

On Globalisation and Quality of Life

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Introduction

The three texts that are included in the following collection touch upon the overarching interest of the present author, namely the implications of globalisation on humankind, and the search for cultural commonalities that may provide a common ground for cooperation between different cultural spheres.

The first paper, “Globalisation and Humiliation: Towards a New Paradigm,” is a manuscript that is in progress since January 2000.

The second text is a chapter that was published in 1999 by UNESCO:

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (1999). Women in the global village: increasing demand for traditional communication patterns. In Breines, Ingeborg, Gierycz, Dorota, & Reardon, Betty (Ed.), *Towards a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace*. Paris: UNESCO (89-98).

The third manuscript is an English summary of the doctoral dissertation that the present author presented to the University in Hamburg in 1993 for her medical doctorate:

Lindner, E. G. (1993). *Lebensqualität im ägyptisch-deutschen Vergleich. Eine interkulturelle Untersuchung an drei Berufsgruppen (Ärzte, Journalisten, Künstler)*. Hamburg: Department of Psychological Medicine, University of Hamburg, doctoral dissertation.

Globalisation and Humiliation: Towards a New Paradigm

Evelin Gerda Lindner, January 2000, manuscript in progress

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Abstract

This paper argues that an effective strategy for promoting peace in conditions of globalisation depends upon making an accurate assessment of *benign* (peace-promoting) and *malign* (peace-obstructing) tendencies at work in two areas: firstly, the sphere of science and technology; and, secondly, the development of relations between human groups. It is argued that the benign consequences of science and technology may be inhibited and undermined by certain malign tendencies in human relations. In this latter respect, particular emphasis is placed upon the destructive tendencies associated with humiliation. It is further argued that the more widespread the influence of the orientation towards knowledge described here as ‘the epistemological revolution,’ the greater the chances for the development of a situation in which *benign* tendencies in human relations coincide with and reinforce *benign* tendencies in science and technology. The argument of the paper is compared with the contrasting position to be found in the works of major exponents of critical theory such as Adorno and Habermas.

Introduction

Swami Agnivesh is a highly influential Indian holy man.¹ He abhors the destructive conflict running through his country’s politics and urges the Indian ‘government and all political parties, scientists, labour and socio-religious organisations to wage a united battle against starvation, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, bonded labour and other social evils.’²

However, in 1998 this man, apparently so dedicated to peace, congratulated Prime Minister

¹ Swami Agnivesh is the president of the Bonded Labour Liberation Front and a prominent Arya Samaj leader in India.

² See The Indian Express 1998.

Atal Behari Vajpayee for conducting a series of nuclear tests. He approved of the tests because, in his view, they showed that India would not bow down before the 'nuclear blackmail' of foreign countries like America.

These two stances, apparently so contradictory, crystallise two tendencies at work in the global arena. On the one hand, a dedication to peaceful co-operation for the good of all humankind; on the other hand, an aggressive posture directed against the West and backed up with the threat of violence.

This paper presents an assessment of some powerful currents within the tide of globalisation in terms of whether they drive towards peace or war. The future of global society will be decided, in part at least, by which way people like Swami Agnivesh turn. An opinion leader like him could become a force for either peace or war. A great deal depends upon how the processes of globalisation affect the character of human relationships at every level from the local communities to international relations.

The paper is a contribution towards a rigorous interdisciplinary framework of analysis that I am developing (Lindner 1999; Lindner 2000a forthcoming; Lindner 2000b forthcoming; Lindner 2000c forthcoming) in association with Dennis Smith.³ The object is to understand the nature of humiliation as a macro-social process, an interpersonal mechanism and an emotion experienced by individuals and groups. Humiliation theory is concerned with:

- i) the ways that humiliation influences motivation and identity;
- ii) the ways that humiliation operates as a set of mechanisms within human relationships;
- iii) the ways that humiliation contributes to the formation, reproduction and undermining of coercive social and political hierarchies;
- iv) and the ways in which the psychological and social harm caused by humiliation may be alleviated.

The concerns of humiliation theory overlap, on the one hand, with the school of critical theory inaugurated by Adorno and Horkheimer and, on the other hand, with the theory of the civilizing process inaugurated by Norbert Elias. In a recent paper Dennis Smith⁴ has contrasted humiliation theory with Elias's theory of the civilizing process. In this complementary paper, I distinguish our position from a central tendency in the tradition represented by critical theory.

³ Dennis Smith is Professor of Sociology at Loughborough University (UK). I am grateful to him for suggestions relating to this paragraph. The ideas presented in this paper, and many other arguments, will be developed further in a book I am currently writing in collaboration with Dennis Smith; see his publications: Smith 2000a; Smith 2000b; Smith 2000c; Smith 1999; Smith 1997a; Smith 1997b; Smith 1991; Smith 1984a; Smith 1984b; Smith 1983; Smith 1981.

⁴ Smith 2000b forthcoming.

This tendency can be stated by briefly summarising some key points in the sequence of thought represented by Adorno and his one-time pupil, Jürgen Habermas. Both men were concerned about the potential for alienation and dehumanisation that lay in modern capitalism. To oversimplify, Adorno was a pessimist and saw science and technology as a malign force. In his view, the Enlightenment had taken positivism too far and turned it into a way of controlling human beings from above in a very rigid way.⁵

Habermas has been more optimistic. He has investigated the idea that human beings have an emancipatory interest in reaching a consensus based upon a shared perception of ‘truth’ and a shared notion of how society should be organised. The tone of Habermas’s writings, especially his early work, suggests that there is a logic ‘pushing’ human beings towards consensus and emancipation. There is, he suggests, a strong tendency in human relations working in this direction.⁶ Habermas has identified a potential direction in which human relations might be encouraged to develop, but, as will be seen shortly, I wish to emphasise an alternative possibility that represents a profound danger for the outcome he favours.

The positions of Adorno and Habermas are well known. All I wish to do in this paper is assert that they may be taken to represent, retrospectively, an emphasis upon *malign* tendencies (especially alienation and dehumanisation) as far as science and technology are concerned (Adorno) and *benign* tendencies (favouring dialogue, consensus and the pursuit of ‘truth’) within human relationships (Habermas). The two writers, taken together, express a sequence of thoughts that may be stated in a radically simplified form as follows: the malign consequences of science and technology may be moderated and overcome by certain benign tendencies in human relations.

Once this has been stated, it is possible to identify my own, contrasting position. It has two elements (see table one). The first point is that certain *benign* consequences of science and technology may be inhibited and undermined by *malign* tendencies in human relations. In this respect I want to emphasise the destructive tendencies associated with humiliation. The second point is that as what I call the ‘epistemological revolution’ gains ground and extends to all aspects of the relationships human beings have with each other and with nature, *benign* tendencies open up. This is a situation in which *benign* tendencies in human relations coincide with and reinforce *benign* tendencies in science and technology.

⁵ See, for example, Adorno and Horkheimer 1979.

⁶ For commentaries on Habermas, see Outhwaite 1994; White 1995.

TABLE ONE
MALIGN AND BENIGN HUMAN RELATIONS AND SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY

	Malign human relations	Benign human relations
Malign science and technology	<p style="text-align: center;">Basic assumptions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is in the nature of human beings to fight and kill AND • Science and technology is inherently destructive. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Basic assumptions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technology is inherently destructive BUT • Human beings have a capacity for creative and peaceful dialogue.
Benign science and technology	<p style="text-align: center;">Basic assumptions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technology, though partly destructive has a benign potential through its unintended effects BUT • Processes of humiliation have a malign effect. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Basic assumptions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The epistemological revolution produces benign relations between humankind and nature AND • Benign relations between human beings.

The rest of this paper is organised in the following way. In the next part of the paper I discuss the benign consequences of science and technology, especially what I call ‘the epistemological revolution,’ a term to be explained shortly. In the following part of the paper I analyse malign tendencies in human relations with particular reference to humiliation. In the final part of the paper I consider a possible healing strategy for alleviating the worst effects of malign tendencies in human relations by exploiting the benign potential of the epistemological revolution.

This paper is part of a series of papers about humiliation.⁷ It has its place within a larger research project that looks at humiliation and its connection to war and violent conflict.⁸ The

⁷ See Lindner 2000a, forthcoming; Lindner 2000b, forthcoming; Lindner 2000c, forthcoming; Lindner 1999. See also Smith 2000b forthcoming.

⁸ The project is entitled: *The Feeling of Being Humiliated: A Central Theme in Armed Conflicts. A Study of the Role of Humiliation in Somalia, and Rwanda/Burundi, Between the Warring Parties, and in Relation to Third Intervening Parties*. See www.uio.no/~evelinl. The project is supported by the

project's objective is to examine how relevant humiliation is in hampering peace. The cases studied include recent instances of genocide in Africa (Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi), with Germany's history of war and Holocaust providing the European angle. About 200 interviews have been carried out in Africa (Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Egypt) and Europe (England, Norway, Germany, Switzerland) from 1997-1999. The results of this study will be mentioned in this text only as far as they shed light on the argument presented.

The 'epistemological revolution' and the benign consequences of science and technology

This paper makes the suggestion that an 'epistemological revolution' is currently unfolding, increasingly forming the basis of science, technology, and even human relations, and that this revolution is essentially beneficial to the peaceful and sustainable survival of humankind.

When the Christian church allowed what we today would call 'scientific knowledge' into its

Norwegian Research Council and the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I am grateful for their support, and would also like to thank the Institute of Psychology at the University of Oslo for hosting the project. I extend my warmest thanks to all my informants in and from Africa, many of whom survive under the most difficult life circumstances. I hope that at some point in the future I will be able to give back at least a fraction of all the support I received from them! I thank Reidar Ommundsen at the Institute of Psychology at the University of Oslo for his continuous support, together with Jan Smedslund, Hilde Nafstad, Malvern Lumsden (Lumsden 1997), Carl-Erik Grenness, Jon Martin Sundet, Finn Tschudi, Kjell Flekkøy, and Astrid Bastiansen. Michael Harris Bond, Chinese University of Hong Kong, helped with constant feedback and support (see Bond 2000; Smith and Bond 1999; Bond 1998; Bond 1996; Bond and Venus 1991; Bond, Chiu, and Wan 1984). Without Lee D. Ross's encouragement my research would not have been possible; Lee Ross is a principal investigator and co-founder of the Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation (SCCN). I also thank Pierre Dasen, Professeur en approches interculturelles de l'éducation, Université en Genève, Département de Psychologie, for his most valuable support. The project is interdisciplinary and has benefited from the help of many colleagues at the University of Oslo and elsewhere. The project would not have been possible without the help of Dennis Smith, professor of sociology at Loughborough University (UK). I would especially like to thank Johan Galtung (Galtung 1996; Galtung and Tschudi 1999), Jan Øberg, William Ury, Director, Project on Preventing War, Harvard University (Ury 1999; Fisher, Ury, and Patton 1991), Heidi von Weltzien Hoivik and Andreas Føllesdal (Weltzien Hoivik and Føllesdal 1995), Dagfinn Føllesdal (Føllesdal Robert Sokolowski 1988), Thomas Pogge, Helge Høybråten, Thorleif Lund, Thomas Hylland Eriksen (Eriksen 1993a), Unni Wikan (Wikan 1984), Asbjørn Eide and Bernt Hagtvat (Eide and Hagtvat 1996), Leif Ahnstrøm, and Jan Brøgger (Brøgger 1986).

monasteries, it ultimately undermined, without meaning to, its own power position. Basing knowledge on scientific testing of worldviews against ‘reality’ is bound to profoundly alter the status of religious beliefs, since those beliefs cannot be tested in this way. By the time of the Renaissance, what Bill Ury has called a ‘knowledge revolution’ (Ury 1999) was under way.

