BOOK PROPOSAL

TITLE:

The Drama of Humiliation

or How to Build Respect and Trust

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MARKET: Broad range of readers interested in the peaceful transformation of conflicts at all societal levels, in the family, as well as in corporate and public organisations, or national and international relations. Obligatory reading for students in sociology, psychology, and social anthropology. *The Drama of Humiliation* aims at the same significance at the market such as books as *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* by Friedman, 2000, or, *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence* by Eugene Weiner, 1998 (foreword by Alan Slifka), or other books that address interested readers in the academic realm as well as the general public.

THE AUTHOR: During her training as a physician Evelin Lindner learned about the micro level, the human body in its physical and social environment, and through her education as a psychologist she learned much about relationships between individuals. Later, during her medical work in different cultures, but especially during her seven years (1984-1991) as a clinical psychologist in Cairo, Egypt – a rather collectivistic society – her attention turned to family relations. Her medical doctorate (1994) addresses the definition of quality of life in Egypt as compared to Germany. In her most recent research on war, violence and the dynamics of humiliation (1997-2001) she approaches even larger groups, ranging from clans to nations and ultimately to the so-called international community. Evelin Lindner has a unique background of intercultural knowledge (she handles about 12 languages) and interdisciplinary scholarship (from philosophy to psychology, medicine, sociology and political science) and practical experience (as clinical psychologist and consultant for an international business clientele). Her recent research on humiliation was exceptionally innovative and path breaking and did place this topic on the academic agenda.

BRIEF INTRODUCTION: *The Drama of Humiliation* will be an agenda-setting intervention in the debate on the peaceful transformation of conflicts and the creation of relationships based on trust and respect instead of mechanisms of humiliation.

Its basis is, among others, the recent fieldwork that the author carried out for her research on the topic of humiliation. The research project had the title *The Feeling of Being Humiliated: A Central Theme in Armed Conflicts*. The author carried out 216 qualitative interviews, addressing Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi and their history of genocidal killings, on the background of the Holocaust perpetrated in Hitler's Germany. From 1998 to 1999 the interviews took place in Africa (in Hargeisa, capital of Somaliland, in Kigali and other places

in Rwanda, in Bujumbura, capital of Burundi, in Nairobi in Kenya, and in Cairo in Egypt), and from 1997 to 2001 also in Europe (in Norway, Germany, Switzerland, France, and in Belgium).

Furthermore the book will draw on material that has been collected by the author through many years of practical intercultural experience and research in a variety of fields. The author is a psychologist and physician, and has a history of working and studying in different cultures. For seven years, from 1984-1991, she worked as a psychological counsellor in Cairo, Egypt. Her medical and psychological studies (1974-1984) she carried out in New Zealand, China, Thailand, Germany, Norway, USA, Israel, on a training ship to West Africa.

Two initial observations triggered the author's interest in the topic of humiliation. The author's experience as clinical psychologist (1980-84 in Germany, 1984-1991 in Egypt) indicated that humiliation is of crucial importance in human relations, both as act and experience, and that cycles of humiliation may permeate people's lives with an all-consuming intensity. Vogel & Lazare, 1990, illustrate this point in 'The Unforgivable Humiliation – a Dilemma in Couples Treatment.' The severity of rifts caused by humiliation to be observed between people called for research.

Furthermore, it is often assumed, that the humiliation of the Germans through the Versailles Treaties after World War I was partly responsible for the Holocaust and the Second World War.[1] It seemed therefore very important to understand the nature of humiliation and how it is related to the occurrence of genocide and mass violence. Work by Scheff, 1990, Staub, 1989, Volkan, 1997, or Rapoport, 1997, addresses parts of the dynamics that pertain to humiliation, but humiliation is normally not differentiated from other notions such as, for example, shame, or trauma. Smedslund, 1997 and worked on common sense definitions of psychological notions such as anger or respect, while Ross & Ward, 1995 worked on naïve realism and psychological barriers to conflict resolution. Based on their work it seemed important to focus on the notion of humiliation and differentiate it from other concepts.

The book will be organised in three main parts that are preceded by an introductory section and a closing chapter with concluding remarks.

Part One: Humiliation in the Family

Family and gender:
Analysis of the changing position of males and females, as patriarchal structures and attitudes are undermined. This part is based on the authors experience as a clinical psychologist in Germany and in Egypt, where she had an international clientele.

Part Two: Humiliation in Organisations

Business world and public organisations:
Analysis of the forms of humiliation, intended and unintended, committed within and by business organisations.

Part Three: Humiliation in National and International Conflicts

International relations and peace-keeping:

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[1] See, for example, Haffner & Bateson, 1978, Elias, 1996.

Analysis of the dynamics of humiliation in the Middle East, the Balkans, Africa and Southeast Asia, including the humiliations imposed, often unintentionally, by intervening third parties attempting to maintain peace, protect 'humanitarian' interests, or 'defend human rights.'

EXTENDED SYNOPSIS

Introductory Examples of the Dynamics of Humiliation[2]

After Germany's defeat in 1945, care was taken not to repeat the humiliation of 1918. Instead of facing draconian demands for reparations, Germany was given help to rebuild its industrial economy and was brought into NATO and the European Community (now the European Union). The clear intention was to avoid a third world war against Germany with all the terrible costs that would entail' (Lindner, 2001, 2).

The Marshall Plan was central to preventing a renewed humiliation. Willy Brandt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, confirmed this when he spoke at Harvard University 5th June 1972 at the commemoration of George Marshall's speech 25 years earlier (Brandt, 1999). Brandt's speech was entitled: '1945 Different Than 1918.'

Willy Brandt, with his own talent for making historic speeches, declared: '...Victories, too, can be bitter, especially if they carry the seed for future conflicts as in 1918, when the war was won, and peace was lost for want of reason on the part of the winners and the losers, through stubborn mistrust on the one side, through resentment of the humiliated on the other... George Marshall and others agreed that victory did not relieve his country of its responsibility. The United States did not for a moment claim that responsibility for itself, it shared it with its allies...With his plan George Marshall roused Europe's stifled self-confidence. He gave many citizens of the old continent a concrete stimulus to bring down from the stars the vision of a Europe united in lasting peace... the Marshall Plan was productive proof that America needs a self-confident Europe capable of forming a common political will... it waits for Europe to grow into an equal partner with whom it can share the burden of responsibility for world affairs...1947 marked the beginning of the Cold War, not because of, but in spite of the Marshall Plan.'

An example of humiliation at the international level	
Humiliation	The Treaty of Versailles humiliated a defeated Germany and – together with economic hardship – prepared Germany for Hitler.
Consequences of humiliation	• World War and Holocaust. • As a consequence, all Germans acquired the reputation of being 'willing executioners' who do not deserve sympathy or help.
Reconciliation	The Marshall Plan provided Germany with new dignity, and instead of an excluded pariah, Germany is a member of NATO and EU.

Table 1: An example of humiliation and its aftermath at the international level

The two world wars thus seem to support the proposition that humiliation may lead to war, Holocaust, genocide, ethnic cleansing and terrorism. At the turn of the millennium those very issues are still all very high on the world's political agenda. In recent years, genocide has occurred in Rwanda and Burundi, ethnic cleansing in ex-Yugoslavia, atrocities have been committed in East-Timor and many other places.

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[2] Quoted from Lindner, 2000a.

To take Rwanda, Clark writes about the genocide in 1994: 'The Rwandan genocide of 1994 was the execution of 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu by Hutu-supremacists in the name of Hutu superiority. It took place at a pace three times that of the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews. This genocide I find to be, with no hyperbole, perhaps the single worst, most immoral, tragic, and horrific event of human history; for a few reasons. First, the genocide was committed not by a military elite but by the populace at large, using crude weapons (mostly machetes). Second, the international community (read: the United States and Western Europe) did almost nothing to stop it, despite repeated warnings. Third, the size and rapidity of the genocide was astounding. Fourth, it was the archetype of genocide, nothing motivated the killers besides a hate that had accumulated over the centuries' (Clark, 2000, 1).

Rwanda could be added to the list of sad examples illustrating the dynamics of humiliation. Table 2 proposes a possible version of these dynamics, this time not between states, as in the case of Germany, but within a single state.

An example of humiliation at the national level	
Humiliation	Extremist members of the Hutu ruling class – Hutu being the former 'underlings' in the traditional Tutsi kingdom of Rwanda – feared the return of past humiliation if their former Tutsi masters were to regain influence.
Consequences of humiliation	• Genocide. • As a consequence, all Hutu acquired the reputation of 'genocidaires' who do not deserve sympathy or help.
Reconciliation	Yet to be fully achieved.

Table 2: An example of humiliation and its aftermath at the national level

Examples are not restricted to the national or international level; the global multilateral level is equally affected. In 1993 an angry crowd dragged a dead American soldier through the streets of Mogadishu in Somalia.[3] On New Year's Eve 1998 I interviewed a Somali warlord (Osman Ato, a former ally of General Aidid) who was just one of many Somali voices who insisted that in the eyes of many Somalis (and others) the UNOSOM operation was a big humiliation. This was especially true, he maintained, when a house was attacked and bombed where respected elders had a meeting. He felt even more humiliated, he was adamant, by the cynical and humiliating justification that was given for the bombing, namely that this meetinghouse was supposedly a headquarters. He argued strongly that 'when the Americans feel humiliated because their soldiers' bodies were shown in the streets, they should ask themselves why this happened. They should be aware of the fact that killing elders, for example, is a deep humiliation in Somali society.' The helicopters, the bombing, all this, he maintained, were acts of humiliation that united Somalis against the UN. Osman Ato's views illustrated that he, a warlord, and himself an 'organiser of violence,' fervently thinks in terms of humiliation and 'counter-humiliation,' as do wide circles of the Somali people, who united together with him under the banner of 'necessary' counter-humiliation.

