappearance’.

¹⁶⁹ See the *Alain Elkann Interview: HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal*, 1st November 2020, www.alainelkanninterviews.com/hassan-bin-talal/: ‘Cogens — the use of one’s ability to think — is the most democratic expression I can think of, of commenting on public and private life’. Latin *cōgēns*, is the present active participle of *cōgō* or ‘drive together’, ‘compel’, from *cō* + *agō*, ‘drive’. See www.wordsense.eu/cogens/.

As one of the many expressions of cogitocide, we may identify the rise of conspiracy narratives. There is, for instance, the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative that functions as a kind of container for many smaller conspiracy theories that gather under its umbrella. All appear to follow a similar pattern of what could be called meta-humiliation entrepreneurship, which means surfing on the humiliation entrepreneurship that others perpetrate on the ground — ‘smaller profiteers’ profit from the suffering caused by ‘larger profiteers’. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁷⁰ Rounsevell, et al., 2020, call for a prominent target to lower species extinction rates, comparable to the 2-degree climate target.

Robin Wall Kimmerer, 2013, founding director of the Center for Native Peoples and the Environment, cautions that our species is so new to this planet compared with other species, we still need to ‘grow up’. Her books include *Braiding sweetgrass: Indigenous wisdom, scientific knowledge, and the teachings of plants*. I thank Jacqueline Wasilewski, who gave me this book at the 2006 ICU-COE Northeast Asian Dialogue: Sharing Narratives, Weaving/Mapping History in Tokyo, Japan, 3rd–5th February 2006. See more in note 3881 in chapter 11 of Lindner, 2023.

See also Torres, 2018, and ‘Who wants to destroy the world? More people than you might expect — and new technologies might give them the power to do it’, by Phil Torres, *OneZero*, 25th October 2019, <https://onezero.medium.com/who-wants-to-destroy-the-world-e7571c66397>:

...bioengineering is ‘the specific technology for doing the job right of annihilating humanity — and it’s something that could be done by just one person with the necessary expertise and access to the necessary equipment’.

¹⁷¹ While the causes of the degradation of the world’s ecosystems — from oceans to forests to farmlands — ‘are various and complex, one thing is clear: the massive economic growth of recent decades has come at the cost of ecological health’, see *Becoming #GenerationRestoration — Key messages: Ecosystem restoration for people, nature and climate*, by United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 3rd June 2021, https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/36252/ERPNC_KMEN.pdf.

See for the UN Decade on Ecosystem Restoration 2021–2030, www.decadeonrestoration.org.

On 9th August 2021, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) launched *AR6 climate change 2021: The physical science basis*, representing the first part of its Sixth Assessment Report, see www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg1/. The first line of the report summary reads, ‘It is unequivocal that human influence has warmed the atmosphere, ocean and land’. The IPCC is a body of the United Nations that is mandated to provide objective scientific information relevant to understanding human-induced climate change. See also ‘IPCC report: ‘Code red’ for human driven global heating, warns UN chief’, *United Nations News*, 9th August 2021, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/08/1097362>.

See also ‘Rethinking our vision of success: A conversation with Robert Pollack’, *Edge*, 10th October 2019, https://stage.edge.org/conversation/robert_pollack-rethinking-our-vision-of-success:

I’ve lived as a biologist in the world of Darwin, trying to understand Darwinian pre-adaptive mutation in terms of cancer as distinct from normal cells. ... We are 100,000-fold in excess of our natural numbers, and we threaten the planet by our success.

Robert Pollack is a professor of biological sciences, and it was a privilege for me to be introduced to him by Clifford Hill and meeting up with him at Columbia University on 13th December 2004, and reconnecting again in 2021. *Edge* aims ‘to arrive at the edge of the world’s knowledge, seek out the most complex and sophisticated minds, put them in a room together, and have them ask each other the questions they are asking themselves’.

