

Why Global Citizenship Is Needed for Global Peace

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

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

Background information to this paper:

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

Abstract

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

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I. Introduction

This main focus of this chapter is the question of how personal identification with a global cooperative community can be fostered in ways that are conducive to global harmony. The need for global identification arises from the increase in global interdependence. Morton Deutsch explains: “In a cooperative situation the goals are so linked that everybody ‘sinks or swims’ together, while in the competitive situation if one swims, the other must sink” (Deutsch, 1973a, p. 22). Philosopher Avishai Margalit uses the word *decency* to describe the kind of harmony that is called for, namely harmony in which everybody is entitled to equal respect and dignity (Margalit, 1996).

The main section of this chapter is section VI. The first five sections prepare the ground. The first section begins with a brief look at how groups and societies form. Then, the development of personal identification with a group is addressed. Subsequently, the role of dignity and respect within in-groups is examined. Particular emphasis is given to the fact that harmony can transmute into conflict when norms change, for example, when human rights ideals introduce the expectation that everybody is entitled to equal respect. The next section addresses the fact that harmonious in-group relations do not necessarily result in harmonious out-group relations—on the contrary, in-group harmony may even be constructed on out-group enmity. The chapter concludes with a summary that highlights the principle of *unity in diversity* as core ingredient of decent harmony. Unity in diversity protects against disharmony that flows from too much uniformity or division.

II. How Groups and Societies Form

In light of the great variety of groups and societies, it is unlikely that there is a single answer to the question of how a collection of individuals or societies comes to be a cooperative system. Nevertheless, it seems possible to identify several minimal conditions that must be met before a collection of individuals or groups will turn into a cooperative system. In the following, some of these conditions are examined, for instance, the choice to be cooperative, effective communication and coordination, successful bargaining, and mutual trust.

The Choice to Cooperate. The desirability of cooperation is determined by the gains, pleasures, and values one hopes to realize through it; its undesirability by the costs, pains, and devalues one expects. Clearly, a choice to cooperate is unlikely if it is anticipated that the “negative” will outweigh the “positive”—unless cooperation is chosen as the lesser evil. To choose to cooperate, additionally, involves the expectation that the other(s) will also choose to cooperate (or can be induced to make this choice).

Willingness to cooperate can be increased by raising consciousness of its advantages. Great visionary leaders play a significant role. In South Africa, Nelson Mandela, for instance, advocated cooperation even with former oppressors. He included them into national cooperation, thus avoiding the path taken in Rwanda, where the former elite was targeted with genocide.

Willingness to cooperate can also increase in contexts that force common superordinate goals to the fore. In the face of imminent threat from enemy attack, for

instance, even the bitterest rivals may cooperate, if only for a certain period. Compelling contexts can emerge unintentionally or be implemented intentionally (this refers to the topic of *framing*, which is discussed in more detail further down).

At the present historical juncture, the overall context calls for global cooperation. Global climate change, loss of biological and cultural diversity, economic crises, and the overuse of the planet's resources all represent common superordinate challenges. This context is historically so novel, however, that awareness is still lacking. Awareness needs therefore to be raised if the international community is to grasp the fact that these challenges represent a compelling push for cooperation. The appropriate attention to these challenges represents the most pressing common superordinate goal for the international community.

Communication and Coordination. When people have no means to meet or communicate, they cannot form a group. Physical geographical propinquity is the most uncomplicated path to getting in touch. Immediate physical propinquity loses its significance, however, when communication and transportation technologies become stronger. The most recent technological revolution that affects communication and coordination is the internet. The internet transcends geographical distances and creates propinquity through digital means. It has never been as easy as now for people with similar interests to find one another, and this not just locally, but on a global scale. The obstacles still in the way are the digital divide and political censorship.

Topical books describe and underpin this new trend which facilitates global coordination across fault lines as never before: *The Information Age* (Castells, 1996), is a classic by now, and *Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing without Organizations* (Shirky, 2008) is as evocative a title as is *Against the Machine: Being Human in the Age of the Electronic Mob* (Siegel, 2008).

Bargaining. Bargaining entails a problem of mutuality. Potential cooperators must resolve differences with regard to the terms of their cooperation, otherwise cooperation will not take place.

The term *bargaining* is often associated with money transactions, yet, bargaining is a characteristic of all social relationships. Anthropologist Alan Page Fiske found that people, most of the time and in all cultures, use just four elementary and universal forms or relational models for organizing most aspects of sociality (Fiske, 1991). These models are (1) *communal sharing*, CS, (2) *authority ranking*, AR, (3) *equality matching*, EM, and (4) *market pricing*, MP. Family life is often informed by communal sharing. Trust, love, care, and intimacy can prosper in this context. Authority ranking involves asymmetry among people who are ordered along vertical hierarchical social dimensions. Equality matching implies a model of balance such as in turn taking, for instance, in car pools or babysitting cooperatives. Market pricing builds on a model of proportionality with respect to ratios and rates.

Bargaining takes place in all four modes of sociality, as well as between them. As to market pricing, for instance, sellers of products hope to realize high profits, while buyers aspire to make inexpensive deals. Also the appropriateness and legitimacy of rank can be the object of bargaining; a child might wish to re-negotiate parental authority, and revolution is but another word for the attempt to re-calibrate rank. The equivalence of

exchange can also be controversial; does my support for you really match yours for me? As to bargaining between modes of sociality, present economic crises put in question whether or not market pricing ought to trump communal sharing also in the future.

The benefits of a cooperative approach to bargaining tend to outweigh competitive orientations, and this is particularly relevant in a context of interdependence. Since interconnectedness is on the increase world-wide, this insight applies specifically to present times. “Every war has two losers” is an evocative saying by Oregon poet William Stafford. In a context of increasing global interdependence, the defeat or victory of one side easily transmutes into a shared loss for all. Also the present overuse of Earth’s resources illustrates this point. Giving primacy to market pricing and let a few exploiters recourses so as to maximize their profits in the short-term, produces long-term unsustainability for all. “Shared gain is better than shared loss,” this is the “bargain” that is offered to humanity by the fact that the human habitat is finite in its surface and resources, that there is no other way to go, and that we are all in it together. This set of circumstances has the potential to push all players into cooperation.

Trust. The *prisoner’s dilemma* game can be used to illustrate the core problem of trust (Deutsch, 1973c). In the story-line of this game, two prisoners are given the chance to cooperate or betray one another. The police has insufficient evidence and speaks to each of them in their separate cells, offering them the same proposition: each prisoner must choose to betray the other or remain silent. If both stick to protecting the other, both will be sentenced to only six months in jail. If both betray one another, each will receive a five-year sentence. However, if only one betrays the other, while the other stays loyal, the traitor will go free and the loyal accomplice will receive the full 10-year sentence. How should the prisoners act?

In the original version of this game, each player is assured that the other would not know about the betrayal before the end of the investigation. In the *iterated* prisoner’s dilemma, the game is played repeatedly, and each player has an opportunity to punish the other player for previous non-cooperation.

