How Globalisation Transforms Gender Relations:
The Changing Face of Humiliation

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Abstract

This paper explores the idea that there is a link between prospects for peace and constructive co-operation in two kinds of relationships: the relations between nations and ethnic groups in the global arena, and the relations between men and women in the many contexts of everyday life. As key link between these two spheres the process of humiliation is discussed, and changes in the way this process occurs. Humiliation means the lowering of a person or group against their will. The object of the paper is to present a hypothesis that may guide research and inform understanding. The hypothesis is presented in the form of a narrative about the link between relations between societies, and relations between men and women. The background of this paper is a social-psychological research project being carried out at the University of Oslo with the aim to better understand the notion of humiliation.

Keywords: humiliation, narrative, gender roles, history, globalisation, global village

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Introduction

This paper is part of a series of papers about humiliation.[i] It has its place within a larger research project that looks at humiliation and its significance for war and violent conflict – more precisely, how relevant humiliation is in hampering peace. Genocides in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi (on the background of the German Holocaust) are the cases included,[ii] as is the international community's handling of these conflicts. The project is entitled: *The Feeling of Being Humiliated: A Central Theme in Armed Conflicts. A Study of the Role of Humiliation in Somalia, and Rwanda/Burundi, Between the Warring Parties, and in Relation to Third Intervening Parties.*[iii] 216 qualitative interviews have been carried out by the author in Africa (Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Egypt) and Europe (England, Norway, Germany, Switzerland) from 1998-2000.[iv] A pilot study was carried out in Norway with 52 respondents (1997-1998). The author, of European background, draws furthermore on seven years of being a clinical psychologist, counsellor and consultant in Egypt (1984-1991), as well as on studies and work in China and South East Asia.

This paper explores the idea that there is a link between prospects for peace and constructive co-operation in two kinds of relationships: the relations between nations and ethnic groups in the global arena, and the relations between men and women in the many contexts of everyday life.[v] 'In claiming an isomorphism between interpersonal and international relations I realize I challenge an article of faith of modern social science: that structure and process at the societal level are fundamentally different from those at the level of persons… I show parallels between the communication tactics and emotion that occur in families and in relations between nations' (Scheff, 1997, 75).

As key link between these two spheres the process of humiliation is discussed as well as changes in the way the humiliation process occurs. Humiliation means the lowering of a person or group against their will.[vi] It is a process of subjugation, one that damages or strips away pride, honour or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, unwillingly and in a deeply hurtful way, in a degrading situation.[vii]

Following an introductory section that briefly addresses the current state-of-the-art concerning humiliation and gender studies, the paper will be organised in three main parts. The first part addresses the state-of-the-world before the coming into being of a 'global village' and discusses its repercussions on gender relations. The second part introduces the state-of-the-world in an ideal future when human rights are implemented and respected everywhere. The third part addresses the transition period between the first and the second, a transition that characterises the current state-of-the-world. In the conclusion recommendations will be made for handling gender relations during the current transition period.

The object of the paper is to present a hypothesis that may guide our research and inform our understanding. The hypothesis is presented in the form of a provocative narrative that invites debate about the link between relations between societies, and relations between men and women.[viii] The narrative suggests a coherent set of possible answers to the questions arising in daily debates in 'ordinary' life about such matters as whether men or women are the 'actors' in the world and who is 'responsible.' It deals with such questions as: Are men 'aggressive monsters' and/or 'irresponsible children'? Or are men rational beings, responsible and in control of things? Are women 'victims of their emotions' that 'cloud their minds'? Or are women those who guard peace and stability while men 'destroy' it? Are men admirable, because they give their lives if necessary for the heroic task of protecting women and children

in war? Or are they unwilling to give up their former privileges and therefore routinely humiliate women in order to stay in power? Should women thank men for their protection? Or should women feel humiliated by and be angry at men's domination? Should men feel humiliated by rebellious women and love subordinate ones? Why are women rising their heads in our times, where was feminism in the past? Were women in former centuries less intelligent, and became more intelligent and aware just recently? If yes, why? Short, who is 'at fault,' women or men? Who humiliates whom, men women or the other way round?