See, furthermore, Randers and Golüke, 2020, saying that just stopping CO2 emissions may no longer be enough to stop global warming, that the world must undertake a massive effort to capture carbon out of the atmosphere and store it back underground, a technology known as carbon sequestration. This will be a task that is ‘equivalent to the work involved in putting all the man-made CO2 into the atmosphere, which has taken us 100–200 years of industrial activity. Getting it out again will be the same type of effort’.

See also Roy Eidelson, 2018, *How the 1% manipulate our understanding of what’s happening, what’s right, and what’s possible*. It was a pleasure to meet met Roy Eidelson at the Solomon Asch Center when I visited on 28th November 2005, invited by Paul Rozin, hosted by Clark McCauley.

See also ‘Stephen Pinker & NY Times Nicholas Kristof: Wrong about Western “progress”,’ by Charles Eisenstein and Jeremy Lent, *Tikkun*, 23rd May 2018, www.tikkun.org/nextgen/new-yorkers-pinker-ny-times-nicholas-kristof-wrong-about-things-getting-better-and-safer-1-charles-eisenstein-2-jeremy-lent. See also Eisenstein, 2011, 2014. It was a privilege to have Charles Eisenstein with us in our 2012 Workshop on Transforming Humiliation and Violent Conflict at Columbia University in New York City.

Hans Rosling and Steven Pinker have been criticised of having a *positivity bias*, also called *Pollyannaism*, which means remembering pleasant items more accurately than unpleasant ones. The 1913 novel *Pollyanna* by Eleanor Porter describes a girl who tries to find something to be glad about in every situation.

See also *A confused statistician*, by Anne H. Ehrlich and Paul R. Ehrlich, Millennium Alliance for Humanity and Biosphere, 12th November 2013, <http://mahb.stanford.edu/blog/a-confused-statistician>.

See, furthermore, David Pilling, 2018, and his related analysis. I thank Michelle Brenner for making me aware of Pilling’s work.

Hans Rosling, whose life mission was to highlight optimism, listed five risks that even he would ‘worry about’, all of which have either arrived or are looming: global pandemic, financial collapse, a new world war, climate change, and extreme poverty. Rosling’s term *factfulness* is commented on in ‘Swansong of Hans Rosling, data visionary’, by Jim O’Neill, *Nature*, 3rd April 2018, www.nature.com/articles/d41586-018-03921-y.

See also ‘Why you shouldn’t listen to self-serving optimists like Hans Rosling and Steven Pinker: There’s a reason Bill Gates loves Pinker and Rosling — their analyses obscure inequality’, by Roland Paulsen, *In These Times*, 27th March 2019, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/21771/new-optimists-bill-gates-steven-pinker-hans-rosling-world-health>. See, furthermore, ‘The philanthropy racket or: How the people destroying the world anoint themselves its saviors: How the global elite cast themselves as do-gooders’, by Chris Lehmann, *In These Times*, 22nd August 2018, <http://inthesetimes.com/article/21346/philanthropy-global-elite-neoliberal-marketworld-economy>: After the Harvard linguist Steven Pinker’s ‘argument that the arc of history is bending ineluctably toward world peace’, the term ‘Pinkering’ was coined for ‘the elite evasion of social conflict’: ‘Your problems don’t really matter compared to the past’s, and your problems are not really problems, because things are getting better’.

In countries like Germany, in recent years, I observe that many who were opposed to ‘the system’ during the 1960s and 1970s when they were young, continue with an attitude of opposition also after having attained

well-established positions in society, only that they no longer oppose the system from the political ‘left’ but from the ‘right’ side. Among them seem to be those who have a psychological need for an ‘anti-position’, a need to speak ‘against them’. During the 1960s and 1970s, many moderates were left-leaning and when they were extreme, they sympathised with groups such as the RAF. Today, it seems, moderates resonate with voices such as Steven Pinker and Hans Rosling, while more extreme-leaning people vote for right-wing parties. I observe names such as Pinker, Rosling, and Bill Gates being used by those who have accumulated privileges and may wish to relieve themselves from a guilty conscience. They overlook Hans Rosling’s list of five risks that even he would ‘worry about’.

