The Need for a New World

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Abstract

We live in times of crisis. This paper is a conceptual paper, aiming at exposing the core patterns that can help us build a new world. It views the required changes against the backdrop of a larger geo-historical context.

This paper points out that when old paradigms fall, space opens for a new future. This space has to be filled constructively. "In times of change, the learners inherit the world, while the learned find themselves beautifully equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists" (a saying attributed to Eric Hoffer).

After the demise of the Soviet Block and oppressive communism, we now witness the demise of the Western approach of maximizing victory and profit. Global interdependence represents the ultimate deterrent for power-over strategies – nobody can win durable "victories" over others in an interdependent world, everybody is vulnerable. Global interdependence also represents the ultimate deterrent to the idea that in a world that depends on a healthy ecological homeostasis, the maximization of single elements (for example, profit), is feasible. In this situation, only profound transformation will help, tinkering with symptoms is insufficient. Systemic change is overdue, locally, and, particularly, globally.

And this change must not be left to a few elites, but needs to be driven by as many of the world's citizens as possible. This paper aims at contributing to creating a new vision for the future, together with nurturing global leaders who can carry it forward, and not just a few leaders, but many. It aims at outlining what kind of global system we need that would not just address crises in an ad-hoc fashion, but prevent them – at least the human-made ones – from occurring in the future.

This paper posits that we, as humankind, need to transform everything, from the philosophical foundations we stand on, to the core guidelines we employ, the definitions we forge, the institutions we build, and the cultural and social practices we teach our children. What is particularly pressing it the creation of new superordinate global institutions.

The paper is structured along the lines of these changes. As to the philosophical foundations, the nondualistic principle of *Unity in Diversity* is what this paper advocates. As to core guidelines and definitions, it is suggested that we must learn to focus on *interest*, not on *position*, and on *output*, not on *input*. As to institutions, and the cultural

and social practices we teach our children, giving priority to *communal sharing* is recommended. *Subsidiarity* is put forward as suitable guideline for combining communal sharing with elements of market economy into new layers of local and global institutions. To bring about these changes and grasp the opportunities that typically are entailed in crisis, it is suggested that *women and men* recalibrate their contributions to society.

This paper describes a vision of an alternative future, a vision that aims to motivate us to strive for its realization and overcome the obstacles that wait on this path.

Introduction

We live in times of crisis. "We face a global financial crisis. A global energy crisis. A global food crisis. Trade talks have collapsed, yet again. We have seen new outbreaks of war and violence, new rhetoric of confrontation. Climate change ever more clearly threatens our planet," this is what United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon said when he addressed the 63rd session of the General Assembly on September 23, 2008.[1]

Ban Ki-Moon's speech was entitled "A Call to Global Leadership." He pointed out that global problems demand global solutions, and that the biggest crisis, at the current point in time, is that of lacking global leadership.

This paper aims at contributing to creating a new vision for the future, together with nurturing global leaders who can carry it forward, and not just a few leaders, but many. It aims at outlining the kind of global system we need that would not just address crises in an ad-hoc fashion, but prevent them – at least the human-made ones – from occurring in the future. This paper describes a vision of an alternative future, a vision that aims to motivate us to strive for its realization and overcome the obstacles that wait on this path.

When we study best practices of how teams should collaborate, then we read, "Assign distinct roles so team members can do their work independently. They'll spend less time negotiating responsibilities or protecting turf. But leave the path to achieving the team's goal somewhat ambiguous. Lacking well-defined tasks, members are more likely to invest time and energy collaborating."[2] In the same spirit, this paper does not spell out well-defined tasks, but a larger vision that is open to be filled with creative collaborative solutions by our world's citizens.

How do we begin? In times of deep crisis, it is advisable to ask big questions. The biggest question is: What are humankind's overall goals? Or, what should be our overall goals? In order to define such goals, it helps to ask what kind of a world we wish to give to our children – or how the world of the future must look like so that it will be worth living in it for our children.

Evidently, the answer must be that we need a world that has systems in place that prevent the crises we see today. Stumbling from one ad-hoc crisis management to the next is no solution. And we need a more dignified world, a world where all citizens enjoy dignified living conditions. It humiliates the humanity of all of us, when a few maximize conspicuous consumption, while the majority of the world's population has not even clean water to drink. And it equally humiliates the humanity of all of us to witness the current lack of global leadership with regard to global climate change, particularly when the poor have to take the brunt of the destruction flowing from change that has been caused, mainly, not by them but by those who are wealthy.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, reads: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." In this context, humiliation is the enforced lowering of any person or group by a process of subjugation that damages their dignity.

We need the *decent* world that eminent philosopher Avishai Margalit calls for, a world with decent institutions, institutions that do not humiliate their citizens.[3] We need a *Moratorium on Humiliation*,[4] both with respect to how people treat other people, and how humans treat their biosphere. And this has to be done by as many people as possible, not just some small elites – this is what I mean by creating many leaders.

If these goals sound impossible to reach, then we have to make the impossible possible. Optimism is the political act that is obligatory now.[5] Faint-hearted pessimism is affordable only in good times – it turns into suicide in times of crisis.

Physicist Michio Kaku admonishes us: "The generation now alive is perhaps the most important generation of humans ever to walk the Earth. Unlike previous generations, we hold in our hands the future destiny of our species, whether we soar into fulfilling our promise as a type I civilization [meaning a civilization that succeeds in building a socially and ecologically sustainable world] or fall into the abyss of chaos, pollution, and war."[6]

How do we build a new world?

We need to envisage bold change: We must transform everything, from the philosophical foundations we stand on, to the core guidelines we employ, the definitions we forge, the institutions we build, locally and globally, and the cultural and social practices we teach our children.

This paper is structured along the lines of these changes. As to the philosophical foundations, the nondualistic principle of *Unity in Diversity* is what is needed. As to core guidelines and definitions, we must learn to focus on *interest*, not on *position*, and on *output*, not on *input*. As to institutions, and the cultural and social practices we teach our children, we need to give priority to *communal sharing*. *Subsidiarity* presents itself as suitable guideline for combining communal sharing with elements of market economy into new layers of local and global institutions. To bring about these changes and grasp the opportunities that typically are entailed in crisis, *women and men* will have to recalibrate their contributions to society.

When old paradigms fall, space opens for a new future. After the demise of the Soviet Block and oppressive communism, we now witness the demise of the Western approach that reigned during the past three decades, namely, that of maximizing victory and profit, an approach that was championed in particular by the United States of America, and, as it appears, to its own peril. The National Intelligence Council in the U.S. predicts that the current financial crisis is the beginning of a major shift in the global economy that will end U.S. dominance. The Council foresees that U.S. economic, military and political power will decline over the next twenty years. And since the Council coordinates all the US intelligence agencies, its predictions carry weight.[7]

Global interdependence represents the ultimate deterrent for power-over strategies – nobody can win durable "victories" over others in an interdependent world, everybody is vulnerable. Global interdependence also represents the ultimate deterrent to the idea that in a world that depends on a healthy ecological homeostasis, the maximization of single elements (for example, profit), is feasible. In this situation, only profound transformation

will help, tinkering with symptoms is insufficient. The four hundred years old order of national sovereignty is outdated. Institutions are needed that reflect global interdependence.

This paper is a conceptual paper, a paper aiming at exposing core patterns. It views the required changes against the backdrop of a larger geo-historical context, using a Weberian ideal-type approach.[8]

This paper builds on more than thirty years of the author's international experience, in many countries within Africa, Asia, Europe, and America, among others, for longer periods in Egypt, Somalia, the Great Lakes in Africa, the Middle East, China, Japan, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, the United States of America, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, or France. I have treated clients in my practice as a clinical psychologist (1980-1984 in Hamburg, Germany, and 1984-1991 in Cairo, Egypt) before moving on to macro levels as my main focus (such as social psychology, sociology, and political science). I do not treat humiliation only as an individual feeling at the psychological level but also as a state of affairs to be addressed by public policy planning at local, and, particularly, at global levels.

I began my work on humiliation in 1996 with my doctoral research on the genocidal killings that occurred in Rwanda in 1994, and in Somalia in 1988, on the backdrop of Nazi-Germany. In the course of this research alone, I interviewed humanitarian helpers in Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, and Burundi. In 2001, I defended my dissertation thesis entitled *The Psychology of Humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler's Germany.*[9] Since then, I have expanded my studies, among others, in Europe, South East Asia, and the United States. I am currently building a theory of humiliation (TH) that is transcultural and transdisciplinary, entailing elements from anthropology, history, social philosophy, social psychology, sociology, and political science.[10] I am also the Founding President of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies (HumanDHS, www.humiliationstudies.org), a global transdisciplinary fellowship of concerned academics and practitioners, who wish to promote dignity and transcend humiliation (to say it very short!). We are currently around 1000 personally invited members, and our website is being accessed by ca. 40 000 people from more than 180 countries per year.

We Need a New Philosophical Foundation: Nondualism and Unity instead of Dualism and Division[11]

The nondualistic principle of *Unity in Diversity* is indispensable for the task of creating the deep change that stands before us.[12] *Unity* is needed to create cohesion in the global community with respect to the entire range of the human condition, from thought, to narratives, ideology, purpose, action, institution building, and at all levels, from the individual psyche to global institution-building. As to *Diversity*, maintaining cultural diversity is as crucial for the peaceful survival of humankind as protecting biodiversity. Biodiversity may hold yet unknown medical remedies in store for humankind, and cultural diversity may provide essential social remedies. Finally, nondualistic ontologies are required to connect unity with diversity in peace-inducing ways so as to arrive at *Unity in Diversity*. Unity in Diversity allows for *social cohesion* and *harmony*,[13] without requiring *homogeneity*.

Muneo Yoshikawa, senior scholar in the field of intercultural communication, makes the Unity in Diversity principle graphically visible through the infinity symbol, or Möbius strip (∞).[14] He developed a model for dialogue whereby unity is created out of the realization of difference, and the dialogical unity does not eliminate the tension between the contradictions between basic potential unity and apparent duality. He calls his model a *double-swing* or *identity in unity* model. This model is inspired by Martin Buber's idea of "dialogical unity" in *I and Thou* – "the act of meeting between two different beings without eliminating the otherness or uniqueness of each."[15] It also draws on "*soku*," the Buddhist nondualistic logic of "Not-One, Not-Two," that describes the two-fold movement between the self and the other that allows for both unity and uniqueness.

Metaphysics is the branch of philosophy that reflects on "the study of being," in Greek "ontology."[16] Philosophy of mind is the ontology of the mind, of mental events, mental functions, mental properties, consciousness, and their relationship to the physical body. The dominant Western metaphysical orientation that underpinned its expansion during the past centuries was *dualism*. Dualism holds that ultimately there are two kinds of substance. René Descartes' dualistic view of a mind-body dichotomy is perhaps the most widely known expression of dualism. Dualism is to be distinguished from *pluralism*, which claims that ultimately there are many kinds of substance, as well as from *nondualism*, and from *monism*, which is the metaphysical and theological view that all is one, either the mental (*idealism*) or the physical (*materialism and physicalism*). Physicalism is thus a monist concept, holding that that there are no kinds of things other than physical things.

