Cities at Risk – From Humiliation to Dignity:
A Journey from Sarajevo to Dubrovnik, or the Case of Southeast Europe

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Warnings are out that in the next twenty years population growth and fast-paced urbanization will lead to widespread social disconnection. Unless there is dramatic change in how economies are run, demand for natural resources will increase and lead to rising prices as a result of growing competition for access to natural resources. Among the "winners" will be the conflict entrepreneurs, the gang leaders, the under-bosses, who will recruit their foot soldiers among disaffected young men. In the worst case, the world, including its cities, could turn into many small-scale off-limits war zones and *ecocide* will combine with *sociocide*.

An African adage says that "it needs a village to raise a child." Unless there is dramatic change, the number of disaffected children and youth in the global village will rise. They will be vulnerable to following humiliation-entrepreneurs who will further weaken and ravage this village. The majority of people will be caught in between.

How can a future of systemic humiliation be avoided? How can a future of dignity be created instead? This article calls for the "global street" to rise up and humanize globalization. The global street is powerful. It can co-create a world of equal dignity for all – short *egalization* – and achieve *globegalization*, instead of globalization void of dignity.

Many past "-isms" have brought tremendous suffering to the world. All too often they descended into violent cycles of humiliation rather than enlightenment. What would be a future-orientated "-ism"? What about dignity + ism, or *dignism*? This is how *dignism* could be defined, as describing a world

- where every newborn finds space and is nurtured to unfold their highest and best qualities, embedded in a social context of loving appreciation and connection,
- where the carrying capacity of the planet guides the ways in which everybody's basic needs are met,
- where we are united in respecting human dignity and celebrating diversity, where we prevent unity from being degraded into oppressive uniformity, and keep diversity from sliding into hostile divisions.

INTRODUCTION

This article has been written during the two months that the author spent in Southeast Europe in 2016. She spent the month of August in Sarajevo, Bosnia, and the month of September in Dubrovnik, Croatia. The 27th Annual Dignity Conference took place in Dubrovnik, titled "Cities at Risk – From Humiliation to Dignity," September 19–23, 2016.[1]

The transition from humiliation to dignity is a tall order. It faces several stumbling blocks and hurdles.[2] One of them is the difference between dignity humiliation and honor humiliation.

In her work, the author found that dignity humiliation is fundamentally different from honor humiliation. Dignity humiliation is felt when equality in dignity is violated, while honor humiliation is embedded in a worldview of unequally ranked honor. Dignity humiliation is much more intense than honor humiliation – when equality in dignity is promised but withheld, a *dignity gap* opens that is more hurtful than an honor gap: if I am promised to be part of a single united family of equals, and then demeaned, I am excluded from that family entirely. I am no longer part of humanity. In contrast, having one's honor humiliated, while it is upsetting, keeps one at least within the ranking orders of honor, only somewhat lower.[3]

When it comes to responses to humiliation, honor humiliation and dignity humiliation differ also here. In a system of ranked honor, subordinates are expected to "learn" meek

humility from honor humiliation, while aristocrats have a right and duty to go to duel. In contrast, the ideal path for healing dignity humiliation is dialogue among equals in dignity, dialogue that leads to peaceful social change, in short, the Mandela- or Gandhi-path. In other words, dignity humiliation is more intense as a feeling than honor humiliation, yet, it calls for a less violent response. This is difficult to understand for many. It is not easy to liberate oneself from the traditional honor code when it comes to responding to humiliation, as it indicates that only losers whine, while real men fight back. Those "real men" will want to respond to dignity humiliation and its heightened intensity not like a Nelson Mandela: they will respond with the traditional script for defending honor.[4] The author calls this dynamic *cross over*: it begins with a sense of dignity humiliation and ends with "remedies" taken from the toolkit of honor humiliation traditionally reserved for aristocrats, namely, revenge.

The result of this cross over is an increase in the impact of the phenomenon of humiliation in the world, an increase in the need for academia to explore it, and for society to prevent and heal it. The war culture of competition for domination and revenge for dishonor must be unlearned all around the world, even in cases where the pain from humiliation is more intense than before. What needs to be learned, instead, is the script of partnership and dialogue among equals in dignity. What needs to be avoided, is stoking humiliation, be it wittingly or unwittingly. The most toxic way to do so is the double standard of first promising equal dignity and then betraying this promise. Double standards cause double humiliation: "To recognize humanity hypocritically and betray the promise, humiliates in the most devastating way by denying the humanity professed."[5]

Even if double standards are avoided, the pain from humiliation is bound to increase if we wish to build a decent world. The reason is that governance structures are required that follow the motto of *unity in diversity*, just as *symbiosis and diversity* are pillars of evolution.[6] The problem here is that maintaining unity in diversity is a never-ending balancing act that requires a very high degree of cognitive sophistication and dignifying communication skills. Unity has to be protected against degrading into uniformity, and also the other side of the motto, diversity, has to be guarded against erosion, in this case descent into division. War culture, however, does precisely that: it degrades diversity into division, pits in-groups in hostile division against out-groups, and forces inner uniformity upon in-groups. War culture likes out-dominate enemies, it likes to build walls against enemies and is not accustomed to build bridges to neighbors.

In conclusion, since maintaining unity in diversity will be an everlasting balancing act requiring a much higher degree of interpersonal sagacity than ever before, nations and cities are well advised to nurture a dignity culture of building bridges rather than walls. They are advised to attenuate the war culture of competition for domination in all walks of life, from education to cultural activities to political decisions.[7]

Now comes the important question: Do nations and cities succeed in replacing competition for domination with partnership? Let the author's personal voice respond with radical honesty:

I have been living globally for forty years and am at home on all continents. What I see is that nations, cities, and citizens hazardously misplace their priorities. While humankind is threatened by *ecocide*[8] and *sociocide*,[9] business-as-usual strategies of competition for domination are blindly maximized. I see many good intentions and many emergency repair efforts providing temporary punctual relief, all the while this blindness increases the overall danger for global ecocide and sociocide systemically.

Among many climate scientists, "gloom has set in."[10] The reason is that the climate situation is much worse than the public assumes, yet, since people refuse to listen, the scientists "can't really talk about it."[11] At the same time, "mainstream media are betraying humanity," warn experts such as John Scales Avery, who shared the Nobel Peace Prize for the

Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs in 1995. Avery invites us to think: "Physicians have a sacred duty to their patients, whose lives are in their hands. The practice of medicine is not a business like any other business. There are questions of trust and duty involved. The physician's goal must not be to make as much money as possible, but rather to save lives." Avery asks: "Are broadcasting and journalism just businesses like any other business? Is making as much money as possible the only goal? Isn't the truth sacred? Isn't finding the truth and spreading it a sacred trust?"[12] Clearly, Avery's warning can be extended to social media platforms that by now have joined traditional media in keeping people in bubbles of misinformation, not least since even the most false news can increase profit.[13]

What is the truth that scientists and the media do not dare tell us? Stephen Purdey, international relations specialist and research affiliate of the Waterloo Institute for Complexity and Innovation at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada, summarizes:

> Climate change is the biggest but only one entry in … a "parade of horribles." There's no need to list population increase, soil degradation, loss of fresh water, deforestation, ocean acidification, species extermination and so forth. The point is that humanity is rushing headlong into tremendous socio-ecological turbulence which may or may not be survivable. These are not avoidable fictions.[14]

Let us also listen to William Rees, a bio-ecologist and ecological economist of the University of British Columbia's School of Community and Regional Planning. He warns: "As long as human populations continue to grow (three billion more mouths are expected around the table in coming decades); as long as material consumption increases with rising incomes; and as long as the world community subscribes to the compound myth of continuous technological progress and unconstrained economic growth, ecocide is an inevitable consequence."[15] Rees reckons that it is already too late to avoid catastrophic outcomes and that even opting out of growth will not help:

> Increasing millions of desperate people will be forced to turn to the direct exploitation of "nature" for income or basic survival. In fact, national parks and nature reserves are already under siege, poaching is epidemic and there are growing underground markets for so-called "bush meat" in many parts of the world. The reality is that *Homo sapiens* will eat many other species to extinction, including our closest biological relatives, before we succumb ourselves.[16]

Many are now waking up, yet, they stop at solutions that are too small. Those who have woken up, for example, to the problem of global climate degradation, put their hopes on replacing fossil fuel by renewable energy. As necessary as this is, this will not halt present-day's overconsumption of planet Earth's resources, it may even accelerate it.[17] Already now, *Homo sapiens* acts as unsustainable "super predator."[18] The sixth mass extinction of species is human-induced,[19] and by the end of this century, flora and fauna loss is predicted to be between 20 to 50 percent of all living species on earth.[20] Two hundred species of life on Earth (plants, birds, animals, fish, amphibians, insects, reptiles) will cease to exist.[21] No other animal ever has caused the extinction of so many other species.[22] Between 1950 and 1990 one-third of all fertile soils has been severely degraded or destroyed.[23] The rise of certain chronic diseases is being concealed.[24] New antibiotics are not being developed.[25] This is only the beginning of a long list of global challenges that humanity faces.

Some people go as far and say: Forget trying to save civilization and "think planetary hospice instead."[26] Ruben Nelson, executive director of Foresight Canada, identifies as one of the factors that feeds today's mixture of blind optimism and cynicism the fact that virtually none of our public leaders are substantial enough to uphold "the hope that exists on the far side of despair":

We must face and engage head on the official and systemic superficial optimism of our modern cultures. This entails the courage to overcome our fear of fearfulness. Working our way through the valley of the shadow of death with heads up and eyes open, it seems to me, is a requirement, the hope that exists on the far side of despair.[27]

Cities play a decisive role in whether humankind will be able to offer its coming generations a decent future or not. Even though cities occupy only approximately two percent of the total land, they represent seventy percent of the global economy (GDP), consume over sixty percent of the energy globally, produce seventy percent of the greenhouse gas emissions, and seventy percent of global waste.[28]

The *World Cities Report 2016* by the UN Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) warns that poorly planned urbanization can potentially generate economic disorder, congestion, pollution, and civil unrest, and that new forms of collaboration and cooperation, planning, governance, finance, and learning are required if positive change is to be achieved.[29] "Urban policy failure has been spectacular in its visibility and devastating in its impacts on men, women and children in many cities," says the report, explaining that too many people live in poor-quality housing without adequate infrastructure services such as water, sanitation, and electricity, without reliable sources of income, social services, or prospects for upward social mobility: "Prosperity was once described as a tide that raised all boats, but the impression today is that prosperity only raises all yachts."[30]

Sociocide and ecocide will combine in a downward spiral if we, as humankind, continue with business-as-usual. Ecological and social climate degradation will feed each other, and, if not halted, will spawn degrees of terror unthinkable today.[31] Land degradation alone will force 135 million people to migrate in the next 30 years.[32] Dan Smith, director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute warns that climate change will lead to widespread social disconnection and that this will create a situation where "the conflict entrepreneurs, the gang leaders, the under bosses," will recruit foot soldiers "from among those young men who see little other (or, at least, no better) way of avoiding being losers."[33] In the worst case, the world will turn into many off-limits war zones. The majority of people will be caught in between and will suffer from social and ecological destruction, both directly from destructive economic arrangements, and from what is called externalities or collateral damage.

If we follow the African adage that "it takes a village to raise a child," then the number of disaffected "children" in the global village will rise. They, in turn, will increasingly be vulnerable to being recruited by humiliation-entrepreneurs, who will further weaken and ravage this village. On June 10, 2016, General Mark Milley, the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, predicted that future wars will be a truly terrorizing mix: they will have "conventional forces, Special Forces, guerrillas, terrorists, criminals all mixed together in a highly complex terrain environment, with potentially high densities of civilians."[34]

The author sometimes uses the image of the sinking Titanic: The wealthy have their cabins on the upper luxury deck, where they dance and feast while trying to hinder the poor from the lower decks to come up. They overlook that the poor may be in the possession of wisdom that could save Titanic from sinking. The poor have only one dream: getting to the first floor. They try migration, or, in the worst case, they express their anger in terrorist attacks. All the while nobody notices that the entire ship goes down. And this, while those on the luxury upper floor are the primary holders of the material resources necessary to turn around the ship to avert the iceberg, even if only in the last minute. Those on the luxury upper floor do not notice the holes in the hull and the fire in the basement, and they are oblivious of the collision with the iceberg that is imminent. They feel safe behind the iron gates that separate the luxury floor from the lower decks. They have the illusion that simply blocking these gates harder will guarantee their safety. They paint their cabins pink and divert themselves by accumulating

possessions and seeking entertainment thrills. Then they accuse the messengers, the scientists, of delivering over-dramatizing calls to wake up. It is therefore that scientists no longer dare to speak.

This scenario describes the proverbial "ship of fools."[35] The peak of foolishness is reached when fighting over access to the first floor makes the ship go down even faster. Nobody is exempted from drowning: no money, no sense of entitlement, no resolve to be victorious can save only "me," while the rest goes down. Self-interest converges with common interest in a situation where either all drown or none. In a first step the ship would need to be reconfigured so all are included, have a voice, and can contribute to solution-seeking dialogue conducted in respect for each other's equality in dignity, rather than being caught in relational illiteracy or, even worse, mutual mistrust and violent cycles of humiliation. When humiliation is felt on all sides, and warnings are being ridiculed or instrumentalized, this sets in motion dynamics of humiliation that play out at ever higher meta-levels.[36]

Cities are mirrors of the Titanic. The wealthy hide behind iron gates, the less wealthy huddle around them, trying to imitate a wealthy lifestyle, while the poor are left to squalor. At the same time cities depend on being fed by the agricultural land around them, the rural countryside, which risks being emptied, wasted, or even poisoned. Just now, Venezuela can serve as an example of what can happen in the future in many cities: Venezuelan cities face widespread shortages, and while urban farming is fashionable in other parts of the world, in cities in Venezuela it is now a necessity.[37]

Some cities hope that tourism will save them. Dubrovnik is one of them. What they risk, unfortunately, is exploiting their attractiveness to the point of losing it, and, at the end, their cities will be left ruined even for their own residents. Author Hans Magnus Enzensberger wrote as far back as in 1958: Tourists are conquerors who destroy what they seek, namely, authenticity.[38] City planners can lose their cities to tourism in a number of ways, one of them is to open the gates for unethical predators.[39]

The Croatian coast can serve as an example. The Croatian coast attracts an increasing number of cruise ships that bring crowds of tourists, yet, their visits to the cities remain short and they leave little money in the city treasury. The negativity of cruise tourism is reflected in the destruction of the seabed, the deterioration in the quality of sea and air, and it impacts negatively on stationed guests who, due to the new crowdedness, no longer can spend relaxed holidays or leisurely visit sights. Soon the indigenous citizens are forced to emigrate from their historical towns as they transform into "apartment complexes."[40] With tears, citizens of Dubrovnik exclaimed to me: "Tourism is our terrorism!"

Hrvoje Carić, of the Institute for Tourism in Zagreb, Croatia, has calculated in 2015 that one-year income from cruise ships was 52.8 million Euros, while the cost of environmental damage was as high as 390 million Euros. In other words, the direct cost of pollution for the Croatian part of the Adriatic exceeds the financial benefits for the Croatian economy seven times, not even counting indirect damage.[41] For city planners this means that rather than running after short-term gain, it may be better to read the book by evolutionary biologist David Sloan Wilson, titled *Using Evolution to Improve My City, One Block at a Time*.[42]

Alan Zulch is one of many who studies ecological consciousness. In his view, the inability of present-day's mainstream culture's to face limits is at the core of the problem. We engage in "narcissism, cruelty, projection, anxiety, and compulsive behavior… we cannot get enough of what we don't really need."[43] Before long, Zulch warns, we will not have a choice: either we will consciously choose simplicity or we will perish.

What Zulch speaks of is post-complexity simplicity, or conscious simplicity as a survival imperative, the opposite of "romantic simplicity." He recommends learning from indigenous cultures and peoples, seeking their lessons in simplicity. Likewise, indigenous lessons in solidarity will be important to learn.

Allow the author's personal voice to be heard again. What I observe, despite laudable counter-examples here and there, is that the exploitation of natural and social resources is

being intensified in ways that are so ruthless that I wonder what the exploiters think of their own children. Wherever there is beauty, beauty of beaches, mountain peaks, or UNESCO heritage sites such as in Dubrovnik, beauty that promises to attract paying tourists, I see global investors bribing local elites to sell out their nature and their people. Wherever there are sought-after minerals that can be extracted for profit, wherever there is water to build dams that can drive energy-intensive industries, wherever people are so vulnerable that they can't resist slave-like bondage, investors flock from all around the world and seduce local elites to become complicit in ecological and social plunder. I am not afraid for myself, I have no children, and I perfectly understand that the *constitutive rules*[44] and *generative mechanisms*[45] of our current *world-system*[46] make it possible for social-psychological bubbles to emerge, bubbles in which the wealthy cultivate a sense of classist privilege, that damages and blinds them psychologically.[47] I do know some of the wealthy of this planet personally, and I understand why some of them seem believe that protected enclaves will wait for them when the rest of the ecosphere goes down. They seem to be unaware that it is insufficient to build gated fortress-communities or to construct one's villas on isolated islands. To me, and most others, it is evident that the exploiters sacrifice not just the future of some far removed generations on far removed continents, but also that of their own children.

Yet, what awes me more is that we, as humankind, as human species, let this happen. That we are willing to gamble away our last chances for a turn-around, and that we do this for the blindness of a small power elite. This, to me, is self-inflicted collective terror. Too many of us accept being fooled by empty promises, hoping that they will one day be invited to the party of the rich, oblivious of the fact that parties do not last, per definition, particularly not if too many are invited: "No religious dogma is as powerful and dangerous as the dogmas of economists who assume that we will all become richer even on a burning planet!" warns environmentalist Jakob von Uexküll.[48]

Philosopher Howard Richards has reflected on these questions for decades and his analysis is that there is "a generative causal power at work pushing toward the down side, even while other generative causal powers are pushing on the up side."[49] This downward trend, since it squeezes the last drop out of people and the planet, has recently brought leaders to power who promise to turn the trend. Yet, as Howard Richards points out, neither a Donald Trump nor a Bernie Sanders would have the tools to succeed.[50]

In this situation, nobody can afford to be a naïve romantic humanist who believes in miracles. There will always be people bent on exploiting and dominating. This cannot be changed. Yet, already philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel taught that the master needs the slave to remain the master. Domination and servitude depend on each other.[51] At the present point in time, the "global street" allows for its own exploitation and the devastation of its habitat by keeping in place global constitutive rules that give primacy to those who thrive on competition for domination, rather than on partnership and care. This is what can be changed.

The 27th Annual Dignity Conference took place in the Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik, whose first director was peace researcher Johan Galtung (1973–1976). In 2016, he wrote on peace by suggesting to approach it like a doctor approaches illness:

> For key illnesses, like epidemics: ask for diagnosis, the causes; for prognosis, the consequences; for therapy, "what are you doing to restore health." "Ice to lower the fever", would not be accepted; they would demand a theory linking the diagnosis to the therapy. We should demand the same level of sophistication for peace even if there is no consensus about peace diagnosis, prognosis and therapy. But peace studies have identified two causes underlying violence: unsolved conflict, and unconcealed trauma from past violence. It makes as good sense to use "the talking method" (Freud) to try to identify them in concrete cases as to ask patients where it hurts and how long.[52]

The sequence of description – ascription – prescription is also applied by other thinkers, for instance by philosopher Claus Dierksmeier, whose work focuses on the idea of freedom, political and economic philosophy, business ethics, corporate social responsibility and globalization ethics.[53] As a medical doctor and a psychologist, I use a similar approach. I have divided my doctoral dissertation in psychology in 2000[54] into diagnosis, prognosis and treatment, and will follow a similar structure in this paper. In other words, this text is arranged in a way a medical doctor would look at a patient.

THE DISEASE

The disease of our time is the "modern Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: ecological degradation, social polarization, economic crisis, fundamentalist terrorism."[55] This is what physicist Paul Raskin writes, the author of the widely known essay "Great Transition."[56] Those four horsemen will continue to wreak havoc, warns Raskin, as long as consumerism, ruthless individualism, and anthropocentrism have not yielded a different triad, one of quality of life, human solidarity, and ecocentrism. Those horsemen will have an advantage as long as the predatory motive of the past millennia of human history, the motive of domination over people and nature, waits to be delivered to the dustbin of history and tempered by dignified humility. These horsemen will wreak havoc as long as an ethic of material sufficiency (enough is enough) and an equitable distribution of wealth (enough for all) remain missing.[57]

Many believe that economic growth can solve the world's problems. The American Dream still inspires and motivates many people. Let us ask: Is this dream feasible? Does it work? The median U.S. household income in 2014 was 50,000 American dollars. If the pre-1970 productivity growth had been maintained, it would have been $97,300 in 2014.[58] The younger generations in the United States can no longer afford their parents' dream. The 2016 presidential elections show that the "dreamers" are now revolting.[59]

Others believe that the problems can be solved by de-coupling economic growth from growing CO_2 emissions and resource consumption. A 2015 study by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences concludes that also this hope is largely futile even though the direction is right, simply because our limited planet does not have the raw materials required to create the products and absorb the waste.[60]

Environmentalist Jakob von Uexküll is the founder of the World Future Council (WFC) and its Global Policy Action Plan, a manual for responsible leadership. This manual aims to replace the Washington Consensus with a new consensus. The Washington Consensus had its roots in the U.S.-based Heritage Foundation in 1980, when it launched an agenda in connection with the election of Ronald Reagan, an agenda that still defines the world. Twenty project teams involving three hundred participants were brought together to develop policy recommendations for all government departments, and they published them in a thousand-page book.[61] Margaret Thatcher, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, explained its aim: "Economics is the method: the object is to change the soul."[62] Thatcher had understood something very important: "economic design in particular has cross-cutting significance because it mediates our relationship to nature and to each other."[63]

The soul has indeed been changed since 1980: profiteering has become elevated from a vice to a virtue, creating a devastated planet while failing to "improve human well-being at scale," as even the business publication *Forbes* acknowledges.[64] The spirit of profiteering is well illustrated by the DICE model that is widely used by economists and that calculates that even a disastrous four degrees centigrade temperature increase would only reduce GDP by four percent, and a six degrees centigrade increase would reduce GDP by less than ten percent, not counting that large parts of the planet would become uninhabitable: "In such models, Africa could be gone but global GDP may still increase."[65]

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In such a situation it is unsurprising that so-called "foreign fighters" leaving their homes in Western countries to fight "holy wars," feel attracted by the promise of warmly inclusive collectivism and heroic victory. It is unsurprising that supporters of nationalist populists yearn for the same.[66]

Physicist Paul Raskin explains that the regnant global system is "ineffectual and illegitimate" and "will become increasingly vulnerable":

> The interstate order lacks the coordinated political authority to resolve crises and command public trust. Global corporate capitalism runs amok, predisposed to despoil nature and generate inequality, not foster secure and fulfilling lives. The world system, incompetent and rigged for the benefit of the few, incubates discontent that bubbles to the surface in myriad forms – and churns below it in the disquieted modern psyche.[67]

In this global context, Habitat III took place in Quito, Ecuador, October 17–20, 2016. It was the major United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development. The conference had the convening power to bring together major actors to work for solutions for the complex challenges of urbanization. Those actors were UN member states, multilateral organizations, local governments, private sector, and civil society. Presidents, ministers, and other representatives from 170 countries, 200 mayors, and delegations from 500 cities met to discuss and adopt the New Urban Agenda, a global strategy for twenty-first century sustainable urbanism. In preparation of this conference its "urban agenda" had been re-thought, entailing the following points:

- Embracing urbanization at all levels of human settlements, more appropriate policies can embrace urbanization across physical space, bridging urban, peri-urban, and rural areas, and assist governments in addressing challenges through national and local development policy frameworks.
- Integrating equity to the development agenda. Equity becomes an issue of social justice, ensures access to the public sphere, and extends opportunities and increases the commons.
- Fostering national urban planning and planned city extensions.
- Deciding how relevant sustainable development goals will be supported through sustainable urbanization.
- Aligning and strengthening institutional arrangements with the substantive outcomes of Habitat III, so as to ensure effective delivery of the new Urban Agenda.[68]

The Implementation of the Urban Agenda was sketched out as follows:

- Urban Rules and Regulations: The outcomes in terms of quality of an urban settlement is dependent on the set of rules and regulations and its implementation. Proper urbanization requires the rule of law.
- Urban Planning and Design: Establishing the adequate provision of common goods, including streets and open spaces, together with an efficient pattern of buildable plots.
- Municipal Finance. For a good management and maintenance of the city, local fiscal systems should redistribute parts of the urban value generated.
- With the consideration of National Urban Policies: These establish a connection between the dynamics of urbanization and the overall process of national development.[69]

What are the reader's thoughts when seeing this agenda? The author's thought is that, while this is the best agenda that humanity can devise in its present situation, it is bound to be insufficient and destined to fail at its core.

Why is it bound to fail? Because Habitat is part of the United Nations, and this means that it cannot do much, as it is only one of several secretariats for a "club" of nations.[70] These nations may unite, yet, they may also dis-unite, eager to exercise the remnants of their sovereignty. Their sovereignty is severely limited by global *systemic imperatives*, as historian Ellen Meiksins Wood calls it.[71] Our entire current *world-system*[72] is embedded in *constitutive rules*[73] and *generative mechanisms*[74] that serve competition for domination more than cooperation for partnership, with the Washington Consensus as its most recent codification. There is no Global Commons Consensus, no global institutional umbrella that represents the interests of humankind as *one* single family on *one* tiny planet that does not know borders, a planet that is in the process of breaking down under human overload.

Journalist Baher Kamal reports on the wish of the new American Trump administration to leave the United Nations, and he describes the UN's situation as follows:

> The world body is, in fact, now bankrupted. Day after day, its agencies – from the children's fund to the refugees agency – launch desperate appeals for funds to meet the ongoing unprecedented humanitarian crisis.

> Moreover, an eventual US withdrawal would leave the UN in the hands of big private corporations. Actually, several transnational private businesses have over the last few years been among the major UN humanitarian operations' funders.

> Such a scenario would lead this unique multilateral system to be run by big business pundits. This risk should not be discarded, as the UN would in this case provide a needed "legal" coverage to their actions, whatever these would be.

> In other words, the UN de facto is already being transformed into a private corporation, funded and guided by big private business that needs to keep its formal, legal umbrella wide open to handle everything… legally.[75]

Sarajevo suffered the longest siege of a city in modern warfare history, during the Bosnian War from 1992 to 1995. Ardian Adžanela, longtime member in the Human Dignity fellowship, kindly welcomed the author into his family and allowed her to learn in depth how it felt to live through this siege.[76] He introduced the author to many people, among them to Midhat Ridjanović, professor emeritus of English and linguistics. Ridjanović puts into words the helplessness of Disunited Nations:

> I believe that all human collective problems arise from divisions of people on racial, ethnic, religious and a dozen other criteria, so the first step in solving these problems is to ignore the divisions and treat everybody else just as fellow humans. People like myself, who believe that all humans should treat each other as if they belonged to the same extended family, are simultaneously Bosnian, American, Ugandan, Chinese, Japanese, Djiboutian, Somali, Mozambiquan, Chilean, Mauritian and nationals of every other of about 195 countries around the world. So, "My fellow Americans" simply means "My fellow humans called Americans."[77]

Many passages in the Habitat agenda show how the organization is captive, per definition, of its contextual frame, namely, Disunited Nations. Habitat, as a secretariat, has to be careful in formulating too far-reaching goals, lest their masters defund it, even if humankind's survival were to depend on these goals.

Unsurprisingly, after Habitat III took place in Quito, many questions remained unanswered. Here is just one of them: What about the urban-rural divide? Activists are concerned over the reduction of the Habitat Agenda to a solely urban focus and request to

"give adequate priority to the continuity – indeed, the symbiosis – between rural and urban areas."[78]

Laudably, Habitat's agenda stipulates the wish to "increase the commons." However, since Habitat has no choice but to define the "private sector" among the categories of "relevant actors," it will hardly be in a position to attain the goal of increasing the commons, at least as long as the so-called private sector has profit as its primary driving force. CEOs of corporations, even if they personally would wish otherwise, essentially have it in their job description, as their systemic imperative so to speak, to regard commons as untapped business opportunities. This imperative, in its consequence, wears down the world's natural and social fabric and leads to sociocide and ecocide. Even more, it is a system that is "incompetent and rigged for the few."[79] The ubiquitous encroachment on the commons that currently can be observed around the globe, is thus nothing but an unavoidable side effect, an externality, a collateral damage, of the primacy of profit seeking.[80] This is but one example for the problems Habitat faces.

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) may serve as example for commons being regarded as a business opportunity rather than a treasure in need of protection. Bosnia has one of the most superb ecosystems in all of Europe due to its position at the meeting point of Mediterranean and alpine climates. The diversity of landscapes, flora, and fauna is breathtaking, with over 400 types of rare and endemic plant and 200 animal species. The Dinaric mountain range has been carved into deep canyons by mountain rivers from their high peaks on their way west to the Adriatic Sea or east to the Black Sea basin. Valuable minerals abound. The name Bosnia derives from *bosana*, Indo-European for water. These riches are among the most precious commons of humankind. Are they being protected? No. The results are sad:

> BiH's resources have helped make it a battleground for centuries. The Romans fought the native Illyrian tribes for over 150 years to conquer the region, not only to expand their empire but also to secure access to the gold, silver, salt, and other resources found there. The Ottomans followed suit more than a millennium later, seeking less to convert the mainly Christian population to Islam than to claim those resources in their push toward Vienna. When the Austro-Hungarian Empire assumed control in 1878, its engineers immediately began sinking mineshafts and building railroads to extract the vast wealth of hardwoods, salt, and coal. The old communist state of Yugoslavia in effect used BiH as an energy base for its six republics, tapping its hydropower resources and siting coal-fired generating plants there. BiH accounted for 32 percent of total air pollution in the former Yugoslavia – but only 20 percent of the territory and 17 percent of the population, according to the Sarajevo-based Center for the Promotion of Civil Society (CPCS). Today a similar pattern can be seen, as some European Union members exploit the weakness within the present government… and the lack of effective regulation. Very little is being done to urge Bosnia and Herzegovina toward reform of its environmental laws and adoption of European standards, and a number of local policymakers seem more than willing to sell the country's natural bounty to the highest bidder. This ecological colonization and thievery is evident in the treatment of Bosnia's forests, water and energy resources, and vulnerable "protected" areas.[81]

The primacy of profit seeking has been labeled "monocapitalism" by Mark McElroy, an expert on sustainable organizations. Monocapitalism maintains and grows only one form of capital, namely, economic capital, often at the expense of all others.[82] McElroy calls for "multicapitalism," meaning "capitalism designed to maintain all vital capitals, not just one of them: natural, human, social, constructed, and economic at required levels."[83]

Physicist Paul Raskin finds similarly concise formulations:

... [T]he United Nations, relying on the cooperation of its reluctant member countries, ardent defenders of their own national interests, cannot mount an adequate response to the crisis and promise of the Planetary Phase; the top priority for corporations remains higher returns for shareholders, not the common good; and institutionalized civil society organizations, plowing their separate vineyards and competing for donor funds, are ill-prepared for the larger project of conceptualizing and advancing a coherent system shift.[84]

…

In principle, at least, a full-scale Policy Reform mobilization could bend the curve of history toward a just and sustainable future. The good news is technical feasibility; the bad news is political infeasibility. Radically altering production and consumption practices within a conventional framework would be akin to trying to climb up a down escalator. Rather than helping, the machinery – profit motive, corporate power, consumerist values, state-centric politics – pushes in the opposite direction.[85]

…

Where would the necessary political will come from? It is nowhere in sight, not surprising in a political culture that takes economic growth as the barometer of social progress and associates material consumption with the good life, and where the sacrosanct principle of nation-state sovereignty stifles wider cooperation.[86]

…

The accumulation of wealth concentrates power and influence, while consumerism, polarization, and individualism constrain collective action. Short-termism keeps politicians focused on the next election, not the next generation; profit trumps people and the environment; and nationalism subverts common action.[87]

We may ask at this point: How did humankind get into this trap of a "monocapitalism" machinery eating up all other capitals for the sake of expanding economic capital out of all proportions in the hands of a small group of hyper-wealthy global players, the famous "superclass,"[88] the proverbial 1 percent that presides over the 99 percent?[89]

As mentioned earlier, philosopher of social science Howard Richards has thought about this for several decades. His reflections have led him to go far back in time, more than two thousand years. His conclusion is that everything, not just the Washington Consensus, but the very pillars of so-called capitalism as well as those of so-called communism, are embedded in the very same paradigm, namely, ancient Roman law. The foundational cultural structures that define the modern Western historical development, and now the entire world-system, are derived from Roman law, as Richards explains:

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 organizing 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.[90]

When the feudal *Gemeinschaften* (communities) of the Middle Ages disintegrated in Europe, and capitalism dissolved personal bonds through arms-length transactions, Roman law was drawn upon to define those transactions.[91] When market relationships became dis-embedded from social relationships, Roman law became invigorated, explains economic historian Karl Polanyi.[92]

As a result, says Richards, the root problem of our present-day condition is *dominium* (ownership): "the dynamic of capital accumulation has been a major, perhaps the major, dynamic of modern history; as has social exclusion, which is another consequence of the same normative structure."[93] Richards responds to those who point at Scandinavian countries as hopeful exceptions with saying that the Scandinavian tradition of equality may have carved

out some niches for well-being for a while, yet, also these countries are unable, systemically, to fundamentally improve their overall situation.[94]

The basic pillars of Roman law are *suum cuique* (to each his own), *pacta sunt servanda* (agreements must be kept), *honeste vivare* (to live honestly), and *alterum non laedere* (not hurting others by word or deed). Romans set up these rules, among others, to resolve disputes between heads of households (*patres familias*).[95] In other words, these rules were introduced to solve a problem. Unfortunately, as Richards points out, very often, solutions invite new and unforeseen problems: *Suum cuique* (to each his own) can give legitimacy to those who have monopolized economic capital in their own hands and can allow them to maintain or even increase this inequality. *Pacta sunt servanda* (agreements must be kept) can legitimize negative externalities, since there is no responsibility when there is no contract; indeed, there is no written contract with the next generation and with nature. *Honeste vivare* (to live honestly) and *alterum non laedere* (not hurting others by word or deed) entitles perpetrators of *sociocide* and *ecocide* to regard their deeds as legitimate as long as they do not violate the first two principles.

Local governments, including city councils, cannot change the basics of this situation. They have very little space to delineate an alternative path. Their role is reduced to having to serve post-Roman law by enforcing contracts and protecting the security of investments. Any government, be it of cities or nations, who wishes to place responsibility over contract to address global problems, and who acts alone "could effectively make its country economically uncompetitive, leading to inflation, unemployment, or even economic collapse."[96] Therefore, the only substantial change can come from new global constitutive structures that allow for better local flourishing. And this can only be brought about by a global citizens movement, the "global street," by all urban and rural citizens of the world uniting in bringing their ideas and experiences to co-create new global structures.

The author, in her analysis, goes even further back in time than Howard Richards. She looks at phenomena such as *circumscription*, a term used in anthropology, and *security dilemma*, a phrase used in political science. Modern *Homo sapiens* has emerged roughly two hundred thousand years ago and has populated planet Earth from Africa. Throughout the first 95 percent of human history, very simplified, our forebears spread out on the planet as migratory foragers. Then, at some point, starting around twelve thousand years ago, the situation began to change dramatically. The reasons are hotly discussed among scholars,[97] however, one reason is glaringly obvious, namely, that humankind must have begun to be affected by what anthropologists call *circumscription*. Circumscription comes from Latin *circum*, around, *scribere*, to write, and means limitation, enclosure, or confinement.[98] At some point, the human population campaign was bound to feel the impact of the limited size of the planet: whenever and wherever "the next valley" was already taken by other people, the win-win situation of early foragers, surrounded by seemingly unlimited untouched abundance, transmuted into the win-lose situation of "either we have the resources or you have the resources."[99] Wherever circumscription became palpable, the solution was blocked to simply move on to new land with abundant wild food. This is how the win-win situation of the first 95 percent of human history gave way to the past five percent that unfolded very differently, namely, under the shadow of win-lose circumscription.

Complex agriculture can be interpreted as one form of human adaptation to these changing conditions. Agriculture means to produce more food by intensifying the yield of resources from a circumcised plot of land through technological innovation.[100] Agriculture represents a strategy of domination, taking control over resources rather than letting resources take the lead. Our mobile foraging forebears followed the food; agriculturalists aim to control it.

The early win-win situation was much easier to live with than the subsequent win-lose context, as completely new negotiation skills are required to share resources in partnership. Competition for domination is a more straightforward solution, yet, as is the case with so many other "solutions," also this one has introduced new problems: one of them is that

domination has no inherent built-in endpoint, except for the destruction of its substrate. Locusts are a good example: locusts are very successful in what they do, yet, they destroy the very substrate of their livelihood: they only survive by moving on to ever new pastures.

Humankind has no other planet to move to when planet Earth burns.

Dominators regard everything, not just land and ecological resources, also social resources, as resources waiting to be conquered and exploited. From Roman law to Adam Smith's ideas, to modern science, dominators have always hijacked and warped even the best solutions to serve their interests, thus inviting ever new problems.[101] The creation of legal instruments, even when intended to curtail this dynamic, often only rigidifies the situation in ways that are not helpful, as the long-term effects of Roman law demonstrate.

The case of Roman law, clearly, is not the only one where solutions brought new problems. To name another example with an ancient history that is still relevant today is Mesopotamia's institutionalization of revenge, with a legacy that may hamper reconciliation still today.[102]

What the author sees manifesting everywhere now, is a gigantic struggle surrounding the transition from a divided world driven by the *dominator* model of society, to use the terminology of social scientist Riane Eisler,[103] to an interconnected world that recognizes that only the *partnership* model is feasible in a context of global interdependence. Humanity will go down the path of locusts if it allows the dominator spirit to continue. When everything is destroyed, there will be no other planet to move on to. Humankind only has one planet and cannot move on to another planet when this one is devastated.

DIAGNOSIS OF SYMPTOMS

In the context of present-day's world-system, cities do not have much space to manoeuver, as they are caught within the constraints of global institutional frames. In the presence of global challenges and in the absence of true global solutions, they are left to face the symptoms. A United Nations expert identifies one of those symptoms: the world's money markets are pricing people out of cities, as financial markets and speculators treat housing as a "place to park capital."[104]

In this situation, cities have few choices. Many limit themselves to placing Band-Aids on symptoms. Only a few are more courageous, and we need them to inspire also the rest of human society. They use whatever room for maneuver they can find to the maximum and experiment with alternative solutions for how citizens may live together with each other and with nature.

The list of symptoms is long, and I wish to select only a few here. Rising extremism is one of those symptoms.[105] Disconnection in Western societies is the backdrop, now creeping into non-Western communities as well as they strive to imitate the West.

Extremism can tear apart families, cities, nations, and the world

Challenging Contrasts in Today`s World:
A Checklist
by
Francisco Gomes de Matos
A peace linguist
Co-Founder of ABA Global Education
Recife, Brazil
September 9, 2016[106]

———

When humiliation is exposed
What effective solution is proposed?

When indignity is denounced
What correction is announced?

When corruption is disclosed
What legal action is interposed?

When a human right is violated
What is required for humanization to be elevated?

When violence is advocated
What kind of nonviolence is anticipated?

When hate speech is tolerated
What peaceful language use is cultivated?

When indecency is promulgated
What decency policy is navigated?

When negativism is radicalized
What positivity is globalized?

Extremism can spawn terrorism

On June 12, 2016, Omar Mateen, a 29-year-old security guard, killed 49 people and wounded 53 others in a terrorist attack inside Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, United States. This shooting was considered the "deadliest mass shooting by one person in United States history."[107]

Who was this shooter? Why did he commit such a hate crime? Was he a self-radicalized terrorist, a religious extremist caught in a "clash of cultures" since he was a child of first generation immigrants, or was he a bullied adolescent who should have been attended to by mental health services, or a youth in a sexual identity crisis, or a security guard who wanted to avenge his failure to become a police officer, or a young homophobic man, or a misogynist suffering from "toxic masculinity," or all of the above?[108]

In Europe, the label *banlieue* is increasingly being used for low-income housing in urban suburbs with mainly foreign immigrants living in poverty traps since the 1970s. Saïda Keller-

Messahli, the president of the "Forum für einen fortschrittlichen Islam" (Forum for a Progressive Islam) in Zürich, Switzerland, calls on cities to give more attention to those suburbs, where disaffected youths are driven into the arms of terror-entrepreneurs.[109] Also Gilles Kepel, a French political scientist and specialist on the Islamic and contemporary Arab world, sees a connection between the radicalization of young people in France's suburbs and the dysfunctional sociology of these *banlieues*, in combination with the role that Islam plays.[110] French philosopher Abdennour Bidar has diagnosed a "cancer" at the heart of Islam.[111]

We find similar conditions in many other parts of the world. A 2016 study by the Norwegian Police Security Service shows that young men of multiethnic backgrounds with low education, high crime rates, and insecure integration within the labor market are particularly vulnerable to being radicalized by extremist Islam in Norway.[112]

Or, when we look at Southeast Europe, it is particularly in Bosnia, where foreign fighters have followed "the lure of the Syrian War": "An official unemployment rate hovering around 44 percent and a youth unemployment rate of almost 63 percent (the highest in the world) make youth a particularly targeted group (ages 15 to 24) because they are seen as most susceptible to radicalization into violent extremism."[113] Even though Bosnia has a mostly moderate and secular Muslim population, with radical Muslims being a minority, Da'esh (or IS, ISIL, or ISIS[114]) was able to set up a stronghold by secretly buying land near an isolated village surrounded by deep woodlands. This location makes it an ideal launching pad for terrorist campaigns in Europe:

> It was established… that the largest number of BiH volunteers in Syria and Iraq have come from well-known Salafi communities, such as in Gornja Maoca or Osve in the north-eastern part of the country. More than 60% have spent time in these communities, visiting or maintaining contact with residents.[115]
> …
> Returning foreign fighters from Syria and Iraq – battle-hardened, skilled in handling arms and explosives, and ideologically radicalized – pose a direct threat not only to the security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also of the region and beyond.[116]

Establishing strongholds in isolated rural regions is a strategy used by many militant extremists, of all ideological orientations and all around the world, including militant right-wing extremists. It is easy to erect relatively secret training camps in remote places, since the villagers, even if they do oppose such activities, are usually quickly silenced. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (known as Mecklenburg-West Pomerania in English), for instance, is a thinly populated marginal federated state in northern Germany that offers opportunities to militant extremists – in this case right-wing – that are similar to those in Bosnia.[117]

Wherever the author went in Sarajevo, people would tell her, with tears, that the uneducated rural population in their *Hinterland* was susceptible to propaganda of nationalist hatred and that it was this rural population that brought polarization upon the region and ultimately mayhem upon the city. The lessons they advised other cities to learn was to give much more attention to their *Hinterland*, rather than neglecting and looking down on it, or expecting it to merely serve as a source of food or as leisure opportunities. Examples abound. Populists are surfing the sense of humiliation that has accumulated in the *Hinterland* on several continents.[118] In India, for instance, a skewed balance of power favors rural issues and interests "to get the votes in the village and use that power to rule and plunder the cities."[119]

If we want to understand this dynamic in more depth, it may pay to look at the larger context. Social scientists Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson studied the populations of the United States and Europe and found three main groups: *traditionals*, *moderns*, and *cultural creatives*.[120] They found that the majority of the Western population is made up of moderns, with two main countermovements turning against modernity: first, the traditionals, who wish

to return into an imagined past, and second, the cultural creatives who envision a new future. The latter trend initially comprised two branches, one looking inward to gain new levels of consciousness,[121] while the other looked outward to become activists in the streets.

