

Fostering Global Citizenship

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

Background information to this paper:

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

Abstract

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

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Introduction

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

—Betty Reardon, personal conversation, July 6, 2010, Melbu, Norway

This chapter is meant to be a suggestive outline of the issues involved in fostering global citizenship, a global citizenship that works for the common good rather than for special interests. It is meant to stimulate readers to work in this area, since a full statement would be a book, and even that could not be completed without much more knowledge than is available now.

“We can’t solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them,” said Albert Einstein. This chapter recognizes this insight. In times of deep change, solutions from within the paradigms of old expertise and old institutions risk remaining too narrow. This chapter invites readers to unleash their creativity and brainstorm on novel and outside-of-the-box solutions.

The chapter is organized in five parts. The first part asks “Why is global citizenship necessary and what stands in its way?” The second part addresses what kinds of values, knowledge, and skills a global change agent needs to foster effective cooperation and constructive conflict resolution. The third part considers where change agents will come from who will work creatively and persistently to advance global citizenship. The fourth part looks at the kinds of changes that need to be focused on. The fifth part is a brief summary and a short indication of how much more we need to know if we want to do what is needed effectively.

I. Why is global citizenship necessary and what stands in its way?

Global problems have myriad local expressions and, in an interlinked world, affect everybody. At present, these problems are so significant that humankind risks losing its planet and itself in the medium and long term, notwithstanding short-term improvements. In such an emergency situation, business-as-usual is a utopian fantasy; it is a pragmatic necessity to create a new social vision for human life on Earth (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 29).

A values-driven shift is called for. Humanizing globalization is the order of the day.

Global cooperation is needed. Not the cooperation of global crime and terrorism, not the cooperation that serves global exploitation of resources for special interests, but global cooperation for the common good of all, for a new ethics of mutuality and care, for a new definition of success, wealth, well-being, and fulfillment. This, in turn, can only succeed through an understanding that, in an interdependent world, fates are linked in a way that all “sink or swim” together.

Citizenship is multi-dimensional. FEMCIT is a European research project that perceives citizenship as composed of at least six dimensions—political, economic, social, multicultural and religious, bodily and sexual, and intimate (www.femcit.org). Global citizenship has the potential to touch upon all six dimensions. It can manifest in many ways, from being expressed only in the inner life of a person who identifies with all of humankind, or lived in practice by reaching out to people from all around the globe.

Obstacles to global citizenship abound. Globalization, as it presently unfolds, creates contradictions and confusion that instigates fear of global identifications rather than a willingness to engage in them. People lack information and are ignorant about the possibilities of global citizenship—for many, it is just outside of their consciousness. Many are strongly identified with their tribe, group, nation, or religion, and misunderstand global citizenship as giving up local identifications in favor for a uniform global culture. Many do not recognize that global citizenship intentionally designed for the common good means the complete opposite, namely, celebrating local identifications within larger-scale identifications of global unity that protect them. Through their hesitancy they speed up what they fear, because global division leaves space open for global uniformity to take control unwatched. At present, the world is divided—all vie for turf, the U.S., China, India, large transnational corporations—while the pillage of the planet’s resources (Brecher & Costello, 1994) diminishes cultural diversity and biodiversity, making everything more uniform.

Also the historical legacy of colonialism, the Cold War, and authoritarian regimes cause apprehension. Even otherwise well-intentioned people shy away from the idea of global citizenship out of fear that it will end in a global Orwellian dictatorship by default. Again, through their passivity they facilitate what they fear.

During the past decades, the notion of global citizenship has been compromised even for those who would otherwise be the first to embrace it. In 1948, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was signed in Paris, people went out of their way to exercise their right of being *human* rather than *national*. Garry Davis, for example, was supported by Eleanor Roosevelt when he created the first World Passport, as an extension of the original Nansen passport founded by Fritzjof Nansen in 1919 (www.worldgovernment.org/docpass.html). However, over time, during the past decades, narrow economic interests have co-opted this early embrace of the global common good. Global citizenship became identified with economic interests that regard the world’s commons as raw material for profit making. This trend gained so much legitimacy that even universities were drawn into the notion of citizenship for a global market: “When UNC System President Erskine Bowles took office, he charged all of us to do a better job of preparing our students to succeed in the new global economy” (home.uncc.edu/spotlight/2010/global-reach-global-citizens).

Globalization driven by the profit motive, even though it has brought advancements, has shown to have starkly dehumanizing effects. The euphoria of “corporate

globalization” and a culture of consumerism divorces a global elite from the global poor and plunders the planet’s resources. For globalization critics, global citizenship became associated with global exploitation rather than global protection, and many turned their back to globalization and global citizenship, advocating localization rather than developing a different kind of globalization.

Last but not least, there are many institutions that depend on the status quo for their existence. Their members have a vested interest to keep the status quo in place. And all those who benefit from the existing system use the media, education, and other channels of influence to create a “false consciousness” about the opportunities entailed in global citizenship.

In sum, subjective and objective factors enforce each other so as to hide the fact that the emergence of the imagery and reality of One World represents a historically unprecedented and unique window of opportunity that can and must be actively seized (Gerzon, 2010).

This chapter advocates global citizenship to humanize globalization in ways that include localization through unity in diversity. It argues that simply retreating into localism leaves the global arena ever more vulnerable to those bent on global exploitation. Global players—global speculators achieved notoriety only very recently—abuse the power vacuum left by a fragmented nation-state system. “For those who aspire to a more humane, sustainable and desirable future, simply being ‘against globalization’ is not satisfactory” (Ibid., p. 69).

I have coined the term *egalization* to match the term *globalization*, and I draw both terms together into *globegalization* (Lindner, 2010). If we define globalization as the coming together of the human family into One family, and egalization as the realization of equality in dignity for each member of this family, then globegalization is a term denoting a world of dignity rather than a world of humiliation. This is shorthand for “coming together and humanizing globalization with egalization.” I call for egalization to humanize globalization and dignify our world.

Globalization without egalization is a project of domination and exploitation, and global citizenship can indeed be degraded as a tool to achieve it. Globegalization, in contrast, to succeed, needs a new kind of global citizenship, one of partaking in an inclusive, diverse, and ecological planetary global society of fellow humans who take pride in sharing and celebrating their humanity through mutual care.

Equality in dignity does not mean that everybody should be the same, or that there should be no hierarchy, inequality, or stratification. What becomes obscene, however, is *rankism*, or the ranking of the worth and value of the essence of a human being (racism, sexism, etc., see Fuller, 2003). The pilots in a plane are masters over their passengers when in the sky. Clear hierarchy and stark inequality characterize their situation. The pilots, however, need *not* look down on their passengers as *lesser* beings. And this means also that the pilots have a responsibility to care for the well-being of their passengers. Passengers cannot be left without oxygen, for instance. Equal dignity means creating a frame that allows people to live in dignity. A certain amount of equality of living conditions is therefore necessary to enable diversity in equal dignity.