Even though contemporary scientists usually are physicalists, dualistic views still linger on in many spheres of life – not least expressions such as "the axis of evil" serve as evidence. Indeed, dualism offers the very metaphysical background that pushes for war most. Dualism could be identified as a kind of "master blind spot" in current Western approaches. In his book *The Psychology of War*, Lawrence LeShan dissects how creating and firing up Manichaean self/other and good/evil dualisms in people prepares them for violence and convinces them that wars are worth fighting.[17]

The principle of Unity in Diversity holds that both unity and diversity are real, but connected. This principle is inspired by *nondualism*. Unity in Diversity means avoiding

the false dualism of Uniformity versus Division. Unity in Diversity means neither suppressing diversity by aspiring to uniformity (communist monotony), nor elevating diversity to division where victory is sought rather than unity ("the axis of evil").

For roughly the past 10,000 years the world was characterized by dualistic Uniformity and Division. This orientation represented a very particular human adaptation to a specific geo-historical scenario. During the past ten millennia, most communities on the globe used agriculture as source of livelihood, and the so-called *security dilemma* defined their lives – everybody feared that their land would be grabbed by their neighbors.[18] Living off agriculture creates a malign win-lose frame; land does not represent an expandable resource; it is either me or you who can own the land and harvest its yield.

Anthropologist William Ury drew up *a simplified depiction of history* (whose core elements are widely accepted by the academic community).[19] He pulled together elements from anthropology, game theory and conflict studies to describe three major types of society: simple hunter-gatherers, complex agriculturists, and the current knowledge society. In Ury's system, prior to 10,000 years ago, simple hunter-gatherers lived in a world of coexistence and open networks, within which conflicts were negotiated, rather than addressed by coercion. The abundance of wild food represented an expandable pie of resources that did not force opponents into win-lose paradigms (it is important to note that contemporary hunter-gatherer ways of life are not always comparable).

Complex agriculturalism, as it entered the world stage roughly 10,000 years ago, on the other hand, pushes its players into a world of coercion.[20] Agriculturalists lead their lives within closed hierarchical pyramids of power on land that represents a fixed pie in a win-lose situation governed by strict rules. In her work, Riane Eisler, social scientist and social activist, describes how otherwise widely divergent societies (but all based on agriculture), from the Samurai of Japan to the Aztecs of Meso-America, were characterized by very similar hierarchies of domination and a rigidly male-dominant "strong-man" rule, both in the family and state.[21] Hierarchies of domination were maintained by a high degree of socially-accepted and institutionalized violence, ranging from wife and child beating within the family to aggressive warfare on the larger tribal or national level.

The currently emerging global knowledge society, in turn, resembles again the hunter-gatherer model, because the pie of resources – knowledge – appears to be expandable, lending itself to much more benign win-win conflict solutions (it is almost common knowledge that win-win situations are more benign than win-lose situations). Knowledge as basis for livelihood has the capacity to push societies toward rejecting the tightly knit hierarchical structure of the past millennia in favor of the open networks espoused by our earliest ancestors prior to 10,000 years ago. Negotiation and contract have a chance to replace command lines, and coexistence can emerge as the primary strategy. Space opens for the ideal of equal dignity for all, an ideal that is at the core of many religions and of human-rights (for millennia, religious philosophies of equal dignity – Buddhism has a claim for equal dignity, as has New Testament Christianity, Islam, the Sikh religion, and so forth – were pushed into hierarchical structures.)

Knowledge alone, however, would not be strong enough to have this benign influence, only a *global* knowledge society can realize the fullness of this effect, because knowledge can also be used for mutual destruction, something that is the likely outfall in a

fragmented world of reciprocated hostility. Only when humankind regards itself as *one* single family can knowledge unfold its full constructive potential for the survival of all of humankind embedded in a new human-rights based paradigm.

Following this model, what was bound to define the relationships of agriculturally based communities was dualistic Uniformity and Division: Division vis-à-vis enemy out-groups represented a push toward uniformity within in in-groups. In-group uniformity was achieved through ruthless oppression and routine subjugation and humiliation of underlings – each underling-stratum was straight-jacketed into internal uniformity, and all underlings together were forced into total submission and obedience to their leaders. The relationship between unity and diversity represented as zero-sum win-lose game – unity was conceptualized as only achievable at the expense of diversity (unity was defined as uniformity), and vice versa (diversity was viewed as divisive difference).

In contrast, in a human rights context, unity is to be achieved through enabling and optimizing complex diversity and embedding difference into a shared unifying normative foundation. As touched upon above, Unity in Diversity means neither mistaking unity for uniformity (and suppressing diversity to create uniformity – the first fallacy), nor mistaking diversity for division (conceptualizing diversity as destructive division that undermines unity – the second fallacy).

The first fallacy was (and still is) committed in traditional ranked societies, with uniformity being enforced within each social stratum and towards the rulers. It also was committed in contexts that supposedly wanted to overcome such rankings: Communities that labeled themselves as communist attempted to achieve equality through leveling all diversity and forcing their citizens into one single social stratum where uniformity and sameness reigned.

The second fallacy describes how in-groups during much of the past 10,000 years of human history used to develop their identity, namely in hostile opposition to out-groups, thus giving differences between groups the status of unbridgeable divisions. The Cold War was the last historical expression, at the global level, of such a kind of setting. The latter fallacy was (and still is) maintained – not remedied – by Western cultures of ruthless individualism that condone just world beliefs and might-is-right approaches, approaches which merely replace old masters with new ones. The current economic melt-down, hopefully, will open space for the "healing" of this fallacy.

Unity in Diversity, by steering clear of both fallacies, can foster a dignified non-humiliating win-win context. It is best realized by increasing both unity *and* diversity in a win-win fashion by augmenting unity while at the same time also emphasizing diversity – the principle is therefore best read as *More Unity in More Diversity*.

It is unsurprising that certain epistemological concepts which help realizing Unity in Diversity also in science are relatively recent and would not have been accepted in former times. Using *grounded theory*, for example, help scientists guard against being caught in unwarranted uniformities and unnecessarily divisive dichotomies. Grounded theory, as first developed and presented by Barney G. Glaser & Anselm L. Strauss,[22] means avoiding applying existing theories to data, or merely accepting conventional explanations, but instead being as open as possible and developing arguments and categories out of the data. The concept of the *hermeneutic circle*[23] has its place here, as has the *reflective equilibrium*, as employed in Rawls's *A Theory of Justice*,[24] and as defended, also, for example, by Nelson Goodman. The reflective equilibrium is the name

for an epistemological orientation that indicates going in circles or loops, again and again, to arrive at ever denser understanding.[25] Aristotle still rejected this approach to the scientific endeavor as *circular fallacy*. Otto Neurath uses the following ship metaphor for this way of going about: "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."[26]

To stay in this metaphor, in former times, scientists assumed that science was only science if it found dry docks or at least pretended that dry docks existed. Today, we understand that we must be much more modest and accept and live with the fear-inducing uncertainty that flows from our looming suspicion that human understanding of the world in which we live is rather limited. Even though there is no dry dock, even though what we may think of as certain is always threatened by diversity, particularly by yet undiscovered diversity, we can create unity here and now. Or, more precisely, it will help humankind to think of diversity as enriching, of yet to be discovered new scientific findings as something that will bring new aspects into our worldviews, which, in turn, will inform new definitions of unity.

We Need to Focus on Interest, not Position, and on Output, not Input[27]

When we read reports about emergency aid after disasters, or any kind of humanitarian and development aid, we are often presented with the following success stories: Thousands of blankets have been distributed, millions of bags of food have been provided, and millions of dollars have been spent – in short, charity efforts were impressively generous.

In the face of such "successes," we wonder why the final results have so far not been more convincing. The list of criticisms is long. Let me first refer to *Living on the Edge of Emergency: Paying the Price of Inaction*, the most recent CARE International report.[28] Another provocative title is *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace - Or War*.[29]

Similarly, we have heard, throughout the past decades, that the Gross National Product (GNP) of many countries has grown – supposedly good news – while at the same time environmental problems have grown as well, as has the gap between rich and poor – clearly bad news. The 2008 financial melt-down merely adds to the bad news, admittedly in a particularly sudden and dramatic way. But the loss from environmental degradation is higher than the loss from the current banking crisis – a recent study puts the annual cost of forest loss at between $2 trillion and $5 trillion.[30]

What is the problem? Is it a complex problem with no clear answers? Or are there basic patterns? Are there succinct answers that can capture the core of our problems with aid, development, and local and global economic systems?

Throughout my international life, I have encountered first hand the entire range of difficulties discussed by scholars and practitioners dealing with the problems ranging from emergency aid after disasters to the pitfalls of long-term development aid and the general economic environment.

One of the core problems seems to be that success cannot be gauged by measuring input. Output (or outcome) must be measured. And not just any output, but the right kind of output. From negotiation handbooks we can glean what the right kind of output may

be. We learn that we need to focus on "interest" and not on "position" to attain optimal outcome.[31] If two people fight for an orange, for example, sharing it equally would solve the conflict, however, not optimally. The optimal solution would be to ask more detailed questions, and consider, for example, that one person wishes to use the skin of the orange for a cake, while the other wants to make juice from the fruit meat. As a result, the outcome would be that both have 100% of their interest served, not just 50 percent of their position, what would be the result if they merely were to split the orange in two halves. Not that such a positive outfall can be guaranteed – sometimes a situation does simply not entail the potential for win-win solutions – but by not searching for them, those potential win-win solutions are overlooked and untapped.

As we see, asking deeper questions may help. Celebrated Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss developed the notion of the "depth of intention," the "depth of questioning," or "deepness of answers." Næss writes, "our depth of intention improves only slowly over years of study. There is an abyss of depth in everything fundamental."[32] Greater depth means continuing to ask questions at the point at which others stop asking.[33]

Let us heed Næss's call and combine the two above-presented slogans of 1) "measure output and not input," with 2) "focus on interest and not position," and make a list of questions:

- Why do people focus on input and position, rather than on output and interest?
- Whose interest is served through focusing on input and position?
- Whose interest should define output?
- What is the true interest of people?
- What kind of output must be measured?

How could a list of worst-case answers look like, for example, for the case of aid? If we suppose that influential elites have an interest to define output in ways that maintain their privileges, then it should be in their interest to manipulate recipients of aid into buying into the elites' definitions of interest and output rather than shaping their own definitions. Focusing on input and position would then be a welcome strategy for these elites to achieve their goals because such focus would cover up for this manipulation: impressed by the seeming good-will entailed in large input from elites, recipients would perhaps be deterred from questioning whether this input is truly in their interest.

How could a list of best-case answers look like? If we suppose that influential elites have an interest to define output in ways that empower recipients, then it would be in their interest to facilitate a process through which recipients can arrive at definitions of their interest that are truly suitable for them. Focusing on input and position would be avoided because such focus makes it difficult to forge appropriate definitions of interest.

When we consider these two sets of answers, we notice that we face two profoundly different scenarios. The first scenario expresses the belief that some people (i.e. privileged elites) deserve to have more, and that they can neglect the interest of their underlings, calling to mind contemporary examples such as Burma, North Korea, Sudan, or Zimbabwe, together with all those in the West who adhere to a hyper-individualistic might-is-right and just world philosophy.[34] The second scenario is imbued with the human rights ideal that each human being deserves to be treated as equal in rights and dignity. It represents the spirit of the Center for Rebuilding Sustainable Communities

after Disasters, founded by Adenrele Awotona,[35] for which these sentences were originally written.