Scientific reality-testing did not just start off a ‘knowledge revolution.’ More importantly, I suggest, it began an ‘epistemological revolution’⁹ that is gaining ground in our own era of global interdependence. Kuhn opened our eyes to the process of paradigm *shift* (Kuhn 1962). Today, a new meta-paradigm is coming into being, namely continuous *shifting*, as opposed to staying *fixed* most of the time. Refining and revising theory, moving ‘down’ to empirical data then back ‘up’ to theory in a continuously turning circle, maintaining a never-ending ‘reflective equilibrium’ (Rawls 1971): this is the approach to knowledge in the global era. The ultimate revolution within the knowledge revolution is this ‘epistemological revolution,’ or the widespread acceptance of the new ‘*meta-paradigm of continuous shifting*,’ the continuous testing of worldviews in relation to reality. Clinging to rigid worldviews at all cost is ‘out.’ The old era was marked by emphasis on the particular contents of a theory or worldview, contents which occasional were overthrown. The new meta-paradigm of the epistemological revolution has method as its contents, the method of how to manage theories and worldview, namely through ‘openness to continuous revision.’¹⁰

Before this era it was the rule to find a worldview, theory or ideology and then stick to it, almost at any cost. Copernicus and Galileo were not welcome; the church did not want to let new worldviews gain ground. Today this approach would be unthinkable. Natural science has taught humankind how fragile and changeable knowledge is. It just takes a better microscope technology to open up a whole new micro-cosmos; a bigger Cern,¹¹ means that new particles are detected; the Hubble space telescope¹² is launched and, as a result, a new universe uncovers itself. Cholesterol was once seen as entirely ‘bad,’ but shortly afterwards the experts discovered that the situation is more complicated than that. Nuclear power was one of the most powerful eye openers, Chernobyl a brutal lesson teaching humankind to be more careful, more humble, less arrogantly sure.

Natural science teaches us to ask ‘Is there reliable knowledge?’ An extensive epistemological

⁹ See also Lindner 1993.

¹⁰ Feyerabend discusses in *Against Method* that reality-testing should critically include its own methods and not stick to rigid views of what is right or wrong methodology. Even the methods of reality-testing should be reality-tested! (Feyerabend 1988).

¹¹ European Laboratory for Particle Physics in Geneva, <http://www.cern.ch/>.

¹² Hubble Space Telescope, <http://oposite.stsci.edu/pubinfo/latest.html>.

debate pivots around this and related questions.¹³ This debate affects the human psyche, it creates fear, the basic state of the ‘risk society’ (Beck 1992; Beck 2000). Post-modernism even incorporates this fear within its interpretations by concluding that grand narratives have lost all validity.¹⁴

Therefore, at first glance, the transition from fixed worldviews to the continuous revision of theories and ideologies does not seem favourable to sustainability and peace. Instead, it might be thought, it tends to breed insecurity and fear. However, at a second glance, - and this is the point this paper wants to make, - a *stable and mature* attitude of uncertainty and doubt is a disposition that is highly conducive to environmental sustainability and social peace. Knowing that nothing is sure makes people anxious but it also stops them being arrogant. The awareness that one’s judgements have to be continuously tested against reality prepares the ground for more humility, modesty, and flexibility.

The epistemological revolution may be more important than the knowledge revolution, - not just within science but also – indeed, especially - among the lay population. The acceptance that our knowledge and understanding of reality is always changing makes people listen. It makes them listen to reality, and listen to the other. They learn that it is not good enough to sit back and just imagine that one has understood the world and other people.

Listening to environmental reality may lead to more sustainable technology, and listening to the other person to more sustainable human relations; in other words ‘peace’ with the environment is supplemented by peaceful relationships between people. The massive expansion in the market for books, seminars and workshops on ‘how to communicate better’ illustrates this. People struggle to improve their communication skills; they learn empathy and taking the perspective of the other. This means learning to sit up and to look into the other’s eyes (Lévinas 1998), it means trying to enter into a real dialogue. It is this dialogue in daily human encounters that is the social equivalent to the epistemological revolution in the field of science and technology. This article is intended to be a contribution to this very dialogue, as part of the endeavour to increase empathy and taking the perspective of the other.

Enlightenment introduced the concept of reality-testing, but did not yet teach humility with regard to the results. This brought about rigid adherence to theories and technological solutions even when they were dangerous. Theories were treated like quasi-religious beliefs (Kuhn); their

¹³ See, for example, Popper 1979 1959; Lakatos 1978; Ziman 1978 1978; Feyerabend 1988 1988; Fuller 1997 1997; Delanty 1997 1997.

¹⁴ Post-modern thinkers may or may not be right. I suggest they will have to revise this conclusion in the light of the epistemological revolution. On postmodernity, see , for example Bauman 1992 and Smith 1999.

advocates turned them into fortresses and defended them against ‘enemies.’ The full benign potential of enlightenment is only reaped when reality-testing is implemented in a continuous, open-minded, flexible and never-ending manner. Enlightenment’s malign effects may therefore be interpreted as a result of the yet incomplete application of its basic principle, namely reality-testing. The *continuous* application of this principle - continually checking out the world and never accepting that one has arrived at a condition of certainty in any aspect of one’s beliefs, perceptions and assumptions – this is what is meant by the ‘epistemological revolution’ in this paper.

To summarise, the epistemological revolution introduces humility and flexibility into the handling of environmental and human relations. It thus enhances humankind’s knowledge base for building sustainable environmental and human relations. These are the direct benign effects of the epistemological revolution, mainly unintended and unforeseen since scientists usually undertake research for the sake of the topic they are interested in, and not in order to make the world a more humble place. But the fact that effects are unplanned does not weaken their impact or their importance.

Critical theory wants to warn us, shake us, and wake us up to technology’s dangers. It tells us that naïve admiration for scientific ‘progress’ and technology is ill advised because technology will destroy its creators rather than ushering in an era of well-being. Critical theory makes us aware that the very technology, which many have welcomed in a blue-eyed way, may have disastrous consequences, however little this is intended by its creators.

My position differs insofar as I suggest (i) that science and technology have a methodological foundation which is basically beneficial *if fully implemented*, namely the ‘epistemological revolution.’ This is what has been discussed above. Furthermore, I propose (ii) that technology has, alongside its malign unintended consequences, a number of *benign* unintended consequences. These will be examined in the following section of the paper.

The main practical outcome of scientific reality-testing, namely technology, has paid dividends. Scientists, technologists and engineers have produced advances that are widely valued. Aircraft and spaceships are breathtakingly convincing evidence of technological power. It is true that technology destroys natural resources, pollutes the earth, and produces the ills so eloquently addressed by Adorno, Horkheimer and Habermas. However, science may also have the potential to correct such shortcomings. That this happens too slowly may partly be caused, as mentioned above, by the fact that the epistemological revolution has still not gone far enough; theories and beliefs are not being challenged, tested and revised quickly enough.¹⁵ While critical theory interprets technology’s destructive effects as being inherent in technology’s essential nature, this

¹⁵ See Lindner 1993 about quality of life.

paper attributes the destructive effects of technology to another cause, namely the fact that the epistemological revolution is far from incomplete.

This paper proposes that there is one field of technology in particular that has constructive, benign effects, fostering sustainable and peaceful relations between humans and their environment. This is the technological field that brings about improved mobility and communication between people.

Five themes will be highlighted in the following, illustrating the benign unintended consequences of technology. These are: (1) interdependence, (2) the transition from ‘fear of enemies’ to ‘problems with bad neighbours,’ (3) the increased significance of creativity as a means of growth, the (4) development of an increasingly egalitarian human rights society, and (5) the shift towards the imagery of ‘one global village.’

Interdependence

Technologies enhancing communication and mobility have set off an entire cascade of changes, bringing people together and promoting what Ury calls the ‘ingathering of humanity into one interactive and interdependent global community’ (Ury 1999, 98). As people increasingly look beyond the boundaries of their villages, nations and continents, we nowadays reach the point where one single in-group inhabits one single global village.¹⁶

People who live in one global village have to get along with each other. They might not like each other, but they know that it is difficult to run off or send unwanted people away. Australia is a penal colony no longer. The American ‘Wild West’ has been closed. Citizens of the global village become neighbours.

Admittedly, neighbourhood does not mean peace. As is only too well known, neighbours do

¹⁶ See for example Barber 1996; Blake 1998; Cooperrider and Pasmore 1991; Featherstone 1990; Lindner Breines, Gierycz, and Reardon 1999. The formation of the global village is evidently not only dependent on the availability of technology that enhances mobility and communication; it is also dependent on the size of the globe in relation to this technology. For example, humankind might not have been able to include the whole globe into the global village yet if it were so large that today’s technology could not master its size. Furthermore, technology that enhances mobility and communication would not have any effect if people were not inclined to use it. This technology is helped along, for example, by the existence of age-old dreams such as the dream of flying. Also the status connected to technology facilitates its use, - it is perhaps therefore that, although a donkey may be much more adapted to a task than a tractor, still, hardly any farmer in the world would prefer the donkey (see the author’s seven years of immersing into Egyptian culture in 1984-1991, complemented by fieldwork in China and South East Asia in the beginning of the 1980s).

not necessarily love each other; bitter conflicts often divide them. There are 'good' and 'bad' neighbours. Communities address the problem of the 'bad neighbour' with various societal conflict-resolution mechanisms such as the police or the law courts. Undoubtedly, there are too few such institutions in place at the global level yet, but attempts are being made. Today, the function of soldiers, in the western world at least, is not to 'kill enemies,' but, increasingly, play the role of police in the global village.

If we look back more than ten thousand years, people lived in relative isolation and consequently might not have had the need to learn about or empathise with those who are different and far away. Nor did they need to fight them. William Ury, anthropologist and global negotiator, reminds us that organised warfare may have been absent until about ten thousand years ago (Ury 1999).¹⁷ War started when the earth became 'full' and people 'met.' When people 'meet' more, they fight more. But, - and this paper wishes to contribute to this very goal, - they may eventually also learn to co-operate. In order to co-operate across cultures we today need to educate ourselves about the 'other,' the 'foreigner.'¹⁸

Global interdependence means an end to the old image of imperial warfare. Today's wars are, in fact, civil wars (Wallenstein and Axell 1994) between neighbours who are bitterly intertwined. The bitterness of the combatants is, indeed, probably greater than that experienced by conscript armies in former days who were ordered to shoot at each other. The bitterness stems from the fact that people who have just become neighbours might make friends with each other, but they might also become jealous, and hurt and humiliate each other. Without conflict resolution mechanisms in the global village, such bitterness will be very destructive.

To summarise, global interdependence could be described as a secondary unplanned benign consequence of those realms of technology that provide global mobility and communication. The resulting need to get along with each other can be expected to advance peace, at least in the long run. In the short run, however, it might lead to the very opposite, namely an increase in bitter feelings. This point will be discussed in greater depth further down. For example, the world's poor may not appreciate having immensely rich neighbours, nor being dependent on them while staying poor themselves; they may revolt. They may not like a situation in which the 'global village' means 'global pillage' (Brecher and Costello 1994). In the long run, the rich will have to

¹⁷ Ury takes archaeology as evidence: War-related findings before ten thousand years are rare and allow us the 'educated hunch' that therefore also war was rare (Ury 1999).

¹⁸ Smith and Bond, global social psychologists, teach us what we need to know about social psychology across cultures (Smith and Bond 1999). And Ross educates us about the pitfalls of naïve realism in relation to the 'other' (Ross and Ward Brown, Reed, and Turiel 1996; Ross and Nisbett 1991). Ury teaches us how to negotiate (Ury 1999).

learn to take the perspective of their poor neighbours and ‘make peace’ with them. The need to get along with each other will force them to do this.