See also note 1594 in chapter 6 of Lindner, 2023 for the ‘repackaging’ of ongoing colonisations as ‘progress’. See the work of sociologist Jacques Ellul, 1985, on the ‘humiliation of the word’, see note 1919 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023. ‘The American-inspired pattern of development does not create real wealth, it creates the illusion of wealth’, says Charles Marohn, see note 3056 in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023. Furthermore, see note 3584 in Lindner, 2023 about supposedly ‘necessary’ humiliation in the name of progress and development.

¹⁷² See, among others, ‘The 2024 Summit of the Future: An opportunity for U.N. regeneration in an era of radical disruption’, by Youssef Mahmoud, *Metapolis*, July-December 2023, <https://metapolis.net/project/the-2024-summit-of-the-future-an-opportunity-for-u-n-regeneration-in-an-era-of-radical-disruptions/>.

¹⁷³ The exact phrase *fog of war* can be found in a 1896 text by Prussian military analyst Carl von Clausewitz, describing the state of ignorance of military commanders regarding the strength and position of both enemy and friend. See also ‘kill them all; let God sort them out’, in Latin *Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius*, a phrase reportedly spoken in 1209 by the commander prior to a massacre. See Wallace, 2018, p. 1, for an application of this phrase on present-day problems:

...[the] emergence of the AI revolution from games of Chess and Go into the real world will fatally encounter the central matters of the Clausewitz analysis of *Zweikampf* warfare. Promises of graceful degradation under stress for large numbers of driverless vehicles on intelligent roads, of precision targeting that avoids civilian collateral damage for autonomous or so-called man/machine centaur weapons, of precision medicine under even normal living condition, let alone during the current slow disaster; of climate change and social decay, of the ability to manage financial crises in real time with agent-based models, and so on, are delusive groupthink or marketing hype that will be beta-tested on human populations, a gross contravention of fundamental moral and legal norms.

Consider also *scobel: Ethik der Algorithmen*, by Gert Scobel, 3sat, 23rd May 2018, www.3sat.de/page/?source=/scobel/197051/index.html. 3sat is a public and advertising-free television network in Central Europe.

¹⁷⁴ Gert Scobel in *scobel: scobel — Ethik fürs Digitale*, by Gert Scobel, 3sat, 3rd September 2020, www.3sat.de/wissen/scobel/scobel---ethik-fuers-digitale-102.html. 3sat is a public and advertising-free television network in Central Europe. See also ‘Mensch über Maschine: Warum künstliche Intelligenz nie mächtiger werden darf als wir’, by Imre Grimm, *Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland*, 26th September 2020, www.rnd.de/digital/mensch-uber-maschine-warum-kunstliche-intelligenz-nie-machtiger-werden-darf-als-wir-AZOSR3BV6ZDPNIS5S5OI3YAJME.html, where the author recommends the book *Prinzip Mensch* by Nemitz and Pfeffer, 2020, as ‘a profound component in the growing debate about data ethics. It is a fact-rich, anger-free and well-founded pamphlet that will not be welcome reading in Silicon Valley, where the billionaires’ delusions of God have merged with the hippiesque promises of salvation of the Californian can-do spirit. Where politics, laws and social discourse are only seen as regional brake blocks on the way to a digital utopia’. Translated by Lindner from the German original:

Prinzip Mensch ist ein profunder Baustein in der anschwellenden Debatte über Datenethik. Es ist eine faktenreiche, zornfreie und fundierte Streitschrift, die man nicht gern lesen wird im Silicon Valley, wo der Gotteswahn der Milliardäre mit den hippiesken Heilsversprechen des kalifornischen Can-do-Spirit verschmolzen ist. Wo Politik, Gesetze und gesellschaftlicher Diskurs nur als regionale Bremsklötze auf dem Weg in ein digitales Utopia gelten.

The notion of *cogitocide* has its place here. I very much thank the President of the Club of Rome from 1999 to 2007, Prince El Hassan bin Talal, for his personal message from 19th May 2020, where he suggests this term. See more in note 1777 in Lindner, 2023.