From the point of view of human rights, the first set of answers humiliates the recipients of aid, more even, it humiliates the humanity of all involved players, and that of humankind as a whole.

As we gather from the above-presented reflections, words such as *aid* (from disaster management to humanitarian and development aid) together with words such as *peace, harmony, cohesion, reconciliation, conflict resolution, stability, security*, etc., are not only unclear, they even entail definitions that are irreconcilably opposed to each other: Aid can empower recipients, or it can disempower them.[36]

The two core definitions (empowering or disempowering) of terms such as peace, harmony, cohesion, reconciliation, conflict resolution, aid, are thus markers of the large-scale transition that humankind is currently part of. It is the transition from the traditional collectivistic paradigm of ranked honor towards a global knowledge paradigm which opens space for the core ideal of human rights, the ideal that human worthiness needs to be equal rather than unequal, unranked, rather than ranked. In traditional contexts, all of the above enumerated terms posit "happily" subservient underlings at their centre, while dialogue between equals is what human rights foreground.

Direct violence is often being differentiated from structural violence.[37] In my article *Disasters as a Chance to Implement Novel Solutions that Highlight Attention to Human Dignity*,[38] I coined the word *structural disaster* for destructive outcomes that are not sudden and unpreventable, but caused in a long-term fashion by human intervention, and thus are also undoable and preventable by human intervention.

What is a structural disaster? There are three variants of disasters. First, there are natural disasters that impact human institutional structures in a long-term fashion, such as, for example, meteorite impacts on the surface of planet Earth would do, in other words, disasters that can by no means be prevented by human intervention. Second, there are human-made structural disasters that are part and parcel of the traditional cultures of collectivist rankings that dominated the world throughout the past ten millennia. Most intractable conflicts around the world are intractable, even today and at least partly, precisely because they are imbued with the honor code, and players aim at victory over enemies instead of dialogical peace with partners.[39] Third, there are structural disasters that stem from misguided "modern" reactions against past collectivist rankings, as there are, for example, Western versions of ruthless individualism (which are currently happily emulated in many parts of the East, as I witnessed during my three years of living in Southeast Asia, from 2004-2007). Calling for "freedom for might-is-right approaches" merely replicates hierarchical rankings in new ways instead of dismantling them – for instance, hierarchies of rich over poor.[40]

The latter two disasters are both part of the above-described scenario of recipients of aid suffering humiliation – and they describe the crises that Ban Ki-Moon enumerated. Since the latter two disasters are undoable and preventable by human intervention, they require humankind's urgent unified attention.

The solution, the protection of humanity from humiliating structural disasters, is proposed in the concluding remarks. It is large-scale systemic change towards what I call *egalization* (and explain later).

We Need to Give Priority to Communal Sharing

The relational theory model (RTM) was introduced by anthropologist Alan Page Fiske.[41] He postulates four elementary and universal forms of social relations.[42] 1) Communal sharing (CS) means that people are in some respects equivalent, and treat each other as "all the same." This is how family members often treat each other. 2) Authority ranking (AR) involves asymmetry among people who are linearly ordered along hierarchical social dimensions. 3) Equality matching (EM) implies a model of balance as in turn taking (for example, a car pool or a babysitting cooperative). 4) Market pricing (MP) builds on a model of proportionality, and relationships are organized with respect to ratios and rates.

Communal sharing derives from the universal "need to belong,"[43] and has a strong emotional appeal – love, care, and intimacy can prosper in this context, and "equal dignity" clearly belongs into communal sharing.[44]

Fiske derived the basics of RTM from two years of anthropological study among the Moose in Burkina Faso. He was struck by the fact that among the Moose orientation to the land was dominated by communal sharing, "land is a commons for all to use freely."[45]

Communal sharing of land and resources among members of in-groups can indeed be observed in many parts of the world and throughout all of human history. Lee D. Ross, social psychologist and founding member of the Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation, explained:

> During Medieval Ages, to give only one example, people had common grazing grounds. It was beneficial for everybody to have increasingly more animals – yet, at a certain point, there was not enough grazing ground for all anymore.
> Whenever this happens in similarly structured situations, the commons typically get exhausted and people may agree to have fewer animals.
> At that juncture, however, a "defector" will always win: he lets one more cow graze on the communal land, and gets the benefit, while the others share the cost – all other cows get a little less fat. The defining property of the "tragedy of the commons" is that the individual commoner is always better off having one more animal.
> And history does unfold like that everywhere, in the USA, in Europe and elsewhere: Some people restrain themselves, some are greedy, some people will want to co-operate, if the others also co-operate, but not if others defect. As soon as some people get less through restraining themselves, the pressure to just have one more cow increases.
> This pressure mounts when newcomers arrive. In the USA people might have agreed that everybody has as many animals as the grandfather, but what about the newcomer who has nothing? After a while all will defect and destroy the resources.
> This is the situation of the earth spaceship with all its resources, and the commons' dilemma models it.[46]

Communal sharing is a well-functioning solution that has been successfully used within in-groups through-out history. And communal sharing presents itself as key model for the sharing of the Earth's resources among all of humankind. However, clearly, it is vulnerable, both from within, but particularly from outside.

This vulnerability has led some analysts to declare communal sharing to be impossible. Many economists concluded from Garrett Hardin's article "The Tragedy of the Commons,"[47] that the vulnerabilities of this approach make it unusable. However, one can also draw the opposite conclusion, namely that communal sharing can succeed when its vulnerabilities are understood and adequately addressed.

The second conclusion is in line with Ury's view on history: Communal sharing, a benign solution for in-groups, always risks being destroyed from outside, and this was typically the case in the malign large-scale context that characterized the past 10,000 years, leading to Ross's diagnosis of today's state of affairs: "This is the situation of the earth spaceship with all its resources, and the commons' dilemma models it."

Globalization, however, or, more precisely, global interdependence, entails a unique change for humankind to succeed with global communal sharing in ways unseen before. The more humankind capitalizes on its coming-together by building global institutions that include all, the fewer newcomers are to be expected who could undermine global communal sharing (just to name one possible gain from global interdependence).

Scholars at the Jean Baker Miller Training Institute of Wellesley College, with their relational-cultural theory (RCT),[48] have long challenged the dominance of individualistic perspective and propose a relational analysis of psychological development.[49] Also Amitai Etzioni, leading communitarian scholar and advocate, calls for reestablishing the link between rights and responsibilities.[50]

Let me introduce the notion of affordance her. It was coined by psychologist James Gibson.[51] It was later slightly changed by Donald Norman's ecological approach (akin to systems-theoretic approaches in the natural and social sciences), which made the concept relational, rather than subjective or intrinsic.[52] The term is used in perceptual psychology, cognitive psychology, environmental psychology, industrial design, human–computer interaction (HCI), interaction design, and artificial intelligence. A door handle, for example, "affords" or invites pulling.

For hunter-gatherers honey was a delicacy, which they craved. Honey "invited" consumption. Yet, since honey was scarce, there was no danger of obesity or diabetes due to over-consumption of sugar – nature invited hunter-gatherers to enjoy honey, however, in a limited und thus harmless way. The global market order of the past decades, in contrast, turned the tables: entrepreneurs did not only scrutinize nature as to how it invites humans, they also scrutinized how nature, human nature included, invites entrepreneurs. For example, entrepreneurs regarded the human preference for honey as an invitation to earn a profit by making food more sugary – they thus capitalized on human affordance, and by doing so, they eliminated nature's restrictions.

In all spheres of life, be it human nature or nature in general, restrictions that keep a regulatory balance in place risk being destroyed when a market system "accepts invitations" for exploitation without considering the need for restrictions. As a result, a few entrepreneurs make profit by destroying the overall interdependent system, be it the homeostasis of the global climate,[53] or global social cohesion. In this way, humankind sells out its resources and thus undermines its own life support.

Affordance could also illuminate the tragedy of the commons: Communal sharing "invites" free-riding. Ruthless individualists who believe in maximizing profit can get rich at everybody else's cost. For them, communal sharing is nothing but an as-of-yet untapped resource for profit. The short-term "success" of such free-riding humiliates the

commons who oppose this abuse, and it does so doubly, first, the commons pay for the free-riders, and second, they are derided for not being smart enough to join the free-riders.

Clearly, the commons must be protected, global communal sharing must have priority, and elements of market economy must serve this priority. Money must serve, not lead; profit must feed communal sharing, not suck communal sharing empty.[54] We need new global superordinate institutional structures to organize and protect the primacy of global communal sharing.[55]

Indeed, all of Fiske's universal forms of social relations need to be interwoven into such new global superordinate institutional structures: Communal sharing (CS) must take precedence, with authority ranking (AR), equality matching (EM), and market pricing (MP) serving it.

How could, for example, authority ranking be of service to communal sharing, while heeding the human-rights call for equal dignity, and steering clear of traditional honor rankings? Let me give you an example. The pilot in a plane or the captain of a ship are masters over their passengers when in the sky or at high sea. Clear hierarchy and stark inequality characterize these situations. The pilot and the captain, however, need *not* look down on their passengers as *lesser* beings. In other words, we need experts in our world, people who are superior in what they know, however, we do not need supremacists. In my work, I therefore prefer to use the term *vertical ranking of human worth and value,* rather than terms such as *inequality, hierarchy, or stratification.* The significant point for my discussion is not the absence or presence of hierarchy, inequality, or stratification, but the ranking of human worth. Hierarchy, inequality, and stratification can very well coexist with the absence of ranking. Robert W. Fuller[56] describes this in his book *Somebodies and Nobodies.* According to Fuller, humiliation is not the *use* of rank, but the *abuse* of rank.

Where shall the global superordinate institutional structures come from that we so urgently need to create? Today, the United Nations' agencies occupy the highest level of super-ordinate institutions. Though currently only a "club of jealous nations," the UN does represent the embryonic seeds that may mature into stabile good governance at the highest global level, governance that has the common interest of the global – not national – citizen at heart.[57]

Since states are hesitant to lose sovereignty, this unifying process meets strong resistance whenever institution building needs to get serious. The discourse on how to best build good world governance and institutions is always in danger of dying down, in need of revival. Yet, people do step up to the challenge – historian and founder of the Center for Global Community and World Law, Joseph Preston Baratta, has recently taken up this crucial discussion.[58] Worldwide, new discourses do indeed emerge.[59] A global culture of solidarity is being advocated – Howard Richards, research professor of Peace and Global Studies and Philosophy, offers a list of alternative names, such as *love ethic,* or *servant leadership,* or *production for use,* or *de-alienation,* or *mobilizing resources to meet needs,* or *a higher form of pragmatism,* or *economic democracy.*[60] Or, a campaign called the Simultaneous Policy (Simpol) mobilizes a global electorate to realize global cooperation.[61]

I design my life as a global citizen in order to bring my personal life "to scale" – after all, global challenges require global overview. My point, however, is not that everybody

should live as a global citizen, physically. My point is rather that everybody needs to develop a sense for humankind's shared responsibility for our planet. I explain this on our HumanDHS website:

> We, as humankind, need to sit together and think through how we can protect not only biodiversity, but also cultural diversity (both are, of course, interconnected). In that context, we need to think, for example, through landownership. It might be unwise for humankind to give too much land to initiatives that exploit only one resource, say timber or ore. Perhaps it is important for humankind to give land to indigenous peoples with cultures depending on land. Many indigenous peoples have developed cultural knowledge of how to utilize a wide variety of resources of their land, knowledge that may become as important for humankind as biodiversity, which in turn often depends on cultural diversity. For humankind's survival, we might need to develop an all-encompassing sense of what is needed: some people may want to be global citizens also physically, like me, others not – what is important is humankind's shared responsibility for our planet.
> …humankind has to sit together, gauge the "carrying capacity" of "spaceship" Earth, and design public policies, together, to reach a balance. There are many strategies available, from educating women (among others to alleviate them from having to produce too many children as a form of old-age security) to more creativity with regard to technological solutions for producing energy and food, and so forth. Basically, the solutions are on the table already, what is lacking, at the current point in history, is the "political will," around the world, to implement solutions. In other words, we observe a lack of informed citizens, citizens who push politicians to take care of the common good of all humankind instead of losing this focus in struggles at local levels.[62]

We Need Subsidiarity

The notion of *subsidiarity* – meaning that matters are handled by the smallest or lowest competent authority and local decision making and local identities are retained to the greatest extent possible – will be central to the superordinate institutions that need to be created at global levels today. Subsidiarity allows for safeguarding and celebrating diversity in ways that do not separate and divide, but embed diversity in a unifying context of respect for equal dignity.