The current state-of-the-art

Compared with topics such as 'trauma' or 'stress,' humiliation has hardly been studied, at least not in an explicit way since it is often confounded with shame. The list of relevant publications is very brief and covers a divergent collection of themes.[ix] The *Journal of Primary Prevention* pioneered work on humiliation in 1991 (Klein, 1991), and 1992 (Barrett & Brooks, 1992; Smith, 1992). In 1997 the journal *Social Research* devoted a special issue to the topic of humiliation, stimulated by Margalit's *Decent Society* (Margalit, 1996). There is a literature in philosophy on 'the politics of recognition,' claiming that people who are not recognized suffer humiliation and that this leads to violence (see also Axel Honneth on related themes). Max Scheler set out these issues in his classic book *Ressentiment* (Scheler, 1961).

William Ian Miller wrote a book, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Miller, 1993), in which he links humiliation to honor as understood in the Iliad or Icelandic sagas and explains that these concepts are still very much alive today, despite a common assumption that they are no longer relevant.[x] Also Cohen and Nisbett examine an honour-based notion of humiliation (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Humiliation has furthermore been addressed in such fields as international relations (Steinberg, 1991a; Steinberg, 1991b; Steinberg, 1996), love, sex, and social attractiveness, depression, society and identity formation, sports, serial murder, war and violence. A few examples from history, literature and film illustrate humiliation.

Linda Hartling's contribution is the only one at the centre of psychology that focuses exclusively on humiliation. Hartling & Luchetta, 1999, pioneered a quantitative questionnaire on humiliation (Humiliation Inventory) where a rating from 1 to 5 is employed for questions measuring 'being teased,' 'bullied,' 'scorned,' 'excluded,' 'laughed at,' 'put down,' 'ridiculed,' 'harassed,' 'discounted,' 'embarrassed,' 'cruelly criticized,' 'treated as invisible,' 'discounted as a person,' 'made to feel small or insignificant,' 'unfairly denied access to some activity, opportunity, or service,' 'called names or referred to in derogatory terms,' or viewed by others as 'inadequate,' or 'incompetent.' The questions probe the extent to which respondents had felt harmed by such incidents throughout life, and how much they feared such incidents.

The current state-of-the-art in gender studies is more complicated than in the case of humiliation.[xi] Feminist theory can be divided into three perspectives that partly criticise each other: Standpoint theory celebrates difference, liberal theory celebrates equality, and critical, post-modern theory celebrates deconstruction.[xii]

Standpoint theory criticises logical positivism and claims that there is no 'neutral' perspective. Individual perspective is seen as influenced by class and gender position. Moderate standpoint theory attenuates radical standpoint theory's assertion of 'aggressive men' and 'nurturing women.' As source of gendered standpoint two main aspects are highlighted, namely mothering, and psychological training (Gilligan, 1982 who builds on Kohlberg's work[xiii] and emphasises three points, namely i) abstraction, autonomy, 'self-interest,' ii) 'othering,' meaning that girls have the same gender as their mother contrary to boys, and iii) dualistic thinking). Standpoint theory has been criticised for being too essentialist. Newer theories are, for example, empirical theory (as pertaining to method) and liberal theory (as pertaining to political orientation). Liberal theory celebrates equality and accepts logical positivism (namely that reality can be objective, that reality exists independently of our standpoint, and that therefore the world is available to men and women, where men can care as well as women). Post-modern and critical theory on the other side rejects any essentialism and emphasises deconstruction; it claims that all of reality is social construction, that there is nothing that is true 'out there,' and that we therefore should not accept anything as fact – most importantly, since everything is constructed, there are no masculine or feminine properties either.