If we analyze the motives of all these countermovements, we see that experiences of humiliation are what inspires them. While I write these lines, the "angry white males" of the United States are putting their hopes on their new president, Donald Trump, who promises them a return to past greatness, the classical dream of the traditionals.[122] What the author calls honor humiliation is what is at work there. Also cultural creatives are inspired by humiliation, yet, in their case, it is dignity humiliation that drives them, namely, a sense that human dignity is being soiled. For solutions, cultural creatives do not seek past glory; they wish to create new futures and are inspired by the Paulo Freires, the Gandhis, and the Mandelas of this world. In the United States, Bernie Sanders was their preferred presidential candidate in 2016, or, if Michelle Obama had been running for president in the United States in 2016, she might have received even more support.

This is also why those identifying with the differentiation of "hard" (male) science versus "soft" (female) feelings misunderstand the author's work as too "soft" and therefore irrelevant: killing enemies rather than healing humiliation is their formula.

Dynamics of humiliation play out in all spheres of life, and cities are among their main arenas. When we see projects such as the golf course, for instance, that investors like Donald Trump wish to build on the hill behind Dubrovnik, together with villas for wealthy people, people in the city feel everything from disregarded to humiliated. The author, as a world citizen, feels her very humanity being humiliated from witnessing the same dynamic unfold all over the world: "Prosperity was once described as a tide that raised all boats, but the impression today is that prosperity only raises all yachts."[123] The investors, on their part, do not feel humiliated at all, they feel proud, and the mayor of Dubrovnik may feel satisfied with his ability to attract investors.[124] In other words, power elites feel proud to gain power and rise in status and honor, while those they should protect feel their dignity being humiliated and violated.

Here we find also the connection to extremism. Not just advocates of traditional male honor, even the most well-intentioned dignity-oriented person may be unable to solve the paradox inherent in dignity humiliation and connect perception and action in coherent ways. Some may start out with a sense of dignity humiliation, but, instead of embarking on the Gandhi-path into the future, they may turn to traditionals and their definitions of honor humiliation for solutions. As noted above, the author calls this a *cross over*: it begins with a sense of dignity humiliation and ends with "remedies" taken from the toolkit of honor humiliation traditionally reserved for aristocrats, namely, revenge. The result is not just any kind of extremism but degrees of extremism that are unprecedented in human history. To take Dubrovnik as an example, disappointed citizens who have tried in vain to protest peacefully, might at some point become so enraged that they turn to violence. At that moment, the traditional honor script will kick in, risking to fire up a spiral of ever more severe polarizations. In the United States, on November 8, 2016, polarization has brought an authoritarian leader to power, one who thrives on polarization, in a situation where a leader was needed who aims at attenuating it.

In other words, when dignity humiliation, with its exceptional intensity, leads to responses that belong to the violent revenge script of honor humiliation, fault lines between in-groups and enemy out-groups risk getting much more severe, nationally and internationally. In a world where humanity desperately needs to cooperate in the face of its global challenges, such fault lines constitute "arguably a far greater danger than climate change, the exhaustion of raw materials or any of the other fashionable disaster scenarios," this is what even "rational optimists" among economic commentators admit.[125]

Also within Islam, we can observe traditionals and cultural creatives. Their traditionals seem to split into the same two branches that also divide the cultural creatives in the West,

namely, the inward- and outward-oriented branches, with the outward-oriented branch further splitting into purists and pragmatics.[126]

Political scientist Mohammad-Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou sees Al-Qaeda as a political rather than a religious project, warning against dismissing Al-Qaeda as illogical and irrational, advising to engage it with arguments in a serious way.[127] Also Da'esh appears to be far from irrational. In all those movements, we see what could be called moderns at work, who use very rational tools to exploit irrationality, for instance, among vulnerable adolescents. Just like relevant data are being harvested from social platforms to use psychometrics to mobilize voters in Western countries, also the moderns among extremists analyze and use social platforms.[128]

Saïda Keller-Messahli could be described as a cultural creative within Islam. She grew up in a Muslim family in Tunisia and then came to Switzerland. Rather than fighting against Islam, she honors this religion by advocating a progressive Islam. Her progressiveness is grounded in a deep understanding of the humiliation that inspires Islamic traditionals. We read on her website about the Ottoman Empire and how strong it initially was in its administrative and military capabilities, how it then was defeated by Western superiority, and how conservative Wahhabism arose on the Arabian Peninsula as a response. Wahhabism saw the cause of the downfall in the peoples' neglect of the word of the Koran and made it its mission to follow this word more closely.[129] While Keller-Messahli does not share this explanation of the downfall, but she also does not use disparaging language to describe it. Rather, she uses empathic understanding as a springboard for progressive solutions. Keller-Messahli presumably will agree with calls to heed complexity, to avoid the simplification of blaming Wahhabism for terrorism,[130] yet, at the same time she warns against its political use.[131]

Even though Switzerland has never been a colonizer, and even though it is not an interventionist superpower, and even though it does not have *banlieues*, still seventy-two so-called foreign fighters have traveled to fight with Da'esh in Syria.[132] Switzerland has so far only been spared terrorist attacks within its borders. The fact that foreign fighters have emerged even in a country such as Switzerland, supports the views of another global Islam expert, Olivier Roy. Roy rejects Gilles Kepel explanation that radicalization is the result of failed integration. Roy believes that deep inter-generational alienation and humiliation is at work when young men in their twenties and thirties commit mass murder and suicide in the name of Allah.[133] He sees "troubled people in the jihadist ranks act out their fantasies of violence and cruelty," and he cautions against rashly linking Islam with terrorism: "I find myself increasingly working with psychologists and psychoanalysts," he says.[134] For Roy, radical Islam is a peripheral phenomenon, forming a Westernized "virtual" community, rather than a pious and "actual" Muslim one. According to Roy, the blame for the international jihadi movement cannot be put on the legacy of colonization or Western foreign policy or exclusion and racism, and also the "culturalist" belief of a clash of civilizations and religions between Europe and the Muslim world is misleading. These young men are caught, not between two cultures, but between no cultures: they are not part of the world their fathers hail from, and they are not part of "real" France or England, worse, their fathers have humiliated themselves to be at the bottom of those societies. In Roy's view, this nihilistic radicalized youth revolt represents the Islamization of radicalism, and not the radicalization of Islam. Their revolt resembles that of the Baader Meinhof revolutionaries' revenge on their parents' Nazi collaboration – they just replace the bourgeois with the infidels – and they use the very methods of American school shooters.

Roy observes that risk-taking behavior among young people has soared everywhere and is accompanied by a fascination with suicide and violence: "We have to devote more attention to this dimension… In Italy, for example, two young people just murdered one of their peer group. When apprehended, the only justification they could give for their act was that they wanted to experience what it feels like to kill. The press has called them crazy. But if the

young people had screamed 'Allahu Akbar' before the deed, they would be perceived as terrorists."[135] When asked about Gilles Kepel, who accuses Olivier Roy of hazardously downplaying the Islamic dimension of terrorism, Roy had this to say: "The fact that he's upset is a good sign – it means he is trying to come to terms with my theses. He doesn't like me pointing out the psychological dimension. In my opinion, though, we urgently need to take a multidisciplinary approach when tackling the phenomenon of Islamist radicalization."[136]

To the author's observation, two main motivational lines interlink in Kepel's and Roy's interpretations that both affect cities. The first line, which Kepel focuses on, is connected with the dignity humiliation of those at the bottom, those in the *banlieues*. This is the group of people who might cross over from feeling dignity humiliation to reacting with the toolkit for violent revenge that honor humiliation offers. Here, cities need to work on avoiding that such conditions emerge in the first place.

The second line resonates with Roy's focus and is connected with the traditional supremacist honor culture of elites. In Japan, for instance, during its feudal past, a samurai had the right to strike with his sword and kill anyone of lower class who he thought compromised his honor. This elite culture has become "democratized" during the past decades in Western societies. The so-called self-esteem movement began with good intentions, namely, to empower the downtrodden, yet it went too far. By now, it has created a "generation me," a generation of youth who are more confident and assertive, while they are also "more miserable than ever before."[137] In a market economy, where the customer learns that he is "king," almost every thrill attains legitimacy simply through finding a market. These youngsters do not need to cross over into honor humiliation's samurai toolkit for revenge, they are already there: it should not surprise that they create a market also for killing.

If both lines combine, extremism can escalate to hitherto unseen degrees. Both threads are being aggravated by present-day's economic and political emphasis on everything that is "profitable." A world filled with triumphantly self-centered individualistic consumers is what is most profitable, while it is not profitable, at least not in the short term, to invest in long-term maintenance and nurturing of social and ecological relationships, let alone act on calls like that by Habitat to "increase the commons."

For a society, to be successful with helping adolescents to become supportive members, it is furthermore important to understand risky adolescent behavior from the point of view evolution. As much as such behavior often has pathological consequences for long-term individual and societal welfare, it was once well adapted for short-term survival and reproduction in the harsh environments of our forebears.[138] In other words, risky adolescent behavior must be expected and factored in into wise societal policies.

In Germany, in Hannover, around the corner of where the author was born and raised, a young sixteen years old girl, Safia S., combined all worlds: she swooned for Justin Bieber and Allah at the same time, bragged about having links with Da'esh, and, on February 26, 2016, she stabbed a police officer at Hannover's train station with a kitchen knife, inflicting life threatening stab wounds.[139]

In Zadie Smith's novel *White Teeth*, there are two twin brothers, Magid and Millat: Magid was sent by his father to grow up in Bangladesh to protect him from Western values, yet, he came back as a consummate Englishman with a white suit and Oxford English. At the same time, his brother, who remained in England, became a bearded fundamentalist.[140] In other words, Magid learned to admire the best of the human rights ideals of equality in dignity, from afar, while Millat learned the bitter lesson that these ideals, while being preached in the West, are not necessarily heeded. Here the so-called contact hypothesis failed, namely, the hypothesis that contact creates friendship: rather, when it humiliates, contact can radicalize.[141]

In modern industrial societies, "the overriding focus on capital accumulation is moving us away from, rather than toward, a culture centered in the formation of persons through the exercise of craft and caring" writes economist Kent Klitgaard.[142] Deep change is necessary,

since without it, "we shall have neither persons fit to live with, nor a planet fit to live in."[143] Klitgaard warns:

> Since we live in a culture that gives only lip service to the above, we do not yet understand that our future is at risk, not only environmentally, but personally – in the sense of the kind of persons who are routinely produced by our culture. It is time we knit together our environmentalism and our commitment to becoming persons.[144]

Cities have their challenges cut out here: they need to emphasize a culture of togetherness, cooperation, solidarity, and mutual care, rather than intensifying the arrogant sense of entitlement that characterizes the overstretch of the self-esteem movement and the market of thrills.

Again, all urban and rural citizens of the world will need to unite in bringing their ideas and experiences to a project of co-creating new global and local frames that allow for new forms of organizing and shaping the human condition on planet Earth.

States and corporations use terror as a tool

While non-state terrorism is important to study, it would be a mistake to overlook the terror that both governments and corporations perpetrate. While terrorists who wish to infuse a sense of fear in large groups will target cities more than rural areas, it is sometimes the inverse when a dominator economy uses the label of terrorism to demonize critics.

The murder of Berta Isabel Cáceres Flores, a Goldman Environmental Prize winner, is just one of an "increasing number of violent and illegal actions by governments and corporate actors against defenders of the environment and those impacted by mega-projects that devastate communities."[145] Berta Cáceras was a Honduran environmental activist, indigenous leader, and co-founder and coordinator of the Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras (COPINH). Her group pressured the world's largest dam builder to pull out of the Agua Zarca Dam at the Río Gualcarque. She was assassinated in her home by armed intruders on March 3, 2016, after years of threats against her life. In 2014, altogether twelve environmental defenders were killed in Honduras, making it the most dangerous country in the world, relative to its size, for activists protecting forests and rivers.[146]

While writing these lines, the author received an emergency call for help from Daniel Baron in the Amazon, where he describes the disastrous effects of the political-juridical coup d'état that Brazil is experiencing since August 31, 2016:

> The Amazon, which sustains all the eco-systems of the world, was already at risk. In the last two days, new unnoticed laws have been passed by a corrupt Senate condemning the region to become an industrial wasteland.[147]

Baron explained further:

> It has rained here only once in the last 5 months. Tributaries are drying. We live respiratory crises every day. This is already impacting on you, as the invisible river in the sky,[148] created by the Amazon's forests, generates water for the world and regulates every ecosystem on the planet. In Paris, last December, 177 countries promised to try to hold global warming to 1.5C above pre-industrial levels, until 2030. That limit has already almost been reached. Yet 29 hydroelectric plants are planned for the Amazon alone, by 2030. The scientific community knows we are sprinting towards ecocide. Why does it not

speak out more? Would it provoke a tsunami of global panic? Rivers of Creativity is more than an invitation. It is a call for us to act together, in time!

In 2012, the author was invited to the Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro. Yet, she chose to follow the invitation of Dan Baron and Manoela Souza to create an "alternative Rio+20 week" at the very frontier of the industrialization of the Amazon in Marabá, Pará.[149] She chose Marabá instead of Rio+20 because, as she had learned, the voices of the people in the Amazon were not heard, not even in Rio, and she wanted to hear them and bring their voices to a larger audience. In hindsight, this decision was vindicated, as Nnimmo Bassey, chairman of Friends of the Earth International, summarized the Rio+20 event as follows: "Governmental positions have been hijacked by corporate interests linked to polluting industries."[150]

Currently, efforts are under way to enshrine ecocide as a crime in law, in the hope that this might help to mitigate abuse: "When leaders fail to act or make decisions that lead to mass damage and destruction, that surely can only be called a crime."[151]

If the massive damage and destruction to the environment is criminalized, environmental defenders will have the law at their side in their work to protect the environment. It would be much harder to brand them as "terrorists" or enemies of progress if the protection of the environment is recognized as a matter of the highest international concern. Instead of using the law against them – limiting the operational space of environmental NGOs or the freedom of expression of individual environmental defenders in the name of "national security" – environmental defenders would be recognized for performing a legitimate task of international concern – the protection of ecosystems – that in fact should be taken up by the government.[152]

Also a shift from guilt to responsibility is needed. Femke answers criticism that "rights" of one group of humans (or humans acting as guardians for non-humans) are competing with the rights of another group (the adversarial nature of our legal system)" as follows:

I recently learned that the original meaning of the word "lawyer" is actually "healer of the woes of the community," pointing to a much more holistic understanding of doing justice. The adversarial character of our legal system is not set in stone. There is an emerging international movement called the Integrative Law Movement, which aims to create a legal system oriented towards values-based, creative, sustainable, and holistic solutions that build and strengthen relationships – instead of a legal victory of one party at the expense of another. Ecocide law can be seen as being a part of this Integrative Law Movement since it is meant to help build a sustainable relationship between humans and the natural world and is aimed at protecting the rights of all the inhabitants of an ecosystem, through prohibiting its destruction or loss to such an extent that peaceful enjoyment by the inhabitants of that territory has been or will be severely diminished (definition of Polly Higgins).[153]

Humiliation plays out at all levels, it can play out between individuals or groups, and it can also be systemic. Apartheid was humiliation put into system. Feudal structures all around the world were built on systemic humiliation. Lu Xun (or Lu Hsun, real name Zhou Shuren, 1881–1936) was a writer and intellectual, author of short stories, poems, essays, and literary criticism, considered the founder of modern Chinese literature. Born into an educated but impoverished Chinese family, he was passionate about China's liberation from feudal humiliation, and therefore his name stands for humiliation, or, more precisely, for making vividly palpable the pain of humiliation perpetrated by feudalism through his writings. In 2007, the author had the privilege of being shown around in the part of Shanghai where Lu Xun had lived and worked. *Call To Arms (Na-Han)* (1922) was his first collection of

stories,[154] which includes his most celebrated stories, such as "Diary of a Madman" (1918) and "The True Story of Ah Q." There he depicts an ignorant farm laborer, who goes through a series of humiliations and finally is executed during the chaos of the revolution of 1911.[155]

The most recent manifestation of systemic humiliation is the inequality that is on the rise worldwide, with elites becoming ever more disconnected from the rest.[156]

Extremes on all sides

It would be another mistake to look for extremism only on one side. Terrorism expert Alex Schmid criticizes that most of the literature "sees radicalization as a one-sided phenomenon, not realizing that it can take place in a polarized conflict relationship on both sides of a conflict dyad."[157] Also counterterrorism interventions can radicalize and lead to ever more extreme measures that can be destructive to all involved. Too much "hardening" of soft targets can defeat the purpose: "Dear Europe, please don't turn your cities into walled camps," this is a plea to Europe.[158] And since Donald Trump has been elected as new President of the United States, many send the same plea to America.

Populist movements are on the rise on all continents while this paper is being written.[159] Paul Raskin warns of fundamentalism surges all around the globe in reaction to the "penetration of disruptive capitalism that dissolved the consolations of tradition with the dubious promise of a purse of gold."[160] In the vacuum of meaning that ensued, religious absolutism now bubbles up, "offering comfort for the lost and solace for the disappointed – and a banner of opposition for the zealous."[161]

Psychotherapist Carol Smaldino observes "a frightening absence of sensitivity to emotions, and to parts of the population that are openly vulnerable," and she recommends reading psychotherapist Michael Eigen, who ponders whether humankind will keep on evolving or not: "Can we face our destructive power, or the high that power gives us, a self-intoxication that wipes out guilt and sensitivity?"[162]

The Yugoslav Wars, fought from 1991 to 2001 inside the territory of former Yugoslavia,[163] may serve as a particularly painful example for what can happen when entire populations polarize. It is the nature of competition for domination, once unleashed, that it lacks inherent breaks, that it is inimical to moderation, and therefore very difficult to rein in.[164] In other words, not just the self-esteem movement has overextended and ended in hubris, also cities, nations, and even entire empires can go down the same path. History offers many examples of how empires ruin themselves by becoming ever more extended in their domination, and, as a result, they became destructive not just to others, also to themselves. By now, this dynamic can even endanger the survival of all of humankind.

For the past two decades, the author has studied how genocide, war, and terrorism occur, and how they are connected with humiliation. In her doctoral dissertation, she compared Rwanda and Somalia on the background of Nazi Germany.[165] In Rwanda, a long-standing culture of obedience in a fertile region had supported a very clear hierarchical social order over many past centuries. This culture made people vulnerable to being manipulated into committing atrocities out of obedience. It was enough for a few humiliation-entrepreneurs to disseminate a narrative of humiliation via radio, a narrative saying that everybody had the duty to be obedient and prevent future humiliation by getting the machetes out of their drawers and hack those neighbors to death who were identified as humiliators. In her book on gender and humiliation, the author classifies this behavior as "cleaning job," usually given to females, or to males in subordinate positions.[166] Adolf Hitler's narrative followed a similar script: For him it was a "final solution" (*Endlösung*) to prevent the humiliation he feared in the future from Jews by killing them all. In Somalia, the situation was different. Here, it was not a culture of obedience, but a male war culture that was vulnerable to manipulation, the very pride of noble nomadic warriors who had learned to be tough in a harsh semi-desert.

When they were told that a certain clan intended to dominate and humiliate them, their warrior spirit of resisting enemies was fired up. In all cases, people followed leaders who manipulated them, humiliation-entrepreneurs who used narratives of past and imminent humiliation to gather followers behind them, leaders who used and abused what psychiatrist Vamik Volkan calls *chosen trauma*.[167]

If we reflect on leaders and where they come from, historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) offered a description that might be recognizable to many contemporary citizens of cities and nations.[168] It starts with a leader, Khaldun explained, who, through some great achievement and by popular support, gains power. At some point, he begins pursuing ease and luxury and marginalizes his original supporters, taking all the glory for himself. Then, he puts into power controllers who suppress any resistance that might arise. He instates a family dynasty that accumulates power and money, whose third generation will finally overstretch their means. They will levy ever more unbearable taxes on their peoples to provide for their unnecessary and ever-multiplying desires that will cause them to forget religion, morality, and decency. When the point comes where soldiers go unpaid, outlying regions will establish their autonomy, and royal authority will be undermined by officials and court favorites. Corruption will extend beyond the court, and it will be too late for reforms, as they will only delay the inevitable. Famine and pestilence will ensue, and the dynasty will fall from power.

Ibn Khaldun also observed that empires fall at the hands of nomadic warriors who suddenly emerge from outside, and, in the blink of an eye, destroy cultural complexity that grew over centuries.[169] He theorized that nomads draw their strength from *asabia*, meaning solidarity, the solidarity that makes people trust and support each other. Indeed, the author's doctoral research in Somalia provided her with deep insights into this solidarity.[170] Many in Somalia survive only due to *asabia*, due to the willingness of their diaspora family members dispersed in the rest of the world to provide them with financial support: "Somalia's tight clan bonds have helped to set up worldwide banking networks. Someone in Ontario, for example, can give dollars to his local clan banker, and the equivalent will be collected by his family from the remittance bank in Galkayo within 24 hours. There are no receipts and no disputes. These remittances, hundreds of millions of dollars a year, keep Somalia going."[171]

However, the author has also learned that *asabia*, as lifesaving as it is, can bring with it grave problems: as long as the notion of "we" is built on a "non-we," as long as it does not comprise all of humanity, dangerous out-group hostility ensues. This problem has been pinpointed by researchers on group selection in evolution as far back as in the 1930s.[172] A tribe whose members show altruism toward each other and cooperate, is more likely to survive than a less cooperative tribe, however, with out-group aggression being the "other side of the coin":

> Since several tribes might be in competition for the same territory, intertribal aggression might, under some circumstances, increase the chances for survival of one's own tribe. Thus, on the basis of the group selection model, one would expect humans to be kind and cooperative towards members of their own group, but at the same time to sometimes exhibit aggression towards members of other groups, especially in conflicts over territory.[173]

What the author also learned in Somalia was that, due to their mobility, nomads are able to engage in quick raiding campaigns. They are able to invade sedentary regions without any warning and plunder and ravage them. In other words, *asabia*, combined with mobility can lead people to destroy long-lasting highly complex cultures in the shortest of moments. It would be interesting to hear what Ibn Khaldun would say about the fate of former Yugoslavia and the destruction of Sarajevo, a city that once epitomized complex high culture.

The high degree of in-group cohesion and out-group hostility in tribal societies should not astonish anybody, since it is merely a strong expression of a general human trait that all

humans share, namely, a pronounced readiness to split into groups. The "minimal group paradigm" indicates that even the most arbitrary and meaningless distinctions can trigger a tendency to favor one's own group at the expense of others. Ibn Khaldun would certainly have liked to watch social psychology experiments showing that it is enough to simply distribute shirts of different colors to a group of people, and those who wear the same color, even though they received it entirely arbitrarily, will coalesce into one in-group against the "other color."[174]

Not only Ibn Khaldun observed what can cause empires to fall.[175] Many will think of historian Oswald Spengler (1880–1936) and his magnum opus *Decline of the West*.[176] Also macro-historian Arnold Toynbee, in his twelve-volume work of 1934–1961, lists several reasons causing empires to demise, reasons that could all be subsumed under the heading "domination driven to extremes":

- militarism with constant warfare
- overextension – trying to control more than you can manage
- loss of legitimacy in the eyes of others
- structural economic crisis
- moral decay
- loss of intellectual and technological innovation and
- simply other powers gaining strength over time and doing things in new, creative ways[177]

Peace activist Uri Avnery draws on Toynbee when he explains how border regions may create violent dominator cultures. History offers many examples not only of Ibn Khaldun's nomadic warriors who suddenly overrun long-standing civilizations, but also of Toynbee's "barbarian" border people from peripheral border regions who attain power over states when their centers show weakness, in short when "less civilized hardier border people" take over "civilized" states.[178] Since both borders and deserts make for "hardier people," Khaldun and Toynbee appear to point at the same underlying dynamic. Avnery lists several examples, both historical and contemporary. For instance, it was a leader from the Macedonian borderland, Alexander the Great, who founded the Greek empire, not the civilized citizens of a Greek town like Athens. Or, it was a peripheral Italian town called Rome that became the center of the Mediterranean empire, not any civilized Greek city. For a more recent example, Avnery points at the Prussians of Germany. They began by conquering land, annihilating part of its inhabitants, created villages and towns, withstood counterattacks by resentful neighbors, such as Swedes, Poles, and Russians, in short, they learned to be hardy, all the while the people at the centers, the burghers of Frankfurt, Cologne, Munich, or Nuremberg, had a much easier life and could afford to look down on primitive Prussians while listening to their own poets and composers. In 1871, suddenly, those burghers found the new German Reich being dominated by a Prussian Kaiser: the periphery had become the center. Also Jewish history followed this pattern, explains Avnery. David was a stone-throwing boy who became King of Israel and set up his capital in Jerusalem, far from all the other cities in which the aristocracy had established itself. Later, in Roman times, when Jerusalem had become a patrician city, the hardy borderland fighters from Galilee rose up against the superior Romans. The Jewish King Agrippa held an impressive speech to stop them from doing so, but in vain: Judea revolted with all the consequences still to be felt today. In contemporary Israel, Tel Aviv is the center, and settlements in the newly occupied Palestinian territories are the periphery. By now, the "national-religious" party, once one of the most moderate forces in Israeli politics, has turned into an ultranationalist, almost fascist "Jewish Home" party: the settlers became a dominant force in the Likud party, even controlling the government by now, with politicians on all sides using "settler-speak" and calling "Judea and Samaria" what they formerly referred to as the "West Bank."

We might add to Avnery's list of examples some other contemporary cases unfolding in front of our eyes while this paper is being written, namely, gun-loving white males in the United States who keep a pioneer border culture alive. They resent the center of power, Washington, DC, for neglecting them; they hope to rise up with a strongman, Donald Trump, as their leader, aiming to "get back" at their humiliators. This was written about Donald Trump before he won the election:

Even if Trump loses, his legacy will be horrible. He has blown the Republican Party to smithereens with his populism and now stands smugly in the ruins. The old, two-party system as we knew it will no longer exist after this election. The forces that Trump has raised, which brought him this far, aren't going anywhere. The fact that a liar, narcissist, and agitator could make it this far is a harbinger of the battle to come for liberal forces – and not only in the United States. Now democracy must be protected from rumors, hate, and totalitarianism. In nearly every Western country, there is a part of the population – one that is usually poorly educated and economically disadvantaged – that is interested in smashing the old system and replacing it with a darker new one. That's also why Donald Trump represents one of the gravest threats of our time.[179]

The thoughts of Ibn Khaldun and Arnold Toynbee could be applied also to Southeast Europe. In Dubrovnik and Sarajevo, people shared with the author how they suffered during the siege of their cities. Dubrovnik was besieged in 1991 and 1992, lucky to at least being spared the snipers the people of Sarajevo had to suffer from for more than four years, the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare.[180]

Southeast Europe's geopolitical crossroad location made it vulnerable to always being overrun, conquered, used and abused by powerful neighbors. Warlike people arrived and overpowered less warlike people. The Butmir culture is one of the best researched European cultures dating from the Neolithic period from 5100–4500 BCE (before the Common Era). It was part of a larger Danube civilization that existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and was characterized by its unique pottery. This culture disappeared during the Bronze Age, apparently conquered by the Illyrians, who were regarded as bloodthirsty, unpredictable, turbulent and warlike by Greeks and Romans. The Illyrians were Indo-European tribes, who from then on inhabited the territory that corresponds to the former Yugoslavia and most of Albania.

Croats and Serbs are both South Slav peoples. Slavic settlement in the Balkans began in the late 570s and early 580s CE (Common Era). By now, however, the common Slavic heritage seems forgotten, and a deep sense of hostility separates many Croats and Serbs, along a fault line that apparently was introduced by Christianity.[181] In the Great Schism in 1054, the Greek East and the Latin West split and those living east of the fault line automatically became "orthodox" Christians under Byzantium, while those west of the demarcation line became "catholic" Christians under Rome.[182] Linguist Paul-Louis Thomas is a specialist of the local languages, with many years of experience in the region, and he confirmed to the author when they met in September 2016 in Dubrovnik what many also ethnologists consider to be true, namely, that the distinctiveness of Serb and Croat identities mainly relates to religion, and not to ethnic or any deep linguistic differences.[183]

Croats built their first kingdom around 900 CE, and, at some point, it came under Hungarian influence. When Hungary succumbed to the Turks, the catholic house of Habsburg that ruled from Vienna took over Croatia. The pope awarded it the title of "bulwark of Christianity." In this way, Croatians were firmly anchored in the West, accustomed to seeing themselves as "border people of Western civilization," as Aleksa Djilas, son of the Tito companion Milovan Djilas, explained in his book about Yugoslavia's nationality problems.[184] The Serbs, however, of orthodox Christianity and for almost half a millennium under Turkish

rule, were accustomed to look eastward, to the heir of the Byzantine culture, to Constantinople, and later to Moscow.

Thinking of Toynbee and Avnery, and of the role of "hardy" border people, it seems that all historically powerful neighbors of the Balkan region, from Vienna to Venice to Constantinople, have used the inhabitants of Southeast Europe as human shields between them. Even more, they gave incentives to peasants to arm themselves, develop a warrior ethos, and become *Wehrbauern*. In this way a warrior culture arose that can escalate into fighting at the slightest provocation. This very culture brought the Yugoslav Wars to the region from 1991 to 2001. In Somalia, it was a harsh semi-desert that taught Somalis to become warriors, in the Balkans, this culture was entirely human-made: its neighboring empires incentivized a war culture.

The Imperial Habsburg Court initially used mercenaries to secure the border against the Ottomans. However, when this became too costly, in the 1630s, they gave land and privileges to Serb immigrants into the frontier area. Also the Republic of Venice, when it ruled over parts of the eastern Adriatic coast, followed the Austrian example to arm peasants, and the Turks as well settled warlike Serb clans at their border. During the Turkish wars – military conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and various European powers starting in the Late Middle Ages – Turks erected small permanent fortifications with ditches, ramparts, and palisades, called *palanke* (see French *palanque* or *stockade*). These were enclosures of palisades and tall walls made of logs placed side by side vertically with the tops sharpened to provide security. The Ottomans labeled all fortified smaller cities, market towns, villages, and castles in the region in this way. Still today, the names of several places in Bosnia, Serbia, and Macedonia bear witness to the former distribution of these fortifications in the Balkans: Brza Palanka, Banatska Palanka, Backa Palanka, Smederevska Palanka, or Kriva Palanka.

The Habsburgs called their fortified border region the "Confin" (locally known as *Vojna Krajina*), where the peasant soldiers, the "Granicari," who settled there, were subject to lifelong conscription. In exchange, the Habsburgs granted their "Cossacks" unusual freedoms that put them apart from ordinary farmers: they received a fief, later even heritable property, they had their own jurisdiction, they were free from the "tithe," meaning free from duties and taxes, as well as free to exercise their Orthodox religion. They had to be constantly prepared to exchange the plow with the sword, as local incursions and raids were common. As a result of perpetual warring, a tough and combative culture developed, feared not only by the enemy, but also by common Croatian neighbors.

Vienna always retained direct control over their "Military Croatia," while "civil Croatia" was subordinate to the Hungarian Crown of St. Stephen. Eventually, the entire male population of the Military Frontier were professional soldiers, ready to move to all European battlefields. After 1767, every twelfth inhabitant of the Military Frontier was a soldier, while only every 62nd inhabitant in the rest of the Habsburg Monarchy was a soldier. Eventually, a Serbian settlement belt stretched across the entire northwestern Balkans. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the military area of the Habsburg Empire at the border of the Ottoman Empire included the Croatian Military Frontier, and since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Slavonian Military Frontier, the Banat Military Frontier, and the Transylvanian Military Frontier. At its largest expansion in 1850, the military frontier covered an area of 50,000 square kilometers and extended over a length of 1850 km.
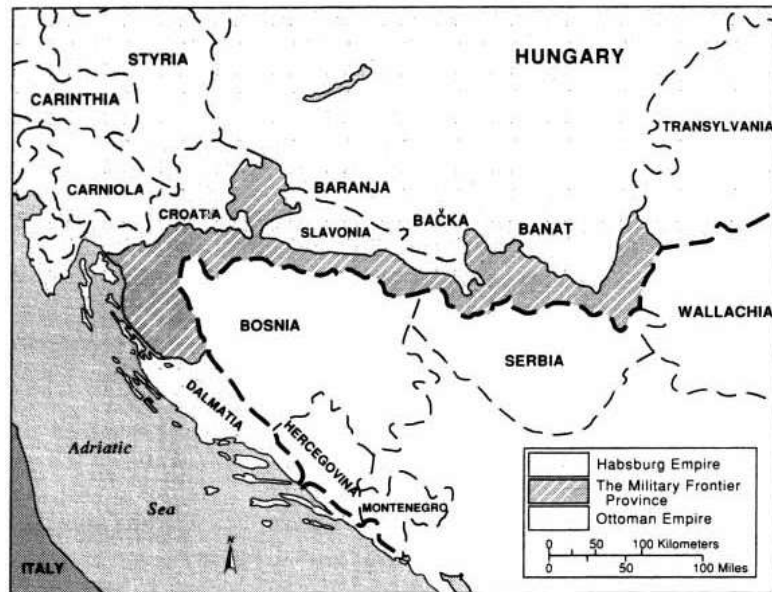
Source: Based on information from United Kingdom, Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, *Yugoslavia, 2: History, Peoples, and Administration*, London, 1944, 20.

Image 1:
Military frontier province between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, ca. 1600 – 1800[185]

This border belt later corresponded to the very area so fiercely fought over in the Yugoslav Wars: the area around Knin, the Krajina, Banija, parts of Slavonia, and Vojvodina. After the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia declared independence in 1991, the Serbs who lived in the region of the former Military Frontier (*Vojna Krajina*) broke away from Croatia and adopted the name of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.[186] They engaged in a war for ethnic Serb independence, thus bringing destruction, among others, to the coastal city of Dubrovnik, where these lines were written.[187]

Initially, Dubrovnik was ill-prepared for defense. Serb propaganda, however, portrayed the situation very differently, bringing back the specters of cruelty during World War II, cruelty that had been meted out by the so-called *Ustaše*, a Croatian fascist, ultranationalist, and terrorist organization from 1929 to 1945, allied with Nazi Germany. Yugoslav media claimed that the presence of fascist *Ustaše* forces and international terrorists in Dubrovnik left them no choice but to attack it.[188] The specters of the victimization of Serbs once suffered at the hands of Croats were now used to fire up the warrior ethos of heroic defense among Serbs.

On September 4, 2016, the author went up on mountain Srđ behind the city of Dubrovnik and visited Fort Imperial that was built in 1806–1816 during the Napoleonic Wars and now houses the exhibition "Dubrovnik during the Homeland War, 1991–1995." There she saw a film from May 1991 that covered "armed conflicts between the Croatian police and Serb terrorists." In other words, what she learned was that the term "terrorist" was used on all sides: international terrorists were suspected inside of Dubrovnik, and those who suspected this, were called terrorists in return.

The *Dictionary of the Khazars* is a worldwide celebrated novel by Serbian author Milorad Pavić, in which a semi-fictional Great Khan of the tribe of the Khazars has a dream and asks a Christian, a Jew, and a Muslim to explain the dream, promising that the entire tribe will convert to the religion with the best explanation. Linguist Paul-Louis Thomas met with the author in Belgrade, and he understood what this novel meant to the author: it expressed the deep-felt sense of Serb victimhood, namely, that the Serbs (represented by the Khazars) had been used and abused by others during their entire history.[189]

Out of this deep-felt *chosen trauma*, as psychiatrist Vamik Volkan would call it, Dubrovnik was attacked.[190] The Inter-University Centre, the peace center once founded by peace researcher Johan Galtung, was deliberately targeted and laid in ruins, with no floors left. Now it is rebuilt and was the venue of the 2016 Annual Dignity Conference.[191]

Soon after mayhem was brought to Dubrovnik, the tables of cruelty turned. The "Operation Storm" was the last major battle of the Croatian War of Independence, and it was also decisive for the Bosnian War. The Croatian Army attacked the Republic of Serbian Krajina across a 630-kilometer front. It brought "Croatia's triumph and Serbia's grief."[192] It brought new cruelty, this time not meted out by Serbs but on them: "Operation STORM, Joint Croatian and USA Criminal Enterprise" is the heading of an article filled with bitterness and victimhood felt on the Serbian side.[193]

While Serbia had supported their Serb fellowmen outside of main Serbia with weapons when they rebelled, it was the West who helped Croatia to undo this rebellion. Croatia entered into NATO in 2009 and the EU in 2013. One can read on a U.S. government website of 2015: "Croatia's full integration into the Euro-Atlantic community marks a success of the U.S. policy approach to leverage the EU and NATO accession processes to achieve lasting stability in the region by creating modern, democratic states."[194]

As has been mentioned earlier, in cultures of obedience, like in Rwanda, Germany, or Japan, humiliation entrepreneurship worked well by using arguments of duty to manipulate people into committing atrocities. In war cultures, such as Somalia, or, in this case, the Balkans, it was the warrior ethos that could be called on, with the same results.

The following paragraph summarizes the extent and success of humiliation entrepreneurship in the region:

> The critical component of these wars – what made them escalate so quickly and so appallingly – was the single-minded, self-serving actions of a few selfish leaders who shamelessly and aggressively exploited existing resentments to advance their own interests. It wasn't until Milošević, Karadžić, Tuđman, and others expertly manipulated the people's grudges that the region fell into war. By vigorously fanning the embers of ethnic discord, polluting the airwaves with hate-filled propaganda, and carefully controlling media coverage of the escalating violence, these leaders turned what could have been a healthy political debate into a holocaust."[195]

The slogan "War for Peace" was coined in 1991 by Svetozar Marović when he was the vice president of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) in Montenegro. Montenegro stood on Serbia's side, and the slogan was meant to fire up the Montenegrin reservists' assault on Dubrovnik and Konavle in 1991, as Croatian troops supposedly were about to attack and capture the Bay of Kotor. Later, Marović became the president of Serbia and Montenegro (until June 2006, when Montenegro declared its independence). On September 10, 2003, Marović delivered a public apology for "all evils done by any citizen of Montenegro and Serbia to anyone in Croatia."[196] Historian Nikola Samardžić, in his testimony at the trial of Slobodan Milošević 2002–2005, called the onslaught on Dubrovnik "an unjust war against Croatia, and a war in which Montenegro disgraced itself by putting itself in the service of the Yugoslav army and Slobodan Milošević."[197]

What Samardžić expressed here was the insight that also the author came to in her doctoral research when she compared cultures of obedience with warrior cultures: being manipulated into committing atrocities at the end humiliates all involved, including the perpetrators themselves, irrespective of whether humiliation entrepreneurs instrumentalized the meekness of their obedience or the pride of their warrior ethos.

As a result, by now, all populations in the Balkan region have been victimized in one way or the other; all are victims of violence at the hand of those who had been incentivized to

develop a war culture during the past centuries and had committed the mistake of being proud of it.

To whom does a region "belong"? In September 2016, while living in Dubrovnik, the author read the following words uttered by a Montenegrin army reservist in 1991: "With God's help, this time next year Dubrovnik will be the capital of Montenegro."[198] When she read this, she was shocked and went to her friends in town to ask them what would have happened had Montenegrin soldiers succeeded in conquering the city. A dear friend, named Aida, simply made a cutting gesture over her throat, indicating that its inhabitants would have been killed. The author shared with Aida the fate of Breslau/Wrocław in Silesia, the hometown of her mother that was almost totally emptied of its original population after the Second World War, with people from Poland moving in.[199] Luckily, the original population was not killed, "only" displaced. As a result, the author was born into a displaced family.

While the author's family mourns their loss of *Heimat* still today – the region had been considered *Heimat* by the author's forebears for many centuries[200] – people in Poland were elated to regain their land. The following was one of the posters that the author's mother kept, which had been displayed on all street corners, with this particular poster being used in Lower Silesia and the Southern regions of Brandenburg:

The primordially Slavic territories that have been torn away from Poland by the imperialistic Germanic urge, are now won back for our homeland thanks to the victorious advance by the allied Red Army and the heroic Polish Army.

On the grounds of a decision by the Ministerial Council of the Republic of Poland, I assume the administration of the state on these re-conquered purely Slavic territories. I request from the population loyal and total obedience to all decrees by the Polish administration and strict compliance and implementation of all orders.

All active or passive resistance are broken by the use of violence and the guilty are punished according to military law.

The Slavic population that has been Germanized with violence and insidiousness, is cared for by me and is given the opportunity to return to Polishness, for which the best daughters and sons of these primordially Slavic territories have been bleeding.

Signed: Stanislaw Piaskowski, April 1945

So, to whom does a region "belong"? All tourist magazines in Dubrovnik call upon tourists to "seek out the locals," and they highlight places that are "favored by the locals." One may ask: What does it mean: "the locals"? Who are "the locals"? What does it mean when people cry out, "We are the people"? Who are "the people"? Had Montenegrin soldiers succeeded, Dubrovnik's "locals" would be newcomers from Montenegro, rather than people whose forefathers had lived in the proud Republic of Ragusa, as it was called until Napoleon ended its existence in 1808.

Reflecting on these questions, the question arises as to whether people whose ancestors had lived in the same place since a long time identify more deeply with it than newcomers do? How do people feel who live now in Breslau, for instance, the *Heimat* the author's mother still yearns for? With which elements of their history do they identify?[201] And what about the Jews in Hamelin, where the author's family had been displaced to? Only so-called *Stolpersteine*[202] betray today that Jews once were part of Hamelin, much more of an integral part than the author's family is now.

Again, to whom does a region "belong"? Should the indigenous populations in Australia and America demand the white people to leave? Julius Sello Malema is the leader of the

Economic Freedom Fighters, a South African political party, and he recently called for whites to return the land to its rightful owners. Who are the rightful owners of South Africa? Perhaps the Bushmen?[203] Then even Julius Sello Malema himself might need to leave. Quests like that can be found on all continents. A dear friend from Crimea recently cried out to the author how much the majority of Crimeans feels as a natural part of Russia and how hurtful it is for them when Russia is being vilified for standing by them.

Psychiatrist Vamik Volkan speaks of chosen traumas when people place the wounds of past humiliations at the core of their identity.[204] Historian Benedict Anderson speaks of imagined communities. We may ask: are there imagined communities that are not build on identifications with trauma? It seems that there is only one, namely, the identification with *Earthland*, as Paul Raskin calls it, the imagining of a global community without borders.[205]

Clearly, however, simply imagining *Earthland* is not enough to create an identification that steers clear of building on out-group enmity. *Earthland* is already being imagined by transnational corporations, corporations without borders, who treat the entire biotic and abiotic world as their business opportunity. Wherever she author went in Southeast Europe, people shared that they feel that new kinds of war have arrived, namely, economic war, and that a new type of warrior, the entrepreneur, now does the manipulating and plundering. In November 12–13, 2015, the author attended the 20th Anniversary of the Dayton Peace Accords conference titled "Bosnia's Uncharted Future and Balkan Lessons for Global Application" at Columbia University's Kraft Center in New York City.[206] Also the experts who spoke at that conference were pessimistic for the region. They saw a ruinous influence of strongman patronage affecting all walks of life. Indeed, Bosnia has "the most complicated government in the world,"[207] and the longtime former prime minister of Croatia is in prison for corruption.[208]

When the author walked the streets of Sarajevo and Dubrovnik, she thought of the corruption that everybody referred to. Yet, it seemed that corruption is not yet as deeply embedded in the country's economy as, for instance, in Korea. There the "gifts" of corruption that have become customary to offer are by now so expensive that the country's economy dependents on them: curbing corruption becomes equated with damaging the country's economy.[209]

When she walked the streets of Sarajevo and Dubrovnik, the author was amazed by a remarkable contrast: the rates of criminality were very low and she felt utterly safe. How different this was, for instance, from South Africa! In-group solidarity, shaped by war, seems to still hold in Southeast Europe, other than in South Africa, where the highest worldwide rates of murders, assaults, rapes, and other crimes are fed, among others, by vast economic inequalities. One has to wonder: how long will this in-group solidarity hold in Southeast Europe, given the fact that the "free" market has "freed" unprecedented opportunities for people in power to enrich themselves also there.