The European Union uses the subsidiarity principle.[63] And the Weberian ideal-type approach that I use in my work mirrors the principle of subsidiarity insofar as layers – not dichotomies – are used as analytical lens.

Subsidiarity can save us from the traps of false dichotomies that riddle contemporary discourse. I agree with Eisler, who calls for new social categories that go beyond conventional ones such as religious versus secular, right versus left, capitalist versus communist, Eastern versus Western, and industrial versus pre- or post-industrial. Many more false dichotomies can be added, from "Uniformity versus Division," to "private versus the state," or "isolationist versus internationalism." All these dichotomies are misleading and must be embedded into complex layers, not pitted against each other. We

need to heed Jean Baker Miller's advice and create what she calls *alternative arrangements* rather than accept false choices.[64]

Let me briefly discuss the dichotomy of "action-orientation versus structure-orientation" that poisoned the run-up to the last Iraq war.[65]

When I studied medicine in the 1980s, debates were raging between proponents of two approaches: the classical school often placed the emphasis on fighting the enemy of cancer or microbes by surgical or pharmaceutical strikes, while alternative schools highlighted the more preventive approach of strengthening the entire body system to make disease less likely to find fertile ground. Over time we learned that patients benefit most when both strategies are used, supporting one another. In the global arena, building a sustainable world based on human rights would be equivalent to the preventive strengthening approach. Dissuading, isolating, and marginalizing extremists – such as terrorists – would correspond to strikes.

Comparing these differences in the approach to the 2003 Iraq war produces some interesting observations. Prior to the war, European hesitation confirmed American suspicions that Europeans are not capable of being decisive and courageous and that Americans are the world's most visionary and strong-minded leaders. Americans are good and courageous surgeons so to speak, able to intervene with surgical strikes, while Europeans are weaklings who cannot stand the sight of blood. From the European point of view, in contrast, American strategies risked being counterproductive – the wrong strikes at the wrong time – exacerbating the disease instead of healing it.

In hindsight, all players may agree that the appropriate approach is to tailor strategies to situations, assuring that the suitable strategy is implemented for the intended goal. Sometimes, courage is better invested in prevention and containment, and sometimes in strikes. Sometimes strikes are necessary to defend ideals, and sometimes prevention and containment will get the job done more easily and with less loss of life. And strikes, if decided upon, must not be counterproductive. The best approach is to think in layers: prevention must form the basis, being topped up with emergency intervention when needed. Prevention and emergency intervention are no either/or opposites, they need to complement each other.

Not least the principle of Unity in Diversity can only be operationalized by way of layered subsidiarity. Unity must take preeminence, if it is to remain unity and not deteriorate into uniformity or division. Unity can be found in shared values, for example, in values of human rights. Diversity needs to take second place, if it is to stay clear of destroying unity. In practice that means that as with biodiversity, also cultural diversity has to avoid toxins that undermine the goals that define unity. Both bio- and cultural diversity must be harvested for healing resources, not for toxins – toxic substances destroy health, and cultural practices can be as toxic. Japanese feudalism, Chinese foot binding, so-called honor killings, female genital cutting, African witchcraft murder, warrior identities that glorify war, as well as ruthless individualism and cultures that advocate the maximization of victory and profit, just to give some examples, these are cultural practices that have to give way; their advocates have to lay down any claim to be all-definitorial. Maximizing profit, for example, destroys homeostasis – profit must serve the optimization of homeostasis, underpinned by human rights. Profit cannot be allowed to be maximized – the very word maximization gives it undue preeminence.

As mentioned above, when we build global superordinate institutional structures with Unity in Diversity as guiding principle, we will benefit from the expertise of the European Union, who uses the subsidiarity principle. So-called *regulatory pyramids* must be put in place locally and globally.[66] Institutions organized in layers foreclose the danger of a global Orwellian dictatorship that would force everybody into uniformity, and it also protects against the dangers looming from a fragmented world in which people can't cooperate because of its diversity being too divisive.

I often use traffic as a metaphor in my work. Traditional ranked honor, during the past ten millennia, dictated that big vehicles passed first through a crossroad, while the smaller ones waited in due reverence. A master regarded it as legitimate to push out the smaller ones, who accepted this treatment as divinely ordained or nature's order. Occasionally somebody attempted to acquire a larger vehicle. If he succeeded, he was the new master with all the rights of a master, since revolutions toppled the masters, but not the system. However, apart from the threat of revolution – a threat that required constant attention from the masters – this system rendered a certain extent of public stability, calm, and order. At some point, around the time of the French Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence, the human-rights ideal of equal dignity gained impact, and a discussion commenced about (to stay with the metaphor) managing traffic by using traffic lights. Equal dignity for all means that every driver, irrespective of the size of the vehicle, has the same rights before the new traffic lights. The size of the vehicle, its color, and its price do not affect the driver's status or rights.

The financial melt-down of 2008 could be described as police and public bus drivers having colluded to buy luxury vehicles paid for by the public, and having reserved the main street for themselves – Wall Street took over. For a while they merrily enjoyed themselves in these vehicles in Wall Street. However, at some point, traffic broke down because the duped financiers were exhausted and there was hardly any main street left. In the first shock, the duped victims wished to meet out punishment by taking the police forces and bus drivers off the streets, together with their busses. "Let them go bust and pay for their irresponsible actions," was the cry. However, soon it was understood that this would be even more harmful. What has to be done instead is to revert to the original purpose of police and public transport. Police and public transport are to help the public move about in the main street and attend to their livelihoods. Services must be made to serve again. Services are meant to take second place, second to the primary goal, in our case the goal of global sustainability, socially and ecologically. The emphasis must thus be on the creation of new institutional systems, locally, but particularly globally, rather than on the punishment of individuals.

Scholars such as Stanley Milgram and Philip Zimbardo underpin this message. They have shown through their experiments how important it is to create systems that allow people to be "good," rather than limit our efforts to attempts to reform individuals who have to function in less than nurturing systems.[67] Zimbardo, on April 23, 2008,[68] explained how "a system" creates "a situation," which brings "good" people to behave "badly." Since the Inquisition, he expounded, we have been dealing with problems at an individual level – the individual only was addressed, with its propensities and culpability. The influence of the situation was neglected.

New studies underline the preeminent role of systemic structures. Within nations, economic, ethnic, and regional effects have only modest impact on political stability.[69]

Rather, stability is determined by a country's patterns of political competition and political authority. Liberal democracy is a powerful means of enhancing a country's political stability, this is what acclaimed sociologist and researcher on global patterns of comparative development, Jack Goldstone, together with his colleague Jay Ulfelder, explain in "How to Construct Stable Democracies."[70] The authors stipulate that we have to learn more about "how some emerging democracies manage to foster free and open competition without descending into factionalism and why some leaders are more willing to accept meaningful constraints on their authority."[71] Goldstone and Ulfelder recommend (and this advice could be heeded also by global society) that "the focus must be shifted from arguments over which societies are ready for democracy toward how to build the specific institutions that reduce the risk of violent instability in countries where democracy is being established."[72]

It will not be sufficient to reform only the Bretton-Woods system of monetary management, or the G8 club, or the United Nations. A completely new global order needs to be crafted. It is not enough to address singular symptoms and leave the disease untouched, Peter Coleman's dynamical systems approach is needed, not just to address intractable conflicts at local levels, but to approach the entire global context within which we violate our socio- and biospheres in intractable ways.[73]

We Need Women and Men to Recalibrate their Contributions to Society[74]

I worked as a clinical psychologist in Cairo, Egypt, from 1984 to 1991. I was amazed at the low rate of crime and unrest in Cairo, a metropolis of approximately 10 to 15 million people. A high degree of social control is part of Egyptian culture. I frequently witnessed incidents such as the following situation, which gave testimony to this social control:

> An accident occurs in the street in the middle of overcrowded Cairo. The two drivers get out of their cars and angrily survey the damage. They shout and jump at each others necks. They scream, they shove and hit one another.

> Around this scene, in the street, in coffee houses, in shops, people watch attentively, their faces reflecting seriousness, urgency, respect and involvement. About ten to twenty men, usually young and strong, slowly approach the two men. They stand in two groups of five to ten men each, with each group assuming responsibility for one of the opponents, restraining and talking to him. The restraint used is enough so that neither opponent can hit or hurt the other, but both can still shout and scream and make brief attacking lunges.

> Each group speaks with the man to which it has assigned itself, talking calmly and with respect. They show him that they understand the urgency which forces a man to behave in such a dramatic manner (a person who is *outside* him/herself is almost holy in Egypt). The "facilitators" try to understand the nature of the conflict and propose various compromises to resolve it. They do not focus unduly on the rational side of the conflict, they rather constantly grant respect to the fact that the opponents are psychologically overburdened and that the rupture of social peace has to be healed.

After ten or fifteen minutes the opponents begin to calm down. If it's appropriate, they agree on a compromise. If necessary, some facilitators promise to act as witnesses and/or enforcers of the compromises. The conflict is over. The opponents leave. The facilitators go back to their previous occupations without a lot of fanfare. Patching up conflicts is routine.

The conflict resolution and containment street scenes that I witnessed usually included a ratio of 20 to 2 ratio, or at least 10 to 2. Twenty physically powerful men were required to cool and pacify two clashing opponents. It is interesting to observe how the Egyptian approach combines elements of coercion and respect from traditional male and female role descriptions.

As mentioned earlier, I have spent the past thirty years practicing being a global citizen, living, studying and working in different parts of the world and in various cultural spheres. Wherever I spent time, I observed women predominately inhabiting the private sphere. I call this the *inside* sphere. Men, in contrast, moved around in what the respective community defined as *outside* sphere – or they straddled the border between both spheres.[75] Put succinctly, women are traditionally responsible for inside maintenance (maintenance of the physical and social inside aspects), while men are traditionally responsible for the outside sphere and for guarding the frontier between both, thus making the inside sphere a safe place.