But not only Osman Ato saw humiliation at work. Even some of the most earnest, humane and well willing helpers on the American side felt uneasy. Sam Engelstad, UN's Chief of Humanitarian Affairs, and, on several occasions Acting Humanitarian Coordinator in

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[3] On 9th December 1992, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), or Operation Restore Hope, was launched in Somalia by the United States, as a response to the failing of the first United Nations operation UNOSOM. However, UNITAF also came to fail, as did UNOSOM II. Especially, the hunt for Somali General Aidid undermined UN impartiality and turned the UN and the US into targets of Somali mistrust and revenge.

Mogadishu in 1994, wrote[4]: 'During my own time in Somalia in 1994, humiliation was never far from the surface. Indeed, it pretty much suffused the relationship between members of the UN community and the general Somali population. In the day-to-day interaction between the Somalis and UN relief workers like ourselves, it enveloped our work like a grey cloud. Yet, the process was not well understood, and rarely intended to be malevolent.' Engelstad adds that 'Among the political and administrative leadership of the UN mission, however, humiliation and its consequences were far better understood and were frequently used as policy tools. Regardless of intent, it was pernicious and offensive to many of us.'

A cycle of humiliation was put in motion in Somalia, see Table 3: First the Somalis felt humiliated, and then they responded by inflicting humiliation upon dead American bodies. The latter phase of this cycle is still relevant today to any traveller, especially from the rich world, as incidents of kidnappings and bombings show, which limit the freedom to move internationally because of fear of terrorist attacks. Not even humanitarian workers such as Red Cross and Red Crescent staff are safe from kidnap incidents, such as the one that occurred in Somalia in April 1998.[5] Anti-Western terrorism in Egypt (for example Luxor, 1997), or the 1998 bombings of the American embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es-Salaam, Tanzania, are further examples that have filled the media. The recent kidnap drama on the Philippines may also serve as an instance; an American hostage was 'worth' much more than hostages with other passports, namely claims of ten million dollars and the release of prisoners in the United States (1st September 2000, ARD 'Tagesschau,' Germany).

The humiliating ending of the UN operation in Somalia had profound effects at the global multilateral level, as this quote illustrates: 'The international community's intervention in Somalia has become synonymous with the prevailing mood in many quarters against international intervention in far-flung civil conflicts, against the broadening of peacekeeping into "nation-building" operations, and against the United Nations in general' (Jan, 1996, 1).

Rwanda paid a high price for this 'mood against international intervention': When the genocide started in Rwanda in 1994 the international community left Rwandans to slaughter each other, because nobody wanted a 'second Somalia.'[6] This is the more shocking since as few as 5000 troops could have saved almost a million lives: 'A modern force of 5,000 troops... sent to Rwanda sometime between April 7 and April 21, 1994, could have significantly altered the outcome of the conflict... forces appropriately trained, equipped and commanded, and introduced in a timely manner, could have stemmed the violence in and around the capital, prevented its spread to the countryside, and created conditions conducive to the cessation of the civil war…' (Feil, 1998, 3, quoted from The International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events, 2000, chapter 10, paragraph 9).

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[4] Personal communication from Sam Engelstad (28th September 1999), quoted with his permission.
[5] Eight Red Cross and Red Crescent staff were kidnapped at the airport in Mogadishu North. See further down my interviews with hostages, among others the head of the group, Ola Skuterud from the Norwegian Red Cross, as well as with the chief negotiator of the Red Cross.
[6] See for example O'Halloran, 1995.

An example of humiliation at the global, multilateral level	
Humiliation	Somalis felt humiliated by certain operations that were part of an international intervention that was intended to help Somalis.
Consequences of humiliation	• Somalis killed UN peacekeepers, and publicly humiliated the dead bodies of U.S. pilots. Also today, especially Western tourists are at risk of being kidnapped or even killed in some world regions. • As a consequence, people in need in some world regions have acquired the reputation of being unthankful recipients who do not deserve sympathy or help. The international community, for example, hesitated to protect Rwandans against genocide.
Reconciliation	Yet to be fully achieved.

Table 3: An example of humiliation and its aftermath at the global, multilateral level

Similar dynamics of humiliation may be diagnosed at the intercultural level. As discussed above, Western psychology is ethno-centric. I will relate a story that reinforced my interest in studying this topic; it also connects to the first part of Sam Engelstad's quote. I learned to understand how Western psychology may be inadequate within the framework of other cultures, and may have a humiliating effect, though unintended, upon these other cultures.

I would like to recount one exemplary story, representative for a larger number of examples, in order to illustrate how the situation became obvious to me: I remember how disturbing it was to see how some of my Western colleagues 'humiliated' their Egyptian clients without noticing it, even believing that their actions were for their clients' 'best.' A Western colleague, for example, advised young Egyptian girls who sought her advice because they suffered from problematic family situations, to get their own apartment in order to 'cut the umbilical cord' and, 'by God, get on their own feet!' My Western therapist-colleague was unwilling to understand, when I explained, that in most Egyptian contexts it would be quite harmful for a young girl to move into her own flat, that she rather should move to her grandmother, aunt, or some other relative. My colleague defended her approach and explained to me that she felt that the Egyptian population was disadvantaged because they 'had not yet had the chance' to learn enough about the Western way of life, and were 'deprived' of relevant Western knowledge about how healthy people should behave. When the girls in question did not actually move to a flat of their own, the therapist drew the conclusion that the girls 'did not wish to get better.' The therapist told the girls that they were 'wasting the therapist's time,' and should 'come back when they were serious.'

This example may tentatively be systematised in Table 4 and thus provide an example for the dynamics of humiliation at the intercultural level:

An example of humiliation at the intercultural level	
Humiliation	Some instances of 'helpful' intervention by Western counsellors were not well enough adapted to Egyptian culture. What was intended as help proved to be humiliating in its effects.
Consequences of humiliation	• Some Egyptian clients stopped accepting 'help' from their Western helpers. • As a consequence, these Egyptian clients acquired the reputation of being unthankful recipients who do not deserve sympathy or help.
Reconciliation	Yet to be fully achieved.

Table 4: An example of humiliation and its aftermath at the intercultural level

Finally, the interpersonal level shall be briefly touched upon in this enumeration of illustrative examples of the dynamics of humiliation. On the basis of many years of international experience, I suggest that it is a universal human experience to feel terrible if put down and humiliated. I believe that humiliation is especially salient if your love is being rejected in the very act of humiliation; even worse, if the wish to be loved back is being denied at the same time.

I had a client whose mother-in-law enjoyed saying, in front of the whole family, with disgust in her voice: 'And you want to be part of our family? Who do you think you are?' My client reported to me what she felt when confronted with this behaviour for the first time: 'I was deeply shocked and petrified; I felt cold, could hardly breath, and I was unable to answer.' She came to me because she felt that she was not addicted to alcohol or cigarettes: much worse, she was caught in her own pain. She could not distance herself, could not develop any leisure interests or relaxing hobbies. Her entire life was consumed by her relationship with her in-laws, a relationship that was filled with a continuous flow of incidents of humiliation and counter-humiliation, sometimes minute, sometimes overwhelmingly vicious; she could not stop being obsessed with imagining all kinds of revenge. After her husband's death her in-laws tried to trick her out of her inheritance and she was locked in bitter court-cases with them for many years. She repeatedly became so desperate that she did 'stupid' things as she called it – for example writing 'hysterical' letters, or starting to shout at her adversaries in the court room – behaviour that did not earn her the respect she wished to receive from the judge, her lawyer and others involved in the case.

An example of humiliation at the family level	
Humiliation	My client is being humiliated by her in-laws.
Consequences of humiliation	• My client is obsessed by dreams of revenge. She occasionally gets 'crazy,' writes 'hysterical' letters, or shouts at her adversaries. • As a consequence, she acquired the reputation of not deserving sympathy or help.
Reconciliation	Yet to be fully achieved.

Table 5: An example of humiliation and its aftermath at the intercultural level

These exemplary snapshots indicating the relevance of the dynamics of humiliation are intended to give the reader a taste of what humiliation may entail, and where to find it. Further down in the text some of these examples, especially those at the macro-level, will be examined in more detail.

Tentatively, one may conclude, from the list of examples presented, that the war-torn first half of the twentieth century in Europe suggests that humiliation can lead to war, to Holocaust, genocide, ethnic cleansing and terrorism, while the second half of the century indicates that the same proposition may be true in other parts of the world as well. Furthermore, the examples presented give a taste of the wide range of consequences flowing from humiliation. Incidents of humiliation may lead to extreme reactions such as massacres, but may also be relevant in the more subtle undermining of, for example, intercultural relations. Moreover, these examples make it, perhaps, clearer how humiliation may be played out at all levels, affecting relations between individuals as well as groups.

In other words, these introductory remarks highlight incidents and processes that invite the hypothesis that deeply damaging experiences of humiliation may be a major cause of the widespread occurrence of the break-down of relations around the world, leading to outcomes ranging from hidden animosity to open violence such as war, genocide, terrorism and kidnapping. The characteristics of humiliation merit detailed investigation. If people feel

humiliated, they may strike back when they can, and this may lead not only to extreme outcomes such as war and violence, but also to more muted consequences, such as the hampering of constructive relations, strategies and conflict solutions that otherwise would be attainable.

The Significance of Historic Change for the Way Humiliation Is Perceived, Felt and Reacted to

The results of the research project on humiliation as related to genocide and war show that processes of humiliation are elementary, because genocide and war often occur when 'underlings' try to replace their masters (and keep hierarchy intact), or attempt to rise to equality (and dismantle hierarchical structures) as described by human rights ideals.

The research yielded the thought-provoking results that the current rise of underlings to the level of equality as described by human rights ideals is characterised by a certain sequence of actions and reactions (and that this sequence is not only diachronic, but also synchronic). The sequence of actions and reactions may be summarised as follows:

- Underlings in traditional hierarchical societies may humbly accept their lowliness as divinely ordained or nature's order (see notions of penetration, structural violence, Galtung, 1969, 1996). Masters view their superiority in the same terms – they typically assume that their underlings deeply admire and love them and that their domination represents nothing more than parental patronage.
- Underlings may attempt to rise within ranking orders by imitating elites. Masters typically view this effort with mild sympathy or ridicule.
- At some point underlings recognise that by imitating masters they do not actually achieve the status of a master or gain respect as an equal (Fanon, 1986) and they develop feelings of humiliation regarding their lowly position. They may call for major changes of hierarchical structures, even for revolution and violence, and may accuse masters of having arrogated their superiority illegitimately. At this point masters themselves typically experience feelings of humiliation due to the withdrawal of the thankfulness and subservience that they feel entitled to receiving from their underlings. Violent oppression of their underlings may be the masters' reaction in cases where they stay in power; genocide of the former elite (imagined or real) may the result when underlings gain access to the country's power instruments (Hutu in Rwanda).