Neighbours

Another benign unintended consequence of mobility and communication technology and the resulting formation of one single global village is the transformation of the ‘enemy’ into the ‘bad neighbour.’

There have been times in human history, when it was dangerous even to leave one’s local parish. ‘Bandits’ were waiting just a few kilometres outside. It was very dangerous to move around. The ‘outside’ was full of menaces. Even monsters and trolls were imagined behind the next mountain range. The ‘outside’ was where traditionally ‘enemies’ came from. ‘Enemies’ are typically those ‘who threaten from the “outside” and have to be repelled or killed.’

Stephan & Stephan show that ‘Fear, in particular, may drive the belief that out-groups are hostile towards one’s own group, thereby promoting anticipatory aggression’ (Stephan and Stephan 1985).¹⁹ In a world of fear it is ‘rational’ for mothers to teach their sons to become ‘tough’ and not fear death in battle.²⁰ In a world of fear Classical and Structural Realism (in International Relations Theory) are appropriate. They explain that and why war is inevitable in the context of the ‘Security Dilemma’ that characterises the world’s ‘State of Anarchy’ (Hobbes).²¹

In contrast, today everyone has a place ‘inside’ the global village. There is no population ‘outside.’ The idea of ‘outside’ becomes meaningless in the context of one interdependent world.²² Along with the concept of the ‘outside,’ the idea of the ‘enemy’ is bound to lose meaning. In the global village, though the word ‘enemy’ might still be in use, its significance is transformed. When closely examined, it increasingly carries connotations of ‘bad neighbour.’ The core difference between the two concepts is that ‘neighbours’ are not killed with the same ease as ‘enemies.’ Defining someone or some group as an ‘enemy to be killed’ becomes increasingly difficult today.²³ International terrorism, threatening as it is, still throws into stark

¹⁹ Quoted from Bond 1998, 6.

²⁰ See for gender and International Relations Theory for example Grant and Newland 1991; Sylvester 1994.

²¹ See for International Relations Theory Buffet and Heuser 1998; Clark and Neumann 1996; Deutsch 1978; Douville et al. 1986; Hodges 1931; Little and Smith 1988; Luard 1992; Nicholson 1989; Nicholson 1998; Suhrke and Noble 1977.

²² See for in-group versus out-group differentiation for example Feather 1995 and Smith 1991.

²³ See for ethics and International Relations Theory Brucan 1971; Kelman and Hamilton 1989; Küng

relief how used many of us (especially the privileged ones in the west) are used to moving around safely in the global village.

International terrorists are so to speak ‘very bad neighbours,’ rather than traditional ‘enemies’ or ‘monsters.’ We may even see them being interviewed on the BBC. A simple calculation suggests that the total amount of fear in the world should have diminished in the course of globalisation. ‘Enemies’ are gone, and ‘bad neighbours’ have always been around. The extent of the unknown and, therefore, dangerous, ‘outside’ has diminished and dwindled. This reduction of fear should advance peace.

The transformation of the notion ‘enemy’ to the notion ‘bad neighbour’ could thus be called the second unintentional and unforeseen benign consequence of the epistemological revolution and one of its achievements, improved mobility and communication technology.

Creativity

The third unintended benign consequence may be identified in terms of the transformation currently underway from ‘coercion’ and ‘conformity’ to ‘persuasion’ and ‘creativity.’

The disappearance of the ‘outside’ and the ‘enemy,’ combined with increased interdependence, means that it makes much less sense to try and coerce others.²⁴ Furthermore, once there is no longer a substantial ‘outside’ to exploit or destroy, increased effort have to be directed towards creating new resources by a more careful and productive handling of relationships with fellow ‘insiders.’²⁵ If we are dependent upon each other, there is a strong incentive for us to e, especially when increasing the total amount of resources depends upon releasing human creativity. Increasingly, creativity within relatively egalitarian relationships replaces coercion within rigid hierarchies.

Creativity is a fragile flower; it needs to breathe the air of freedom and motivation. Creativity cannot be ordered and coercion does not produce creative employees.²⁶ In the global era, a nation

1998; Vincent and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1986; Warner 1991; Williams and International Institute for Strategic Studies. 1998.

²⁴ See also Lindner Breines, Gierycz, and Reardon 1999 and Lindner 2000d.

²⁵ One early instance of this would be the abolition of the highly exploitative and destructive practices of the African slave trade once Africa was brought ‘inside’ the global structures of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

²⁶ Startling though it may appear at first sight, the comparison between creativity in general and love and sexual arousal, most visible in the male erection, is instructive. Neither can be forced or produced on command. Marriage counselling and management courses on creativity have a lot in common. Love and creativity, un-forcible as they both are, require complex skills in their handling if they are to provide stable

that wishes to increase its power and influence will not do well by conquering and enslaving a neighbouring country. Oppressed people are usually only creative when they plan sabotage. A global interdependent market place makes coercion look inefficient. Creativity has become the 'golden path.'

The current shift in local and global organisations towards flat hierarchies and teams working together towards creative solutions, using persuasion instead coercion: all this sounds like peace. However, the global marketplace also has its dark sides. This will be addressed in more detail further down. The current development towards egalitarian creative teams does not yet include all citizens of the global village. The workings of the global market currently produce vast economic inequalities. Though this is not occurring through direct coercion, it is brought about by negligence of the basic human right to have a decent life. The World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen (1994) and the demonstrations in connection with recent WTO negotiations (1999) are both attempts to address this violation of human rights (see, for example, former president of Ireland, now UN High Commissioner of Human Rights Mary Robinson 1999). This point, which anticipates the next section of this paper, refers to a malign consequence of current tendencies in human relations.

Human rights and 'nature rights'

The human rights revolution could be said to be the fourth benign consequence of mobility and communication. In former times, underlings rose and were beaten down again, or they won and became masters themselves. Revolutions were singular events that kept hierarchy in place while attempting to change the ranking of players. Today mobility and communication technology are making a continuous never-ending revolution more practicable than ever and continuous oppression more difficult than ever. Human rights introduce the notion of personal dignity.²⁷ It is no longer legitimate to enslave people or subordinate them in humiliating hierarchical structures. Human rights tell us that every person ought to be respected in her capacity as a human being, independently of rank and status.

Though the ideal of human rights promotes peace, the introduction of this new 'ought' where no obligation existed before has also created a host of new injuries, namely violations of human rights. These violations have to be prevented or healed; otherwise they foster violent uprisings of the injured. This point also anticipates the argument of the next section of the paper.

The human rights revolution is accompanied by what can be called 'nature rights revolution.'

foundations for love relationships or creative professional solutions. Simply commanding or obeying is not only insufficient, but also counterproductive.

²⁷ See Lindner 2000b; Lindner 2000c, both forthcoming.

In other words, not only the relationship between humans is currently being continuously scrutinised, but also human relations with nature. Nature, - as well as the poor in the world, - has advocates who keep their plight continuously on the agenda of humankind.

Image of 'Blue Planet'

The fifth indirect and unintended benign consequence of modern technology is that it provides us with images of unity and interdependence that were unthinkable until very recently. Today almost every household is provided with the view of the astronaut on the planet earth. Hardly any television news programme starts without the image of the globe turning slowly to the introductory tune. This view provides human beings with a new perspective – a new ‘point of view’ - from which to visualise ‘One earth.’ Earth as the blue planet seen by an astronaut is an image no previous generation ever had the chance to see. Not only the imagery, also the terminology of ‘One Village,’ ‘One World,’ ‘Global Village’ expresses the new ‘gut-feeling’: ‘we are all one in-group!’ It becomes an urgent and obvious fact that we are all in the same small boat.

What makes the imagery and terminology of the global village and the blue planet especially beneficiary for peace is its benign ‘framing power.’ Ross carried out important experiments showing the effect of ‘framing’ (Ross and Samuels 1993). He asked players to play a game, the Prisoner’s Dilemma Game. In this game it is possible either to co-operate with the other players, or not. Where there is co-operation, all participants gain in the long run. However, in the short run the individual player can win more by defecting. In Ross’s experiments one group of players was told that they would be playing a game called a ‘community game.’ Another group was told that they were going to play a ‘Wallstreet game.’ Players who thought that they played a ‘community game’ tended to co-operate, players who thought they were playing a ‘Wallstreet game’ tended to defect. Although the structure of the game was identical, in both cases the Prisoner’s Dilemma structure, the mere difference in the label had a profound effect upon whether or not players co-operated. This suggests that as the imagery and terminology of one world, one global village, becomes more widespread, the chances for global peace will increase.

Table two presents a simplified overview of the above argument. Scientific reality-testing evolves from a sequence of rigid paradigms, each reigning with an iron fist while it lasted, to a continuous flow of reality-testing without lapsing into rigidity (‘epistemological revolution’). At the same time, technology that facilitates mobility and communication is creating a single global village of neighbours, one whose unity and vulnerability can be observed from space. Both tendencies may facilitate peace.

TABLE TWO
PEACE, TECHNOLOGY AND THE ‘EPISTEMOLOGICAL REVOLUTION’

SCIENTIFIC REALITY-TESTING ↓↑		
Mobility- and communication- technology ↓↑	RIGID HANDLING OF THEORIES AND WORLDVIEWS	
Creation of one interdependent global village (1) ↓↑	⇔	↓↑
Astronaut’s view on ‘One World’ (5) ↓↑	‘Enemies’ replaced by ‘bad neighbours’ (2), coercion replaced by persuasion and creativity (3), in a sustainable and egalitarian human rights society (4) ↓↑	‘EPISTEMOLOGICAL REVOLUTION’: HUMBLE AND FLEXIBLE HANDLING OF THEORIES AND WORLDVIEWS ↓↑
MORE PEACE		

Table three summarises the argument in another way, contrasting the state of the world before and after the epistemological revolution.

TABLE THREE
BEFORE AND AFTER THE 'EPISTEMOLOGICAL REVOLUTION'

The world contains 'several villages.' Mobility- and communication- technology is still limited. The meta- paradigm of continuous revision of views is not yet in place and fixed worldviews prevail.	The world is 'one global village.' Mobility- and communication- technology is increasingly open to everyone. The meta-paradigm of continuous revision of views is in use and more flexible and humble worldviews are the result.
Stationary life in isolation (1)	Mobility and interdependence (1)
Fear of 'enemies' (2)	Problems with 'bad neighbours' (2)
Coercion as means for 'growth' (3)	Persuasion and creativity as means for 'growth' (3)
Hierarchical honour-societies (4)	Egalitarian human rights societies (4)
Imagery of 'several villages' (5)	Imagery of 'one global village' (5)

To conclude this section, the epistemological revolution, in other words the spread of an open-minded, open-ended form of enlightenment, has benign consequences for sustainability and peace in the ecological and human realm. This is because of the humility and flexibility built into its approach to testing hypotheses. These consequences are certainly not straight forward, nor are they necessarily intentionally aimed at; scientists do not necessarily wish to achieve humility through their research. However, the consequences, however secondary and unforeseen, are real.

The developments in science and technology produced by the Enlightenment have had innumerable malign effects as discussed by critical theory. However, as I have argued, there have also been unintended benign consequences, especially with regard to technology furthering mobility and communication. In-groups at all times in human history have developed and used societal mechanisms to regulate their interconnectedness, starting with sitting under a tree for negotiations to modern stately institutions as police and law court. We are rapidly becoming one single interdependent in-group inhabiting one planet, locked into the need to co-operate and equipped with centuries- old knowledge and experience about how to maintain the cohesion of in-groups. We should be able to maintain global peace under these conditions.