Political scientist Robert Axelrod explored computer models of the iterated prisoner’s dilemma game (Axelrod, 1990). What he found was that one strategy is extraordinarily successful and outperforms all other strategies, namely, the *evolutionary tit-for-tat* strategy or *reciprocal altruism*. When people make it a rule to start out by approaching others with kindness and helpfulness, but refuse to help people who cheat, rather than being kind unconditionally or regard cheating as the norm, the group will be more stable in the long term and its members will be protected from freeriders and predators. This approach will also increase the benefits of cooperation over time and will create a more cooperative culture, a culture in which cheating loses ground. Deutsch calls this phenomenon *Deutsch’s crude law of social relations*—“Cooperation breeds cooperation, while competition breeds competition” (Deutsch, 1973b, p. 367). Cooperating is thus the most intelligently selfish strategy people can employ when they are involved in long-term relationships with others, meet repeatedly, and know that they may depend on each other in the future.

Globalization has malign aspects, however, it also has very benign aspects that merit attention. The emergence of One World, or the *ingathering* of the human tribes, as anthropologists describe it, increases the above described set of conditions through

growing global interdependence. While the human species has always been biologically united, it is now becoming socially united. “Over the last ten thousand years, there has been one fairly steady trend in our history: the ingathering of the tribes of the earth, their incorporation into larger and larger groups, the gradual unification of humanity into a single interacting and interdependent community. For the first time since the origin of our species, humanity is in touch with itself” (Ury, 1999, xvii). In other words, the emergence of One World represents an unprecedented historic window of opportunity for trust to grow and cooperation to inform mainstream global culture. This cooperation, if realized, has the potential to eventually mend the malign aspects of globalization.

III. How Personal Identification Develops

Social psychologist George J. McCall differentiated two main types of bonds: first, bonds that hold a person in a group even if she would like to leave, and second, connections that pull a person toward a group in a more deliberate fashion (McCall, 1970). The first type, McCall labeled “restraining bonds,” the second “attracting bonds.”

Both kinds of bonds are constructed. Restraining bonds are culturally constructed at the level of the collective, while attracting bonds are constructed at the individual level. One is usually born into bonds such as family, sex, racial, ethnic, and national group membership. It requires a much greater effort to redefine and change restraining bonds than attracting bonds, both at the individual and collective level. To construct new restraining bonds at the collective level is hardest, not least since it requires the cooperation of a large enough group of committed people to enact new cultural, social, and societal definitions and structures. The chances for a sizeable enough group of people to cooperate on such a task are limited by the relative weakness of the forces of attraction. The chances are even smaller in a cultural context that ascribes non-cooperation and competition. This is particularly relevant for this chapter, since contemporary free market culture encourages people to compete.

Group identification has numerous psychological functions. They are conceptualized, among others, in social identity theory, as founded by social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner suggest that the social part of our identity derives from the groups to which we belong. They theorize that we, by favoring attributes of our own groups over those of out-groups, acquire a positive sense of who we are, and an understanding of how we should act toward in-group and out-group members (Tajfel, 1981). In other words, the benefit of group identification can be a positive sense of worth, and guidance for how to be in the world.

However, these benefits are not sure. Before anti-Semitism rose in Nazi Germany, a considerable number of German Jews were proud of being German. Many had fought in WW I as loyal German patriots. When Hitler came to power, some waited too long with disengaging from their German identification. Most of those who failed to flee, paid with their lives. I studied the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, on the background of Nazi Germany, for my doctoral research on humiliation (Lindner, 2000). Hutu *génocidaires* were forced, by their superiors, to choose between two identifications—their identification with their Hutu group (and their own lives) and their love for their immediate families and neighbors. Some chose the first identification and killed their Tutsi spouses and

neighbors. Also in (the former) Yugoslavia, during the 1991–2001 war, family ties were overridden and redefined by larger ideological frames. Friendly neighbors were pushed into deadly enmity when one was Croat and the other Serb. “How do neighbours, who have lived together for decades and intermarried across communities, suddenly become irreconcilable enemies?” asks historian Michael Ignatieff (Ignatieff, 1999).

Pointing out the hazards of identification is relevant to this chapter, because the path toward global identification requires awareness of the fact that even those bonds that we are born into and take for granted are constructed, that they may not necessarily be benign, and that they sometimes need to be changed and reconstructed. As the examples above illustrate, it is hazardous to buy into identifications with blind faith, even if they are not only ascribed but forcefully and seemingly convincingly prescribed. A German, proud to perform the honorable Aryan “duty” of killing Jews, soon found himself detested as a perpetrator of Holocaust. A Hutu, satisfied to shore up Hutu honor by exterminating its “enemies,” expecting to be hailed as a hero, ended up as a despised *génocidaire* only a few months later. And when “Greater Serbia” failed to manifest, having hurt one’s own social network no longer was a price worth paying.

Similarly, blindly identifying with a fragmented world, for example with “patriotic” prejudices or even enmity against out-groups, can foreclose globally inclusive identifications and thus endanger the very survival of the human family.

This point is particularly salient in times of crisis, since crises entail the power to nudge identifications into dangerous tunnel vision. Psychologist Irving I. Janis studied *groupthink*. He writes, “The greater the threat to the self-esteem of the members of a cohesive group, the greater will be their inclination to resort to concurrence-seeking at the expense of critical thinking” (Janis, 1994, 330).

In other words, for global identification to emerge, critical thinking is vital. Thinkers of all times and all continents have conceptualized the ingredients needed for critical thinking to be achieved. To name but a few, philosopher Immanuel Kant taught that the *conditio sine qua non* for Enlightenment is *maturity (Mündigkeit)*. Philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer John Dewey defined critical thinking as “reflective thought” that suspends judgment, maintains a healthy skepticism, and exercises an open mind (Dewey, 1909). Educator and theorist of critical pedagogy Paulo Freire spoke of *critical consciousness* (Freire, 1973). *Shutaisei*, or *individual autonomy* were advocated by philosophers and novelists Natsume Soseki and Sakaguchi Ango (Dower, 1999, 157). Psychologist Ervin Staub’s lesson from his analysis of the Holocaust is that *emancipation to civil disobedience* is needed to avoid new horrors to occur in the future (Staub, 1989).

Critical thinking and civil obedience are of the essence in a situation where global challenges require global responses from people who have brought their identifications to scale.

The message to every citizen of the world, at this point in history, must therefore be: “Let us unite around the ideal of equality in dignity, and create a One-World identity in ourselves, in our communities, and in the world!”

IV. How In-groups Can Be Harmonious and Conflict-ridden

Humans are peaceable and belligerent, not by nature nor by culture alone, but within complex interactions of nature, culture, and environmental pressures. Anthropologist William Ury *simplified depiction of history* (whose core elements are widely accepted in anthropology) draws large-scale geohistorical lines of such interactions:

- (1) *simple hunter-gatherers* (first 95 percent of human history, if the starting point is set at 200,000 years ago)
- (2) *complex agriculturists* (last 10,000 years, which represents the recent 5 percent of human history)
- (3) *knowledge society* (presently in the making)
(Ury, 1999, 108)

During the past 10,000 years (2), until recent time, the *security dilemma* was overwhelming. The term *security dilemma* is used in political science to describe how mutual distrust can bring states that have no intention of harming one another into bloody war (Herz, 1950). The security dilemma is tragic because its “logic of mistrust and fear” is inescapable: “I have to amass power, because I am scared. When I amass weapons, you get scared. You amass weapons, I get more scared.”