¹⁷⁵ In my work, I apply the *ideal-type* approach as described by sociologist Max Weber, 1904/1949. See also note 64 in the Preface on my approach to ‘spatial seeing’. See Coser, 1977, p. 224:

Weber’s three kinds of ideal types are distinguished by their levels of abstraction. First are the ideal types rooted in historical particularities, such as the ‘western city’, ‘the Protestant Ethic’, or ‘modern capitalism’, which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract elements of social reality — such concepts as ‘bureaucracy’ or ‘feudalism’ — that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, there is a third kind of ideal type, which Raymond Aron calls ‘rationalising reconstructions of a particular kind of behaviour’. According to Weber, all propositions in economic theory, for example, fall into this category. They all refer to the ways in which men would behave were they actuated by purely economic motives, were they purely economic men.

Michael Karlberg explains how analytical constructs never correspond perfectly with some presumably objective reality. See Karlberg, 2013, p. 9:

Care must be taken, therefore, not to reify these frames or over-extend the metaphors that inform them. These frames can, however, serve as useful heuristic devices for organising certain forms of inquiry and guiding certain forms of practice — such as inquiry into the meaning of human dignity and the application of this concept in fields such as human rights and conflict resolution.

I very much appreciate Louise Sundararajan’s comments on the book *The nature and challenges of indigenous psychologies* by Carl Martin Allwood, 2018, that she shared with her Indigenous psychology task force on 3rd September 2018, based on her book chapter ‘Indigenous psychologies’, Sundararajan, et al., 2017. Sundararajan explains how to avoid that abstractions slide towards essentialism. In her view ‘essentialism is abstraction mistaken as reality’, as it is in the case of ‘nation’ or ‘identity’, ‘whereas scientific theorising is abstraction treated as abstraction’. As an example she offers the model airplane, which nobody would mistake for reality, since it one can’t fly in it. Also the pure form of the model does not lead to essentialism, ‘because of the basic understanding that no reality exists in pure forms’. I appreciate her next example, namely, that of ‘dirt’ and she illustrates it by two approaches to reality (X):

A: X=dirt, elements, crystals, subatomic particles

B: X=dirt (elements, crystals, subatomic particles)

Sundararajan explains that in scientific investigations, as represented by A, ‘abstraction is context dependent, each level of analysis generates its own abstraction such that there are multiple abstractions (dirt, elements, crystals, subatomic particles)’, none of which has a higher status of ‘essence’ than the other. Essentialism is represented by B, where ‘the term closest to the phenomenal world (dirt) is elevated to the status of reality, the essence of which is supposed to be captured by the more abstract terms’. Sundararajan then applies the example of dirt to notions such as culture, nation, and population. If one takes the approach of B, nation or population names reality, ‘the essence of which is captured by abstractions’. By contrast, in A, ‘abstractions are not inextricably yoked to serve the master script of nation or population which are treated as labels of convenience like any other’.

¹⁷⁶ *The psychology of humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler’s Germany* was my doctoral dissertation in social psychology at the Department of Psychology of the University of Oslo, Norway, in 2000. *Quality of life: A German-Egyptian comparative study* (in German) was my doctoral dissertation in psychological medicine at the University of Hamburg, Germany, in 1993. *Honor, humiliation, and terror: An explosive mix — and how we can defuse it with dignity*, was my fifth book, and it came out in 2017 in Dignity Press, in its imprint World Dignity University Press, with a Foreword by Linda Hartling, director of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. Please see more chapters and papers in full text on www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.

¹⁷⁷ *Making enemies: Humiliation and international conflict* was my first book on dignity and humiliation and how we may envision a more dignified world, characterised as a path-breaking book and honoured as ‘Outstanding Academic Title’ for 2007 in the USA by the journal *Choice*. Please see more details on www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/book/01.php. See more in note 510 in chapter 2, and note 580 further down in Lindner, 2023.

Emotion and conflict: How human rights can dignify emotion and help us wage good conflict was my second book. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/book/02.php.