In this article liberal theory will be one underlying framework, and logical positivism will be accepted insofar as it will be accepted that reality exists independently of gender standpoint. However, social constructionism will be the spirit in which this article presents a narrative of gender relations that is highly constructed and invites reflections on the constructed character of alternative narratives that are currently in use and accepted as 'truth.'[xiv] It will be argued in this paper that the world's political structure interacts with their inhabitants in a way that defines gender roles and the change of global political structure will be connected to gender relations. Crawford criticises such an approach as functionalist thinking which, according to Talcott Parsons,[xv] is easily tautological.[xvi] In order forestall tautology this articles will therefore try to examine the subject in a multi-layered manner, and also include 'Psycho-logic' reasoning as developed by Smedslund (Smedslund, 1988; Smedslund, 1998; Smedslund, 1997)[xvii] and Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).[xviii]

Smedslund warns against psychological research that tries to appear 'scientific' by mistaking 'scientifically looking' methods for sound science. He writes (1988, 4): 'The finding that all bachelors are in fact unmarried males cannot be said to be empirical.' Smedslund warns that a lot of research is as pointless as trying to make surveys in order to find out 'whether bachelors really are all males.' This, Smedslund states, would obviously be an inexcusable waste of time and resources, and in addition a basic confusion of 'the *ontological* status' of psychology's research object (4). Lee D. Ross disputes Smedslund's position and argues that psychology is not about asking whether phenomena exist or not, but about the question how they exist, to what extent and in which way.[xix] 'Psycho-Logic' does not make research superfluous; this is Ross's position.

In the following the rationale behind 'Psycho-Logic' will be taken seriously and combined with Grounded Theory. Qualitative research from the above described social-psychological research project on humiliation (1998-1999) will be intertwined with the author's experience as a clinical psychologist, counsellor and consultant in Egypt (1984-1991), as well as knowledge accumulated during studies and work in China and South East Asia. It will be attempted to construct a narrative that is coherent and places available elements into a consistent framework. The narrative is meant to be a suggestion, perhaps only a theoretical game with elements of truth, hopefully opening up new and provocative perspectives for discussion and research.

The old framework: men as defenders

A group of humans in Stone Age, living in a valley somewhere on the globe, faced a dangerous world. The present author got an approximate introduction into such a kind of context during her fieldwork in Somalia (1998), as well as in the course of her partial integration in an Egyptian oasis (Farafra) in the Libyan Desert (1986-1991). Stone Age people had to expect disease, natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods, and not least hungry animals. The most dangerous threat, however, came from other human beings. Human beings outdo disease, natural disasters or animals in intelligence and cunning. History is full of accounts of Vikings and Mongols plundering and devastating whatever they found, but also of neighbouring settlements engaging in continuous fighting. City walls were built, and fortresses for defence. World regions such as Somalia display this kind of life even today; clans fight against each other and warlords keep a whole country in continuous low intensity warfare.[xx]

The Muslim prophet Mohammed faced the aftermath of this situation, namely the scarcity of men as compared with women, because men died in war. This was the reason why few men married many women. Mohammed, an early 'feminist,' limited the number of wives to four. Despite some accounts of Amazons – women fighting as warriors – war was mainly a male occupation. If women had engaged in war, women, and together with them their children, may have been decimated to an extent that the group may have perished. This could be expected because men can fertilise many eggs in a short time, while woman can only mother a limited number of children in their lifetime. Perhaps groups of humans existed in history that did not understand this logic, but they should, logically, have met extinction and not left many traces.

Human babies are born prematurely, meaning that their brain does not reach its final stage of development inside the womb, but only after birth. Expressed with the medical vocabulary the present author has been trained in (as a physician and psychologist), the human brain seems to have become 'too large' for the female womb and babies had to leave it in an 'unfinished' stage. Already in the nineteenth century the Dutch anatomist L. Bolk noticed that the human being is born remarkably helpless and immature compared with animals. Increase of human brain volume during evolution may therefore be the reason for the long period in which human babies depend on their mother's care, much longer than in the rest of the animal world. Increasing human intelligence (not linked to brain volume in a linear way) may thus be the cause of the special nature of the 'division of labour' between human males and females, even the cause of hormonal differences. 'Male aggressiveness' and 'female nurturing' (standpoint theory) in their human versions, as compared with the range of solutions in the animal world, would be interpretable as influenced by brain growth.