These three stages may occur in the course of macro-historical changes – such as the demise of slavery – however, the same society, even the same person, may harbour all stages and incremental transitions between stages within herself at the same time. An underling, for example, may rebel against an elite and feel humiliated by it, while at the same time admiring it and feeling ashamed of this very admiration. The intricate web of threads of feelings and actions that accompany the rise of underlings requires thorough disentangling in order to understand and prevent violent expressions. Processes of humiliation and counter-humiliation stand at the core of this web and give it a comprehensive meaning. The research project on humiliation has shed valuable light on this web, however, more research is required.

Research findings suggest that the current transition towards human rights ideals is characterised by a multitude of confrontations and contradictions

The author found ample evidence for the problems entailed in the current transition to human rights based societal structures and facilitates the tackling of such problems by systematising these problems with the help of the concept of humiliation. Today's global society includes

- promoters of human rights who regard degradation of others as illegitimate,

- and at the same time representatives of the opposite stance who justify the same practice as highly recommendable.

Often the elite of a country or organisation displays the 'old values' and pays at best lip service to human rights, while others call for an earnest implementation of the ideal of human rights. This antagonism creates a host of misunderstandings and bitter feelings that relate to the notion of humiliation. Oppressive dictatorial regimes, for example, face criticism from human rights advocates and are accused of humiliating their underlings, however, such regimes may return the same accusation and deplore that Western imperialist ideas are used to humiliate the non-West. An important policy recommendation arising from the research is that human rights advocacy that does not display respect for those who still adhere to the old honour code, may have humiliating effects on the accused that create secondary problems in the course of a transition that is already difficult in itself. In order to facilitate a smoother transition towards human rights, these findings are crucial, and further research necessary.

Findings suggest that the current transition towards human rights ideals can be described with terms such as arrogation, humiliation and humility

Error! Reference source not found. depicts how the current transition to egalitarian relations may be described. It may be seen as characterised by underlings who begin feeling humiliated by their lowly position and who accuse masters of having arrogated their superiority. Underlings attempt to rise to the line of equality, and at the same time call for masters to descend to a common level of humility, thus dismantling hierarchy. In contrast, in the traditional honour society underlings typically rose to the level of the master and kept the old hierarchical structure in place.
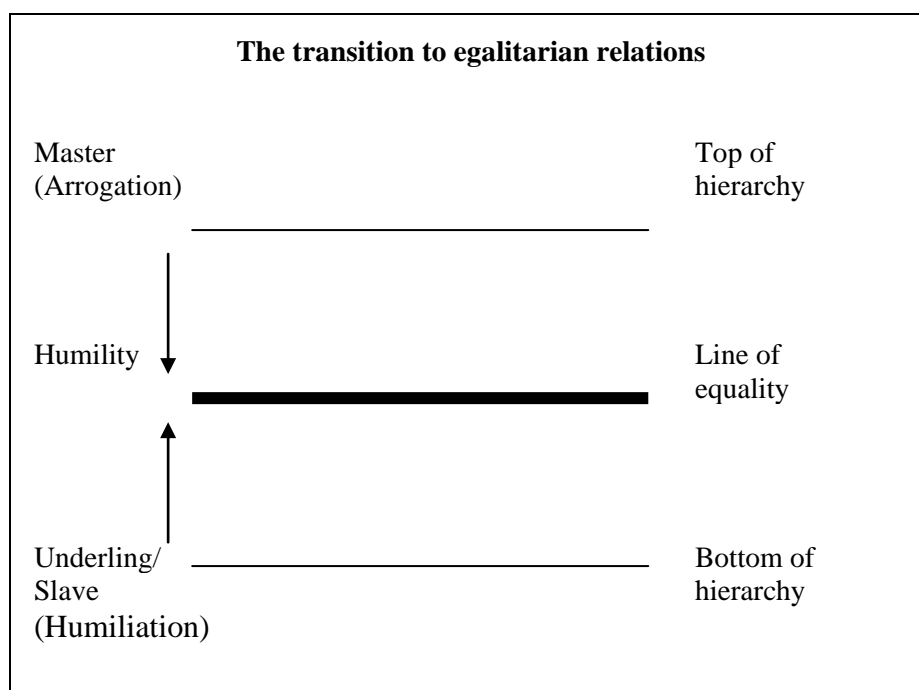

Figure 1: The transition to equal dignity for every human being

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Findings indicate that feelings of humiliation become stronger at the current historic turning point as the act of humiliation becomes illegitimate and at the same time more wide-spread:

Central findings of the research – with urgent policy relevance – concern the consequences of the current historic transition from 'honour humiliation' (humiliation as legitimate subjugation of some human beings by others in honour societies) towards 'human rights humiliation' (modern human rights based societal structures that regard humiliation as illegitimate).

This transition dangerously increases feelings of humiliation in many segments of the world population:

- Feelings of humiliation increase whenever underlings come to perceive that their condition of subjugation – a condition they may have accepted as divinely ordained or nature's order – is far from legitimate and represents but illegitimate and humiliating lowliness.

- Global promotion and awareness of human rights is currently contrasted with an increase of its violations – the growing gap between rich and poor is but one example – and this gap increases feelings of humiliation among the less privileged because they feel victimised by what they see as humiliation by 'double standards' or empty 'human rights rethoric.'

- Formerly recommended communication styles that entailed routine humiliation increasingly receive medical labels such as trauma, bullying or mobbing, and thus expand the repertoire of existing medical diagnoses insofar as processes of humiliation become the core of new diagnostic labels.

Since feelings of humiliation have the potential to lead to anger and violence an increase of those feelings within the world population may be described as being as dangerous as a pressure cooker that collects steam.

Part One: Humiliation in the Family
Family and gender:
Analysis of the changing position of males and females, as patriarchal structures and attitudes are undermined. This part is based on the authors experience as a clinical psychologist in Germany and in Egypt, where she had an international clientele.

In the beginning of this chapter the author will discuss how routine humiliation of women and children used to be regarded as 'normal' and even was 'recommended,' to an extent that the groom received a whip as a gift at his wedding ceremony (still done in some regions today, the author just came across an example in Kazakhstan), so as to maintain - by beating his wife - the traditional hierarchy. Currently such practices fall into disfavour all over the world and beating one's wife (or children) looses its nimbus of 'necessary humiliation.'

Several related practices as well, such as female genital mutilation, honour killings, or rape within marriage, are currently being addressed and transferred from the category of 'normal practice based on our traditions' or 'recommended humiliation' to the category of 'violation of human dignity.' This is a historic process that currently is ongoing and that – and this is an important innovative point made by the author – should also include phenomena that are less obvious, such as 'falsely professed love.'

The author describes falsely professed love as a new and serious problem within western society, that occurs as soon as 'authentically professed love' is taken to be the foundation of partner relationships and machismo looses its halo of heroism. The author claims that this problem is new for society, that it is deeply disturbing, and that is affects relationships more

than hitherto acknowledged. A variant of falsely professed loved is the sequence of seduction and abandonment. This is described by the author as THE destructive sequence of our times, since it is not only used in a detrimental way in personal relationships, but also by dictatorial elites who drive their followers into committing horrible atrocities (Hitler's Germany, Siad Barre's Somalia, Rwanda), by applying what could be called 'seduction' of their followers.

In the following an exemplary story from the author's clinical practice will be told that includes some aspects of humiliation that may occur in the context of 'false love'[7]:

Alice[8] came to me as a client because her marriage had collapsed. Alice is an intelligent well-educated European woman. She told me the following: 'I met Robert 10 years ago. He is 18 years older than me. When I met him, I just came out of a relationship with an abusive man who could not endure an intelligent woman at his side. I was happy to meet somebody who was older and kinder. I yearned for kindness, for being taken care of, for not being hurt several times a day. I was touched and happy when Robert said that he needed me. My former husband never said that, he only said that I was old and ugly. I was happy about the new compliments in my life. I was ready to give Robert everything, I was happy to have found somebody who finally loved me, and obviously did not feel threatened by me, my education, my intelligence.'

'Robert lived and worked in Indonesia, and I moved to Indonesia to join him. He was separated from his wife who lived back in Europe, and he told me that he considered me his wife now, but that he could not get a divorce because of the laws back home in his country. I accepted. I preferred a happy relationship to a painful marriage. When I arrived in Indonesia I was full of plans, wanted to do research, get another degree, have a family…. Nothing of that happened. Now I am 10 years older and I have nothing. I have wasted all these years on this man. And the worst, I did not even recognise that I wasted the time while I did it! Every time we wanted to realise one of my goals, there was an existential crisis in his life. He had problems with his job, problems with his family, we always lived in emergencies. I hardly ever relaxed. I was all the time busy helping him with his problems, hoping that we would start 'our' life 'then,' that also 'my' life would start one day. It never started.'

'How on earth could I so stupid and accept all that? I think I did it because my mother taught me that a good woman is loyal to her man. My mother is very religious and believes that a wife has to support her husband. Today she reproaches me and asks me why I did not get my degree, why I do not have a family. She does not want to recognise that my wish to get her approval drove me into that. And what does Robert say? He says: "But why did you not tell me that you were not happy! If I only knew that I would have arranged our life differently!" I used to answer: "But you knew what hopes I had for my life! You knew that! And when we decided to stay together you promised to take care of these hopes! And do you not remember how often I cried? You used to tell me off then, you used to accuse me of being weak. You told me to be optimistic, that was all you did!"'