Around the world, women in their traditional role are expected to maintain a household, to wash and clean, to repair what is broken, to plan for long-term maintenance costs, to consider the interdependence of things for keeping a household going – all for the maintenance of a physical inside sphere. The same principle applies to the social inside sphere: a woman is typically expected to care for the well-being of the people surrounding her, she is held responsible for the maintenance of emotional and social life, she is the one to create harmony and console the distressed, she is the one to heal and repair social cohesion. (In Western culture men are increasingly expected to take over some of the original female competence for emotions, but, as of yet, this ends only all too often in bitter disappointment, since even today it is usually *she* who strives for emotional contact with her partner; she is the one to recognize a breakdown after having tried in vain for reconciliation; she finally thinks of divorce, while her husband neither understands her nor the final breakdown, and often until the very end believes that everything is fine.)

The man is expected to "go out," to reach for the unknown, to be daring in conquering the unfamiliar; he is traditionally expected to risk his life in defending the inside sphere. Countless fairy tales tell the story of a hero facing a series of increasingly difficult tasks in far away universes in order to prepare himself to marry the princess and be the ruler and protector of her people.[76] Those so-called "male" tasks necessarily require less holistic approaches than what is generally understood to be the "female" tasks. They ask for the sword cutting through, the axe destroying the enemy, even if this means destroying a highly intricate network; they ask men to cover distances uni-directionally on a horse, on a ship, in an airplane or in a rocket; they ask men to open new horizons.

We can conclude today that male expansiveness has reached the limits of the planet. Even though male action bore valuable short-term fruit, called "modern technology," it

also created long-term problems, since men, at least in the beginning, tended to overlook the fragile homeostasis and interdependence of all elements in the planetary bio- and sociosphere. Clearly, the preeminence of the traditional male role template has reached its limits – not the limits of its usefulness, but of its applicability and thus its preeminence.

Furthermore, the emergence of the term *global village* indicates the degree to which the sphere that males traditionally roamed, the outside sphere, has disappeared, again through male action having reached the limits of planet Earth. Outer space is basically what is left to conquer, together with as of yet untouched spheres of technological innovation. As to the housekeeping of planet Earth itself, only internal affairs, the classic female arena of the inside, are still around.

Typically, in a village, criminals or "terrorists" are being policed, and, at maximum, there is civil war. What is not longer around, however, is the grand confrontation of two "villages" pitted against each other. The Cold War marked the end of a world of several "villages," and launched the era of *one* single village. And in this village, the traditional female role description of good housekeeping is needed, with technological innovation having to serve it, not to dominate it. Male success in expanding – through reaching the outer limits of our bio- and sociosphere – has ultimately undermined the preeminence of this approach.

The above-described scene of conflict resolution in Cairo's streets illustrates the new approach that is needed. "Female" talking, understanding, empathizing, perspective-taking, and healing leads the effort, while a "male" potential for overpowering, coercion, force, violence, and aggression serves it (the quotation marks are meant to highlight that role descriptions, not male or female essences, are being referred to). "Male" strength and moderated counter-aggression restrain the fighters. "Female" awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric creates an atmosphere in which the fighters feel they are being taken seriously. To combine the "male" aspect of force with "female" empathy is the modern recipe of conflict resolution. The old "male" strategy of using destructive force is not appropriate in an interdependent modern global village, but the "male" ability to use restraining force continues to be an important tool.

Recently, psychologist and journalist Susan Pinker created an uproar with her book on the "the real gender gap"[77] – she was attacked for betraying the feminist struggle for equality. In her book, she points out that women – unlike men – at least on average, prefer people-oriented careers, or, more precisely, careers oriented towards living organism (and not things). Pinker's reflections could be taken to undermine the feminist struggle, however, only if success is framed within the paradigm of traditional male life designs. In contrast, if the feminist struggle is framed against the backdrop of the emerging global interdependence of contemporary geo-historical times, it is not.

If we take another look at the past ten millennia, we realize that, as soon as a community decided to use males for defense (a wise decision, since, due to gender differences with respect to procreation, males are more dispensable at a younger age if a group is to survive), male dominance was almost inevitable.[78] Since the security dilemma created continuous fear of surprise attacks, affected communities had no choice but to be continuously prepared for emergency. Yet, emergency trumps maintenance. Even our bodies follow this protocol. When we are in danger, adrenaline pours into the blood stream and pushes the maintenance tasks of the body into the background. The security

dilemma represented a similar push, a push to make males take the role of adrenalin and take precedence over women and their role as maintainers.

In this way, visibility became connected to the man guarding the frontiers separating inside from outside, just as clothes protect and hide the inside from outside viewers. There is an Egyptian saying, "The woman is the neck and the man the head; the woman turns the neck wherever she wants." In other words, Egyptian women feel that they create relevant content inside the home, which is presented to the outside by their men.

Carol Gilligan's work can be viewed through the same lens. She posited that there exists a female approach to moral decisions that has an orientation of care and responsibility, which appears to integrate rights and responsibilities "through an understanding of the psychological logic of relationships."[79]

However, as outlined above, with the disappearance of an outside sphere in an interdependent globalizing world with only one inside sphere being left, this "division of labor" loses its significance. Today's men and women are thus invited, by the change of overall geo-historical conditions, to define gender roles in novel and much more relational ways – men are invited to use more of the traditional "female" role characteristics and women to become more "visible."

One other reason for the invisibility of the "female" task of nurturing relationships is that "the forest grows silently, while the cutting of trees is loud" – meaning that the inherent quietness of nurturing added to the cultural trend of the past ten millennia of putting males to the task of cutting the trees. Martha Albertson Fineman, in her book *The Myth of Autonomy*, warns that the quietness of nurturing tasks should not mislead us to underestimate their significance. She shows how "families bear the burdens of dependency, while market institutions are free to operate as though the domestic tasks that reproduce the society were some other institution's responsibility."[80] Fineman concludes that by "invoking autonomy, we create and perpetuate cultural and political practices that stigmatize and punish those among us labeled dependent.[81] Linda Hartling identifies this practice as one of the root sources of destructive humiliation.[82]

It may be that the financial crisis of 2008, at least partly, is a casualty of the invisibility of this "female" task of housekeeping and its stigmatization as being "unimportant." Mark Gertler, one of America's top economists and close friend of U.S. Federal Reserve chairman Ben Bernanke, explained that he always believed that the state's regulatory policies are needed to provide the proper framework for the private market to work.[83] When asked, whether he ever wrote about this in his academic career, he had to admit that he had not. In other words, what we learn is that there is a tendency to expect "invisible" background housekeeping just to be there; yet, nobody talks about it. Indeed, the reemergence of Keynesianism, that is widely predicted to be the consequence of this financial crisis, may be conceptualized as a rehabilitation of "female" maintenance, in favor for "male" "innovative" credit default swaps and other fancy financial instruments. Again, to compare with the human body's regulatory systems, heart attack, and the collapse of the entire system is the result when too much adrenaline and testosterone pushes necessary maintenance into the background – incidentally, testosterone and trading are linked in interesting ways.[84]

What we need to remember, is that the traditional female task of nurturing and maintaining relationships always was primordial for the survival of communities, just as

it is for the body. Too much adrenaline leads to heart attacks, and too much of a warrior culture leads to the collapse of societies. Somalia is the best contemporary example.

Current research underlines the preeminence of relationships and the need to nurture and maintain them. New research uncovers the extent to which Homo sapiens is a social animal that thrives on connection and cooperation rather than isolation and confrontation; see, for example, "The Human Brain: Hardwired for Connections"[85] – even rats are capable of generalized reciprocity, not just direct reciprocity.[86] In "Why It Hurts to Be Left Out: The Neurocognitive Overlap Between Physical Pain and Social Pain" we read, "Social connection is a need as basic as air, water, or food and that like these more basic needs, the absence of social connections causes pain. Indeed, we propose that the pain of social separation or rejection may not be very different from some kinds of physical pain."[87]

Jean Baker Miller's relational-cultural theory has been mentioned earlier. It shows how relationships – specifically growth-fostering relationships – are a central human necessity. Having friends (rather than money) is also at the core of happiness. Positive psychology has been catapulted into the limelight only very recently. Nobel Laureate Daniel Kahneman, together with Martin Seligman, and Ed Diener, all spell out the components of happiness.[88] *Stumbling on Happiness*[89] is a telling prize-winning book title.

In other words, Pinker may do nothing but point at an important evolutionary female disposition that was malignly undermined during the past ten millennia, due to the adverse influence of the security dilemma, and that can – and has to be – rehabilitated today. And it is almost unimportant whether women have a neurological tendency towards nurturing relationships or not, this is the orientation that women and men have to learn in contemporary times in any case. More even, also global systemic change has to follow this template.

Riane Eisler has made an effort to find peaceful societies of more gender equity and less authoritarian hierarchy.[90] She presents prehistoric, historic, and anthropological data (for example, the BaMbuti and Tiruray) and trends in modern societies (for example, Scandinavian nations such as Sweden, Norway, and Finland). Eisler's data were underpinned on June 5, 2008, when 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," a system that focuses on reciprocity, reciprocity between people, and reciprocity with the Earth.[91]

Eisler's gender-holistic perspective confirms that, contrary to popular misconceptions, male dominance and male violence are not innate. Clearly, throughout history not all men have been violent. And today many men are consciously rejecting their stereotypical "masculine" roles – for example, those men who are redefining fathering in the more caring and nurturing way once stereotypically associated only with mothering. Likewise, women are not chained to their traditional role descriptions, nor to genetic or hormonal dispositions. They can become more visible and develop their potential for being leaders and innovators, more even, they are called upon to define leadership and innovation in new and more comprehensive ways.

Here we have another false dichotomy that needs to be overcome: it is not "male versus female," and it is not "genes and hormones versus culture." It is "genes and hormones forming dispositions that represent slow adaptations to the human

environment, adaptations that are written into human bodies (over many millennia), with culture representing somewhat speedier adaptations written into human minds (over fewer millennia and even over decades), both having to be acted upon, or against, in whatever ways the presently relevant conditions of the human environment require it." Hunter-gatherer genes, hormones and culture, for example, had many millennia to evolve (the first ninety percent of human history), with agriculture changing human culture in often malign ways throughout the past 10,000 years (the past ten percent of human history). The contemporary promise of a globally interdependent knowledge society calls for a turbo adaptation of human culture: Ten millennia of cultural scripts of malign rankings must be undone, and a new dignified world for all must be created.

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme offers a suitable template. It urges the strengthening of the "female" aspect in conflict resolution efforts. The list of potential female contributions is a long one:[92] using multitrack, "track II," and citizen-based diplomacy; installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collecting this information, and making it available to decision makers; using psychology on a macro level, taking identity as a bridge; keeping communication going between warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including people besides the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing "truth commissions"; allowing warring parties to feel the world community's care, respect, and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment; taking the adversaries' personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity; introducing sustainable long-term approaches on the social and ecological level; progressing from spending aid money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on.