So far, the analysis has focused upon certain benign tendencies associated with science, technology and the epistemological revolution. The next section of the paper discusses some

potentially malign tendencies in human relations associated with humiliation.

The malign consequences of humiliation

As I have written elsewhere, humiliation involves the ‘enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honour or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. It involves acts of force, including violent force. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of humiliation as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless’ (Lindner 2000c, forthcoming).

When a Somali crowd dragged an American soldier’s corpse through the streets of Mogadishu, it was an act of revenge for the humiliation inflicted upon them by the UN and the West. a triumphant crowd. To quote a former Somali diplomat, ‘the UN came with the agenda that they know what is good for the Somali people [,]...got entangled in the fight with [General] Aideed, ... spent so much money on that ...[and] caused the death of no less than 10,000 Somalis!’²⁸

Compare Germany. After World War I the Allies made it their business to humiliate their vanquished enemy. They would have done better to read the thoughts of Thomas Hoccleve (born around 1368),²⁹ who, in discussing the Hundred Years War, contrasted the ‘temporary’ peace that is the result of the end of war with a ‘true’ peace that is long lasting and much more preferable.³⁰ In the event, Hitler later worked upon the feelings of resentment within German society and used those feelings with disastrous effectiveness. Their depth and force were a reservoir upon which he drew in the 1930s and early 1940s, enabling him to impose a Nazi regime, take Germany to war and carry through the Holocaust. After 1945, the Allies behaved in a different way. Germany was given help to rebuild its industrial economy, brought into NATO and the European Community and, more generally, treated with much greater respect as an important neighbour

²⁸ Quoted in Lindner 2000b, forthcoming.

²⁹ This reference is supposedly the first reference in English. It comes from Derek Sweetman, editor of the Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution, who found it in Lowe 1997, primarily on pages 129-146. Sweetman’s reflections are part of a discussion on the ‘Peace List’ about ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ peace.

³⁰ The ‘temporary peace’ reminds of Galtung’s term ‘negative peace’ (Galtung 1969), while ‘true peace’ seems to be very close to Galtung’s concept of ‘positive peace.’³⁰

The history of the last century strongly suggests that humiliation can lead to war, Holocaust, genocide, ethnic cleansing and terrorism. However, humiliation has not been studied in a systematic way. The field has been fragmented, encompassing a highly divergent set of themes.³¹ What has not been properly recognised is that humiliation is a term that systematically connects many aspects of the human condition:³² firstly a societal process (oppressive hierarchy), secondly a process between people including a perpetrator and a victim (interpersonal act), and not least, it is an emotional state (feeling humiliated).

The themes discussed in the last section were the epistemological revolution, mobility, interdependence, the transition from ‘fear of enemies’ to ‘problems with bad neighbours,’ the increased significance of creativity as a means of growth, the development of an increasingly egalitarian human rights society, and the shift to the imagery of ‘one global village.’ How do humiliation mechanisms and processes relate to these themes?

With respect to increasing global interdependence and its consequences, social psychological

³¹ For example, Miller wrote a book entitled *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Miller 1993). Two journals have dedicated issues to the topic in recent years. *Social Research* in 1997; the *Journal of Primary Prevention* in 1992. Humiliation has been addressed in such fields as international relations, love, sex, and social attractiveness, depression, society and identity formation, sports, serial murder, war and violence. A few examples from history, literature and film illustrate humiliation. Related themes though, as for example shame, guilt, trauma, self-esteem, trust, social dominance, power, etc. have been studied much more extensively. See Baumeister, Wotman, and Stillwell 1993; Brown, Harris, and Hepworth 1995; Brossat 1995; Cviic 1993; Gilbert 1997; Gilligan 1996; Hale 1994; Hardman et al. 1996; Lehmann 1995; Luo 1993; Markus, Kitayama, and Heimann Higgins and Kruglanski 1996; Masson 1996; Midiohouan 1991; Miller 1988; Proulx et al. 1994; Schlesinger 1998; Silver et al. 1986; Toles 1995; Urban Prins 1990; Vogel and Lazare 1990; Wood et al. 1994; Vachon 1993; Zender 1994.

Feelings and violence have been addressed by more authors. See for example Bar-On 1996; Moses Volkan, Demetrios, and Montville 1999; Scheff, Retzinger, and Gordon 1992; Scheff 1997; Scheff 1988; Scheff Kemper 1990; Rapoport 1995; Stadtwald 1992; Steinberg 1991a; Steinberg 1991b; Steinberg 1996; Staub 1989; Volkan, Demetrios, and Montville 1990.

³² The term ‘humiliation’ has roots in the Latin word *humus*, or earth. Spatially, it entails a downward orientation, literally a ‘de-gradation.’ ‘Ned-verdigelse’ (Norwegian), ‘Er-niedrig-ung’ (German), ‘a-baisse-ment’ (French), all mean ‘de-gradation.’ All these words are built on the same spatial, *orientational* metaphor. To humiliate is, clearly, to strike *down*, put *down* or take *down*. Lakoff and Johnson describe orientational metaphors as up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

research offers us the ‘contact hypothesis.’³³ Increased geographical mobility may be associated with increased tolerance (Kalin and Berry 1980³⁴). Also, the degree of ethnic mixing in a given area may correlate with tolerance (Kalin and Berry 1982). According to Bond (Bond 1998, 1), ‘One way to explain these results is to assume that inter-group social capital increases as a result of non-hostile contact and exchanges across group lines.’

Bond continues: ‘However, recent work on this “contact hypothesis,” makes it clear that only certain types of such contacts promote positive relations.’ Several conditions, for example inequality, seem to hamper the creation of positive relations. Bond cites the following summary from an unpublished manuscript by Stephan et al: Conditions are optimal ‘When prior relations between groups have been amicable, the groups are relatively equal in status, the members do not strongly identify with the in-group, and contact has been extensive, voluntary, positive, individualized, and cooperative.’ (Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman 1998, 15).

This summary is consistent with the findings of my own research that draws attention to the most powerful obstructor of positive relations, namely the process of humiliation.³⁵ My research suggests that humiliation is the worst hurt, the deepest wound. Sometimes it makes reconciliation almost impossible, as experience from therapy illustrates.³⁶

Many people argue that the main destroyer of peace is not people’s psyche but the harsh factual reality of the life situation confronting them. Competition for scarce resources, for example, puts opponents into a difficult win-lose situation. When the size of the pie of resources is fixed, the one who gains resources ‘steals’ them from the other. This sounds like an effective recipe for violence. One might ask: ‘Why bring in the additional factor of humiliation?’

However, an equally important question is: ‘Does a situation of scarcity in itself compel participants to take part in war, violence and massacre?’ After all, competition for scarce resources may also lead to co-operation where the relationship between potential contestants is a constructive one. Books like Ury’s *Getting to Peace* (1999) provide strategies for dealing with conflict constructively. As has been argued elsewhere,³⁷ approaches such as Ury’s will be even more effective when explicit account is taken of the effects of humiliation.

I claim that humiliation is the worst obstacle to the constructive and peaceful management of conflicts because it is the deepest hurt. It is a trauma that occurs in relation to other people, not in

³³ See also Amir 1969; Forbes 1997; Hewstone and Brown 1986; Pettigrew 1998.

³⁴ Research carried out within Canada.

³⁵ Greenfeld draws a line between *ressentiment* and nationalism (Greenfeld 1992).

³⁶ See for example the work of Retzinger and Scheff. See also James Gilligan, a psychiatrist, who argues that humiliation is the origin of violence (Gilligan 1996).

³⁷ Lindner 2000c, forthcoming.

relation to natural forces like after a natural disaster. Furthermore, in many cases it is not merely one single disaster, but a process, a protracted painful situation. Humiliation creates maximum protracted traumatic stress,³⁸ and directs its aftermath (for example anger) largely against the (real or imagined) perpetrator, not just against impersonal natural forces (as in the case of natural disaster), or against oneself (as in the case of depression). Intense protracted traumatic stress whose aftermath involves the targeting of the perpetrator (or a scapegoat): this is the effect of humiliation, and such a social and psychological condition may be the most powerful peace obstructor imaginable.

Humiliation has always been part of the human condition, but it has gained significance with the human rights revolution. In *Humiliation and the Human Condition Mapping a Minefield* I present a typology that shows that humiliating others was once a legitimate practice within the societal framework of hierarchical societal structures. The human rights revolution delegitimises those practices. 'To humiliate a person is now regarded as one of the worst violations possible. It is akin to the destruction of that person, an intolerable violation of their inner core of dignity as a human being' (Lindner 2000b, forthcoming). In 'honourable' societies, subjugation was normal and accepted. When people have been 'dignified' by the acquisition of human rights, humiliation is regarded as a moral outrage that is very difficult to forgive or forget.³⁹

It is often, I would argue, a fruitful exercise to look behind instances of violence, genocide, and war to see whether humiliation has played a part in bringing them about. I argue that the core outcome of humiliation is division: in its least dramatic expression this takes the supposedly 'harmless' form of 'cultural difference;' in its most destructive expression it takes such horrific forms as massacre, genocide and Holocaust.

The two ends of the scale are more closely related than one might think. In *How Humiliation Can Create Culture Difference* (Lindner 2000a, forthcoming) I take the cases of Germany and Somalia, both, intriguingly, unified, yet also divided. Ethnic Somalis, for example, are united by language, culture, and devotion to Islam. When Somalia became independent in 1960 a dream existed, the dream of a united Somalia. As a Somali intellectual puts it, 'Most other African countries are colonially created states in search of a sense of nationhood. The Somali, by contrast, are a pre-colonial nation in search of a unified post-colonial state. Most other African countries are diverse peoples in search of a shared national identity. The Somali are already a people with a national identity in search of territorial unification.' (Mazrui 1986, 71).⁴⁰

³⁸ Trauma leads to stress, see Post-traumatic stress disorder. See also Dasen, Berry, and Sartorius 2000.

³⁹ See for 'moral disengagement' Bandura Reich 1990.

⁴⁰ 'There was during the colonial period a British Somaliland, an Italian Somaliland, and a French Somaliland. A section of the Somali people was also absorbed separately into Kenya under British

Similarly, the Germans think of themselves as ‘One people.’ When the Berlin Wall fell in late 1989, East Germans declared ‘Wir sind ein Volk! [We are one people!]’ and happily greeted West Germans as they paraded through the streets of Berlin.

Somalia dreamt of unification when it became independent in 1960, but has become a deeply divided country instead.⁴¹ There has been internal strife and civil war for more than two decades, involving acts of cruel humiliation bringing trauma and pain. In the north, ‘Somaliland’ today even claims its independence although this republic is not recognised within Somalia or by the international community. After years of civil war, inhabitants of Somaliland argue that they have to admit to themselves, ‘if they like it or not,’ that their ‘dream’ of Somali unity was false, that in fact there are deeply important ‘cultural’ differences between them and the other Somalis. They complain bitterly that they have been intensely damaged and insulted by the aggressive and disrespectful behaviour inflicted upon them by Somalis from other regions. ‘Somaliland’ is a strong case for considering the possibility that an emphasis upon ‘culture difference’ and a desire to avoid close contact with those of ‘other’ cultures may be rooted in deeply unpleasant experiences of humiliation.

Also in Germany there is a mood of division despite huge efforts to let ‘grow together what belongs together [zusammenwachsen, was zusammen gehört]’ (Willy Brand 1989). Some Germans, East and West, find their feelings correctly expressed by messages on T-shirts saying ‘I want my wall back.’ Ironically, the separate identity of the ‘Ossies’ seems stronger and more pronounced now that they are, in political and economic terms, integrated much more closely with the ‘Wessies.’ I would suggest that a major reason for this is the division caused by humiliation. The West Germans seem arrogant to their new close neighbours from the East. Meanwhile, the ‘Ossies’ seem ungrateful and complaining. There is disappointment and pain on both sides. Each feels humiliated by the other.