In this spirit, globegalization is the opposite of both global oppression and global anarchy.

II. What kinds of values, knowledge, and skills does a global change agent need?

What kinds of values, knowledge, and skills does a global citizens need to foster effective cooperation and constructive conflict resolution? Part II has three sections. They address (1) what kind of values, (2) knowledge, and (3) skills global citizens need to foster effective cooperation and constructive conflict resolution.

Values: Human solidarity and a healthy planet

Article 1 of the Human Rights Declaration states that every human being is born with equal rights and dignity. Human rights ideals invite every human being into One single human family, a family where all members, qua being born on planet Earth, are global citizens with equal rights and dignity, invited to care about each other and their habitat.

New research shows that the spirit of human rights ideals is more than a moral utopia. Equal societies almost always perform better than unequal societies with regard to such important parameters as quality of life (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

During the past 10,000 years, until today, most societies were unequal, and they still are, to various degrees (Christian, 2007; Eisler, 1987; Ury, 1999). People at the bottom used to be either openly oppressed and/or sophisticatedly co-opted. As long as everybody accepted the legitimacy of systemic inequality, the damage flowing from this arrangement was not seen as reason for systemic change: revolutionaries used to topple elites only to replace them.

Human rights advocacy destabilizes the legitimacy of ranked systems. By doing so, it creates a new moral universe that, in turn, changes metaemotions, or how people feel about feelings (Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1997). When inequality is thrown into stark contrast by the promotion of the human rights ideal of equality in dignity, peace and harmony are no longer definable as quiet submission of underlings under the oppression of their masters. This kind of “harmony” is now being felt as obscene humiliation of dignity (Lindner, 2006; Young, 2007).

Metanoia means seeing with new eyes and understanding with new minds. It is Greek for “above, beyond” and “mind” or “changing one’s mind.” *Metanoia* is a total upheaval of imagination, an upheaval of the fundamental angle of vision so that everything else also changes—values, emotions, judgments, priorities, pursuits. Such upheavals have happened before in human history, usually haphazardly. They represent deep changes in *basic cultural codes* (Richards, 2007), in *epistemes* (Foucault, 1966), shifts in *paradigms* (Kuhn, 1962) and in *states of belief* (Peirce, 1877).

Every citizen is now called on to envision a new transition for the human family, one from unequal to equal dignity for all, and this time not as a hit-and-miss transition, but as a well thought-through and a well-designed one. “Every human being is born with equal rights and dignity,” this is the first sentence of Article 1 of the Human Rights Declaration. Since its adoption in 1948, human rights have been foregrounded. Now, human dignity needs more attention. And human dignity entails the ethics of care: an *empathic civilization* needs to emerge: an *empathic civilization* needs to emerge (Rifkin, 2010). Empathic civilization means systemic change, rather than piecemeal interventions motivated by generosity or charity. It is also the opposite of the perfection of utopia, since

empathy flows from our frailties and imperfections. A global empathic civilization can only succeed through embracing the world as One single integrated dynamic equilibrium (Vallacher et al., 2010).

If humankind resembles the Titanic on its way down, then our responsibility is to gather the best materials and rescue the ship. As philosopher Otto Neurath explained, “we are like sailors who must rebuild their ship on the open sea, never able to dismantle it in dry-dock and to reconstruct it there out of the best materials” (Neurath, 1959, 201). Not business as usual, not muddling through, not making the best of it for myself and my family while the world goes down, but embracing the responsibility for keeping our spaceship Earth afloat is the call of the day.

Knowledge: Cooperation for unity in diversity and subsidiarity

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

Cooperation induces and is induced by a perceived similarity in beliefs and attitudes, a readiness to be helpful, openness in communication, trusting and friendly attitudes, sensitivity to common interests and de-emphasis of opposed interests, an orientation toward enhancing mutual power rather than power differences, and so on. Similarly, competition induces and is induced by the use of tactics of coercion, threat, or deception; attempts to enhance the power differences between oneself and the other; poor communication; minimization of the awareness of similarities in values and increased sensitivity to opposed interests; suspicious and hostile attitudes; the importance, rigidity, and size of the issues in conflict; and so on (Deutsch, 1994, p. 112).

Morton Deutsch’s concept of peace—whether intrapsychic, interpersonal, intergroup, or international—“is a state of harmonious cooperation among the entities involved. To achieve and maintain such a state it is necessary to have the values, knowledge, and skills to cooperate effectively and to manage the inevitable conflicts constructively” (personal message, September 23, 2003).

Social psychologists have researched the role of framing (Ross & Nisbett, 1991; Liberman, Samuels, & Ross, 2004). When students were asked to play a game where they had the choice to cooperate or to cheat on one another (prisoner’s dilemma game) and were told that this was a community game, they cooperated. However, they cheated on each other when told that the same game was a Wall Street game.

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

when citizenship is globally inclusive, can cooperation take the lead and put competition at its service. Only then can an end be put to a competitive race to the bottom that drives long-term social and ecological destruction.

Only one kind of citizenship represents a frame for a globally cooperative community, and this is a *global* citizenship that includes local identifications in a unity-in-diversity fashion. In contrast, *national* citizenship, particularly when it entails win-lose elements of “either we or them,” is a frame for competitive division. Many recoil from this insight, because in-group unity underpinned by out-group enmity provides a cherished sense of security and worth for many in-group members. Yet, such in-group unity, as pleasant as it may feel to its proponents, carries the seeds for destructive conflict for larger communities, including for humankind as a whole, particularly when “my unity” represents your humiliation. Per definition, in a context of interdependence that is imbued with human rights values, security is imperiled, rather than safeguarded, when out-groups feel humiliated.

Only a comprehensive global in-group identity of well-calibrated unity in diversity can transcend a world of too much uniformity on one side and too much division on the other. Global identity and citizenship should not replace, but protect diversity, protect the myriad diverse personal ideologies, values, resources, traits and skills, and local political, cultural, social, economic, and institutional contexts that make the world rich. Only a global in-group identity can create an all-encompassing win-win frame, a frame of mutual respect for everybody’s equality in dignity that leaves nobody out. This is a systems view for world peace. The task is to “think globally and act locally,” and to “think locally and act globally.”