As long as the *security dilemma* was strong (at present, it weakens through the emergence of a globally interconnected world), it was predicated on one duality and created a second duality:

- (1) the security dilemma is predicated on a horizontal duality of *inside versus outside*, of in-groups caught in fear of potentially hostile out-groups
- (2) the security dilemma pushes for the vertical duality of *up versus down* that underpins stratified male-dominant “strong-man” collectivistic and ranked honor societies

This section addresses the up-versus-down duality, while the following section looks at the inside-versus-outside duality.

Around ten millennia ago, very roughly, *Homo sapiens* had populated planet Earth as hunter-gatherers to a degree that resources were no longer as abundant as before. To say it short, no longer was the next valley untouched, but other people were already there. The anthropological term for the experience of finiteness and limitation is *circumscription*. The most significant adaptation that *Homo sapiens* developed was *complex agriculture* (helped by the concurrent ending of a glacial age). Complex agriculture spawned the emergence of hierarchically structured civilizations from Mesopotamia to the Nile. Quickly (in historical terms), societies all over the globe adopted a *dominator model* of civilization, rather than a *partnership model* (Eisler, 1987).

From the Pharaohs of Egypt to the Aztecs of Meso-America and the samurai of Japan, the dominator model reigned for ten millennia almost everywhere, with a few exceptions. In certain habitats, cultures of *raiding* represented alternative adaptations (Somalia is a contemporary example), while other societies perfected *trade* for livelihood (ancient Minoan can serve as an illustration). For hunter-gatherers, the immediate response was

simply to become more *belligerent*. This dynamic played out whenever and wherever circumscription set in, be it in ancient or more recent times. In the case of the Northern Plains tribes in the United States, for example, increased belligerence was the result of massive Euro-American pressure at all levels, medical, cultural, political, military. The disappearance of the bison herds was a symptom of this total pressure. This pressure “upset the balance between men and women, and men’s warrior societies became predominant because defense was the main priority” (personal communication from Jaqueline H. Wasilewski, May 25, 2019, see also Allen, 1992, or Harris & Wasilewski, 2004).

These observations underpin new research in neuroscience that suggests that human nature is not competitively aggressive, but social and connective (see, among many others, Smail, 2008). Men are not aggressive, but made aggressive through psychological manipulations and mutilations in the context of the security dilemma that emerges under conditions of circumscription. Similarly, in the same context, women are not weak, but made helpless (Lindner, 2010).

In agricultural dominator societies with enough food surplus, large hierarchical pyramids of power were kept in place by the enforcement of a code of honor, or, more precisely, of ranked honor. Each strata had its own honor. The honor of aristocrats was different from the honor of underlings, superiors had rights that inferiors did not have. Those in power were considered to be entitled to be treated with high respect while those with less power did not have the same entitlements. Supremacist pride on the side of superiors was matched by deferential subservience on the part of their inferiors. In the face the security dilemma, communities who were thus united under a determined leadership, were best prepared. A society considered itself harmonious when these arrangements were securely in place.

Cooperation between a master and a slave meant that the slave meekly agreed to obey the master. If subalterns disobeyed, this was seen as an arrogant and punishable attempt to introduce competition at the wrong place. Competition was not likely to occur across vertical fault lines. Only between equals did competition and cooperation resemble the connotations that they have today. It is not surprising, therefore, that “currently, our understanding of the dynamics of power asymmetries and conflict are piecemeal, contradictory and confusing.” (Coleman, Bui-Wrzosinska, & Nowak, 2008, 9).

In agricultural dominator societies, only the relatively small elites competed among each other, thus introducing a certain degree of disharmony, while large masses of underlings were relegated to “harmonious” subservience. Disharmony was more pronounced in pastoralist raiding cultures. The Somalia of today demonstrates the chronic disharmony that flows from the ferocity and brutality of too many fiercely independent and “free” warrior aristocrats competing for domination (Lindner, 2000).

Contemporary Western cultures of extreme individualism can be interpreted as a variation of such settings, this time not under the banner of traditional honor, but of certain modern notions of individual freedom and liberty. When freedom is defined as *absence of restraints* rather than as *level playing field for all*, then rules and regulations that help a playing field to stay level are removed and the situation skews. Those who accumulate more, use their resources to coerce and exploit those who have less; the freedom for might to be right creates a distorted playing field by extending freedom to a few and undermining freedom for all. Such a definition of freedom recreates the very

ranked societies it aims to undo, only in a more stressful continuous “rat-race” competition that inserts disharmony into all levels of society, overtly and covertly. Research shows, for example, that as the Western world has become wealthier, instances of clinical or major depression have grown (Lane, 2001, Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Also the present economic crisis has been characterized as an outflow of European raiding culture (Mann, 2000).

At the current point in history, humankind finds itself embarking on a global transition that is as radical as the one that occurred 10,000 years ago. Human rights ideals, if truly implemented, represent a normative u-turn against the culture of the past ten millennia. The first transition, ten thousand years ago, created asymmetric societies of higher beings presiding over lower beings by ranking their dignity; the presently unfolding transition aims at undoing this ranking and creating equality in dignity and rights. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) begins with these sentences: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” No longer is harmony defined as meek submission under domination. The new definition of harmony is respect, mutuality, cooperation, balance, and dialogue among partners considering each other as equals in dignity. Dominator settings, from East to West, are to be replaced with true partnerships models.

This transition, though still patchy, is already unfolding, at all levels. Cultural scripts of “domestic *chastisement*,” for example, indicate to a father and husband that he has the duty to use violence as punishment. The script of “domestic *violence*,” in contrast, entails its condemnation. The script for humiliation changed equally drastically, similarly signaling the weakening of the dominator model. The verb *to humiliate* originally meant to show an inferior person her due place, meaning that the act of humiliation was an act of prosocial humbling. In 1757, for the first time in the English language, humiliation acquired the connotation of being an antisocial violation of dignity (Miller, 1993, 175).

Unfortunately, the new normative universe of equality in dignity tends to create disharmony in its implementation phase. Apartheid was not easily dismantled. The problem starts with asymmetry being inherently unstable. Those who are advantaged and those who are disadvantaged by oppression find themselves in an objective conflict of interest. When one set of players satisfies their needs and desires in a winner-takes-all competition, it denies full recognition to others. During the past 10,000 years, this conflict was latent. Asymmetries were kept in place through schemes of routine humiliation that continuously oppressed and coopted those who had lost out. However, when inequality is delegitimized by the promotion of human rights ideals of equality in dignity, an asymmetric world can no longer suppress the dynamics of humiliation that permeate it. These dynamics will become increasingly visible (Lindner, 2006). If the oppressed gather sufficient awareness, the conflict becomes open and active. This conflict is then likely to take a destructive course because those in power have “moralized” their advantages. They feel that their “superiority” and the others’ “inferiority” is justified, be it because those in power supposedly are more intelligent, industrious, adhere to higher moral norms, or have inherited their power, either as divine legacy, as part of nature’s order, or simply because the world is just. Both, oppressors and oppressed, as they become more aware of the conflict, realize that feelings of humiliation will lead to a win-lose conflict. Feelings of humiliation make the oppressed angry, which, in turn, causes

the oppressors to fear the humiliation they will experience from the rage and revenge of the oppressed (Deutsch, 2004). Indeed, the genocide in Rwanda was carried out by angry underlings who had recently risen to power (Lindner, 2009b).