¹⁷⁸ *Gender, humiliation, and global security* was my third book, published by Praeger in 2010. Archbishop Desmond Tutu kindly contributed with a Foreword (asked for a prepublication endorsement, he was so generous to offer to contribute with a Foreword). The book was ‘highly recommended’ by *Choice* in July 2010. For more details, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/book/03.php.

¹⁷⁹ *A dignity economy: Creating an economy that serves human dignity and preserves our planet* was my fourth book, and it is the first publication of Dignity Press, published in 2012 in its imprint World Dignity University Press. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin/book/04.php.

¹⁸⁰ The *axial age* is a term that philosopher Karl Jaspers coined sixty years ago for the philosophical, religious, and technical developments that arose in relatively independent cultural regions around the world in a comparatively short period of time, starting eight hundred years BCE and lasting until around two hundred years BCE. See Jaspers, 1949. See also Bellah, 2011, and Bellah and Joas, 2012. Even though the assumption of an axial period could not stand up to subsequent historical scrutiny in exactly the way Jaspers formulated it, it became a founding myth of modernity, and it can still today serve to overcome Eurocentric views of history today.

¹⁸¹ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 57.

¹⁸² Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 57–58.

¹⁸³ Bin Talal, 2001, pp. 57–58.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Our theory of change’, <http://berkana.org/about/our-theory-of-change/> and <https://vimeo.com/17907928>:

The two loops model has been a fundamental piece of The Berkana Institute’s theory of change. As one system culminates and starts to collapse, isolated alternatives slowly begin to arise and give way to the new. In this video Deborah Frieze, Berkana’s former co-president, explains the two loops theory and speaks about the way that our work to name, connect, nourish and illuminate has fit into this model. She also identifies some of the different roles we might play to hospice the dying system, usher in the alternative system and make clear the choice between the two.

We believe that no universal solution exists for the challenges of this time: increased poverty and disease, failing large-scale systems, ecological degradation. But widespread impact does become possible when people working at the local level are able to learn from one another, practice together and share learning with communities everywhere. We have observed that large-scale change emerges when local actions get connected globally while preserving their deeply local culture, flavour and form. And we have called this trans-local learning.

I thank Anamaria Aristizabal for making me aware of this article, in her contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Feminism and revolution: Looking back, looking ahead’, 4th May 2018, in response to the essay of the same title by Julie Matthaei, 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Johan Rockström, 2015, p. 1:

The urgency of the challenges ahead demands a two-prong strategy: acting within our current obsolete development framework to bend environmental and social justice curves as much as possible, while simultaneously fostering the longer-term shift in consciousness to values and institutions that equitably integrate people and planet.

See more in note 1301 in chapter 5, and in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁸⁶ A ‘stubborn optimist’ in the face of climate change, talk by Christiana Figueres’, 2018 Aspen Ideas Festival, www.aspenideas.org/sessions/a-stubborn-optimist-in-the-face-of-climate-change.

¹⁸⁷ See, among others, Lindner, 2009, p. 71.

¹⁸⁸ See, among others, ‘To get better decisions, get a little fuzzy’, by Bob Frisch, *Harvard Business Review*, 22nd May 2012, <https://hbr.org/2012/05/to-get-better-decisions-get-a>:

It’s easy to equate crisp, clear, black-and-white decisions with good decisions. ... But, as often as not, this drive toward clarity and closure — and the need for precision that accompanies it — leads senior management teams to waste time and make meaningless decisions. Often, it’s better to be fuzzy...

See also the work of psychiatrist and neuroimaging researcher Iain McGilchrist, 2009, who theorises that language fixes our view on the world rather than grounding our thinking in the world. See more in note 3499 in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁸⁹ Taylor, 1971, 1993, Searle, 1995. Searle uses the phrase *institutional facts* when he speaks of, for instance, property rights and contract rights. See Manicas, 2006. See, furthermore, Porpora, 1993, Donati and Archer, 2015, and Richards, 2004, and Lawson, 2019. I thank Howard Richards for including me into his lifelong journey of reflecting on social change. See ‘The basic cultural structure: A comment from Chile as it burns’, by Howard Richards, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Editorial #613, 18th November 2019, www.transcend.org/tms/2019/11/the-basic-cultural-structure-a-comment-from-chile-as-it-burns/Media. See also Haavelsrud, 1981, for four kinds of peace education: idealistic, scientific, critical, and political. See also Bill McKibben, 2019, founder of the environmental organisation 350.org, and his essay ‘Climate movement: What’s next?’ for the May 2019 discussion of Paul Raskin’s Great Transition Network Forum. When asked where I stand with respect to the reform versus transformation debate, then I stand on the side of transformation.