Alice continues, exhausted from a life of emergencies and sacrifices: 'Stupid me, I tried terribly hard to relax and be optimistic! Whenever I thought I was not optimistic enough, I felt guilty of not loving him enough: How could I be weak in supporting this wonderful man who had so many troubles, I told myself. How blind, how stupid, I say today! How could I ever be proud of being intelligent while being so stupid? And proud of being a 'good woman'? But now I realise that Robert used all these emergencies to hide behind them, to avoid real commitment to me. He was not really interested in my needs, my dreams, my happiness. He needed my presence, he enjoyed me being near him, this was what he wanted. I feel today that I was a valuable object to him, let us say like an expensive Chinese vase, in other words, he

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[7] See also Lindner, 2000b.
[8] The names have been changed.

loved me like one loves a piece of art that one looks at everyday. He did not think of giving the loved object food or protect her from illness, of course not, because vases do not need that. It may even not be a lack of love on his side; it is lack of ability to be empathic. I did not recognise to what degree he is isolated within himself. His kindness is not fake, he is kind, but he is deeply limited to himself, to his own needs and wishes, his kindness has its limits as soon as his needs and wishes are endangered.'

'Today my loyalty to him, as well as my intelligence, which made me proud once, make me feel disgusted of myself. I am not only ashamed of myself; I feel that I humiliated myself in front of the Alice who once thought highly of herself. I feel exploited by Robert; he manipulated me into helping him and sacrificing my life for him. And at the end he leaves me with the feeling that it was alone my fault, that I exploited myself, and he is even right! *I feel that he raped me, in a slow process, a slow humiliating rape, which I allowed. I could kill Robert. He destroyed me and my inner core of dignity. What he did to me is worse than overt rape. A brute rapist does at least not lie. Robert raped me and made me believe it was love. The resentment, pain and suffering which this brought into my life cannot be measured*' (emphasis added).

The case of Alice may be described as one of 'love-rape.' This case shows how fine and difficult the line is between full love and exploitation. Robert offered false love to Alice. He was either too weak to recognise this or 'shrewd' enough to avoid recognising it. He lied to himself about his love, or just stayed uninformed about himself. Either he found it more convenient to believe that he really loved her, while in fact he employed his talent for manipulation to escape difficult sacrifices that would have been necessary for full love. Or he was just a very weak person, and was therefore unable to confront the fact that he was not able to give Alice full and mature love. If Alice assumes that he more or less consciously deceived her, he is a bastard in her eyes. If she assumes that he is a weak man, he is a pitiable creature, - for Alice both versions are about as bad. A bastard she hates, a weakling she pities. What she never can restore is respect for Robert.

To conclude, Alice lived in a false world for years, only to discover that she has been deceived for years, that her judgement was not good enough. The humiliation stemming from exposed love-rape is deep because it mirrors the conceptual distance between love and destruction. To detect that my inner core of dignity has been violated while I believed it was love is the worst humiliation imaginable.

It is humiliating to discover that those who are claiming to protect you are actually restricting your freedom. That was Alice's experience. It is also the experience being undergone by millions of women, as they become part of the global human rights revolution. This process is bound to create great suffering. A woman, for example, who finds out that female genital mutilation and wearing the veil may actually be defined as violating her inner core of dignity will feel enormous revulsion. She will no longer believe that they are necessary 'protection,' but will interpret them as collective cultural 'rape,' as deeply humiliating.

This part of the book makes three points:
1. It illustrates how formerly normal routine acts of humiliation within the family currently change their category status and are increasingly defined as violation of human dignity.
2. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the notion of falsely professed love as being especially destructive for society the more relationships are expected to be based on trust and authenticity.
3. Finally, this chapter lays the ground for later chapters, insofar as it shows, that the sequence of seduction and abandonment that may occur between lovers, also may

characterise the state of collectives who are incited to commit genocidal atrocities by their political elite.

Part Two: Humiliation in Organisations
Business world and public organisations:
Analysis of the forms of humiliation, intended and unintended, committed within and by business organisations.

This chapter deals with three distinct but closely related subjects – humiliation, organisations (especially business corporations), and globalisation. The aim is to (a) show how avoiding humiliation would contribute to the achievement of increased social harmony while also improving effectiveness within organisations, and (b) suggest how involvement in projects of global social responsibility would contribute to a more peaceful and prosperous society.

This chapter will not attempt to enter into the debate on the ambivalences and paradoxes of globality and globalisation.[9] Instead, the chapter makes the assumption that globalisation entails two strands: on one side the shrinking of the global village through continuous technological improvement in the sphere of global communication/mobility leading in the direction of a global information society, and, on the other side, a considerable increase in global inequality. The chapter suggests that organisations, especially the corporate sector, has, and should be more aware of, an interest in integrating more social responsibility into its strategic thinking, and will particularly benefit from learning more about the process of humiliation whose effects hamper not only the workings of society at large but also corporate activities.

In the following a short overview will be given over the forms of humiliation corporations may wish to deal with:

The employee:
The 'forerunner' of the employee was the slave. Slaves had their place at the bottom of the pyramid of power. They had to obey their masters. Employees in today's ideal form of effective co-operation, namely creative networks, on the other hand, are closer to masters than to slaves. Creativity – or at least creativity that benefits the employing company – only flourishes in an environment of freedom. Creativity and motivation are very fragile resources that require a sense of competence and self-possession. Wherever the creation of innovative new products, services and strategies is required from an employee, humiliation has to be avoided. This includes avoidance of bullying and mobbing,[10] but also avoidance of under-payment. An underpaid employee will leave the company, or will withhold her creativity from the workplace – and even where creativity is not required for production, a bullied and/or underpaid employee may still sabotage production. All companies that believe that they thrive on coercing employees, or on cheap labour in poor regions of the world, would be well advised to include these considerations in their evaluations. The transition toward the egalitarian information society tends also to level out hierarchical gradations among employees leaving in place a level plane of equality where people meet each other under conditions of mutual respect and enter into loose fluctuating hierarchies determined by functional skills.

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[9] See, for example, Beck, 1999, and Appadurai, 1996.

[10] See for literature on mobbing, for example, Leymann, in Leymann, 2000a; Leymann, in Leymann, 2000b; Leymann, in Leymann, 2000c; Zapf & Leymann, 1996; Niedl, 1996; Davenport, Distler Schwartz, & Elliot Pursell , 1999; Vartia, in Zapf & Leymann, 1996.

The customer:

In honour-based societies customers are treated with either arrogance, or with deference and subordination, according to the customer's status in the hierarchy of power: the beggar, the 'customer' for charity, stands at the bottom, and the aristocracy stands at the top of customer hierarchy. The only 'use' beggars can be put to may be earning God's recognition by helping them; poverty in the traditional honour context is otherwise seen as 'normal.' The rich, however, are venerated customers in any system, be it more hierarchical or egalitarian. To treat customers with respect, similar to the royal 'masters' of former times, is one aspect today's corporate sector increasingly focuses on – slowly the awareness that clients who feel humiliated are bad clients is gaining ground – but there is more to it than that.

Many of today's products benefit from customers who not only have the money to buy these products, but who also have the education and self-confidence to be sparring partners with the company. The optimal way to produce and sell products is through a dialogue within an equal relationship between producer and customer. Companies are increasingly taking the satisfaction of clients seriously, and this field is a wide market for consultancy companies. In other words, customers are being 'discovered' as dialogue partners who can contribute to the development of products; they are no longer just passive recipients. Dialogue requires equality and respect, otherwise it breaks down; therefore companies are compelled to have an interest in maintaining equal and respectful relations with un-humiliated customers, customers who have money, education and self-confidence.

Nelder (1996) describes this transition in terms of Martin Buber's 'I-It' relationship, where the counterpart is objectified, to a 'I-Thou' relationship, in other words where the counterpart is not a 'means,' but an 'end' (as the German philosopher Emmanuel Kant formulated). Nelder writes: 'The successful business of the future will reverse that relationship, moving away from what Jewish theologian Martin Buber calls the "I-It" relationship to an "I-Thou" relationship based on mutual respect. Businesses who value their relationships with their customers will be able to hang onto them, and those who don't, won't. The smart company will hear negative feedback from its environment (including its customers) and respond to it symbiotically' (Nelder, 1996). This means that the corporate sector benefits from potent customers who are at the same time dialogue partners. Poor people, discouraged, badly educated and informed, are rather useless as a market. The transition from old ways of thinking to new styles is difficult --- it is a truism that change is difficult --- and many organisations struggle with it, however, both normative trends and an increasing awareness of the psychological make-up of human beings bring increased pressure for change.

The shareholder:

Shareholders (including other corporations such as pension funds) increasingly demand transparency, meaning that they want to be treated with respect and not be kept in the dark or duped by the management. 'Shareholder value' is a buzzword that humbles the management of a company and requests rather egalitarian relations within a context of mutual respect, similar to the relations between company and client. It is true that shareholder value is widely criticised, especially by welfarists, for forcing management to resort to short-term and socially cold strategies with the exclusive aim to maximise profit. Nevertheless, future developments may increasingly introduce shareholder value in a different sense, namely values as ethical values, as demonstrated, for example, by 'socially responsible' funds (see, for example, Glassman, 2000). After all, turning employees, customers and general populations into shareholders may be seen as a means of restructuring entire societies from former hierarchies

into modern egalitarian societies, from relations of oppressive humiliation to relations of mutual respect. This example of social change is, again, not to be achieved instantly and a long period of difficult transitional adaptations is to be expected.

The social environment:

Some will put forward the argument that the corporate sector may be best served by having poor and uneducated people living in the vicinity of their productions sites, because then managers may 'do what they want.' Unquestionably, selling out people's health for short-term gains may be in the interest of some corporate leaders in pact with dictatorial governments, - in the short term – but this short-sightedness is increasingly losing the flavour of smartness. The reason is – simply – that the planet is too small and that neither corporate nor national leaders live in isolated ghettoes. Nobody can acquire complete protection from pollution and social degradation. Acceptance within a social environment (among 'bystanders,' to use Staub's word[11] is increasingly important for the functioning of any corporate activity. The times are gone when companies could routinely keep hazards, for example, health hazards, secret. If today people feel ridiculed and humiliated by the management of a factory in their neighbourhood, they may obstruct its functioning, either by sabotage or open protest.