Fortunately, leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela have demonstrated that more constructive paths out of humiliation exist. Mandela could have followed the example of Rwanda and unleashed genocide on the white elite in South Africa, but he did not.

The challenge, therefore, for any society, including world society today, is to recognize and adequately address the feelings of humiliation that gain significance when human rights ideals delegitimize age-old practices of inequality. When millions learn that poverty and misery are not God's will but a violation of their human right to be respected as equals in dignity, leaders of the caliber of a Nelson Mandela must guide the upsurge in feelings of humiliation in constructive ways.

V. How In-groups Relate to Out-groups

While the previous section spoke to the up-versus-down duality, this section addresses the inside-versus-outside duality.

In-group harmony and the psychological virtues associated with it does not preclude violence against out-groups. More even, in-group harmony can be predicated on out-group disharmony and enmity. As discussed in the previous section, traditional definitions of harmony in terms of domination/submission respond to the same security dilemma that also defines out-groups as potential enemies.

In his paper "Male Bonding and Shame Culture," historian Thomas Kühne illustrates the link of harmonious in-group relations with disharmonious out-group relations (Kühne, 2008). He asks: "Why did Hitler's soldiers hold out for so long? And why did they join in at all—in a war which amounted to mass murder and thus went beyond anything which war had previously meant?" (Ibid, 74). Kühne's answer is that in the German culture "nothing was more important than social cohesion. The good and morally right person was the one who, regardless of personal scruples, uncertainties or anxieties, unswervingly did what the community did and kept 'faith' with it. Those who broke ranks were morally reprehensible: 'We have no time for traitors'" (Ibid, 73). Inhumanity toward one's adversary was legitimized by the dehumanized image of the enemy in contrast to the humanity which the group cultivated within its own confines. "'Humanity,' selflessness, mutual solicitude, security, even affection, were not foreign to it. They just remained confined in general to one's own group" (Ibid, 73).

At present, the internet has a two-fold effect. It can both heal or aggravate rifts within world society and with its wider ecosphere. It can build bridges, but also reinforce dehumanized images of the enemy. It can turn a fixed into a virtual portable homeland and trap people, even those geographically far removed, into groupthink worlds. Extremist political Islam, including Al Qaeda (literally, *The Network* in Arabic), for example, use the web to stoke hatred. The internet has also emerged as one of the biggest threats to endangered species, because "it is easier than ever before to buy and sell anything from live baby lions to polar bear pelts on online auction sites and chat rooms" (March 21, 2010, news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/science/nature/8579310.stm).

If global destruction is to be avoided, the internet's potential for bridging rifts and forging cross-border identifications depends on being proactively nurtured and strengthened, by individual citizens as much as by global policy makers.

Philosopher Richard Rorty believes in moral progress, understood as development "in the direction of greater human solidarity . . . the ability to see more and more traditional differences (of tribe, religion, race, customs, and the like) as unimportant when compared with similarities with respect to pain and humiliation — the ability to think of people wildly different from ourselves as included in the range of 'us'" (Rorty, 1989, 192).

Rorty could be right, but only if all those processes that entail the potential to shape One World—for example, the internet—are harnessed appropriately. Global challenges require global paradigm shifts. They can only be brought about appropriately with identifications that match their scale and emphasize unity. Only united we stand. We should not accept to be weakened by "divide and rule" interferences. "Me first, while the rest goes down" is not a suitable identification for solving global problems.

If appropriately nurtured, the global village can acquire a life of its own, beyond McLuhan's initial connotations. When citizens can relate to each other across borders, states will lose their status as isolated entities that constrain and define their citizens' global relationships. The chances will increase for human psychology to evolve to the "inter-individual stage" (Pearce, 2007) not only at local and national levels but also at intercultural global levels. A "Kantian culture" of collective security or "friendship" will emerge, or what Elise Boulding calls a *global civic culture* (Boulding, 1988). Identifications will embrace the human family and its habitat in its entirety.

VI. How Personal Identification with the Global Community Can Be Fostered

Identification with a harmonious global community is a more complex developmental process than the formation of other personal identities, such as those related to religion, nationality, gender, or age. New thinking about group formation and the development of personal identities is necessary if every person's personal identity shall include membership in a global community.

In their introductory chapter to this book, Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman list some of the psychological requirements for a harmonious global society. They speak of a sense of positive interdependence ("sink or swim together"), of global, as well as local patriotism and loyalty, underpinned by multiple identities. They speak of the sharing of basic common values, a sense of fair recourse for injustice, and social taboos against the use of violence.

Ideas of earlier peace psychologists. A number of early peace psychologists (see Rudmin, 1991) have addressed different aspects of developing a peaceful global community. Some have emphasized the importance of developing a world government with appropriate judicial, legislative, and executive functions (see, for example, Jeremy Bentham, August Forel, Sigmund Freud, William McDougall, Edward Tolman, Gordon Allport, and Margaret Mead). Some have stressed the centrality of human rights and social justice in a global community (Bentham, Forel, Tolman, Allport, and also Alexander Chamberlain, James McKeen Cattell, Alfred Adler, McDougall, and Gustav

Ichheiser). Others have addressed the need to prevent war and violence by addressing their causes and functions as well as by emphasizing their pathologies (Bentham, Freud, Cattell, Chamberlain, Adler, Tolman, and also Franz Brentano). Still others have been concerned with developing a common global community through development of a common language, common education, a common currency, a world flag, a world anthem, and other world symbols as well as through world health programs (Edward Tolman).

Framing. Many assume that the systemic level of institution building has little to do with psychology and should be left to public policy makers and political scientists. Peace psychologists are expected to limit themselves to micro or, at most, meso levels. However, peace psychologist Daniel J. Christie objects. He lays out the contemporary scope of peace psychology as follows: “In particular, three themes are emerging in post-Cold War peace psychology: (1) greater sensitivity to geohistorical context, (2) a more differentiated perspective on the meanings and types of violence and peace, and (3) a systems view of the nature of violence and peace” (Christie, 2006).

Also Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman, in their introductory chapter, emphasize the significance of systemic levels. They ascertain that sustainable world peace will require the building of a world society imbued with systemic mechanisms and relationships capable of settling international disputes and preventing war.

Systems have organizational effects, but they also have psychological effects. As to organizational effects, statistician W. Edwards Deming found that 85 percent of everything that goes wrong in a system is directly related to the way the system is set up; most of the time, individuals working within the system are not to be blamed (Deming, 1986). Systems affect also emotions. Systems *frame* metaemotions, or how people feel about feelings (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1997). Large-scale geopolitical and systemic framings define cultural scripts for metaemotions that guide how emotions are felt.

A strong security dilemma has worked as a malign frame for the past ten millennia. It forced societies into continuous fear of attack and preparation for war. Still today, the biggest single predictor of spikes in interpersonal and intergroup violence in Western society is the presence of international wars (Gurr, 2000; see also Marshall, 1999) which provide a frame for such violence. Likewise, local ethno-political violence frames communal problem-solving in malign ways and “normalizes” violence as a legitimate method. Experiences of domestic abuse as a child provide the frame for many adult perpetrators of domestic abuse. In contrast, social taboos against violence provide a frame for more peaceful societies (Fry, 2006).