Wherever the author turned in Bosnia-Herzegovina in August 2016, she heard people praise the times under Josip Broz Tito, times characterized by a very particular combination of economic and diplomatic policies.[210] As many people reported, quality of life was better than for most people under Tito than now, and even when the Yugoslav Wars broke out, strong in-group solidarity warmed.[211] By now, the "barbarian" exploitation that during wartimes only came from hostile enemies, is creeping into society at its core, making everybody turn against everybody else, everybody fighting for their own personal economic interests, thus degrading society into a freezing cold place.[212]

The sense of security that the author felt in the streets of Sarajevo and Dubrovnik eerily contrasted the descriptions of extreme degrees of cruelty that were being perpetrated on whoever was regarded as the enemy on all sides during the Yugoslav Wars. As reflected on previously, this cruelty seems to have its roots in the region's century-old abusive "training in war": fifty-four different tortures were documented, such as "piercing women's breasts and pulling her hands through," as only one horrifying example.[213] Already during World War II,

extreme brutality had been noticed in the region. Even German SS men were appalled by the extent of callousness they saw: one *Ustaše* commander reportedly collected twenty kilos of human eyes of his killed enemies in his office.[214] The author was reminded of her years of living in Japan (2004–2007) and how both in Japan and Southeast Europe extreme degrees of war culture had evolved throughout long stretches of history. Also in Japan, a high degree of safety and in-group politeness in society stands in contrast to the most abominable atrocities perpetrated by Japanese soldiers during World War II, so repulsive that they even shocked Nazi SS-men.

In 2010, the author wrote a book about the role of gender and how "machismo" usually accompanies war cultures.[215] Indeed, while spending a wonderful time in Southeast Europe, not only did she meet extremely warm people and enjoyed an unparalleled sense of safety, also her worst fears were confirmed. She witnessed ways of humiliating women "jokingly" that she had not experienced in other world regions. Jokes of almost obsessively sexualized male posturing, often highlighting the male organ's virility, were brought to her. To her astonishment, even highly intellectual partook in this joking game, men, who, to give them the benefit of the doubt, may have been so used to this culture that they were oblivious of their devastating effect on women unacquainted with such behavior. Had she protested, the author would have been doubly humiliated, as a "sissy" who lacks humor. This experience demonstrated to her the degree to which the region had suffered from being manipulated into a war culture that trains males to continuously secure their dominance, not least, over women. In peacetimes this dominance expresses itself "only" through compulsive jokes signaling shared male supremacy to peers, just as in wartime rape signals supremacy over male enemies.[216]

An extreme public manifestation of this male-dominated honor and war culture may be found in the person of Vojislav Šešelj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, an intellectual holding a Ph.D. from Belgrade University's Faculty of Law. He was embroiled in controversies and power struggles all his life. His entire psychological orientation seemed to have resonated with an extreme version of the warrior's honor script of being the victim of humiliation, victimhood that calls for heroic revenge. The number of his followers shows that this psychological orientation is shared by many in the region. Even Serbia's President Slobodan Milošević described Šešelj as "the personification of violence and primitivism."[217] In 2003, Šešelj surrendered to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) on the indictment of "eight counts of crimes against humanity and six counts of violations of the laws or customs of war for his alleged participation in a joint criminal enterprise."[218] In 2005, he mocked the presiding ICTY judge has having only "the right" to perform oral sex on him and referred to prosecutor Carla Del Ponte as "the prostitute."[219]

Vojislav Šešelj's Serbian Radical Party takes its inspiration from the dream of a Greater Serbia that was originally formulated in 1844 in *Načertanije*. This was a secret political program of the Principality of Serbia, according to which the new Serbian state should include the neighboring areas of Montenegro, Northern Albania, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In 2006, about 40,000 people marched in the Serbian capital Belgrade in support of Šešelj during his 28-day hunger strike in The Hague, with Radical Party secretary Aleksandar Vučić calling out: "He's not fighting just for his life. But he's fighting for all of us who are gathered here. Vojislav Šešelj is fighting for Serbia!"[220] After spending eleven years in detention in the United Nations Detention Unit of Scheveningen in The Netherlands, Vojislav Šešelj was acquitted in 2016, and in the elections of the same year back home in Serbia, he led his party to win twenty-three seats in the parliament in Belgrade.

At the end of this section, let us go back to Ibn Khaldun, to evolutionary group selection, the minimal group paradigm, and Arnold Toynbee. Ibn Khaldun and Arnold Toynbee speak of the *periphery* (versus the *center*), and so does peace researcher Johan Galtung,[221] however, with a difference. While Toynbee focuses on the embattled border region and the "hardened" culture it can give rise to, Galtung speaks of the exploited periphery where a culture of

obedience is being engendered, yet, where also alternative solutions may emerge. Whoever is interested in finding alternative dignifying solutions, observes that they often remain hidden in the peripheries of power centers. It seems therefore advisable to strengthen periphery-to-periphery contact, thus honoring both anthropologist Clifford Geertz's interest in local-to-local connections and Galtung's views on the role that globality can play: "Galtung's theory sees the global as a sine qua non intermediary between various locals. In contrast, Geertz's translocal orientation reflects a web-like network with sensitivity to periphery-to-periphery contact."[222]

Former Yugoslavia could be seen as fulfilling both: it carved out considerable independence when it found itself at (Galtung's) periphery between the big power blocks after WW II, while its border culture (Toynbee) represented an enabling factor for in-fighting and the relative effortlessness with which it could be stirred up. The task of cities and citizens in Southeast Europe would therefore now be to nurture the potential of a periphery to be creative and experiment with "third ways," while discouraging war culture in all walks of life.

During the Dayton conference in 2015 in New York, Ivana Cvetkovic Bajrovic of the U.S. nonprofit organization National Endowment for Democracy (NED), reported on the many ways in which also the so-called international community failed, even where it had the best intentions. Donor funds for NGOs could not be absorbed by authentic local NGOs, and donors therefore created NGOs on their own, a practice that led to a kind of Western-funded "NGO-cracy," which, in turn, became disconnected from the public at large.[223] To improve the situation in this now deeply divided region, Bajrovic recommended Donald L. Horowitz's *centripetal* model of power-sharing as macro-political strategy (in contrast to the *consociationalism* advocated by Arend Lijphart).[224]

Ibn Khaldun came to mind when the author received an enraged email from a young woman who reacted furiously to what the author had written about the Battle of Kosovo in her 2006 book on humiliation and international conflict. This is what is written in the book:

> Research shows that memories of humiliation do not age but stay surprisingly fresh. At the group level, memories of humiliation are sometimes rekindled as "chosen trauma" to justify mayhem. The 1389 defeat at the Battle of Kosovo fueled Serb nationalism and wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. By the same token, memories of the rescue from past humiliation or historic victories over humiliation define national and religious celebrations of pride and joy.[225]

The young woman reacted to this text on November 1, 2012 (to protect her privacy her name is not disclosing):

> Dear Evelin,
> I had a great misfortune to read the following sentence in your publication:
> "....The 1389 defeat at the Battle of Kosovo fueled Serb nationalism and wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo...."
> Seriously ?????
> Does the Battle of Kosovo also explain over a million Serbs killed in Croat State of NDH during the WW2???? Maybe you should educate yourself about Balkan history before you write a sentence like this. You, and all like you, should also study more recent, post-WW2 history of Yugoslavia, especially from the legal standpoint – and not use CNN as the only source of your information.
> As far as i am concerned, you, just as all the Western media, are spreading lies and demonizing a whole nation. As a result, i as a Serb, am hated wherever i go. THANK YOU VERY MUCH !
> And guess what: i had never considered myself to be a Serb – until I faced people like you. Today, i could not be prouder to be a Serb, as i would never ever want to identity myself

with people like you.
Kind regards,
M. P.
half-Serb & half-Slovenian

The author immediately apologized to the young woman for having hurt her and asked if she would be so kind and explain the situation from her point of view. The young woman wrote a long letter back, describing how she had emigrated to a Western country after the Yugoslav Wars, "only to be insulted by anyone and everyone here, as people for some reason thought they were morally superior to me, and that they could say whatever they wanted." She shared the intense sense of humiliation she feels as a Serb now. She described how she personally suffers from Serbs being pinpointed as the only guilty part in the Yugoslav Wars, how she has been looked down upon and demonized wherever she went after the war. She described the terrible lesson she had learned from the wars, namely, "that fear feeds fear and it's a 'positive feedback loop'." She continued: "The ultimate result of that cycle is hatred. It is actually very easy to start hating." She ended her email by saying that she was sincerely grateful for the author's email and understanding. She wrote: "thanks for not getting angry at me, that alone truly reflects the kind of person you are." Finally, she recommended the film *The Weight of Chains*, a film that links the suffering in Southeast Europe to the United States' imperial desire to destabilize all regions in the world they considered "communist," and therefore were regarded to be in need of being brought into United States' sphere of control.[226]

In her grief, this young woman shed light on how painful it is when polarization unfolds and draws even the most unwilling bystanders into its deadly grinder. Since the film *The Weight of Chains* pinpoints the United States as the root cause of the conflict, her message shows how imperial ambitions are prone to being suspected, rightly or wrongly, of going too far.

To conclude this section, when we look at Southeast Europe, we see a region that has been used for centuries by surrounding empires as a shield against their opponents. Many of the region's people were manipulated into developing an extreme warrior culture, to the point that they became proud of it (Toynbee). The warrior spirit manifested itself excessively during WW II. It tore the region apart in the Yugoslav Wars, and does so now, in the form of economic competition and raiding (Ibn Khaldun). Competition now wears down the warmth and solidarity that was enjoyed within in-groups during wartime when all stood strong together against their enemies.[227]

Under Josip Broz Tito, the region enjoyed a period of respite, it proudly developed a "third way" between the two rigid ideological blocks to their east and their west (Galtung). The Inter-University Centre was founded in Dubrovnik by Galtung and his colleagues precisely because it was here that people from both sides of the Cold War could meet in a third, neutral territory. How did Tito do it? Humankind might want to study this period of stability and peace that offers proof that even the most warlike cultures can be pacified. This success is what citizens, cities, nations, and the world community may want to learn from and use for new future-oriented solutions, not just for a limited period of time, but always.

Disconnection

Cities in the twenty-first century are being squeezed. Many engage in a race to the bottom to attract investors, and few have understood that this is a dangerous strategy. "The proposition that more investor-friendly reforms will serve the common good is treated as a given needing no proof; as if it were a joke that had already been told; as if those who did not understand the joke and did not know when to laugh, or did not know whether to laugh or cry,

were not so much mistaken as left out of the conversation, deprived of voice," writes philosopher Howard Richards, and adds: "The historical conditions of the possibility of unemployment did not exist until Africa was conquered by Europeans."[228]

The race to the bottom to attract investors sacrifices the very quality of life that makes cities worth living in, namely, the solidarity, the social cohesion, and the sense of belonging that connects and inspires all citizens. Quality of life for all is being sacrificed for quantity of wealth for a few. What is achieved with this strategy is systemic disconnection and *anomie*, to use sociologist Emile Durkheim's terminology.[229] This is indeed what I observe, at the core of the life experience of many people, particularly in the West, a sense of existential loneliness.[230] This state-of-affairs has been the topic of numerous films and novels.[231]

During her time in Southeast Europe in 2016, people reported to the author that solidarity flourished as long as their cities were under siege, such as happened to Sarajevo from 1992 to 1996, and to Dubrovnik in 1991 and 1992, and that "peacetimes" now seem to rather undermine solidarity than support it.[232] Also Celine Motzfeldt Loades heard those voices. She carried out her ethnographic doctoral research in the region during the past years. Many of her informants told her that "Croatia's sudden, and arguably unplanned transition from communism to global capitalism has exacerbated and opened up for new areas of corruption." Motzfeldt Loades observes: "Furthermore, there is a wide-spread belief in Croatian society at large, that the pressing needs for economic and infrastructural restoration and developments following the Homeland war have made the society particularly vulnerable to exploitation by domestic and international 'snatch and grab' investors who are in league with crooked politicians."[233]

Can macro-political economic structures produce a sense of disconnection in individuals? In her work on humiliation and dignity since 1996, the author has been in many ways ahead of time in contributing to the "emotional turn" that is now slowly unfolding in several fields of inquiry, be it in the field of psychology itself or in areas such as international relations theory.[234] In her 2009 book on emotion and conflict, she describes how definitions of affect, feeling, and emotion vary from author to author and how recent conceptualizations move away from rigid categorizations toward viewing emotions as nonlinear, dynamic, and relational.[235] No discourses are "purely" based on rationality; all depend on what the participants feel constitutes rationality.[236] In her work, the author goes even further than taking a mere "emotional turn," however. She follows pioneering psychiatrist and feminist Jean Baker Miller in her relational-cultural theory, signaling an emotional-relational turn, far beyond just an emotional turn that would still be stuck in Western lone-hero individualism.[237] Miller was early out in emphasizing the role of relationships and community, in company with thinkers such as Lev Vygotsky and cultural-historical activity theory.[238] Others have followed, and new attention is now being given to the "relational subject."[239]

On all continents, during the forty years of her global life, the author has observed five core strategies that people use to avoid feeling humiliated by adverse life circumstances. Four of these strategies are often very damaging, not just for society but also for the individuals themselves. Only the last one is constructive. First, some people succumb to oppressive conditions with a kind of learned helplessness,[240] resulting in apathetic numbness and psychological disconnection. Second, some try to escape, to emigrate, to go into exile, with streams of refugees and migrants attesting to this strategy by now. Third, some allow oppression to enter into their own psyche through what peace researcher Johan Galtung calls *penetration*,[241] meaning that they make oppressive worldviews their own by adopting them,[242] becoming complicit in enforcing the authority's orders in the spirit of "Prussian" *Obrigkeitsdenken*. Terrorist attacks demonstrate the fourth way of reacting, namely, with violence. Very few have the courage to embark on the fifth path, the only constructive one, namely, the Mandela- or Gandhi-path of working for systemic change toward a world with institutions that allow for mutual respect for equal dignity to flourish locally and globally.

In this section, the problem of psychological disconnection as it affects cities in particular will be explored. Disconnection can be described as a kind of "inner emigration" into "commitment phobia."[243] Jean Baker Miller spoke of *condemned isolation* as "the most terrifying and destructive feeling that a person can experience," a feeling that is not the same as "being alone," but means "feeling locked out of the possibility of human connection."[244]

Let us think: What can citizens, cities, and nations do to prevent and heal the psychological disconnection that present-day economic arrangements seem to produce all over the world? Why is it that not all citizens, all cities, and all nations on the globe unite to refuse partaking in such dangerous races to the bottom, in such destructive exploitation of social and ecological resources, with its tragic consequences of disconnection and humiliation?

The first step to a solution would be to deeply critically question the widespread belief that the workings of "the market" supposedly are on a par with physical laws. The following exclamation is to be heard all around the world, and the author describes this in her 2012 book on *A Dignity Economy*: "This is what the market requires, and we have to live with the results whatever they are."[245]

Evolutionary economists may shed light on the quandary that such sentences highlight. Evolutionary theory talks about the mechanisms of *coordination* and *motivation*.[246] Evolutionary economist Ulrich Witt describes two basic "phylogenetic footprints" in humans, footprints that are also central to the author's work: first, the inclination toward hierarchy in early hominids, and, second, the rise of egalitarianism thereafter. After the Neolithic Revolution, the older hierarchical script has, however, returned, remaining foregrounded since.[247]

Witt refers to the anthropological and paleo-archeological studies of anthropologist Christopher Boehm, who traced the human inclination toward domination back to primates, only to be surprised later.[248] *Homo sapiens'* closest relatives, the chimpanzees, usually develop social systems of strict dominance orders, and it is plausible that early hominids have followed this script as well. Boehm was surprised, however, when he tried to reconstruct the social system of our Pleistocene ancestors and did not find similar orders of dominance. What he found, on the contrary, was that the "vast majority of indigenous societies living in bands today are characterized by a strongly egalitarian structure."[249] Boehm concluded that "egalitarianism and the rejection of strong dominance hierarchies is a basic attribute of human sociality."[250] He hypothesized that due to growing cognitive abilities, early humans may have realized that, if they could not dominate themselves, it would be best to also prevent others from doing so. As brainpower in humans increased, "strategic thinking, proto-political finessing, and coalition-seeking behavior" became feasible, which meant that wherever certain group members attempted to impose themselves on the group, the group collectively "tamed" such dominance strivings.[251]

This balance was disrupted, however, with the rise of complex agriculture. Witt points at the growth of the overall population size as causing factor (in her work, the author uses the terminology of *circumscription*). If unoccupied land is lacking, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, he explains, for groups that grow large to fission and migrate into separate territories: "It can be conjectured that the former hunter-gatherer bands were thus prevented from maintaining their formerly rather small size."[252] As soon as a group grows beyond a certain size, a problem arises: it becomes hard to continue forming the coalitions that are necessary to block dominators from free-riding and from exploiting the rest. This is Witt's summary:

> Dominance and submission were characteristics of the social interactions of our primate ancestors, a pattern that had been overcome by the egalitarian hunter-gatherer groups, and now re-emerged. Egalitarian sentiments still present as part of the genetic endowment of those who now found themselves in a subordinate position must, by necessity, have been frustrated. This may explain the frequent violent upheavals against the ruling hierarchy and

the dominators' use of draconian, public punishment of insurgents to deter and suppress such sentiments. The more subtle way of cementing hierarchical dominance was, however, to make subordinates believe that domination and submission are the "natural" or "God-given" model of social behavior.[253] Once subordinates accept such a model of social behavior, they may be prevented from even thinking of contesting the dominating position.[254]

Witt then highlights the problems inherent in domination-submission relationships. When superiors force their own goals on subordinates, not only may the superiors' legitimacy be contested, this imposition will also undermine the intrinsic motivation of subordinates to follow their superiors, and the superiors will have to resort to "carrot and sticks" strategies to cement their dominance: "Superiors of this sort cannot afford to leave room for self-determined action and cannot count on intrinsic work motivation."[255] To say it short, in a context of domination-submission, *motivation* is being sacrificed to secure *coordination*.

The extent of control that strongmen need who depend on revenues from land, however, introduces an impasse: "The larger the group, the more extended the hierarchy of controls. This subtracts from revenues accruing from land use."[256] Witt reasons that leaders in the past often had no choice but to employ draconian and even abhorrently cruel measures, since "the higher the productivity, however realized, the more resources could be controlled and instrumentalized for political and military competition."[257]

Openly draconian measures have subsided by now, at least in most contemporary Western societies that espouse egalitarian values. Yet, coordination and motivation are still foundational mechanisms, and Witt observes that motivation is still being sacrificed, albeit now obscured in *contracts*: "it is not difficult to recognize the features associated with the dominance-based mechanism relying on the template of superior and subordinate with its long cultural tradition – the fact not withstanding that it now comes in the civilized version based on voluntary contractual arrangements."[258]

When we follow Witt's argument, then we see how disconnection is bound to creep into societies the more people embrace the idea that as an individual, they should connect with other individuals only through such contracts, no longer through direct solidarity, not even the solidarity among the downtrodden and oppressed that gave force to uprisings in the past.

Witt's recommendation to organizations, and we can include cities here, is to leave behind dominance-based mechanisms, since they are less stable and less productive, and to instead espouse egalitarian group structures. An egalitarian group structure avoids the dilemmas of hierarchical arrangements and raises the commitment of all group members by creating intrinsic motivation to participate. The gains are greater than the challenges, Witt suggests, the main challenge being that coordination requires a higher level of personal skillfulness among leaders. And egalitarian group structures must be continuously guarded against the other human inclination, namely, the proclivity of some players to engage in domination: cheaters and free-riders need to be continuously kept at bay by the group. Evidently, the larger the group, coordination and protection will become ever more difficult, and Witt offers a number of recommendations for how even larger groups can succeed with it. Face-to-face consensus building and socially skilled leadership are among his suggestions, as is the careful crafting of institutional layers in the spirit of the *subsidiarity* principle, "which assigns governance tasks by default to the lowest jurisdiction, unless this is explicitly determined to be ineffective."[259]

If we apply Witt's insights to cities, then cities are tasked with using the subsidiarity principle for building egalitarian group structures that motivate citizens intrinsically to place the common good of their community above self-interested strivings for domination and exploitation. This will counteract disconnection and draw citizens together into protecting their communities, and it will benefit all individuals' mental health, as it offers a sense of connection and belonging.

Evolutionary theory addresses not only *coordination* and *motivation*, it also talks about factors such as *between-group selection* and *within-group selection*.[260] In 1970, population geneticist George Price published a model that divided evolution into within- and between-group components and highlighted the importance of between-group selection (somewhat in line with Ibn Khaldun's reflections).[261] Something very astonishing happened, however. Evolutionary biologist David Sloan Wilson explains:

> The Price equation is regarded as a thing of beauty by theoretical biologists today, but at the time it had virtually no impact on the triumphant march of individual selection theory that had begun only a few years earlier.[262]

Why was the idea of group selection suppressed and individual selection theory foregrounded, despite its misguided premises and conclusions? Perhaps dominators had succeeded in rigging the entire system in their favor? Perhaps the *Zeitgeist* had been "taken over" by dominators, who – wittingly and unwittingly – engaged in advocating an individualistic theoretical model, as this allows them to justify competition for domination as the only "natural" and therefore legitimate form of social collaboration?

Structural functionalism is a macro-level approach that conceptualizes society as evolving like an organism. It was popular in the 1940s and 1950s, and also its influence waned by the 1960s.[263] Conflict-oriented approaches emerged in Europe, while in the United States, empirically-oriented middle-range theories arose, without overarching theoretical orientations. Functionalist themes remained, yet, only in the sociological theory of scholars such as Niklas Luhmann or Anthony Giddens. Recently, however, biologist David Sloan Wilson and anthropologists Robert Boyd and Peter Richerson have brought back structural functionalism in the form of multilevel selection theory. And their conclusions are of highest importance for cities. It was a privilege for the author to meet David Sloan Wilson in March 2016 in Norway's capital Oslo, and to be able to learn from him.[264]

David Sloan Wilson and his colleagues enumerate three misguided, though reigning "cosmologies," namely, the "holy trinity of orthodox economics"[265] of *rationality*, *greed*, and *equilibrium*, and how they play out in economic theory: (1) "natural man" as a rational, self-sufficient, egotistical individual, (2) competition among individuals supposedly leading to a well-functioning society, and (3) the assumption that there exists an ideal optimal state of nature.[266] Wilson and colleagues conclude that seen from an evolutionary perspective, it is profoundly mistaken to assume that design at the individual level, namely, the pursuit of self-interest, can straightforwardly result in design at the societal level, meaning well-functioning economies.[267] To say it with economist Christopher Barrington-Leigh: income, employment, and GDP are poor and inadequate proxies for human welfare.[268]

This is the insight that is relevant for cities as much as for global society: While it is true that "selfishness beats altruism within groups," "altruistic groups beat selfish groups."[269] The evident consequence is that in an interconnected finite world, altruism is the only option, because selfish dominators' victories risk translating into all-out extinction, including that of the dominators. The finiteness of planet Earth turns both missiles and bulldozers into tools for collective homicide and ecocide.

Also political scientist Robert Axelrod, who has modeled cooperation, with its evolution and complexity, found that groups in which altruism is universal will outcompete groups where all serve only their own interest, under the condition that a group of altruists always guards against attempts from non-altruists to cheat.[270] This, indeed, represents a message to all policy makers who are beholden to the "holy trinity of orthodox economics," namely, that this kind of orthodoxy may not render the best results. The global community will need to be altruistic if a dignified future is to be attained; selfish dominators controlling the rest will end in global humiliation.

How can a misguided worldview prevail beyond its usefulness? One reason may have been the apparent success of Newtonian physics. As Newtonian physics gave rise to automation, factories, and industrialization, and, as this elicited so much admiration, its paradigm has been expanded onto all realms of the human condition. All human activity became fashioned according to Newtonian mechanics and made subservient to industrialization. Forerunners of the factory were societal institutions such as the military – from Sparta's ruthless efficiency to the Prussian military machine and its discipline. Wherever certain ethics, like the protestant work ethics as described by Max Weber, were available, they facilitated this course. Smoothly working robot-like cogwheels in a disciplined military or Newtonian machine, this was perceived as a model for health, health for the human body, for individuals, groups, and society as a whole, including world society.

One of the implementers of this path during the nineteenth century, was economist Leon Walras (1834–1910), who, together with others, aimed to create a "physics of social behavior" comparable to Newtonian physics.[271] Their dream was that "this would result in a system of equations that could predict human economic behavior with the same accuracy that Newton could predict the orbits of the planets."[272] No longer would it be necessary to relate theory to empirical research when theory alone was capable of predicting human economic behavior. The foundational assumption of these economics was that individuals maximize their absolute utilities.

Walras and his colleagues could not know at the time that their dream was at odds with evolutionary theory.[273] Subsequent economists could have inquired deeper, but too few did.[274] From the point of view of contemporary science, the human body is an organic living system and its workings belong to the realm of living creatures much more than to Newtonian machines. Even physics itself has expanded, and with quantum physics having arrived on the scene, the Newtonian model is not the only one anymore. Analytical mathematical models have failed for complex physical systems, and they have failed for the study of biological or human economic systems. In sum, the overstretch of the Newtonian machine paradigm has caused immense harm. It has imposed inappropriate and ultimately deeply health-damaging strategies on the human condition. Formal analytical models and theoretical tools such as computer simulation models certainly are useful, yet, "they are always caricatures of the real world and must be closely related to empirical research to avoid becoming detached from reality."[275]

Why is it so difficult for these insights to be heard in the mainstream world of policy planning even today? The seeming success of Newtonian physics may indeed be one reason. Could it be that there are also more foundational shortcomings in Western philosophical thought? What stands behind competition-for-domination cosmologies that ultimately engenders a self-destructive individualistic culture together with global economic frames that undermine long-term well-being for all?

Through her work, the author attempts to nurture a global coalition of *gardeners* of an egalitarian ethos that keeps dominator and free-rider strategies at bay. She refrains from following neo-conservativism in that the correct model for society should be *hunters* hunting animals in a jungle: Republican John Mica from Florida, neo-conservative American Congressional Representative, for instance, stated as a justification of the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act" (the Welfare Reform Act) of 1996, that too much welfare for the poor classes was not good for them because, "like the animals in the zoo, they would forget how to hunt."[276] The author regards herself as a gardener who attempts to keep dominators and free-riders at bay by filling the position of the dominator with a "reverse dominance hierarchy," employing "intentional leveling mechanisms," as anthropologist Christopher Boehm formulated it.[277]

Philosopher Howard Richards lives in Chile and is deeply acquainted with the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and his terminology of "themes" in a "thematic universe" of cultural meanings and how they guide, orient, and thus move behavior. The author had the

privilege of being included into Richards' world in 2012 when she spent many months in South America, among others in Richards' Dialogue Home in Chile.[278] Richards welcomes many of postmodernism's achievements, but warns of going too far. He invites everybody to follow *critical realism* and to expand causal analysis instead of giving in too much to contemporary linguistics and its analogues in structural and post-structural anthropology and Lacanian psychoanalysis.[279] Critical realism is a philosophical position that rejects the notion that everything is self-referencing text, it connects Enlightenment with postmodernism and sees Enlightenment as a moment in the history of culture and no eternal truth, it appreciates that there is a world outside of the text.[280] The author deeply resonate with Howard Richards' considerations and, in the spirit of the reflections shared earlier, she asks: Who might have an interest in downplaying the relevance of "the world outside the text"?

If we look at third "generation" social theory, such as critical theory, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, structuralism, post-structuralism, and theories in the tradition of hermeneutics and ordinary language philosophy[281] – existential phenomenology is particularly interesting, not least for those who work globally. The reason is that it resonates with the Eastern philosophical ideas of *nonduality* that the author learned to appreciate when she lived in Japan and was introduced to intercultural communication scholar Muneo Yoshikawa's work.[282] Yoshikawa brought together Western and Eastern thought into his *nondualistic* "double swing model," where unity is created out of the realization of difference. By applying this model, individuals, cultures, and intercultural concepts can all blend in constructive ways. The model can be graphically visualized as the infinity symbol, or Möbius strip ∞. Yoshikawa drew on Martin Buber's idea of "dialogical unity," the act of two different beings meeting without eliminating the otherness or uniqueness of each. And he drew on *soku*, the Buddhist nondualistic logic of "not-one, not-two" that is described as the twofold movement between the self and the other that allows for both unity and uniqueness. Yoshikawa calls the unity that is created out of such a realization of difference also identity in unity: the dialogical unity does not eliminate the tension between basic potential unity and apparent duality.[283]

Many have been inspired by Eastern philosophical thought; it has indeed stimulated certain Western thinking since a long time. In 1995 and 1996, the author had the great opportunity to participate in the Ethics Programme at the Norwegian's Research Council, led by Edmund Husserl expert Dagfinn Føllesdal.[284] For Martin Heidegger, Husserl's former research assistant, philosophy was not a scientific discipline as it was for Husserl, it was much more fundamental, with the scientific mindset built on a much more "primordial" foundation of practical everyday human existence in its temporality and historicality. Among existential phenomenologists one may count Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), Hannah Arendt (1906–1975), Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), and Emmanuel Lévinas (1906–1995). Many were in contact or even in dialogue with Eastern philosophy, and academic journals such as *Philosophy East and West* now offer a platform for a comparative cross-cultural approach between Eastern and Western philosophy.[285] Philosopher David Storey writes in 2013:

> Neither the branches of the Western Enlightenment (Rationalism from Descartes to Hegel and Romanticism from Rousseau to Nietzsche) nor the roots of Greek philosophy provided Heidegger with what he was looking for, and I suggest that Asian philosophy in general and Zen in particular offer a corrective in the way of praxis to the very lopsidedness of theoria that Heidegger labored to amend.[286]

What we can take from this excursion into philosophy as very practical recommendation is to include Eastern nondualism and avoid the damages from "lopsidedness of theoria": in addition to theories showing meaning in a logical way, there are other paths to making meaning palpable in an interpretative way, and these are, for instance, images and metaphors. Not least philosopher Georg Lohmann explained this to the author at the Inter-University

Centre Dubrovnik in September 2016,[287] and made her better understand her inclination to think in analogue images, something she also gleaned from Japanese culture.[288] City planning might be an ideal field to heed this message. Creative community builder Tom Borrup, who came to the 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik from Minnesota, for instance, shared that one of the problems of urban planning stems from the fact that urban planners come either from architecture – and then they design structures – or from social sciences, and then they crunch numbers – while in both cases "the people" are not considered.[289]

Earlier, Habitat was mentioned, and their goal to "increase the commons." Until recently, it may have been precisely Western "lopsidedness of theoria" and lack of familiarity with nonduality that led many to believe that the *commons dilemma* would make this goal intrinsically impossible. In the same spirit in which the idea of group selection was rejected, ecologist Garrett James Hardin may have reckoned in 1968 that the difficulties of protecting commons would make it unfeasible to even try.[290] Indeed, Hardin is right in warning that commons can only be protected when all participants cooperate and commit to share the burden. Commons only remain commons as long as nobody is allowed to ride free (see also Ulrich Witt, who was mentioned earlier). However, by now, economists such as Elinor Ostrom have come to rescue. Ostrom received the Nobel Prize for Economics 2009 for her work on the multifaceted nature of human-ecosystem interaction and the core design principles that make it possible to successfully manage common-pool resources (such as irrigation systems, forests, and fisheries).[291] She showed that there are certain conditions that enable also larger groups of people to sustainably manage common resources without privatization or top-down regulation. The principles that lead to success can be generalized in two ways: "first, by showing how they follow from foundational evolutionary principles; and second, by showing how they apply to a wider range of groups."[292] Indeed, these principles are relevant to nearly any situation in which people must cooperate and coordinate to achieve shared goals.[293]

Again, what can citizens, cities, organizations, and nations learn from this research? They can learn that cooperative egalitarian social structures are not only the most stable and promising, but that it is also possible to create and maintain them in practice.

Unfortunately, motivation to follow this advice is lacking worldwide, particularly among power elites. Yet, even those at the bottom, those who suffer from exploitative structures, often lack the will to change the situation. Witt is correct when he says that once subordinates accept a model of domination, "they may be prevented from even thinking of contesting the dominating position."[294] Much research has been carried out on *legitimizing myths* that keep people down[295] and that let them *misrecognize* their own interest. The "holy trinity of orthodox economics," for instance, seems to represent a very strong legitimizing myth. Concepts such as *méconnaissance* (misrecognition) and *naturalization* were used by Roland Barthes, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel Foucault (among others) to explain how power structures use the concealed nature of *habitus* to manipulate people's minds both overtly and covertly, making it more difficult for people to rid themselves of these manipulations. In the author's terminology, it is the ultimate refinement of the "art of domination" to bring people into *voluntary self-humiliation*, meaning that subordinates are coopted to maintain their own bondage voluntarily, pushing them as far as misrecognizing bondage as "honor," as "heroism," or even as "freedom."[296] In war, honor and heroism often mean death except for those at the top who give the orders, and in the "free market," freedom for most is nothing but the freedom to choose between different rat races.

In her 2009 book on emotion and conflict, the author calls the concept of ranked honor "the single largest master manipulation" ever perpetrated, still being virulent:

> Its driving force is the hideous suggestion entailed in ranked honor that it is unavoidable, either divinely ordained or nature's order, that dignity is not equal but that "higher" beings are meant to preside over "lower" beings who are expected to subject themselves to their

masters' belief systems and decisions. In this way, ranked honor underlies and facilitates all other manipulations – it gives the power to define what is and what ought to be to a small master elite.[297]

Critical theory has a lot to offer on the phenomenon of voluntary self-humiliation or what Johan Galtung calls penetration – the topdog implanting itself inside the underdog. Sociologist Michael Ott is another scholar who is affiliated with the Inter-University Centre Dubrovnik, and he has recently shed new light on philosopher Walter Benjamin's critical theory of society and religion of the twentieth century "as explanation of the voluntary servitude in past and present civil society."[298] Since religion plays such a crucial role in Southeast Europe, Benjamin's critical theory is of particular interest there. Benjamin developed it in close contact with the other first-generation critical theorists and members of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt and New York, particularly with Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. For Benjamin, as well as for Adorno and Horkheimer, "the critical theory of society was synonymous with the truth itself, understood as the negation of ideology as the masking of not only involuntary enslavement, but of voluntary servitude as well, and even most of all, the lack of freedom, happiness, and redemption."[299]

Walter Benjamin, being of Jewish descent, tried to escape from fascist Germany, first through Vichy-France, then through fascist Spain and Portugal, hoping to reach freedom in New York, where he would join his friends at Columbia University. Yet, he did not make it. Only 48 years old, he was trapped at the French–Spanish border and ended his life.

Benjamin attributes the voluntary enslavement he observes in bourgeois society to the systemic weakening of what he calls *Ego*, through something he calls the *split personality*:

> The split personality had made itself felt not only within the old juxtaposition of theological and scientific truth, but much more drastically within the division of labor and leisure, of private morals and business principles, of private and public life, and in innumerable other aspects of the existing order, or disorder, of civil society.[300]

Michael Ott sees Benjamin's warnings being played out in front of our eyes during the 2016 presidential elections in the United States. He observes that both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump appealed to the middle classes and power-elite classes beyond the $50,000 income mark, even though the majority of Americans earn less. Yet, Clinton's and Trump's strategy did make sense, Ott points out, because "a vast majority of the 130 million American workers think that they belong to the middle class. They are most deeply and intensely and mostly unconsciously engaged in false consciousness and self-willed servitude."[301]

Not only Walter Benjamin has observed that something is profoundly at odds in modern society. Others have found other terms for what he calls voluntary servitude, what Johan Galtung calls penetration, or what the author calls voluntary self-humiliation. Most recently, sociologist Saskia Sassen spoke of the twenty-first century's *systemic expulsions*.[302] Earlier, sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies contrasted *Gemeinschaft* (community) with *Gesellschaft* (society),[303] where he described *Gesellschaft* as a place where individuals remain in isolation, living in mutual fear and veiled hostility toward each other, only refraining from attacking each other out of fear of retaliation, with the state protecting this arrangement through legislation and politics while glorifying it as progress toward perfection. Sociologist Emile Durkheim's term *anomie* has been mentioned earlier as a label for this strategy's sad results, results that sociologist Max Weber called *Entzauberung* (disenchantment)[304] in "modernity as iron cage" (or modernity's "steel-hard casing" in a more precise translation of the German term *stahlhartes Gehäuse*).[305]

Since she goes further back in history in her analysis than most scholars and draws on notions such as the *security dilemma*, the author describes contexts that promote extreme individualism as contexts where the boundaries of the security dilemma have been shrunk

down to the level of each individual's personal life. Through this shrinkage, every person is separated from her fellow beings. Everyone is forced into the kind of Machiavellian *hominus hominem lupus est* relationships (man is a wolf to man, or, more colloquially, dog-eat-dog) that in honor contexts are primarily reserved for the power elites. Solidarity is squeezed out. In this divide-and-rule environment, people who apply extreme, even pathological power-over strategies, find ample space to reach leadership positions, thus driving a toxic spiral of oppression and division ever further.[306]

On all continents, wherever the author has lived during the past forty years, she has observed the sad consequences of this systemic humiliation.[307] If we look at the motto of *unity in diversity*, then both unity and diversity are systemically being degraded into *sociocide* and *ecocide*: biological and cultural diversity are being destroyed, as is the unity of human solidarity and fellowship.

City planners are well advised to heed recent research on the devastating effects of the above-mentioned "holy trinity of orthodox economics" on all spheres of life, among them the mental health of their citizens and the social cohesion within their city populations. Young mothers now sit in front of their crying babies with their cell phones, not knowing what to do with their baby. In 2016, Brigitte Volz, a consultant in early childhood development in Germany, reports that the number of babies and young children with insecure relationships is increasing due to the fact that parents no longer are able to attune to their offspring's signals. Volz's message is that society as a whole will need to understand its responsibility to create a context that enables parents to give their children an adequate start into life. What is urgently needed in educational settings is attention to creating resilient *connections*, rather than merely delivering *instructions*.[308]

New relational neuroscience underpins Volz's message. It shows how the human brain and physiology function best when people are embedded in webs of caring relationships. Isolation and exclusion activate the same neural pathways as physical pain.[309] There are long-term physical and mental health benefits flowing from feeling loved and lifelong mental damages from being neglected. While damages in otherwise healthy adults may be healed, in children, they can become structural. The brains of neglected children are smaller than those of loved children, since brain cells grow and cerebral circuits develop in response to an infant's interaction with the main caregiver: nature and nurture are entangled. The genes for brain function, including intelligence, may not even become functional if a baby is neglected during the first two years of life.[310] In cases where brains have not developed properly due to neglect in the first two years of life, youths may later be incapable of responding to the incentives and adverse consequences meant to guide society away from crime, and they may become persistent offenders. Growth-fostering relationships are needed to avoid such an outcome. What is important, if a society wishes to sustain social-psychological health among its members, is a focus on the quality of relationships, rather than the idolization of mathematical models and quantities.
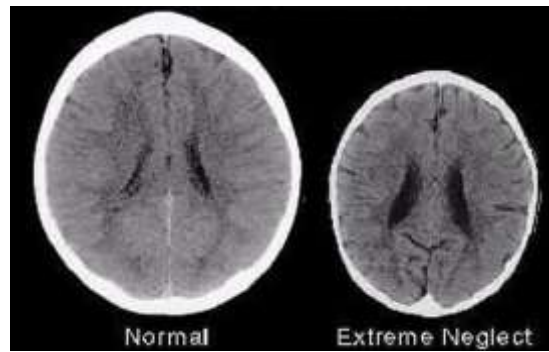
Images of the brains of two three-year-old children clearly showing the effects of neglect.[311]

During the past forty years of global living, the author has observed the wearing out of the social fabric in Western societies through overstretched individualism, and how it has produced widespread social and emotional-relational illiteracy. The result of this systemic negligence of basic human needs is an increasing propensity for violence and violent extremism.[312] During her time as a clinical psychologist in Egypt (1984–1991), she learned to value the emotional warmth that collectivist societies can contain. Her Western clients usually suffered from a sense of abject loneliness, while this was unimaginable for her Egyptian clients, who rather were aggrieved by the oppressive aspects of collectivism. In her view, Western societies have thrown out "the baby with the bathwater" by confusing liberation from oppression with an overstretched idea of personal freedom to the point of personal disconnection. Disconnection is not the same as freedom. To say it simplified, collectivist settings are rich in connection but suffer from oppressive hierarchy, while individualistic settings have gained little: they suffer from disconnection as an outcome of individual freedom that often turns out to be an illusion, since bondage is only more impersonal, more hidden in the system, hidden in the arm-length contractual arrangements of Tönnies' *Gesellschaft*.

Philosopher John Stewart Mill once coined the phrase *ramshackle states* for those states that fail to build sound institutions, and political scientist Robert Jackson described them as *quasi-states*.[313] We currently live in a ramshackle global village. Cities and nations face what author Robert Kaplan described in *The Coming Anarchy*,[314] in which overpopulation, resource scarcity, crime, and disease compound cultural and ethnic identities and create a chaotic world. Physicist Paul Raskin calls it "the Breakdown" scenario, where "chaos intensifies, and institutions collapse," in short, "a new Dark Age."[315]

Disconnection, architecture, and tourism

Since this article is written for the *Journal of Urban Culture Research*, this section ends with a few reflections on architectural design and tourism.

First to architecture. To the author's observation, present-day's mass-multiplication of prototypes and obsessive rectangularity hasten sociocide. Wherever she goes on our planet, she see "developers" at work with their anonymous multiplied prototype approach "which empties communities of their diversity and soul and turns community members into the consumers of prefabricated space for outside investors to profit"[316]:

> …world-wide, wealthy investors look for ways to protect and augment their wealth, and they look for projects that would give them a return on their investment. This inspires developers to search for places where outsiders can extract profit from local communities. So, developers create projects for investors that destroy local communities to extract profit.[317]

Creative community builder Tom Borrup was introduced earlier. Borrup recommends looking at the work of urban planner Charles Landry to overcome the current urban engineering approach to cities and move toward creative city making.[318] Indeed, the *creative city* has now become a global movement with the aim to rethink the planning, development, and management of cities.

Borrup's message resonates with Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa and his call for a shift from a *machine* principle to a *life* principle, not just in architectural designs: rigidity needs to give way to process and complexity in all spheres of life.[319] Pre-WW II utopian ideals of rigid geometries for urban planning need to give way to more organic approaches to the image of the city.[320] Obsessive rectangularity and military uniformity are obsolete concepts if living beings are to flourish. If cities are conceived like military camps or Newtonian machines, their citizens lose their humanity as living creatures. In communist countries it was believed that uniformity – from clothing style to architectural design – "would heal past humiliation and promote equal dignity," yet, it "commits the very mistake it aims to remedy."[321] Uniformity, even if intended to promote equality, introduces a new kind of humiliation, as the loss of diversity is not a small loss.[322] American philosopher Alan Wilson Watts (1915–1973) offered touching reflections on this problem.[323] Human beings are diverse, and individual human identity depends on diversity markers:

> Uniformity ignores this human need, relegating human beings to the status of machines. Those who are forced to live in uniform rectangular blocks or "rabbit boxes," feel humiliated and abased to the level of rabbits, a reaction inadvertently "proven" by the architects who would never live in the blocks they design.[324]

Unfortunately, "communist" uniformity did not end with the Cold War. It is now ubiquitously re-emerging in the service of profit maximization. The reason is that it is more profitable to multiply prototypes than to create tailor-made solutions. Investors buy land, engage architects to create a few prototypes, be they box-like apartments for high-rise buildings or luxurious villas for expensive suburbs, then they multiply those prototypes and place them on the land so that the highest profit can be attained.