Examples abound. Nigeria and Shell provided wide media coverage in 1995, partly because the Ogono protest ended in the execution of their leader, Ken Saro-Wiwa. In former eras such events may have been categorised as 'forgotten African cases,' undiscovered by the media, but in today's 'global village' no party can hope to escape the detrimental consequences of her actions, - even if locals may be duped, there is an Internet and an international community whose attention cannot be avoided. 'The explosion of interest in responsible corporate citizenship since 1995 has reminded many of the earlier rapid development of interest in environmental management issues. Active stakeholders and lobby groups have successfully exerted pressures on management for improved corporate behaviour. The Green Peace success in the Shell case is a useful reminder. No longer are the lobby group enthusiastic amateurs. They can be very professional, and most arrive with an agenda of their own. The Internet provides a speed and breadth of information transfer never before seen. Some of it is frankly hostile to corporate activity as may be seen in the case of Monsanto' (Rosthorn, 1999, abstract). Rosthorn states that some corporations have engaged their lobbyists to the degree of actively involving them in the audit process, and his paper looks at the example of the 'Business Ethics Strategic Survey.' Rosthorn addresses *environmental* sustainability in its relation to corporate activities. In this article I focus on *social* sustainability. Just recently the Swiss and German corporate sector had to face the consequences of their involvement in Nazi activities. Bertelsmann AG, for example, the world's largest publisher of English-language books has come under fire over its links with the Nazi regime expressed in publications glorifying Nazi ideology. The company said in a statement that: 'Bertelsmann recognizes its responsibility with regard to the company history. We are appointing an independent panel of experts. ... They will from time to time present their findings and answer questions' (Bonn, Germany, Reuters, 16 December 1998([12])). The statement, issued jointly by chief executive Thomas Middelhoff, supervisory board head Mark Wössner and chief shareholder Reinhard Mohn, acknowledged, contrary to the earlier self-image, that the Nazi publications existed.

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[11] Staub develops this notion in his work about Holocaust and genocide, in *The Roots of Evil* (Staub, 1989).

[12] http://www.codoh.com/newsdesk/srnu199835.sht.

The fate of Pinochet, the former leader of Chile, who was held in Great Britain in 1999, was observed anxiously by, for example, Somali warlords who have their comfortable retreats outside of Somalia (see my fieldwork in Africa in 1998-1999), away from the sufferings they cause to their people. These warlords make sure that their families live in those parts of the world where their children can enjoy the supportive infrastructure that their fathers prevent from developing in Somalia. Social exploitation as well as environmental exploitation may pay in the short run, but not in the long term. We have to learn to 'sell the milk, not the cow' and to ask ourselves: 'what kind of world do we want to give to our children?' Furthermore, as has been widely discussed, for example in Germany, environmental legislation that forces the corporate sector to produce sustainable technology also yields valuable 'green' export products. It seems that the corporate sector, while adapting flexibly to any market competition, benefits from planning for long-term environmental and social sustainability of its activities, keeping those aspects apart from market competition. The interest of the corporate sector should therefore be the promotion of relevant legislation on a global level, in order to ensure that conditions are enabling and equal for all market players.

The would-be employee, customer, shareholder, business partner:
Would-be employees, customers, shareholders, or business partners who are frustrated and feel humiliated by their poverty, by their inability to afford what they desire, may hamper business if they express their frustration destructively. Extreme forms of political Islam may have such roots, anti-Americanism may partly have its origin in humiliation, - humiliation caused by not being able to afford Western standards. In other words, violence may be an 'attempt' to 'heal' humiliation by counter-humiliating the humiliator. The author had intimate insight into this phenomenon during her work as a counsellor in Egypt 1984-1991.

It is difficult to be informed about would-be employees, customers, shareholders, or business partners. What do people feel, who are exposed to publicity that praises products they eagerly desire, while being unable to pay them? Today television sets are to be found in the furthest corner of the world, and even the poorest people learn about fashionable products they cannot pay for, at the same time as they understand that human rights entail a moral 'ought' to enable them to buy them. It is obvious that research in this field is necessary. There is another aspect still. The corporate sector not only hampers its own performance by neglecting potential anger and frustration, it also forecloses what environmentalists would call bio-diversity, namely social and cultural diversity. In other words, the frustrated, angry, and poor could, if respected and supported, represent valuable intellectual and cultural resources. Utilising local knowledge of local markets, for example, could give a real market advantage to a company. Head offices depend on local people who know about local markets, a dependence that intrinsically promotes democratisation and decentralising of power and resources.

To summarise, the effects of humiliation may range from lack of sales to customers, quiet sabotage of production by employees, lack of support from shareholders, lack of acceptance by neighbours of production sites on one side, to open violence from would-be participants on the other side. While some of these effects 'only' harm the corporation that acts in a humiliating way, widespread violence affects society at large. In this case all societal actors, including the private sector, are called upon action. Certainly public organisations should be interested in understanding the dynamics of humiliation as much as private ones. Also public organisations have to deal with stakeholders, namely employees, beneficiaries ('customers' of public services), a tax paying electorate ('shareholders'), social environments, and would-be beneficiaries (for example refugees and asylum seekers, who flee poverty back home). And, with regard to the eradication of poverty the public sector should have an even greater self-

interest than the corporate sector, since tax revenues largely pay for it and it depends on potent taxpayers.

Also this part of the book makes three points:
1. It illustrates how formerly normal routine humiliation within and between organisations and their environment currently changes its category status and is increasingly defined as violation of human dignity.
2. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of motivation and trust for corporate success.
3. Finally, this part of the book lays the ground for later chapters, insofar as it introduces the notion of globalisation and its effects on the current transition towards more egalitarian relationships.

Part Three: Humiliation in National and International Conflicts
International relations and peace-keeping:
Analysis of the dynamics of humiliation in the Middle East, the Balkans, Africa and Southeast Asia, including the humiliations imposed, often unintentionally, by intervening third parties attempting to maintain peace, protect 'humanitarian' interests, or 'defend human rights.'

Patterns of subjugation and dignification: Germany, Rwanda, Somalia (to be expanded with more cases, such as the Middle East, the Balkans, and Southeast Asia):

On the basis of the framework developed in the previous parts of the book and by the recent research on humiliation, the following four sets of propositions may be stated:

A) The humbling of some human beings by others was/is necessary for the establishment and maintenance of hierarchical systems of structured inequality. Before the idea of human rights entered the cultural repertoire, the reduction of human beings to servile status within such hierarchical systems was regarded as normal and acceptable, as was the imposition of suffering upon subordinates. The humbling process produced an attitude of humility mixed with latent resentment among the 'conquered' subordinates. This humility is typically mixed with other responses. One may be an acceptance that an unequal socio-political order is normal. This is likely to be the case in well-established long-standing hierarchical societies. Another is a desire, either in the form of fantasy or as a practical aim, to reverse the relationship and humble the dominant group. A third, likely to occur in cases where the hierarchical system is relatively new, the humility of the 'underdogs' may barely conceal their resentment and this is likely to be mixed with a desire to restore an earlier condition of social equality between groups.

B) Once the idea of human rights has entered the cultural repertoire, the reduction of human beings to servile status within hierarchical systems of structured inequality and the imposition of suffering upon them is delegitimised from the perspective of those societies, groups and agencies that accept the human rights principle. Also, the experience of being humbled is much more painful, being perceived as a humiliating attack upon the human dignity of the victims. Under a human rights regime, humiliation of this kind is regarded as unacceptable and far from 'normal.'

C) The potential for genocide is particularly great in societies (a) which are in transition between a condition where humiliation is normal and acceptable and a condition where it is regarded as an infringement of human rights, and (b) in which an existing hierarchy is weakening or breaking down. This is because (i) high levels of fear and resentment are released by the weakening of a previously effective system of harsh domination (ii) this fear and resentment is felt between whole groups rather than simply between individuals, (iii) in

such a society there are many people who are accustomed to the process of imposing and receiving intense suffering, and (iv) the existence of human rights criteria means that those who accept those criteria treat acts of humiliation not as the imposition of a hierarchical order but as the destruction of the essence of the victims' humanity.

D) External forces, including neighbouring countries, world powers and international agencies, may play an important part in the dynamics of humiliation and genocide. The experience of daily humiliation within an unequal socio-political order may be compensated for by a strong sense of pride that the nation as a whole commands the respect of other nations. However, if the nation loses this respect and is humiliated by those other nations, this additional penalty increases the level of resentment, frustration, fear and anger within the society, making these energies available to be directed at plausible targets that come within reach.

How do these propositions illuminate the cases of Rwanda, Somalia and Germany? The three cases are not clones of each other but they each illustrate many of the above stated propositions as the following brief accounts will show.

Rwanda: Rwanda became a German colony in 1899 but was taken over by the Belgians in 1919 as a mandate territory of the League of Nations. Before European colonisation the region of Rwanda and Burundi had a recorded history of over two thousand years during which it had developed complex kingdoms with multiple hierarchies of competing officials who administered people, cattle, pasturage, and agricultural land. The people had developed a highly sophisticated language, and a common set of religious and philosophical beliefs.[13]

During the 1920s the European colonists created a mythical early history of 'Tutsi' and 'Hutu.' According to the fashionable but spurious 'Hamitic hypothesis,' a superior, 'Caucasoid' race from north-eastern Africa was responsible for all signs of true civilization in 'Black' Africa.[14] This distorted version of the past was disseminated through the schools and seminaries. As a result, 'this faulty history was accepted by the Hutu, who stood to suffer from it, as well as by the Tutsi who helped to create it and were bound to profit from it. People of both groups learned to think of the Tutsi as the winners and the Hutu as the losers in every great contest in Rwandan history' (Des Forges 1999[15]).