Ervin Goffman, pioneer of the analysis of face-to-face communication, analyzed how *frames* organize experience (Goffman, 1974). Also social psychologist Lee D. Ross and his colleagues worked on the role of the situation (Ross & Nisbett, 1991; Liberman, Samuels, & Ross, 2004). Their research shows how framing expectations influences behavior. When students are asked to play the prisoner’s dilemma game and are told that this is a community game (akin to Fiske’s communal sharing), they cooperate. In contrast, when told that the same game is a Wall Street game, they cheat on one another. Other psychological experiments underpin these insights (Milgram, 1974, Zimbardo, 2007).

This research provides valuable information for the building of stable systemic frames out in the world. It indicates, that, if systemic frames are in place that nudge people to behave unethically, different frames will help people behave more ethically.

Framing can also be used to shape groups. Morton Deutsch uses a hypothetical example to show how groups can be divided (Deutsch, 1973c, 61). Imagine, in a lecture class, the teacher asks *the shorties* (those 5'6" and under) and *the longies* (those over 5'6" in height) to enter and exit the classroom by different doors, give them different assignments and tests, assign different teaching assistants to work with them, allow them to visit him in his office only at different hours, and encourage others to treat them differently. Such behavior on the teacher's part would create two groups whose members are highly conscious of their group membership. Similar interventions could help merge established divided groups into one single group. Tolman's ideas reported earlier, of a world anthem or world flag, have their place here, not to speak of a world passport and other related world institutions.

Creating new frames means redefining what McCall labels restraining bonds (see section III). These are the bonds that are ascribed by cultural and social frames, while bonds of attraction are more open to individual choice. Even though frames that ascribe bonds are the most difficult to construct, they represent the most promising path to stability. In dominator societies, stability is achieved by frames that secure submission and domination. Present economic systems provide frames for competition. A business manager, for example, as long as legal systems force him to give primacy to shareholder value rather than common interest, is trapped in competition as much as a medieval feudal lord was trapped in domination.

If the international community wishes to create global stability based on equality in dignity, it must strive to implement systemic frames that ascribe bonds that allow for cooperation for the common good to occur. It is disaster-prone to hope against all probability that the weaker forces of attraction will lead to cooperation in the face of stronger frames that ascribe competition.

This does not mean that the weaker forces of attraction are insignificant. It is important to teach people empathy and mutual understanding across enemy lines. Peace makers organize important workshops and seminars that bring people from enemy camps together (Halperin, Sharvit, & Gross, 2010). These initiatives are informed by the so-called *contact hypothesis*, or the hope that contact will foster friendship. This hypothesis is indeed valid when many studies are aggregated for meta-analysis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Yet, contact is not a sure path to decent harmony. Appropriate frames must be put in place. This is an insight that deserves keen attention from public policy makers. As the examples presented earlier warn, even people who love each other, or love their country, can be turned into enemies by larger frames. The love between husband, wife, friends, and neighbors in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, or the love for their country by patriotic German Jews, was powerless when larger frames prescribed hatred. The feelings of the Hutu and Serb spouse, and German friendliness toward patriotic German Jewish neighbors transmuted into complicity with, or even willingness to perpetrate atrocities. The Tutsi or Croat spouse and neighbor, the German Jew, were killed as hated enemies, irrespective of any bonds of loyalty or love. Frames, when implemented and institutionalized thoroughly enough, as was done through propaganda and the high

jacking of state institutions in Nazi Germany and Rwanda, have the power to override even the strongest friendly connections.

Therefore, hoping for harmony to grow bottom-up, as important as it is, is not sufficient. As long as the world is framed as a fragmented world rather than One World, the security dilemma can easily rise its head. Power-hungry leaders can instrumentalize out-group enmity to frame “harmonious” in-group uniformity and groupthink, and thus disharmony will stay.

What is the solution? Uncritically implementing a global state and government would risk expanding the dominator model to oppressive Orwellian global uniformity. The solution is equality in dignity, realized through the principle of unity in diversity. The path to global harmony, a harmony where everybody is equal in dignity, are decent global institutional frames and identifications that are based on unity in diversity.

To use McCall’s terminology presented earlier, what is needed are frames that ascribe global restraining bonds systemically rather than hope that the much weaker forces of attraction will override the ascription of fragmented bonds. Facilitated by adequate systemic global frames, the psychological virtues and emotions that are often characteristic of in-group harmony can thus extend to all groups and people so that one, global in-group can emerge which is composed of the diverse peoples and groups that inhabit the planet.

Unity in diversity. During the past 10,000 years, repeatedly, the oppressed rose up. Revolutions and liberation movements toppled oppressors. However, typically, successful revolutionaries simply became the new oppressors. Even communism, with its ideal of equality, ended up recreating new strata of rank and repression. Cultures of individualism attempt to avoid this. Liberty, freedom, and small government are their buzzwords. Yet, as noted earlier, if driven too far, this can lead to yet another ranked order. The new masters are those who elbowed their way up in the merciless might-is-right setting that was formerly reserved to honor elites, now extended to every individual in a never-ending rat-race that pits everybody against everybody else.

Equality in dignity is not achieved through coercive uniformity and sameness, and it is not achieved through might-is-right freedom. Sameness and freedom can both go too far; the right kind of balance is what is needed.

Unity in diversity is a principle whose importance is yet to be acknowledged (see, for example, Bond, 1998, or Banks et al., 2001). At present, even well-intentioned peace makers hold on to a fragmented world of sovereign nation-states out of fear of global Orwellian uniformity. Yet, frames of fragmentation in a world that faces global challenges are a disaster-prone mismatch. Implementing global institutional frames and identifications is the only appropriate response, however, only if informed by unity in diversity. Patriotism, for instance, is a treasure, but only as long as local patriotism does not trump global patriotism. Discourses of “our culture” versus “your culture” can be very fruitful, yet, only as long as they respect the need to always protect “our shared world” first.

Unity in diversity means avoiding oppressive uniformity as much as divisive fragmentation. It protects against domination and makes equality in dignity possible. It guards dignity against big oppressive government that forces everybody to become the same, as much as against under-regulation that obliterates diversity through might-is-right

freedom. Unity in diversity avoids uniformity that lacks diversity (the collectivism of dominator societies during the past 10,000 years, as well as oppressive communism); it likewise avoids division that lacks unity (as displayed by raiding cultures, or cultures of extreme individualism).

Unity in diversity is not a win-lose game, but a win-win game. Unity is not achieved at the expense of diversity, and diversity is not achieved at the expense of unity. Both, unity, as well as diversity, can be increased and intensified alongside. The only restriction is that unity must stop short of uniformity, because that would hurt diversity, while diversity must stop short of division, because it would hurt unity.