In this situation, city planners who wish to counteract disconnection among their citizens would have to disallow such mass-produced uniformity to manifest. They would need to ask themselves why tourists flock to medieval cities rather than places of soulless mass-produced uniformity. The old city of Dubrovnik, for instance, is a piece of collective art. Personally, the author admits, she would never be able to call a mass-produced box "home." She feels assaulted by this kind of architecture, aesthetically and psychologically, and can only survive by always moving on, by fleeing from this abject unsightly ugliness of "modern" architecture. If she had a magic wand, she would remove ninety percent of post-WW II architecture all around the world. She would remove all those buildings where a prototype had been multiplied, including its luxurious villa versions in suburbs, and she would replace it with architecture that is beneficial to its human inhabitants rather than only to a few investors. She finds more creativity in slums where people put together individualized dwellings from scrap, and would wish that this creativity is rewarded with public amenities, rather than believing that slum dwellers should be "saved" by moving them into uniform boxes.

Sociologists in Germany, like Claus Leggewie, decry the "sins" of the early "urban planning popes" such as Le Corbusier with his Athens Charter, or Robert Moses in New York. Those planners introduced the zoning of urban life into service-downtowns, dormitory towns in affluent suburbs, shopping malls on the green field, and leisure parks. The result are cities where automobiles are being prioritized over people and profit for investors over the well-being of citizens.[325] "I am often called the father of the shopping mall," said Victor Gruen two years before his death in 1978, when he looked back at the end of his life: "I would

like to take this opportunity to disclaim paternity once and for all. I refuse to pay alimony to those bastard developments. They destroyed our cities."[326]

As to tourism, Celine Motzfeldt Loades found that the "personal and cultural traumas and humiliation caused by the four years long war is often glossed over in tourism promotion where the city is represented as a city restored to its former glory, as a sought after elite tourist destination," altogether, that "post-war tourism promotion and development projects in Croatia generally have paid little heed to community development and quality of life for the local population."[327] The author's experience of living in Dubrovnik in 2016 deeply resonates with Motzfeldt Loades' description. One can read in glossy magazines that visitors should chat with "the locals" to find the best places that locals prefer. Sadly, there are hardly any locals left in the old city, as they are being squeezed out by the onslaught of tourism: from several thousands, the population has shrunk to a few hundreds.

This section shall end, however, with less gloomy and more hope-inducing reflections. While badly designed tourism contributes to disconnecting citizens from each other and from their city, well-designed "integrated, community-based tourism projects," can also "have a potential to aid in helping post-war societies re-find dignity and meaning," writes Motzfeldt Loades:

> … in the recent years there have been some promising examples of small-scale initiatives which attempt to utilize tourism's potential in stimulating towards revitalizing ethnic- and cultural dialogue, local, sustainable development and persisting peace in the region. Only one decade ago many locals perceived co-operation on tourism projects across the national borders as both undesired and improbable, and when some Dubrovnik based tourism agencies first re-established contact with Montenegrin and Bosnian tourism agencies around the turn of the Millennium they received a lot of resistance from parts of the local population. Today, tourism projects established in co-operation between Dubrovnik, Herzeg Novi in Montenegro and Trebinje in Bosnia-Herzegovina, stand as promising examples of how tourism can contribute towards re-establishing trust between the different ethnic and religious groups in the cities which 25 years ago fought against each other, and where a "silent hostility" still exists today.[328]

Motzfeldt Loades emphasizes as path forward for touristic projects through "transparency of the scope and intentions of the project at an early stage, as well as to pertain to the local population's diverse perceptions, needs and wishes in their conceptualization."[329] She found that while the wounds of the 1990's wars in the Western Balkans are still omnipresent, responsible tourism has the potential to aid in healing and reconciling the separate and at the same time interconnected populations "by providing ways of working together in order to safeguard regional stability and sustainable development."[330]

During the 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik in 2016, the author became aware of several other interesting highlights, for instance, that trading communities like Venice and Dubrovnik were among the first to abolish the trade of slaves.[331] Slaves were still kept in private homes for *pro usu suo*, "for one's own use" in Latin, yet, they could no longer be traded. It seems that Christian ethical motives overcame the traders' profit motives? The Dubrovnik government reached the following decision on January 27, 1416:

> Believing that the people trade is shameful, criminal, repulsive and in breach of every form of humanity, that considerable guilt and shame is brought upon our city because human beings – created in the image and likeness of God – are treated like merchandise, and people are sold in the same way as animals, the (Dubrovnik) government decides and orders that no citizen or peasant of the city of Dubrovnik and its surroundings, or any other person who calls himself a man of Dubrovnik, will – in no way and under no excuse or interpretation – dare to and agree to sell or buy a male or female slave, or mediate in such a

trade, or enter into such an agreement with any citizen or peasant engaged in or supporting such business.[332]

In the same spirit, the city of Dubrovnik, as it is still steeped in religious dedication, could decide now to protect its commons against investors who promise quality of life in enthralling rhetoric, only to empty the city of its resources, thus harming divine creation. Cruise ship visits could be limited, for instance, and the building of projects for a few wealthy on common grounds could be averted.[333] There is a "need for a new cosmic/civilizational/societal/personal story to make sense of our significance and our work as persons and communities."[334]

THE TREATMENT

There will be no social stability or peace as long as there is hunger, poverty and inequality. Nor can we move forward if we continue to exploit our natural resources. Sustainability is a pre-condition for development.
– José Graziano da Silva,
Director-General of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)[335]

Leo Tolstoy asked this crucial question already in 1886: "What then must we do"?[336] What should citizens of cities, nations, and of our planet do to ameliorate the situation?

First, we must find out where we stand: Do we, as *humankind*, understand how dire our situation is and how radical our responses must be?

The answer is No. Our deep culture, our collective subconscious, our unknown scripts[337] supply us with "dewy-eyed sanguinity" and stoic optimism on one side, and "world-weary cynicism"[338] on the other side, while what is needed is largely missing: a due sense of alarm. It is as if people in a burning house or on a sinking ship discuss their feelings, while failing to act. And this applies to all of us, to us "the people" as much as to "the elites" or "the politicians."[339]

Eight in ten white, born-again Christians in the United States voted for Donald Trump as president in 2016. Many of them hope he will hasten the apocalypse so that rapture can liberate them from this miserable world rather sooner than later. A youth pastor recently asked his students: "If it was conclusive that cellphones were killing honeybees, would you stop using them?" One student replied, "…really, who cares if there are honeybees? This world is coming to an end anyway. We'll all be raptured."[340]

What is needed instead of suicidal pessimism, or blissfully blind optimism, is agency that "all cultures, classes and stations can engage with personally and immediately," demands Stephen Purdey, international relations specialist, and calls for "a trenchant, potentially viral polemic that grips public attention by directly confronting our ecocidal trajectory": "Our existential predicament calls out for a life-or-death dialectic that can penetrate any frame of reference, cut through noise, focus the mind and spur action where nothing else will."[341]

Do we, as humankind, have the means to act? The answer is Yes. Did our ancestors see pictures of our Blue Planet from the perspective of an astronaut? Were our forebears able to see, as we do, how we humans are *one single* family living on *one tiny* planet? Did our grandparents have access to as comprehensive a knowledge base as we have about the universe and our place in it?[342] They did not. The image of the Blue Planet is revolutionary. History does not repeat itself here but starts an entirely new chapter. The step outside of our planet is a profoundly paradigm shifting step. It anchors humankind in the universe in ways no generation before was able to experience. For the first time, humankind can now act on and manifest the fact that we are *one* family. All the information to do so is amply available,

more than ever before.

A small window of opportunity is open for humankind at the current juncture in human history, for a few years to come perhaps, an opportunity to create a decent future for our children. For the first time, there is a chance to change both the reality and culture of domination. Not just Leo Tolstoy, also other historical figures, such as Henry David Thoreau, Mahatma Gandhi, or Martin Luther King, can inspire us to shoulder our very individual responsibility.[343]

To succeed, we need to understand that we have to proactively and intentionally shape this new situation.[344] If not, cultural inertia will simply close the window of opportunity.[345] Particularly males will have to learn to live without the danger that their honor became dependent on throughout the past millennia, and refrain from creating artificial danger to recreate arenas for longed-for feelings of greatness. This is relevant for males in power and males without power. Young men without power now create terror, and men with power wage "war against terror" by creating counterterror. Men would also need to learn to accept that women who come out of their homes into the public sphere are not representing a danger and should not be intimidated back into the house. Women, on their part, would need to become more courageous and learn how to lead. The traditional script for females to maintain the house and nurture family relations is now precisely what is needed also in the world house. Men and women are called on to work together in the spirit of this script. The gardener is the new hero, the nurturer, not the warrior.[346]

During her time in Sarajevo and Dubrovnik, the author asked everybody she happened to meet the following questions: "What has your world region to teach the rest of the world? If we, as humanity, want to offer our children a decent world, what should we all learn from you? What must we nurture and what avoid? How can we shape our economy, for instance, so that its values reflect our values?"

A young law student in Dubrovnik, nineteen years old, replied: "We need to nurture diversity. Suppressing diversity diminishes the chances for learning. This means that we have to avoid prejudice." Another young man in Dubrovnik, twenty-six years old, shared this: "More information is needed as an antidote against manipulation. Today, it might not be as easy to manipulate young people in Serbia into hating others by the same crude propaganda as in 1991." An experienced educational activist in Sarajevo called out: "Do not teach children 'chosen trauma' in school!" A highly knowledgeable Dubrovnik woman in the middle of her life advised: "What is needed is a good economy, so that people can look into the future rather than cling to the past. And a functioning governing system would be necessary, not an inherently unstable configuration as, for instance, in Bosnia-Herzegovina." A deeply reflective female citizen of Dubrovnik who experienced the siege of Dubrovnik as a child, has hope: "There are so many bright people in the world! Cannot their combined knowledge and creativity save us all?"

John Bunzl, an advocate of "people-centered global governance," advises:

Economic markets are, effectively, competitions which can do nothing other than place money as the highest of all values. That's what they're designed to do and that, if one thinks about it, is all they CAN do. If other values such as care, craftsmanship, meaning and fairness are to be imparted to an economy, there is really only one way that can be done and that is not through the economy itself, but through GOVERNANCE; i.e. through laws, taxes, regulations and re-distributions. These are the tools by which governments balance economic values with human values.

But today we live in a global market. Even if a national government could be persuaded that appropriate increased taxes, regulations and re-distributions were a good idea, no government could actually implement them because that would increase business costs, so making the national economy uncompetitive with economies elsewhere. The result? Jobs

would be lost, business and investment would go elsewhere, and the next election would be lost.

Thus, a reversal of current market values can no longer be achieved on a national level but must, like climate change, financial market re-regulation, corporate taxation and much else, be dealt with on a global level. A global market, in short, requires binding governance on a global scale.[347]

It does seem, then, that whatever topic we choose to discuss, we come back to the global level, and that some form of binding global governance is needed. Only if we succeed with that, can all the other things that we wish for – meaningful living and working included – become possible.[348]

If we want to describe the present state-of-the-world, then it manifests the two worst degradations of the motto of *unity in diversity* that are possible, namely, uniformity without diversity and division without unity. What we observe is global uniformity, a loss of biological as well as cultural diversity. We observe a worldwide homogenization of cultures – some call it "McDonaldization"[349] – and this happens under the auspices of global constitutive rules that define the modern world-system and are being used and abused by what has been called a global "superclass."[350] Even academia is now being pulled into this trend: McUniversity no longer contributes to critical thinking. Nations and cities are caught within this global uniformity, desperately trying to defend the rests of their diverse sovereignty. If they do so too desperately, they risk re-creating a world of division without unity. Already now, the United Nations rather resemble Disunited Nations or Nations of a Few that exclude the rest.

The antidote are global and local governance structures that truly manifest unity in diversity, that realize *dignism* by furthering the common good of all humankind as co-inhabitants in a finite habitat.[351]

Tired of the fact that the terminology of "communism/socialism" and "capitalism" has morphed into markers of cycles of humiliation rather than enlightenment, the author thought of the term dignity + -ism. *Dignism* describes a world

- where every newborn finds space and is nurtured to unfold their highest and best qualities, embedded in a social context of loving appreciation and connection,
- where the carrying capacity of the planet guides the ways in which everybody's basic needs are met,
- where we are united in respecting human dignity and celebrating diversity, where we prevent unity from being perverted into oppressive uniformity, and keep diversity from sliding into hostile division.

To realize dignism, governance structures need to humanize and dignify globalization using the motto of *unity in diversity*, just as *symbiosis and diversity* are pillars of evolution.[352] Unity in diversity requires that we identify, protect, and nurture all dignifying aspects from all cultures ever manifested on this planet.[353] Unity in diversity can be operationalized through the principle of *constrained pluralism*, comprising three complementary sub-principles: *irreducibility*, *subsidiarity*, and *heterogeneity*:

Irreducibility affirms One World: the adjudication of certain issues necessarily and properly is retained at the global level of governance. Subsidiarity asserts the centrality of Many Places: the scope of irreducible global authority is sharply limited and decision-making is guided to the most local level feasible. Heterogeneity grants regions the right to pursue forms of social evolution consonant with democratically determined values and traditions, constrained only by their obligation to conform to globally mandated responsibilities.[354]

Evelin Lindner

The author has coined the term *egalization* to stay clear of phrases such as equality or equity and to match the word *globalization*.[355] Egalization is short for "respect for equal dignity for all." Globalization waits to be dignified by egalization, it waits to become *globegalization*. If we think of the motto of the French revolution, *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, then globegalization draws together liberté and égalité. If we wish to also include fraternité/sisterhood, or solidarity, then the task of our time could be expressed in the following simple phrase: *co-globegalization*.[356] It means respect for equal dignity for all people, as individuals, it means coming together in solidarity and using the potential of globalization to create a decent future for all, while respecting the confines of a finite planet.

Citizens, cities, and nations can realize dignism, liberty, equality, and solidarity – in short, co-globegalization – by way of myriad interventions. These interventions can be divided into micro-level interventions, meso-level interventions, and macro-level interventions.

Micro-level interventions for creating a decent future

Every individual, while bound up in social contexts beyond her control, still has much more space than often assumed to enact micro-level interventions that help create a decent future for all. The author learned a lot about this space in August 2016, from educator and researcher Ivona Čelebičić and her work on teacher leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina.[357] Ivona Čelebičić teaches teachers the lesson that every individual teacher can step out of the frame that is being given to her, can overcome submissive obedience toward orders coming from above, and can manifest much more dignity in her immediate environment.[358] Clearly, this lesson is not reserved for teachers; every individual can refuse to buy into being fooled into divide-and-rule manipulations from above and can choose to nurture direct solidarity instead.

Anthropologist Alan Page Fiske found that people, most of the time and in all cultures, use just four elementary and universal forms or models for organizing most aspects of sociality. Interaction can be structured according to (1) what people have *in common*, (2) according to *ordered differences*, (3) to *additive imbalances*, or (4) to *ratios*.[359] When people emphasize what they have in common, it is Fiske's model of communal sharing they give priority to. Family life is often informed by communal sharing. Trust, love, care, and intimacy can flourish in this context. This is the arena for the dignity of *Homo amans*, the loving being (*amans* is the present participle of Latin *amare* or to love).[360] It overlaps with the concept of *Gemeinschaft* (community) that sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies has coined in contrast to *Gesellschaft* (society).[361] The African philosophy of *ubuntu* has its place here. "Communal Sharing relationships are formed among people who are considered and who consider themselves equal (in one or more aspects). The participants in this relationship feel togetherness; they are bounded; they have something in common (interest, origin, blood, etc.), and refer to themselves as 'we'."[362] Human rights ideals represent ethics that treat all of humankind as one single "we," in contrast to ethics that give priority to "us" over "them."

There are myriad ways and places where individuals can decrease humiliation and increase dignity through emphasis on communal sharing in their immediate social environments, be it through nurturing direct solidarity and resisting that relationships are being impoverished by being defined, mediated, and measured by status or money. If cooperation shall succeed in rural and urban contexts, a new language that nurtures relationships is needed, a language that encourages mutually empathic and beneficial connections.[363] *Dignicommunication* is the term that has been coined in the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies group.[364]

Education is crucial, not least for cities, since it forms its future citizens. "An informed citizenry grounds real democracy; critical thinking opens closed minds; and knowledge and experience are the passports to a life lived fully."[365] Therefore the current trend toward

McUniversity waits to be turned around. UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report 2016 came out with three messages:

- First, the urgent need for new approaches. On current trends, only seventy percent of children in low-income countries will complete primary school in 2030, a goal that should have been achieved in 2015. We need the political will, the policies, the innovation, and the resources to buck this trend.
- Second, if we are serious about SDG4, we must act with a sense of heightened urgency, and with long-term commitment. Failure to do so will not only adversely affect education but will hamper progress toward each and every development goal: poverty reduction, hunger eradication, improved health, gender equality and women's empowerment, sustainable production and consumption, resilient cities, and more equal and inclusive societies.
- Last, we must fundamentally change the way we think about education and its role in human well-being and global development. Now, more than ever, education has a responsibility to foster the right type of skills, attitudes, and behavior that will lead to sustainable and inclusive growth.[366]

What would the right type of attitudes and behavior be? Not all education is beneficial; education can also be damaging. In Southeast Europe, for example, this is the most pressing question: "Does divided education lead to divided citizens?"[367] The answer is Yes. If schools implant nationalistic hatred of others in children, they prepare for the next war.

Schools need to refrain not just from teaching nationalistic hatred. Creating divisions between rural and urban regions is as dangerous. As already alluded to previously, cities have to be take great care to avoid neglecting or looking down upon and abusing their rural surroundings; instead, they have the pressing responsibility to nurture and protect them.

In the article that the author wrote for this journal after the Annual Dignity Conference in Chiang Mai in the north of Thailand in 2014, she described the work of Joni Odochaw and his family in the Karen village of Ban Nong Thao, into which participants of the conference had the privilege of being invited.[368] Joni Odochaw is a wisdom teacher in the field of natural resources and environmental management. He and his family have developed the concept of a "Lazy School," a concept that, rather than alienating traditional community learning, embraces it, by re-invigorating the times when everybody in a traditional Karen village had the skills to be a student and a teacher. Odochaw and his family members explained the dilemma of present-day obligatory education in combination with television and the digital world, and how this risks being destructive to sustainable ways of living. Rural skills and social cohesion are being hollowed out when children are taught to sit still in front of an educator in school, only to sit still in front of a television screen afterwards or a mobile phone, all of which stands in the way of the children partaking in village life. The result is the collapse of village life, city slums as last refuge, and, as happens in the north of Thailand now, domestic violence and drug abuse on the increase. As Peter Dering from the United States, the first student of the Lazy School, formulated on March 13, 2014: "Our vision must be to expand community learning to include modern knowledge through technology, rather than lose community learning!"[369] The Lazy School concept is at the forefront of avant-garde thinking now: "It's time for a slow teaching revolution," is the call also in other parts of the world.[370]

As mentioned earlier, in Sarajevo in August 2016, the author was told, with tears, that the votes for those nationalistic leaders who then instigated war had come from the countryside. In other words, a flourishing and proud multicultural city such as Sarajevo was destroyed because its *Hinterland* had not been given due attention and care. Cities are therefore tasked to learn from, and help safeguard the positive aspects of rural life, namely, its social cohesion and skill base, while educating rural children to become critical thinkers. In this way children

and youths can be protected from falling prey to political manipulation or to economic bribery. If education uproots children from village life and delivers them to city slums, it does not deserve the name of "education." Activists are rightly concerned over the reduction of the Habitat Agenda to a solely urban focus and are justified in calling to "give adequate priority to the continuity – indeed, the symbiosis – between rural and urban areas":

> A key promise of the Habitat Agenda of 1996, after all, was to anchor human rights in governance with "a regional and cross-sectoral approach to human settlements planning, which places emphasis on rural/urban linkages and treats villages and cities as two ends of a human settlements continuum in a common ecosystem.[371]

Kjell Skyllstad is to be thanked for reminding of the work of Moisei Kagan, professor of the philological department of St. Petersburg State University. Generations of humanitarians were brought up on his monographs and textbooks. This is what we read about the atmosphere of intellectual communication Moisei Kagan was able to achieve with his pupils in the educational process:

> He enchanted pupils and colleagues not only with his charisma, though he was a really charismatic person. His success was constituted not only by qualities of his personality, but also by fresh knowledge he gave, by his demonstration of the process of giving birth of ideas during his presentations and a special logic when the lecturer and listeners co-think as a conductor and his orchestra. Kagan's lectures were more concertos than master-classes. They were meant to unite intellectuals (not only university students) and to introduce a special creative atmosphere.[372]

Based on more than a decade of global conferences and workshops, the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network has found that dignifying dialogue – or *dignilogue* – "can lead to new paths of understanding and generate creative ideas to address real problems."[373] The author herself contributes by designing her life as a global life with the aim to foreground direct solidarity and avoid the separation that occurs when contracts define relationships, or, worse, when the absence of contract is taken to justify also the absence of responsibility for care.[374]

Meso-level interventions for creating a decent future

Also at the meso level, many interventions can create bridges in society rather than deepen demarcation lines. All around the world, many projects are underway where cities use the space they have within the economic and political frames imposed on them from macro levels. Cities experiment with alternative solutions and connect with each other: "human rights cities" are one example.[375] Many localities are in the process of becoming "transition towns," with 1,258 initiatives registered as of April 2016.[376] Michael Bauwens of the P2P Foundation sees global transnational civic institutions emerge, and global post-capitalist ethical market coalitions. He calls for the creation of "open coops" that have as their strategic and legal priority to contribute to the commons and move from a position of capital accumulation to a position of commons accumulation, from a position of redistribution to one of predistribution, from mere competitive cooperativism to protocol cooperativism and network resource planning amongst interlinked commons-oriented entre-donneurial coalitions ("giving in between," rather than "taking in between"). Yet, this might not be enough: we may need a third transnational political institution, a "state form" of the commons economy. Bauwens writes:

My intuition is that, in an age of increasingly fragmented sovereignty, coalitions of cities may play this role. The exponential rise of urban commons (I identified 500 projects in a 300k populated city of Ghent, covering all provisioning systems), the rise of "rebel cities," "fearless cities," climate change coalized cities, commons-oriented progressive coalitions in Spanish cities (look at the amazing Impetus Plan for the growth and support of the cooperative, solidarity and commons economy in Barcelona), give me hope that in time, coalitions of cities may emerge who can collective support the infrastructures of protocol cooperativism. In other words, networked cities today are a potential form of transnational governance that may also be an important agent for the commons transition.[377]

City mayors can resist policies imposed on them from above.[378] Cities need a strong mayoral system that gives mayors authority to provide good governance and handle their critical functions, most importantly, adequate powers on finance and staffing.[379] At the World Forum on Urban Violence in Madrid, April 19–21, 2017, Johan Galtung offered advice as to how to reduce urban violence.[380]

"Think globally, act locally" was a motto that emerged from visionaries such as systems theorist Buckminster Fuller (1895–1983), philosopher Marshall McLuhan (1911–1980), and editor Stewart Brand.[381] In 1970, futurist Alvin Toffler (1928–2016) published his book *Future Shock* that inspired many to make a career of city planning.[382] In 2000, one of those city planners thought up the paradigm "think local planet, act regionally."[383]

Unfortunately, so far, much city planning has turned out to be more destructive than constructive. Historian Qin Shao was inspired by Toffler's book, and she sees his worst predictions come true now. Her interviews with residents of Shanghai reveal a profound sense of humiliation among those who were displaced to make space for "modern development."[384] Their sense of humiliation resembles that which famous Lu Xun decried. Shao would presumably agree with community builder Tom Borrup that urban planners either hail from architecture where they design structures, or from social sciences where they crunch numbers, while nobody considers the people.[385]

Cities can do a lot. For instance, with respect to violence and terrorist acts, cities can pay particular attention to the experiences of their social workers. The social workers among the readers will know that revenge for humiliation that has been suffered is at the core of male honor, be it honorable loyalty with one's nation, "religion," tribe, gang, or family.[386] Violence is often driven by a male psychology that is infused with humiliation as a potent and pervasive social mechanism: "Humiliation is the social form of shame and is deeply rooted in the same-sex relations of childhood groups, rituals of passage, and problematic relationships with father figures."[387] Also terrorist groups follow this script. The male gang culture that social psychologists Richard Nisbett and Dov Cohen have studied, finds its way increasingly into terrorism by now.[388] The head of a Danish gang, for instance, recently traveled to Syria to fight.[389] As reported earlier, experts observe that religion becomes ever less relevant for Da'esh recruits, with some terrorists "discovering" religion mere weeks before getting active.[390] Prisons are the ideal recruiting ground for terrorism, since people with criminal records make for able terrorists. They bring important skills that terror needs, not least, familiarity with generating funds illegally; if religion can give them a sense of redemption, all the better.[391]

Particularly cities in peripheral world regions might find it rewarding to use their distance from power centers to their advantage, not just with respect to violence but in general. Southeast Europe is in a unique position to teach the world how peripheral world regions can nurture new and innovative ideas and solutions. Admittedly, as discussed before, some peripheral border regions have been breeding grounds for war culture, but remote peripheral regions can also open space to try out alternative pathways. Southeast Europe is peripheral in both senses: first, it is a border region that has been taught the warrior ethos (see Toynbee's analysis), and, second, it is at the same time a region of lesser importance in the sense that it is

far removed from the centers of power (see Galtung's analysis), far from Moscow and far from Washington.

Former Yugoslavia once was a leader in the nonaligned movement that carved out a middle course for states in the so-called developing world a middle course between the Western and Eastern blocs in the Cold War. The organization was founded in Belgrade in 1961, largely conceived of by India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, together with Indonesia's first president Sukarno, Egypt's second president Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah, together with Yugoslavia's president Josip Broz Tito.[392] The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) still exists as a group of states that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc, and it has now more than one hundred member states.[393]

The movement's dreams were very ambitious in 1955, when the newly liberated colonies in Africa and Asia met in Bandung in Indonesia, at a conference that became constitutive for the so-called Third World.[394] In his opening speech, Indonesia's president Sukarno said the following:

> Yes, there is diversity among us. Who denies it? Small and great nations are represented here, with people professing almost every religion under the sun – Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and others. Almost every political faith we encounter here – Democracy, Monarchism, Theocracy, with innumerable variants. And practically every economic doctrine has its representative in this hall – Marhaenism, Socialism, Capitalism, Communism, in all their manifold variations and combinations.

> But what harm is in diversity, when there is unity in desire? This Conference is not to oppose each other, it is a conference of brotherhood. It is not an Islam Conference, nor a Christian Conference, nor a Buddhist Conference. It is not a meeting of Malayans, nor one of Arabs, nor one of Indo-Aryan stock. It is not an exclusive club either, not a bloc which seeks to oppose any other bloc. Rather it is a body of enlightened, tolerant opinion which seeks to impress on the world that all men and all countries have their place under the sun – to impress on the world that it is possible to live together, meet together, speak to each other, without losing one's individual identity; and yet to contribute to the general understanding of matters of common concern, and to develop a true consciousness of the interdependence of men and nations for their well-being and survival on earth."[395]

The dream of unity in diversity was not allowed to flourish. In one country after the other, leaders were removed, with Western support,[396] driven by an American preoccupation with securing their position against the threat of the Soviet Union's expansion of communism, a preoccupation felt to be a question of life or death for America.[397] Iran's Mohammad Mossadegh was toppled in 1953 and replaced by the Shah. In 1961, Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba was killed and replaced by dictator Mobutu. After the coup against Chile's Salvador Allende, Augusto Pinochet and his Chicago-educated economists began their neoliberal experiment that was later spread by Western experts all over the developing world.[398] Sukarno was toppled about ten years after Bandung and replaced by Suharto. At least half a million Indonesians were slaughtered from 1965 to 1966, accused of being communists, with *Time* magazine praising the suppression of the Indonesian Communist Party as "The West's best news for years in Asia."[399] Within Indonesia, still today, the slaughter is being hailed as something that was "necessary," and most surviving victims remain silent.[400] The West has so far failed to acknowledge its role.[401] Former Yugoslavia followed in 1991, with the Yugoslav Wars from 1991 to 2001, and the breakup of the country. On September 24, 2016, some participants in the Annual Dignity Conference gathered for an

excursion from Dubrovnik to Mostar, and the driver pointed out a NATO listening station on the mountain that passed.

Scandinavia and the so-called Scandinavian model of equality may serve as an example for a peripheral world region's capacity to develop alternative solutions (solutions that by now survive only just).[402] As far back as in 1843, celebrated Norwegian writer and poet Henrik Wergeland (1808–1845) pointed out that Norway's disadvantages can also be seen as its advantages. Norway's marginal location on the planet has protected it: nobody has ever "bothered" to thoroughly conquer it and force its people into the kind of submission that populations in hierarchical empires elsewhere had to endure.[403] Norway was able to emerge, throughout the past centuries, from a culture of proud, independent, and violent Viking warriors and adventurers into a culture of *likeverd* (equality in dignity), *dugnad* (communal cooperation), and global responsibility (Nansen passport). In other words, the Norwegian cultural heritage of equal dignity, solidarity, and global responsibility manifests the motto of *liberté*, *égalité*, and *fraternité* as a lived national inheritance, not just as a theoretical dream.

This particular cultural heritage of Norway, even though it is being weakened by the globalization of economic constraints just now, is the reason for why the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network has chosen it as one of its main platforms and starting points for its global work, and why the World Dignity University initiative was launched in 2011 from the University of Oslo.[404]

Macro-level interventions to create a decent future

When we look for macro-level interventions for creating a decent future on planet Earth, we, the citizens of all urban and rural regions of this globe, have the task of uniting in ways that protect and celebrate our diversities. A dignified future for the human family on our home planet is only imaginable if all *necessary* conflicts are put on the table and addressed in constructive ways by all of the human family in collaboration, instead of allowing *unnecessary* conflicts to divert or even divide us. Sociologist Anthony Giddens warns that we overlook the true challenges of our time because unnecessary problems keep us busy:

> The threat to personal meaninglessness is ordinarily held at bay because routinized activities, in combination with basic trust, sustain ontological security. Potentially disturbing existential questions are defused by the controlled nature of day-to-day activities within internally referential systems.

> Mastery, in other words, substitutes for morality; to be able to control one's life circumstances, colonise the future with some degree of success and live within the parameters of internally referential systems can, in many circumstances, allow the social and natural framework of things to seem a secure grounding for life activities.[405]

Among necessary conflicts waiting to be recognized are those that arise from the fact that unsustainable economic strategies hollow out our resource bases and turn most of humankind into colonized subjects, either through direct oppression or through cooption. Among necessary conflicts is the need to resist that "pundits keep spinning us to death," in times when "war is made too easy."[406]

Let us listen to physicist Paul Raskin, who uses the term *Earthland* for how humankind should conceive of our planet in the future:

> Every age generates a constellation of values coherent with its social arrangements. The modernist ethos once rose in concert with incipient exigencies but has now become out of sync with twenty-first-century realities. Modernity's canon of perpetual progress gains

little purchase in a time of thwarted expectations and existential apprehension. An international order based on the Westphalian model of inviolable state sovereignty clashes with global interdependence and the very idea of Earthland. The destabilization of the biosphere debunks the idolatry of markets, the myth of perpetual economic growth, and the fetish of consumerism. Corrosive inequality and hollowed-out communities sap allegiance to dog-eat-dog capitalism.

…

The intertwining of fates urges a new cosmopolitanism that welcomes the unity of a global demos and the diversity of cultures and places – and pushes beyond species solidarity to solidarity with fellow creatures and all planetary forms of being.[407]

The author of this paper calls for a globalization of care, rather than the presently prevailing globalization of extraction, exploitation, and domination.[408] She coined the term co-globegalization to summarize this effort. She dedicates her life to nurturing the very solidarity in a global citizens movement that is needed to bring about the transition that Paul Raskin sketches in his book *Earthland*: "This augmented solidarity is the correlative in consciousness of the interdependence in the external world. The Planetary Phase, in mingling the destinies of all, has stretched esprit de corps across space and time to embrace the whole human family, living and unborn, and beyond."[409]

The author's personal life project is to "imagine" one single planetary community, the community of *Earthland*,[410] or Teilhard de Chardin's *noosphere*,[411] where people contribute to a universal heightening of consciousness so that we can find common punctuations of our memories, rather than being divided by remembering all that is good about "us" and all that is bad about "them."

Critical theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer were mentioned previously. Even though sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas does not follow Adorno and Horkheimer in all their thoughts, also he sees that in the era of modernity the liberation of the Enlightenment has turned into mass deception and a new form of enslavement – with a subtle "culture industry" seducing the masses to remain unaware of their own complicity with their own enslavement.[412]

Habermas resonates with the concept of cosmopolitanism, yet, he fears that this concept "bypasses the major problem of how to tame, channel and civilize political power in legal terms even beyond the empire or the modern nation-state."[413] He warns that cosmopolitanism is toothless "unless it confronts the issue of a trans-nationalization of the achievements of the constitutional state."[414] He calls for the "constitutionalization of international law" and that this eventually may lead us to "a political constitution for a multicultural world society without a world government."[415]

There are many initiatives currently underway that grapple with the toothlessness that Habermas decries and try to re-invigorate the impetus toward global governance building that existed prior to the Cold War.[416] One aspect of this trend is the plan to globally enshrine *ecocide law*, or the *legal duty of care* towards the natural world. Pella Thiel, of the organization End Ecocide Sweden, writes:

Ecocide as a crime would be a great support for powerful individuals – like CEOs – who do not want to destroy nature, but essentially have it in their job description. I am personally active in the movement for an international law against ecocide, working mainly to build momentum around the idea in Sweden. We are quite surprised by the positive response we are getting from business people. Many Swedish companies are supportive of the idea: they say, "We know we need new rules, and this seems like something that would mean a level playing field. We don´t want to destroy nature but we want to stay in business. If this law would apply for all, it would be good news for us."[417]

Ted Trainer, a long-time advocate of economic de-growth, simple living, and "conserver" lifestyles, makes clear that, while building more alternative local systems is crucial, for communities, cities, or even countries, doing so alone will not lead to a sustainable future. The author's global experience coincides with his conclusion, namely, that it is "a major fault in alternative movements today"[418] to fail to see the need for global solutions. Indeed, the author observes a blind spot among even the most progressive people regarding the salience of global constitutive rules and their role in constraining what happens locally. It is futile, and even damaging, to attempt protecting the common good by turning one's back to the global level, as this does not make this global level go away. On the contrary, turning one's back opens this space to those who wish to use existing global rules, or their absence, to further damage the common good. Trainer offers the food provision system as an example:

> This [system] involves astronomical levels of resource use and environmental impact, in energy-intensive agribusiness with its tractors, nutrient soil mining, soil-damaging fertilizers and pesticides, international shipping and air freight, packaging, advertising, supermarket lighting and wastage, inability to return nutrients to the soils, and need for expensive professionals in suits sitting at computers. Home gardens, community gardens and local agriculture can eliminate virtually all of this… while providing far better food. It is obvious however that none of this can be done unless there is astronomical cultural change, away from individualistic, competitive, acquisitiveness, to being content with what is sufficient and finding life satisfactions in non-material pursuits. This is of course the most unlikely element in TSW vision, but it is easy to overlook the powerful quality of life benefits simplicity enables and as scarcity bites these will become more attractive.[419]

Ted Trainer explains that while myopic localist approaches are unfeasible, also the leftist globalist idea is misguided, namely, that "the class in control of the industrial affluence and growth system" should be replaced so that a new central power could "redirect the system to more just outcomes."[420] The latter is misguided, Trainer argues, because we have entered a new era, the era of limits. To Trainer, localism, while it cannot be an end in itself, is still a crucial element for the global macro-level reformation/re-volution that is overdue, and cities will have to play a central role in this:

> As the global economy increasingly fails to provide for people, more and more will come across to join and build local alternatives. As Economy B develops and as town self-government takes on more functions there will be increasing realization that the fate of the town depends on being able to get crucial imports from the wider economy. Thus there will be increasing concern to restructure the national economy towards providing the basic and mostly simple goods and resource inputs towns and suburbs need.

> Meanwhile grappling with the need to run the town's economy effectively will be developing in its citizens skills in and commitment to participatory government. Localism will take functions away from governments at the national, state and council levels, and develop the readiness to insist that the remaining central systems move towards participatory and citizen led processes. It will be obvious that the center cannot run the towns and suburbs; these can only be run by citizens with local knowledge and commitment, dependent for their welfare on making the right decisions for their situation. Thus the role demanded of more central agencies will shift to providing what the towns and regions need and can't produce for themselves. Increasingly large numbers, especially members of the now desperately troubled capitalist class, will need to be assisted out of unnecessary and failing industries, and into local alternatives. If we work hard at it and are lucky these conditions and forces will see us eventually radically restructure government and economy, gearing them to social need and putting them under participatory control.[421]

How can government and economy be restructured? On her global path, the author of this paper has collected ideas at all corners of the world: names such as Howard Richards, Luis Razeto, Paul Raskin, Gar Alperowitz, Geneviève Vaughan, Kamran Mofid, David Graeber, Ove Jakobsen, and many more. They are all given the floor in her *Dignity Economy* book.[422] In a situation where we cannot hope that decoupling GDP growth from CO_2 emissions will be sufficiently achievable and effective,[423] where we cannot hope that renewable energy will solve our problems as it will not address resource overuse,[424] we have to join economist Kamran Mofid, founder of the organization Globalization for the Common Good, in asking: "What might an economy for the common good look like?"[425]

What would a radically restructured government and economy look like? Philosopher Howard Richards has much to say to that. His summary has been quoted earlier: "The dynamic of capital accumulation has been a major, perhaps the major, dynamic of modern history; as has social exclusion, which is another consequence of the same normative structure."[426] Richards' conclusion is that the problem is not a psychological one, it is not the greed of certain elites, and is not a lack of regulations either. Implementing more regulations will not work. Deeper change is needed.

As mentioned previously, Richards suggests going back more than two thousand years to understand what is needed to rectify the ground pillars of our economic institutions today. He looks at the basic cultural structures that define the modern Western historical development and by now the entire world-system. These basic structures are derived from Roman law, and they are what needs to be corrected:

- *Suum cuique* (to each his own) needs to be corrected by socially functional forms of land tenancy and socially functional forms of property in general.[427]
- *Pacta sunt servanda* (agreements must be kept) needs to be corrected by reciprocity and responsibility for one another's welfare regardless of whether there is a contract. Externalities need to be acknowledged as normal, not exceptional, and human action should seek to promote positive externalities and to avoid negative ones.
- *Honeste vivare* (to live honestly) needs to be corrected by recognizing that our very identity is relational.
- *Alterum non laedere* (not hurting others by word or deed) needs to be corrected to promote an ideal of service to others, above, and beyond the obligation not to harm them.

The institution of money, since it is at the core of economic arrangements, might require particular attention: "When we organize and manage the economy to maximize financial returns to money, we organize to maximize the growth of the numbers stored in financial asset accounts on computer hard drives. When we disregard the consequences for living Earth's generative systems and the social fabric of human community, this becomes a suicidal act of collective insanity," this is the verdict of institutional systems analyst David Korten.[428]

What if money were no longer a commodity that can be accumulated and "work" through interest or investment?[429] What if money were only a tool to facilitate what our forebears engaged in, namely, mutual reciprocity in the context of communal sharing? Our forebears engaged in *reciprocity* rather than *exchange*, as is often falsely assumed.[430] What if money were created by a global institution dedicated to the common good? To test and experiment with such ideas, all lobbyists of the world would have to be invited to gather at the same time and brought on board for such a project, together with all wealthy people, and all Silicon Valley dreamers.[431] Media would have to cover this process daily, explaining the human tendency to feel *loss aversion*, meaning the unwillingness to let go of privileges even though the results will be better. Media would need to explain what *unity in diversity* means, how it can be achieved and protected. Media could help harvesting all dignifying skills and insights from all cultures, particularly indigenous ones. Media could display the image of the Blue

Planet as a historically unprecedented revolutionary image that brings us all together on a planet without borders.[432] Media could explain that we, collectively, as humankind, have sufficient information and knowledge to create a new decent world for our children. The Blue Marble image can guide us; it can be posted on all corners of the world. Instead of building pyramids for Pharaohs, or statues with warriors on horses or tanks, we could perhaps create holograms of our Blue Marble in all cities.

To lift the idea of one single collectively collaborating global human family out of theory and into praxis, we will need to encourage all citizens of nations to reach out beyond their borders, both in spirit and in practice, at least for parts of their lives. The Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network therefore encourages all members to open their homes as Human Dignity Dialogue Homes so as to nurture a sense and practice of a global family. Nowadays, sites such as couchsurfing.org bring access to a global life experience to many people, and the author now meets young people all around the world who agree with her that global family building is hugely enriching.

Global living can help accomplish what Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa calls the shift from a *machine* principle to a *life* principle, from rigidity to process and complexity, not just in architectural designs.[433] In times of globalization in the twenty-first century, a new psychology is needed: seeing multiple truths and engaging in respectful humility is the new path to competence, culture, and organization.[434] Social identity complexity can and must be nurtured. When we acknowledge and accept social identity complexity, our identity structures become more inclusive and our tolerance of out-groups increases.[435] Philosopher Michel Serres uses the metaphor of the "educated third," which, to Serres, is a "third place" where a mixture of culture, nature, sciences, arts, and humanities is constructed.[436] Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah makes a "case for contamination."[437] He rejects purity, tribalism, and cultural protectionism and calls for a new cosmopolitanism. Philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas highlights the Other, whose face forces us to be humane.[438] Terms such as *métissage*, or intermingling, mean that both I and the Other are changed by our contact.[439]

When we meet complex problems, our first impulse is to break them down into their simplest components. Yet, complex global problems cannot be addressed in this way. What is needed instead is the system-of-systems approach of complexity science: "informed by traditional indigenous modes of thinking and visioning, it provides a rigorous platform for making whole system connections and breaking disciplinary silos," explains political scientist Merle Lefkoff.[440] Lefkoff shared her insights at the 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik on 21st September 2016, when she facilitated a *dignilogue* titled "Indigenous Knowledge and the New Science of Complex Adaptive Systems."[441] She drew the participants' attention to the work of Stuart Alan Kauffman on complex systems, on "coevolution to the edge of chaos," and of "the adjacent possible."[442]

Systems theorist Alexander Laszlo, as well, aims to achieve a more complete sense of the world when he speaks in terms of relationships, context, patterns, embedded systems, and processes. It was an honor for the participants of the 27th Dignity Conference to be invited to the 5th Biennial Meeting of the Knowledge Federation, titled "Tools and Practices for the Collective Mind Revolution," a conference that followed the Dignity Conference and was convened by Dino Karabeg at the same Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik from September 25 to October 1, 2016. We thank Dino Karabeg for connecting us to Alexander Laszlo, who uses words such as "glocal eco-civilization thrivability," "deep conviviality," "hyperconnectivity," and "humanity taking on the role of curators of planetary thrivability."[443] Conviviality can be intra-personal, trans-species, or trans-generational, and can lead us to questions such as: "What would our ancestors think of our work and life here and now? What will our children's children think of our choices? How do we honor our past and create our future intentionally? How do we become active and conscious participants in the unfolding of life?" Laszlo calls on humankind to learn "to be leaders of systemic innovation in syntony with life and the life support systems of Earth."[444]

Scandinavia may serve as an interesting historical lesson. Why is Norway the "happiest" country in the world in 2017?[445] Because they applied a *Fabian strategy*,[446] or what philosopher Karl Popper called *piecemeal social engineering*,[447] which means refraining from rigid dogmaticism, rather allowing ideology to unfold through being enmeshed into political processes.[448]

Not surprisingly, power elites fear fluidity and complexity, because it makes for unruly underlings. As long as the world was not as interdependent as it is now, in the context of the security dilemma, the dualism of "good in-group" versus "evil out-group" increased the odds for "victory" and was therefore maximized. Colonizers used this method with great success. It is only at the current point in history, in an interconnected world, that "victory" acquires a new meaning, namely, a Pyrrhic victory, a victory where all ultimately lose out. In an interconnected world, old and familiar approaches become dysfunctional. In a shrinking world, it is hazardous to hold on to the belief that humiliating enemies is a safe path to making them humble, to ensuring their humility.