I would argue that, to a considerable degree, the alleged ‘culture differences’ between ‘Somalilanders’ and other Somalis, and between ‘Ossies’ and ‘Wessies’ are, to borrow Benedict Anderson’s word, ‘imagined’ (Anderson 1991).⁴² These are ‘imagined cultural disunities.’ However imaginary the cultural differences, these examples show that humiliation can radically undermine the benign tendencies of the epistemological revolution. Humiliation fosters images of

colonial rule. The fifth component became the Ogaden, a section of Ethiopia. The dream of independence for the Somali was in part a dream of reunification’ (Mazrui 1986, 71).

⁴¹ In 1978 Somalia tried to incorporate the Ogaden by attacking Ethiopia. The failure to do so set off a cascade of civil war, quasi-genocidal killings in the North, and 1991 the ultimate dissolution of Somalia as a state.

⁴² See also Eriksen 1993a; Eriksen 1994; Eriksen 1993b.

separation, not unity, visions of conflict and revenge, not co-operation and peace. Where rifts run deep, creativity is turned towards the task of perfecting instruments of coercion, not seeking out new means of constructive co-existence. Even worse, such images may be realised in horrifying wars and Holocaust.

Humiliation rigidifies. It encourages a view of the world as divided into separate containers with rigid walls. It undermines or prohibits attempts from outside or inside to make these walls more 'porous': 'If you are not my friend, you are my enemy.' Fights will be caused not by the scarcity of resources but by humiliation. Any evidence of humiliation, present or past (even long past) will be mobilised to justify rigidification. Serbia finds its justifications in battles waged many hundreds of years ago. In such a situation, where a spirit of isolation prevails, even mobility may be prohibited; 'Berlin walls' are erected. Coercing the other becomes acceptable, laudable even, just like in traditional honour societies where it is perfectly 'right' to subjugate others.

If we refer back to the themes discussed in the first part of this paper: epistemological revolution, mobility, interdependence, the transition from 'fear of enemies' to 'problems with bad neighbours,' the increased significance of creativity as a means of growth, the development of an increasingly egalitarian human rights society, the shift to the imagery of 'one global village,' - where does humiliation lead us?

Humiliation introduces rifts where interdependence should forbid it; it makes people relapse into the notion of the 'enemy' where the notion of 'bad neighbour' is the only appropriate one;⁴³ it may lead people even to build physical walls and use coercion where mobility, communication, and respectful dialogue among equals could reign. Humiliation leads to 'irrational' responses that run counter to what rational choice indicates in an interdependent global village. Humiliation breaks down any achievements of the epistemological revolution insofar as it fixes people to stereotypical rigid views of the situation. Conflicts are then not managed by co-operation, but, in the worst case, by violence and war.

To summarise: the epistemological revolution allied to the more benign effects of science and technology is conducive to effective conflict resolution and progress towards peace; the malign consequences of humiliation tend to undermine those tendencies.

⁴³ According to Bauman, in a post-modern world our neighbours become 'strangers.' I would argue that, to some degree, this 'estrangement' facilitates and is facilitated by humiliation. Healing humiliation can also help to overcome estrangement. See Bauman 1997, 17-34.

Conclusion

People do not love each other just because they are neighbours. Bitter conflicts might boil up instead. The global village must therefore do its utmost to implement sufficient global and local conflict resolution mechanisms, as for example police, law courts, and ‘healing agencies,’ as for example South African Truth Commissions might be called.

Swami Agnivesh opened this article. I want now to conclude with him. He is a holy man, a man of peace, someone who cares deeply for the poor. And yet he defends the nuclear bomb. Why? This paper suggests an answer. It proposes the explanation that Swami Agnivesh wants to make peace, and not war, but not while he is humiliated. In the eyes of people like Swami Agnivesh, the ‘nuclear blackmail’ carried out by foreign countries like America, is evidently humiliating to him and also his entire world region.⁴⁴

The epistemological revolution should enable us to learn how such opinion leaders, whose behaviour and attitudes are going to affect all our lives, actually think and see the world. It is neither accurate nor beneficial to dismiss such leaders as ‘crazy’ – a common Western reaction – rather than make the effort of exercising empathy and taking the other’s perspective. Not doing this actually hinders peace. Behind apparent craziness there very often lurk powerful feelings engendered by humiliation. Such feelings have to be healed, not dismissed.

Bystanders, for example the international community, including its academic advisers, have to learn to see and address humiliation. A very experienced international senior advisor for example explains:⁴⁵ ‘Humiliation is institutionalised in the relation between the international organisations and the recipient countries. The principles of empowerment are there, but they are not followed. What is needed today is the exercise of empowerment: co-operation, not assistance! Joint management of projects, with local partners, then slowly phasing out the international organisation, this is the way to go. Of course humiliation should not now be moved from the recipient to the donor, there must be a balance. The bottom line is always: avoidance of corruption (where does the money go to), transparency, good governance, accountability.’ He continues, ‘Humiliation is institutionalised in the way international organisations approach the recipients. It needs the operationalisation of ways how to change that. Today there is major mistrust on all sides. After a meeting each side will write a report and give their view, not the view of what the other meant.’

Encouraging examples can be found. Wherever I went during my fieldwork in Africa (1998

⁴⁴ As Swami Agnivesh explained in a BBC interview (December 1999) he used to demonstrate against nuclear power, and he advocates disarmament. In his view, Pakistan and India should test the bomb jointly and later also disarm together.

⁴⁵ 1998 in a personal conversation in Hargeisa, capital of the self-proclaimed Republic of Somaliland.

and 1999) the War-torn Societies Project in Somalia,⁴⁶ received a lot of praise for being different from the common run of NGOs or similar aid agencies. These were often described to me in terms of a parody that contains elements of truth: They come along, build wells (or some other installations or services liable to be ecologically unsound or unmanageable in the longer run), create a few jobs for some chauffeurs, secretaries and security personnel, and then disappear again.⁴⁷

The War-torn Societies Project, in contrast, concentrates on ‘research’ and attempts to develop an agenda for development together with the communities concerned; it thus tries to ‘empower’ people and turn them from ‘recipients’ into ‘ors.’ Empowerment means undoing humiliation; and ‘research’ means using the skills created by the ‘epistemological revolution,’ namely, moving – intellectually and psychologically - more often and more carefully between, on one side, the ‘incoming helper’s perception or ideology of what people need as aid,’ and the ‘support that local people *really* need’ on the other side.

This example illustrates the point made in this article that globalisation furthers benign human relations and benign technology (and thus peace) insofar as the epistemological revolution gains ground and promotes more humble, flexible and empathic views of the world and the other. Humility is more effective than humiliation.⁴⁸

To summarise this paper’s argument, the most important feature of globalisation fostering peace is the ‘epistemological revolution.’ This is a shift to a new meta-paradigm, one of revising one’s worldview continuously. Today’s new ‘rule,’ both in the academic and non-academic world, is to be prepared to consult empirical data continuously, ‘listening to reality,’ and, in the light of what one finds, be ready to overhaul one’s beliefs about the world, about the other, and about oneself. In personal relationships this willingness to revise one’s beliefs is called dialogue and entails empathy and perspective-taking. This is a radical change from the previous meta-paradigm associated with the old world before the advent of the ‘global village’ where people hold on to fixed and rigid worldviews.

⁴⁶ See <http://www.unicc.org/unrisd/wsp/index.htm>.

⁴⁷ See Maren 1997.

⁴⁸ Desmond Tutu is another encouraging example. In his recent book *Out of the Shadows. What the TRC Achieved in Search of the Truth* Desmond Tutu ‘teaches’ the world about respect, listening and forgiveness (Tutu 1999). Michael Bond, intercultural psychologist at the global level, refers to Tutu and reminds also academics that cycles of violence and revenge have to be attended to: ‘I think we too in the inter-group area need to be looking at this important topic in our work [see Desmond Tutu's recent book], as a way to healing between groups. We must break these vicious cycles.’ January 2000 in a personal message.

However, this tendency towards flexibility, innovation and dialogue is hampered by the operation of a factor that is too often neglected: humiliation. In the sphere of human relations, humiliation and its emotional consequences typically cause people to fall back into the old meta-paradigm of rigid worldviews, with all its destructive consequences. The point is that humiliation can destroy the conditions for peace that creative dialogue and benign technology have helped to create.

This argument takes issue with the main emphasis within critical theory whose adherents such as Adorno and Horkheimer identify malign technology as the main destroyer of human values. This paper proposes that it is not malign technology but malign human relations that bring war and violence. Fortunately, the ‘epistemological revolution,’ if it continues to gain ground, has the potential to create both benign human relations and benign technology.

Appropriately, this paper situates itself within the framework of the epistemological revolution. It diagnoses humiliation and its destructive effects with as much empathy as possible in order to facilitate healing treatment. It is vital that malign human relationships receive at least as much attention as malign technology. The article concludes by calling for more awareness of the dynamics of humiliation. The ‘global village’ must do its utmost to implement sufficient conflict management mechanisms that address the feelings of humiliation, not only at the regional or local level, but also at the global level.

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Women in the global village: Increasing demand for traditional communication patterns

Chapter 5

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (1999). Women in the global village: increasing demand for traditional communication patterns. In Breines, Ingeborg, Gierycz, Dorota, & Reardon, Betty (Ed.), *Towards a Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace*. Paris: UNESCO (89-98).

Editor's prologue

Lindner's argument is embedded in the fact of planetary unity. The earth seen as a single ecological system, as well as the social, economic and even political globalization of the human enterprise, renders obsolete the concept of 'inside' and 'outside' that characterizes both nationalistic and sexist chauvinism. This reality, because it widens the traditional female domestic sphere and narrows the traditional male public sphere, requires that a fresh look be taken at the public/private dichotomy which has separated the gender roles.

We suggest that this may also apply to the way we conceive of international relations. Some argue that the very notion of 'other,' which gives rise to alienation among human groups and identities on the basis of sex, race, ethnicity and nationality, among other factors, must be called into question. The biological facts of one human species, dependent on one single planet, are coming to take primacy over the separations imposed by emphasizing differences and specializing and proscribing social and economic roles.

Lindner suggests that human differences such as those manifest in different cultural approaches to conflict may in fact be helpful in constructing a culture of peace. Her example citing a combination of male and female conflict behaviour suggests to us that it would be useful to reflect more deeply on Smith's observations about grief and the emotional division of labour between men and women, indeed, on all psychological and social gender distinctions.

The central hypothesis of this chapter is that globalization widens the traditional female domestic sphere and narrows the traditional male public sphere. This means that women's traditional role description of maintaining social cohesion 'inside' a group is increasingly in demand. The

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'global village' can be seen as a single 'inside' sphere. Maintaining social cohesion means

complex, relational, multilateral, foresighted, integrative and holistic strategies such as mediation, alternative dispute resolution and police deployment (e.g. peacekeeping forces) instead of traditional military combat. Subsidiarity, quality (and not quantity) of life, 'culture of peace' – all these are keywords, concepts which stem from traditional female role descriptions, showing how much the new strategies are, conceptually, female approaches. The traditional male role description of 'going out', fighting the enemy and conquering the unknown – being unidimensional, unilateral and more short-sighted – loses significance since it was only appropriate outside the 'village'. The world as a single 'global village' no longer provides an 'outside'. Men themselves, as travellers and explorers, were responsible for this development which now makes their specific traditional strategies in many ways inappropriate and dysfunctional.