The human rights ideal of equality in dignity needs the principle of unity in diversity to be realized, which, in turn can be operationalized by the principle of *subsidiarity*. Subsidiarity, in political terms, means that local decision making and local identities are retained to the greatest extent possible. The European Union uses this principle (see, for instance, europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm). Arthur Koestler's theory of *holons* and *holarchies* is a related concept. The notion of *regulatory pyramids* in restorative justice is similar. The human brain uses *regulatory feedback loops*, where subordinate loops are embedded within superordinate loops. Superordinate loops are linked to longer-term and abstract goals, whereas subordinate loops are associated with more immediate matters-at-hand. Imbalance occurs when lower-order mechanisms supersede higher-order mechanisms.

Unity and diversity, as well as subsidiarity, thus connote balancing processes. Educator John Dewey, as well as philosopher Karl Popper, ascertain that the aim cannot be to implement a new fixed state (Richards, 2007). What is needed are constantly evolving processes of perfecting mixed institutions, and systematic efforts that maintain and guide the old plurality of dynamics while the new plurality of dynamics is being invented and tried out. Radical democracy is the best route (O'Neill, 2010).

Balance, achieved through continuous regulatory feedback loops, is a never-ending calibration process. This process is the answer to fears of too much government or too little government. Through careful sustained balancing, the right kinds of institutions, locally and globally, can provide the right kinds of frames for the right kinds of relationships among people, as well as between people and their ecosphere.

Unity in diversity can best be safeguarded through everybody uniting around the task of giving equal dignity to all. I have coined the term *egalization* to denote equality in dignity. I call for egalization to humanize globalization. *Globegalization* can dignify our world (Lindner, 2010).

What national and international public policy makers can do.

Each individual can contribute to globegalization, educational institutions can support this effort, faith groups can build bridges, national and international corporations can choose to place the common good first, and national governments, the United Nations and other international organizations can put global institutional frames in place that respond to global challenges.

The three subsections that begin here respond to the following guiding questions, "What is being done that harms the global community and its survival?" and "What can be done to help our planet and its people to survive and thrive?" These questions are

discussed from the point of view of national and international public policy makers, social scientists, and the individual citizen.

Philosopher Avishai Margalit speaks to public policy makers when he stipulates that it is not enough to create a just society, but that we need a *decent* society, with institutions that do not humiliate their citizens (Margalit, 1996). Globalization creates a decent world.

How should decent community building be envisaged? New initiatives are currently emerging. Sociologist Amitai Etzioni founded the communitarian movement. He calls for individual rights and aspirations to be inserted into a sense of community, at national and international levels (Etzioni, 2006). Communitarian approaches rearrange the order of priority of the relational models described by Fiske (see section III), as do new peer-to-peer models (P2P), such as, among others, the Free Software and Open Source movement. They are supported by new information and communication technologies and give rise to new kinds of global nonmarket practices (see, for example, Lessig, 2005, or Bauwens, 2008).

Globalization, at present, is not decent. It has many malign aspects. Instead of overcoming the dominator culture of the past 10,000 years, it made might be right globally. At present, global economic forces provide the most definitorial large-scale frames, and as long as unfettered profit maximization is allowed to trump the protection of the common good of humankind and its habitat (meaning that Fiske's market pricing provides the overall frame, relegating the other three modes of sociality to secondary places), this framing makes harmony difficult to emerge, globally and locally.

Globalization has also benign sides. The economic activities of the past that drove globalization had dominating effects, but they also had connective effects. The emergence of the imagery and reality of One World weakens the security dilemma and unprecedented space opens for global community building initiatives to succeed and to further reduce the security dilemma. Intentional framing is needed to proactively secure that this window of opportunity does not close again. A system of nation-states ascribes national identities, allowing for patriotism that is informed by out-group enmity. For a decent world, ascriptions of enmity have to be transcended. Global layers of institutions and identities must coordinate local institutions and identities in ways that secure decency and harmony through unity in diversity. Global public policy makers must become more daring and sincere in making policies for egalization to humanize globalization.

What social scientists can do. Social scientists can collect, analyze, and synthesize data that can help build global identification.

Psychologist and scholar of culture and emotion, David R. Matsumoto, has coined the term *voyager* for a person who uses the challenges of life as a platform for forging new relationships and new ideas, and who regards potential conflict not as a crisis but as a chance (Matsumoto, Yoo, & LeRoux, 2005). Being an intercultural voyager does not mean that one likes or accepts everything one encounters. It means swimming in the flow of life and drawing a sense of safety from this skill. *Vindicators*, in contrast, cling to fixities, fixities that are imaginary, thus undermining the very safety they aim to achieve with this strategy. Vindicators establish their worldviews to justify their pre-existing ethnocentrism and stereotypes, not to challenge them and grow.

A precondition for becoming a voyager is that certain ties must be loosened, so as to allow for more flexibility. Sociologist Mark S. Granovetter suggests that having many weaker social ties to a number of people provides more individual autonomy than being exclusively bonded into a very closed nexus of relationships (Granovetter, 1973).

It is beneficial to be cautious also in the emotional realm and realize the relative validity of one's feelings and convictions." Cross-cultural psychologist Michael Harris Bond correlated the length of time emotions are felt by people in different cultures with the level of homicide in each culture and found that countries where people experience emotions for shorter lengths of time, on average, commit less homicide (Bond, 2004, 67).

Matsumoto and his colleagues explain that many models of intercultural communication have focused only on the cognitive aspects of communication, including cultural knowledge, language proficiency, and ethnocentrism, neglecting the emotional aspects: "We believe that no matter how complex or advanced our cognitive understanding of culture and communication are, this understanding does no good if we cannot regulate emotions that inevitably occur in intercultural communication episodes" (Matsumoto, Yoo, & LeRoux, 2005, 19). Indeed, the very gatekeeper of communicative effectiveness is the ability to constructively channel and manage particularly negative emotions (Wasilewski, 2001). Successfully managing negative emotions is crucial for a voyager to bear uncertainty, tolerate ambiguity, and use frustration creatively, with imagination. To do that, curiosity, courage, and patience are needed (Lindner, 2009a, 134).

Sometimes it is more important to forget than to remember. Miroslav Volf, an academician, theologian, and native Croatian defines forgetting as an active act of non-remembering (Volf, 1996). A person who non-remembers chooses to remember the past, its grievances, and its humiliations, but to forgive and purposively embrace the former enemy in an act of preservation and transformation. Active non-remembering helps prevent that memories of humiliation are held onto as a means to keep victim status and an entitlement for retaliation (Margalit, 2002). Active non-remembering guards against the destructive *post victim ethical exemption syndrome* (Jones, 2006). "How must our world look like for our children to be worth living in?" is a more fruitful question than "Which humiliations from the past must be avenged?" Peaceful social relations call for weak and flexible bonds with regard to memories, roots, the past, and cultural differences, but for somewhat stronger ties to constructive and common visions of the future.

Sociologist Norbert Elias's life was deeply affected by what happened in Germany in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. Like many other Jews, he left Germany. His mother was killed in Auschwitz. But what Elias taught was that sociologists (and other intellectuals) should learn to balance this "involvement" and the associated feelings with a strong attitude of *detachment*. Detachment does not mean coldness or disinterest, but keeping emotions under control and avoiding to observe the world and one's own self in a worked-up and biased manner (Elias, 1987). Holocaust survivor Victor Frankl developed a related notion, that of *self-observation* (Frankl, 1963). Buddhist *mindfulness* provides inner distance from biases (Brafman & Brafman, 2008).