Desmond Tutu, in his book *Exploring Forgiveness*, uses the metaphor of the *rainbow* for the unity in diversity principle. There is only One rainbow, not two, not three or more. This speaks to the unity element. But the colors should not be mixed, lest diversity be destroyed. Only unity in diversity renders the full beauty of the rainbow (Enright, North, & Tutu (Eds.) 1998).

Subsidiarity is the way to operationalize unity in diversity. In political terms, it means that local decision making and local identities are retained to the greatest extent possible. The European Union uses this principle (europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm). Subsidiarity helps protect unity in diversity against uniformity and division not only at the political level, but also at social and psychological levels. Nelson Mandela respected Frederik de Klerk but rejected Apartheid. Similarly, subsidiarity means uniting in respect for all people, building on the common ground of all religious philosophies and cultural worldviews, and celebrating diversity within this unity. It means rejecting whatever separates people into enemies, or whatever forces them into Orwellian uniformity. This is achieved through foregrounding the core of humanity and de-emphasizing beliefs and practices that lead to either division or uniformity. In this way, diversity can be celebrated without allowing it to destroy unity, and unity can be enjoyed while steering clear of the uniformity that flows from oppression into sameness.

Equality in dignity is manifested through the subsidiarity of unity in diversity, not through forcing everybody into uniformity, and not through keeping enemies at bay in a context of hostile division.

Skills: Curiosity, courage, and patience for process, flow, and expanded borders of compassion

A global citizen must be willing to learn. She needs curiosity, courage, and patience (Lindner, 2009, p. 134). A global citizen must test and sometimes surpass her comfort zone. Only a few hundred years ago, slavery was a given. At the utmost, it was acceptable to call for more charitable kindness toward one's slaves. Calling for the abolition of the institution of slavery needed much more courage. This is the level of courage that is required now.

The moral *scope of justice* (Coleman, 2000), or the *boundaries of compassion* (Linklater, 1998, see also Clements, 2011), can be narrow or wide, they can be inclusive or exclusive. The scope is widest when all of creation is included. Michael W. Fox, former vice-president of the Humane Society of the United States, advocates a evolutionary step from *anthropocentrism* to *ecocentrism*, or what "Earth scholar" Thomas Berry calls *cosmocentrism* (Berry, 1999). Andrew Linklater, scholar in international relations, says this: "Membership of a pluralist or solidarist international society rests upon a prior decision to widen the boundaries of the moral community in order to do justice to the interests of outsiders" (Linklater, 1998, p. 175). To do so, the all-encompassing empathic love of an emphatic civilization for all of human family and its habitat must be informed by Gandhi's *satyāgraha*. *Agraha* means firmness and force, and *satya* means truth-love (GandhiParel (Ed.), 1997, Sharp, 2005).

Embracing the world and reaching out with *satyāgraha* is one skill global citizens need. The other is to learn to live with uncertainty. People have psychological needs for security, belonging, social identity, a sense of worth, and cognitive clarity and simplicity. These needs can be satisfied in two radically different ways, namely, (1) through clinging to fixity or (2) through cherishing fluidity. A global citizens needs to learn the latter.

Psychologist and scholar of culture and emotion, David R. Matsumoto, has coined the term *voyager* for a person who can move in the flow of life and who can draw a sense of safety from this skill (Matsumoto, Yoo, & LeRoux, 2005; see also Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). *Vindicators*, in contrast, establish their worldviews to justify their pre-existing stereotypes, not to challenge them and grow. They attempt to cling to fixities.

Global citizens must be voyagers. For that, they need courage. Courage is required when stepping from seemingly firm ground into uncertainty. It is needed to refrain from acting on one's fears that one will lose balance or that flux may not carry. So-called *loss aversion* must be overcome, the tendency to be so averse to losses that one fails to realize gains. Certain ties must be loosened, so as to allow for more flexibility. Sociologist Mark S. Granovetter suggests that having many weaker social ties to a number of people provides more individual autonomy than being exclusively bonded into a very closed nexus of relationships (Granovetter, 1973). A certain degree of detachment must be learned, not coldness or disinterest, but the ability to regulate emotions so as to avoid bias in one's views of the world and one's self (Elias, 1987; Lindner, 2009, pp. 91-114).

For voyagers, it is more important to place grievances and humiliations in the past than re-experiencing them in the present. Memories of humiliation are very strong and can be addictive (Lindner, 2006, pp. 127-140). They can be abused for keeping victim status and entitlement for retaliation (Margalit, 2002). They can feed a "post victim ethical exemption syndrome" (Jones, 2006). The skill to be learned is 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.

In the same spirit, *connected knowing* is preferable to *separate knowing* (Belenky, 1997). A reader of this chapter who takes a connected approach, will develop the skill to read it with an empathic, receptive eye, instead of only inspecting the text for flaws. Likewise, *deliberate discourse* (in Aristotle's terminology) is preferable to *debate* (Johnson, Johnson, & Tjosvold, 2000, p. 66).

In sum, peaceful social relations call for weak and flexible bonds with regard to memories, roots, the past, and cultural differences, and for somewhat stronger ties to constructive and common visions for the future. The most fruitful anchor question for a global citizen is "How must our world look like for our children to be worth living in?" rather than "Which humiliations from the past must be avenged?"

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

The core of the sunflower identity model stands for the common ground that I share with all human beings, while the numerous petals at the periphery signify the diversity of my personal attachments and identifications. Core and a periphery are arranged in nested layers of subsidiarity, with commonalities taking the lead and diversity subordinating itself to unity, rather than fracturing it.

A sunflower identity allows for a global identity, while concurrently celebrating local identities. I avoid saying, for example, "I am a national of this or that country." I have chosen to reserve the verb *am* to connote the essence of my being, while I use more processual verbs for the periphery. I may say: "I *am* a human being (unity). I *was born* into a displaced family with a deep sense of non-belonging and *have learned to become* a global citizen who *feels* at home everywhere on the globe; I *draw* on aspects from many cultural scripts, from all those I had the privilege *to learn from* in the course of my life (diversity)." The sunflower metaphor illustrates that the unity in diversity principle offers a win-win frame: the core is not diminished by the petals, and the petals are not diminished by the core—all elements strengthen each other.

In my case, this identity emerged throughout 35 years of international life, on the background of a family history of trauma from war and displacement. The sunflower shape of my identity came into being because I was exposed to intercultural "interactions of mutually contradictory but equally compelling forces" (Hayashi, 2002). Disorienting dilemmas brought about transformative learning in me (Fisher-Yoshida, 2008). I was often forced to choose between creating a monolithic identity around a single local perspective, thus rejecting diversity, or creating a sunflower identity. I chose the latter.