The re-ignition of the security dilemma in an interconnected world should therefore be avoided, as it risks ending, not in victory, but in collective suicide. Yet, unfortunately, such re-ignition can still happen. As Donald Trump has been elected to become President of the United States in November 8, 2016, it is possible that China will replace Russia as prime enemy of the West.[449] While Russia's efforts to maintain or regain national pride and international respect were viewed with apprehension in the West thus far, also China is a rising power, now casting off its "century of humiliation" in a bid to become a force in regional and world affairs.[450] The ancient term *Thucydides trap* is still being used by present-day strategists and political scientists to describe the fear that a rising power instills in an already established powerful empire. Conflict and war can arise between those powers, irrespective of diplomatic efforts to avert it.[451]

Cities are called on to withstand any refracturing of the world into mutually hostile blocks, they are called on to heed the words of outgoing United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon that it is unforgivable that efforts to abolish nuclear weapons have ebbed, making any re-ignition of the Cold War ever more dangerous.[452]

Extremists, as well, fear fluidity and complexity. When right-wing populists in Western countries shout against Islamists, this obscures that both are twins: extremists of all orientations rile against an open society.[453] Algerian writer and journalist Kamel Daoud warns that Europe is in danger of losing itself if it does not learn from Algeria's sad path into psychological apathy and cultural impoverishment, as it is being squeezed between two extremisms.[454] Both right-wing extremism and violent Islamism attract males who are uncertain about their identity as men and who reject an emancipated and equitable society. Both interpret any dissolving of traditional gender roles as a sign of depravity and decadence. Strict gender segregation offers extremists of all camps refuge for their endangered masculinity: leadership functions are most often occupied by men, while women are reduced to a serving role.

Present-day political structures, and this includes democratic forms of governance, are failing in many ways. Democracy, as it is shaped today, risks failing wherever the results of interventions will bear fruit only after the end of the period in office for elected politicians. One illustration of many of this dangerous impasse is the need for early interventions with respect to adequate parental care for children during their first two years. In the UK, all parties agree that early intervention programs are vitally important and need to be supported nationally. But nothing is done to make it happen: "Quite the opposite… The funding I thought was earmarked for it is being taken away. The plans that I have put forward are being hollowed out."[455] "It's crazy," adds another voice:

> This is a policy that has the potential to transform our society, to mean that the next generation of babies will grow into more responsible, less crime-prone, and better educated

adults. We know what needs to be done to get those results: we need to ensure that mothers who are at risk of neglecting or abusing their babies in the first two years of life are instructed how to care for them and interact with them properly. But no one in central government is pushing it. In fact, they're taking away the early intervention grant in order to pay for the pupil premium for two-year-olds."[456]

The problem is that the benefits of long-term interventions will become obvious only after many years. The babies in the above-presented example who benefit today will be teenagers only many years after the next elections in five years:

That means the benefits will not accrue to the politicians in power now, but to their successors – which could be why those in power now are reluctant to expend effort and money on early intervention programmes. "I hope that isn't true," says Graham Allen. "Because if it is, it would mean we are politically incapable of implementing the one policy that will certainly make our society immeasurably better. And what more profound condemnation of our political system could there be than that?"[457]

"Democracy," as it stands now, with its tendency to reward polarization and short-term politicking, also risks undermining sustainable consensus building.[458] New forms of consensus building and dialogue will need to be experimented with. New forms of collaborative leadership are called for. All world cultures have ideas, practices, and skills to contribute with.[459] Humankind as a whole can "harvest" those elements from all cultures that foster relationships of loving mutuality and respect for equality in dignity, be it from the African philosophy of *ubuntu*, or indigenous traditions of consensus building, or any other alternative cultural concept – here is a collection of terms the author personally came across at different world regions: *ho'oponopono*, *musyawarah*, *silahturahmi*, *asal ngumpul*, *palaver*, *shir*, *jirga*, *panchayati raj*, *minga*, *dugnad*, or *sociocracy*. All terms point at less confrontational and more cooperative ways of arriving at consensus and social cohesion than Western concepts of democracy stand for.

Rather than domination and exploitation, the *partnership* model of society, as Riane Eisler calls it, is the suitable one for an interconnected world. Rather than trying to accumulate quantities of material possession, quality is the new asset, the very quality of life.[460] And this is achievable through nurturing communal sharing and mutual reciprocity as a primary frame for social interaction. Rather than uniformity in division, unity in diversity is what calls to be nurtured. The world's current global rat race is a suicidal project: ruled by a globally uniform McDonaldization, the global masses clamber to be part of it, and for that purpose they divide into rival in-groups that impose internal uniformity vis-à-vis their competitors.

The world can learn much from Southeast Europe. How was it possible that a country like former Yugoslavia, with all its incendiary warrior culture, could be so peaceful for so many years at first, only to suddenly explode in war and fall apart? Under Josip Broz Tito, the region enjoyed a period of respite, it proudly developed a "third way" between the two rigid ideological blocks to their east and their west. What was it that destabilized the peace? Was perhaps the balance between unity and diversity disturbed? Raif Dizdarević was once an officer in Tito's Partisans, then Yugoslavia's foreign minister, speaker of its parliament, and later one of the rotating presidents after Tito's death. He believes that the seeds of fractious nationalism were sown in the new constitution of 1974, because it loosened the federal structure without introducing necessary economic reforms: "When we actually decided to move towards decentralization, we were not giving time to the economy. Instead we were giving time to the republics."[461] The resulting economic imbalances gave politicians in the richer republics the opportunity to ask why they should subsidize the poorer ones. The central government hit back too strongly, namely, by suppressing diversity for the sake of unity to the point of uniformity without diversity. The Croatian Spring, a cultural and political movement

that emerged in the early 1970s, was suppressed by force by the Yugoslav authorities in 1971. If it had been included as part of diversity, it could have had an enriching effect, yet, as it was forced into uniformity, it exploded into division.

Diversity became divisive also in Western societies in recent years, as it appears, and the election of Donald Trump threw this division into stark contrast. When diversity is no longer embedded into unity, division is the result. Political scientist Mark Lilla explains:

> The fixation on diversity in our schools and in the press has produced a generation of liberals and progressives narcissistically unaware of conditions outside their self-defined groups and indifferent to the task of reaching out to Americans in every walk of life… At a very young age our children are being encouraged to talk about their individual identities, even before they have them. By the time they reach college many assume that diversity discourse exhausts political discourse, and have shockingly little to say about such perennial questions as class, war, the economy and the common good.[462]

The desire to dignify certain groups, as it appears, has alienated other groups to the degree that unity was lost. Voters in Middle America, for instance, now accept Trump's "juvenile viciousness" because "the narcissism of prevailing closed-minded progressive ideology could no longer be tolerated. In the end, the alternative was worse than Trump."[463] The progressives' rhetoric of diversity, with its focus on African-American, Latino, L.G.B.T. and women voters, had elicited feelings of exclusion and humiliation in those left out. "If you are going to mention groups in America, you had better mention all of them. If you don't, those left out will notice and feel excluded."[464] Those excluded now rage against "political correctness."

Worse, not only did some feel left out, they had learned the "cult of victimhood." The progressives had allowed the culture of dignity to become a *culture of victimhood*.[465] The self-esteem movement that psychologist Jean Twenge describes in her work went too far and led to a narcissism of entitlement.[466] When progressives now lament the rise of fake news and "alternative facts," finger-pointing seems inappropriate. Rather, an acknowledgment is due that they introduced the elevation of emotion over reason, permitting feelings to guide reality, admonishes social psychologist Jonathan Haidt.[467] He argues that the cult of victimhood in law and process "causes a downward spiral of competitive victimhood" and the generation of a "vortex of grievance."[468] No wonder that men accused of sexism now feel they are the victims, namely, victims of reverse sexism.

Political scientist Mark Lilla calls for "a post-identity liberalism" that "should draw from the past successes of pre-identity liberalism. Such a liberalism would concentrate on widening its base by appealing to Americans as Americans and emphasizing the issues that affect a vast majority of them."[469] The author of this paper would add: appealing to human beings as fellow human beings on a tiny planet.

Nationalism was once a future-oriented innovation. It broke up the old empires, and by the end of World War I, a dozen new nation-states had emerged. World War II "finished the job."[470] Now the time has come to take the next step and find better ways than nationalism to satisfy people's need for belonging, namely, by building global unity in diversity, global symbiosis and diversity.[471] To take the Titanic as metaphor again, for a long time, the walls between the cabins were fought over, some cabin owners conquered others and then lost them again. Contemporary weapons, including the internet, now risk sinking the entire ship if such power-over strategies are being continued, making them potentially suicidal.

We have entered what Paul Raskin calls the Planetary Phase of Civilization, where strands of interdependence weave humanity and Earth into a single community of fate, on its way to *Earthland*. Raskin wonders, why the pace of social evolution has quickened throughout human history, whether this acceleration is a mere coincidence or the manifestation of an underlying historical principle:

The complexification and enlargement of society also quickens the pace of social evolution. Just as historical change moves more rapidly than biological change (and far more rapidly than geological change), so, too, is history itself accelerating. As the figure suggests, the Stone Age endured about 100,000 years; Early Civilization, roughly 10,000 years; and the Modern Era, now drawing to a close, began to stir nearly 1,000 years ago. If the Planetary Phase were to play out over 100 years, this sequence of exponentially decreasing timespans would persist.[472]

Also Paul Raskin uses the trope of a ship, when he speaks of *Earthland*, today's multitiered world that "overlays globalized dynamics across a mosaic of modern, pre-modern, and even remnants of Stone Age cultures":

On board [of the ship], white-knuckled passengers are awakening to their existential quandary. They tremulously inquire about location and direction, but bewildered cabin attendants can provide only disjointed information and unpersuasive reassurances. In the cockpit, the insouciant captains cast desultory glances at the flight screens or doze, awaiting instructions from perplexed navigators.[473]

Raskin crafts artful formulations to describe the passengers' psychological responses: some discount any dangers in "sweet denial, finding distraction in passing amusements and baubles, and seeking succor in the false panaceas of free markets, religious rapture, or individual beatitude."[474] Others are despondent and confront their plight open-eyed, but, "seeing no way out," they "turn away in fatalistic despair," while most "are just trying to muddle through, keeping their heads down and hoping for the best."[475]

In this new situation, not just familiar power-over strategies become obsolete. When a new global superordinate system forms and "global-scale processes increasingly influence the operation and stability of subsystems," reductive partitioning into "semi-autonomous entities – states, ecosystems, cultures, territories – becomes inaccurate and misleading."[476] Also "Zombie ideologies," such as "territorial chauvinism, unbridled consumerism, and the illusion of endless growth," held dear by a "myopic and disputatious political order," need to grow into "coherent responses to systemic risks of climate change, economic instability, population displacement, and global terrorism," to name only the most emblematic.[477]

Does Raskin aim for utopia? Yes and no. If anything, continuing with business-as-usual is an impossible utopia. But there is also possible and necessary utopia, namely, innovative visions for a better future: "In immoderate times, moderation becomes imprudent – madness in reason's mask. The business-as-usual utopianism of Market Forces ideology is an egregious case of crackpot realism," is Raskin's verdict, borrowing a phrase from C. Wright Mills.[478]

Risk analyst Nassim Nicholas Taleb is another scholar who uses metaphors. He speaks of the cat and the washing machine to make the point that the Newtonian machine paradigm is misguided for living creatures: The world is much more like a cat than a washing machine.[479] Taleb invites everybody to embrace and nurture a very important feature of all organic systems, namely, *antifragility*, which is more than simply resilience.[480] His insights can be applied in all walks of life, from micro to macro levels. At micro levels, it means cultivating a *psychological growth* mindset in approaching the world rather than a *fixed* mindset.[481] For a decent future for humanity, it means embarking on an *refolution* (a term coined by Timothy Garton Ash to connote a mix of reform and revolution). A global "antifragile refolution in solidarity" can succeed, in contrast to the familiar path where a strongman imposes a doctrine that is fixed and can only be corrected by a bloody revolution. Bringing about a refolution would be the next learning step for humankind if implemented with processual growing-up mindset. And if it is true that posttraumatic growth and posttraumatic disorder are intricately

interlinked, if it is true that disorder sometimes leads to growth in wisdom rather than reduced mental health, then humankind will perhaps be able to learn from its past mistakes and do better in the future?[482]

In the author's words, a *dignity transition* is needed to exit from the security dilemma and to prevent and heal the *dignity dilemma* and the *dignity gap* that is bound to open up when a divided world unites.

What the world needs to learn now is that maintaining unity in diversity is a balancing act that requires a high degree of cognitive sophistication and dignifying communication skills. Most people think that unity in diversity is a zero-sum game and that if one wants more unity, one has to sacrifice diversity, and vice versa. Therefore many think in dualities: "cosmopolitanism versus communalism, statism versus anarchism, and top-down versus bottom-up."[483] High mental hurdles seem to stand in the way for people to understand that unity in diversity is not a zero-sum game. Both unity and diversity can be increased together, and the benefits are immeasurable. Jean Baker Miller showed this in her work on zest in relationships as an outcome of waging good conflict.[484]

Unity has to be protected from being degraded into uniformity, and also the other side of the motto, diversity, has to be guarded against being eroded, in this case into division. Nations and cities are well advised to attenuate war culture in all walks of life, from education to cultural activities to political decisions, since war culture degrades diversity into division and leaves in-groups with inner uniformity, pitted in hostile division against out-groups.

The two prongs of unity and diversity, global responsibility and regional autonomy, are both essential and complementary. Epistemologist Bruce Schuman sees the core challenge for humankind's success in accepting that there is a "foundational tension between 'Many' and 'One'," a tension that has endless implications in a form that is essentially mathematical and "extends across the entire range of human thinking."[485]

For making unity in diversity work, it is not enough, however, to transcend dualities, as important as it is. What is needed also, is to embrace processual thinking, which means to stop clinging to fixities and instead moving in flux. The tension between "Many" and "One" must be balanced in a never-ending process by all involved. It can never be "cemented" once and for all in the way past systems attempted to do. This means that flexible societal systems need to be created and dignifying communication skills learned that allow for fluid adaptations of this balance, and all of this without violence. It means moving away from a world that clings to illusions of fixity, where violent protests are launched whenever the balance is felt wanting. In sum: maintaining unity in diversity is a never-ending balancing act that requires a high degree of cognitive sophistication, interpersonal sagacity, and dignifying communication skills.

Instead of fixed dualities, what is needed is the employment of the principle of *constrained pluralism*, as introduced above, comprising three complementary sub-principles: *irreducibility, subsidiarity,* and *heterogeneity*.[486]

Unity in diversity is a fruitful principle in many contexts, not least religion. Sudhir Chella Rajan, of the Indian Institute of Technology Madras, draws on philosopher Bruno Latour, who, in turn, builds on the notion of *hierophany*, the sense of awe in a sacred space. The word *hierophany* comes from Greek *hieros*, sacred/holy, and *phainein*, to bring to light.[487] Rajan suggests that the moral idea of *Gaia* can inspire such *hierophany* in both secular left-oriented liberals and the religious right and thus transform religious division into diversity[488]: "Gaia communities could assert that they and other conventional theistic believers are in fact worshipping the same god(s)/forces as everyone else and that this fact symbolizes our over-arching solidarity."[489]

The most devastating damage is done when unity in diversity is professed in rhetoric, while oppressive uniformity is acted out in practice. The results can be devastatingly humiliating. Anton Verwey, formerly UNHCR, shared his life path in the 27th Dignity Conference in 2016.[490] His account confirmed what the author had learned earlier, for

instance, when she carried out her doctoral research in Africa in 1998 and 1999. Almost all humanitarian aid workers she met were deeply touched by the sad message of a book by Michael Maren that describes a humanitarian worker's "road to hell."[491] Indeed, she has observed this phenomenon all around the world for the past forty years: many idealists try hard to solve problems on the ground, investing their entire being and sacrificing their health, while those in power positions, including in humanitarian organizations, are often beholden to the larger power hierarchy they are part of, lest they lose their position and privileges. Higher power echelons may not be interested at all in the well-being of people on the ground, they may simply regard them as useful objects in a calculus of power. Many a hardworking idealists has already descended into bitter disappointment and become deeply traumatized as a result. Labels such as "charitable-industrial complex,"[492] or "white-savior industrial complex," expose how humanitarian considerations may simply serve as a smokescreen.[493] Dedicated citizens of cities are not excluded; also they can be misled by enthralling rhetoric from their superiors to tirelessly invest their energy into developing their neighborhoods in dignifying ways, only to detect, too late, that those in power covertly had a very different agenda all along, a very undignifying agenda.

Unfortunately, war culture can now be manifested not just in the military arena; it expresses itself also as economic exploitation, as economic tools can be as effective as military weapons, or more, and this can affect all cities and nations around the globe. Corruption and the enrichment of people in power are logical extensions of the idea that profit ought to be maximized. Drug cartels follow nothing but the classical capitalist script.[494] The above-mentioned concept of *dignism* would be a better "–ism" for the future, rather than using concepts such as "communism" and "capitalism" that are by now simply mangled shadows of their originators' ideals and have degraded into markers of hateful cycles of humiliation.

Clearly, not just a culture of war and combat, also a culture of obedience has to be left behind, as discussed previously, since this makes people vulnerable to blindly following orders. Education is therefore crucial, education that nurtures critical thinking rather than preparing people for becoming puppets in the hands of humiliation-entrepreneurs and dominators. To avoid corruption, the Republic of Dubrovnik, for instance, historically elected their leader, the "Rector," for as short a period as one month.

The Balkans are a region that can teach the world what it needs to steer clear of. As a formerly embattled border region between two empires, ruled from Vienna and Constantinople respectively, their citizens had been incentivized to be proud of their warrior-spirit. This spirit was easy to fire up by new powers later, bringing all-out war and destruction to millions of people. The Balkans are not alone, however, proud warrior cultures have arisen also in other world regions. Somalia is one example, a country whose harsh semi-desert bred brave nomads always ready to fight. The cruel Yugoslav Wars were fought from 1991 to 2001, while in 1988 quasi-genocide had come to Somalia.[495] Proud warriors are enthusiastic to go to war, they are not keen to make peace, and they cannot be forced into peace by way of obedience either, as it would be possible, for instance, in places like Rwanda.[496]

Through her work, the author aims to encourage peripheries to think up dignified solutions for how world affairs can be shaped differently, and to invite power centers to consider joining in. Johan Galtung suggested in 1971 that power centers might choose to turn away from imperialist policies, not because they are forced to, but because they see and understand that exploitation puts world peace in danger. Or, there may be internal reasons, negative spin-off effects such as inequality or pollution, which might inspire the adoption of politics of justice and care: "There are many possibilities, and they may combine into quite likely contributions towards a disruption of the system. But in general we would believe more in Periphery-generated strategies than in Center- generated ones, since the latter may easily lead to a new form of dependence on the Center."[497]

Not just in the social realm, but also in the realm of nature, diversity is a source of wealth that needs to be protected. At the current point in time, "environmentally insensitive urban

sprawl, logging, and farming practices convert and degrade pristine lands."[498] The task of cities is therefore to become "more compact, sparing land for nature," making habitat protection part of all project planning, so as to halt the rampant loss of species.[499]

Last but not least, cities are called on to plant trees! "Having 11 more trees in a city block, on average, decreases cardio-metabolic conditions in ways comparable to an increase in annual personal income of $20,000 and moving to a neighborhood with $20,000 higher median income or being 1.4 years younger."[500] Regard the city as a coherent system rather than allowing it to fragment into various interest zones.[501] German sociologist Claus Leggewie calls for the "reconquest of public space" from the real estate industry and reconquest from the car "by foot and by bicycle."[502]

No less than a global citizens movement is needed to create what Paul Raskin calls *Earthland*, a global "country" that leaves behind consumerism, ruthless individualism, and anthropocentrism, and instead nurtures "a culture of nonviolence, tolerance, respect, and democracy" and adheres to "the values of quality of life, human solidarity, and ecological resilience."[503] Ecological resilience requires a transition from *anthropocentrism* to *ecocentrism*, meaning that the human relationship to the Earth needs to be characterized by humility, by the acknowledgment of humans' dependence on Earth's resilience and bounty.[504] Intercultural psychologist Anthony Marsella suggests that we have "to move beyond such all-too human dynamics, even beyond our identification and pre-occupation with humanity altogether (such as humanism, humanitarian, or humanistic) and "to move to an identity with life – *lifeism*."[505]

After forty years of global citizenship, the author can attest that an ethos of globalism offers a much more nourishing sense of belonging than nationalism ever can, because its territory is the entire planet, rather than imaginary state boundaries. All identifications are fickle, except one, and sociologist Norbert Elias said it already in 1939: "Only the highest level of integration, belonging to humanity, is permanent and inescapable."[506]

Cities risk breaking under circles of humiliation, if they do not heed this message and connect across all fault lines worldwide to move toward a dignified globalism where problems can be solved jointly. In *Earthland*, cities will be freed from being victimized as pawns by nations.

Greek dramatist Aristophanes once dreamt of one human family "mingling the kindred of the nations in the alchemy of love": today a global ethos of dignified partnership is no longer a lofty ideal, it is "anchored in objective conditions."[507] In today's world of shared risks it is no longer a dream that a global family of human citizens of the Earth comes together to care for our planet and each other. It is a necessity dictated by everybody's self-interest. What was once ridiculed as blue-eyed idealism is now the only true realism.

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Endnotes

[1] We thank Kjell Skyllstad for being the inspirer of this conference, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/27.php. The author is one of the main organizers of all of the conferences conducted by the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network.

[2] See also Lindner, 2017c.

[3] Lindner, 2016b. See also Brendtro, et al., 2009, noting that saying "you no longer belong to our group" amounts to the ultimate form of punishment of social death. I thank Mechthild Nagel, for making me aware of Brendtro's work. See also the work of ethologist Konrad Lorenz, 1963/1966, in his book *On Aggression*, describes intergroup aggression as being different from intragroup aggression. Among animals, fights for rank are seldom fatal, while, by contrast, groups of animals might fight to the death among each other, willing to kill or be killed in defense of their community.

[4] Karlberg, 2013. Discourse analyst Michael Karlberg describes three contrasting deep interpretive frames within which the concept of human dignity can be understood: the social command frame, the social contest frame, and the social body frame, He points out that these frames sometimes co-exist in contradictory or fragmented ways. Also George Lakoff, 2006, explains that people employ interpretive frames in unconscious ways that are not always consistent or coherent, and that can change over time. Karlberg continues:

> In this regard, some people may employ the social contest frame in specific domains (such as governance, law, and the economy) while they employ the social body frame in other domains (such as family life or social affiliations). In addition, some people may unconsciously shift between these frames even when thinking about the same social domain. Interpretive frames can therefore be understood as patterned but shifting and sometimes fragmented interpretive tendencies that can nonetheless exert powerful influences on the ways people think, speak, and act in relation to various aspects of reality.

[5] Scholar Stephan Feuchtwang in a personal communication on November 14, 2002.

[6] "Evolving Democracy," by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, February 13, 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/02/evolving-democracy/.

[7] See also Lindner, 2017c.

[8] Higgins, 2016. See a precursor to the concept of ecocide in Christopher Stone, 1972, and for "a look back forty years later," see Anna Grear, 2012. See, furthermore, Boyd, 2012, or Angus, 2016. Consider also the sustainability principle in The Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Ley de la Madre Tierra in Bolivia. See, furthermore, Boyd, 2012, or Angus, 2016.
There are also voices, however, who warn that to introduce a crime of ecocide in the International Criminal Court (ICC) may be ultimately undesirable, as the vehicle of an international crime at the same time overreaches and is insufficient, see Capra and Mattei, 2015, and also Ugo Mattei of the Hastings College of Law at the University of California, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," July 5, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016. The ICC, because of the lack of international centralized power or independence, is just a mockery of an institution, writes Mattei, and continues:

> Ecocide is too serious of an issue to be entangled with such a spectacle of an international institution that never worked to reach the actual powerful culprits. Moreover, even if we were to take seriously international criminal law in a world of dramatic power imbalance, a crime of ecocide would necessarily require a level of culpability that is most probably absent in all the major episodes of devastation of the environment. Disasters such as Fukushima, Chernobyl, or even the Gulf spill would clearly fall below that. There are issues of corporate responsibility, of criminal consequences of recklessness, of sufficiency, of omissions, or of causality that handled by any good criminal attorney would let wealthy corporate actors be immune from responsibility.
> It is hard to believe that any powerful wrongdoer will be deterred by such a crime, and, as consequence, the very idea of ecocide will suffer prestige and credibility.
> We live in a world in which very few people have any awareness of the disasters of the

Anthropocene, so we need diffused ecological literacy. We live in a world in which people believe that the only concept of law is that of a vertical model in the hands of governments, so we need diffused legal literacy.

In seeking a legal solution for problems of such ecological relevance, involving so many non-human interests traditionally and presently ignored and massively violated by the very structure of extractive capitalism, we need (if at all available) the best not the worst part of legal systems. We need to culturally transform the perception of law, to disentangle it with notions of power-concentration, to give it back to communities as a decentralized cultural and legitimate tool to share problems and solutions. Nothing is further away from people and social movements than an appeal to jails, cops, and police to solve our ecological problems. Would such a move increase international ecological legal literacy?

It is an honor for me to be part in Anna Grear's network, as well as Paul Raskin's GTN discussions.

[9] "Sociocide is the intended wounding-killing of a society by eliminating the prerequisites for a live, vibrant, dynamic society," writes Johan Galtung. See "Sociocide, Palestine and Israel," by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, October 8, 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-world view, 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 world-view–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.

[10] "When the End of Human Civilization Is Your Day Job," by John H. Richardson, *Esquire*, July 7, 2015, www.esquire.com/news-politics/a36228/ballad-of-the-sad-climatologists-0815/.

[11] "When the End of Human Civilization Is Your Day Job," by John H. Richardson, *Esquire*, July 7, 2015, www.esquire.com/news-politics/a36228/ballad-of-the-sad-climatologists-0815/. See also Orr, 2009.

[12] "Mainstream Media Are Betraying Humanity," by John Scales Avery, *Human Wrongs Watch*, July 29, 2016, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2016/07/30/mainstream-media-are-betraying-humanity/.

[13] "The Real Problem Behind the Fake News," by Will Oremus, *Slate*, November 15, 2016, www.slate.com/articles/technology/technology/2016/11/the_problem_with_facebook_runs_much_deeper_than_fake_news.html.

[14] Stephen Purdey, international relations specialist and research affiliate of the Waterloo Institute for Complexity and Innovation at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, Canada, in his contribution to the

Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," October 24, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016. Herman Greene is the President of the Center for Ecozoic Societies, www.ecozoicsocieties.org.

[15] William Rees in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," July 31, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016. Italics are added.

[16] William Rees in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," July 31, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016. Italics are added.

[17] Ted Trainer in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic "The Degrowth Alternative," January 26, 2015:

> Our enormous (and probably insoluble) problem is to get them to shift to what I term The Simpler Way. We will make little or no progress while the supermarket shelves remain well-stocked. Our chances will begin to improve when the crunches start impacting in rich countries, the multi-faceted "peaks" in oil, energy, materials supply, the accelerating ecological impacts, the financial turmoil, and the social breakdown fueled by the inequality and deprivation neo-liberal doctrine inevitably inflicts. Our task is to work hard during the short window of opportunity we have to get local alternative communities up and running as best we can, so that when people start to realize that the consumer-capitalist system will not provide for them they can see around them at least indicators of the kind of alternative they need to help build in their towns and suburbs.

See also Alexander, 2009, Doherty and Etzioni, 2003, Trainer, 2014. Ted (F.E.) Trainer is an Australian academic, and an advocate of economic de-growth, simple living, and "conserver" lifestyles. Trainer is on the faculty of the Simplicity Institute, Office of Environmental Programmes, Melbourne University, Australia, see http://simplicityinstitute.org/ted-trainer. He works with the Simpler Way project, which has primarily been about trying to show that the required alternative ways would be easily, cheaply, and quickly built if people wanted to do that. See www.socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/tsw/TheAltSoc.lng.html for a detailed sketch.

[18] Darimont, et al., 2015.

[19] Global wildlife populations have fallen by 58 percent since 1970, and if the trend continues the decline could reach two-thirds among vertebrates by 2020, according to World Wildlife Fund (WWF), et al., 2016. See also Ceballos, et al., 2015, Kolbert, 2006, Spufford and Kolbert, 2007, and Kolbert, 2014. See, furthermore, Davis, 2009, and *The Wayfinders*, the 2009 Massey Lecture by Wade Davis, Convocation Hall, Toronto, uploaded November 20, 2011, on https://youtu.be/KfbGdoTQKuM. See also philosopher Alan Wilson Watts (1915–1973), and his Alan Watts: A Conversation with Myself in four parts, beginning with https://youtu.be/8aufuwMiKmE.

[20] Kolbert, 2014. See also her earlier publications, Kolbert, 2006, Spufford and Kolbert, 2007. See also Ceballos, et al., 2015, and World Wildlife Fund (WWF), 2014. See, furthermore, Davis, 2009, and The Wayfinders, the 2009 Massey Lecture by Wade Davis, Convocation Hall, Toronto, uploaded November 20, 2011, https://youtu.be/KfbGdoTQKuM. See, furthermore, philosopher Alan Wilson Watts (1915 – 1973), and his Alan Watts: A Conversation with Myself in four parts, beginning with https://youtu.be/8aufuwMiKmE.

[21] "Life on Earth Is Dying," by Robert J. Burrowes, *Human Wrongs Watch*, December 6, 2016, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2016/12/07/life-on-earth-is-dying/.

[22] Kolbert, 2014.

[23] Young, et al., 2015.

[24] *die story – Das Gift im Kuhstall – Sterbende Tiere, kranke Menschen*, documentary film, Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR, West German Broadcasting), 2013, www.ardmediathek.de/wdr-fernsehen/die-story?documentId=17138936, and https://youtu.be/c4uUx507ZZU:

> Kühe, die stolpern, hinfallen und schließlich getötet werden. Bauern, die an Muskelschwäche erkranken und Kinder, die behindert zur Welt kommen. Die Ursache für diese Schreckensbilder ist ein Bakterium, Clostridium Botulinum. Dieses Bakterium ist ein echter Killer, hochgefährlich und seit über zehn Jahren in vielen deutschen Rinderställen aktiv.

Evelin Lindner

[25] *Antibiotika ohne Wirkung?* documentary film by Antje Büll, Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR, North German Broadcasting, a public radio and television broadcaster, based in Hamburg), February 10, 2014, www.ndr.de/ratgeber/gesundheit/infektion_immunsystem/antibiotika283.html, and https://youtu.be/D_7rsOQ2VSI:

> Jedes Jahr sterben 15.000 Menschen in Deutschland an Infektionen mit antibiotika-resistenten Keimen. Neue wirksame Antibiotika gibt es noch nicht. Wie ernst ist die Lage? Antibiotika werden laufend verordnet – selbst, wenn sie überflüssig sind. Aber warum verschreiben die Ärzte so viel davon – manchmal sogar bei harmlosen Erkältungen? Ärzte fürchten längst nicht mehr nur den Krankenhauskeim MRSA, sondern auch Darmkeime, bei denen die vorhandenen Medikamente versagen. Doch neuartige Antibiotika sind nicht in Sicht. Was sind die Ursachen dafür, dass manche Antibiotika heute schon nicht mehr wirken? Welche Auswege gibt es?

[26] Richard Heinberg in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Bounding the Planetary Future: Why We Need a GT," March 20, 2015.

[27] Ruben Nelson in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," September 14, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[28] "The New Urban Agenda: The Transformative Power of Urbanization," The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN–Habitat, the United Nations agency for human settlements and sustainable urban development), 2016, www.habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda.

[29] *World Cities Report 2016*, Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), http://wcr.unhabitat.org/main-report/.

[30] See also "The Earth Is Not Flat; It Is Urban," by Baher Kamal, *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, October 4, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/10/the-earth-is-not-flat-it-is-urban/.

[31] "Climate and Terrorism," by Roberto Savio, Inter Press Service (IPS), August 2, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/08/climate-and-terrorism/:

> The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) forecasts 200 million environmental migrants by 2050, moving either within their countries or across borders, on a permanent or temporary basis. Many of them would be coastal population.

See, among many other relevant publications, Ahmed, 2017.

[32] "Land Degradation Could Force 135 Million to Migrate in Next 30 Years," by Manipadma Jena, *Inter Press Service*, October 18, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/10/qa-land-degradation-could-force-135-million-to-migrate-in-next-30-years/. Manipadma Jena interviews the executive secretary of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) MONIQUE BARBUT

[33] The Conflict Horizon 3: Only Connect, Dan Smith's blog, April 25, 2014, http://dansmithsblog.com/2014/04/25/the-conflict-horizon-3-only-connect/. I thank Dan Smith for his support when he was the director of the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), and I devised research proposals for my doctorate, see Lindner, 1995b, Lindner, 1995a.

[34] "The War of the Future? Picture Big Armies and Many Fronts," by Helene Cooper, *New York Times*,, June 10, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/06/11/us/the-war-of-the-future-picture-big-armies-and-many-fronts.html. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article.

[35] The ship of fools is an allegory, originating from Plato, 360 BCE.

[36] See here an illustration: "Responses: The Humiliation Myth: Humiliation Doesn't Explain Terrorism; the Spread of Political Islam Does. A Response to Peter Bergen and Michael Lind," by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, Democracy: A Journal of Ideas, Spring 2007, No. 4, http://democracyjournal.org/magazine/4/the-humiliation-myth/:

> Humiliation is not the issue. An all-consuming, divinely ordained desire to impose theocratic totalitarian control is…We should stop fixating on al Qaeda and terrorism, narrowly construed, as the overwhelming problem and recognize that the biggest danger is the Political Islamic colossus and aspiring hegemon…

"Humiliation and Terrorism: Goldhagen's Analysis," by Richard Landes, The Augean Stables, March 27, 2007, www.theaugeanstables.com/2007/03/27/humiliation-and-terrorism-goldhagens-analysis/:

In this kind of honor-shame battle, any concessions from us will fuel the triumphalism of the other side. This is, whether we like it or not, and long before Bush invaded Iraq, a fight we cannot walk away from. How we fight back still needs serious consideration. But anyone who thinks the way to deal with Arab/Muslim "humiliation" is to accommodate their demands is a dupe of demopaths and a fool.

[37] "Facing Severe Food Shortages, Venezuela Pushes Urban Gardens," by John Otis, *National Public Radio (NPR)*, February 16, 2016, www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/02/16/466942128/facing-severe-food-shortages-venezuela-pushes-urban-gardens.

[38] Enzensberger, 1958.

[39] Since Airbnb has become very popular in France, attention to its shortcomings and wrongdoings is particularly manifest in France. See the documentary *Airbnb, l'autre visage d'un géant du partage*, Émission 33, June 4, 2016, France 2 (a French public national television channel), www.france2.fr/emissions/tout-compte-fait/diffusions/04-06-2016_490661, see a copy also on https://youtu.be/Iywwa3wfhoU. In cities such as Paris or Barcelona attractive parts of the city have been taken over by investors who rent entire buildings to tourists, pushing out the indigenous population and ruining local hotels. In 2014, Berlin's government passed legislation to limit the rentals of entire apartments on Airbnb, fining individuals up to €100,000 found renting without a permit, with owners allowed to rent only rooms. The documentary also sheds light on the unethical ways in which Airbnb evades paying taxes.

[40] "Negativni Društveni Aspekti Razvoja Turizma" (Negative Social Aspects of Development of Tourism), by Zlatko Šugić, University of Pula, September 2015, https://repozitorij.unipu.hr/islandora/object/unipu%3A201/datastream/PDF/view, translated from Croatian by Lindner with the help of internet tools.

[41] Hrvoje Carić, et al., 2016, Institute for Tourism, Zagreb, Croatia, www.iztzg.hr. See also Carić and Mackelworth, 2014, and "Koliko Zapravo Hrvatska Zarađuje Na Kruzerima? 'Nažalost, država ne vodi statistiku'" (How Much Does Croatia Actually Earn On Cruise Ships? "Unfortunately, the Government Does Not Keep Statistics"), by Hina Objavljeno, *Jutarnji Vijesti* (*Morning News*), April 19, 2015, www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/koliko-zapravo-hrvatska-zaraduje-na-kruzerima-nazalost-drzava-ne-vodi-statistiku/377104/. I thank Antun Nadramija for making me aware of this research.

[42] Wilson, 2011.

[43] Alan Zulch, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," August 1, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016. Alan Zulch is a program officer with the Kalliopeia Foundation, with a master's degree in transpersonal psychology and bachelor's in conservation and resources from U.C. Berkeley. He previously worked with the Global Oneness Project and the Global MindShift Foundation following twelve years in the corporate world managing web, call centre and telecommunications teams. See http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/contributors/alan-zulch.

[44] Taylor, 1971, 1993, Searle, 1995. Searle speaks of "institutional facts," for instance, with respect to property rights and contract rights, see Manicas, 2006. See, furthermore, Porpora, 1993, Donati and Archer, 2015, and Richards, 2004. I thank Howard Richards for including me into his lifelong journey of reflecting on social change.

[45] Bhaskar, 2008.

[46] Wallerstein, 1974–1989. See also Harvey, 2005, or Hudson, 2003. Howard Richards, in a personal communication on October 23, 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, 2012c.
This is a slightly different terminology than that which others use, for instance, Johan Galtung, 1976, when he speaks of actor, system, and structure; the actors may be persons, districts, nations or regions, a system is a certain sector of social life, such as work, education, economic transactions, family life, while a structure ties several systems together, meaning that actors interact with each other in more than one context: a society is a structure that is self-sufficient and can survive even if cut off from the rest.

[47] I therefore planned for a postdoctoral research project where I would contact TNC boards to find out more, see Lindner, 2000b. For classism, have a look at Barbara Jensen, 2012.

[48] "History Has Knocked Very Loudly on Our Door. Will We Answer?" World Future Forum 2016 – Opening Speech by Jakob von Uexküll, March 15, 2016, www.worldfuturecouncil.org/2016/03/15/world-future-forum-2016-opening-speech-jakob-von-Uexküll/. Even the UN SDG strategy suffers from dangerous religious dogma, says Uexküll: It will take 207 years to eliminate poverty with the proposed strategy, and the global economy would have to grow 175 times of its present size" – an obvious impossibility.

[49] "Individual and Human Rights," by Howard Richards, *Chileufú*, October 20, 2016, http://chileufu.cl/individual-and-human-rights/.

[50] "Turning the United States Around," by Howard Richards, *Chileufú*, 2016, http://chileufu.cl/turning-the-united-states-around/.

[51] Hegel, 1807/1977, in the chapter titled "Herrschaft und Knechtschaft," correctly translated "Lordship and Bondage" rather than "Master and Slave." See also Siebert and Ott, 2016.

[52] "The State of the World – By Journalism," by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, September 23, 2016, www.transcend.org/tms/2016/09/the-state-of-the-world-by-journalism/:

> And journalism should cover deeper issues such as the long shadows of history, from the split of the Roman Empire along Catholic-Orthodox lines over 1600 years ago in Europe, the 1893 Durand line in Central Asia, the 1916 Sykes-Picot lines in the Middle East, to learn whether consciousness and joint processing of history could be useful. Deeper causes: hidden scripts in the collective subconscious. Like U.S. Dualism-Manichaeism-Armageddon: two parties, one good – the other evil; for evil only a final battle will work. Include assumptions, ask why? One day journalists may ask questions to shed light on shadows, and on how to make the subconscious conscious. If they ask competent questions about bacteria and toxic pollution, why not also about peace? Most violence is West against East or against South. Maybe one day journalism will make miracles come true: the West recognizing past errors – Italy did for 1911. And rejecting old scripts for the present. For a better future state of the world, made by compelling deep journalism.

[53] Dierksmeier, 2016. Abstract:

> Presently it is en vogue to search and research business models heedful to concerns of social, moral, and ecological sustainability. On the view here defended, however, we ought not to strive for piecemeal corrections but for a thoroughgoing paradigm change of the predominant economic theories and practices in favor of a genuinely 'humanistic management.' This very call for humanistic management serves as an introduction into this paper (section 1). The article then lays out a concept of humanistic management in three methodologically distinct steps, description – ascription – prescription, before addressing potential challenges to the approach of humanistic management and, finally, pointing out some of its practical implications. The article hence proceeds as follows: From a critique of the reductionist description of economic agency given in conventional economics (2), the paper moves on to the ascription of freedom and responsibility by and through human actors (3), which appears essential for any attempt at re-integrating moral prescriptions into economics and, by extension, management theory (4). The resultant, dignity-centered humanistic management conception is then defended against challenges from postmodern authors and defendants of 'deep ecology' (5). Afterward, the article presents some normative postulates for management practice (6); last, the main findings of the paper are summarized (7).

I thank Heidetraut von Weltzien Høivik for keeping me in the loop of publications in the field of business ethics. It is a privilege to have thank Heidetraut von Weltzien Høivik as esteemed member in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[54] Lindner, 2000a.

[55] Raskin, 2016, p. 110. See also "'Stand up for Someone's Rights Today,' UN Urges on Human Rights Day," *United Nations News Centre*, December 9, 2016, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55769#.WFAsm32OWgy, for warnings by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights: "And in this toxic tide of hatred which is slowly rising in many societies, some of the deepest, most essential principles which safeguard peaceful societies risk being swept away. We need to stop this. And I believe we can. We – you and I – can draw the line."

I thank, furthermore, Kirk Schneider, , author of *The Polarized Mind*, past president of the Society for Humanistic Psychology of the APA (2015 – 2016) and vice-president of the Existential-Humanistic Institute, for contacting me and making me aware of his work.

[56] Raskin, et al., 2002. See also Raskin, 2008, and Brangwyn and Hopkins, 2008.

[57] Raskin, 2016, p. 76–77.

[58]"Is Robust American Growth a Thing of the Past?" by Edward Luce, *Financial Times*, February 19, 2016, www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/80c3164e-d644-11e5-8887-98e7feb46f27.html.

[59] "History Has Knocked Very Loudly on Our Door. Will We Answer?" World Future Forum 2016 – Opening Speech by Jakob von Uexküll, March 15, 2016, www.worldfuturecouncil.org/2016/03/15/world-future-forum-2016-opening-speech-jakob-von-Uexküll/. As to the term "dreamers," see also Coates, 2015. I thank Peter Coleman for giving me Coates's book as a gift!

[60] "History Has Knocked Very Loudly on Our Door. Will We Answer?" World Future Forum 2016 – Opening Speech by Jakob von Uexküll, March 15, 2016, www.worldfuturecouncil.org/2016/03/15/world-future-forum-2016-opening-speech-jakob-von-Uexküll/.
"Consume More, Conserve More: Sorry, But We Just Can't Do Both," by George Monbiot, *The Guardian*, November 24, 2015, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/24/consume-conserve-economic-growth-sustainability.
Ted (F.E.) Trainer is an Australian academic, and an advocate of economic de-growth, simple living, and "conserver" lifestyles. He shows that the "decoupling claim" is not feasible. It claims that economic growth can be separated from demand for materials and energy, thus enabling these to be kept down to sustainable levels. Trainer presents evidence from about thirty studies, which all indicate that little or no decoupling is taking pace, let alone on the scale that ecomodernists assume is possible. See "Decoupling: The Issue, and Collected Evidence," July 8, 2016, http://thesimplerway.info/DECOUPLING.htm, "But Can't Technical Advance Solve the Problems?," April 9, 2016, http://thesimplerway.info/TECHFIX.htm, "The Extreme Implausibility of Ecomodernism," March 16, 2016, http://thesimplerway.info/ECOMODERNISMcrit.htm.
See also Alexander, 2009, Doherty and Etzioni, 2003, Trainer, 2014. Trainer is on the faculty of the Simplicity Institute, Office of Environmental Programmes, Melbourne University, Australia, see http://simplicityinstitute.org/ted-trainer. He works with the Simpler Way project, which has primarily been about trying to show that the required alternative ways would be easily, cheaply, and quickly built if people wanted to do that. See www.socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/tsw/TheAltSoc.lng.html for a detailed sketch.
Since I wrote the book *A Dignity Economy* (Lindner, 2012c), the topic of inequality has become ever more pressing and widely discussed. Already when I wrote my book, everybody told me about Richard Wilkinson's and Kate Pickett's work. See, among others, Wilkinson, 2005, and Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009. Since then, more authors have become household names, such as Stiglitz, 2012, Thomas Piketty, 2013/2014, or Atkinson, 2015.