In promoting a culture of peace, UNESCO has articulated a keyword describing a more contemporary conceptualisation of the behavioural and functional needs of the 'global village'. 'Culture of peace' is a multifaceted, creative combination of certain aspects of traditional 'male' and 'female' role strategies. The 'culture of peace' notion advocates on the social level what 'sustainable development' promotes on the ecological level. A better quality of life is projected as the likely result if a culture of peace is combined with sustainable development.

'Women should become more active in the public sphere.' How did such a demand enter modern Western thought? Just some hundreds of years ago such ideas were unthinkable for the majority of both men and women. What has happened? Was it that men in former times denied women their due participation, women being too weak to defend themselves? Are women stronger today? If yes, then why?

I propose to look at globalization as the central force in this context. I argue that globalization widens the traditional female domestic sphere and narrows the traditional male public sphere. In other words: Women do not necessarily have to fight for change, change is taking place along with globalization. Globalization is here defined as the growing world-wide communication network (telecommunication, air traffic, satellites, television) which furthers the perception of the world as 'One World'. The currently observable dark sides of globalization, such as 'neo-liberal' global economics and/or corporate capitalism, are here seen as short-term phenomena that are under long-term pressure from this 'One World' perception.

To explain my view, I should first describe how I define the traditional roles of men and women. To do this I rename the domestic sphere the 'inside sphere' and the public sphere the 'outside sphere'. 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' and for guarding the frontier between 'inside' and 'outside', thus making the 'inside' a safe place. 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 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 this ends 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. A German saying asserts: '*Der Mann geht hinaus in das feindliche Leben*' ('The man is to go out into hostile life'). 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 his people (Campbell, 1949).

Those 'male' tasks necessarily require less holistic approaches than 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 unidirectionally on a horse, on a ship, in an aeroplane or in a rocket; they ask men to open new horizons. This male action bore valuable short-term fruit, called modern technology, but created long-term problems since men in the beginning tended to overlook the fragile interdependence of all physical laws.

I am not an advocate of the view that women and men are irreconcilably different by nature, although there are undoubtedly hormonal differences between the two sexes. A woman can step into a male role and vice versa. When I talk about female or male roles, I refer to them as a set of culturally determined 'recipes' or 'prescriptions'. I see it as a set of 'do's' and 'be's' which are assimilated from birth by every individual.¹

Even more importantly, there should not be a positive versus negative bias. The two gender role 'templates' offer the tools for both construction and destruction. We can concede that there is nowadays an urgent need for the more 'female' holistic thinking, on the ecological and on the social level: respecting biological cycles and caring for social peace are notions which are currently gaining ever increasing importance. On the

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other hand, one should not overlook the fact that unidirectional thinking can, for example, be an important tool for innovation: admittedly it can be destructive, but it can also be constructive. Furthermore, there is the cleaning aspect of the 'female' maintenance task. This cleaning aspect can be extremely destructive as long as it bases itself on the concept of a real 'outside' around it. Starting at the ecological level, cleaning can go too far, as can be seen, for example, when women wash clothes white with heavily polluting agents.ⁱⁱ On the social level, this cleaning aspect even offers the conceptual framework for atrocities. One has just to think of ethnic cleansing. The German army was involved in ethnic cleansing during the Second World War, but tried to deny this involvement since for a soldier this is not 'male' enough. Soldiers can be proud of a war against an attacking enemy, and wear medals afterwards, but not of ethnic cleansing: killing defenceless people smacks of 'female' cleaning activity and thereby lack of braveryⁱⁱⁱ. In an attempted justification, the killing of Jews in concentration camps was equated with having to eradicate 'dirt' or 'pests' like rats or weeds, something which the SS were persuaded to do as an unavoidable although 'mean' and not very honourable duty in order to save the German race (see for example Himmler's speeches).

Space prohibits the discussion of further examples, but the instances cited should shed sufficient light on the unusual use of the 'female' and 'male' categorization in this text. They should also make clear that it is not an antagonism between 'female' and 'male' strategies which is advocated here, but the complementary combination and integration of the constructive sides in both. In other words, that I do not believe that women can simply be described as the powerless and thereby inherently 'good' creatures and that 'all problems [will] cease when the powerless achieve power' (Ashford, 1993, p. 253).

If we accept that globalization causes the 'inside' to widen, and that women traditionally are responsible for 'inside' spheres, then this means that the woman's sphere of responsibility has grown and is still growing, creating an ever-increasing demand for traditional female services: negotiation instead of military attack, mediation instead of dictatorial order, social maintenance through an intricate network of courts, lawyers and police instead of a unidirectional system of sheer military force. Management courses today try to train managers to understand the importance of 'soft' human factors such as motivation, job satisfaction, co-operation abilities, and creative problem-solving. Well-balanced 'female-type' co-operation is advocated today on all levels, from small companies to the United Nations, while the army-like 'male' hierarchical order is considered out-of-date as, for example, is the Wild-West-pioneering-style. Traditional female role characteristics are gaining ground on a global scale.

Here I would like to point out that, of course, the view presented here is exaggerated, in order to make the conceptual categories clearer.

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Though men usually were the warriors and explorers, and not women, men did not only conquer the unknown as warriors, explorers or discoverers: they were farmers too and cared for the maintenance of cycles and networks as women did. Trade especially combines 'male' and 'female' role patterns, since in the first place it requires going out into the unknown to find new products and clients, but after having established new trade connections it subsequently requires their maintenance. Those examples show the complexity of reality and how it is simplified here. The intention of my presentation is to stress the deep structural differences between traditional 'male' and 'female' role patterns.

If one were to go along with the hypothesis of this chapter that the domestic sphere has widened through globalization, giving women greater significance, then we should ask how women are to put their domestic strategies into action on the international level.

I would like to describe the modern structure of conflict resolution (which, in my view, has to be aimed at in a modern 'global village') by means of an example from Egypt, where I lived and worked for seven years. Two men in the streets of Cairo have a car accident. They get out of their cars, shout, scream and leap at each other's throats. Some ten to twenty young strong men appear from all corners, roughly half taking the side of each man involved in the dispute. Each 'party' grabs 'its' fighter and stops him hurting his opponent, but allows him to continue to scream, shout and express his anger. The peacemakers take the expressed anger seriously, they talk to the quarrellers with respect, they try to analyse the cause of the fight, they propose solutions and facilitate arrangements. After about ten to fifteen minutes the fight is over and everybody goes on his way. (Any international traveller can observe the high level of social control that makes Cairo a place of amazingly low criminality compared with other such large cities.)

What is combined in this approach to conflict is 'female' talking, understanding, empathy, perspective-taking and healing on one side, and the 'male' potential for overpowering, coercion, force, violence and aggression on the other. 'Male' strength and well-dosed counter-aggression are required to hold the fighters. 'Female' awareness of the cohesion of the social fabric is needed to take the fighters seriously. To combine the 'male' aspect of force with 'female' empathy could be described as *the* modern recipe of conflict resolution. The old 'male' strategy of hitting, of destructive force, is no longer appropriate in an interdependent modern 'global village', while the 'male' ability to use restraining force continues to be an important tool, though in a more steady and long-standing application and combined with empathy and respect. This means both that men are to use more of the traditional 'female' role characteristics and that women are to become more 'visible'. In former times, visibility was connected to the man guarding the frontiers of the 'outside,' just as clothes

protect and hide the ‘inside’ from ‘outside’ viewers. With the disappearance of an ‘outside’ this notion loses significance, giving the opportunity to women and men alike to be both ‘inside’ and visible.^{iv}

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme urges precisely the strengthening of the ‘female’ aspect in conflict resolution efforts.^v Space does not allow me to give a detailed description of every facet of this ‘female’ contribution. The list is a long one: using multi-track, ‘track II’ and citizen-based diplomacy;^{vi} installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge;^{vii} keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing ‘truth commissions’;^{viii} allowing warring parties to feel the world community's care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment;^{ix} taking the adversaries' personal feelings and emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity;^x introducing sustainable long-term approaches on the social and ecological level;^{xi} progressing from spending aid-money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on. All these rather ‘female’ efforts must be combined with a certain amount of ‘male’ coercion if necessary. The term ‘social control’ expresses the combination of both aspects. On the national level, police and prisons represent some of the coercive aspects (more effective if the average citizen does not carry weapons), while institutions like lawyers, courts and rehabilitation programmes have the potential to fulfil the role of social caring and healing.

The culture of peace is a multifaceted, creative combination of certain aspects of traditional ‘male’ and ‘female’ role strategies. At this historical point of an emerging, increasingly interdependent ‘global village’, traditionally ‘female’ strategies of caring and healing are more needed and must be integrated on the international level.

As mentioned above, the notion of a ‘culture of peace’ advocates on the social level what ‘sustainable development’ promotes on the ecological level. In both cases, the aim is to achieve a better quality of life and the challenge is the long-term maintenance of interdependent systems. In order to tackle this challenge traditional female role descriptions concerning maintenance must be elevated from the private to the public sphere and used there by both men and women.

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Peace talks –peace tasks (questions for discussion and exploration put forward by the editors, on page 97):

Lindner's approach is both psycho-cultural and ecological, and thus is an example of the kind of feminine thinking that many feminists insist must complement the masculine thinking that currently dominates policy-making on issues of peace and security and perpetuates a patriarchal political culture. Her emphasis is on life and relationships. This emphasis opens several potentially productive lines of inquiry in the formulation of a Women's Agenda of a Culture of Peace.

All cultures have archetypal heroes. As Lindner reminds us, we have inherited an image of the hero as the conquering, physically powerful, brave male, pitted against forces of evil embodied in an enemy. Enemies inhabit Lindner's outside, and given her assertion that there no longer exists this separation between inside and outside, we must ask whether the very notion of enemy is a functional one for a global, diverse society. What function have the concept and the various images of the enemy played in the perpetuation of war and the evolution of a culture of violence? How do such images figure in the popular culture of

literature, the media, computer games and children's

Page 98:

play? What reformulation of the notions of the stranger or foreigner and the antagonist or opponent would be more compatible with a culture of peace?

1. A number of authors have dealt with alternative notions and images of the hero, some of them actual historical figures, who conducted epic struggles non-violently, and hypothetical profiles of heroes of a very different sort to the ones conjured by Lindner. We need to develop a new roster of heroes for a culture of peace. For this we need both imagination and research into history which can uncover some of the experience of co-operation, non-violence and altruism which many believe is in fact what has been responsible for the survival of humankind and the continuation of the human experience. We know that much of this history has been made by women. How can we document it and integrate it into our agenda?
2. As we are reminded, globalization has both its positive and negative sides. Identify some positive aspects of globalization. How might women take advantage of them, and by what strategies? One of the most damaging of the negative sides is the consequence for women of the globalization of capital. In what ways can we analyse these economic processes, using Lindner's form of thinking to find alternative routes to material progress and wealth that recognize the disappearance of the boundaries between inside and outside? We know that the world comprises one ecological system and we see, too, the emergence of one economic system. As we need to preserve the health of the ecological system, we need also to establish justice in the economic system, as was recommended by the Manila Expert Group Meeting on Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace (see Appendix 2 for the report). How can the 'widening' of women's traditional domestic sphere be managed so as to bring about this justice? How can we factor it into our Women's Agenda for a Culture of Peace?
3. Another difference between prototypical masculine and feminine thinking is the emphasis on the short term by the former and the long term by the latter. How has this affected the trends and developments such as globalization and some of the issues such as security and peacekeeping addressed by other authors in this collection? How might our agenda facilitate the bringing about of a more positive balance between the two? Can the partnership model be applied so as to maximize the benefits of the differences in constructive ways?