In such a logical setting – women rear children, and men must be prepared to die in defending them[xxi] - it is to be expected that psychological styles develop.[xxii] During her work as a clinical psychologist in Egypt, the present author was consulted by a client whose case

may illustrate how extreme training into gender related styles may evolve. Ibrahim (this is not his real name) was the sixth son after five girls, after him two more sons were born. Traditionally it is the task of the eldest to take care of mother and sisters after the death of the father, being assisted by his younger brothers. Ibrahim came, at the age of 46, because he had psychosomatic symptoms, he could not concentrate, and the only thing he wanted to do was watching television all day. His entire childhood had been formed and dominated by the fact that he was the sixth son after five girls. His parents educated him from very early on that he had to be prepared to take care of his sisters at some point in the future. He had to 'catch up' with them, he had to learn fast, become 'strong' and rational, short, he had to become an adult person prematurely. This responsibility weighed heavily on his shoulders. In the course of the counselling sessions he remembered how his mother would prepare him by recounting her worries about her and her daughters' future. He described how important the males' tasks as carers were for her, how she maintained a hierarchy in the family that puts the male into the role of the super-ordinate. He recalled his father, for example, and how he would have liked to eat together with the family, but how his mother insisted that he ate first, served by her and the girls, and how the family came to the table only afterwards. In other words, his mother prepared him for a future in the traditional frame, which means that he would have to help her and his sisters in any crisis. Indeed, later he became, for example, the mediator in all marital quarrels his sisters found themselves in. This meant, that, when he was an adult, Ibrahim was extremely busy. His sisters had married all over the world; one was in Turkey, another in the United States. He had to mediate in many marital disputes and, at times, travelled a lot. And this in addition to having to support his own wife and children. Ibrahim, was thoroughly exhausted.

This example shows how a man may be 'used' by a family as a carer. Ibrahim had fought as a soldier in Egypt's wars (in the spirit of defending the country), he had earned the money to support his own wife and children and he had 'worked' as family-mediator for all his sisters. He thus had three carer roles. One may ask, 'Who is the agent in this story?' Egyptian women have the following saying, 'The man is the head and the woman is the neck. Wherever the neck turns, the head has to follow. The woman instructs the men inside the house, and the man then goes out and presents to the outer world whatever he has been told.' Does this mean that it is the woman, the mother who keeps the girls at home and sends her boys into war and teaches him, in some cultures, also to become a provider and mediator? Or is it the man who usurps these roles?[xxiii] Why do men in parts of Africa sit idle in the teahouse as proud warriors, 'waiting for war,' and leaving the role of provider and mediator almost entirely to women? Is it because their mothers did not teach them anything else but to be proud warriors? Or are the men the ones who are too 'lazy' or 'proud' to take up responsibilities beyond being prepared to protect their families with their lives?

This debate is salient not only in Africa. It is played out in many ways, from stark to subtle, and in many places. Every woman in Europe or the United States is acquainted with the scene of a courteous male who wants to keep the door open for a female coming after him and is rejected. He then may become nostalgic and wish back 'old times' where 'women still appreciated male protection and gallantry.' This example shows how he subscribes to the image of the 'good' male, sacrificing for women, and it suggests also that he may screen out the advantages that privilege and power brought to males.

What is discussed in such debates is exchange[xxiv] and justice.[xxv] A man may argue, 'Is not the man sacrificing a lot by giving his life in war to defend his family? Is it not terribly difficult to learn to be tough, to suppress feelings of fear in order to be ready to die, to train to be brave, to learn about honour and power?' A modern Western person, embedded in a human rights framework and spirit, may disagree and say, 'just stop war, then all your problems are solved!'