In other words, during the early and mid twentieth century European colonists simplified and intensified the system of structured inequality within Rwandan society. They reinforced the identification of the Tutsi, representing about fourteen percent of the total population, as the dominant Rwandan group. In fact, the 'Tutsi' were, in large part, a socially constructed category whose membership was determined by what was written in official papers rather than by any particular distinguishing ethnic characteristics.

A few years before the Belgians left Rwanda, some of the colonists began to favour Hutu, putting members of this group into senior administrative positions. In other words, they helped to create conditions under which the latent resentment of the humiliated underdog could, increasingly, find expression in acts of counter-humiliation against the old ruling group, the Tutsi.

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[13] See Des Forges & Human Rights Watch, 1999, also on http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/.

[14] 'Tutsi have longer faces, their ladies are beautiful, they have long nails, they come from Arab countries, they are a mixture of Arab and white blood, therefore nearer to the whites than other Africans, they are almost relatives of the whites.' For colonial perspectives, see, for example, Logiest, 1982. Logiest was the last Belgian colonel before independence and he helped implement Hutu power in Rwanda during 1959.

[15] Quoted from http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/, Des Forges 1999.

Rwanda became independent in 1962.[16] Already in 1961 a Hutu-led government had proclaimed a republic and ended the former Tutsi-monarchy. In 1967, after a seven-year civil war some 20,000 Tutsi had been killed and more than 300,000 had been forced to flee abroad. Second-generation exiles formed the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) and invaded Rwanda from Uganda in 1990. The Hutu, fearing the return of Tutsi rule, began the systematic wholesale massacre of those Tutsi who had remained inside Rwanda. The invasion from Uganda increased levels of anger and fear, especially fear of future domination by the Tutsi. The genocidal attack upon the Tutsi was not, in general, an outburst of popular fury but a bureaucratically organised campaign directed by the Hutu government.

Somalia: Somalia is a very proud society, as has already been noticed. This is the pride of a population which has, in large part, avoided the humbling processes associated with enduring and stable political centralisation. Ethnic Somalis are united by language, culture, devotion to Islam, and to a common ancestor, the Samaal.[17] Seventy five percent of the Somali population are traditionally pastoral nomadic clans (Dir, Daarood, Isaaq, and Hawiye). The agricultural Digil and Rahanwayn constitute only about 20 percent of the population.[18] During colonial times the North of Somalia was the 'British Protectorate of Somaliland,' while the rest of the country was 'Italian Trust Territory of Somalia.'[19]

An Australian humanitarian aid worker confirmed in an interview (29.11.1998) that he even today feels the effects of a very equal colonial relationship: 'The North of Somalia was a British protectorate: There was respect for the Somalis, there was a kind of equal relationship. When England gave away the Ogaden [or Haud, a semi-desert which England gave to Ethiopia against the promises they had given the Somalis], the Somalis were very angry: "You are our friends (!) how can you betray us!" And also the British officers were annoyed with London, who just gave the Haud away as a kind of normal bargaining chip. So, there was a kind of partnership [between the Somalis and British].'[20]

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[16] See the account of the Rwandan Embassy in Washington, http://www.rwandemb.org/info/geninfo.htm: 'In 1935 the Belgian colonial administration introduced a discriminatory national identification on the basis of ethnicity. Banyarwanda who possessed ten or more cows were registered as Batutsi whereas those with less were registered as Bahutu. At first, the Belgian authorities, for political and practical reasons, favoured the king and his chiefs, who were mostly a Batutsi ruling elite. When the demand for independence began, mainly by a political party - Union Nationale Rwandaise (UNAR) - formed by people from the mentioned ruling elite, the Belgian authorities hastily nurtured another party called PARMEHUTU that was founded on a sectarian ethnic ideology. Under the Belgian supervision, the first massacres of Batutsi at the hands of PARMEHUTU occurred in 1959. With Belgian connivance, PARMEHUTU abolished the monarchy amidst widespread violence. On July1st, 1962 Belgium granted formal political independence to Rwanda' (capitalisation in original).

[17] See for example Lewis, 1965, Lewis, 1994a, Lewis, 1961, Lewis, 1957, Lewis, 1994b.

[18] A minority exists which is not included in the six clan-families, among them occupationally specialised caste-like groups (whose daughters are not considered as being eligible for marriage by the six clan-families).

[19] This overview over the case of Somalia is based on the author's fieldwork in Somalia (1998, 50 interviews) and Kenya (1999, 62 interviews), and on Ameen Jan, 1996, *Peacebuilding in Somalia*, http://www.ipacademy.inter.net/somalia2.htm, which was initiated by the International Peace Academy in New York. This briefing was based on a field visit to Nairobi and Mogadishu from 11 to 25 March 1996, an IPA Policy Forum entitled 'Peacebuilding Efforts in Somalia: Legacies of the International Intervention' held in New York on 23 April 1996, and on over 60 interviews conducted in the U.S., Kenya and Somalia between November 1995 and April 1996.

[20] Concerning the historic facts, see for example Mazrui, 1986. Many people I talked to in the North of Somalia, namely self-proclaimed Somaliland (1998), were proud of the 'equal' colonial relationship with the British, see for an intense illustration Hanley, 1971.

After independence in 1960, Somalia operated for a few years as a political democracy (1960-1969). This system was increasingly perceived as anarchic, a perception that allowed a dictatorial 'saviour' to seize power. President Mohammed Siad Barre assumed power and tried to create a more centralised political order. He fell from power in 1991. His position had been fundamentally weakened by his failed attempt to recapture the Ogaden from Ethiopia in 1978.[21] Somalia's defeat was a considerable humiliation that undermined Barre's political position. He attempted to preserve his power by finding scapegoats for the country's ills. In particular, he put the blame upon the Isaaq people in northern Somalia. The military were unleashed against the Isaaq population with the quasi-genocidal results that were described at the beginning of this paper.

When the Barre regime collapsed in 1991, Somalia became stateless. As a result, the Somali clans reclaimed their traditional independence. Faction fighting between the clans during the 1990s resulted in a great deal of bloodshed with many atrocities being carried out on all sides.

From the perspective adopted by international agencies such as the UN and by many Somali intellectuals, the excesses of the Barre regime were gross infringements of human rights as are many acts committed in the course of clan warfare after Barre fell.

However, it should be recognised that for many ordinary Somalis (as distinct from the intellectuals) the fall of Barre and the end of his dictatorial regime did not signify the acquisition of a new form of dignity associated with the recognition of human rights. Rather, it meant the recovery of an old form of pride based upon a relatively free and independent way of life unconstrained by hierarchical pressures. This was the traditional way of the Somali nomads, one that predated and resisted the attempted humbling of the Somali clans by the Barre regime.

Comparing Germany with Somalia and Rwanda: Unlike Somalia, Germany between the two world wars was a society in which both the humbling of human beings and their dignification had taken place, generating a sharp conflict between two social and psychological tendencies. Norbert Elias has written eloquently about the desire for externally imposed discipline inherent in the German psyche during the early twentieth century. As he puts it, 'the drive control of the individual [was]…highly dependent on strong external state power.' In his view, 'The emotional balance, the self-control of the individual was endangered if this external power was lacking' (Elias 1994, 512).[22]

Germany was a society in which humiliation was a daily experience for social inferiors. Since at least the eighteenth century, 'Particularly at the smaller and relatively poorer courts of the German empire it was customary to make social inferiors emphatically aware of their subordinate position' (Elias 1993, 95). During 1918 and 1919 Germany suffered a

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[21] The colonial powers split the Somali people five ways. 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 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. Two of the components were indeed reunited at independence - former Italian Somaliland and former British Somaliland coalesced into the new Republic of Somalia. But neither Kenya nor Ethiopia were prepared to relinquish those areas of their colonial boundaries which were inhabited by ethnic Somali. As for French Somaliland, this became the separate independent Republic of Djibouti. '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, 69-71).

[22] See also Elias, 1996.

humiliating defeat in war. In this respect there are parallels with both the Somalian failure to retake Ogaden and the Rwandan government's failure to protect its borders against the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Germany's military defeat was accompanied by the loss of its old political class, the *Junker* aristocracy, most of whom retired to their estates. Again there are parallels with events in Rwanda (the end of Tutsi rule) and Somalia (the failing power of Barre).

It is obvious that the particular timing and sequencing differs between the three cases. However, the main the point is that in Germany, Rwanda and Somalia national humiliation was confronted within a polity in which an unequal socio-political structure had become weakened. In all three cases, the intense fear and anger released was directed by the state against a group (the Jews, the Tutsi, the Isaaq) who were defined as a threat to the rest of the population.

The researcher was confronted with the international dynamics of humiliation at the very core of her research:

The title of the research project on humiliation indicated that three groups had to be interviewed, namely both conflict parties in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi, and representatives of third intervening parties. These three groups stand in a relationship that in its minimum version is triangular. In case of more than two opponents, as is the case in most conflicts, it acquires more than three corners. Both in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi representatives of the "opponents" and the "third party" were interviewed.[23]

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[23] The following people were included in the 'network of conversation':
- Survivors of genocide were included, that is people belonging to the group, which was targeted for genocide. In Somalia this was the Isaaq tribe, in Rwanda the Tutsis, in Burundi also the Hutus. The group of survivors consists of two parts, namely those who survived because they were not in the country when the genocide happened - some of them returned after the genocide - and those who survived the ongoing onslaught inside the country.
- Freedom fighters (only men) were interviewed. In Somalia these were the SNM (Somali National Movement) fighters who fought the troops sent by the central government in Mogadishu from the north of Somalia; in Rwanda these were the former Tutsi refugees who formed an army, the RFP (Rwandese Patriotic Front), and attacked Rwanda from the north in order to oust the Hutu government which carried out the genocide in Rwanda in 1994; in Burundi these were also Hutu rebels.
- Somali warlords who have their retreat in Kenya.
- Politicians, among them people who were in power already before the genocide and whom survivors secretly suspected of having been collaborators or at least silent supporters of perpetrators.
- Somali and Rwandan/Burundian academicians, who study the situation of their countries.
- Representatives of national non-governmental organizations who work locally with development, peace and reconciliation.
- Third parties, namely representatives of United Nations organizations and international non-governmental organizations who work with emergency relief, long-term development, peace, and reconciliation.
- Egyptian diplomats in the foreign ministry who deal with Somalia; Egypt is a heavy weight in the OAU.
- African psychiatrists in Kenya who deal with trauma, and forensic psychiatry. In Kenya many nationals from Somalia and also Rwanda/Burundi have sought refuge, both in refugee camps, but also on the basis of private arrangements.