My sunflower identity has nurtured my creativity in ways that I don't want to miss anymore. I believe also humankind as a whole would benefit from following this path. In his text "E pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century," political scientist Robert D. Putnam explains how creativity increases with diversity

(Putnam, 2007). He speaks of the Statue of Liberty and the original American identity as being rooted in the welcoming of strangers: “My hunch is that at the end we shall see that the challenge is best met not by making ‘them’ like ‘us,’ but rather by creating a new, more capacious sense of ‘we,’ a reconstruction of diversity that does not bleach out ethnic specificities, but creates overarching identities that ensure that those specificities do not trigger the allergic, ‘hunker down’ reaction” (ibid., pp. 163-4).

My global identity follows Putnam’s recipe, and many concepts have lost their meaning for me—there are no “foreigners” for me, the notion of “immigration” appears outdated, and I never suffer from “homesickness” since I never “travel.” Instead, I live in the global village, which is my home, with the human family as my family, whom I deeply care about with my global identity. My identity is cosmocentrist. It manifests a *postindividual consciousness* (Heard, 1963), a *unity consciousness* (Hollick, 2006).

Many believe that it is an indestructible human need to define an enemy, and, more importantly, that in-group solidarity would lack necessary strength without the image of an enemy. Indeed, early peace psychologist Edward Tolman (1886–1959) believed that the concept of a common enemy was indispensable (Rudmin, 1991). Tolman thought that world peace can only be achieved through the creation of a world state, with break-away minorities filling the enemy role. I urge the abandonment of the enemy concept altogether. I can attest that my identity draws its strength from within, not from contrasting itself with a hostile outside. Leaving behind the concept of enemy does not mean *laissez-faire* or appeasement in the face of violators. On the contrary, *conscientization* may have more motivating force than the enemy image.

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

New research on mirror neurons underpins how conscientization works. One can feel hurt on behalf of others by way of mirror neurons. Indeed, the ability to feel humiliated, not only on behalf of oneself, but also of others, in the face of violations of honor or dignity, represents a strong emotional driving force. It can drive terrorism, yet, it can also inform the conscientization of a Mandela (Desmond Tutu in Lindner, 2010, p. 10).

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

III. Where will global change agents come from?

Where will global change agents come from? Who can be a global change agent? How do we develop change agents who will work creatively and persistently to foster global citizenship?

Physicist Paul Raskin doubts that intergovernmental organizations, civil society, or the private sector can create sufficient impact. The market alone will not save the situation, and government policy interventions neither (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 47). Raskin is the leading author of the influential essay “Great Transition” (Raskin et al., 2002), and founder of the Great Transition Initiative (GTI, www.gtinitiative.org). Raskin works with scenarios that combine quantitative modeling with qualitative narratives. Scenarios—even though also they cannot give certain predictions—can at least provide insight into the scope of the possible to support informed and rational action.

Raskin conceptualizes four historical eras, see Table 1. Societal complexity increases in the course of transitions. Each phase absorbs and transforms its antecedents. The form of social organization, the character of the economic system, and the capacity for communication are the three critical and interacting aspects at each stage.

Table 1. Characteristics of historical eras

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

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

Peter T. Coleman and his colleagues use a *dynamical systems* approach to conceptualize the intransigence entailed in intractable conflict (Vallacher et al., 2010). Coleman et al. identify *attractors*, or dominant mental and behavioral patterns that offer a coherent map of the world and a stable platform for action. Also their approach can illuminate the intractable unsustainability of present arrangements of human affairs.

Paul Raskin advises changing not just human choices, but the base of human choices, or what in Coleman’s model is called attractors. Raskin recommends to concentrate on ultimate drivers, such as values, understanding, power, and culture, rather than on proximate drivers, such as economic patterns, technology, demographics and institutions. A *great transition* has to go deep, to the root causes that shape society and the human experience. This is also the message of peace psychology, which calls for “a systems view of the nature of violence and peace” (Christie, 2006).

In the same spirit, social scientist and activist Riane T. Eisler invites new social categories to go beyond conventional dichotomies such as religious versus secular, right versus left, capitalist versus communist, Eastern versus Western, or industrial versus pre- or postindustrial. This list could be extended with realism versus idealism, victory versus defeat, altruism versus egoism, self-interest versus common interest, collectivist versus individualist, big versus small government, globalization versus localization, and so forth (Lindner, 2010, p. 95).

According to Raskin’s analysis, only “the quality of awareness and engagement of a global citizenship movement” is in the position to perform the transition needed

(www.gtinitiative.org/resources/stream.html). Raskin hopes for a coalescence of “seemingly unrelated bottom-up initiatives and diverse global initiatives into a joint project for change. Such a force would entail a common framework of broad principles based on shared values fostered through the activities of educational, spiritual and scientific communities” (Raskin, 2002, p. 53). Raskin’s *great transition* scenario would change the character of global civilization and validate global solidarity, cultural cross-fertilization and economic connectedness while seeking a liberatory, humanistic and ecological transition.

The rise of a global civil society is already happening. Social scientists Paul H. Ray and Sherry Ruth Anderson show through comprehensive research that a growing number of people, indeed millions of people, increasingly refuse “cynical realism” and join the *Cultural Creatives* movement (Ray & Anderson, 2000).

Ray and 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 government, or big business, or big media, or past socialist, communist, or fascist movements. Then the first countermovement against the Moderns, the *Traditionals*, or the religious right and rural populations. Thereafter the most recent countermovement, 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).

According to Ray’s surveys, in the U.S., Traditionals comprise about 24-26 percent of the adult population (approximately 48 million), Moderns about 47-49 percent (approximately 95 million), and Cultural Creatives about 26-28 percent (approximately 50 million). Across Western Europe, the Cultural Creatives are about 30-35 percent of the adult population. This means that in the Western hemisphere alone, altogether more than 50 million people are ready to change the world.

Raskin and Ray and Anderson warn that, at present, global civil society is still too fragmented, too re-active, and too often focusing on symptoms rather than on root causes. They recommend a concerted effort from all committed citizens to grow out of re-activity and get into pro-activity through the creation of institutions that foster frames for the right kinds of relationships, locally and globally.

My global life experience of 35 years validates Ray’s and Raskin’s findings and conclusions. As to the world outside of America and Europe, I notice, however, that the Cultural Creatives trend is still weak. Consumerism’s promises usually still outshine their destructive effects, even after the economic crisis broke in 2008. Only some indigenous populations offer a higher level of consciousness. I recommend a global alliance with indigenous populations. On June 5, 2008, for instance, more than one thousand representatives from indigenous communities across the Americas gathered in Lima, Peru, and agreed on a new social system, called “Living Well.”