Jean-Pierre Gontard,[xxvi] expert on Rwanda and genocide, maintains that 'it is not hatred, but fear which makes people plan war and also genocide.' If Gontard is correct then a group of people who wants to survive in an environment of potential war, can hardly avoid at least parts of this male role description. Changes in International Relations Theory reflect this.[xxvii] Classical and Structural Realism see the world as being guided by 'anarchy' - anarchy as the 'state of nature' (Hobbes) - with the ensuing 'Security Dilemma.' The 'Security Dilemma' sets in motion a spiral of insecurity and preventative war. Beverly Crawford, 'This Prisoners' Dilemma logic effects that even 'nice' leaders have to 'defect,'[xxviii] 'nice' countries, because they live in anarchy. It is thus a logic, namely the 'Security Dilemma' logic which is the cause war.' [xxix] If we follow this argument, and try to empathise with a group of people that is caught in a context of 'anarchy' and feels compelled to define the world as a dangerous environment with potential attacks from 'enemies,' then, perhaps, men may, indeed, expect to be 'thanked' by women for their preparedness to sacrifice their lives so that the group can survive. In such a setting, men die so that children can live, and women are protected because they are the mothers of these children and are needed for years and not only for moments. Men are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the next generation and die, while women devote their lives to the next generation and live. It is, undoubtedly, difficult to die; it is especially painful to face death at the peak of life – as much as such a death may be disguised in attractive tales of heroism. Therefore it seems that men have, indeed, the more frightening part in this context, and may feel warranted to demand privileges.

However, men did more than sooth fear of death by forming identities of heroism, they tried to avoid death in war by attempting to improve war technology so that they could be victorious. They made better weapons, inventing better mobility technology (such as horse, ship, tank, airplane), and better communication technology (from messengers on foot to the origin of the Internet, namely the Pentagon in the United States). Their advances in mobility and communication gave men an advantage over women for centuries. A woman who stayed at home, could hardly be informed about what was going on in the world. She had, for example, to rely on male accounts of attacks to be expected from enemies. She was in a situation with little resources. She could hardly do more than be afraid, weep and try to keep her males loyal with her needs. Her life depended on her attaching males to the task of protecting the children and her.

Empathising with a woman in such a context, the result to be expected would be the 'weak woman,' the 'emotional woman,' the 'childlike woman.' Likewise, if a man had been in her situation, he may have developed in a 'weak man,' an 'emotional man,' and a 'childlike man.' If we accept the above-discussed interpretation of the human condition, then she had no alternatives. But also men have little choice in such a setting. A male, in order to be prepared to die, was well advised to train fearlessness and enjoyment of war, and even to learn that it would spoil his 'honour' if he lost, honour being a concept that expands the protection of others (family) into a concept of the self. In other words, an honourable man does not only protect his family because the group should survive, but because it is his personal honour that is at stake.

Humiliation is a concept that is deeply connected with honour, as Cohen, Nisbett and Miller (see above) demonstrate. Humiliation is the spoiling of honour. And it is the background of war and genocide (even though it is often constructed and not 'real': 'Cold calculation and the "construction" of a humiliated position as part of ideology is relevant for the nazi "Reich;" analysts of fascism have discussed things like "impurity," and "the cleansing of the social body"[xxx]). Humiliation in an honour society stems from male rivals and has as 'target' the honour of a man – including his family. In many honour societies the honour of the family is closely linked to the virginity of unmarried daughters. If a girl is raped, the whole family feels humiliated by the perpetrator, who exposes that the males of the family could not protect her,

and forecloses the chances of the daughter to make an honourable marriage. Many years of psychological work in Cairo, Egypt, brought the present author in contact with a whole range of ways of tackling rape, from harsh patriarchal honour-oriented approaches described here, to very loving, and also to extremely Western oriented ways (cultural boundaries are porous, and the more so the more globalisation brings people together). One of the family's fears is that their daughter's damaged hymen could be understood by her future husband as an attempt to dishonour his family. A damaged hymen is a dishonourable gift to give from one family to another. It is humiliating to receive such a gift and humiliating to be accused of offering it. All members of the raped girl's family feel 'soiled' or 'damaged' by the rape just as a whole body is affected when disease attacks a particular limb. The rape may set in motion a remorseless logic: either the daughter must marry the rapist, the very person who abused her, or she must die.[xxxi]

In such an honour-culture the undamaged hymen of the daughter embodies the family's males ability to protect her, and thus his honour. A damaged hymen can consequently be equated with the failing of the males in the family to protect the girl, the failing of the family's males to keep up their honour. In such a context an unfaithful wife must consequently be seen as behaving even worse than a raped daughter; she enjoys her husband's protection while extending her advances to his rivals. She is not a helpless victim like a child. Her actions must be seen, in such an environment, as a deliberate attempt to humiliate her husband. The need to protect children and their mothers, and the attachment of this need to male honour thus turns children and their mothers into 'tokens' of male honour, denuding them of their humanity. The question 'who is the actor' becomes difficult to answer. Is it the female, the mother, who educates her sons to risk his life in defence of the family? Or is it the male who perverts this noble task into a gruesome game where the very objects of his protection, his children, risk death because they were turned into mere tokens?