[61] Heatherly and Heritage Foundation, 1981.

[62] "Mrs. Thatcher: The First Two Years," by Ronald Butt, *The Sunday Times*, May 3, 1981, www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104475.

[63] Raskin, 2016, p. 49.

[64] "Unless It Changes, Capitalism Will Starve Humanity by 2050," by Drew Hansen, *Forbes*, February 9, 2016, www.forbes.com/sites/drewhansen/2016/02/09/unless-it-changes-capitalism-will-starve-humanity-by-2050/#20716d4f4a36.

[65] "History Has Knocked Very Loudly on Our Door. Will We Answer?" World Future Forum 2016 – Opening Speech by Jakob von Uexküll, March 15, 2016, www.worldfuturecouncil.org/2016/03/15/world-future-forum-2016-opening-speech-jakob-von-Uexküll/. Uexküll offers the WFC Global Policy Action Plan (GPACT) as a new manual for responsible leadership, a new consensus, which may become known as the Hamburg consensus.

[66] "Washington Rules Change, Again," by Jomo Kwame Sundaram, Inter Press Service (IPS), February 16, 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/02/washington-rules-change-again/. Jomo Kwame

Sundaram, a former economics professor, was United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Economic Development, and received the Wassily Leontief Prize for Advancing the Frontiers of Economic Thought in 2007.

[67] Raskin, 2016, pp. 66–67.

[68] "The New Urban Agenda: The Transformative Power of Urbanization," The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN–Habitat, the United Nations agency for human settlements and sustainable urban development), www.habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda.

[69] "The New Urban Agenda: The Transformative Power of Urbanization," The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN–Habitat, the United Nations agency for human settlements and sustainable urban development), www.habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda.

[70] "UN Not Serving the Global Good: Big Powers Set to Grab High Level Un Posts," by Thalif Deen, Inter *Press Service (IPS)*, October 18, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/10/big-powers-set-to-grab-high-level-un-posts/. "Even the most effective incumbents serving in these P5-controlled posts symbolize a system of disregard for the Charter, disrespect for the opinions of other nations, and contempt for the very idea of neutrality of the international civil service," said James Paul, who served for nearly 19 years as executive director of the New York-based Global Policy Forum tracking the politics of the United Nations: In theory, he said, "the Secretary General fills these posts independently, drawing on the best candidates worldwide. The Charter mandates independence of UN staff from government interference."

[71] Wood, 2003.

[72] Wallerstein, 1974–1989. See also Harvey, 2005. Howard Richards, in a personal communication on October 23, 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, 2012c.

[73] Taylor, 1971, 1993, Searle, 1995. Searle speaks of "institutional facts," for instance, with respect to property rights and contract rights, see Manicas, 2006. See, furthermore, Porpora, 1993, Donati and Archer, 2015, and Richards, 2004. I thank Howard Richards for including me into his lifelong journey of reflecting on social change.

[74] Bhaskar, 2008.

[75] "Trump to Pull Out of the UN, Expel It from the US?" by Baher Kamal, *Human Wrongs Watch*, January 24, 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/01/trump-to-pull-out-of-the-un-expel-it-from-the-us/.

[76] See the video with Ardian Adžanela where he reflects on solidarity and mutuality. It was recorded in Sarajevo on August 15, 2016, and published on https://youtu.be/2jm3ldjklmw. It is a privilege to have Ardian Adžanela as esteemed member in the global research team of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[77] Ridjanović, 2016.

[78] After Habitat III took place in Quito, Ecuador, October 17–20, 2016, many questions remain unanswered: how will cities be able to fully implement the provisions of the recently concluded Paris agreement on the environment and carry the costs involved? What about standing up against the increasing malpractice of grabbing and transforming public space to serve commercial interests? What about the urban-rural divide? Activists are concerned over the reduction of the Habitat Agenda to a solely urban focus and call to "give adequate priority to the continuity – indeed, the symbiosis – between rural and urban areas." See "A Needed Cornerstone for Habitat III: The Right to the City," by Isabel Pascual, *Citiscope*, February 15, 2016, http://citiscope.org/habitatIII/commentary/2016/02/needed-cornerstone-habitat-iii-right-city. I thank Kjell Skyllstad for making me aware of this publication. See also "Governments and Social Movements Disagree on Future of Cities," by Emilio Godoy, *Inter Press Service*, October 25, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/10/governments-and-social-movements-disagree-on-future-of-cities/:

> The Habitat III accords "cannot generate the urban reforms that we need, such as integral access to land with services. That can only be achieved through struggle. It is local political participation that makes it possible to press for urban reform," Isabella Goncalves, an activist with the Brazilian NGO Brigadas Populares, told IPS... The Habitat International Coalition criticised the New Urban

Agenda's "narrow vision," and lamented that Habitat III had forgotten about protecting people from forced eviction and about the need to fight the shortage of housing and to achieve the right to universal housing… It also urged countries to "regulate global financial transactions; end or limit opaque speculative financial instruments; steeply tax real-estate speculation; regulate rents; enhance the social tenure, production and financing of housing and habitat; and prevent privatisation of the commons, which is subject to attack under the neoliberal development model."

[79] Gus Speth in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," September 28, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016. See also http://thenextsystem.org.

[80] "UN Report Reveals Convergence of Environmental Crime with Corruption, Raft of Other Illegal Activities," *United Nations News Centre*, December 9, 2016, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55763#.WFAr5H2OWgx.

[81] "The War on Bosnia," by Tim Clancy, excerpted from *WORLD WATCH* magazine, March /April 2004, www.worldwatch.org/system/files/EP172A.pdf, p. 13–14.

[82] Mark McElroy in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," August 2, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016.

[83] Mark McElroy in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," August 2, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016.

[84] Raskin, 2016, p. 30.

[85] Raskin, 2016, p. 37.

[86] Raskin, 2016, p. 38.

[87] Raskin, 2016, p. 44.

[88] Rothkopf, 2008. See for a more recent account of "who owns the world," Jakobs, 2016. See also Robinson, 2017, on the transnational capitalist class (TCC) made up of the owners and managers of transnational capital, has emerged as the agent of global capitalism.

[89] Since I wrote the book *A Dignity Economy* (Lindner, 2012c), the topic of inequality has become ever more prominent. When I wrote my book, everybody 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 Thomas Piketty, 2013/2014. See also Stiglitz, 2012, or Atkinson, 2015. See also "An Economy for the 99 Per Cent," Oxfam International Briefing Paper, January 16, 2017, www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp-economy-for-99-percent-160117-en.pdf: "It's time to build a human economy that benefits everyone, not just the privileged few." See, furthermore, 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, Authors Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett Argue That Research Backs Up Their Views on the Iniquity of Inequality," by Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson, *The Guardian*, March 9, 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 path breaking publication from 2009. See also Eckenrode, et al., 2014, and Due, et al., 2009. Wilkinson and Pickett write further:

> "…human beings have deep-seated psychological responses to inequality and social hierarchy. The tendency to equate outward wealth with inner worth means that inequality colors our social perceptions. It invokes feelings of superiority and inferiority, dominance and subordination – which affect the way we relate to and treat each other."

If we are to believe scholar and strategist David J. Rothkopf, 2008, a small number (circa 6,000) of largely unelected powerful people around the globe have shaped the world during the past decades in ways that made the financial meltdown possible.
See also *The Super-Rich and Us*, documentary film by Jacques Peretti, 2015, Episode 1,

www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04xw2x8, Episode 2, www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04yn2yq. Jacques Peretti brings together a wide range of sources in his documentary film, among others, Johnson, et al., 2012, or Beinhocker and Hanauer, 2014, or Chang, 2010. The Black–Scholes–Merton model is a mathematical model of a financial market containing derivative investment instruments, which has been identified as one element in a detrimental economical development, see "The Mathematical Equation that Caused the Banks to Crash," by Ian Stewart, *The Guardian*, February 12, 2012, www.theguardian.com/science/2012/feb/12/black-scholes-equation-credit-crunch. Robert F. Dall, an investment banker who pioneered the mortgage bond market on Wall Street, added another element, see "Robert F. Dall, Mastermind of Mortgage-Backed Bonds, Dies at 81," by Landon Thomas Jr., *New York Times*, November 18, 2015, www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/business/dealbook/robert-f-dall-mastermind-of-mortgage-backed-bonds-dies-at-81.html?_r=0.

Historian Yuval Harari, 2014, makes the point that in the past, inequality in society was accepted, while today everybody is promised to have a chance, the American Dream. As soon as this promise turns out to be false, "the middle classes could become a revolutionary class, taking the role envisaged for the proletariat by Marx." This says a report that envisions the "future strategic context" likely to face Britain's armed forces by Rear Admiral Chris Parry, head of the MoD's Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre, see "Revolution, Flashmobs, and Brain Chips. A Grim Vision of the Future," Richard Norton-Taylor, *The Guardian*, April 9, 2007, www.theguardian.com/science/2007/apr/09/frontpagenews.news.

See also *Wie solidarisch ist Deutschland? – Warum Arme arm bleiben und die Reichen reicher werden*, documentary film by Eva Schötteldreier, Westdeutscher Rundfunk Köln (WDR, West German Broadcasting Cologne, a German public-broadcasting institution based in the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia with its main office in Cologne), 2016, www.daserste.de/information/reportage-dokumentation/dokus/wie-solidarisch-ist-deutschland-100.html.

Journalist Nikil Saval, 2014, investigates the relationship between office design and human happiness and productivity, and describes the advent of the cubicles where 60 percent of Americans now work, with 93 percent of them disliking it. The bestseller *In Search of Excellence*, by Peters and Waterman, 1982, motivated managers to deconstruct work life.

[90] Howard Richards in a personal communication, October 15, 2016. 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. See also Jolowicz, 1932, and Merryman, 1969. See, furthermore, the work of Norbert Elias, 1969, Elias, 1939/1994.
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, for example stare decisis, culpa in contrahendo, pacta sunt servanda.

[91] Richards, 2013.

[92] Polanyi and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Foreword), 1944/2001.

[93] Richards, 2013.

[94] Richards and Swanger, 2006.

[95] 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. See also Jolowicz, 1932, and Merryman, 1969. See, furthermore, the work of Norbert Elias, 1969, Elias, 1939/1994.
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, for example stare decisis, culpa in contrahendo, pacta sunt servanda.

[96] Researcher Robert Hickey in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," July 25, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016.

[97] The Holocene is the current geological epoch which started approximately 11,700 years ago, when the glaciers began to retreat, and the Neolithic Revolution unfolded. Some also call it the Anthropocene, because it is the epoch, when human activities started to have a significant global impact on Earth's ecosystems, see, for instance Zalasiewicz, et al., 2010. The reasons for and circumstances of the rise of agriculture are hotly discussed, see, among many others, Richerson, et al., 1999, Richerson, et al., 2001, Richerson and Boyd, 2001, Boyd and Richerson, 2009. See also recent findings that farming in the Fertile Crescent did not begin in a single population, but rather was tried out all over the Fertile Crescent, a region in the Middle East including modern-day Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Israel, Palestine, southeastern Turkey and western Iran. The descendants of the early farmers from the Zagros Mountains on the border between Iraq and Iran probably migrated east, taking their farming techniques to that part of the world, while those from the Turkey region migrated north into Europe and introduced farming there. See the work of the palaeogenetics team around Joachim Burger, Broushaki, et al., 2016. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of these new findings.

[98] In the case of territorial circumscription, it is landscape that stands "in the way," while social circumscription means that other people "stand in the way." Circumscription theory has been developed by anthropologist and curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, Robert Leonard Carneiro. See, among others, Carneiro, 1970, 1988, 2000, 2010, 2012. See, furthermore, Sanderson, 2007, and Schacht, 1988. It is a privilege to have Robert Carneiro as esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[99] Ury, 1999.

[100] Intensification means domesticating plants and animals, and developing agricultural systems. See, among others, Richerson, et al., 1999, Richerson, et al., 2001, Richerson and Boyd, 2001, Boyd and Richerson, 2009. See also recent findings that farming in the Fertile Crescent did not begin in a single population, but rather was tried out all over the Fertile Crescent, a region in the Middle East including modern-day Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Israel, Palestine, southeastern Turkey and western Iran. The descendants of the early farmers from the Zagros Mountains on the border between Iraq and Iran probably migrated east, taking their farming techniques to that part of the world, while those from the Turkey region migrated north into Europe and introduced farming there. See work of the palaeogenetics team around Joachim Burger, Broushaki, et al., 2016. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of these new findings.

[101] "Science and Progress," by Alexander Likhotal, *Eruditio*, June 7, 2016, http://eruditio.worldacademy.org/volume-2/issue-2/article/science-and-progress.

[102] *Beyond Revenge*, documentary film, 2016, Pressenza Berlin, www.pressenza.com/2016/10/beyond-revenge-documentary-film-freely-available-online/, and https://youtu.be/JLZ9fU6Ljgs. The movie traces mechanisms of revenge back to the first big states of Mesopotamia, where this mechanism was institutionalized in the form of law and punishment and executed by state authorities. The message that the film conveys is that enshrining revenge into law had detrimental consequences insofar as it "led to the loss of an inner process of reconciliation" and that therefore, "nowadays we have no tools for achieving a real inner reconciliation after harm has been done to us. We yearn for punishment even though it cannot heal the inner damage that has happened to us." The documentary gives the floor to people who share their very personal process of reconciling with violence, sometimes after decades of suffering from resentment, fear, and bitterness. They describe a sense of liberation, a gain in energy and happiness through reconciliation that goes far beyond mere forgiveness.
Luz Jahnen, co-producer and author of the study that was the basis for the documentary, reports that the film has elicited "gratitude," for that this topic was presented in such a way that viewers could confront their own experiences more clearly.

[103] Riane T. Eisler, 1987. See her most recent book Eisler, 2007. Eisler describes how, from the *samurai* of Japan to the Aztecs of Meso-America, people lived in very similar hierarchies of

domination and under a rigidly male-dominant 'strong-man' rule, both in the family and state. Hierarchies of domination were maintained by a high degree of institutionalized and socially accepted violence, ranging from wife- and child-beating within the family to aggressive warfare at the larger tribal or national level. Philosopher Karl Popper, 1945, spoke of irrational tribal emotions to describe the adoration of strong men and hatred of people with a different ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or political ideology.

See also, for instance, Kautsky, 1982, recommended by historian Richard Landes, who offers a list of elements that characterize what he calls a *prime-divider polity* in contrast to a *civil polity*. See "Civil Polity vs. Prime-Divider Polity," by Richard Landes, The Augean Stables, July 26, 2006, www.theaugeanstables.com/reflections-from-second-draft/civil-society-vs-prime-divider-society/. A prime-divider polity would contain the following main features:

- legal privilege for the elites (including exemption from taxation, lighter sentences for their misdeeds and heavier penalties for offenses against them).
- self-help justice in which clans defend their members regardless of legal issues like intent (blood revenge, vendetta, feud, duel)
- mystery surrounding political authority (e.g., monarchy above the law)
- commoner populations illiterate, controlled by intimidation (Machiavelli's: a ruler should be feared not loved)
- manual labor stigmatized, vast majority (masses) excluded from public sphere except on choreographed occasions
- elites with a monopoly on literacy, weaponry, rapid transportation, and political power

Civil polity would entail the following interlocking elements:

- Same rules for all (equality before the law, what the ancient Greeks called isonomia
- Independent law courts that determine fair judgments and pre-empt private (self-help) justice.
- Public transparency and accountability of people in power (free press, freedom of speech).
- Commoner populations empowered by education to assert and protect their own legislated rights
- Commitment to voluntarism as a principle form of social interaction and political organization, emphasizing, mutual trust, contractual obligations, and moral autonomy.

Manual labor is not stigmatized, and manual laborers and their children can participate in public discourse and if sufficiently successful, enter the elite.

[104] "Financial Speculation Led to Unsustainable Global Housing Crisis, UN Expert Says," *United Nations News Centre*, March 2, 2017, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=56273#.WLv3cPKOWgy.

[105] Lindner, 2017c. See also Lindner, 2014c. See also Lindner, 2001a, Lindner, 2001b, Lindner, 2004, Lindner and Backe, 2004, Lindner, 2005a, Lindner, 2005b, Lindner, 2008, Lindner, 2009a, Lindner, et al., 2009, Lindner, 2011, Lindner, 2012b, Lindner, 2012d, Lindner, 2014c. See also Del Re, et al., 2009.

[106] Francisco Gomes de Matos is a pillar of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies from their inception, and a founding member of our World Dignity University initiative.

[107] "'Always Agitated. Always Mad': Omar Mateen, According to Those Who Knew Him," by Dan Barry, Serge F. Kovaleski, Alan Blinder And Mujib Mashal, *New York Times*, June 18, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/06/19/us/omar-mateen-gunman-orlando-shooting.html.

[108] Hartling and Lindner, 2017, quoting from "Overcompensation Nation: It's Time to Admit that Toxic Masculinity Drives Gun Violence: Our National Attachment to Dominance Models of Manhood Is a Major Reason Why We Have So Much Violence," Amanda Marcotte, *Salon*, June 13, 2016, www.salon.com/2016/06/13/overcompensation_nation_its_time_to_admit_that_toxic_masculinity_dri ves_gun_violence/, and "Troubled. Quiet. Macho. Angry. The Volatile Life of the Orlando Shooter," by Kevin Sullivan and William Wan, *Washington Post*, June 17, 2016, www.washingtonpost.com/national/troubled-quiet-macho-angry-the-volatile-life-of-omar-mateen/2016/06/17/15229250-34a6-11e6-8758-d58e76e11b12_story.html.

[109] Saïda Keller-Messahli expressed this view in the magazine *PARDONNEZ-MOI*, in TV5Monde, August 6, 2016.

[110] Kepel, 2015. See also Kepel, 2006, 2008, 2016, Kepel and Milelli, 2008. See also Tuil, 2016 .

[111] See Bidar, 2015. See also "Open Letter to the Muslim World," by Abdennour Bidar, Reset DOC, January 14, 2015, www.resetdoc.org/story/00000022484 (French original: "Lettre ouverte au monde musulman," by Abdennour Bidar, Huffington Post, January 9, 2015, www.huffpostmaghreb.com/abdennour-bidar/lettre-ouverte-au-monde-m_1_b_6443610.html).

[112] *Temarapport: Hvilken bakgrunn har personer som frekventerer ekstreme islamistiske miljøer i Norge før de blir radikalisert?*, ekstern rapport, Politiets sikkerhetstjeneste (Norwegian Police Security Service, PTS), Oslo, Norway, September 12, 2016, www.pst.no/media/82236/2016_09_08_radikaliseringsprosjektets-rapport_ugradert.pdf.

[113] "The Lure of the Syrian War: The Foreign Fighters' Bosnian Contingent," by Vlado Azinović and Muhamed Jusić, *Atlantic Initiative*, 2015, http://atlanticinitiative.org/images/THE_LURE_OF_THE_SYRIAN_WAR_THE_FOREIGN_FIGHT ERS_BOSNIAN_CONTINGENT/The_Lure_of_the_Syrian_War_-_The_Foreign_Fighters_Bosnian_Contingent.pdf.

[114] Da'esh is the acronym from the Arabic name Al-Dawlah Al-Islamiyah fe Al-Iraq wa Al-Sham, for the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) in Iraq and Syria, or ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), or ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria).

[115] "The Lure Of The Syrian War: The Foreign Fighters' Bosnian Contingent," by Vlado Azinović and Muhamed Jusić, Atlantic Initiative, 2015, http://atlanticinitiative.org/images/THE_LURE_OF_THE_SYRIAN_WAR_THE_FOREIGN_FIGHT ERS_BOSNIAN_CONTINGENT/The_Lure_of_the_Syrian_War_-_The_Foreign_Fighters_Bosnian_Contingent.pdf, p. 40.

[116] "The Lure Of The Syrian War: The Foreign Fighters' Bosnian Contingent," by Vlado Azinović and Muhamed Jusić, Atlantic Initiative, 2015, http://atlanticinitiative.org/images/THE_LURE_OF_THE_SYRIAN_WAR_THE_FOREIGN_FIGHT ERS_BOSNIAN_CONTINGENT/The_Lure_of_the_Syrian_War_-_The_Foreign_Fighters_Bosnian_Contingent.pdf, Introduction.

[117] "Rechtsextremismus: Wie Neonazis das Dorf Jamel erobert haben," by Silke Hasselmann, *Deutschland Radio*, August 18, 2015, www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/rechtsextremismus-wie-neonazis-das-dorf-jamel-erobert-haben.1001.de.html?dram:article_id=328595.

[118] Vance, 2016.

[119] "Anticipating India," by Shekhar Gupta, *The Indian Express*, April 26, 2014, indianexpress. com/article/opinion/columns/anticipating- india. Quoted in Miklian and Sahoo, 2016.

[120] Ray and Anderson, 2000. Social scientists Paul H. Ray and Sherry Ruth Anderson, through their surveys, identified three main cultural trends. First, the moderns, the cultural movement that started about 500 years ago and that endorses the "realist" worldview of either big business, big government, or big media, or past socialist, communist, or fascist movements. Then, the first countermovement against the moderns are the traditionals, the religious right and rural populations. The most recent countermovement are the cultural creatives, who value strong ecological sustainability for the planet, support women's issues, personal growth, authenticity, and are wary of big business. The cultural creatives movement is currently flowing together from two branches that both started out around 1960 and initially antagonized each other, namely, the consciousness movement, an inward-oriented movement, focusing on the inner state of the psyche, and the social movement, an outward-oriented movement, focusing on action for peace in the streets.
When Ray and Anderson published their work in 2000, in the United States, traditionals comprised about 24 to 26 percent of the adult population (approximately 48 million people), moderns about 47 to 49 percent (approximately 95 million), and cultural creatives are about 26 to 28 percent (approximately 50 million). In the European Union, the cultural creatives were about 30 to 35 percent of the adult population.

[121] Taylor, 1989, Heelas, 1996, 2008, Wilce, 2009. This trend is now being introduced from the West to other world regions. There is a "psycho-boom" (xinli re), for instance, in China (Huang, 2014), with translations of Pema Chödrön, Ken Wilber, and Eckhart Tolle. Sonya Pritzker, 2016:

> Inner child workshops in China can be said to function in much the same way. Indeed, salons geared towards the inner child in this Beijing center consist of adaptations of exercises developed by a European psychologist who leads longer inner child workshops, variably focused on "transforming emotions," "transforming beliefs," and "meeting true self," when he is in town.

[122] "Don't Blame Trump: Heal Thyself, America," by Peter T. Coleman, *Huffington Post*, July 24, 2016, www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/dont-blame-trump-heal-thyself-america_us_5794d247e4b0e002a3138ef1. See also Hardisty, 1999.

[123] See also "The Earth Is Not Flat; It Is Urban," by Baher Kamal, *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, October 4, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/10/the-earth-is-not-flat-it-is-urban/.

[124] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016. See also the 2014 film *A Dangerous Game*, www.adangerousgamemovie.com, featuring Dubrovnik and the building of a luxury golf course on Mount Srđ overlooking Dubrovnik while local residents are campaigning against it.

[125] "The Rational Optimist," review by Samuel Brittan, *Financial Times*, June 12, 2010, www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/b2cbb506-74de-11df-aed7-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Cq4fyzJ8.

[126] Petter Nesser is senior researcher with the Terrorism Research Group at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI). I thank him for sharing his very deep, nuanced, and differentiated insights in a thoroughly informative conversation in Oslo on June 17, 2011. Here are some of my notes, summarized and translated from Norwegian by Lindner:

> The Salafi movement is diverse, comprising everything from introverted mystics to groups that are political in thinking and action. Al Qaeda rhetoric may be against politics, but they do want political change. The groups that Nesser studies are very much opposed to the Muslim Brotherhood because they look at them as impure, since they compromise themselves for politics. Original Saudi Arabian Salafist thought combines now with ideologies of violent struggle from the Egypt of the sixties and seventies and the so-called Afghan Arabs.

See also Nesser, 2006, 2011, 2014, Tønnessen, 2006.

[127] Mohamedou, 2011.

[128] "The Data That Turned the World Upside Down," by Hannes Grassegger and Mikael Krogerus, *Motherboard*, January 28 2017, https://motherboard.vice.com/en_us/article/how-our-likes-helped-trump-win.

[129] Reformbewegungen, www.forum-islam.ch/de/reformbewegungen/index.php. Summarized and translated from the German original by Lindner:

> Das osmanische Reich war in dieser Hinsicht weniger tragfähig. Umso stärker wogen zunächst seine verwaltungsmässigen und militärischen Kapazitäten. Als letztere an der westlichen Übermacht scheiterten, machte sich auf der arabischen Halbinsel eine islamische Reformbewegung bemerkbar: Der Wahhabismus reorientierte sich eng am Wort des Korans, nachdem das Verlassen dieses Pfades als Ursache der Niederlage empfunden worden war. Der Wahhabismus gilt heute als konservativste Form des Islam.

[130] "Don't Blame 'Wahhabism' for Terrorism," by Mohammed Alyahya, New York Times, October 19, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/10/20/opinion/dont-blame-wahhabism-for-terrorism.html?_r=0.

[131] For former Norwegian ambassador Carl Schiøtz Wibye, 2017, Wahhabism is not to a religion, rather a sect built on extreme fantasies of a desperate desert preacher in the 1700s, later globalized through Saudi Arabia's revenues from oil, ultimately leading to Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and Da'esh. In his view, the most dangerous aspect is the practice of takfir, or excommunication, declaring another self-professed Muslim a kafir or unbeliever.

[132] "Islamisten in der Schweiz: Die Jihad-Reise beginnt nicht mit Waffen," by Daniel Gerny, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 19, 2016, www.nzz.ch/schweiz/islamisten-in-der-schweiz-die-jihad-reise-beginnt-nicht-mit-waffen-ld.8710.

[133] Roy, 2004. See also "ISIL Is Really a Revolt by Young Muslims Against their Parents' Generation," by Emma-Kate Symons, *Quartz*, December 3, 2015, https://qz.com/562128/isil-is-a-revolt-by-young-disaffected-muslims-against-their-parents-generation/. See, furthermore, "Terrorism Has Come About in Assimilationist France and Also in Multicultural Britain. Why Is That?" by Kenan Malik, *The Guardian*, November 15, 2016, www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/15/multiculturalism-assimilation-britain-france.

[134] "Radicalisation is not the result of failed integration," Interview with French extremism researcher Olivier Roy, by Michaela Wiegel, *Quantara.de*, March 29, 2016, https://en.qantara.de/content/interview-with-french-extremism-researcher-olivier-roy-radicalisation-is-not-the-result-of. Gilles Kepel has recently attacked Olivier Roy for his views. See "'That Ignoramus': 2 French Scholars of Radical Islam Turn Bitter Rivals," by Adam Nossiter, *New York Times*, July 12, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/07/13/world/europe/france-radical-islam.html:

> Mr. Kepel, 61, a professor at Sciences Po, the prestigious political science institute, finds much of the answer inside France – in its suburbs and their dysfunctional sociology – and in the role of Islam, angering many on the left.
> Mr. Roy, 66, who as a bearded young man roamed Afghanistan with the mujahedeen in the 1980s and now teaches at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, places greater emphasis on individual behavior and psychology in a jihadism he considers strictly marginal to Islam.
> Mr. Kepel sees individuals as cogs in a system – part of a classically French, structuralist tradition that minimizes the role of individual human agency.

See also Roy, 2004.

[135] "Radicalisation is not the result of failed integration," Interview with French extremism researcher Olivier Roy, by Michaela Wiegel, *Quantara.de*, March 29, 2016, https://en.qantara.de/content/interview-with-french-extremism-researcher-olivier-roy-radicalisation-is-not-the-result-of.

[136] "Radicalisation is not the result of failed integration," Interview with French extremism researcher Olivier Roy, by Michaela Wiegel, *Quantara.de*, March 29,.2016, https://en.qantara.de/content/interview-with-french-extremism-researcher-olivier-roy-radicalisation-is-not-the-result-of.

[137] Twenge, 2006. See for more examples of relevant literature, for instance, Lasch, 1991, Putnam, 2000, Baumeister, et al., 1996, Bushman and Baumeister, 1998, Baumeister, et al., 2003, Baumeister, 2005, Twenge and Campbell, 2009, Wood, et al., 2009, Ehrenreich, 2010, Twenge, et al., 2012, Twenge and Kasser, 2013, or Levine, 2007.

[138] Ellis, et al., 2012.

[139] "From Hanover to IS: The Case of Safia S.," by Sabrina Pabst, *Deutsche Welle*, October 19, 2016, www.dw.com/en/from-hanover-to-is-the-case-of-safia-s/a-36094144. See also "Who Gets Radicalized? What I Learned From My Interviews With Extremist Disciples," by Amra Sabic-El-Rayess, *Huffington Post*, June 19, 2016, www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/who-gets-radicalized-what-i-learned-from-my-interviews_us_5765fddce4b0ed0729a1c5c3.

[140] Smith, 2000.

[141] The contact hypothesis, or the hope that contact will foster friendship, was proposed by Gordon Allport, 1954, suggesting that relations between groups can be improved through positive intergroup contact. However, this hypothesis proved not to work in all cases, only under certain conditions, namely, the following four: equal status, cooperation, common goals, institutional support. The hypothesis is valid at the aggregate level, though, as shown by a meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006.

[142] Klitgaard, 2017.

[143] Klitgaard, 2017.

[144] Ruben Nelson in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "The Struggle for Meaningful Work," January 10, 2017, in response to Klitgaard, 2017.

[145] Linda Sheehan, executive director of the Earth Law Center, in her contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," July 31, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016.

[146] See a report on "co-violations" of nature's rights and human rights by the Earth Law Center in Redwood City, California, www.earthlawcenter.org/co-violations-of-rights.

[147] Daniel Baron in a personal communication from Cabelo Seco, in Marabá, Pará, Brazil, September 10, 2016. I am very thankful to Kjell Skyllstad for having brought me together with Dan Baron. Skyllstad's articles in the Norwegian press 25 years ago about the threats to the rainforest habitat and populations led to the founding of FIVAS, the International NGO overseeing the human rights of these populations and acting against environmental degradation of river and forest ecosystems, including the Amazon. It is a privilege to have Kjell Skyllstad and Dan Baron as esteemed members in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[148] *The Magic of the Amazon: A River that Flows Invisibly All Around Us*, TEDxAmazonia talk by Antonio Donato Nobre, filmed November 2010, www.ted.com/talks/antonio_donato_nobre_the_magic_of_the_amazon_a_river_that_flows_invisibly_ all_around_us?language=en:

The Amazon River is like a heart, pumping water from the seas through it, and up into the atmosphere through 600 billion trees, which act like lungs. Clouds form, rain falls and the forest thrives. In a lyrical talk, Antonio Donato Nobre talks us through the interconnected systems of this region, and how they provide environmental services to the entire world. A parable for the extraordinary symphony that is nature.

[149] Lindner, 2012a.

[150] "Rio+20 Ends in Failure, Corporate Capture," posted by Pratap Chatterjee, *CorpWatch Blog*, June 27, 2012, www.corpwatch.org/article.php?list=class&type=104&class=21.

[151] Polly Higgins, in a personal message, October 3, 2013. See also Higgins, 2016.
See a precursor to the concept of *ecocide* in Christopher Stone, 1972, and for "a look back forty years later," Anna Grear, 2012. See, furthermore, Boyd, 2012, or Angus, 2016. Consider the sustainability principle in The Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Ley de la Madre Tierra in Bolivia. In September 2016, the International Criminal Court added environmental disasters and destruction, even land grabs, to the definition of Crimes Against Humanity, which shows that real international legal instrument now follow soft law (Earth Charter) or symbolic language (ecocide, where the *mens rea* required cannot be demonstrated). See, furthermore, Boyd, 2012, or Angus, 2016.
There are voices, however, that warn that introducing a crime of ecocide in the International Criminal Court (ICC) can ultimately be undesirable, because the vehicle of an international crime overreaches and is insufficient at the same time. See Capra and Mattei, 2015. See also Ugo Mattei of the Hastings College of Law at the University of California, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," July 5, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016. The ICC, because of the lack of international centralized power or independence, is just a mockery of an institution, writes Mattei, and continues:

Ecocide is too serious of an issue to be entangled with such a spectacle of an international institution that never worked to reach the actual powerful culprits. Moreover, even if we were to take seriously international criminal law in a world of dramatic power imbalance, a crime of ecocide would necessarily require a level of culpability that is most probably absent in all the major episodes of devastation of the environment. Disasters such as Fukushima, Chernobyl, or even the Gulf spill would clearly fall below that. There are issues of corporate responsibility, of criminal consequences of recklessness, of sufficiency, of omissions, or of causality that handled by any good criminal attorney would clear let wealthy corporate actors immune from responsibility.
It is hard to believe that any powerful wrongdoer will be deterred by such a crime, and, as consequence, the very idea of ecocide will suffer prestige and credibility.
We live in a world in which very few people have any awareness of the disasters of the Anthropocene, so we need diffused ecological literacy. We live in a world in which people believe that the only concept of law is that of a vertical model in the hands of governments, so we need diffused legal literacy.
In seeking a legal solution for problems of such ecological relevance, involving so many non-

human interests traditionally and presently ignored and massively violated by the very structure of extractive capitalism, we need (if at all available) the best not the worst part of legal systems. We need to culturally transform the perception of law, to disentangle it with notions of power-concentration, to give it back to communities as a decentralized cultural and legitimate tool to share problems and solutions. Nothing is further away from people and social movements than an appeal to jails, cops, and police to solve our ecological problems. Would such a move increase international ecological legal literacy?

It is an honor for me to be part in Anna Grear's network, as well as Paul Raskin's GTN discussions.

[152] Femke Wijdekop, in her reply to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," August 5, 2016. Wijdekop, 2016, formed the basis for this discussion. See also the project "Defending Environmental Defenders," a collaborative project of IUCN Netherlands, Friends of the Earth and Global Witness, www.iucn.nl/en/recent/dutch-postcode-lottery-helps-improve-safety-of-environmental-defenders.

[153] Femke Wijdekop, in her reply to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," August 5, 2016. Wijdekop, 2016, formed the basis for this discussion. See also the project "Defending Environmental Defenders," a collaborative project of IUCN Netherlands, Friends of the Earth and Global Witness, www.iucn.nl/en/recent/dutch-postcode-lottery-helps-improve-safety-of-environmental-defenders.

[154] Lu Xun, 1981.

[155] Lu Xun, 2000a, b. See also Lu Xun, 2002b, c, a, 2003, 2004. I thank Jingyi Dong for her personal communication on June 25, 2015, where she shared her views on the role of Lu Xun with me. She took an image by Catherine Hoppers as starting point, an image that depicts a white and a black man fighting, oblivious of the fact that they stand in the mouth of a crocodile that will eat both. This image aims to visualize that a global economic system will eat all, and that it would be preferable to focus attention on the crocodile rather than on infighting. Dong wrote to me:

> Let me give my comment on Lu Xun and you respectively. Let's use the picture created by Catherine Hoppers. Lu Xun was the one who sharpened the knives of the two fighting men, while you are the one who calls the two men to a halt and reminds them of the crocodile. Lu Xun was a victim of humiliation. Unfortunately, he was also the greatest master of language arts with the most penetrating insights. This enabled him not only to expose the problems of a diseased society, but also to push for a new spiral of humiliation; you are the one who points to ways to stop humiliation. I do not blame Lu Xun, for he was not the only who did this. Lu Xun lost his father in his childhood. Look at the early leaders of the Communist Party of China: Li Dazhao lost his parents before he was three years old and lost his grandparents when he was 15 years old; Chen Duxiu lost his father in childhood; Qu Qiubai's father was addicted to opium and his mother committed suicide to get rid of debt. Living in patriarchal communities, where females were marginalized, these boys lost shelter from the adult males in the family. Meanwhile, they did not get the paternal love that the community was obliged to offer. What would be the influence on their mindsets? These were unusually talented boys who would later become holders of rich academic capital and consequently participants of politics. What would they do when they grew up? Your theory can tell.
> The communist movement in China started from the university campus, then penetrated into the army, then to rural society, and ultimately Mao established a field with a unique structure. My ultimate ambition is to trace this trajectory by the light of your theory. I would like to highlight the difference between you and Lu Xun: Lu Xun asked a question, and you have the key to the question!

[156] Since I wrote the book *A Dignity Economy* (Lindner, 2012c), the topic of inequality has become ever more prominent. Already when I wrote my book, everybody 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, or Frank, 2016. See also the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2015, for why less inequality benefits all.
In China, the novelist Liao Yiwu could perhaps be called the new Lu Xun. Yiwu, 2002/2008, has

interviewed people for whom the "new" China – the China of economic growth and globalization – is no more beneficial than the old. Like Yiwu, also Belarusian Svetlana Alexievich, 2013/2016, describes the horrors of our time by recording the testimonies of witnesses.

[157] Schmid, 2013, p. 55.

[158] "Dear Europe, Please Don't Turn Your Cities into Walled Camps: Counterterrorism Experts Saying Too Much 'Hardening' of Soft Targets Can Defeat the Purpose," by Brian Stewart, *CBC News*, March 26, 2016, www.cbc.ca/news/world/brussels-soft-targets-brian-stewart-1.3507018.

[159] "UN Chief Issues Warning on the Rise of Fascism," by Peter Walker, *Independent*, December 9, 2016, www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/united-nations-chilling-warning-rise-fascism-human-rights-prince-zeid-a7464861.html. See also "World Report 2017: Demagogues Threaten Human Rights: Trump, European Populists Foster Bigotry, Discrimination," *Human Rights Watch*, January 12, 2017, www.hrw.org/news/2017/01/12/world-report-2017-demagogues-threaten-human-rights.

[160] Raskin, 2016, p. 102.

[161] Raskin, 2016, p. 102.

[162] "An Absence of Guilt in He Who Is the Host," by Carol Smaldino, *Huffington Post*, October 6, 2016, www.huffingtonpost.com/carol-smaldino/an-absence-of-guilt-in-he_b_12345790.html. See Eigen, 2014, p. 102. It is a privilege to have Carol Smaldino as esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[163] Former Yugoslavia is the territory that was up to 25 June 1991 known as The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Six republics made up the federation: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia (including the regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina) and Slovenia.

[164] An egalitarian group structure is more stable, since it raises the commitment of the group members and creates intrinsic work motivation. However, this structure must continuously be guarded against the other trait, namely, the inclination toward domination; cheaters and free-riders need to be kept at bay by the group. This becomes more difficult, the larger the group.

[165] Lindner, 2000a.

[166] Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010, see Chapter 4: Gender Roles: How They Can Humiliate.

[167] For the notion of chosen trauma, see Volkan, 1997, 2004, 2006, 2013.

[168] Ibn Khaldun, 1377/1958, is a historiographer, historian, and a forerunner of the contemporary disciplines of sociology and demography, who addressed themes such as politics, urban life, economics, and knowledge. I studied him when I lived and worked as a clinical psychologist in Cairo, Egypt, from 1984–1991. I saw him describe the very contrast between sedentary life and nomadic life that was very apparent for me while living in Cairo. Ibn Khaldun described how desert warriors lose power when they conquer a city. Ibn Khaldun's central concept was that of *aṣabiyyah*, or "social cohesion," or "group solidarity," arising in tribes and other small kinship groups, sometimes intensified by religious ideology, therefore also identifiable as "tribalism." I observed the workings of clan cohesion first hand during my doctoral research in Somaliland in 1998. According to Ibn Khaldun, this cohesion has two sides; while it helps groups to accumulate power, it also contains within itself psychological, sociological, economic, and political seeds of the group's downfall, when a new group arrives with more vigorous cohesion.

[169] "Why Nomads Win: What Ibn Khaldun Would Say About Afghanistan," by Gerard Russell, Afghanistan and Middle East specialist, *Huffington Post*, April 11, 2010, www.huffingtonpost.com/gerard-russell/why-nomads-win-what-ibn-k_b_447878.html.

[170] Lindner, 2000a.

[171] "A Failed State that Is Succeeding in Parts," *The Economist*, August 29, 1999, www.economist.com/node/234829.

[172] See, among others, Fisher, 1930, Haldane, 1932, Watson, et al., 1936, or Hamilton, 1963, 1964a, b. For more recent explanations, see, among others, "Richard Dawkins, Edward O. Wilson, and the

Consensus of the Many," by David Sloan Wilson, January 1, 2015, https://evolution-institute.org/article/richard-dawkins-edward-o-wilson-and-the-consensus-of-the-many/. See also "Human Nature: An Evolutionary Paradox," by John Scales Avery, Human Wrongs Watch, August 15, 2016, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2016/08/17/human-nature-an-evolutionary-paradox/.

[173] "Human Nature: An Evolutionary Paradox," by John Scales Avery, *Human Wrongs Watch*, August 15, 2016, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2016/08/17/human-nature-an-evolutionary-paradox/.

[174] Tajfel, 1970, Tajfel, et al., 1971.

[175] International relations have been theorized widely, and I am privileged to have received the advice of Joshua Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2016 at important moments. Economic historian Charles Kindleberger, 2013, is often regarded as the father of hegemonic stability theory. Political economist Robert Gilpin, 1981, 1988, argues that history has seen subsequent international orders that all have in common that they are created by hegemonic states as a result of war. The prevailing order is always shaped to serve the dominant major powers' interests. The system will therefore necessarily be challenged by rising powers. The most dangerous moment in world politics occurs when the weakened main power no longer stands ready to enforce the rules of the established order. This breeds uncertainty, insecurity and risk behavior, claims Gilpin. He agrees with Paul Kennedy, 1987, and his analysis of "imperial overstretch" being one of the reasons that hegemons fall. Gilpin adds that all hegemons inevitably fall because it is difficult to stay as hegemon.

[176] Spengler, 1918–1922/1963.

[177] Toynbee, 1934–1961.

[178] "The Settlers' Prussia," by Uri Avnery, *Human Wrongs Watch*, October 17, 2015, http://human-wrongs-watch.net/2015/10/18/the-settlers-prussia/ and original at http://zope.gush-shalom.org/home/en/channels/avnery/1445000540/. Also peace researcher Johan Galtung, 1971, 1976, speaks of the periphery versus the center when he says that new useful ideas often emerge in the peripheries of this world, not in the power centers. While Avnery focuses on border location and calls them periphery, Galtung highlights the niche character of remote places, which allows them to nurture ideas that are distinct from those in the center.

[179] "Narcissist and Agitator: Donald Trump Is One of the Greatest Threats of Our Time," a commentary by Mathieu von Rohr, *Spiegel Online International*, August 16, 2016, www.spiegel.de/international/world/editorial-why-trump-would-be-a-danger-for-the-entire-world-a-1107880.html#ref=nl-international.

[180] "Sniper Alley" was the name of a route in Sarajevo where people had to run for their lives if they wanted to cross it. *1395 Days Without Red* is a film by Anri Sala in collaboration with Liria Begeja, 2011, made as part of a project of the same title by Šejla Kamerić and Anri Sala in collaboration with Ari Benjamin Meyers: "A woman makes her way through a silent, empty city. At every crossing she stops and looks. Should she wait or should she run? What is she waiting for, and why should she run? The city is Sarajevo, and the route the woman takes became known as Sniper Alley during the siege of the city endured by its citizens for 1395 days from 1992 until the end of the siege in 1996." I thank Uli Spalthoff for making us aware of this film.