I welcome Raskin’s urge to unify knowledge. Academic specialization has brought scientific rigor, but has also created barriers around academic disciplines, insulating their insights from other disciplines and from mainstream readers. A new *sustainability*

science needs to bridge disciplines and draw them together into holistic models. “This requires the cooperation of scientists and stakeholders, the incorporation of relevant traditional knowledge, and the free diffusion of information....The democratization of knowledge would empower people and organizations everywhere to participate constructively in the coming debate on development, environment and the future” (Raskin, 2002, p. 57).

I call on scholars around the world to “harvest” from all cultures those practices and approaches that can support a more dignified future. The African philosophy of *ubuntu* (“I am because of you”) is exemplary. Desmond Tutu used it as foundation for his Truth Commissions in South Africa (Battle, 1997). To institutionalize this harvesting, I suggest focusing on the individual, away from reifying culture, and I propose to extend the field of intercultural communication into the field of *global interhuman communication* (Lindner, 2007).

Global youth culture is crucial to forming an effective global civil society. In case consumerism and nihilistic individualism win out, the future will be lost. A culture of post-consumerism is needed, of social solidarity and care, of responsibility for the well-being of present and future generations, and the ecology of nature. John Stuart Mill, the nineteenth century political economist, was prophetic in conceptualizing a post-industrial and post-scarcity social arrangement based on human development rather than material accumulation (Mill, 1848). In this spirit, the 12th session of the Provisional World Parliament convened in Kolkata, India, December 27-31, 2010, to which the global youth should flock (Martin, 2010; www.earthfederation.info).

Educational institutions carry crucial responsibilities. Their participants need to ask: What is education? What is knowledge? What is wisdom? Do we need schools? Perhaps we need a more integrated form of living together and learning? Can methods of learning draw on the world’s cultural diversity so as to nurture global unity in diversity? How can the schools of today be helped to transform themselves and society? How can they foster a global, cooperative consciousness? How can they become cooperative institutions with a pedagogy that advances a culture of global cooperation? How can the concept of learning and its institutional structures adapt to educate people to be responsible global citizens rather than co-opted automatons?

A global learning initiative is presently being developed from within the Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies network (www.humiliationstudies.org). It has as aim to further the notion of dignity not only by helping to unify knowledge, but by bridging intuition, theory, methods of inquiry, and practice, and connecting people from diverse backgrounds, so as to weave a global web of unity in diversity at all levels of conceptualization and reality.

In sum, only a global citizenship movement can (and therefore must) develop a cohesive positive social vision and unify into a coherent force for redirecting global development. Philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah defines cosmopolitanism as a moral code characterized by conversation: “It begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association” (Appiah, 2006, p. xix).

Cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead said, “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.” If you are a committed citizen, what does it mean to be *thoughtful*? It means

stepping out of the box, into a bird's eye perspective, imagining new worlds, and, from there, caringly and cautiously nudging systemic paradigm shifts. Currently, only a few gifted individuals have the strength to raise their voices against the massive global cultural push toward a throughput economy, which, if it continues, will endanger the long-term survival of all. In such a context, putting bandages on symptoms is insufficient.

Following Margaret Mead's adage, I recommend a two-tiered strategy of first gathering enough support for creating new systemic frames, and then letting those frames do their work. A global citizens movement at all levels, from civil society to the gatekeepers of political and economic institutions, needs to envision how a decent world has to be organized if it is to be and remain decent, and then nudge existing institutions into that direction, and, if needed, create new cultural and institutional frames (Lindner, 2009, p. 71). As soon as better systemic frames are in place, they will prod people to widen the boundaries of empathy and compassion to match the size of those frames qua system. When new nested layers of self-reforming global institutions are implemented, they will transform local cultures accordingly. No longer will we depend on a few Gandhi-like individuals. This transition should proceed in several intertwined loops, whereby global institution-building is of primary importance because dignifying institutions can frame subsequent feedback loops and foster global cooperation in a systemic rather than haphazard way.

IV. What do global change agents have to focus on?

How would a global society look like that embraces unity in diversity? What do global change agents have to focus on? Part IV has three sections. It calls on change agents to (1) recognize that a historically unprecedented window of opportunity is open, to (2) brainstorm on new social visions, and to (3) institutionalize the inviolable rights of people and nature, and to provide mechanisms for the constructive transformation of conflicts.

Recognize that a historically unprecedented window of opportunity is open

Political science uses the term *security dilemma* to describe how mutual distrust can bring communities that have no intention of harming one another into bloody war (Herz, 1950). The security dilemma is tragic. Its logic of mistrust and fear is inescapable. The more fragmented the world, the stronger the security dilemma. The motto of the security dilemma is: "If you want peace, prepare for war" or "igitur qui desiderat pacem, praeparet bellum" (in *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, 383 x 450 BCE, by Vegetius).

In the context of the security dilemma, simply being against war is naive. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Arthur N. Chamberlain wished for peace when he overlooked Adolf Hitler's true motives. Orthodox Taliban reckon that Western love for peace is simply a pitiful lack of the appropriate sense of honor. It is a sign of faintheartedness, proof of cowards lacking due manliness—something that unmasks the gender aspect of honor (Lindner, 2010).—something that unmasks the gender aspect of honor, see Lindner, 2010. The *Realpolitik* of national honor, revenge for humiliation, and

the myth of the dead hero who “gives his tomorrow for our today,” are inseparable from the security dilemma.

The security dilemma is an unforgiving tragedy, and its dictate is fear. When this dilemma is strong, it shapes a cruel culture of honor and revenge, which, in a self-reinforcing manner, tends to increase the destructiveness of the dilemma. True humanity is pushed aside. True humanity can only manifest in niches of mercy, charity, and “idealism.”

Earlier, social psychological experiments on framing were mentioned. For the past 10,000 years, roughly, until recently, the security dilemma represented an inescapable frame for most societies and it pushed for a culture of collectivist and authoritarian uniformity. Its strength was illustrated in the well-known Milgram experiments (Milgram, 1974). People gave electric shocks to others because those with authority in the lab, those leading the experiment, told them to. Even when the destructive effects of their work became clear, and their actions were incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, few people were able to resist (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6).

The security dilemma weakens only if out-groups coalesce into One single cohesive in-group. The historically unprecedented emergence of an imagery and reality of One world—ranging from Galileo’s insights, to the astronaut’s view of the blue planet, to today’s internet—represents a window of opportunity for such a scenario.

When out-groups coalesce into One in-group, insecurity no longer flows from the fear of the security dilemma but from humiliation (Lindner, 2006). This humiliation carries the risk to re-fracture the new in-group and re-introduce the security dilemma. Therefore, humiliation must be healed and prevented.