The future framework: men and women as defenders

As discussed above, men tried to avoid death in war by attempting to improve war technology. And with their mobility technology and communication technology they finally managed to create what we call the 'global village.' The 'global village' could be described as a revolution, unparalleled in history, even though globalising tendencies occurred many times in history, from the Roman Empire to the British Commonwealth. However, what never has been achieved is the inclusion of the entire globe. This means that history may be, in this respect at least, linear. The present world population witnesses a unique historic period during which the available mobility and communication technology reaches the boundaries of the planet and is able to enclose all of it.[xxxii]

The coming into being of One Single Global Village entails far-reaching consequences that may be hypothesised by analysing the logic of this development. Since traditional warfare occurs 'between' villages, and the term 'global village' indicates that there is only One village left, imperial warfare 'between villages' should cede – not only logically, but also in reality. If this line of thought is valid, and current history illustrates this transformation in numerous cases, it may thus be the lack of the imperial 'enemy' that makes the coming into being of the global village so revolutionary. It may not so much be global interdependence that diminishes imperial warfare – interdependence may not avert atrocities as the Balkans show where even married couples became enemies – and it may not be democracy either.[xxxiii] It may well be that fear of unexpected attacks diminishes and thus makes traditional war less likely. In other words, if fear was, as Gontard stated above, the reason of war, then diminishing fear should diminish war – not civil war, but imperial war. Indeed, we do currently observe a changing nature of conflicts world-wide: Imperial warfare is disappearing in favour of internal civil wars

(Wallensteen & Axell, 1994), where the international community tries to step in from outside as third party. This means that what is left in the global village are internal fights, a category of violence that has existed since dawn of history. In other words, imperial warfare is ceding, internal strife is still with us.

What about honour and gender roles in this new setting? Internal strife has always been a domain of women as much as the domain of men. At all times in history women have been trained to be the maintainers of social relations in the 'inside,' they are traditionally educated to negotiate and mediate peacefully, instead of fighting violently. It was the man who was expected to 'go out,' to reach for the unknown, to be daring in conquering the unfamiliar. A German saying asserts: 'Der Mann geht hinaus in das feindliche Leben' ('the man is to go out into hostile life'). If we accept that globalisation causes the 'inside' to widen until it now includes the whole globe, and the 'outside' – men's traditional sphere – to disappear, thus leaving both women and men within one single 'inside,' and if we furthermore accept that women traditionally are responsible for 'inside' spheres, then this means that women's sphere of responsibility is about to grow, putting traditional female services increasingly into demand. This thesis is validated in many context, among others the corporate sector, 'Management courses today try to train managers to understand the importance of "soft" human factors such as motivation, job satisfaction, co-operation abilities, and creative problem-solving. Well-balanced "female-type" co-operation is advocated today on all levels, from small companies to the United Nations, while the army-like "male" hierarchical order is considered antiquated as, for example, is the Wild-West-pioneering-style. Traditional female role characteristics are gaining ground on a global scale' (Lindner, in Breines, Gierycz, & Reardon, 1999, 96).

In conclusion one may state that 'man' has made his own task as a defender redundant. And even 'man's' task of providing for the family is 'threatened,' since women can move around freely and work in professions that were reserved to men before. This is because it is less dangerous for women to go 'out' in the global village, since no 'enemies' wait anymore 'outside' of village boundaries – because these boundaries are not there anymore. And since men not only invented war technology, but also household technology, she can afford to do more than caring for kitchen and children. All this may be called an 'unintended result' of man's technological inventions in his capacity of 'going out into the dangerous world.' The result may be disliked by those men to whom the traditional honour concept is dear, but others may be relieved; after all they do not have to die anymore in young age. They do not have to prepare for the imperial 'enemy' anymore; internal strife is what is left as challenge, as is – as ever before – natural disaster, disease, and increasingly, the strife for sustainability and environmentally sound technology. Men and women together may engage in policing the world, and safeguarding its environmental survival.