[181] See a summary in three parts of the historical situation in Der Spiegel in 1992 (German):

- "'Der dümmste aller Kriege": Die jugoslawische Tragödie (1): Die Welt sah dem Morden mitten in Europa hilflos zu," Der Spiegel 28/1992, July 6, 1992, http://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/13679337, pp. 138–149.
- "'Der dümmste aller Kriege': Die jugoslawische Tragödie (II): Serbiens Führungsanspruch stützt sich auf Mythen und Legenden," Der Spiegel 29/1992, July 13, 1992, http://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/13679532, pp. 143–155.
- "'Der dümmste aller Kriege': Die jugoslawische Tragödie (Ill): Der Völkermord von gestern schürt den Völkerhaß von heute," Der Spiegel 30/1992, July 20, 1992, http://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/13679810, pp. 130–138.

Summarized and translated by Lindner from the German originals:

"An der "Confin", wie die Habsburger ihre befestigte Grenze gegen die Türken nannten (für die Serben hieß sie Vojna Krajina), unterlagen die dort angesiedelten "Granicari" lebenslanger

Wehrpflicht. Sie mußten ständig bereit sein, den Pflug mit dem Schwert zu vertauschen, da lokale Einfälle und Raubzüge an der Tagesordnung waren. Im ewigen Kleinkrieg wuchs ein harter, kämpferischer Menschenschlag heran, nicht nur vom Feind, auch von den kroatischen Nachbarn gefürchtet. Von denen hoben auch besondere Privilegien die Wehrbauern ab. Während "Zivilkroatien" seit altersher der ungarischen Stefanskrone unterstand, behielt sich Wien die direkte Verwaltung "Militärkroatiens" selber vor. Die Habsburger gewährten ihren "Kosaken" ungewöhnliche Freiheiten: erst Lehen, dann sogar erblichen Landbesitz, eigene Gerichtsbarkeit, Freiheit vom "Zehent", also Abgaben und Steuern, sowie die freie Ausübung ihrer orthodoxen Religion... Da auch die Republik Venedig, die an Teilen der östlichen Adriaküste herrschte, dem österreichischen Wehrbauern-Beispiel gefolgt war und selbst die Türken kriegerische Serben-Clans an der Grenze ansiedelten, zog sich schließlich quer durch den nordwestlichen Balkan jener serbische Siedlungsgürtel, der heute so heftig umkämpfte Bürgerkriegsfront ist: das Gebiet um Knin, die Krajina, Banija, Teile Slawoniens und die Vojvodina… Die Gegensätze zwischen den beiden südslawischen Völkern waren fast ein Jahrtausend lang gewachsen. Die Kroaten, die bereits um 900 ihr erstes Königreich errichteten, gerieten bald unter ungarischen Einfluß. Als Ungarn den Türken anheimfiel, übernahmen die Habsburger das streng katholische Kroatien, dem der Papst den Titel eines "Bollwerks der Christenheit" verlieh… Die Kroaten waren fest im Abendland verankert, sahen sich stets als "Grenzvolk westlicher Zivilisation" (so Aleksa Djilas, Sohn des Tito-Gefährten Milovan, in einem Buch über Jugoslawiens Nationalitätenprobleme). Die Serben hingegen, orthodox und fast ein halbes Jahrtausend lang unter türkischem Joch, blieben dem Osten und dem Morgenland zugewandt, Erben des byzantinischen Kulturkreises. Sie blickten nach Konstantinopel, später nach Moskau."

[182] The Great Schism of 1054 was the break of communion between what are now the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic churches, which has lasted since the 11th century.

[183] I thank Paul-Louis Thomas from the Sorbonne in Paris for sharing his insights with me in Dubrovnik on September 9, 2016.

[184] Djilas, 1991.

[185] See the image also on https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_Frontier.

[186] Miller, 1998.

[187] Pavlović, 2006.

[188] "Reckoning: The 1991 Siege of Dubrovnik and the Consequences of the 'War for Peace,'" by Srdja Pavlovic, www.yorku.ca/soi/_Vol_5_1/_HTML/Pavlovic.html.

[189] I thank Paul-Louis Thomas for sharing his insights with me in Dubrovnik on September 9, 2016.

[190] For the notion of chosen trauma, see Volkan, 1997, 2004, 2006, 2013.

[191] 27th Annual Dignity Conference, in Dubrovnik, Croatia, September 18 – 25, 2016, titled "Cities at Risk – From Humiliation to Dignity," inspired by Kjell Skyllstad. See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/27.php.

[192] "Operation Storm: Croatia's Triumph, Serbia's Grief," by Marija Ristic, Ivana Nikolic, Sven Milekic, BIRN Belgrade, Zagreb, *The Balkan Transitional Justice initiative*, July 31, 2015, www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/operation-storm-croatia-s-triumph-serbia-s-grief-07-31-2015. The Balkan Transitional Justice initiative is a regional initiative funded by the European Commission (2012-2014), the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office FCO and Robert Bosch Stiftung that aims to improve the general public's understanding of transitional justice issues in former Yugoslav countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia).

[193] "There Must be Justice: The Last Genocide of Krajina Serbs: Operation STORM, Joint Croatian and USA Criminal Enterprise," by Grey Carter, August 4, 2013, https://theremustbejustice.wordpress.com/2013/08/04/the-last-genocide-of-krajina-serbs-operation-storm-joint-croatian-and-usa-criminal-enterprise/.

[194] "Croatia 2015 Crime and Safety Report," by the Overseas Security Advisory Council – Bureau of Diplomatic Security, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, May 20, 2015, www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=17687:

Croatia has undergone significant changes from the country that emerged from the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. Croatia's entry into NATO in 2009 and the EU in 2013 followed the work of successive governments to implement deep political and societal reforms. Croatia's full integration into the Euro-Atlantic community marks a success of the U.S. policy approach to leverage the EU and NATO accession processes to achieve lasting stability in the region by creating modern, democratic states. As the first state significantly touched by the conflicts of the 1990s to navigate the accession process, Croatia is proof of the validity of this approach. EU accession also marks the country's entry into a new era, both for the domestic political scene and the bilateral relationship with the U.S. Croatia aspires to serve as a model for the states of the western Balkans, and the government strongly supports its neighbors' Euro-Atlantic integration. Aside from providing technical expertise to these countries in navigating the NATO and EU accession paths, Croatia will use its influence to affect positive changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to resolve outstanding legacy issues from the war years with Serbia that block the full potential of their bilateral relationship.

[195] "Understanding Yugoslavia," by Cameron Hewitt, Rick Steve's Europe, www.ricksteves.com/watch-read-listen/read/understanding-yugoslavia.

[196] "Marović i Mesić razmenili izvinjenja građanima Hrvatske i SCG," *B92*, September 9, 2003, www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2003&mm=09&dd=10&nav_id=119131.

[197] Pavlović, 2006.

[198] An unknown Montenegrin army reservist on the "frontline" in Konavle, in the late fall of 1991. Personal communication, quoted in Pavlović, 2006.

[199] In August 1945, the city had a German population of 189,500, and a Polish population of 17,000. Almost all of the German inhabitants fled or were forcibly expelled between 1945 and 1949.

[200] While the settling of Germanic peoples in northeastern Europe predates the founding of the Roman Empire, my forebears might have come to Silesia later, when the Teutonic Order invited people to settle in the east, also called *Ostsiedlung*. In the middle of the fourteenth century, while the overall settling progress slowed, local Slavic leaders in late Medieval Pomerania and Silesia continued inviting German settlers to their territories.

[201] "Polish City of Wroclaw Comes to Terms with Its German Past," by Isabelle de Pommereau, *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 19, 2012, www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2012/1019/Polish-city-of-Wroclaw-comes-to-terms-with-its-German-past.

[202] A *Stolperstein*, or "stumbling stone," is a cobblestone-size concrete cube bearing a brass plate inscribed with the name and life dates of victims of Nazi extermination.

[203] "Dear Mr Malema," by Rian Malan, *Politics Web*, November 14, 2016, www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/dear-mr-malema. I thank Hélène Opperman Lewis for making us aware of this article.

[204] Volkan, 2004.

[205] Raskin, 2016, in resonance with books such as More, 1516–18/2012, Morris, 1890, Fuller, 1981, Berry, 1999, Korten, 2006, Morin, 2011.

[206] "20th Anniversary of the Dayton Peace Accords: Bosnia's Uncharted Future and Balkan Lessons for Global Application," at Columbia University's Kraft Center in New York City on November 12–13, 2015, https://sipa.columbia.edu/experience-sipa/events/20th-anniversary-of-the-dayton-peace-accords-bosnias-uncharted-future-and-balkan-lessons-for-global.

[207] "The War on Bosnia," by Tim Clancy, excerpted from *WORLD WATCH magazine*, March /April 2004, www.worldwatch.org/system/files/EP172A.pdf, p. 16:

BiH's governmental structure is an outcome of the November 1995 Dayton Peace Accords, which ended the war. The Accords established two entities within BiH's recognized borders. The Republika Srpska (RS), now largely populated by Bosnian Serbs, was given 49 percent of the total territory of BiH. The Federation of Bosniacs [Bosnian Muslims] and Croats got the remaining 51 percent. Both entities are mandated to abide by the constitution drawn up in Dayton and jointly govern the sovereign state of BiH. At the top of this structure is a presidency, which is shared by three persons representing the three major ethnic groups (Bosniac, Serb, Croat). The co-presidents

share a rotating administration in which there is one main spokesman, although all three have equal decision-making powers.

[208] Ivo Sanader (born in 1953) is a Croatian politician who served as the 8th Prime Minister of Croatia from 2003 to 2009. In December 2010, Croatian authorities indicted him in two high-profile corruption cases. In November 2012, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison in a first instance verdict, later reduced to 8 1⁄2 years.

[209] "FKI Asks Assembly to Revise Anti-Corruption Law," by Kim Yoo-chul, *Korea Times*, July 29, 2016, www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/tech/2016/07/133_210689.html.

[210] See, among others, the work of Duda Sokolović of Mebius Film in Sarajevo, who, supported by NED (The National Endowment for Democracy), produces "Perspektiva," a bridge-building television series aiming at offering young people a platform to get to know each other and dialogue. See www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/perspektiva-novi-serijal-rse-mladi-balkan/26833361.html.

[211] I thank Peter Coleman and Beth Fisher-Yoshida for making me aware of the book *Tribe* by Sebastian Junger, 2016, where Junger describes the significance of the sense of belonging, for instance, the intimate bonds of platoon life that combat veterans experience. Junger suggests that the loss of closeness that comes at the end of deployment may explain the high rates of post-traumatic stress disorder suffered by military veterans.

[212] "The End of a Cycle?," by Roberto Savio, *Inter Press Service*, December 6, 2016, www.ipsnews.net/2016/12/italian-politics-the-end-of-a-cycle/:

But how can we expect from those who have been supporting and singing neoliberal globalization since 1989 to admit their guilt? It is a sign of the time that now the IMF, World Bank and OECD are those who are calling for a return to the role of the state as the regulator and decrying how social and economic inequalities are a brake to growth... For more than a generation the market has been considered as the only legitimate actor in economy and society. The values inscribed in the large majority of constitutions, like justice, solidarity, participation, and cooperation have been substituted by competition, enrichment, and individualism. Today, children in China, Russia, the United States and Europe are not united by values, but by brand: Adidas, Coca Cola. Citizens have become consumers. In the near future, data collected about each citizen through Internet, on their lives, activities and consumes, will further steer their lives.

[213] "'Der dümmste aller Kriege': Die jugoslawische Tragödie (Ill): Der Völkermord von gestern schürt den Völkerhaß von heute," *Der Spiegel 30/1992*, July 20, 1992, http://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/13679810, pp. 130–138. Summarized and translated by Lindner from German:

Schnell lernte das Volk, daß in dem Schlachthof, zu dem Jugoslawien unter der Achsenmächte-Besatzung verkam, jede noch so perverse Barbarei möglich war. Bald messerten auch die Kroaten nicht mehr allein: Unter den Untaten serbischer Rächer zählte eine kroatische Dokumentation, die 54 verschiedene Torturen registrierte, folgende auf: "Frauen lebendig die Brüste durchstoßen und die Hände durchgezogen."

[214] "'Der dümmste aller Kriege': Die jugoslawische Tragödie (Ill): Der Völkermord von gestern schürt den Völkerhaß von heute," *Der Spiegel 30/1992*, July 20, 1992, http://magazin.spiegel.de/EpubDelivery/spiegel/pdf/13679810, pp. 130–138. German original:

Der Ustascha-Kommandeur von Banja Luka, Dr. Gutic, dröhnte gleichfalls schon im Mai vor johlender Gefolgschaft: "Ich habe Anweisung gegeben zur völligen Ausrottung der Serben. Vernichtet sie, wo immer ihr ihnen begegnet, und der Segen des Poglavnik sowie meiner ist euch gewiß!"
Über den selbst, den Führer Pavelic, erzählt der italienische Autor Curzio Malaparte, der Kriegsberichterstatter in Kroatien war, in seinem Buch "Kaputt" eine so gruselige Episode, daß sie kaum glaubhaft schiene, würde die Tatsache nicht auch von anderen Zeugen, etwa einem italienischen Arzt, bestätigt:
Als Besucher des Poglavnik entdeckte Malaparte neben dessen Schreibtisch einen Korb, scheinbar voller glitschiger Muscheln. ",Dalmatinische Austern?'' fragte ich den Poglavnik. Mit einem müden Lächeln sagte er: ,Es ist ein Geschenk meiner getreuen Ustaschen, 20 Kilo Menschenaugen.'''

Dieser Ustascha-SS schämten sich selbst die Verbündeten. Italiens Außenminister, Duce-Schwiegersohn Graf Ciano, qualifizierte sie als "Banditen" ab und der deutsche Bevollmächtigte General in Agram, Glaise von Horstenau, zieh sie "ausschließlich der Befriedigung untermenschlicher Instinkte".

Die Mordbrennerbanden zogen in serbisch besiedelten Gebiete von Dorf zu Dorf, riefen die Bevölkerung auf den Markt und mähten sie entweder dort nieder oder trieben sie zur Erschießung in den nächsten Wald. Oft sperrten sie die Dörfler auch in ihre orthodoxen Kirchen und zündeten die dann an.

Die Ustaschen verfolgten das von ihrer Führung zur Staatsdoktrin erhobene Ziel, zwischen einem Drittel und der Hälfte der knapp zwei Millionen Serben in Kroatien umzubringen. Der Rest sollte vertrieben oder zwangsweise zum Katholizismus bekehrt werden, was schließlich, so meinten sie, "gute Kroaten" aus ihnen machen würde.

[215] Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010.

[216] "Serbs 'Enslaved Muslim Women at Rape Camps," by Ian Black, The Hague, *The Guardian*, March 21, 2000, www.theguardian.com/world/2000/mar/21/warcrimes.balkans:

A trial at the Hague and a new report show that women were abused as a method of war across Yugoslavia and hears how soldiers brutalised girls as young as 12 during the Bosnian war.

[217] "War Crimes Court Allows Seselj Compassionate Leave," *Euronews*, November 12, 2014, www.euronews.com/2014/11/12/war-crimes-court-allows-seselj-compassionate-leave. See also "Profile: Vojislav Seselj," *BBC News*. November 7, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2317765.stm.

[218] *The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Case No. IT, The Prosecutor of the Tribunal Against Vojislav Seselj*, January 15, 2003, www.icty.org/x/cases/seselj/ind/en/ses-ii030115e.pdf.

[219] "War Crimes Court Allows Seselj Compassionate Leave," *Euronews*, November 12, 2014, www.euronews.com/2014/11/12/war-crimes-court-allows-seselj-compassionate-leave.

[220] "Serbs March in Support of Šešelj," *BBC News*, December 2, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6202624.stm.

[221] Galtung, 1971, 1976.

[222] Kraidy and Murphy, 2008.

[223] See also Howard, 2011.

[224] See, among others, Lijphart, 2004, and Horowitz, 2008. Majoritarian electoral systems can be used in states with divisions large enough to form a majority group. If this is not the case, consociationalism can be a solution, in case the minority elites can be motivated to engage in conflict regulation. Consociationalism accommodates major internal divisions along ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines, with schools, universities, hospitals, newspapers, etc., divided along those fault lines. Centripetal institutions, by contrast, are designed to reward moderates: if consociationalism relies on adversarial community leaders to compromise with each other, centripetalism requires them to appeal to members of the other ethnic group to win votes.

I was privileged to meet Neve Gordon in Israel in 2003, and read with great interest his 2013 op-ed where he advocates a single state solution in Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, invoking the Irish model of consociationalism, see "Rethinking the Two-State Solution," by Neve Gordon, *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 2013, www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-gordon-israel-one-state-solution-20131001-story.html.

See also McCulloch, 2009, a doctoral thesis that rather argues for centripetalism and warns that the feasibility of centripetalism and consociationalism is affected not just by the depth of divisions, but by demographic variables including the degree of heterogeneity (i.e., the size and number of segments) and territoriality (i.e., geographic concentration or dispersion) found in a given polity. Abstract:

For the design of power-sharing practices in deeply divided places, there are two main macro-political strategies: consociationalism, developed and defended by Arend Lijphart, and centripetalism, associated with the work of Donald L. Horowitz. In this thesis, I consider the academic debate between advocates of the two approaches and consider the extent to which either model represents a successful tool of ethnic conflict management. Two broad questions are asked:

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can centripetalism promote political stability in deeply divided places? Can consociationalism? I address these questions by engaging a comparative case analysis of six deeply divided places, three of which have adopted centripetal institutions (Fiji, Sri Lanka, and Nigeria's Second Republic) and three of which have adopted consociational institutions (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burundi, and Northern Ireland).

I present three central arguments in the thesis. First, centripetalism should not be recommended as a strategy of conflict management in deeply divided places. Its track record in such places reveals serious weaknesses. Indeed, it has tended to promote instability and exacerbate division rather than promote moderation. Second, consociationalism is better able to promote stability in deeply divided places. Third, consociationalism's prospects of promoting stability are further enhanced when it is implemented in a revised and expanded form, labelled here as "comprehensive consociation." This type of power-sharing addresses issues that go beyond concern with just political institutions, such as security sector reform, property restitution, and the return of refugees. These are the type of issues that are most likely to promote political instability if left unresolved. Failure to deal with such issues, I argue, is likely to make it more difficult for elites to agree to share power, or to maintain such arrangements.

[225] Lindner, 2006, pp. xv–xvi.

[226] The Weight of Chains | Težina lanaca (2010), by Boris Malagurski, published on August 11, 2012, https://youtu.be/waEYQ46gH08.

[227] Solomon, 2005.

[228] Richards, 2016. See also historian Philipp Ther, 2014/2016, p. x, and his summary of the main pillars of neoliberal ideology:

> Blind belief in the market as an adjudicator in almost all human affairs, irrational reliance on the rationality of market participants, disdain for the state as expressed in the myth of "big government," and the uniform application of the economic recipes of the Washington Consensus.

See also "Is Europe Disintegrating?" by Timothy Garton Ash, *The New York Review of Books*, January 19, 2017, www.nybooks.com/articles/2017/01/19/is-europe-disintegrating/. I thank Elenor Richter-Lyonette for making me aware of this article.

[229] Sociologist Émile Durkheim developed the concept of anomie, understood as incompleteness of the individual without the group, in his book on suicide, Durkheim, 1897.

[230] Novelist Michel Houellebecq captures the many aspects and experiences of anomie in his work, see, among others, Houellebecq, 1994/1998, 1998/2001, 2015. See also "The Swedish Theory of Love: Why Swedes Are So Lonely," by John-David Ritz, *Vice*, November 10, 2015, www.vice.com/en_se/read/the-swedish-theory-of-love-or-why-we-swedes-are-so-lonely-234. I thank Guri Lorentzen Østbye for making me aware of the film and the article.

[231] *Pleasantville* is film written, produced, and directed by Gary Ross in 1998. See also *The Clonus Horror* (1979) or *The Island* (2005). Remember also the 1999 film *The Matrix*. See, furthermore, the work of novelists such as Aldous Huxley, 1932, or Kazuo Ishiguro, 2005, Michel Houellebecq, 2010/2012, Dave Eggers, 2013, or Leif Randt, 2015, as well as Uwe Tellkamp, 2008, who asks whether it is possible to guard one's dignity in the face of attempts to brainwash entire populations, as happened in East Germany before it collapsed in 1989.

[232] See the video with Ardian Adžanela where he reflects on solidarity and mutuality. It was recorded in Sarajevo on August 15, 2016, and published on https://youtu.be/2jm3ldjklmw. It is a privilege to have Ardian Adžanela as esteemed member in the global research team of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[233] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016, p. 30:

> According to a qualitative report on the experiences and perceptions of corruption in Croatia (UNODC, 2011), only 9 % think that corruption is declining, where as 44 % and 47 % accordingly believe it to be stable or on the rise.

[234] See, for instance, political scientist Simon Koschut's overview over publications relevant for the "emotional turn" in international relations theory: Åhäll and Gregory, 2015; Bially Mattern, 2011; Edkins, 2003; Fattah and Fierke, 2009; Hall and Ross, 2015; Hutchinson, 2016; Koschut, 2014; Leep,

2010; Ross, 2013; Solomon, 2014; Van Rythoven, 2015; Wilcox, 2015. The narrative of humiliation in the Middle East, for instance, shows the intertextuality of emotions: "emotions have a history," Fattah and Fierke, 2009, p. 70.

See also an interview that Alexandros Koutsoukis conducted with Steven C. Roach on November 2, 2016, as part of a series of interviews under the motto "Resurrecting IR Theory," where Roach discusses affective values in international relations, the value of resilience, and how to theorize emotional actions, www.e-ir.info/2016/11/02/interview-steven-c-roach/.

[235] Lindner, 2009b, pp. 18–20. To give one example: one way of describing emotions is to say that they are "socially recognized, structured episodes of affectively valenced response, such as joy or fear… a sub-category of patterned affective reactions," in contrast to "affective dynamics" that are "the range of ways embodied mental processes and the felt dimensions of human experience influence thought and behavior," Hall and Ross, 2015, p. 848. I thank Simon Koschut for making me aware of this conceptualization.

[236] Elster, 2003. It was a great inspiration for me to meet with Jon Elster November 26, 2003, in Paris.

[237] Relational-cultural theory and cultural-historical activity theory fit here. Relational-cultural theory (CRP) evolved from the work of Jean Baker Miller, 1976/1986, M.D., pioneer in women's psychology. It assumes that humans have a natural drive toward relationships, and it applies a growth-in-connection model of human growth and development to organizational settings. See for a recent overview, among others, Jordan, 2010. Linda Hartling, et al., 2008, is the former Associate Director of the Jean Baker Miller Training Institute, and it is a privilege to have her now as the director of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies.

[238] Cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) builds on the work by Lev Vygotsky, 1978, and Aleksei Leontiev, 1975/1978. Its philosophical premise is that human physical and mental activity is integrally connected to large-scale cultural and historical processes and vice versa. It studies the culturally and historically situated, materially, and socially mediated process by which humans purposefully transform natural and social reality, including themselves. Community is seen to be central to all forms of learning, communicating, and acting, which means that community is central to the process of learning-by-doing, of making tools of all kinds, of communicating, and of making meaning and acting. The term cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) was coined by Michael Cole and used by Yrjö Engeström for the various lines of work that had been inspired by Vygotsky. See for recent publications, for instance, Kaptelinin and Nardi, 2006, Roth, et al., 2012. I am indebted to Richards and Andersson, 2015, for bringing me to South Africa in 2013, and the Organization Workshop (OW), a CHAT-based organizational learning method developed there by Gavin Andersson, et al., 2016, as summarized in this Abstract:

> Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), is a theoretical framework which traces its roots to activity theory approaches first developed in Russian Psychology (by Vygotsky and Leontiev, in particular). The Organization Workshop (OW) is a CHAT-based organizational learning method with its roots, unusually, in the global South. Among the many scholarly applications of CHAT-related approaches of the last two decades, the OW stands out – together with the Finnish Change Laboratory (CL) and the French Clinique de l'Activité/Activity Clinic (AC) – as a field praxis-oriented laboratory method specifically geared to the world of work. OW is a large-group capacitation method. Organization is not taught. Participants achieve organization. It was initiated in the 1960s by the Brazilian lawyer, sociologist, and political activist Clodomir Santos de Morais, who discovered, in his own experience, that a large group facing common challenges, given freedom of organization, access to a common resource pool and appropriate support from facilitators, could learn to organize itself. From Brazil, the "laboratorios organizacionales" spread out in the seventies to most of Latin America where they were applied at times on a national scale. The method was transferred in the eighties to English-speaking southern Africa where most of the theoretical work exploring its CHAT roots originated. Recently this eminently southern CHAT-based laboratory method has started to find applications in the North.

It is a privilege to have Howard Richards and Gavin Andersson as esteemed members in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[239] See, for instance, Gergen, 2009, or Donati and Archer, 2015.

[240] In Seligman's original experiments, dogs "learned" helplessness, see Seligman, 1974.

[241] Galtung, 1996, p. 199.

[242] See for classic work on cognitive dissonance, Festinger, 1957. See for a recent application of his thoughts, for instance, Adler, 2008.

[243] Jordan and Hartling, 2002. See also, among many others, Adler, et al., 2009, and Chapter 8 in Lindner, 2009b, pp. 129–137.

[244] Miller and Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies, 1988, p. 5.

[245] Lindner, 2012c.

[246] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013.

[247] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013.

[248] Christopher Boehm, 1993, 1999, 2012.

[249] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S36.

[250] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S36. See alsoRyan and Jethá, 2010, and "The New York Times Misleads on Monogamy: Why Do Even the Best Journalists Mislead Readers About Human Sexual Evolution?" by Christopher Ryan, *Psychology Today*, September 16, 2013, www.psychologytoday.com/blog/sex-dawn/201309/the-new-york-times-misleads-monogamy.

[251] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S36.

[252] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S38.

[253] Wilson, 2002.

[254] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S38.

[255] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S39.

[256] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S39.

[257] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S39.

[258] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S40.

[259] See also Wilson, et al., 2013.

[260] See, among others, David Sloan Wilson, 2015, for why both *between-group selection* and *within-group selection*, may be important, rather than only the latter. See also Wilson's science blog, beginning with "Truth and Reconciliation for Group Selection I: Why It Is Needed," October 23, 2009, http://scienceblogs.com/evolution/2009/10/23/truth-and-reconciliation-for-g/. It was a privilege to meet David Sloan Wilson in March 2016 in Oslo, Norway, and to learn from him in the context of "Kontrapunkt," an event organized by Nina Witoszek, Alida Boye, and Helge Iberg.

[261] Price, 1970, see also Harman, 2010. Price committed suicide on January 6, 1975, unable to prove his theory right or wrong. Only two persons from academia were present at his funeral, evolutionary biologists William D. Hamilton and John Maynard Smith.

[262] "Truth and Reconciliation for Group Selection," http://evolution.binghamton.edu/dswilson/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Truth-and-Reconciliation.pdf.

[263] Louis Kriesberg is a pioneer in the field of conflict resolution and is now 90 years old. When he looks back, in Kriesberg, 2016, p. 10, he reports on how structural functionalist theory was the prevailing theoretical approach when he came as an instructor to the School of General Studies, Columbia University, after having gained his doctorate in sociology in 1953. See a brief video by the Maxwell School of Syracuse University about the life and studies of Louis Kriesberg as founding director of the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts (1986–1994), at Syracuse University, https://youtu.be/E-T9E3XLZwU?list=PL384pgKdeHvDYYmp5C9bX1s6EQu8JBhwm. I thank Hans Günter Brauch for gifting to me a copy of Kriesberg, 2016.

[264] It was a privilege for me to meet David Sloan Wilson in March 2016 in Oslo, Norway, and to learn from him in the context of "Kontrapunkt," an event organized by Nina Witoszek, Alida Boye, and Helge Iberg.

[265] Colander, et al., 2009.

[266] Gowdy, et al., 2013, Abstract:

The intellectual histories of economics and evolutionary biology are closely intertwined because both subjects deal with living, complex, evolving systems. Because the subject matter is similar, contemporary evolutionary thought has much to offer to economics. In recent decades theoretical biology has progressed faster than economics in understanding phenomena like hierarchical processes, cooperative behavior, and selection processes in evolutionary change.

[267] Wilson and Gowdy, 2013, p. S8. See also Gowdy and Seidl, 2004.

[268] Barrington-Leigh, 2017.

[269] Wilson and Wilson, 2007, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7694/67447fc718c5c0069391958c77df93af7882.pdf, p. 27.

[270] Axelrod, 2006.

[271] Beinhocker, 2006.

[272] Wilson and Gowdy, 2013, p. S6.

[273] Wilson and Gowdy, 2013.

[274] Frank, 2011.

[275] Wilson and Gowdy, 2013, p. S6. See also Hodgson and Knudsen, 2010.

[276] Siebert and Ott, 2016, p. 33.

[277] Boehm, 2001. Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, explain in footnote 4:

In a survey analyzing 48 small primordial societies, partly organized as egalitarian hunter–gatherers, partly as chiefdoms, Boehm (1993) reports regular intentional sanctions placed on leaders who overstepped their prerogatives or on individuals trying to usurp the group such as public opinion and open discussion in councils, criticism and ridicule, and open disobedience. In more severe cases, the egalitarian alliance also ostracized the leader and terminated his leadership. In some cases, the African !Kung, the Australian aborigines, and the south American Yaruro even executed former leaders or "extremely aggressive men." Bingham (1999) has speculated that the threat of being injured by stone-throwing – a technique that must at some time have been invented in human phylogeny – may have been instrumental in guaranteeing a balance of power within the early groups.

[278] Read more about Dialogue Homes at www.humiliationstudies.org/intervention/dialoguehome.php.

[279] Richards and Swanger, 2009.

[280] Critical realism is being associated with names such as Roy Bhaskar, Rom Harré, Margaret Archer, Heikki Patomaki, and others. See for an overview over critical realism, Archer, et al., 1998. See also the book description of Porpora, 2015:

Critical realism is a philosophy of science that positions itself against the major alternative philosophies underlying contemporary sociology… Douglas V. Porpora argues that sociology currently operates with deficient accounts of truth, culture, structure, agency, and causality that are all better served by a critical realist perspective. This approach argues against the alternative sociological perspectives, in particular the dominant positivism which privileges statistical techniques and experimental design over ethnographic and historical approaches. However, the book also compares critical realism favourably with a range of other approaches, including poststructuralism, pragmatism, interpretivism, practice theory, and relational sociology.

[281] Cassell, 1993.

[282] See Yoshikawa, 1980, 1987.

[283] Martin, et al., 2001.

[284] Dagfinn Føllesdal's publications span many decades, see, among others, Føllesdal, 1988, Føllesdal and Depaul, 2015.

[285] *Philosophy East and West*, www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/t3-philosophy-east-and-west.aspx.

[286] Storey, 2013, p. 115.

[287] Georg Lohmann, 2014, recommends using images and metaphors to make meaning palpable in an interpretative way, in contrast to theories, which show meaning in a logical way. See the original in German in Lohmann, 2014, p. 11:

> Auch hier muss und darf die radikale Endlichkeit nicht der Versuchung erliegen, eine absolute Konzeption des Guten Lebens zu suchen oder gar anbieten zu wollen. Sie kann stattdessen nur so etwas wie ein, man konnte sagen, "relativ Absolutes" gewinnen und anbieten. Die frustrierenden und ambivalenten Erfahrungen des Unverfügbaren bewältigen wir durch eine mehr oder weniger angemessene, argumentative Verständigung darfuber, wer wir sind, sein wollen, sein sollen und sein können. Alle diese Aspekte fassen wir wie in einem Bilde zusammen, weil, anders als in Theorien, in Bildern ein angestrebter oder explizierter Sinnzusammenhang sich nicht logisch, sondern durch ein interpretatives Zusammenspiel von unterschiedlichen Elementen verstehen lässt. Menschliches Leben ist deshalb immer, relativ zu einem Menschenbild, interpretiertes Leben, und deshalb ist die Hermeneutik, als die Kunst des Verstehens, mit ihrer "Ehrenrettung der 'schlechten Unendlichkeit'" die passende Philosophie der Endlichkeit.

[288] I had the privilege of meeting Kichiro Hayashi, professor emeritus of Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo, at the 20th Annual Conference of SIETAR Japan, June 25–26, 2005, at Rikkyo University in Tokyo. I thank Adair Linn Nagata for inviting me to that conference. The title of Hayashi's contribution was "Management by dialogue (not by objective)!" He explained that it can create immense creativity to bring together people with very different styles and ask them NOT to compromise. When mutual contradictory and equally compelling stances clash, this can lead to new insights. *Analogue high-context* communication and value as in Japan tends to lead to organic organizations, while *digital low-context* communication and value leads to mechanistic organizations like in the West. Analogue and digital perception and communication, according to Hayashi, are zero-order beliefs or mental models (akin to related concepts, such as life-worlds, scripts, Husserl's concept of horizon, or Bachnik's of tacit meaning). A Japanese manager will always need more information because he wants to understand a situation like a holistic painting; he will, however, not be aware why he always asks for more information. See Agi and Hayashi, 2007, Hayashi, 2003. See also Noma and Crossman, 2012.

[289] 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, "Cities at Risk – From Humiliation to Dignity," September 19–23, 2016, www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/27.php.

[290] Hardin, 1968.

[291] Ostrom, 1990, 2010.

[292] Wilson, et al., 2013, Abstract. These core design principles were described in Ostrom, 1990, and later empirically confirmed, among others, by Cox, et al., 2010:

> (1) Clearly defined boundaries. The identity of the group and the boundaries of the shared resource are clearly delineated.
> (2) Proportional equivalence between benefits and costs. Members of the group must negotiate a system that rewards members for their contributions. High status or other disproportionate benefits must be earned. Unfair inequality poisons collective efforts.
> (3) Collective-choice arrangements. Group members must be able to create at least some of their own rules and make their own decisions by consensus. People hate being told what to do but will work hard for group goals that they have agreed upon.
> (4) Monitoring. Managing a commons is inherently vulnerable to free-riding and active exploitation. Unless these undermining strategies can be detected at relatively low cost by norm-abiding members of the group, the tragedy of the commons will occur.
> (5) Graduated sanctions. Transgressions need not require heavy-handed punishment, at least initially. Often gossip or a gentle reminder is sufficient, but more severe forms of punishment must also be waiting in the wings for use when necessary.
> (6) Conflict resolution mechanisms. It must be possible to resolve conflicts quickly and in ways that are perceived as fair by members of the group.
> (7) Minimal recognition of rights to organize. Groups must have the authority to conduct their own affairs. Externally imposed rules are unlikely to be adapted to local circumstances and violate principle 3.
> (8) For groups that are part of larger social systems, there must be appropriate coordination among

relevant groups. Every sphere of activity has an optimal scale. Large scale governance requires finding the optimal scale for each sphere of activity and appropriately coordinating the activities, a concept called polycentric governance (McGinnis, 1999). A related concept is subsidiarity, which assigns governance tasks by default to the lowest jurisdiction, unless this is explicitly determined to be ineffective.

[293] Wilson, et al., 2013.

[294] Witt and Schwesinger, 2013, p. S38.

[295] Psychologists Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto speak of legitimizing myths, or compelling cultural ideologies that are taken as self-apparently true in society and that disguise the use of force and discrimination and make it acceptable. See Sidanius and Pratto, 1999. See an overview in "Power Inequities," by Máire A. Dugan, *Beyond Intractability*, February 2004, www.beyondintractability.org/essay/power-inequities. See also Pratto and Stewart, 2011, where they describe how legitimizing myths change over time.

[296] See more on the notion of misrecognition in Chapter 5 and 8 of my book Emotion and Conflict (Lindner, 2009b), pp. 129–137.

[297] Lindner, 2009b, p. xvii.

[298] Siebert and Ott, 2016, p. 2.

[299] Siebert and Ott, 2016, p. 39.

[300] Siebert and Ott, 2016, p. 27.

[301] Siebert and Ott, 2016, p. 19.

[302] Sassen, 2014.

[303] Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) was a major contributor to sociological theory and field studies. Tönnies is best known for his distinction between two types of social groups – *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1887/1955). He explains that community is based on family life, rests on harmony, and is developed and ennobled by folkways, morals, and religion, with morality being an expression of religious beliefs and forces, intertwined with family spirit and folkways.

[304] Weber, 1919.

[305] "Ein 'stahlhartes Gehäuse' ist kein 'Iron Cage': Über Forscher, die kein Deutsch können," by Dirk Kaesler, Literaturkritik, Nr. 1, January 2012, Glosse, www.literaturkritik.de/public/rezension.php?rez_id=16239.

[306] *The Corporation*, a documentary film by law professor Joel Bakan, directed by Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott in 2003, see www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sociopolitica/sociopol_globalelite08.htm. See also Bakan, 2004, The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power. I thank ecological economist, environmental scientist and futurist Richard Sanders for making me aware of this work.

[307] Hartling and Lindner, 2017.

[308] Brigitte Volz in a personal communication, September 28, 2016. She recommends training programs for parents and pedagogues by STEP (Systematische Training für Eltern und Pädagogen, www.insteponline.de), or SAFE (Secure Attachment Family Education, www.safe-programm.de).

[309] Woo, et al., 2014.

[310] See, among others, Schore and Sieff, 2015.

[311] Photo taken from Perry and Pollard, 1997. See also "What's the Difference between these Two Brains?" by Alasdair Palmer, *Telegraph*, October 28, 2012, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/children/9637682/Whats-the-difference-between-these-two-brains.html.

[312] "Verfassungsschutzbericht 2015: 'Exorbitanter Anstieg' rechter Gewalt, *Zeit Online*, June 28, 2016, www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2016-06/verfassungsschutzbericht-2015-thomas-de-maiziere-verfassungsschutz-hans-georg-maassen.

[313] Jackson, 1990.

[314] "The Coming Anarchy," by Robert D. Kaplan, *The Atlantic*, February 1994, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/, pp. 44-76.

[315] Raskin, 2016, p. 27. See also the 1979 dystopian film Mad Max by George Miller, or novelist Cormac McCarthy, 2006, describing a father and his young son's journey across post-apocalyptic America some years after an extinction event when the land is covered with ash and devoid of life. Sociologist Peter Frase, 2016, sees "exterminism" as one of four possible futures: communism, rentism, socialism, and exterminism. Frase arrives at this categorization by using two intersecting spectrums, one ranging from inequality to hierarchy and the other from scarcity to abundance. Frase reminds us of Walter Benjamin, 1940/1974, and his warnings that we are moving backwards into the future, a move that is illusionary. He is joined in these warnings by many others, among them journalists such as Owen Hatherley, 2015, who writes on architecture, politics, and culture.

[316] Lindner, 2014a, p. 19.

[317] Lindner, 2014a, p. 19.

[318] Charles Landry, 2008, is best known for having written the book *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, first published in 1995 together with Franco Bianchini.

[319] Kurokawa, et al., 2005. See also Lindner, 2009b, chapter 8. I also thank architect Koichi Nagashima for explaining the problems of modern architecture to me in Kamakura, Japan, on July 29, 2005. It is a privilege to have Koichi Nagashima as esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[320] Curtis, 1996, 2015.

[321] Lindner, 2006, p. 159.

[322] "21 September 2016: 10 Pointers," by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, September 26, 2016, www.transcend.org/tms/2016/09/21-september-2016-10-pointers/:

   Basic Human needs: survival, wellness, freedom, identity. Basic Nature needs: diversity, symbiosis.

[323] See four clips by Alan Watts beginning with www.youtube.com/watch?v=8aufuwMiKmE.

[324] Lindner, 2006, p. 160.

[325] „Armut hat eine Himmelsrichtung": Städte der Zukunft," by Till-R. Stoldt, *Welt*, December 28, 2013, www.welt.de/regionales/duesseldorf/article123328741/Armut-hat-eine-Himmelsrichtung.html. The Athens Charter was a document about urban planning published by the Swiss architect, Le Corbusier in 1943, based on Le Corbusier's project Ville Radieuse (Radiant City), and on urban studies by the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) in the early 1930s. Robert Moses (1888–1981) was a city planner mainly in the New York metropolitan area, criticized for his preference of automobiles to people.

[326] "The Father of the American Shopping Mall Hated What He Created," *Quartz*, July 17, 2015, http://qz.com/454214/the-father-of-the-american-shopping-mall-hated-cars-and-suburban-sprawl/.

[327] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016, p. 34.

[328] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016, p. 34.

[329] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016, p. 34.

[330] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016, p. 34.

[331] During our 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik in 2016, I became aware that trading communities like Venice and Dubrovnik interestingly where among the first to abolish the trade of slaves, even though slaves were still kept in private homes, and it was allowed to keep them *pro usu suo*, Latin *for one's own use*. It seems that Christian motives were stronger than the profit motive? See "Dubrovnik Republic Abolished Slavery before Many World Powers Did," *Welcome Dubrovnik: Dobro Došli u Dubrovnik*, number 28, 2016, pp 32–33, www.tzdubrovnik.hr/user_files/made/welcome/w28web.pdf:

   Among the numerous humanitarian laws enacted by the Dubrovnik government, the one from the year 1416 is definitely worth mentioning. The law did doubtlessly not arise solely from a feeling of shame before the rest of the world, but directly from a feeling of humanity, characteristic of

medieval communities. This legal decision tells us most convincingly of the Christian love for the most disenfranchised people at the bottom of the social scale – the slaves. More than anything else, the abolition of slavery in the early 15th century did more credit than anything else to the Dubrovnik Republic in the Europe of the time. The slave trade was abolished before Dubrovnik in Split (1373), Korčula (1378 and 1418) and also in Venice. It should definitely be pointed out that Dubrovnik abolished the slave trade long before some other states (in England it was abolished in 1807, while in the USA it was not completely abolished until after the American Civil War, 1861–1865). The Dubrovnik government reached its decision on 27 January 1416, with the following explanation and sanctions in the event of the regulations not being obeyed:
"Believing that the people trade is shameful, criminal, repulsive and in breach of every form of humanity, that considerable guilt and shame is brought upon our city because human beings – created in the image and likeness of God – are treated like merchandise, and people are sold in the same way as animals, the (Dubrovnik) government decides and orders that no citizen or peasant of the city of Dubrovnik and its surroundings, or any other person who calls himself a man of Dubrovnik, will – in no way and under no excuse or interpretation – dare to and agree to sell or buy a male or female slave, or mediate in such a trade, or enter into such an agreement with any citizen or peasant engaged in or supporting such business."

[332] "Dubrovnik Republic Abolished Slavery before Many World Powers Did," *Welcome Dubrovnik: Dobro Došli u Dubrovnik*, number 28, 2016, pp 32-33, www.tzdubrovnik.hr/user_files/made/welcome/w28web.pdf, p. 33:

Among the numerous humanitarian laws enacted by the Dubrovnik government, the one from the year 1416 is definitely worth mentioning. The law did doubtlessly not arise solely from a feeling of shame before the rest of the world, but directly from a feeling of humanity, characteristic of medieval communities. This legal decision tells us most convincingly of the Christian love for the most disenfranchised people at the bottom of the social scale – the slaves. More than anything else, the abolition of slavery in the early 15th century did more credit than anything else to the Dubrovnik Republic in the Europe of the time. The slave trade was abolished before Dubrovnik in Split (1373), Korčula (1378 and 1418) and also in Venice. It should definitely be pointed out that Dubrovnik abolished the slave trade long before some other states (in England it was abolished in 1807, while in the USA it was not completely abolished until after the American Civil War, 1861–1865).

[333] Motzfeldt Loades, 2016. See also the 2014 film *A Dangerous Game*, www.adangerousgamemovie.com, featuring Dubrovnik and the building of a luxury golf course on Mount Srđ overlooking Dubrovnik while local residents are campaigning against it.

[334] Ruben Nelson in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "The Struggle for Meaningful Work," January 10, 2017, in response to Klitgaard, 2017.