Only pro-active and well-designed global frames that provide internal stability and cohesion through a continuous and never-ending calibration of unity in diversity can secure peace.

At this historic moment of opportunity, the lingering of a culture of patriotism that is informed by out-group enmity is obsolete. A system of nation-states that ascribes exclusive national identities must be transcended. Nested global layers of institutions and identities must coordinate local institutions and identities in ways that secure peace and harmony through unity in diversity.

Peace activist Garry Davis, who created the first “World Passport,” has been introduced earlier. He wrote in a personal communication to the author (March 19, 2011, emphasis as in the original message):

All nation-states **claim** to be sovereign. How do we “transcend” them except by claiming our own sovereignty?

In my case, as a “sovereign” United States’ citizen - claimed unknown to me at my birth - I was drafted in WWII as a national citizen to become a warrior to “defend” that sovereign state against its “enemy,” sovereign Deutschland. Now what would the United States have done if I had claimed to be a “world citizen” while still a United States’ citizen? And acted on it? Probably in today’s world called me a “terrorist.” Could I have claimed my inalienable right to choose a global citizenship and have it recognized as legitimate? It is an “inalienable” right to choose one’s own allegiance.

My first statement on May 25, 1948 **after** I renounced my national citizenship was to **exercise sovereignty as a human being and, “stateless”, then to claim world citizenship. Who could deny it?** You yourself have always claimed to be stateless. But does that mean you are no longer “sovereign” with no right to claim your own allegiance? But it is not the same as claiming **to be a World Citizen**. I remind you that When I declared the International Registry of World Citizens on January 1, 1949, we then registered over 750,000 individuals **who personally claimed to BE world citizens!**

This, I have found throughout my 60+ years as a declared World Citizen, is a fundamental gap in the thinking of innumerable good-willed persons, about political (read, historic) change. Quoting Bucky Fuller, Einstein or Margaret Mead ad infinitum, isn't enough. EXERCISING SOVEREIGNTY (or political choice) alone is sufficient. **Who we personally claim to be** alone is sufficient. Every creator, every tool designer, even every child knows this. Emery Reves in *The Anatomy of Peace* spelled out the formula for the creation of government: “There is not the slightest hope that we can change the course into which we are rapidly being driven by the conflicting nation-states so long as we recognize them as the supreme and final expression of the **sovereignty of the people**. At ever-increasing speed we shall be hurled toward greater insecurity, greater destruction, greater hatred, greater barbarism, greater misery, until we resolve to destroy the political system of nation-feudalism and **establish a social order based on the sovereignty of the community**, as conceived by the founders of democracy and as it applies to the reality of today.” (Emphasis added by Garry Davis). And recognizing that the human community - humanity - is already “sovereign,” each and every member **must claim his or her individual sovereignty as a valid member now of that total community**. Otherwise, the nation-state claim remains dominant....and we foolishly doom ourselves.

Here's Tom Paine on the creation of government in 1776: “It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principle of freedom to say that government is a compact between those who govern and those who are governed; but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as men [and women] must have existed before governments existed, there once was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with. The fact therefore must be that the individuals themselves, each in his [or her] own personal sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government.” (Read more: Davis, 1961, DavisSeven Locks Press (Ed.), 1992, Davis, 2000, Davis, 2003, Davis, 2004, Davis, 2005, Davis, 2009)

Every global citizen is now called on to become a global public policy expert and either create new institutions herself, support suitable existing institutions, or nudge old institutions to humanize globalization, to achieve what Raskin calls the *planetary phase* of human history (Raskin et al., 2002). The nation must be embedded in planetary society; the market must be a social institution for social and ecological sustainability, not just for wealth generation; the individual must be seen as part of a web of social

relationships, not just a unit of pain and pleasure. For a planetary phase, global initiatives are particularly important—Conservation International (www.conservation.org) may stand for this category here.

As the security dilemma weakens, if we wish to learn about the true humanity that can and must replace the primacy of fear and honor and inform a new definition of *Realpolitik*, we may read philosopher Terrence Des Pres. He dethrones the dead hero myth with the duty of the survivor to be a witness of true humanity—Des Pres wrote about the survivors of the Nazi Germany death camps (Des Pres, 1976). We may also read philosopher Immanuel Kant who suggested a world federation as path to perpetual world peace. We may study early peace psychologists who have developed proposals of how to develop a peaceful global community (Rudmin, 1991). We may inform ourselves of the politics of a world federation (see Baratta, 2004, or Martin, 2010). We may follow sociologist Amitai Etzioni in his communitarian movement and insert individual rights and aspirations into a sense of community, at national and international levels (Etzioni, 2006). We may help public policy makers create not simply a just society, but a *decent* society, with institutions that do not humiliate their citizens (Margalit, 1996).

One of the editors of this book, Morton Deutsch, has worked on peace, cooperation, and conflict resolution throughout the past fifty years, and we can delve into his life work at www.tc.columbia.edu/icccr.

From big history to small history, also zooming into the details of presently unfolding transformations can illustrate where the transition from unequal to equal dignity presently stands, and how to proceed from here.

Three cases are given here. Case 1: Interestingly, the human rights transition from unequal to equal dignity is marked by a radical shift in the meaning of the word humiliation around 300 years ago. In the Anglo-Saxon linguistic realm, the verb *to humiliate* did not signify the violation of dignity until 1757. *To humiliate* meant merely *to lower* or *to humble* (“to remind underlings of their due place”), widely regarded as a prosocial activity. Putting down and holding down underlings was not defined as an infringement, but as an honorable lesson. “The earliest recorded use of *to humiliate* meaning to mortify or to lower or to depress the dignity or self-respect of someone does not occur until 1757” (Miller, 1993, p. 175, italics in original).

Case 2: In the traditional collectivist society of the security dilemma that characterized the past 10,000 years almost everywhere on the globe, unity, peace, conflict resolution, or reconciliation were defined as successful patronage over unequals (uniformity), and safely keeping enemies out (division). In contrast, in a context of global unity in diversity, the same aims are sought by all-inclusive dialogical collaboration between equals. At present, large world-regions still adhere to a culture of collectivist and authoritarian uniformity rather than unity in diversity. On October, 8, 2010, China, for instance, angrily summoned Norway’s ambassador to protest at the Norwegian Nobel Committee’s decision to give the Peace Prize to Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo. This incident highlighted how Chinese ways of conceptualizing harmony are not necessarily congruent with Western visions of social cohesion.