Evelin Lindner is a psychologist and doctor who has worked and studied in many different cultural contexts. She knows Asia and the Arab world especially well, having spent seven

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Quality Of Life: A German-Egyptian Comparative Study

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English Summary of Doctoral Dissertation in Medicine

Lindner, E. G. (1993). *Lebensqualität im ägyptisch-deutschen Vergleich. Eine interkulturelle Untersuchung an drei Berufsgruppen (Ärzte, Journalisten, Künstler)*. Hamburg: Department of Psychological Medicine, University of Hamburg, Doctoral Dissertation in Medicine.

Lindner, Evelin Gerda (2000). *What Is a Good Life - Comparison Between Egypt and Germany*. Oslo: University of Oslo, manuscript prepared for the Middle East Virtual Community (MEViC), first MEViC online Internet conference, 2000, on the basis of Doctoral Dissertation in Medicine (1993).

Summary

For about fifteen years an ever-increasing number of studies about quality of life has been produced in medical contexts. In most cases, patients of Western cultures are asked how they define quality of life for themselves. Two levels of target groups are usually not incorporated: firstly exclusively the patients' definition of quality of life is examined, not the doctors', and secondly usually only Western cultures are considered and non-Western cultures neglected. The here described study starts at exactly these points.

100 German and 50 Egyptian physicians were asked how they define quality of life for themselves and which aspects of life and health are important to them. They were asked also how they think their patients define quality of life. As points of reference journalists and artists were interviewed - 65 journalists and 45 artists on the German side and 10 journalists and 10 artists on the Egyptian side.

The differences discovered can be summarized as follows:

- ◆ The German as well as the Egyptian physicians consider themselves as being rather "responsible", whereas they judge their patients as being more "superficial".
- ◆ In Egypt a combination of religion and the desire for modern technology is connected with the term quality of life, whereas in Germany social peace and a critical attitude towards modern technology are prominent.

1. Introduction

For about fifteen years now an ever-increasing number of studies about quality of life has been

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produced in medical contexts. In most cases, patients of Western cultures are asked how they define quality of life for themselves, or standardized instruments are used to examine their subjective assessment of their quality of life (KÜCHLER, 1991). This selective application has a negative side effect: It entices physicians to associate the term quality of life exclusively with their patients and to turn this subject into something narrowly confined and separated, not touching the physicians own existence. But since physicians are at a central position in decision making processes concerning advantages and disadvantages of certain treatments in respect to the quality of their patients' lives, it seems of high importance, to ask the physicians themselves about their personal definitions of quality of life.

The neglect of the physicians personal views on quality of life is, however, not the only shortcoming of quality of life studies, another weak point is the neglect of non-Western views.

1.1. Aim of the Study

The study starts at exactly the two named points and has two comparisons as its aim. At first physicians are asked to put their own definitions of quality of life into relation to their patients' definitions, i.e. they are asked to describe what they believe is their patients' definition of quality of life in comparison with their own. In addition to the pure data collecting aspect of this question it has the positive side effect to involve the physician personally. The term quality of life acquires thus a more personal colouring, something that in turn can benefit the doctor's work with patients. The common human basis that connects physician and patient becomes more apparent.

The second comparison is an intercultural one. The objective is to assist physicians who increasingly have to treat patients from other cultures and who do not know how those people, in who's lives therapy is often massively interfering, actually can or want to live with this interference.

The overriding aim of the study is to advance the consideration of the issue of quality of life within the medical world.

2. Material and Methods

2.1. The Configuration of the Sample

100 German and 50 Egyptian physicians completed a questionnaire partly consisting of open and partly of structured questions. They were asked how they define quality of life for themselves and which aspects of life and health are important to them. They were also asked how they think their patients define quality of life. As points of reference journalists and artists were interviewed: 65 journalists and 45 artists on the German side and 10 journalists and 10 artists on the Egyptian side.

The 100 German and 50 Egyptian physicians are comparable in respect to their demographic data (age, gender, marital status). Significant is, however, the difference regarding religiousness (Chi²-Test: $p < .0001$). In Egypt religion takes up a very important position, only 4% of the interviewed Egyptian physicians consider themselves as being not religious, contrary to 62% of the interviewed

German physicians. It is obvious that Islam and Coptic Christianity are much higher valued in Egypt than Christianity in Germany. One third of the interviewed German physicians say that they do not belong to a creed. The majority of the interviews were carried out in Hamburg, a primarily protestant city, therefore the majority of those who do connect themselves with religion are Protestants. Among the Egyptian physicians who were interviewed 30% are Copts. This is a high proportion compared with the average population (10%) and reflects their traditional elite position in society. Regarding professional years and working hours the interviewed Egyptian and German physicians are comparable (7 to 8 years in medical profession, more than 50 hours work a week). In Egypt and in Germany a third of the interviewed physicians is working in the field of internal medicine and almost all are based in a hospital.

2.2. Methods

The questionnaire consists partly of open and partly of structured questions. The latter are drawn from the questionnaire “*FLZ: Fragen zur Lebenszufriedenheit*” by HERSCHBACH and HENRICH (1990) which possesses well-analysed psychometric characteristics and can be considered as validated. This validation is, however, based on data of Western samples. Since the instrument was to be administered also in Egypt, open questions were included to counteract the danger of neglecting special aspects of Egyptian culture.

2.2.1. Open Part of the Questionnaire

These are the open questions:

1. How is your personal definition of quality of life?
2. Would it be possible for you to rate the items you found according to importance by putting a number in front of each item?
3. How does the majority of your patients define quality of life?
4. Would it be possible for you to rate the items you found according to importance by putting a number in front of each item?

2.2.2. Standardized Part of the Questionnaire

These are the standardized questions:

5. What do you think, how satisfied are you at present with your life, all taken together? (a scale from 0 to 10)

The subsequent structured questions are selected from the instrument “*Fragen zur Lebenszufriedenheit*” (questions concerning satisfaction in life) by HERSCHBACH und HENRICH (1990). They claim validity. Test- and item-standards are available. The module “*Allgemeine Lebenszufriedenheit*” (“general satisfaction in life) is standardized for the Federal Republic of Germany. After consultation with the authors and gaining their approval the first part of both their modules was extracted and used selectively, representing the section where the importance of 8 life- and health

aspects is thematised:

- How **important** is (are) for you friends; leisure time (etc., see modules further down)
- How **important** is (are) for your patients (in the questionnaire for journalists instead of “your patients” “your readers”, and in the questionnaire for artists “your audience”) friends; leisure time (etc., see modules further down)

(Five categories can be used: not, somewhat, fairly, very, extremely important):

Module “aspects of life”:

1. friends / acquaintances
2. leisure time / hobbies
3. health
4. income / financial security
5. job / work
6. apartment
7. family life / children
8. partnership / sex

Module “aspects of health”:

1. physical fitness
2. ability to relax / equilibrium
3. energy / zest of life
4. mobility (e.g. walking, driving)
5. eyesight and hearing
6. freedom from anxiety
7. freedom from complaints and pain
8. independence from help / nursing

The German version had to be translated into Arabic and English. English, since it is the teaching language at universities in Egypt and an academic therefore expects to be addressed in English, and Arabic, to help making it more understandable. T. BORG, professor at “Al Azhar University”, did the translation. The greatest problem was the fact that the wording “quality of life” does not exist in Arabic and even the concept “quality of life” itself is unknown. Even for the word “quality” there is no direct translation. Of course situations occur where meanings are expressed which are equivalent to “quality”, e.g. when somebody touches a tissue and says: “This tissue is of good quality.” In Arabic this is expressed as: “This tissue is of good ‘howness’”, or: “This tissue is of good kind.” “Of good kind” in Standard Arabic is *min nawein gayyid*, and *min nawein kuwáyyis* in Egyptian Arabic.

The first translation of “quality of life” which T. BORG thought of spontaneously, was “meaning of life”. During a period of intensive discussions with Germans and an inquiry among ca. 100 Egyptians a more congruous translation was developed and tested. After having tested it by translating it several times from Arabic to German and English and back, the following wording was chosen as translation of “quality of life”:

naweu wa kayfiyyatu l’hayah,
“kind” and “howness” of life

This is a complete new creation of wording in Arabic. The term “quality of life” was thus introduced into Arabic.

2.3. Implementation of the Study

The interviews with the 100 physicians, 65 journalists, and 45 artists in Germany were carried out by LINDNER in 1992. All were personally interviewed, 20 physicians in their private practices, 80 physicians in hospitals. Many of the physicians were willing to answer the questions either immediately or after a short waiting time. Some of them worked through the whole questionnaire within a few minutes, with others long conversations developed. Originally it was planned to interview only 50 physicians. The study met so much interest, however, that the number was increased to 100. Only 10% of the contacted physicians rejected an interview, the most current reason given being lack of time. All contacted German artists agreed to have an interview, whereas some German journalists were very critical and did not want to participate in the study saying that “the term quality of life symbolizes nothing else than our wasteful affluent society.”

In Egypt two medical doctors and one teacher were in charge of the interviewing procedure (also 1992). As the term quality of life was not known in Egypt, it had to be explained. A description of the historic origin of the concept in the Western world was therefore delivered to assist comprehension. All efforts were made to keep the data collection in Germany and Egypt comparable in spite of the different conditions in Germany and Egypt.

The results presented here only describe the part of the study concerning physicians.

3. Results of the Study

3.1. Answers to the Open Questions

As expected the answers to the open questions listed under 2.2.1. were widely diverse. The answers to questions 1. and 3. were analysed and classified into twelve “content-categories” and six “synonym-categories.” Direct counting and interpretation of the answers was used as classification method. Each answer was placed in one of the eighteen categories so that they display frequencies. The categories were reviewed by independent German and Egyptian raters regarding plausibility as regards content. The categories are purely descriptive and listed in table 1:

Synonyms for the Term Quality of Life

- Joie de vivre / zest for life
- Satisfaction
- Happiness
- Well-being
- Intensity of life
- Love (as general condition)

Categories as Regards Content

- Health / freedom of symptoms
- Repose / relaxation / balance
- Money / financial security / status
- Job / carrier / work climate
- Integrity of social environment / contacts / friends / partner / family
- Lodging
- Leisure / culture / urbane life / books / sports / vacation / travel
- Self-realization / goals / hope / autonomy / independence
- Balance between opposites (tension-reduction of tension, work-leisure, etc.)
- Nature / healthy environment
- Individual and political freedom / democracy / equality of chances
- Religion / religion-based social security

Table 1.: List of categories classifying the key words and definitions of quality of life given by the interviewees

The answers to the open questions can be summarized as follows:

Asked to describe their personal definitions of quality of life German and Egyptian interviewees equally consider integrity of their social environment as primordial: family, partner and relations with others. The Egyptians also place religion into this context, whereas the German interviewees do not mention religion at all, but leisure/culture/urbane life/books/ sports/vacation/travel. The next frequently given answers by the German interviewees point at job, self-realization and health, the Egyptian answers at job and individual and political freedom/ democracy/equality of chances. Nature and healthy environment are issues which do not appear in the Egyptian lists of answers, in the German lists at the eighth place of frequency. For the Egyptian interviewees modern Western technology is closely linked to quality of life, whereas the Germans are rather sceptical towards modern Western technology. (An Egyptian asserts: "... more and more production in industry is a good thing for our lives and for the country, we want to have a good modern life." Egyptian physicians say concurringly: "... if healing is not possible for a person with cancer, we have to try by all means [medically] to get a shrinkage of the tumour, beside treating him psychologically.")

Regarding the synonyms for the term quality of life, there is a clear preference for the word satisfaction among the German interviewees, whereas the Egyptian interviewees opt for the words happiness and love.