[335] "Latin America and the Caribbean Can Make Hunger History – UN Agricultural Agency," *United Nations News Centre*, January 25, 2017, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=56043#.WI3BWvKOWgx.

[336] Tolstoy, 1886/1935.

[337] "Evolving Democracy," by Johan Galtung, TRANSCEND Media Service, February 13, 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/02/evolving-democracy/.

[338] Raskin, 2016, pp. 110–111.

[339] Nina Jensen is a Norwegian marine biologist and secretary general of World Wildlife Fund Norway, and she is the sister of the Norwegian Minister of Finance, Siv Jensen. Nina Jensen explains the inadequacy of climate and environmental policies around the world as follows: politicians "obviously have not enough knowledge and expertise about how bad the situation actually is, how tremendous the effects of climate change and loss of biodiversity will be and to what extent also economic assets will be at stake. Had politicians really understood these relationships, they would act on a whole different scale." See "Føling for fjæra: Danse med ulver, dykke med haier, Portrettet av Nina Jensen" Klassekampen, February 11, 2017, p. 38-40. What makes her testimony particularly interesting is that even she, clearly, is not able to adequately alert her very own sister, a politician and finance minister.

[340] "Yearning for the End of the World," by Dina Nayeri, *The Guardian*, August 25, 2017,

www.theguardian.com/news/2017/aug/25/yearning-for-the-end-of-the-world?CMP=share_btn_link.
As a child in Iran, Dina Nayeri belonged to a secret Christian church where the Rapture was welcomed as a rescue. Later, as a refugee in the US, she saw how apocalyptic prophecies masked a reactionary nihilism – which is why they are so tempting. We thank Kamran Mofid for making us aware of this article.

[341] Stephen Purdey, international relations specialist and research affiliate at the Waterloo Institute for Complexity and Innovation, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," September 21, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[342] See, as one example, David Schwartzman, 2016, and his calculations of "how much and what kind of energy" humanity needs. The so-called *public trust doctrine*, which indicates that the citizens of a country own the natural resources, has been advocated in recent years as a tool to compel governments across the world to take action against climate change, see, among others, Our Children's Trust, www.ourchildrenstrust.org.

[343] "Individual Responsibility," by John Scales Avery, *Human Wrongs Watch*, January 20, 2017, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2017/01/20/individual-responsibility/.

[344] Ruben Nelson in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," October 5, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016:

> In the past, all transitions in the forms of civilization were slow, local/regional, exclusive, optional and unconscious. Today, we are faced by the need to undertake a GT in our dominant form of civilization that, in contrast, must be fast (by any historic standard), scalable to the whole planet, inclusive of all 7.4 billion of us, recognized as required and conscious. This last requirement also implies that today we must not only be conscious about change at every scale, but must develop a capacity for meta-consciousness about change at every scale.

[345] John Fullerton, now a new member of the Club of Rome, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," October 31, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016:

> I particularly liked Paul's near dismissal of the "Conventional Worlds" scenarios – both Market Forces and Policy Reform variations, what Paul calls "the false god of moderation that invites us to passively drift down the garden path to barbarization." Of course, this is precisely the path we (collectively) are on, with all the well-meaning focus on "green growth", internalizing "externalities" (an oxymoron), calls for greater market transparency with Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) metrics (our idolatry of markets and their ability to guide us is a deadly confusion of means and ends), Divest/Invest campaigns, quantifying in monetary terms ecosystem services offered by vital and priceless ecosystem function, circular economy manufacturing processes, impact investing, carbon demand-side reduction targets, more progressive taxation regimes, and on and on. ALL are essential incremental change, part of any ultimate solution. All are important work. But mostly what they accomplish is the extension of our runway, not systemic change, because they do not involve a fundamental change in the way we think. They could lull us into false confidence that we are on the right track. Collectively, they are the result of our intellectually lazy or simply ignorant preference to worship what Paul calls the "false god of moderation," or simply represent the only way we can have our voices heard. We must see this for what it is, our ongoing 500-year-old Modern Era (and thus deeply ingrained literally into our DNA) reductionist mindset of treating symptoms like carbon emissions rather than seeking and then addressing root causes, holistically understood.

[346] See Lindner, 2017b.

[347] John Bunzl in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "The Struggle for Meaningful Work," January 19, 2017, in response to Klitgaard, 2017.

[348] Wright, 1942. I thank Klaus Schlichtmann, 2017 for reminding me of the work of Quincy Wright. See also Cabrera, 2017. See also Ecuador's promising path: "Ecuador Revives Campaign for UN Tax

Body," by Thalif Deen, *Inter Press Service*, January 27, 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/01/ecuador-revives-campaign-for-un-tax-body/.

[349] Ritzer, 2013.

[350] Rothkopf, 2008.

[351] Raskin, 2016, explains the unity in diversity of "constrained pluralism," p. 85–86:

> The commitment to unity implies that the planetary governance sets "boundary conditions" on regional activity to ensure the congruence of aggregate outcomes and global goals. The commitment to diversity bars central authorities from dictating how these conditions are met, leaving wide scope for regions to adopt diverse approaches compatible with cultural traditions, value preferences, and local resources. In turn, each region contains a hierarchy of sub-regional entities, nested like Russian matryoshka dolls from provinces down to hamlets; the principle of constrained pluralism applies at each level. Up and down the line, our political system delegates decision-making to the most local level possible, retaining authority at larger levels where necessary.

[352] "Evolving Democracy," by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, February 13, 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/02/evolving-democracy/.

[353] Lindner, 2007.

[354] Raskin, 2016, p. 84.

[355] Clearly, there is a connection between equality and equal dignity – the connection is "hidden" in the human rights stipulation that equal chances and enabling environments for all are necessary to protect human dignity.

[356] See also Lindner, 2006, p. 27, or Lindner and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010, pp. 149–153.

[357] *Teacher Leadership B&H*, video by the organization proMente, published on January 28, 2014, https://youtu.be/7tkQPsutPVU. Find also an article describing the approach: "Bridging the Divide," by David Frost, November 28, 2013, www.lflteacherleadership.org/bridging-the-divide/. I so much thank Ardian Adžanela for introducing me to Ivona. It is a privilege to have Ardian Adžanela as an esteemed member in the global research team of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[358] MacBeath, et al., 2007a, MacBeath, et al., 2007b.

[359] Fiske, 2004. See also "Why the P2P and Commons Movement Must Act Trans-Locally and Trans-Nationally," by Michel Bauwens, *P2P Foundation*, June 12, 2016, https://blog.p2pfoundation.net/p2p-commons-movement-must-act-trans-locally-trans-nationally/2016/06/16. I thank Uli Spalthoff for making me aware of this article.
Bauwens recommends Karatani, 2014. Like Alan Page Fiske, 1991, in *Structures of Social Life*, also Karatini recognizes four basic modes of social life, and these modes exist at all times and in all places. As to levels of measurement, psychologist Stanley Smith Stevens, 1946, developed the best known classification with four levels, or scales, of measurement: nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio.

[360] Scheler, 1914–1916/1957. Scheler states that the human being, before she can be an ens cogitans (a "thinking being") or an ens volens (a "volitional being"), is an ens amans, a loving being.

[361] Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) was a major contributor to sociological theory and field studies. Tönnies is best known for his distinction between two types of social groups – *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1887/1955). He explains that community is based on family life, rests on harmony, and is developed and ennobled by folkways, morals, and religion, with morality being an expression of religious beliefs and forces, intertwined with family spirit and folkways.

[362] Szirtes, 2012, p. 139.

[363] Jordan and Hartling, 2002.

[364] Lindner and Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network members, 2006–2017.

[365] Raskin, 2016, p. 98.

[366] *Global Education Monitoring Report 2016: Education for People and Planet, Creating Sustainable Futures for All*, Paris: UNESCO, 2016, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002457/245752e.pdf.

[367] "Divided Education, Divided Citizens?: A Comparative Study of Civil Enculturation in Separate Schools," by Maria Golubeva, Stephen Powell, Elmina Kazimzade, and Anca Nedelcu, Network of Education Policy Centers (NEPC), April 2009, www.praxis.ee/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/2009-Divided-education-divided-citizens.pdf.

[368] Lindner, 2014a. See the videos that we made to document the important hours of learning at www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/videos.php#thailand.

[369] *The Lazy School's First Student Peter Dering*, video recorded by Evelin Lindner, March 14, 2014, http://youtu.be/ek4lGpSQgpk.

[370] "It's Time for a Slow Teaching Revolution," by Roy Peachey, *Telegraph*, September 13, 2016, www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2016/09/13/its-time-for-a-slow-teaching-revolution/. See also terms such as "natural learning," "unschooling," or "deschooling": "Natural learning" describes a type of learning where children pursue knowledge based on their interests and parents are facilitators of this learning. It is partly overlapping with "unschooling," a term coined by John Holt, and "deschooling," a term connected with Ivan Illich.

[371] "A Needed Cornerstone for Habitat III: The Right to the City," by Isabel Pascual, *Citiscope*, February 15, 2016, http://citiscope.org/habitatIII/commentary/2016/02/needed-cornerstone-habitat-iii-right-city. I thank Kjell Skyllstad for making me aware of this publication.

[372] "Moisei Kagan's Educational Rhetoric," by Tatiana Artemyeva, Finnish-Russian Congress on Problems of Contemporary Aesthetics, Culture and Art, "Moisei Kagan's Aesthetics and the Late/Post-Soviet Culture," at Aleksanteri Institute, Aesthetics University of Helsinki, Finnish Society for Aesthetics, Helsinki, May 18–19, 2015, www.helsinki.fi/aleksanteri/ajankohtaista/2015/Kagan_Program_Abstracts.pdf.

[373] Hartling and Lindner, 2017.

[374] Lindner, 2017a.

[375] For Human Rights Cities, see the work of Shulamit Koenig, www.pdhre.org/projects/hrcommun.html.

[376] "Transition Initiatives Directory," Transition Network, https://transitionnetwork.org/initiatives.

[377] Michel Bauwens in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Money for the People," July 18, 2017, in response to Mellor, 2017.

[378] During the 2016 presidential election, Mayor Kevin Faulconer of San Diego, California, himself a Republican, resisted the idea of Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump of building a wall between Mexico and the United States. See "Faulconer: No Trump; No Border Wall," by Wendy Fry, *NBS*, June 9, 2016, www.nbcsandiego.com/news/local/Faulconer-No-Trump-No-Border-Wall-382324931.html. I thank Kjell Skyllstad for making us aware of this article.

[379] "Power to the City," by Srikanth Viswanathan, *The Indian Express*, June 13, 2014, indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/power-to-the- city. Quoted in Miklian and Sahoo, 2016. See also the work of architect Jan Gehl, 2010.

[380] "Reducing Urban Violence," by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Editorial #478, April 24, 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/04/reducing-urban-violence/.

[381] The *Whole Earth Catalog (WEC)* was a counterculture magazine published by Stewart Brand several times a year between 1968 and 1972, and occasionally until 1998.

[382] Toffler, 1970.

[383] Tom Christoffel in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," November 2, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[384] Shao, 2013. It was a great privilege to meet with Qin Shao in New York on November 11, 2016.

[385] 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, "Cities at Risk – From Humiliation to Dignity," September 19–23, 2016, www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/27.php.

[386] Maalouf, 1998/2000. I thank Yves Musoni for reminding me of this book.

[387] Jennings and Murphy, 2000. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article. Abstract:

The field of domestic violence has concentrated its theories, research, and treatment methods on the male–female dimensions of the problem. However, male–male issues also play a crucial role. The authors explain how traditional male socialization and rigid sex role stereotyping can have emotional and behavioral consequences that are displaced onto male–female relationships. In particular, "humiliation" is a potent and pervasive social mechanism that dominates male psychology, causing multiple problems in male self-esteem and interpersonal relations. Humiliation is the social form of shame and is deeply rooted in the same-sex relations of childhood groups, rituals of passage, and problematic relationships with father figures.

[388] Nisbett and Cohen, 1996.

[389] "On the Frontline in Syria: The Danish Gangster who Turned Jihadi," by Nagieb Khaja, *The Guardian*, July 7, 2014, www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/07/european-jihadi-danish-gangster-frontline-syria.

[390] Psychiatrist and sociologist Marc Sageman describes a less religious third wave of Al-Qaeda inspired terrorism, after two waves that were more religious. Some individuals involved in terrorism now seem to "discover" religion mere weeks before getting active. See Sageman, 2004, 2008, and "A Not Very Private Feud Over Terrorism," by Elaine Sciolino and Eric Schmitt, *New York Times*, June 8, 2008, www.nytimes.com/2008/06/08/weekinreview/08sciolino.html?_r=4&scp=1&sq=marc+sageman&st=nyt&oref=slogin&oref=slogin&. See also Gunning and Jackson, 2011, and Lakhani, 2013.

[391] "Criminal Pasts, Terrorist Futures: European Jihadists and the New Crime-Terror Nexus," by Rajan Basra, Peter R. Neumann, and Claudia Brunner, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), King's College, London, http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/ICSR-Report-Criminal-Pasts-Terrorist-Futures-European-Jihadists-and-the-New-Crime-Terror-Nexus.pdf. See also Neumann, 2015/2016.

[392] The Non-Aligned Movement: Background Information, www.nam.gov.za/background/background.htm.

[393] Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) members, www.nam.gov.za/background/background.htm#4.1.

[394] The Bandung Conference was the first large-scale Asian–African or Afro–Asian conference, of twenty-nine Asian and African states, most newly independent, which took place on April 18–24, 1955, in Bandung, Indonesia. Nearly one-quarter of the Earth's land surface and a total population of 1.5 billion people was represented.

[395] "Speech by President Sukarno of Indonesia at the Opening of the Conference," Bandung, Indonesia, April 18, 1955, "The World and Japan" Database Project, Database of Japanese Politics and International Relations, Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo, Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia, www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~worldjpn/documents/texts/docs/19550418.S1E.html.

[396] "Tredje verden-prosjektets død skaper et monster: Sekter uten grenser" (The Third World Project's Death Creates a Monster: Sects Without Borders), by Yohan Shanmugaratnam, *Klassekampen*, July 3, 2014.

[397] "Telegram to the Secretary of State, Department of State," by George K. Kennan, *National Security Archive (online)*, 1946, http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm.

[398] "In an Age of 'Realists' and Vigilantes, there is Cause for Optimism," by John Pilger, September 19, 2013, http://johnpilger.com/articles/in-an-age-of-realists-and-vigilantes-there-is-cause-for-optimism: In 2006, war correspondent John Pilger interviewed Duane "Dewey" Clarridge, who ran the C.I.A. in Latin America in the 1980s. Clarridge explained that it was in the American interest, for instance, to have Salvador Allende go. Pilger asked Clarridge about the rationale and ethics of overthrowing governments, and Clarridge laconically replied: "Like it or lump it, we'll do what we like. So just get used to it, world."

[399] Totten, et al., 2004, p. 245.

[400] *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014), are documentary films by Joshua Oppenheimer. *The Act of Killing* is a portrait of the perpetrators of the 1965 Indonesian genocide, in which about a million people suspected of being communists were killed. In *The Look of Silence* the

focus is on the murder of a single victim, Ramli Rukun. In 2014, after a screening of *The Act of Killing* for US Congress members, Oppenheimer called on the United States to acknowledge its role in the killings. I myself spent many months in Indonesia in 1981 and learned about their culture and language. I regret that I did not know enough about these atrocities then.

[401] "Joshua Oppenheimer Won't Go Back to Indonesia," interview by Adam Shatz, *New York Times*, July 9, 2015, www.nytimes.com/2015/07/12/magazine/joshua-oppenheimer-wont-go-back-to-indonesia.html?_r=1. Oppenheimer states that the West shares considerable responsibility for the mass killings in Indonesia. Particularly the United States "provided the special radio system so the Army could coordinate the killings over the vast archipelago." I spent many months in Indonesia in 1981 and learned about their culture and language. regret that I did not know enough about all these atrocities then.

[402] Historian Torgrim Titlestad, 2016, explains that it is no coincidence that Norway is often regarded as one of the most progressive democratic and freedom-based countries. Viking sagas show how widespread democratic thinking was in Norse communities and how the Norse *thing* system and the individual's legal status are the source of Norway's modern democratic system. Viking sagas show that plunder and conquest were not the main characteristic of Viking times, but rather struggles for freedom, people resisting authoritarian rulers, and insistence on freedom of religion. It seems that Vikings were later demonized when Christianity arrived in their regions.

[403] Wergeland, 1843, p. 23:

> Haard er den Himmel, som bedækker Norge, Klimatet er strength; vi ere Beboere af en hyperboræisk Afkrog paa Kloden, og Naturen har bestemt os til at savne saamange af de mildere Landes Fordele. Men Naturen, god midt i sin tilsyneladende Ubarmhjertighed, og retfærdig midt i sin Uretfærdighed, har aabenbar villet levne os Erstatning for hine Savn, og derfor beskikket, at Norges, i nogle Henseender saa ufordeelagtige, Beliggenhed skulde i andre Henseender være saare velgjørende.

I thank Bernt Hagtvet and Nikolai Brandal for making me aware of this quote. It is a privilege to have Bernt Hagtvet as esteemed members in the global advisory board of the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship, see humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/board.php.

[404] Lindner, 2014b.

[405] Giddens, 1991, p. 202. I thank Dino Karabeg for reminding me of this quote.

[406] Solomon, 2005. See also Galtung, 2012.

[407] Raskin, 2016, p. 47.

[408] Lindner, 2014b. See also lawyer Amy Chua, 2003, and her discussion of how exporting market democracy may breed ethnic hatred and global instability. See sociologist Peter Evans, 2008, for the potential of counter-hegemonic globalization movements to challenge the contemporary view of globalization as neoliberal globalization.

[409] Raskin, 2016, p. 77.

[410] Raskin, 2016, in resonance with books such as More, 1516–18/2012, Morris, 1890, Fuller, 1981, Berry, 1999, Korten, 2006, Morin, 2011.

[411] The noosphere, sometimes written as noösphere is the sphere of human thought, from the Greek *νοῦς*, *nous*, or mind, and *σφαῖρα*, *sphaira*, or sphere, in lexical analogy to atmosphere and biosphere. Presumably, it was introduced by mineralogist and geochemist Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky (1863 – 1945) and developed further by Jesuit priest-theologian and a distinguished geologist-paleontologist, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955) and philosopher Édouard Le Roy (1870–1954). Teilhard de Chardin, 1920–1952/1959, taught that humanity, through collective cooperation, can achieve the noosphere, when people refrain from thinking only of themselves, and instead contribute to a universal heightening of consciousness. See "The Cosmic Plenum: Teilhard's Gnosis: Cosmogenesis," by Beatrix Murrell, Stoa del Sol, San Diego, CA, www.bizint.com/stoa_del_sol/plenum/plenum_2.html.

[412] Habermas and Dews, 1992, p. 187, as quoted in Outhwaite, 1994.

[413] Habermas, 2014, Abstract.

[414] Habermas, 2014, Abstract.

[415] Habermas, 2014, Abstract.

[416] Wright, 1942. I thank Klaus Schlichtmann, 2017 for reminding me of the work of Quincy Wright. See also Cabrera, 2017. See also Ecuador's promising path: "Ecuador Revives Campaign for UN Tax Body," by Thalif Deen, *Inter Press Service*, January 27, 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/01/ecuador-revives-campaign-for-un-tax-body/.

[417] Pella Thiel, of End Ecocide Sweden, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of "Against Ecocide: Legal Protection for Earth," August 2, 2016, in response to Femke Wijdekop, 2016. See also Lindner, 2000b, for an early attempt to study the motivations of CEOs.

[418] "A Critique of No Local, the Book Arguing that Localism Can't Save the Planet," by Ted Trainer, September 1, 2016, shared in a personal communication, where he critiques Scherer, 2011.

[419] "A Critique of No Local, the Book Arguing that Localism Can't Save the Planet," by Ted Trainer, September 1, 2016, shared in a personal communication, where he critiques Scherer, 2011. See thesimperway.info/YOUR DAY.htm.

[420] "A Critique of No Local, the Book Arguing that Localism Can't Save the Planet," by Ted Trainer, September 1, 2016, shared in a personal communication, where he critiques Scherer, 2011.

[421] "A Critique of No Local, the Book Arguing that Localism Can't Save the Planet," by Ted Trainer, September 1, 2016, shared in a personal communication, where he critiques Scherer, 2011. See thesimperway.info/YOUR DAY.htm.

[422] Lindner, 2012c.

[423] "Economics for a Full World," by Herman Daly, June 2015, www.greattransition.org/images/GTI_publications/Daly-Economics-for-a-Full-World-pre-publication.pdf.

[424] Ted Trainer in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic "The Degrowth Alternative," January 26, 2015:

> Our enormous (and probably insoluble) problem is to get them to shift to what I term The Simpler Way. We will make little or no progress while the supermarket shelves remain well-stocked. Our chances will begin to improve when the crunches start impacting in rich countries, the multi-faceted "peaks" in oil, energy, materials supply, the accelerating ecological impacts, the financial turmoil, and the social breakdown fueled by the inequality and deprivation neo-liberal doctrine inevitably inflicts. Our task is to work hard during the short window of opportunity we have to get local alternative communities up and running as best we can, so that when people start to realize that the consumer-capitalist system will not provide for them they can see around them at least indicators of the kind of alternative they need to help build in their towns and suburbs.

See also Alexander, 2009, Doherty and Etzioni, 2003, Trainer, 2014. Ted (F.E.) Trainer is an Australian academic, and an advocate of economic de-growth, simple living, and "conserver" lifestyles. Trainer is on the faculty of the Simplicity Institute, Office of Environmental Programmes, Melbourne University, Australia, see http://simplicityinstitute.org/ted-trainer. He works with the Simpler Way project, which has primarily been about trying to show that the required alternative ways would be easily, cheaply, and quickly built if people wanted to do that. See www.socialsciences.arts.unsw.edu.au/tsw/TheAltSoc.lng.html for a detailed sketch.

[425] "What Might an Economy for the Common Good Look Like?" by Kamran Mofid, October 15, 2014, www.gcgi.info/index.php/40-news/628-what-might-an-economy-for-the-common-good-look-like. It is a privilege to have Kamran Mofid as esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[426] In Richards, 2013. See also Richards, 1995, Richards and Swanger, 2006. I would assume that Richards has read George, 1879, on public revenue from land rent, an idea that obtained its greatest popularity in the U.S. in the late 1800s, see also Foldvary, 2006.

[427] Howard Richards, in a personal communication reflecting on Norman Kurland's work, January 12, 2013:

I do not think it is responsible to be simply "in favor of private property" or "against private property" or to say "Marx was right" or "Marx was wrong." I do not think the words "capitalism" or "socialism" in most of the ways they are commonly understood can name something one can be simply "for" or "against." (In the end, however, I come out being "for" both socialism and capitalism, properly defined, i.e. defined as I think it best to define them. I am working on these paradoxes in an essay I am working on in Spanish tentatively titled "How to Achieve Socialism without Socialism." They are also somewhat explained in my talk at University of Cape Town, where I explain also why the debate has to go back to indigenous practices of community and transcend modern western categories.)

…

I met Adler when I was working for Robert Hutchins (I worked for him in 1960 – 1965) and I had the impression that he shared Hutchins' view which is also that of Aristotle and is part of the social teachings of the Catholic Church and of most churches that property is in principle common (given by God or Nature) to everyone, while the separation of property into "mine" and "thine" is a practical arrangement due to the fact that holding property in common is often impractical. As St. Thomas says we who own property have legal dominion, but the duty to use the property to serve others. In Gandhi s view we should regard ourselves as "trustees" of our property… This is sometimes called in secular terms the view that property rights serve social functions.

On the other hand Hutchins and traditional ethics generally are quite aware of the desirable function of property in establishing respect for persons and the integrity and freedom of human personalities. This does not need to lead to denying the social functions of property and the need to revise property institutions in the light of their social functions.

I agree with Norm that when Marx wrote that Communism consists of abolishing private property Marx was recommending something neither practical nor desirable. I do not want to underestimate the tragedy and human suffering that have resulted from that impractical and undesirable idea. But this does not imply that we have nothing to learn from Marx. Nor does it imply that we should underestimate the tragedy and human suffering that have resulted from imposing unenlightened ideas about private property by violence, torture, lies and all the rest –the latter being closer to home for one who writes from Chile.

I also think that unrestricted property rights (full respect for the dominium of Roman law) make it impossible to achieve social inclusion. As far as I can tell without taking time for more study, the Kelso idea is not really unrestricted property rights because it involves redistribution so that everybody has access to property. This would raise the issue how to make redistribution practical, how to carry it out without shutting down the dynamics that make the economy work (given that it does not in any case work very well)…

[428] David Korten in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," September 21, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[429] See, among others, Mellor, 2017.

[430] Graeber, 2001, 2011a, b.

[431] See for a critical appraisal, for instance, García Martínez, 2016. Consider also this question: Where does the "God complex" of the "tech billionaires" in Silicon Valley come from? This question is being asked in this article: "Tech-Milliardäre mit Gotteskomplex: Nur noch kurz die Welt retten," by Imre Grimm, *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, October 14, 2016, www.lvz.de/Sonntag/Top-Thema/Nur-noch-kurz-die-Welt-retten-Tech-Milliardaere-mit-Gotteskomplex, translated from Germany by Evelin Lindner:

Megalomania in Silicon Valley: Google, Facebook, Amazon and Co. are no longer just about billions. They believe in the omnipotence of technology and want world peace, eternal life, the colonization of the universe and happiness and health for all people…

Self-proclaimed superheroes, however, tend to believe they are infallible, unstoppable, and above all rules. Questions concerning the meaning and goals of their progress cult hardly reach them. Even less the question of who is to deal with the interests of the socially weaker, the elderly and the poor in the digital utopia of youthfully-sunbaked action heroes. Politics and society are too weak for real counter-defense – and the media is too addicted to charismatic heroism.

German original:

Größenwahn im Silicon Valley: Google, Facebook, Amazon und Co. geht es nicht mehr nur um Milliarden. Sie glauben an die Allmacht der Technik und wollen Weltfrieden, ewiges Leben, die Besiedlung des Alls und Glück und Gesundheit für alle Menschen. Woher kommt der Gotteskomplex der Tech-Milliardäre?...

Selbst ernannte Superhelden allerdings neigen dazu, sich für unfehlbar, unaufhaltbar und über allen Regeln stehend zu halten. Debatten über Sinn und Ziele des Fortschrittskults erreichen sie kaum. Erst recht nicht die Frage, wer sich im digitalen Utopia der jugendlich-sonnengebräunten Machertypen eigentlich um die Interessen der sozial Schwächeren, der Alten und Armen kümmern soll. Politik und Gesellschaft sind zu schwach für echte Gegenwehr – und die Medien zu süchtig nach charismatischen Heldentypen.

[432] *Space Exploration – A Powerful Symbol of Global Cooperation*, Jim Zimmerman, NASA, interviewed by Susan T. Coleman, The Peacebuilding Podcast, December 13, 2016, http://us11.campaign-archive1.com/?u=e5c2110f5cc4fe346c79bf3d1&id=06298a46ca&e=e7c4dd8362. I thank Judit Révész for making me aware of this interview.

[433] See more in Lindner, 2009b, chapter 8. See also the work of Jan Gehl, 2010.

[434] O'Hara and Leicester, 2012.

[435] Brewer and Roccas, 2002.

[436] Serres, 1997.

[437] "The Case for Contamination," by Kwame Anthony Appiah, *New York Times*, January 1, 2006, www.muhlenberg.edu/mgt/provost/frg/humanities/AppiahContamination.pdf.

[438] Lévinas, 1985.

[439] Wintersteiner, 1999.

[440] Merle Lefkoff in a personal communication, December 18, 2015. See also the Center for Emergent Diplomacy (ECOS), www.emergentdiplomacy.org. It is a privilege to have Merle Lefkoff as esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[441] Merle Lefkoff shared her insights at the 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, on 21st September 2016, when she facilitated a Dignilogue titled "Indigenous Knowledge and the New Science of Complex Adaptive Systems," see https://youtu.be/ZmVxqHnSo40.

[442] Merle Lefkoff lives in the Santa Fe region, where theoretical biologist, and complex systems researcher Stuart Alan Kauffman was associated with the Santa Fe Institute dedicated to the study of complex systems, where he was faculty in residence from 1986 to 1997. We thank her for reminding us of "Coevolution to the Edge of Chaos," by Kauffman and Johnsen, 1991, of the classic book *At Home in the Universe* by Kauffman, 1995, his thoughts on "The Adjacent Possible," see *Edge Foundation*, November 9, 2003, www.edge.org/conversation/the-adjacent-possible. See also recent work, Kauffman, 2016, Kauffman and Gare, 2015.

[443] Laszlo, 2014.

[444] Laszlo, 2015. See also Dennis, 2014.

[445] World Happiness Report 2017, http://worldhappiness.report/ed/2017/:

Norway has jumped from 4th place in 2016 to 1st place this year, followed by Denmark, Iceland and Switzerland in a tightly packed bunch. All of the top four countries rank highly on all the main factors found to support happiness: caring, freedom, generosity, honesty, health, income and good governance. Their averages are so close that small changes can re-order the rankings from year to year. Norway moves to the top of the ranking despite weaker oil prices. It is sometimes said that Norway achieves and maintains its high happiness not because of its oil wealth, but in spite of it. By choosing to produce its oil slowly, and investing the proceeds for the future rather than spending them in the present, Norway has insulated itself from the boom and bust cycle of many other resource-rich economies. To do this successfully requires high levels of mutual trust, shared purpose, generosity and good governance, all factors that help to keep Norway and other top countries where they are in the happiness rankings.

[446] Shaw, 1889.

[447] Popper, 1957.

[448] Brandal, et al., 2013.

[449] "The Coming War on China," by John Pilger, *Transcend Media Services*, December 5, 2016, www.transcend.org/tms/2016/12/the-coming-war-on-china/:

> Professor Ted Postol was scientific adviser to the head of US naval operations. An authority on nuclear weapons, he told me, "Everybody here wants to look like they're tough. See, I got to be tough… I'm not afraid of doing anything military, I'm not afraid of threatening; I'm a hairy-chested gorilla. And we have gotten into a state, the United States has gotten into a situation where there's a lot of sabre-rattling, and it's really being orchestrated from the top."... The designated chief propagandist is Admiral Harry Harris, the US military commander in Asia and the Pacific. "My responsibilities," he told the *New York Times*, "cover Bollywood to Hollywood, from polar bears to penguins."... In Los Angeles in September, Harris declared he was "ready to confront a revanchist Russia and an assertive China… If we have to fight tonight, I don't want it to be a fair fight. If it's a knife fight, I want to bring a gun. If it's a gun fight, I want to bring in the artillery… and all our partners with their artillery."... We – or many of us – remain in thrall to the US, which has intervened violently in the affairs of a third of the members of the United Nations, destroying governments, subverting elections, imposing blockades. In the past five years, the US has shipped deadly weapons to 96 countries, most of them poor. Dividing societies in order to control them is US policy, as the tragedies in Iraq and Syria demonstrate.

[450] "Truth to Power," by Noam Chomsky and David Mcneill, *Japan Times*, February 22, 2014, www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/02/22/world/noam-chomsky-truth-to-power/:

> Question to Chomsky: The recent tension over the Senkaku Islands has raised the threat of military conflict between China and Japan. Most commenters still think war is unlikely, given the enormous consequences and the deep finance and trade links that bind the two economies together. What's your view?: Chomsky: The confrontations taking place are extremely hazardous. The same is true of China's declaration of an air defense identification zone in a contested region, and Washington's immediate violation of it. History has certainly taught us that playing with fire is not a wise course, particularly for states with an awesome capacity to destroy. Small incidents can rapidly escalate, overwhelming economic links….
> Chomsky: Hardly. The U.S. is surrounding China with military bases, not conversely. U.S. strategic analysts describe a "classic security dilemma" in the region, as the U.S. and China each perceive the other's stance as a threat to their basic interests. The issue is control of the seas off China's coasts, not the Caribbean or the waters off California. For the U.S., global control is a "vital interest."

[451] "Stanford Expert Describes How the U.S. And China Can Manage Their Relationship and Avoid Conflict," by Clifton B. Parker, Stanford Report, August 20, 2014, http://news.stanford.edu/news/2014/august/us-china-relations-082014.html. See also, "Thucydides Trap," by Karl Eikenberry, American Review, August 4, 2014, http://americanreviewmag.com/stories/Thucydides-Trap. See, furthermore, Syse, 2003.

[452] "Global Tide of Nuclear Abolition Has Ebbed Causing Tensions Among Nations, Ban Warns," United Nations News Centre, April 28, 2015, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=50720#.VWLjtkbICOZ.

[453] Leggewie, 2016.

[454] "Die Zange: Islamismus und Rechtsextremismus bedingen einander. Wir müssen uns gegen beide wehren," by Nils Minkmar, *Der Spiegel*, 39/2016, September 24, 2016, https://magazin.spiegel.de/SP/2016/39/147013436/index.html?utm_source=spon&utm_campaign=centerpage, pp. 122–123.

[455] Graham Allen, the Labour MP for Nottingham North, in "What's the Difference between These Two Brains?" by Alasdair Palmer, *Telegraph*, October 28, 2012, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/children/9637682/Whats-the-difference-between-these-two-brains.html.

[456] Andrea Leadsom, the Conservative MP for South Northamptonshire, in "What's the Difference between These Two Brains?" by Alasdair Palmer, *Telegraph*, October 28, 2012,

www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/children/9637682/Whats-the-difference-between-these-two-brains.html.

[457] "What's the Difference between These Two brains?" by Alasdair Palmer, *Telegraph*, October 28, 2012, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/children/9637682/Whats-the-difference-between-these-two-brains.html.

[458] Brent Ranalli in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," October 17, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016:

> We believe in democracy, and we know that it is better than alternatives, but we still don't do it very well. The choice of candidates is limited and often poor, and the last year has shown us (if we needed reminding) that voters are susceptible to making terribly poor choices on complex and momentous questions. Elected representatives themselves are frequently more responsive to donors and special interests than to constituents.

[459] Lindner, 2007.

[460] Lindner, 1993.

[461] "The Legacy of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito," by Martin Bell, *BBC News*, April 26, 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8636034.stm

[462] "The End of Identity Liberalism," by Mark Lilla, *New York Times*, November 18, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html.

[463] "Donald Trump's Election a Rejection of Identity Politics," by Paul Kelly, *The Australian*, January 28, 2017, www.theaustralian.com.au/.../donald-trumps-election-a-rejection-of-identity-politics/.../147b11c08b64702d3f9be1821416cb72.

[464] "The End of Identity Liberalism," by Mark Lilla, *New York Times*, November 18, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html:

> One of the many lessons of the recent presidential election campaign and its repugnant outcome is that the age of identity liberalism must be brought to an end. Hillary Clinton was at her best and most uplifting when she spoke about American interests in world affairs and how they relate to our understanding of democracy. But when it came to life at home, she tended on the campaign trail to lose that large vision and slip into the rhetoric of diversity, calling out explicitly to African-American, Latino, L.G.B.T. and women voters at every stop. This was a strategic mistake. If you are going to mention groups in America, you had better mention all of them. If you don't, those left out will notice and feel excluded. Which, as the data show, was exactly what happened with the white working class and those with strong religious convictions. Fully two-thirds of white voters without college degrees voted for Donald Trump, as did over 80 percent of white evangelicals.

[465] Campbell and Manning, 2014.

[466] Twenge, 2014.

[467] "The Coddling of the American Mind," by Greg Lukianoff, and Jonathan Haidt, *The Atlantic*, September 2015 Issue, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/09/the-coddling-of-the-american-mind/399356/.

[468] "The Righteous Mind," by Jonathan Haidt, September 7, 2015, http://righteousmind.com/where-microaggressions-really-come-from/. See also Haidt, 2012. See also "The Election, Lao Tzu, a Cup of Water," by Ursula Kröber Le Guin, Book View Café, November 21, 2016, http://bookviewcafe.com/blog/2016/11/21/the-election-lao-tzu-a-cup-of-water/. I thank Linda Hartling of making me aware of Ursula Le Guin, Linda's fellow Portland citizen, and her work.

[469] "The End of Identity Liberalism," by Mark Lilla, *New York Times*, November 18, 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html.

[470] "The Call of the Nation," by Uri Avnery, *Human Wrongs Watch*, December 10, 2016, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2016/12/13/the-call-of-the-nation/:

> The human mind changes much slower than material circumstances. It limps at least three or four generations behind, clinging to outdated ideas and ideals, while political, economic and military realities race ahead. Modern nationalism arose only some two or three centuries ago. It is a

comparatively recent invention. Some believe that it was created by the French revolution. A notable historian argued that it was created by the Spanish settlers in South America, who wanted to get rid of Spanish imperialism and constitute themselves as independent nations. Be that as it may, nationalism quickly became the dominant force in the world. By the end of World War I, it had broken up the old empires and created a dozen new nation-states. World War II finished the job. The nation state stands on two legs: the material and the spiritual. The material need to create larger markets and defend them against other large markets was obvious. The spiritual need of belonging to a human group was less so.

[471] "Evolving Democracy," by Johan Galtung, TRANSCEND Media Service, February 13, 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/02/evolving-democracy/.

[472] Raskin, 2016, p. 11.

[473] Raskin, 2016, p. 2.

[474] Raskin, 2016, p. 2.

[475] Raskin, 2016, p. 2.

[476] Raskin, 2016, p. 13.

[477] Raskin, 2016, p. 21.

[478] Raskin, 2016, p. 45. Mills, 1958.

[479] Taleb, 2012. Taleb gives a short introduction in an Interview shown on 3sat, www.3sat.de/mediathek/?mode=play&obj=48165. 3sat. is a public and advertising-free television network in Central Europe.

[479] Hartling and Lindner, 2017.

[480] Taleb, 2012. Taleb gives a short introduction in an Interview shown on 3sat, www.3sat.de/mediathek/?mode=play&obj=48165. 3sat. is a public and advertising-free television network in Central Europe.

[480] Hartling and Lindner, 2017.

[481] Psychologist Carol Dweck, 1999, found that the challenges of life can be approached with an ego-oriented performance orientation or a task-oriented learning-mastery orientation, or a fixed mindset versus a growth mindset. Those with an ego orientation entertain an implicit entity theory of intelligence, they regard intelligence as fixed and try to look smart and avoid mistakes. Others think that intelligence is malleable, they adhere to an incremental theory of intelligence, and have an intrinsic motivation to achieve mastery in a task, desire to learn new things, even if they might get confused, make mistakes, and not look smart. Students with mastery goals are basically more successful. See also Dweck, 2007.
Psychologist David Yeager, et al., 2013, examined how holding a fixed mindset versus holding a growth mindset influenced interpretations of other people's hostile intent. In a meta-analytic study of eight independent samples that included 1,128 students, Yeager and his colleagues found that a fixed mindset predicted hostile attributions equally for males and females, and for students from communities with higher and lower levels of violence. "In a following study, Yeager found that by experimentally changing implicit theories to a more incremental growth mindset substantially reduced attributions of hostile intent in both urban and suburban schools. In a final study, Yeager found that a short-term intervention (two class sessions) could result in more benign intent attributions over an eight-month school year," in Hartling and Lindner, 2018.

[482] In her meta-analysis of studies, psychologist Jane Shakespeare-Finch shows that PTSD and posttraumatic growth are not mutually exclusive ends of a recovery spectrum but may actually co-occur during a successful journey to thriving. See Shakespeare-Finch and Lurie-Beck, 2013.

[483] Raskin, 2016, p. 84.

[484] Miller, 1986.

[485] Bruce Schuman in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," September 24, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[486] Raskin, 2016, p. 84.

[487] Eliade, 1949/1954, 1957/1959. See also Otto, 1917/1923.

[488] "Facing Gaia: A New Enquiry Into Natural Religion," the Gifford Lectures by Bruno Latour, University of Edinburgh, 2013, www.giffordlectures.org/lectures/facing-gaia-new-enquiry-natural-religion.

[489] Sudhir Chella Rajan in his contribution to the Great Transition Network Initiative discussion titled "Journey to Earthland: Making the Great Transition to Planetary Civilization," September 26, 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[490] 27th Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, "Cities at Risk – From Humiliation to Dignity," September 19–23, 2016, www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting/27.php.

[491] Maren, 1997.

[492] "The Charitable-Industrial Complex," by Peter Buffett, son of investor Warren Buffett, *New York Times*, July 26, 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/07/27/opinion/the-charitable-industrial-complex.html?hpw&_r=0. See also Fontan, 2012, and Lindner, 2010.

[493] "If we are going to interfere in the lives of others, a little due diligence is a minimum requirement," urges Nigerian-American writer Teju Cole, see "The White-Savior Industrial Complex," by Teju Cole, *The Atlantic*, March 21, 2012, www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/.

[494] Wainwright, 2016. Wainwright points out that societies have the choice between a drug business controlled by the state, or by organized crime, and that the state would be the preferable actor.

[495] These atrocities committed are being labelled "quasi-genocide," since the victims, the members of the Isaaq clan, were not systematically exterminated, in contrast to Rwanda, for instance, where even "half-blood" were potential targets for extermination. Also, until the end of the genocide, there were Isaaq ministers in the government, something that would have been unthinkable in Rwanda. See the report by a United Nations employee who does not wish to be named, December 1998, Hargeisa, see Lindner, 2000a, p. 58.

[496] Lindner, 2016a.

[497] Galtung, 1971, p. 109.

[498] Raskin, 2016, p. 56.

[499] Raskin, 2016, p. 56.

[500] Kardan, et al., 2015. See also "The Japanese Practice of 'Forest Bathing' Is Scientifically Proven to Improve Your Health," by Ephrat Livni, *Quartz*, October 12, 2016, https://qz.com/804022/health-benefits-japanese-forest-bathing/.

[501] Burmeister and Bodenhäuser, 2016, advise: create green spaces in deprived neighborhoods; seal less ground; prioritize thermal insulation in housing; reduce living space per person; promote alternatives to the car; tempo 30 as the standard for better air; get trade and industry back into the cities. See also the work of Jan Gehl, 2010.

[502] „Armut hat eine Himmelsrichtung": Städte der Zukunft," by Till-R. Stoldt, *Welt*, December 28, 2013, www.welt.de/regionales/duesseldorf/article123328741/Armut-hat-eine-Himmelsrichtung.html.The Athens Charter was a document about urban planning published by the Swiss architect, Le Corbusier in 1943, based on Le Corbusier's project Ville Radieuse (Radiant City), and on urban studies by the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) in the early 1930s. Robert Moses (1888 – 1981) was a city planner mainly in the New York metropolitan area, criticized for his preference of automobiles to people. See also the work of Jan Gehl, 2010.

[503] Raskin, 2016, p. 67.

[504] It is important to note that a global citizens movement, or global civil society, does not mean NGOs that are funded by interests that stand against the creation of global dignity for all. Anthropologist David Harvey, scholar of critical geography, for instance, speaks of "co-revolution," "co-evolution," "subversion," "the movement," the "Party of Indignation," or a "slow movement across the spheres." In his book *The Enigma of Capital*, Harvey, 2011, introduces seven "activity spheres" – such as technologies and organizational forms; social relations; institutional and administrative arrangements;

production and labour processes; relations to nature; human reproduction; and mental conceptions of the world – and describes how capital "revolves through" these spheres "in search of profit":

> Perhaps we should just define the movement, our movement, as anti-capitalist or call ourselves the Party of Indignation, ready to fight and defeat the Party of Wall Street and its acolytes and apologists everywhere, and leave it at that, Harvey, 2011, p. 260.

[505] Anthony Marsella, in a personal communication on June 26, 2013. See also "Lifeism: Beyond Humanity," Anthony J. Marsella, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, March 17, 2014, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/03/lifeism-beyond-humanity/.

[506] Elias, 1939/1991, pp. 226–227. Patrick Modiano, 2005/2015, grappled with questions of identity and roots in all his novels.

[507] Raskin, 2016, p. 78.