According to the Culture of Peace Programme and conflict resolution experts around the world, these "female" efforts must be combined with a certain amount of "male" coercion to achieve peace. The term social control expresses the combination of both aspects. On the national level, police and prisons represent some of the coercive aspects (incidentally more effective if the average citizen does not carry weapons), while institutions like lawyers, courts, and rehabilitation programs have the potential to fulfill the role of social caring and healing. Such a culture of peace, merging formerly separate "male" and "female" role descriptions, contains cycles of humiliation among conflict parties without humiliating them.

In other words, the traditional role template for women, namely the maintenance of relations inside families and communities, deserves to be elevated to take the lead. This is precisely the paradigm that has to inform planetary unity, global cohesion, and the prevention of social and ecological degradation, all of which humankind is in urgent need of in current historical times. Traditional male role templates have to take second place; they have to serve the overall goal of cohesion and unity.

Desmond Morris, zoologist and ethologist, who became renowned for his book *The Naked Ape*[93] and was much attacked by feminists, argues in similar lines – explaining most eloquently in an interview in 2008[94] that he thinks that women (or, more precisely, the traditional female role template) ought to take over the maintenance of the world house, deciding when and where male talent in conquering new frontiers is useful and when not..

If we desire world peace, peace between people and with their natural habitat, we need to build global awareness and global institutions that are strong enough for the task of the social control exercised in the example of Cairo's streets. And this requires traditional female role descriptions of care and nurturing to take preeminence, served and underpinned, when and where needed, by the application of coercion that traditional male role templates have on offer. If the female genetic make-up had no leanings towards a nurturing approach, women would have to learn it, together with their male counterparts – women and men, together, need to create a global culture of firm social control, of tough love, of *satyāgraha*, Gandhi's term that is assembled from *agraha* (firmness/force) and *satya* (truth-love).

We Need to Use the Demise of the East and the West as a Chance

The demise of the Soviet Block is currently being followed by the demise of the Western paradigm of maximizing victory and profit: American military power has been undermined in Iraq, and its financial power is now being weakened in the 2008 financial melt-down. And in the face of global interdependence, also the four hundred years old order of national sovereignty is outdated.[95] Space opens for much needed new paradigms. This space has to be filled constructively. These are no times for Schadenfreude. These are no times for timidity.[96] These are times for big thinking.

The large-scale geo-historical lens used in this paper sheds light on this development. Hunter-gatherers prior to ten thousand years ago may have enjoyed untouched pristine pride. Yet, roughly ten thousand years ago, "the party was over." In the grip of the security dilemma, malign hierarchies evolved. The majority of people became underlings, tools in the hands of a few masters. They were taught shame and helplessness, by overt brute force or by covert manipulation. This was labeled *civilization*.[97]

If we use the language of dialectics, the "thesis" was pristine pride, the antithesis was the subjugation of pride into systems of ranked honor, and any attempt for a "synthesis" – resistance to oppression and the creation of a better world – typically stopped short. If revolutions succeeded, they toppled oppressive elites only to replace them. Today, true synthesis gains historically unprecedented space to be realized. The thesis is still pristine pride, now called equality in dignity. But attempts for a synthesis are no longer doomed to merely lead to just new rounds of submission/domination. That dynamic can now be seen for what it is, as illegitimate humiliation. Mandela-inspired constructive social change is the new synthesis (in my work I treat Mandela in the spirit of the Weberian ideal-type approach and focus on his paradigm-shifting strategies, which are not minimized by criticisms that people may direct at his movement or him as a person).

We can also use the concept of Unity in Diversity to illuminate humankind's predicament. Combining Unity and Diversity means achieving a new synthesis and avoiding two fallacies: first, it avoids conceptualizing diversity as unbridgeable division, and second, it avoids aspiring to unity by suppressing diversity and ending up in uniformity.

As already discussed earlier, the first fallacy describes how in-groups during much of the past 10,000 years of human history used to develop their identity, namely in opposition to out-groups, thus giving differences between groups the status of

unbridgeable divisions. During the past ten thousand years, unity meant agreeing that honor should be ranked within in-groups, and that there was division between in-groups and out-groups. There was no conflict within – unity was achieved through ruthless oppression and routine subjugation/humiliation of underlings. In short, in-group uniformity matched out-group division. Unfortunately, hyper-individualistic Western might-is-right culture only replicates this fallacy.

The second fallacy was committed in contexts that labeled themselves as *communist* and attempted to achieve equality through leveling all diversity and forcing their citizens into uniformity and sameness.

Today Unity means global unity that embeds local Diversity into a context of equal dignity for all. Again, there is no destructive conflict within, there is unity, but that unity is now achieved through dialogue rather than oppression, with the aim to celebrate complexity and diversity.

Unsurprisingly, in the process of transformation, the building of new scripts, is an unsteady undertaking, looking feeble in contrast to old and well-cemented cultural templates.

For example, when we look at France and their 1789 revolution, the old aristocracy lost their heads under the guillotine under the banner of Liberté, Égalité, et Fraternité, only to give rise to a new aristocracy soon after, in the person of emperor Napoleon and his entourage. France fell back into the first and second strategies for quite a while before emerging from it for a new attempt to master the new synthesis.

In America, the Declaration of Independence marks the same uprising, only that in the United States of America, aided by the success in having gained national independence from Britain, and the outcome of the Civil War, the idea of unfettered victory had sufficient time and support to be turned into a cultural script. And since victory is part and parcel of the traditional honor code, honor stayed strong in the United States, particularly in the south – *Southern honor*.[98] American history led to almost an idolization of the focus on the individual (ironically, enforced with collectivist fervor) and a propensity toward courageous action. American culture highlights the courageous individual as a marker of its pride in the historical liberation of their individuals from oppressive systems. Yet, since the script of unrestrained victory with its consequence to lead to division, is inappropriate today, and even potentially dangerous, this script needs to be de-constructed, taken apart, and elements of it put into a new script.

The 2008 presidential elections in the United States of America illustrated how American history led American culture into false dichotomies. "Socialism" was used as a swearword and abhorred in favor of "opportunity" by the Republican side. Socialism was equated with redistributing wealth by taking resources from those who have worked hard and giving them to those who do not deserve it.

As discussed in the section on the role of women and men, good housekeeping, with appropriate maintenance, is the precondition for any opportunity to arise. It makes no sense to pit "no state and no government" against "big state and massive government" – the damage from one extreme cannot be avoided by aiming at the other extreme. The state – like parents – must provide the foundation for opportunity to arise. Too heavy-handed and too empty-handed parenting – both are disabling. "Too much" can be as damaging as "too little." The solution is not zero percent, neither is it hundred percent. Such "either-or" thinking must be transcended. Instead, complex layers need to be

calibrated and interwoven. Good parenting is not about giving resources to those who do not deserve it; it is about creating opportunity and enabling everybody to use it. Subsidiarity is what is needed, not false dichotomies.

The way to go is a Mandela-like transition from the first to the second definition of Unity, a transition from a world of Uniformity and Division (a world of false dichotomies) to a world of Unity in Diversity (a world of complex layers). The new synthesis is embedding the social and ecological diversity of our world into the Unity of our vow to work for the common good of all humankind, for a decent world where everybody can live a dignified life and is equal in dignity. The contemporary Hobbesian might-is-right ranking that still defines the highest level of global institutions is potentially suicidal for humankind. Today, in an interdependent world, the common good is best served by all of humankind courageously engaging in building global systems that cannot be high-jacked for any particular self-interest, global systems that serve common interest.

David C. Yamada explains how dignity needs to become the definitorial frame[99] of a new dignitarian culture[100] in America, a culture that informs all walks of life, from social relationships to the way laws are conceived.[101]

Old scripts are not "right" just because they are old and strong, and new scripts are not "wrong" just because they are not yet fully born (and vice versa). By mutually supporting each other, we need to work on those new scripts together that will provide our children with a world worth living in. "In times of change, the learners inherit the world, while the learned find themselves beautifully equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists" (a saying attributed to Eric Hoffer).

Concluding Remarks

The problem of our time is that the emperor has no clothes, that we, humankind, are the emperor, and that almost nobody dared, until recently, to admit to our nakedness. It needed an economic meltdown to expose this nakedness in shocking ways. Former Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan said that he was "in a state of shocked disbelief" and had been wrong in thinking that relying on banks to use their self-interest would be enough to protect shareholders and their equity.[102] Still, many don't see the emperor's nakedness even now.

One problem is that beliefs have two functions, 1) understanding the world and reality testing, and 2) social and psychological functions of meeting the psychological and social needs to live with oneself and others.[103] When we want to understand "why people believe what they do, whether these beliefs are warranted by the available evidence, and whether they are correct,"[104] we need to differentiate these tasks, rather than fuse them. In other words, as long as everybody believed in the "truthiness"[105] of the leading economic paradigm of the past decades, few were ready to become outcasts by saying "wait a minute, what about the emperor's clothes!"

I personally suffer immensely in a world where the emperor has no clothes, where nobody seems to notice, and where saying this aloud alienates. As much as I regret the economic crisis, I am almost glad that it happened, because it helps show how the assumption that we can engage in maximization (for example, of profit) in a world that is

only sustainable if we respect and optimize homeostasis, "undresses" us all, not just the banks. I am also glad that a president was elected in the U.S., Barack Obama, who calls for change, because this opens space to utter this. And I am glad that people like Howard Richards or Joseph Baratta dare to think big, offering reflections on possible paths to solutions that lie beyond here-and-now bandages that merely would treat the symptoms without addressing the disease.

On the path to solutions it pays to be aware that concepts such as *peace, reconciliation, cohesion, harmony, stability,* or *security* are all filled with traps.[106] They are deeply affected by the shifts in ontological orientations and their practical applications that we, as humankind, experience at the current point in historical times.

As described above, traditionally, within in-groups, these concepts meant nothing but subservient acquiescence to domination/submission. Elites kept underlings in an iron grip and called it "peace" when nobody dared protest. In present North Korea, for example, a dictatorship ensures calm and quiet and labels this state of affairs "peace." Western ideologies of might-is-right have similar effects – they overlook inequality and suffering because they believe that the world is "just," and that "losers" have nobody else to blame but themselves.

In a globalizing world, interdependence opens space for new paradigms, for example, for the ideal of equal dignity for all, which is the core of the human-rights message (which, as outlined earlier, is not merely a Western idea). Human rights define peace, reconciliation, cohesion, or harmony, and all related concepts, in profoundly new ways. In a human-rights frame these concepts entail the responsibility to realize equality in rights and dignity in a Mandela-like fashion. "Peace" and "stability" are no longer only defined as success in holding down underlings – now this definition is rejected as illegitimate humiliation that warrants uprisings. In the new context, peace must be achieved by creating enabling conditions so that everybody can enjoy equality in dignity. Peace without equality in dignity is no longer peace.

Using terms such as peace, reconciliation, cohesion, harmony, stability, or security without qualification can create great conceptual confusion. The situation of China vis-à-vis Tibet, for example, suffers from this confusion – all speak of peace and harmony, but use contradictory and mutually exclusive definitions. The large-scale geo-historical lens introduced earlier is indispensable to achieve the necessary differentiation: Using the traditional normative order that characterized the past 10,000 years of human history, peace would be defined as quiet submission of Tibetans, while human rights define peace as dialogue between equals.