Case 3: The election of Barack Obama can serve as a case study for where the transition stands in America. His case dovetails with a renewed interest in the ancient idea of cosmopolitanism (Hansen, 2008), as it ranges from political to moral, cultural, and economic cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism has emerged as a central idea in moral

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

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

Scholars and practitioners in many fields are presently inquiring what it means to conceptualize all human beings as connected by their membership in a shared cosmos. Cosmopolitanism is a “humanist” ideology of identity politics, concerned with the cultivation of “global citizens” who celebrate difference but give preeminence to their transcendent ethic of conversation as a universal value (Sellers et al., 1998). Its narrative leads away from a categorical approach to culture (Gjerde, 2004), and challenges the stability of a received taxonomy of identity (Hollinger, 2006).

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

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

Brainstorm on new social visions

The tool box of human culture and imagination may not yet entail what is needed for a sustainable future. At the current point in history, creating novel visions is the most

urgent challenge at hand. At the same time, it is the most difficult task to achieve, since we all yearn for immediate and “concrete” solutions that can be implemented straightforwardly.

Yet, rather than muddling through with short-term re-actionism, it is essential to create a sense of long-term direction. New thinking needs to invent yet unknown futures. All cultural, political, societal, and social concepts need scrutiny and re-definition: What is a person? What is a life? What is success, reward, fulfillment? What is a school? What is a university? What is a market? What is money? What is a job, work, leisure, a private life? What is a state? What are the United Nations? And so forth. Which of these concepts are helpful for a sustainable future? Which do we wish to maintain as they are, which fill with new content, and which do we want to leave behind?

What are institutions? Too much and too little government must be avoided. But not only that. Rigid institutions altogether are obsolete in a context where balance must be achieved through a never-ending calibration process of continuous regulatory feedback loops. Only a carefully sustained balance through a nested unity-in-diversity design of self-reforming institutions, locally and globally, can provide the appropriate frames for the right kinds of relationships of people with each other and with their ecosphere.

Not only Betty Reardon (see her quote at the outset of this chapter), also educator John Dewey, or philosopher Karl Popper warn against new fixity and rigidity (Richards, 2007). Along the lines of the concept of *voyagers* (see Part II), what is required, are continuously evolving processes of perfecting mixed institutions, and systematic efforts that maintain and guide the old plurality of dynamics while a new plurality of dynamics is being invented and tried out.

The task at hand is therefore not just to fashion new institutions, but new ways of how to fashion institutions. To do so, brainstorming cannot be based too tightly on traditional templates, or start from within existing frames. It needs space to walk outside of the beaten tracks.

Anthropologist Alan P. Fiske, found four basic forms of organizing sociality—(1) communal sharing, CS, (2) authority ranking, AR (3) equality matching, EM, and (4) market pricing, MP. Family life is often informed by communal sharing, need and ability are definitorial. Trust, love, care, and intimacy can prosper in this context. Authority ranking involves asymmetry among people who are ordered along vertical hierarchical social dimensions, which can entail both benign patronage or malign oppression. Equality matching implies a model of balance such as in turn taking, for instance, in car pools or babysitting cooperatives. Market pricing builds on a model of proportionality with respect to ratios and rates.

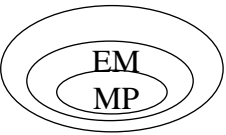
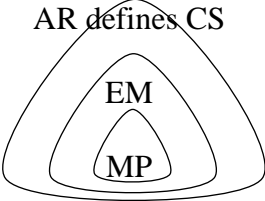
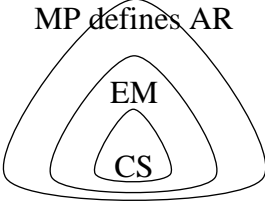
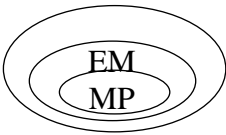
The presently largest global frame is MP, which means competition. As long as profit maximization defines global culture, while leaving a power vacuum at the global level through the divisions of a nation-state system, a culture of competition divides and weakens the human family. To achieve global unity in diversity and build a dignified harmonious world society of citizens with a global identity, it may be helpful to design institutional frames to re-arrange the order of embeddedness of CS, AR, EM and MP. Perhaps communal sharing can be given priority? Perhaps this will persuade people to develop a global identity of unity in diversity, or what I call a sunflower identity? Perhaps this will convince individuals and groups, from local to global levels, from citizens to the

United Nations and other international organizations, to think and evaluate how what they do, or could do, affects the global community?

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

Emergency qualifies as appropriate description of the situation of present world affairs. In response, I have coined the term globegalization to point at a path that can dignify our world by humanizing globalization through egalization. Table 2 offers brainstorming on how Fiske’s insights can be used by a global citizens movement to envisage globegalization.

Table 2: How globegalization can frame global citizenship and vice versa

(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> 

Institutionalize the inviolable rights of people and nature, and provide mechanisms to constructively transform conflicts

The commitments in the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights promise justice and decent standards of living for all, in the context of a plural and equitable global development model. Many of these promises still wait to be fulfilled.

In a *Great Transition*, social and environmental concerns would be reflected in market-constraining policies, a vigilant civil society would foster more responsible corporate behavior and new values would change consumption and production patterns” (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 19)....

A *Great Transition* would see the emergence of a nested governance structure from the local to the global that balances the need to sustain global social and environmental values with the desire for diversity in cultures and strategies” (ibid., p. 21-22)

What should a global change agent focus on to bring about a great transition?

Raise awareness: Even though the Declaration of Human Rights is central to the development of global citizenship, few people know about it. The first task is to make use of the Internet, together with all other available communication facilities, to make it more salient in people's awareness.

Create new mandates: The next task is to create new mandates within existing institutions. In October 2009, Farida Shaheed, sociologist from Pakistan, was appointed as the first Independent Expert in the field of Cultural Rights by the United Nations Human Rights Council. Her mandate is to highlight the importance of, and the right to, cultural life and cultural development as an essential and inherent right of all individuals and peoples. Her task is to stress that cultural rights must celebrate the diversities that define our collective humanity while ensuring that the right to pursue, develop and preserve culture in all its manifestations is in consonance with and serves to uphold the universality, indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights.

Transform conflict: Reconciling conflicting rights is among the most difficult but also the most meaningful challenges. Humiliated fury (Lewis, 1971), addictive cycles of revenge, and paralyzing shame and guilt can undermine and destroy otherwise constructive renewal efforts. The International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR), founded by Morton Deutsch, is leading in this endeavor.

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

Create a new economy: A new economy needs to serve people and preserve nature rather than be an end in itself. The economic system as it is now, works like a systemic macro and micro aggressor that victimizes all, the poor first, but also the rich and wealthy in the long run, including the ecosphere. Business must learn to include social equity and environmental sustainability, not only be a means to profit.