All interviewed groups give similar answers to question 3. Especially relevant are the answers to medical doctors, because they concern the core of the doctor-patient-relation, see 4.2. and 4.3. In question 3. it is not one's own definition of quality of life which is asked for, but one's assessment of the patients' definitions. The answers show a clear difference between the own definition and the assessment of the patients' definitions: The Egyptian and the German physicians place responsible and ethical thinking at the top when asked to describe their own definition of quality of life, whereas they judge their patients as being more egoistic and materialistic. Patients are described as rather superficial; more interested in status and short-term amusement than in arduous professional and private fulfilment. Germans call this attitude egoism, Egyptians might use the word indifference towards religion.

3.2. Answers to the Structured Questions

In question 5. general life satisfaction was to be depicted on a scale from 1 to 9. The results show as average for the interviewed German physicians 7.36, for the interviewed Egyptian physicians 6.50, demonstrating that the German physicians are more satisfied with their lives than the Egyptians. The difference is significant (ANOVA, including all six groups: $p = .0133$).

Multiple regression shows a negative correlation between general life satisfaction and income for the German physicians ($p = .0111$).

Partnership and sex are most important to the interviewed German physicians according to their answers to the structured questions by HERSCHBACH and HENRICH (eight aspects of life). Health is a little less important to them. Family life/children follow, then friends/acquaintances, job/work, apartment, leisure time/hobbies, and finally income/financial security.

For the patients health is put at the first place of importance, family life/children follow. Already at the third place income/financial security is positioned for the patients. Friends/acquaintances follow, then partnership/sex, leisure time/hobbies, apartment, and at the end job/work.

These assessments correspond to the answers to the open questions: In both cases the patients are described as being rather materialistic and leisure time oriented, valuing professional life and social integration less than the physicians do themselves.

The interviewed Egyptian physicians chose health as primordial aspect of quality of life from HERSCHBACH and HENRICH's list of the eight aspects of life. Partnership/sex follow on place two, then family/children, job/work, friends/acquaintances, income/financial security, apartment, and leisure time/ hobbies.

Asked about their patients the Egyptian physicians put income/financial security at the first place. (This might correctly portray the real lack of resources in Egypt and not so much the physicians' bias.) Partnership/sex, and health are named as of second and third importance for the patients, family life/children, apartment, friends/acquaintances, job/work, and leisure time/hobbies follow.

Asked to assess the importance of HERSCHBACH and HENRICH's eight aspects of health, the German physicians put eyesight and hearing at the first place of importance. Energy/zest of life, independence from help/nursing, physical fitness, and ability to relax/equilibrium, mobility, freedom from complaints and pain, and finally freedom from anxiety follow.

Regarding their patients the interviewed German physicians see freedom from complaints and pain on place one. Eyesight and hearing follow, then independence from help/nursing, freedom from anxiety, physical fitness, energy/zest of life, mobility, and at the end ability to relax/equilibrium.

The Egyptian physicians put freedom from anxiety at the first place of importance. Eyesight and hearing follow, then freedom from complaints and pain, energy/zest of life, mobility, physical fitness, ability to relax/equilibrium, and at the very end independence from help/nursing.

For their patients the interviewed Egyptian physicians place freedom from complaints and pain at the first place, followed by physical fitness, freedom from anxiety, eyesight and hearing, energy/zest of life, independence from help/nursing, and finally ability to relax/equilibrium, and mobility.

3.3. Summary of the Main Results

Two main results can be summarized:

1. The difference between the German and Egyptian samples shows the broad spectrum of possible quality of life definitions regarding modern technology, stretching from admiration to critical questioning;

2. The interviewees' assessment of the own quality of life definitions differs considerably from the assessment of the patients' definitions.

4. Discussion of the Results

4.1. Discussion of the First Main Result: Admiration of Modern Technology Versus Scepticism Towards Modern Technology

The general economic situation in Egypt is very difficult. This influences individual life satisfaction (see INKELES 1980). The dependence of the individual existence from overall economic conditions is painfully felt in Egypt. The Egyptian state e.g. is not able to pay physicians in governmental hospitals an adequate salary (they only earn ca. 60 US\$ per month).

Frequently an Egyptian physician has to take one or two other jobs besides his medical work, in order to cover the costs of living. This situation plausibly influences the Egyptian attitude towards modern technology and industrial development. Modern technology is seen as a solution, industrial development as a hope for both country and each individual. Importance of healthy environment and nature are therefore aspects that, contrary to Germany, are not part of Egyptian awareness, neither among physicians, nor among other groups within the population. Whoever has the possibility to get away from the countryside into town, will do it, countryside symbolizing poverty and thereby giving nature a negative connotation. Protection of the environment is secondary in Egypt in the face of the hope to become a more prosperous country through increasing industrial production that in turn would secure the social integrity of society. The integrity of the social web is seen as being secured by religion too, religion having another meaning than in Western contexts where state and church are separated, - in Egypt religion means the functioning of society through Gods support. According to Egyptian views a society is working smoothly and peacefully, if all members follow God's rules. Egyptian Muslims and Egyptian Copts share this view.

Table 2. summarizes the opposing attitudes towards modern technology (QL: quality of life).

Range of Quality of Life Definitions

Summary of QL-Definition by the interviewed Egyptian Physicians	Summary of QL-Definition by the interviewed German Physicians
Quality of Life is: - modern technology - religion as guarantees for the public good	Quality of Life is: - ecological, - and social awareness as guarantees for the public good

Table 2: Range of definitions for the term quality of life

4.2. Discussion of the Second Main Result: Contrast between Own Quality of Life Definition and Assessment of the Patients' Definition

The Egyptian and the German data show a clear dichotomy, see table 3:

1. In Egypt as well as in Germany the interviewees consider themselves as rather responsible, long-term thinking persons. Many assert that they are not tied to material possessions or status symbols: responsible self-realization, always considering the social and ecological environment, rules their professional and leisure lives. Germans call this attitude responsibility, ethics, or self-realization, whereas Egyptians put the term religion into the same context, see table 3.

2. In opposition to the self-assessment the interviewees describe their patients (readers, audience) quite differently. They are portrayed as being rather egoistic, valuing materialistic possessions and status symbols, and being more interested in short-term amusement than hard-earned satisfaction in professional and private life. Germans call this attitude egoism, whereas Egyptians might call it indifference to religion, see table 3.

Self-assessment of Quality of Life Definition Versus Assessment of the Patients' Definition

	Self-assessment of QL-Definition by Physicians	Assessment of Patients' QL-Definition by Physicians
Egyptian and German Physicians	differentiated approach to the term QL: rather responsible and far-sighted	undifferentiated approach to the term QL: rather materialistic, superficial, and short-sighted

Table 3: The physicians' own quality of life definitions versus the physicians' assessment of their patients' definitions

4.3. Conclusion

Conclusion of 4.1.:

It seems to be important that in an inter-cultural physician-patient-relation, - a special, but increasingly more frequent situation, - open, exploring questions are included, in order to avoid that the physician bases his/her decisions on own cultural dependent interpretations of quality of life (and thereby on own therapy goals).

Conclusion of 4.2.:

Physicians should supplement their assessment of their patients' quality of life with standardized instruments, because they use apparently different weightings for their patients than for themselves.

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ⁱ Tajfel (19984) said, ‘it is not the difference which matters, but the distinction.’.

Larrow and Wiener (1992, p. 239) contribute to the same subject: ‘There has been much controversy over the use of the terms *stereotype* and *prejudice*. ... We would distinguish three terms: categorization, stereotypes, and prejudice. *Categorization* will be used when classification of a person into a category is based on the necessary defining attributes of class membership. *Stereotype* is the classification based on non-definitional attributes. Finally, *prejudice* is classified when social evaluation is explicitly included with the stereotype. In the field of sex/gender research, we would like to make a distinction between using the term sex to refer to categorization of males and females based on biological attributes, such as chromosomes, genitals, reproductive functions, and so on, and *gender* to refer to stereotypes of women and men based on non-biological attributes such as clothes, hairstyle, behaviours, and the like. Most of our beliefs about men and women are based on gender stereotypes.’ Unger and Crawford (1992, p. 619) formulate it succinctly: ‘When sex is not present, people need to invent it. They use sex as a cue even when more useful sources of

information are available.’ The authors look for alternative explanations and name inequality through power difference as often explaining more of observable differences than sex or gender differences. I would agree concerning the necessity of alternative explanations, but would be careful with the power argument, as long as the power argument is simply used as men having the power and women being the suppressed ones. I would take into account the distribution of tasks of different urgency leading to a power difference.

ⁱⁱ Ashford (1994, p. 253): ‘Chapter 1 on Feminism and Ecofeminism, rebuts the simplistic view that all problems will cease when the powerless achieve power. Women are not to be conceived as “angels in the ecosystem”, feminist closeness to nature is an uncomplimentary stereotype. But nature and the feminine can combine with subsistence lifestyles and the culturally or geographically colonized in an “alliance of the oppressed.” All are “backgrounded” by the pervasive “master model.” Yet both “deep ecology” and forms of feminism endorse that model, seeking either integration with the master principle, or replacement of one dominant form by another.’ ‘Women as well as men must “learn to throw off the master identity embodied in the Western construction of the human”.’

ⁱⁱⁱ The involvement of parts of the German army in atrocities was documented in an exhibition organized by the Institut für Sozialforschung (Hamburg) in 1996, more than fifty years after the war, and met violent reactions of denial, especially in southern Germany (see the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 10, 3 March 1997, p. 54).

There exist many sources pointing in the same direction. Here an example from Shirer (1976, p. 794), concerning the German attack on Poland at the beginning of the Second World War. General Halder writes in his diary: ‘Army insists that “housecleaning” be deferred until Army has withdrawn and the country has been turned over to civil administration.’ Shirer comments: ‘This brief diary entry by the Chief of the Army General Staff provides a key to the understanding of the morals of the German generals. They were not going to seriously oppose the “housecleaning” - that is, the wiping out of the Polish Jews, intelligentsia, clergy and nobility. They were merely going to ask that it be “deferred” until they got out of Poland....’

^{iv} Kelly et al. (1994) make an assessment of women's visibility in politics as activists, researchers, and political thinkers and find that in 1994 women's visibility is still limited.

^v The following paragraph outlines the background of UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme: ‘The end of the Cold War has enabled the United Nations to begin realizing the potential for which it was created nearly fifty years ago, that is, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.’ In *An Agenda for Peace*, published in 1994, the Secretary-General outlines the challenges faced by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in the areas of: ‘preventive diplomacy, which seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peacemaking and peace-keeping, which are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained, and post-conflict peace-building – to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.’ (*Final Report over the First Consultative Meeting of the Culture of Peace Programme*, Paris, 27-29 September 1994.)

^{vi} See the efforts of individuals such as the former American President Jimmy Carter, or the Norwegians helping behind the scene in the Israel-Palestine peace process.

^{vii} The Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO), for example, has taken up national identity as a major new field of interest, thereby incorporating social psychology into peace research (source: Dan Smith, director of the institute).

^{viii} See, for example, Ethiopia, where reconciliation within a society can be reached through ‘truth commissions’ if other ways, such as tribunals, would be too disrupting.

^{ix} See the Norwegian approach in the Israel-Palestine Oslo agreement.

^x Whatever has been learned on a micro-level in therapeutic contexts about conflict and conflict resolution, from confession to forgiveness, also applies to the community-level.

^{xi} Brundtland (1992, p. 17), a woman and a very active Scandinavian politician, writes: ‘We must not be blinded by the immediate. We must all take a longer-term view. We need to expand and share knowledge and we must get many more people engaged in the overriding issues of our time. We will have to rely on the gift of information technology for spreading knowledge and for developing those common perspectives and attitudes which our human predicament now requires.’ This is a woman advocating a combination of traditionally ‘female’ long-term thinking being promoted by ‘male’ technology.