The new 'single inside' takes away the task of the defender from 'man,' but also his privileges and many hierarchical structures associated with that privilege. The global village seems to lend support to social structures built on human rights and the notion that every individual, woman and man, has an inner core of dignity that is untouchable and does not fit into traditional hierarchy. In a human rights environment it is no longer legitimate to kill for honour. See for a short summary Table 1.

Honour society	Humiliation is defined as infringed honour, and honour is defined as man's personal identification with his task as defender of children and their mothers. Humiliation is routinely used between male rivals as language of competition for rank in the hierarchy of honourable men; humiliation is also experienced when a male cannot protect his family. This may be embodied by the violated hymen of a raped daughter, or, worse, in an unfaithful wife. All humiliations may legitimately be responded to with killings.
Human rights society	Men and women own an inner core of dignity that is untouchable and does not fit into traditional honour hierarchy. The male is relieved of his task as defender and may subscribe to dignity as defined by human rights, and discontinue identifying with traditional honour. Men and women together may engage in safeguarding the world's social and environmental survival.

Table 1: Humiliation, honour, and human rights

The 'quote of the month' may conclude this section, 'There isn't any problem of soldiers making that mental leap from wartime to peacekeeping missions. That's just gibberish that comes from watching too many Sylvester Stallone movies.'[xxxiv]

The transition between old and new framework

Transition periods typically are difficult and fraught with problems. New frameworks of thinking easily collide with old ones. In 1998 the present author started her fieldwork in Somalia where she carried out fifty-eight qualitative interviews. She met with survivors of the quasi-genocidal onslaughts that had occurred in that society, reaching a peak in 1988. She tried to empathise with their perspective and was moved by their accounts. At the end of each interview she asked what forms of healing might be envisaged. She thought, for example, of truth commissions like in South Africa and imagined victims and perpetrators talking to each other, the perpetrators asking for forgiveness after having listened to the victims' accounts, and the victims reaching a kind of 'catharsis' by opening up, speaking about their feelings, and being able to forgive.

However, in the interviews another answer to the question about strategies for healing was given, repeatedly. It was as follows (1997, 1998, and 1999): 'The elders of the opposing groups (clans, sub-clans, or so-called diya-paying groups[xxxv]) must sit together and talk. They should decide on the amount of compensation to be paid. Finally, in order to stabilise the situation in the long term, women should be exchanged between the groups for marriage. These women will embody the bridges between opposing groups, since they have their original family in one group and their children in the other. The researcher protocolled, 'Whenever I got this response I was sharply reminded of my Western human rights background as opposed to the much more traditional Somali view. Paying compensation and exchanging women was not at all what I had thought of. It would certainly have been the last thing I, as a European woman, would be willing to participate in myself. If I were one of the victims concerned, knowing that my clan had received compensation and that women were being exchanged would hardly satisfy me. I would certainly feel that my personal dignity required another kind of healing' (adapted from Lindner, 2000a).

Rwanda is another example.[xxxvi] Democracy, built on human rights was envisaged in the negotiations in Arusha, Tanzania from 1990-1994. These negotiations led to the Arusha accords of 1993, which established a formula by which the former government of Rwanda agreed to share power with the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Instead of bringing peace and democracy, as was hoped for, these accords were followed 1994 by a genocide. Rwanda's Hutu-led government orchestrated a genocidal onslaught against the Tutsi minority (and opposing Hutu) during which at least half a million people were slaughtered in a period of eight weeks.[xxxvii] 'The genocide of the Tutsi, the murders of Hutu opposed to Habyarimana, and the renewed war between the Rwandan government and the RPF were all touched off by the killing of President Habyarimana. This extremely significant attack remains largely uninvestigated and its authors unidentified. Habyarimana died on Wednesday evening, April 6, 1994, when the plane bringing him home from Dar es Salaam was shot down. He had been attending a meeting of heads of state where he had supposedly finally consented to put in place the broad-based transitional government' (Des Forges & Human Rights Watch, 1999).