My experience indicates that ‘green capitalism’ does not reach far enough. Climate degradation is only one of many deeply embedded structural problems that require transformations at the appropriate level. Single-issue Band Aids are insufficient.

See also note 2355 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁹⁰ For the notion of a world-system, see Wallerstein, 1974–1989. See also Harvey, 2005, or Hudson, 2003. Howard Richards in a personal communication, 23rd October 2016: ‘According to Immanuel Wallerstein the global economy is the one and only object of study of the social sciences today; everything else is caught up in a web of causes and effects where the structure of the global economy is the principal cause’. See also Lindner, 2012b, and see more in note 2359 in chapter 7 of Lindner, 2023. See also note 1328 in chapter 5, and note 4049 in Lindner, 2023.

An important caveat: Howard Richards’ thinking should not be confused with the ‘great reset’ conspiracy narrative that is currently being disseminated by conspiracy entrepreneurs. This narrative has appropriated the ‘shock doctrine’ of Naomi Klein, 2007. In fact, Richards’ his thinking represents the opposite of this conspiracy narrative. See, among others, ‘How the “great reset” of capitalism became an anti-lockdown conspiracy’, by Quinn Slobodian, *The Guardian*, 4th December 2020, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/dec/04/great-reset-capitalism-became-anti-lockdown-conspiracy. See more in note 27 in the Preface, and see the section titled ‘Indignation entrepreneurship hinders sober and constructive action’ in chapter 10 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁹¹ Bhaskar, 1975/2008.

¹⁹² Anthony Marsella in a personal communication, 26th June 2013. See also ‘Lifeism: beyond humanity’, Anthony Marsella, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 17th March 2014, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/03/lifeism-beyond-humanity/. See, furthermore, ‘Identity in a global era: Individual, collective, national, “existential” considerations’, by Anthony J. Marsella, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 30th July 2018, www.transcend.org/tms/2018/07/identity-in-a-global-era-individual-collective-national-existential-considerations/. It is a privilege to have Anthony Marsella as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies community. See more in note 477 in chapter 2 of Lindner, 2023.

¹⁹³ *We the planet* is the title of a book by political scientist and social psychologist Walter Truett Anderson, 2016, who advocates *biophilia*, the instinctive bond between human beings and other living systems.

¹⁹⁴ Social theorist Mary Mellor writes about the *right to livelihood* for all (including other species) in her response to the contributions to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of ‘Money for the people’, 19th September 2017, a discussion that was based on her essay with the same title, Mellor, 2017. The right to livelihood means to promote ‘sufficiency provisioning for all and reversing the emphasis on individualism and bootstraps (shared by conservatives and progressives in their different ways)’. Mary Mellor considers herself a monetary re-thinker, working for a new approach to monetary policy, an approach that is based on ‘how money really works rather than on prevailing economic myths’. What she tries to show in her books, as she writes in her response, is ‘that public money does exist, states do print money, money is not in short supply, public expenditure does not rest on taxation, the public sector is not funded by the private sector, banks do not link savers and borrowers, a debt-based money supply is not viable, public sector

deficits (surplus expenditure) are usually a good thing'. She ascertains that 're-thinking alone cannot achieve change', however, change 'will come from the exposed failures of current thinking and practice, if we are ready with an alternative analysis and framework for action'.

See also 'COVID, livelihoods, and deadlihoods: We have choices to make', by Ashish Kothari, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 13th August 2020, <https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/63071-covid-livelihoods-and-deadlihoods>. See also chapter 7 in Lindner, 2023, look for note 2368.