How can the ideal of equality in dignity be realized? I coined the word *egalization* to match the word *globalization* and differentiate it from words such as equality or equity.[107] The term egalization avoids claiming that everybody should become equal and that there should be no differences between people. Egality can coexist with a functional hierarchy that regards all participants as possessing equal dignity; egality can not coexist, though, with a hierarchy that defines some people as lesser beings and others as more valuable.

Globalization entails benign and malign aspects.[108] "Globalization critics" do not oppose all aspects of globalization. They do not oppose global civil society, for example, a benefit flowing from the coming-together of humankind. However, they are uneasy about the possibility for humiliation, or what I call the lack of egalization.

> If we imagine the world as a container with a height and a width, *globalization* addresses the horizontal dimension, the shrinking width. *Egalization* concerns the vertical dimension.... Egalization is a process away from a very high container of masters at the top and underlings at the bottom, towards a flat container with everybody enjoying equal dignity.
>
> Egalization is a process that elicits hot feelings of humiliation when it is promised but fails. The lack of egalization is thus the element that is heating up feelings among so-called "globalization-critics." Their disquiet stems from lack of egalization and not from an overdose of globalization. What they call for is that *globalization* ought to marry *egalization*.[109]

The horizontal line in Figure 1 represents the line of equal dignity and humility. This line does not signify that all human beings are equal, or should be equal, or ever were or will be equal, or identical, or all the same. The horizontal line illustrates a worldview that does not permit the hierarchical ranking of existing differences of human worth and value. Masters are invited to step down from arrogating more worthiness, and underlings are encouraged to rise up from humiliation, up from being humiliated down to lower value. Masters are humbled and underlings empowered.

Figure 1: The Historic Transition to Egalization
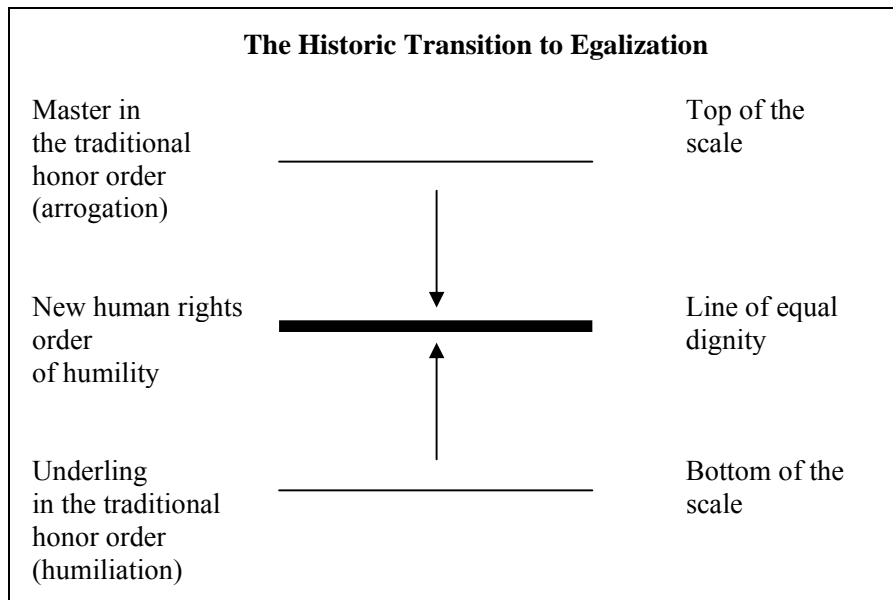
Figure 1: The historic transition to egalization

Unity in Diversity is a principle that operationalizes egalization. One way to create more Unity in more Diversity in this world is by inspecting all human cultures, and by "harvesting" those cultural world views, practices, and social-psychological skills that have unifying and egalizing effects.[110] Rich harvest can be found everywhere: the

traditional African philosophy *ubuntu*, for example, is a philosophy the for living together and solving conflict in an atmosphere of shared humility;[111] it dovetails with Martin Buber's I-Thou approach, and is in harmony with the idea of equal dignity enshrined in many religions around the world, and in human rights. The yield of this harvest can be used to inform the more inclusive grasp on the human condition that is so urgently needed at the current juncture in time.

Traditional cultures of collectivist ranked honor, as well as contemporary cultures of individualistic might-is-right, do not serve humankind's sustainable well-being. In an interdependent world, strategies that are devised in the spirit of honorable duels risk destroying the world as devastatingly as approaches that rely on unrestrained might-is-right competition. Cooperation outperforms competition – eminent social psychologist Morton Deutsch dedicated his life work to show this point.[112] Not only does cooperation outperform competition, today's interdependence also represents the ultimate deterrent for traditional power-over strategies – be it power over others or nature. This is a historically unprecedented situation that humankind is unprepared for, and many have not yet grasped this novelty. No history lesson can help. For the first time in human history, self-interest converges with global common interest – nobody can survive alone on the globe, let alone in opposition against others. It becomes in the interest of everybody to join hands in cooperation among equals to solve our global social and ecological crises.

The creativity that can flow from the diversity of human cultures and human talent can therefore serve humankind in constructive ways only when it is embedded into respect for equal dignity for all. And creativity is sorely needed if humankind is to address its global challenges intelligently. Human rights thus represent a normative framework that is optimal for an emerging globally interdependent knowledge society – the human rights ideal of equal dignity for all entails a promise that is higher than the promise of the traditional honor order, both for society and for the individual.

We as humans must develop a new consciousness in our psyches, which, in turn, can drive systemic change out in the world, which, in a self-reinforcing process, can again help enhance new consciousness – we must take care to make change in our psyches and change out in the world support each other in benign ways. We need to foster a post-individual consciousness,[113] a unity consciousness[114] or global consciousness in our psyches, and with this consciousness we have to drive systemic change out in the world.

Soft power, is what interdependence requires humankind to learn. Joseph Nye explains that hard power is that which "can be used to get others to change their position," such as "(p)olice power, financial power, and the ability to hire and fire."[115] Soft power involves getting "the outcomes one wants by setting the agenda and attracting others without threat or payment," resting "on the ability to shape the preferences of others to want what you want."[116]

I am writing these sentences in Switzerland, near Geneva, more precisely, in Prangins, which has a castle that comprises the national museum for the western part of Switzerland. Switzerland is a special place, as attested by this museum.[117] Switzerland was home for various philosophical, artistic and humanitarian movements, and became the scene for many congresses and the seat of international organizations; in 1864 of the Red Cross was founded in Geneva, and the League of Nations formed in 1919, chose Geneva as its domicile.

Earlier I recommended European subsidiarity as a template for the creation of a more united world society. Also the coming-into-being of Switzerland can help. We read about Swiss history:

> When the revolutionary movements achieved their victories in North America (1776) and France (1789), the Swiss Confederation was a unique association of 13 independent Cantons and their allies. The loose ties between them guaranteed the maintenance of order and peace inside the borders. In each Canton the path to power was open only to a minority of men – either in practice or by law. The principle of liberty and equality proclaimed by the revolutionaries jeopardised this aristocratic power structure. The rulers, incapable of reform, were threatened from two sides at once: there were revolutionaries in the subject territories, but also within the privileged class itself.[118]

This paragraph could be translated into present times as follows:

> When multiple crises hit the world in the beginning of the 21st century, the world was made of independent nation states. They maintained loose ties between them by way of membership in the United Nations. In most nations, the path to power was open mainly to privileged elites. The principle of liberty and equality proclaimed by human rights jeopardised this power structure. Many elites, hesitant of reform, were threatened from two sides at once: there were protest movements from below, but also within the privileged segment itself.

Swiss history proceeded as follows:

> The liberal revolution in France in 1830 found an echo all over Europe. In half the Cantons of Switzerland strong mass movements forced the adoption of new constitutions. In these Cantons, which were called "regenerated", the rights of the people were enlarged, freedom of the press and freedom of association were introduced. Bloody conflict led to the separation of Basel Stadt and Basel Land (city and surrounding countryside) in 1833. The revision of the Federal contract became increasingly urgent. The liberal, "regenerated" Cantons called for a stronger centre; in the conservative Cantons, however, people feared that a central government with increased powers would endanger their constitutional independence and reduce their influence in the Confederation. Two blocs developed, whose frontiers corresponded closely to those of religious adherence. The points of view of the two sides were irreconcilable.[119]

Today, this paragraph could read:

> In 2008, those with an all-encompassing global vision for humanity called for a stronger centre; in the conservative segments of world society, however, people feared that a central world government with increased powers would endanger their constitutional independence and reduce their influence in the world.

Switzerland is a united country today, with a federal structure that safeguards both Unity and Diversity. The conservative states have understood that creating and joining a new superordinate level of unifying institutions – if done in the spirit of subsidiarity – enhances their influence instead of curtailing it, even if they have to relinquish some sovereignty. They have understood that it is a false dichotomy to equate isolated sovereignty with power and being part of complex layers as powerlessness.

Likewise, global society can and must proceed to building and joining a new level of unity, both with respect to new institutions out in the world and new consciousness in our hearts and minds. Let me repeat the list of names that Howard Richards gave to the global consciousness and culture of solidarity that is needed today to create global institutions of solidarity: love ethic, servant leadership, production for use, or de-alienation, mobilizing resources to meet needs, a higher form of pragmatism, or economic democracy.

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[1] This address is available at www.un.org/ga/63/generaldebate/sg.shtml, 2008.

[2] Lynda Gratton & Tamara J. Erickson (2007), p. 108.

[3] Avishai Margalit (1996).

[4] Similar to the *Moratorium On Trade In Small Arms*, or the *Moratorium On Commercial Whaling*. Read, for example, Chris Patten & Anna Lindh (2001).

[5] Alex Steffen (2008).

[6] Michio Kaku (2005), p. 361.

[7] The National Intelligence Council (2008).

[8] Please read about ideal types in Coser, "Weber's three kinds of *ideal types* are distinguished by their levels of abstraction. First are the *ideal types* rooted in historical particularities, such as the 'western city,' 'the Protestant Ethic,' or 'modern capitalism,' which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract elements of social reality – such concepts as 'bureaucracy' or 'feudalism' – that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, there is a third kind of *ideal type*, which Raymond Aron calls 'rationalizing reconstructions of a particular kind of behavior.' According to Weber, all propositions in economic theory,

for example, fall into this category. They all refer to the ways in which men would behave were they actuated by purely economic motives, were they purely economic men" - Lewis A. Coser (1977), p. 224.

[9] Evelin Gerda Lindner (2000).

[10] See www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin02.php.

[11] This section is adapted from Evelin Gerda Lindner (2009).

[12] See, for example, "Unity in Diversity" by Michael Harris Bond (1998), and "Diversity within Unity" by James A. Banks et al. (2001).

[13] *Harmony* is a term writ large in Asia. China currently plans to develop a "Harmonious Society Measurement Standard," see, for example, www.chinacsr.com/2007/10/11/1744-china-plans-harmonious-society-measurement-standard/.

[14] See Muneo Jay Yoshikawa (1980), Muneo Jay Yoshikawa (1987).

[15] Martin Buber (1944).

[16] See, for example, Michael J. Loux (2006).

[17] Lawrence LeShan (1992).

[18] The term "security dilemma" was coined by John H. Herz (1950) to explain why states that have no intention to harm one another may still end up in competition and war. Its very essence is tragic. The security dilemma has been expanded upon by many authors – for example, by Robert Jervis, Richard Ned Lebow, & Janice Gross Stein (1985).