Those who have not yet been interviewed are masterminds of genocide in Rwanda, those who have planned the genocide. Many of them are said to be in hiding in Kenya, and other parts of Africa, or in Brussels and other parts of Europe, or in the States and Canada. Some are in the prisons in Rwanda and in Arusha, Tanzania.

During the first weeks in Africa, the researcher was confronted with the issue of humiliation in an unexpected way and at the core of her research. She detected that traditional Western interview approaches actually humiliated her interlocutors and violated their dignity as human beings. She subsequently developed an innovative methodology for fieldwork that conveyed respect to interlocutors and avoided humiliating them, a methodology that proved to have distinct advantages over more formal questionnaire or tightly controlled and impersonal interviews in which the interviewer remains aloof at a great psychological distance from those who she is interviewing. That methodology involved a kind of 'reflective' conversation in which the researcher gently confronted participants with narratives and specific questions raised by the historical records. Furthermore, she generally did so only after making an effort to win their trust and their sense that the researcher could understand their experience – in some cases by living among them and, where appropriate and strategically or ethically necessary, by sharing something of her own background and the way it allowed her to empathize with aspects of what they were telling her.

After adopting the new approach the researcher learned to what extent 'usual' Western attempts to collect valid data in other cultures, such as Africa, may be futile and humiliating. The author received numerous descriptions of how appalled Africans are; these comments may be summarised as follows[24]: 'You from the West, you come here to get a kick out of our problems. You pretend to want to help, but you just want to have some fun. You have everything back home, you live in luxury, and you are blind to that. You arrogantly and stupidly believe that you suffer when you cannot take a shower or have to wait for the bus for more than two hours! Look how you cover our people with dust when bumping childishly and arrogantly around in your four-wheel drive cars! Look how you enjoy being a king, while you would have nothing in your country! All what you want is having fun, getting a good salary, writing empty reports to your organisation back home, in order to be able to continue this fraud. You pay lip service to human rights and empowerment, but you are a hypocrite! And you know that we need help - how glad would we be if we did not need it! And how good would it be if you were really to listen to us once, not only to the greedy among us who exploit your arrogant stupidity for their own good!'[25]

Sam Engelstad, UN's Chief of Humanitarian Affairs, and, on several occasions Acting Humanitarian Coordinator in Mogadishu in 1994, confirmed the African view; he wrote to the author: 'During my own time in Somalia in 1994, humiliation was never far from the surface. Indeed, it pretty much suffused the relationship between members of the UN community and the general Somali population. In the day-to-day interaction between the Somalis and UN relief workers like ourselves, it enveloped our work like a grey cloud. Yet, the process was not well understood, and rarely intended to be malevolent.' Engelstad adds that 'Among the political and administrative leadership of the UN mission, however, humiliation and its consequences were far better understood and were frequently used as policy tools. Regardless of intent, it was pernicious and offensive to many of us' (personal communication from Sam Engelstad, 28th September 1999, quoted with his permission).

Also the third part of the book makes three points:

1. It illustrates how formerly normal routine humiliation within and between ethnic groups and nations currently changes its category status and is increasingly defined as violation of human dignity.
2. Furthermore, the chapter draws together the important second points of the previous chapters, namely respect, trust, and motivation, this time not discussing their relevance for family or corporate success, but for global peace.

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[24] Quoted from Lindner, 2000a.
[25] See also Maren, 1997, and Hancock, 1989.

3. Finally, this part returns to the third points made in each former part, namely the effects of globalisation and the danger of seduction-abandonment insofar globalisation may render openings for the perpetration of specifically malign genocidal atrocities.

Concluding Remarks

The book will close with a call for a 'Moratorium on Humiliation' and thus will follow up on Margalit's call for a Decent Society (1996). It will introduce a discussion of the 'Security Dilemma' (Hobbes, International Relations Theory) and its role in shaping human society, and will explain how globalisation weakens the Security Dilemma. It will present a model of the human condition that is based on the recently concluded research on humiliation that includes the Security Dilemma, the Time Horizon, the nature of the Pie of Resources, and relates these three parameters to the fourth parameter, namely Social Identity as significantly shaped by an environment and relationships based on respect or humiliation.

The Pie, the Security Dilemma, the Time Horizon, and Humiliation as the Most Significant Creator of Rifts within Social Relationships

The doctoral thesis that was written on the research on humiliation in Africa (on the background on Hitler's Germany) summarised its theoretical evaluations by presenting a model of the human condition (see Table 6) with a small number of 'logics': the question of whether and to what extent resources are expandable (Game Theory located in philosophy), whether the 'Security Dilemma' is weaker or stronger (International Relations Theory, located in political science), to what extent long-term or short-term horizons dominate (as described in many academic disciplines, among others cross-cultural psychology), and how the human capacity to either deepen or loosen identifications and demarcation lines is calibrated (Social Identity Theory, located in social psychology).

   Social identity entails the problem of humiliation that, in its manifestations as both act and feeling, represents, perhaps, the most significant creator of rifts within social relationships at all levels. This is the case even in situations where the other 'logics' would indicate co-operation. The interplay between these basic 'logics' may have guided the way humankind has developed 'cultures' of pride, honour, and dignity, and the particular manner in which each of them responds to humiliation.

The Human Condition					
		The Time Horizon		**Social Identity**	
		short	**long**	**respect**	**humiliation**
The Pie	**Fixed**	1	5	9	13
	expandable	2	6	10	14
The Security Dilemma	**Strong**	3	7	11	15
	Weak	4	8	12	16

Table 6: The Human Condition: The Pie, the Security Dilemma, the Time Horizon, and Humiliation

The map of 'the Human Condition' presented in Table 6 indicates that 64 possible scenarios would exist if we were to draw a 8 x 8 table. It is reduced to a 4 x 4 table in order to facilitate readability. The argument made in this thesis suggests that the most benign scenario is a combination of weak Security Dilemma, expandable pie, long time horizon, and an

atmosphere of respect. Conversely, the worst scenario brings together a short time horizon, positioned in an environment that represents a fixed pie of resources, combined with a strong Security Dilemma, within which individuals or groups are exposed to humiliating assaults. As already mentioned, feelings of humiliation and their consequences may be so strong that they override and undermine otherwise 'benign' scenarios, in a downward spiral.

We may hypothesise that the destructive nature of the dynamics of humiliation become the more visible the more the various parameters veer to the benign side. The more expandable the pie becomes (knowledge society), the more the Security Dilemma withers away (interconnectedness in a single global village with emergent democratic super-ordinate structures[26]), and the longer the time horizon stretches (the advent of the term 'sustainability' giving witness to the 'lesson' humankind is currently being taught by its biosphere, namely that new technologies may have destructive long-term effects – ozone layer depletion being one example), the more we may expect the malign effects of humiliation to be brought to the forefront of public consciousness. This is because the extreme potential of humiliation for creating rifts between people is thrown into starker contrast as the other 'logics' cease to have malign effects. Furthermore, although humiliation has always had destructive effects, these effects are, as explained earlier, intensified in a human rights context. Today it becomes more palpable than ever how damaging the consequences of humiliation can be, and to what extent they are capable of undermining the movement of the other parameters towards the benign pole. This may answer the question, asked earlier, about why the notion of humiliation has not been studied more in the past. The reason may be that the notion of humiliation becomes a relevant field for research only as the effects of humiliation become more visible. The rise of attention that is currently being given to human rights[27] and to concepts such as forgiveness and reconciliation may represent other signs of this transition.

In the task of understanding this transition, psychology is at the forefront, conceptually and practically. It calls for careful research, and for the contribution from all those people who have special skills in communication, empathy, and understanding. The researcher, herself having been forced into an extreme form of global identity – among other causes through her background in a refugee family that cannot 'go home' – is, perhaps, able to sense this transition with particular poignancy.

The Human Rights Revolution seems unstoppable although the transition period will be lengthy and difficult. It seems very likely that global society will become more violent (atrocities, massacres, genocide, ethnic cleansing, terrorism) in the medium term. This is because degradations that were normal and accepted in 'honourable' societies become unforgivable violations in societies whose members have been 'dignified' by the acquisition of human rights. Unforgivable humiliations trigger unforgiving responses.[28] A related prediction is that only insofar as the global information society develops more egalitarian structures will the tendency towards atrocities be reversed, producing the peaceful society envisaged by theorists such as Ury, 1999.

The research on humiliation started with the hypothesis that Hitler's Germany began World War II out of humiliation. Hitler perceived his role as responding to the challenge of

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[26] As indicated above, I am very aware of critiques who fear that there will be no democratic super-ordinate structures at the global level; I suggest, however, not to forget that even the fact that many people are appalled by 'double standards' may be interpreted as an indicator of the success of human rights, however slow. Clearly, people are deeply affected by the human rights ideology. And even those people who start their engagement for human rights by paying no more than lip-service, may have to learn what Lee Ross said (1999): 'You are, what you pretend to be.'

[27] Increasing awareness not only of political and civil human rights, but also other aspects such as economic human rights.

[28] See for 'moral disengagement' Bandura, in Reich, 1990.

honour-humiliation. By contrast, Mandela has seen his task as healing the wounds inflicted by human rights-humiliation.[29] Fortunately for the West, human rights-humiliation in the Third World has not yet found its Hitler. It would be disastrous if such a leader created a global following among the humiliated by arguing, for example, that the West's human rights' rhetoric was merely a hypocritical device to divert attention from the fact that the divide between rich and poor is greater than before.