¹⁹⁵ Michael Britton in a personal communication, 1st April 2020:

If Eleanor Roosevelt were here today, instead of the universal declaration of human rights we might be ready, in one of Evelin and Linda's Eleanor Roosevelt Moments, we might be ready for a Universal Declaration of Human Vulnerability, or a Declaration of Universal Human Vulnerability — premising a need for pulling together, universal cooperation as the foundation of planetary life.

See, furthermore, the Charter of Compassion by Karen Armstrong, <https://charterforcompassion.org>, and 'Brené Brown on why courage, vulnerability and authenticity have to be practiced', interviewer: Chantal Pierrat, *Huffington Post*, 25th August 2013, www.huffpost.com/entry/brene-brown-origin-magazine-interview_n_3796923.

¹⁹⁶ See for a Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities, www.interactioncouncil.org/publications/universal-declaration-human-responsibilities. Pierre Calamé called for such a declaration in his contribution to the Great Transition Initiative (GTI) Forum on the topic of 'Corporations in the crosshairs: From reform to redesign', 18th November 2019, in response to White, 2019:

What is at stake is the very definition of responsibility: moving from the limited responsibility and liability which characterises each of the stakeholders and, as a result, gives birth to our societies of illimited irresponsibility, to an enlarged definition befitting the reality of our global interdependences. But this effort to enlarge the definition cannot be limited to economic or financial actors. It also concerns the states, the local authorities, the non-governmental organizations, and the citizens themselves. We must develop a Universal Declaration of human responsibilities endorsed by as many actors as possible, each stakeholder translating this Declaration into a Charter of societal responsibilities which should be the basis of its social contract.

Calamé refers to ethics of *respons-ability*, see the International Alliance for Responsible and Sustainable Societies at www.alliance-respons.net.

For a Universal Declaration of Duty, listen to the Earth Charter podcast with Gus Speth titled 'A new consciousness and the eight-fold way towards sustainability'. See <https://earthcharter.org/podcasts/gus-speth/>. It was a privilege for me to be introduced to Gus Speth by Margrit Kennedy in 2010, and to meet him in person at the Thirtieth Annual E. F. Schumacher Lectures 'Voices of a New Economics', in New York City on 20th November 2010.

¹⁹⁷ *Space exploration — A powerful symbol of global cooperation*, NASA's Jim Zimmerman interviewed by Susan T. Coleman in the Peacebuilding Podcast, 13th December 2016, <http://us11.campaign-archive1.com/?u=e5c2110f5cc4fe346c79bf3d1&id=06298a46ca&e=e7c4dd8362>. I thank Judit Révész for making me aware of this interview.

See also *24 hours of reality: 'Earthrise'*, by Amanda Gorman, Climate Reality, 4th December 2018, <https://youtu.be/xwOvBv8RLmo>: 'It is a hope that implores us at an uncompromising core to keep rising up for an Earth more than worth fighting for'. See <http://climaterealityproject.org>.

¹⁹⁸ White, 2014.

¹⁹⁹ Anderson, 2016.

²⁰⁰ A creative ecology of the living — a *biopoetics* — is developed by philosopher and biologist Andreas Weber, 2016, explaining why mind and life are coextensive. See the book description:

Meaning, feeling and expression — the experience of inwardness — matter most in human existence. The perspective of biopoetics shows that this experience is shared by all organisms. Being alive means to exist through relations that have existential concern, and to express these dimensions through the body and its gestures. All life takes place within one poetic space which is shared between all beings and which is accessible through subjective sensual experience. We take part in this through our empirical subjectivity, which arises from the experiences and needs of living beings, and which makes them open to access and

sharing in a poetic objectivity. Biopoetics breaks free from the causal-mechanic paradigm which made biology unable to account for mind and meaning. Biology becomes a science of expression, connection and subjectivity which can understand all organisms including humans as feeling agents in a shared ecology of meaningful relations, embedded in a symbolical and material metabolism of the biosphere.

²⁰¹ Bin Talal, 2001, p. 82.