As noted earlier, the constructed character of all bonds, also those we are born into, must be appreciated if global identity building is to succeed. *Social constructionism* is often regarded as a sociological concept, while *social constructivism* is a more

psychological construct. The social construction perspective is widely accepted in academia, in such diverse disciplines as cultural anthropology, social gerontology, social psychology, sociology, or feminist studies.

Some implicit theories of intelligence, for example, merit to be informed by constructivism. Research shows that the challenges of life can be approached with an *ego-oriented performance* orientation or a *task-oriented learning-mastery* orientation (Dweck, 1999). 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 (Dweck, 2008).

Connected knowing versus *separate knowing* is a related dichotomy (Belenky, 1997). If you take a connected approach to this chapter, for instance, you read it with an empathic, receptive eye, instead of only inspecting the text for flaws.

Research on implicit theories is directly relevant for global harmony since a learning orientation opens space for new experiences to truly become relevant. Peace work in the Middle East draws on these finding when it invites people to overcome biases with respect to perceived enemies (see Halperin, Sharvit, & Gross, 2010). The *attribution error* and *just world thinking* are among the most salient biases to be overcome, as is *loss aversion*, or the tendency of people to dislike losses significantly more than they like gains. These biases strengthen fixed conservative stances, leading people to evaluate those as aggressors who wish for change.

I call upon the scholars of the world to “harvest” from all the cultures of the world those practices and approaches that can support a more dignified future. The African philosophy of *ubuntu* (“I am because of you”) may stand for many such examples. Desmond Tutu used it as foundation for his Truth Commissions in South Africa (Battle, 1997). In pastoralist and tribal societies, *jirga* is a tribal assembly of elders which takes decisions by consensus. *Musyawah*, *silaturahmi*, *asal ngumpul*, *palaver*, *shir*, are only a few more terms from the list of traditional approaches to deliberation and compromise used around the world that can create inclusive consensus.

I put forward the proposal to inscribe *intercultural communication* into *global interhuman communication* and found a new field, the field of “Global Interhuman Communication” (Lindner, 2007).

What the individual can do. Also individual identity benefits from being built according to the principles of unity in diversity and subsidiarity. Let me take my own identity as an example. I use the *sunflower* as a metaphor for my identity (Lindner, 2007). The core of the sunflower represents my essence as a human being. Three layers of petals illustrate various secondary layers of identification: my fond connections to (1) the people I love, including my love for humanity in general, to (2) all benign cultural practices around the world that I cherish, and to (3) all those geographical places around the world that give me joy.

The core of the sunflower identity model stands for a large common ground of shared humanity, while at the periphery the numerous flower petals signify the diversity of idiosyncratic personal attachments and identifications. This identity is built in layers of

subsidiarity, with commonalities placed at higher levels of identity and differences at lower levels. As long as I believe that my culture is separated from yours by an unbridgeable gulf, we are going to have a problem; only when I make clear that *my* being different does not threaten *us* as human beings who are equal in dignity, can I invite *you* to celebrate our diversity together.

A sunflower identity protects unity in diversity against uniformity and division also in one's own psyche, because as soon as differences are encountered, they can be ranked with respect to their scope. It allows for de-emphasizing uniform and divisive practices and beliefs without disrespecting the core of humanity. I can respect myself and others, while at the same time rejecting outdated beliefs and practices, both in me and in others. I can reject the practice of binding feet, for example, without rejecting Chinese culture or Chinese people.

A sunflower identity allows for a global identity, while concurrently celebrating local identities. I avoid saying, for example, "I am a national of this or that country." In other words, I use the verb *am*, which connotes the essence of my being, with utmost care. What I can say is this: "I *am* a human being, and I draw on aspects from many cultural scripts, from many cultures, namely all those that I had the chance to learn about in the course of my biography."

The sunflower metaphor illustrates also that unity in diversity represents a win-win frame. The core is not damaged by the petals, and the petals are not weakened by the core; all elements strengthen each other. In my case, this identity emerged throughout 35 years of international life, on the background of a family history of trauma flowing from war and displacement. The sunflower shape came into being as a result of interactions of mutually contradictory but equally compelling forces. Disorienting dilemmas can bring about transformative learning (Fisher-Yoshida, 2008). The choices I always faced were to create a monolithic identity built on a single local perspective on the world, thus rejecting diversity, or to create a sunflower identity. Many concepts have lost their meaning for me, such as "traveling," "immigration," "homesickness," "foreigner," or exclusively "national identity"; I live in the global village, which is my home, with the human family as my family, whom I care about with a global identity.

The unifying common ground at the core of this sunflower identity connects with a very wide horizon. Its moral *scope of justice* is global (Coleman, 2000), as are its *boundaries of compassion* (Clements, 2011). Indeed, all of creation is included. I resonate with what Michael W. Fox, former vice-president of the Humane Society of the United States, wrote to me in a personal communication on March 11, 2010. "The Empathosphere is real, and it is through compassion's sympathetic resonance with the Earth and all who dwell therein that we may yet evolve, and give Life a chance before we extinguish the life and beauty of our planet Earth and become even less human than we are already with cloned animals and genetically engineered crops." Fox advocates a paradigm shift, or evolutionary step, from *anthropocentrism* to *ecocentrism*, or what "Earth scholar" Thomas Berry calls *cosmocentrism* (Berry, 1999). My identity is cosmocentrist. It is a *postindividual consciousness* (Heard, 1963), a *unity consciousness* (Hollick, 2006).

As reported earlier, Edward Tolman thought that the creation of a common enemy was needed, and he suggested that minorities who wanted to break away from the world state could fill this role. I urge to abandon the enemy concept altogether. It has its roots in the

security dilemma. Keeping it alive would prolong the transition to One World. Identity does not require an external enemy image to be stable; my own experience indicates that. My identity draws its strength from within, not from contrasting itself with a hostile outside. Excluding the concept of “enemy” does not mean *laissez-faire* or appeasement in the face of violators. When unity is endangered by diversity that has degraded into division, firm and tough *satyāgraha* is called for. Gandhi’s term *satyāgraha* (nonviolent action) is assembled from *agraha* (firmness/force) and *satya* (truth-love) (Lindner, 2010, p. xxiii; see GandhiParel (Ed.), 1997, or Sharp, 2005).

To create an inclusive global identity, what is required, is *conscientization*. Conscientization is explained by peace psychologist Daniel J. Christie as follows: “A psychological process in which individuals and groups are politically transformed by building a common consciousness” (Christie, 2006, 13). John Paul Lederach, author and practitioner in the fields of conflict transformation and peace building, describes conscientization as the laborious venture of patching together a growing awareness of the fact that the self is not existing in a vacuum, but in a context (Lederach, 1995, 119).

In my work, I theorize that the *ability* to feel humiliated, not only on behalf of oneself, but also of others, in the face of violations of dignity, represents the emotional driving force that informs conscientization (Lindner, 2009c). Nelson Mandela’s ability to identify with his people and their feelings of humiliation, for example, motivated him to drive major social change.