A new standard for urban and community accounting was agreed upon in early 2007. United Nations and Local Governments for Sustainability (ICLEI) ratified the triple bottom line approach, abbreviated as "TBL" or "3BL," also known as "the three pillars" of "people, planet, profit" or the "economic, ecological and social." TBL has already become the dominant approach to public sector full cost accounting (see also the ecoBudget standard for reporting the ecological footprint) and the private sector will need to follow.

Creating a new economy means the deliberate inclusion of public interest into the cultural and legal frames that guide corporate decision-making, and the honoring of a triple bottom line: people, planet, profit (Wood, 1991. Global Corporate Citizenship ("GCC") emerged in management and business scholarship in the 1990s; similar terms

are corporate social responsibility (“CSR”), corporate conscience, corporate social performance, or sustainable responsible business. These lofty aims still wait for global systemic implementation.

When the European Council endorsed the European Economic Recovery Plan in 2008, it recognized that the unfolding economic crisis should be taken as an opportunity to set economic structures more firmly on the path to a low-carbon and resource-efficient economy. Simply measuring the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is no longer appropriate, since also the destruction of quality of life and the environment figures as “healthy” growth of the GDP (see “GDP and Beyond: Measuring Progress in a Changing World” at eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2009:0433:FIN:EN:PDF).

New information and communication technologies give rise to new kinds of global nonmarket practices, such as peer-to-peer models (P2P), used by initiatives such as the Free Software and Open Source movement (Bauwens, 2008).

Create new technology: New technology must cooperate with the environment, rather than militate against it. Renewable solar-based energy must replace fossil fuels, radically less resources must go into each unit of production and consumption, and waste must be eliminated through re-cycling, re-use, re-manufacturing, and product life extension.

Stabilize population: Last but not least, in the face of urban growth, urban planners must work to provide decent living conditions, so that populations can stabilize and quality of life be foregrounded. As part of a community-led response to the pressures of climate change, fossil fuel depletion, and economic failure, Transition Towns are currently emerging around the world (this could also be villages, islands, or universities, for instance, see www.transitionnetwork.org).

V. A brief summary and a brief indication of how much more we need to know to do what is needed effectively

Part V summarizes the core message of this chapter, namely that it is not enough to re-evaluate the surface of present social arrangements, but that their deep structures must be looked at. The most tangible advice of this chapter is: Dare to think outside of the box! Dare to dream!

We live in times of greater threat than ever but also of greater promise. The emergence of the imagery and reality of One world, of One human family, represents a historic window of opportunity and hope that must be actively seized. Never before in human history has a unification process encompassed the entire globe, and never before did a concurrent continuous upheaval of values—the human rights ideal of equality in dignity—call into question traditional norms of inequality so radically (see Part I and IV).

Global citizenship, as described in this chapter, means harnessing this two-tiered upheaval for the common good of all, rather than for special interests. It calls for the global community to learn to cooperate, so as to create a worthwhile future for coming generations (see Part III). Global citizenship is one aspect of the deep change that is required at the current historical juncture, and it also can work as one of its core drivers.

In a cooperative situation, goals are so linked that everybody “sinks or swims” together, while in the competitive situation if one swims, the other must sink (see Part II).

This chapter warns 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 to the fact that in an interdependent world, local conflicts diffuse and affect everyone. "The vision of sustainability has been a virtual reality superimposed on the real-world push for market globalization (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 32).

Morton Deutsch and Peter Coleman invited me to write this chapter because I dedicate my life to advocating dignity. I work for a world where human dignity is more than empty rhetoric. I am a change agent. To bring about change, I focus on the development and communication of more systematic knowledge, the development of new institutions, and the development of more change agents. My work in the area of dignity and humiliation is rooted in broad and analytical thinking and fostering global citizenship has proven to be a core inspiration. The notion of global citizenships helps taking dreams seriously:

In the past, new historical eras emerged organically and gradually out of the crises and opportunities presented by the dying epoch. In the planetary transition, reacting to historical circumstance is insufficient. With the knowledge that our actions can endanger the well-being of future generations, humanity faces an unprecedented challenge—to anticipate the unfolding crises, envision alternative futures and make appropriate choices. The question of the future, once a matter for dreamers and philosophers, has moved to the center of the development and scientific agendas" (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 13).

At present, large world-regions adhere to a culture of collectivist and authoritarian uniformity rather than unity in diversity. To formulate it starkly, in the traditional dominator cultures that characterized the past 10,000 years almost everywhere on the globe (see Part II), unity, peace, conflict resolution, or reconciliation were defined as successful patronage over unequals (uniformity), and safely keeping enemies out (division). In contrast, in a context of global unity in diversity, the same aims are sought by all-inclusive dialogue between equals (see Part II).

Concepts such as unity in diversity and subsidiarity make local diversity flourish under an umbrella of global unity, by way of a nesting approach. As mentioned earlier, Peter T. Coleman and his colleagues work with a *dynamical systems* approach to conceptualize the intransigence entailed in intractable conflict (Vallacher et al., 2010, see Part III). This chapter suggests that institutions built on the principle of unity in diversity must be created that offer unifying frames and attractors that systemically induce cooperation between diverse concepts and actors.

The concept of unity in diversity is bound to face many problems. Conflicts will emerge between the global community and the units within it, and also between the units within it. Questions must be attended to such as: What is the definition of unity in diversity? How should unity be defined? At what point does unity degrade into uniformity and when does diversity become divisive? This discussion will and should

never end—it needs to be accepted as an forever ongoing process (see the concept of a voyager in Part II).

“Human rights—economic and social as well as political—need to become universal. Democratic rule, with minority autonomy and rights, needs to be maintained and extended. International conventions already codify many of these goals. For their promise to be fulfilled, they need worldwide ratification and means of enforcement” (Raskin et al., 2002, p. 32).

A quote from Morton Deutsch concludes this paper. His chapter titled “A Utopian Proposal for Changing the World” calls on all academic disciplines as well as people in government, business, education, the media, religion, health, and other institutions to develop values, theories, knowledge, skills, procedures, and resources which enable sustained progress toward the realization of

a vision in which the people and groups of our planet would perceive themselves as being members of a world community; in which they, as well as the other members of this community, equally deserve and feel that they will be treated fairly as well as with dignity and respect; in which their world community would recognize that it is faced with critical problems that only can be solved through creative cooperation by its members; in which they realize that conflicts about how to solve these problems, as well as others, that will inevitably arise, if approached cooperatively, are likely to give rise to constructive and produce solutions which are beneficial to all; and, finally, in which they realize that some conflicts within their community may take a destructive course and end up badly but they value, encourage and practice reconciliation so that embittered relations can be replaced by fair, cooperative relations” (Deutsch, 2011, p. ?).

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