[19] William Ury (1999), p. 108.

[20] A lively discussion surrounds the transition from hunting-gathering to agriculture and why and how it occurred. See, among others Peter J. Richerson, Robert Boyd, & Robert L. Bettinger (1999), or, for more "daring" approaches, for example, Spivey 2005.

[21] Riane Eisler (1987).

[22] Barney G. Glaser & Anselm L. Strauss (1967).

[23] The idea of the *hermeneutic circle* was introduced by Wilhem Dilthey (1833-1911), a philosopher and literary historian who is generally recognised as the 'father' of the modern hermeneutic enterprise in the social and human sciences. "Dilthey argued that the human world was sufficiently different from the natural world that special methods were required for its study. Hermeneutics, the deliberate and systematic methodology of interpretation, was the approach Dilthey proposed for studying and understanding the human world" (Mark B. Tappan (2000), Abstract). Dilthey's intellectual biographer H. P. Rickman explains, "We cannot pinpoint the precise meaning of a word unless we read it in its context, i.e. the sentence or paragraph in which it occurs. But how can we know what the sentence means unless we have first understood the individual words? Logically there is no escape from this absence of priority; in practice we solve the problem by a kind of mental shuttlecock movement" (H. P. Rickman (1979), 130).

[24] John Rawls (1971).

[25] Dagfinn Føllesdal (1996).

[26] Otto Neurath (1959), p. 201. German original: „Wie Schiffer sind wir, die ihr Schiff auf offener See umbauen müssen, ohne es jemals in einem Dock zerlegen und aus besten Bestandteilen neu errichten zu können" – Otto Neurath (1932), p. 206. For me, this metaphor is very real, I use it in my biography, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin.php#globalcitizenship.

[27] This section was adapted from Evelin Gerda Lindner (2008a).

[28] Amber Meikle & Vanessa Rubin (2008).

[29] Mary B. Anderson (1999).

[30] Pavan Sukhdev (2008). See also Nicholas Stern (2006).

[31] See, for example, Roger Fisher, William Ury, & Bruce Patton (1991).

[32] Arne Naess (1978), p. 143. Warwick Fox (1992), in his paper "Intellectual Origins of the "Depth" Theme in the Philosophy of Arne Næss," explains: "The extent to which a person discriminates along a chain of precizations (and, therefore, in a particular direction of interpretation) is a measure of their depth of intention, that is, the depth to which that person can claim to have understood the intended meaning of the expression" (p. 5).

[33] Warwick Fox (1990), chapters 4 and 5.

[34] See Melvin J. Lerner (1980), and for his later work Melvin J. Lerner (2003).

[35] Adenrele Awotona (Ed.) (2008).

[36] See Evelin Gerda Lindner (2008c), Arie Nadler (2002), and see also Sidney Rosen (1983). Kenneth Gergen and Mary Gergen write about the humiliating aspect of help-receiving in the mid-1970's, see their

current work at www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/kgergen1/text7.html. I owe this reference to Michael Harris Bond.

[37] These terms have been coined by Johan Galtung (1969).

[38] Evelin Gerda Lindner (2008a).

[39] Martti Ahtisaary, recipient of the 2008 Nobel Peace Price, used to ask opponents: "Do you want victory or do you want peace?" This is related to his audiences in the interviews he gave on the day he received the Nobel Peace Price.

[40] See also Evelin Gerda Lindner (2008b).

[41] Alan Page Fiske (1991). A useful introduction to the theory, overview of research, and a bibliography is found on www.rtm.ucla.edu.

[42] I thank esteemed Finn Tschudi and follow his formulation of the RTM model, please see also Finn Tschudi & Evelin Gerda Lindner (2008).

[43] Finn Tschudi & Evelin Gerda Lindner (2008), p. 2.

[44] While both Lindner and Fiske emphasise a core of communality, Lindner is more explicit in also emphasizing diversity which is compatible with communality. This may point to extension of RTM.

[45] Alan Page Fiske (1991), p. 693.

[46] During the Sommerakademie Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, 11th - 16th July 1999, in Clemenswerth, Germany.

[47] Garrett Hardin (1968).

[48] See, for example, Judith V. Jordan & Linda M. Hartling (2002); Judith V. Jordan, Maureen Walker, & Linda M. Hartling (2004), Jean Baker Miller & Irene P. Stiver (1997), and Maureen Walker & Wendy Rosen (2004).

[49] See also Gordon Wheeler (2000).

[50] Amitai Etzioni (1993), 4.

[51] James J. Gibson (1977).

[52] Donald A. Norman (1988).

[53] Paul Ralph Ehrlich & Anne Howland Ehrlich (2008).

[54] In his documentary *Let's Make Money*, Erwin Wagenhofer provides an impressive demonstration of how the poorest are made poorer so that the wealthy can "make" money. He shows how everybody is complicit, unwittingly, who has an account in a bank. Money deposited in a bank for safe-keeping does not stay in the bank, but is circulated in the global money market, where enormous amounts of money collect at certain "hot spots" each day. See Erwin Wagenhofer (2008).

[55] See Evelin Gerda Lindner (2006b).

[56] Robert W. Fuller (2003).

[57] See the discussion at organizations as, for example, the World Bank, where *good governance* has become buzzwords after the failure of "helping" developing countries with financial and/or technical assistance. See, for example, Joseph E. Stiglitz (1998), and Joseph E. Stiglitz (2003).

[58] Joseph Preston Baratta (2004).

[59] To name a small selection of publications, please see Ha-Joon Chang (2007), Riane Eisler (2007), Amitai Etzioni (2004), Lorna Gold (2004), John Gray (2002), Hazel Henderson & Simran Sethi (2008), Will Hutton (2008), Charles Karelis (2007), Naomi Klein (2007), Robert Lane (2001), Philippe Legrain (2002), Erik S. Reinert (2007), Amartya Sen (2006), Hilary Silver & Seymour M. Miller (2006), Joseph E. Stiglitz, Aaron S. Edlin, & J. Bradford DeLong (Eds.) (2008), Genevieve Vaughan (Ed.) (2007), Richard G. Wilkinson (2005). See also the new *Living Well* motto mentioned earlier.

[60] Howard Richards (2007), p. 22. See also Howard Richards & Joanna Swanger (2006).

[61] John Bunzl (2008), see also http://www.simpol.org/en/main/Concept_FS.htm.

[62] www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/evelin.php.

[63] See, for example, europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm.

[64] Jean Baker Miller (2006).

[65] Evelin Gerda Lindner (2006b), p. 95-96.

[66] John Braithwaite (2002).

[67] Stanley Milgram (1974), and Philip G. Zimbardo (1971). See also *The Lucifer Effect* by Philip G. Zimbardo (2007).

[68] In BBC World *HARDtalk* with Stephen Sackur.

[69] Jack Goldstone & Jay Ulfelder (2005), 9.

[70] Jack Goldstone & Jay Ulfelder (2005).

[71] Ibid., 19-20.

[72] Ibid., 20.

[73] Peter T. Coleman et al. (2007).

[74] This section is adapted from Evelin Gerda Lindner (1999), and Evelin Gerda Lindner (2006a), and Evelin Gerda Lindner (2006b), Chapter 8 "The Humiliation Antidote."

[75] Read on gender and space, for example, Doreen Massey (1994), Gillian Rose (1993), Daphne Spain (1992). I thank Nick Prior for making me aware of this literature.

[76] Joseph Campbell (1949).

[77] Susan Pinker (2008).

[78] See, for example, Joshua S. Goldstein (2001), and how he links war and gender division.

[79] Carol Gilligan (1982), 100.

[80] Martha Albertson Fineman (2004), 203.

[81] Ibid., 31.

[82] Personal communication, September, 9, 2005.

[83] In BBC World's *HARDtalk* with Stephen Sackur on October 23, 2008.

[84] A Cambridge University study has found a direct link between the amount of money traders make and testosterone levels - John M. Coates & Joe Herbert (2008).

[85] Amy Banks & Judith V. Jordan (2007). See also Robin I. M. Dunbar (1998).

[86] See Thomas Pfeiffer et al. (2005).

[87] Naomi I. Eisenberger & Matthew D. Lieberman (2005), 110.

[88] See, for example, Daniel Kahneman (2002), Martin E. P. Seligman (2002), or Norbert Schwarz, Daniel Kahneman, & Ed Diener (Eds.) (1999).

[89] Daniel T. Gilbert (2006).

[90] Riane Eisler (1989), p. 33. See also Riane Eisler (2000).

[91] See, for example, www.latinamericapress.org/article.asp?IssCode=&lanCode=1&artCode=5630. See for publications in feminist political economy and economics, for example, Maria Mies (2006), Maria Mies & Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen (1999), Genevieve Vaughan (Ed.) (2007), Claudia von Werlhof, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, & Nicholas Faraclas (Eds.) (2001).

[92] Adapted from Evelin Gerda Lindner (1999).

[93] Desmond Morris (1967)..

[94] BBC World *HARD*talk with Stephen Sackur on February 13, 2008.

[95] See, for example, Trudy Jacobsen, Charles Sampford, & Ramesh Thakur (Eds.) (2008).

[96] Jonathan Tasini (2008).

[97] "Because of the pervasiveness of inequality, no one who lived in the early civilizations questioned the normalcy of this condition. If egalitarianism was known, it was as a feature of some of the despised, barbarian societies that existed beyond the borders of the 'civilized' world" – Bruce G. Trigger (1993), p. 52.

[98] Bertram Wyatt-Brown (1982).

[99] George Lakoff (2006).

[100] Robert W. Fuller (2003).

[101] David C. Yamada (2008).

[102] BBC NEWS, October 10, 2008, news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/business/7687101.stm.

[103] Jervis suggests going back fifty years, revisiting the typology introduced by M. Brewster Smith, Jerome S. Bruner, & Robert W. White (1956).

[104] Robert Jervis (2006), 643.

[105] Stephen T. Colbert (2005).

[106] See, for example, the work by influential social activist and educator Birgit Brock-Utne, who scrutinizes calls for "education for all" – Birgit Brock-Utne (2000).

[107] Even though there is a connection between equality and equal dignity – the connection being "hidden" in the Human Rights stipulation that equal chances and enabling environments for all are necessary to protect human dignity.

[108] There is a vast amount literature on globalization to draw upon. See, for example, Zygmunt Bauman (1998), who wrote *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. See for classic analyses in *urban sociology*

Georg Simmel and his views on metropolitan life and its effects on the psyche. See, furthermore, Marshall R. Singer (1987), and the work on *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. The Power of Identity. (Vol. 2)* by Manuel Castells (1997).

[109] Evelin Gerda Lindner (2003).

[110] See also Evelin Gerda Lindner (2007).

[111] Michael Jesse Battle (1997).

[112] See, among others, Morton Deutsch, Peter T. Coleman, & Eric C. Marcus (Eds.) (2006), Morton Deutsch (2000), Morton Deutsch (1999)..

[113] Gerald Heard (1963).

[114] Malcolm Hollick (2006).

[115] Joseph S. Nye (2008). I thank David C. Yamada for this quote.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Swiss Federal Office of Culture (1998), 137.

[118] Ibid., 87.

[119] Ibid., 101.