In view of the danger that a new Hitler would present, the West is fortunate that the influence and prestige of Nelson Mandela are so great. Mandela has filled three of the roles that Ury identifies for Homo Negotiator. He is a *bridge-builder* helping to prevent further violent conflict, a *healer* binding the wounds of humiliation, and a *witness* to the suffering of apartheid's victims, which include him.

THE CURVE OF VIOLENCE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

More
inequality

(2) increasing feelings of humiliation
(and increasing danger of violent retaliation)

(1) starting point

(3) decreasing
feelings of humiliation
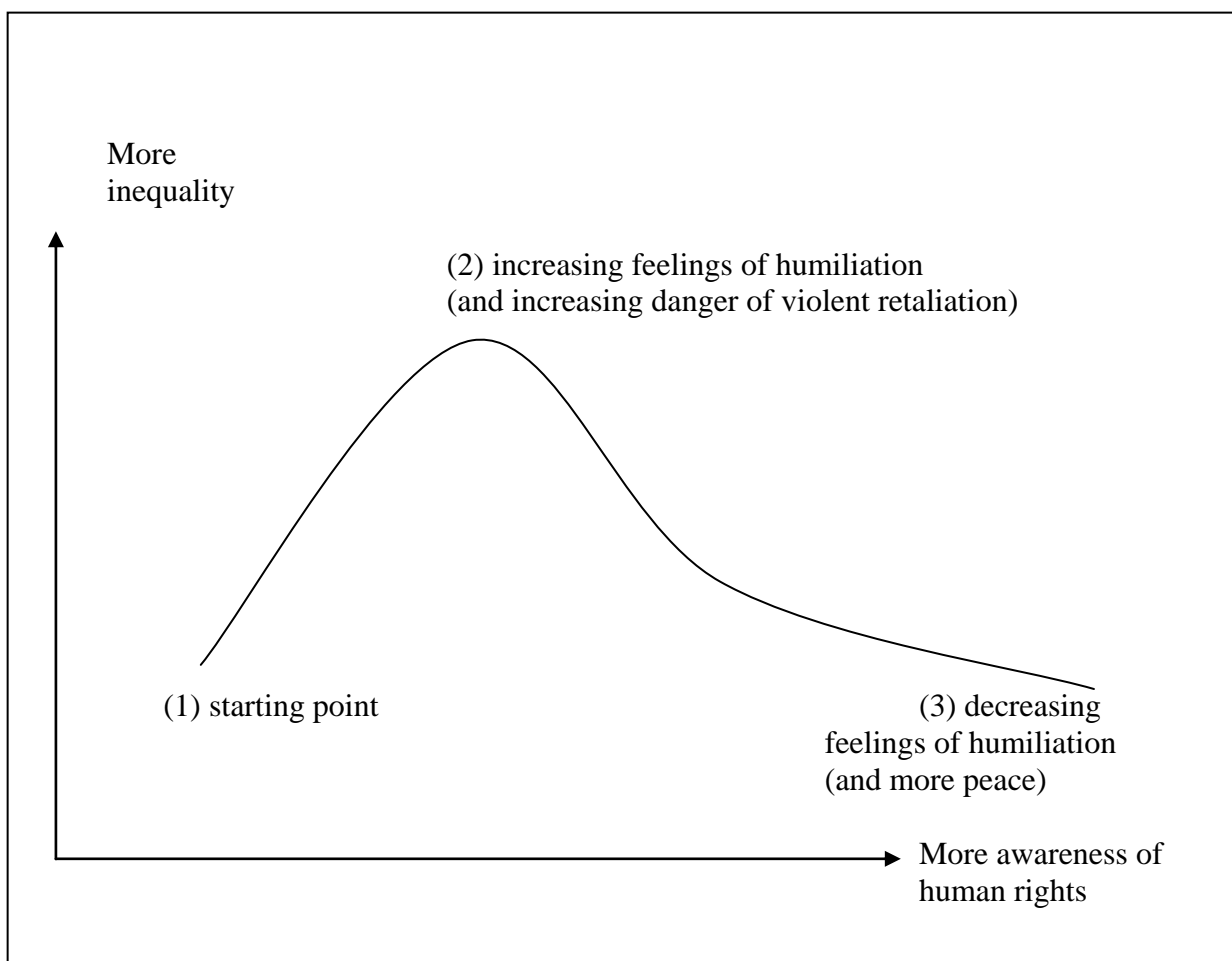(and more peace)

More awareness of
human rights

Figure 2: The curve of violence in the 21st century

However, Mandela is not just trying to prevent violence within the existing structures. He is also trying to change those structures. That is why Mandela repeatedly proclaims the need for a great increase in educational provision. It is a theme to which he repeatedly refers, going as

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[29] From the perspective of many white people in South Africa, apartheid was the expression of an utterly legitimate form of honour-humiliation. Mandela taught them to see that it was an illegitimate deprivation of the human rights of the majority.

far back as the speech at his trial in 1964.[30] It is a deeply radical demand. The Knowledge Revolution is the main driver of the Human Rights Revolution. It will continue to break down coercive social and political hierarchies and empower an increasingly educated workforce.[31]

Empowerment means the disappearance of barriers to the free availability of information and ideas. *However, empowerment will be accompanied by an increase in anger:* the anger of the oppressed who discover that their subjection is an immoral attack upon their human rights; and the anger of ex-underlings who find that the current breakdown of oppressive hierarchies - something which feeds their hopes for more equality and human rights, - actually coincides with a disappointment of these hopes and an increase in their humiliation.

If the global rich – in their twin guise as the 'North' and the 'West' – wish to convert the healing, bridge-building spirit of Mandela into lasting peace they should begin by taking seriously the anger of newly-empowered citizens throughout the world. The North should respond more constructively to the needs of the South for trade, investment, infrastructure, training, health services and so on. The North should adopt on a global scale the strategy Mandela has attempted in South Africa: '[to] produce an actual…reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice.' This will do much to answer the charge that the rich countries are applying double standards. When this begins to happen, then the East might begin to respond more positively to the West's demand that they respect human rights. If none of these things happen, then the pain and anger caused by unhealed humiliation could bring global torment.

Therefore, this book ends with a call for a Moratorium on Humiliation at all levels, and for a Decent Global and Local Society.

Papers and theses written in the context of the recent research on humiliation:

The author has submitted a doctoral thesis (31st October 2000) that is entitled *The Psychology of Humiliation: Somalia, Rwanda / Burundi, and Hitler's Germany* to the University of Oslo, as well as a habilitation thesis (informal submission) to a German university.

Among the articles written for this project and submitted to academic journals during this year and last year are the following (some pieces are published, others accepted and under revision, others under review):

1. Humiliation and the Human Condition: Mapping a Minefield (Human Rights Review in October 2001, 2/2, 46-63)

2. What Every Negotiator Ought to Know: Understanding Humiliation (under review)

3. The 'Framing Power' of International Organizations, and the Cost of Humiliation (under review)

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[30] As Mandela said on April 20th, 1964, during his trial, 'The complaint of Africans…is not only that they are poor and the whites are rich, but that the laws which are made by the whites are designed to preserve this situation. There are two ways to break out of poverty. The first is by formal education, and the second is by the worker acquiring a greater skill at his work and thus higher wages. As far as Africans are concerned, both these avenues of advancement are deliberately curtailed by legislation' (www.historyplace.com/speeches/mandela.htm).

[31] One example of the efforts being made is the work of the Desmond Tutu Educational Trust that is seeking to redress the educational imbalance experienced by Black, Coloured and Indian students in the Western Cape during the regime of apartheid.

4. Humiliation, human rights, and global corporate responsibility (under review)

5. Humiliation and Rationality in International Relations. The Role of Humiliation in North Korea, Rwanda, Somalia, Germany, and the Global Village (under review)

6. Recognition or humiliation - The Psychology of Intercultural Communication (paper presented at the ISSEI Millennium conference 'Approaching a New Millennium: Lessons from the Past - Prospects for the Future,' the 7th conference of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas, Bergen, Norway from 14th to 18th August, later submitted to a journal, in referee process)

7. Humiliation - the Worst Form of Trauma: An Analysis Based on Fieldwork in Germany, Rwanda / Burundi, and Somalia (under review)

8. How Humiliation Creates Cultural Differences and Political Divisions: The Psychology of Intercultural Communication Germany and Somalia as Cases (under review)

9. How Research Can Humiliate: Critical Reflections On Method (under review)

10. Social Constructionism, Logical Positivism, and the Story of Humiliation (under review)

11. The Concept of Humiliation: Its Universal Core and Culture-Dependent Periphery (under review)

12. The Anatomy of Humiliation and Its Relational Character (under review)

13. Humiliation in the Flesh. Honour Is "FACE," Arrogance Is "NOSE UP," and Humiliation Is "TO BE PUT DOWN" (under review)

14. Humiliation, Rape and Love: Force and Fraud in the Erogenous Zones (under review)

15. How Globalisation Transforms Gender Relations: The Changing Face of Humiliation (under review)

16. Gendercide and Humiliation in Honour and Human-Rights Societies (in the process of being published in Journal of Genocide Research)

17. Were Ordinary Germans Hitler's 'Willing Executioners'? Or Were They Victims of Humiliating Seduction and Abandonment? The Case of Germany and Somalia (in the process of being published in IDEA: A Journal of Social Issues)

18. Love, Holocaust, and Humiliation. The German Holocaust and the Genocides in Rwanda and Somalia (published in Norske leger mot atomvåpen, 1999)

19. Hitler, Shame and Humiliation: The Intricate Web of Feelings Among the German Population Towards Hitler (published in Norske leger mot atomvåpen, 2000)

20. Were the Germans Hitler's 'Willing Executioners'? (published in Norske leger mot atomvåpen, 2000)

21. Were Hitler and Siad Barre 'Robin Hoods' Who Felt Humiliated by Their Own Followers? (published in Norske leger mot atomvåpen, 2001)

Apart from writing articles and a thesis, the author has presented the project in various settings, from seminars to radio programmes; see a list on http://www.ub.uio.no/ubit/forskdok/ (search for Lindner, Evelin).

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