Let us, together, develop new levels of conscientization and change outdated *paradigms* (Kuhn, 1962), outdated *basic cultural codes* (Richards, 2007), outdated *epistemes* (Foucault, 1966), and outdated states of *belief* (Peirce, 1877). The dire state of the present world calls upon every world citizen to become a Gandhi or Mandela.

VII. Summary and Conclusions

Three key questions provide the structure for this summary: What do we know about fostering identification with the global community? What are the obstacles to such identification? What research is needed?

What do we know? We live in times of historical opportunity. Human history does not proceed in waves or circles but in paradigm leaps. *Homo sapiens* began their journey by populating the planet and this lasted for the first 95 percent of human history. Then followed a relatively short period (5 percent of human history) of vying for domination in a fragmented world with a strong security dilemma. At present, an unprecedented opportunity opens for creating a truly united world.

The opportunity arises from the fact that the security dilemma that sowed fear between communities for the past millennia, is weakening. This is historically unique. It has never occurred in humankind’s history before and represents a unique chance. New awareness can now gain wider acceptance, awareness that global identification is needed to foster global cooperation (“sink or swim together”). To succeed, however, this historic window of opportunity must be actively seized.

The present global ingathering of the human tribes and the emergence of the imagery and reality of One World weakens the security dilemma. This opens space not only to

unite globally and replace confrontation with cooperation, but also to replace power-over strategies with mutuality embedded in equality in dignity. Coercive hierarchies can now transmute into creative networks of unity in diversity. No longer must the human family be ranked and fragmented, but can be equal and united.

In this situation, peace psychology is called upon to inform public policy planning and vice versa. The classic Milgram and Zimbardo experiments indicate that the way institutions are built at systemic levels is of highest importance for harmonious societies. Metaemotions, or how people feel about feelings, frame and steer how feelings are felt. Metaemotions depend on cultural scripts, which, in turn, are embedded into large-scale geopolitical framings.

The transition that is needed at the current historical juncture can be described as proceeding in several intertwined loops. To overcome the current “lack of political will,” a large enough group of committed citizens at all levels, from civil society to the gatekeepers of political and economic institutions, must muster sufficient awareness of global responsibility and implement new global institutional frames. A top-down transformation must be achieved by a bottom-up movement of particularly committed peace makers. Institution-building is of primary importance because decent institutions can frame subsequent feedback loops and foster global cooperation in a systemic rather than haphazard way. Any subsequent loop will have the advantage of enjoying the support from the system, no longer only depending on a few gifted Gandhi-like individuals. When new layers of “self-reforming” global institutions are implemented, they will transform local cultures and metaemotions accordingly.

If we define globalization as the coming together of the human family into One World, and egalization as the realization of equality in dignity for each member of this family, we can coin the word *globegalization*. This is shorthand for “let us come together and humanize globalization with egalization!”

What are the obstacles to achieving identification with the global community? It is not easy to change paradigms. A host of obstacles stands in the way of global identity building. They have to be overcome by critical thinking informing conscientization.

Misconceptions, if maintained, have destructive self-fulfilling prophecy effects. For example, human nature is widely misperceived to be competitive and aggressive, even though research shows that it is social and connective. This means that criticizing work that aims at creating harmony as “unrealistic” closes doors that are open. Or, globalization, even though it has malign aspects, has also benign aspects. Global interdependence weakens the security dilemma. This increases the chances for cooperation among equals to emerge. Awareness of this new set of conditions must trickle into global and local cultures, and into the identity of individuals, to then feed back into the creation of new and more benign global institutions. A related misconception is that men are aggressive and women are weak by nature. Yet, they are made aggressive or weak in the context of a strong security dilemma. This means that both women and men will gain by helping the security dilemma to weaken ever further.

Obstacles are manifold. *Cultural lag* (Ogburn, 1922) is a complex phenomenon. People who benefit from outdated paradigms, for instance, will cling to them. Also cycles of humiliation, if not well understood, addressed, and prevented, can introduce new and dangerous fault lines of mistrust and hostility that can quickly re-obliterate the space that

consentization otherwise opens. The humiliation stemming from colonialism, for instance, still upsets international relations and national quality of life. Zimbabwe may serve as an example.

Empty human-rights rhetoric that covers up for double standards may present the greatest danger for global identification. Ideals of human rights have their roots in many cultures. The charter of Cyrus the Great (580-529 B.C.E.) has been hailed as the first statement of human rights, and the African philosophy of *ubuntu* is of the same spirit. Double standards risk feeding the suspicion, and feeding on the suspicion, that human rights ideals are simply a Western imperialist ploy. Empty human-rights rhetoric damages the credibility of human rights ideals and diminishes their power to inform global identification.

What research is needed to understand how to foster global identification and to overcome its obstacles? Global decency and harmony cannot be achieved through implementing new fixed states-of-affairs, but must be conceptualized as constantly evolving processes. Research in the social sciences must inform these never-ending processes of evaluation and revision. Diverse forms of citizen participation must be tested and studied. Radical democracy must be tried. The transformative forces of new information technology must be protected and furthered.

Human rights ideals are relatively new. Research needs to clarify why they offer the most suitable normative frame for One World, not just an imperialist deception. Research has to demonstrate why the abuse of human rights ideals through double standards is so humiliating and harmful and has to be avoided both in the West and in the rest.

Research is needed to document the inherent instability of inequality and to explain why a harmonious global community must be characterized by equal rather than unequal entitlement of its member to dignity and respectful treatment. Research must underpin why equality in dignity and rights does not translate into uniformity, but unity in diversity.


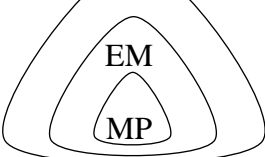
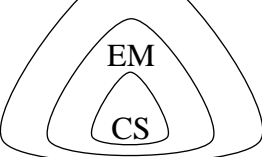

Concepts such as unity in diversity and subsidiarity are central. Research must elucidate how local diversity can flourish under an umbrella of global unity, and how subsidiarity can help to realize this.

To achieve global unity in diversity, to build a decent dignified harmonious world society of citizens with a global identity, it may be helpful to design institutional frames that re-arrange the order of embeddedness of Alan Fiske's four forms of organizing sociality—(1) communal sharing, CS, (2) authority ranking, AR (3) equality matching, EM, and (4) market pricing, MP. Perhaps communal sharing must be given priority? Perhaps this will persuade people to develop a global identity of unity in diversity, or what I call a *sunflower identity*? Perhaps this will convince individuals and groups, from local to global levels, from citizens to the United Nations and other international organizations, to think and evaluate how what they do, or could do, affects the global community?

Times of crisis are times when all have to step back and re-evaluate not just the surface of arrangements, but their deep structures. Researchers can analyze and synthesize; this is their expertise. They are therefore the first who have to step up to this challenge. Academic research must be made free, free of national and corporate interest. A World Dignity University is needed (www.worlddignityuniversity.org). A period of

global brainstorming must imagine new bargains. How should the new arrangements look like that humanity needs to implement in the face of crisis? Table 1 is an offer to researchers, a brainstorm on how the humanization of globalization through egalization, a process I call *globegalization*, could be envisaged.

Table 1: How Globegalization Can Frame Global Citizenship

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

Margaret Mead encourages us: “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.”

Morton Deutsch invested his life work in researching cooperation. This research has never been as important as now.

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