Habyarimana, Hutu president of Rwanda, was about to agree to share power with the former Tutsi elite who urgently wanted to return to Rwanda from exile. This could be interpreted as a move within the framework of human rights, an attempt to make a step towards democracy and inclusion of all citizens. Habyarimana was killed, perhaps by Hutu extremists who did not want to let this transition happen. Their explanation, broadcast on radio as propaganda inciting the population to commit genocide, fitted into the old honour framework: according to the propaganda Tutsi had to be killed because they were planning to subjugate and humiliate Hutu as in former times when they still were ruling the country.[xxxviii]

Tutsi women were especially targeted during the genocide. Tutsi women were the symbol of Tutsi superiority, they were known to be especially beautiful and proud. During the genocide many were paraded naked in the streets, raped, and then killed. Some Hutu men even killed their Tutsi wives (and their children who looked like her). During the fieldwork in Rwanda (1999) the researcher was confronted with horrific accounts. Interview partners with Tutsi background recounted that during the period of Hutu rule after independence in the 1960s, until 1994, a Hutu man who acquired status would get a decent car and marry a Tutsi woman, as a kind of status symbol. Tutsi women who lived in Rwanda during Hutu rule, related to me that it was extremely difficult for them to live in Rwanda under these circumstances, since they were routinely humiliated – allegedly to be 'punished' for their 'arrogance.' Thus Hutu rule, the regime of the former underlings, inscribed its ambivalence between admiration and hatred towards the former 'masters' onto the body of Tutsi women, the women of the former elite.

A husband is expected to respect and love his wife, this is the definition of marriage within a human rights framework, he is not supposed to kill her within a traditional honour framework. It was related to the researcher[xxxix] that many of the perpetrators of the genocide now feel guilty and suffer:[xl] 'Such a Hutu man may have killed his own family just to find out now that the framework in which he carried out his deeds is not regarded as morally justifiable within a human rights framework. Tutsi victory over the Hutu led government turned him into a loser, and worse, not only a loser in a war, but also into a morally despicable person, since genocide is condemned internationally. He is not a winner and hero anymore, as he was promised by propaganda, but a criminal, a perpetrator without family, - because he destroyed it himself. How could he kill his wife, fearing her men's humiliation?'

Afghanistan and the Taliban are another example of the difficulties of transition. Transition is known to sometimes go one step ahead and two steps backwards – backwards and forwards here defined from a normative human rights perspective. In Afghanistan women enjoyed much more human rights during Russian occupation than today. However, the current steps backwards (virtual house arrest for women) may be followed by a step forward. The

Taliban, today's rulers, may, at some point in the future, wish to become respected members of the family of nations and may then start thinking twice whether to continue their practices.

Somalia is another example that pertains to the position of women, again a Muslim country. Siad Barre, ruthless dictator who created a 'socialist country,' announced that women should have equal rights as men and be allowed to even wear trousers (Askar, 1992). Mullahs were appalled. This case is especially intricate because here was a cruel dictator, seeing himself as a 'shark' (Askar, 1992) and abusing human rights almost everyday. This man announced measures for improving women's rights. The mullahs were shocked, because they felt that these rights should not be given to women because it was against religion. In other words, opposition against human rights was mounted as oppositions against a dictator who himself abused human rights, but promoted them at a selected point.

Conclusion

Some men say 'You women take privileges away from us, you humiliate our honour!' Perhaps such men should be persuaded to say, instead: 'We are proud of having been able to create a safer world which makes our former sacrifices and privileges redundant and the idea of human rights possible.' Men still expect to be 'thanked' for being prepared for a task (giving their lives as defenders of children and their mothers in war) that they do not have anymore. They project onto women their disappointment of having lost this task that gave them privileges (for the emergency character of war), instead of mourning the loss of those privileges and rejoicing in the redundancy of their sacrifice (no more war deaths). But, certainly it is not easy to lose privileges and avoid finding a scapegoat, rather than being pleased that this loss also entails achievements one can be proud of.

Some women say: 'You men, you try to hold us down, you humiliate our dignity!' Instead they may say: 'Male identity is in many instances still linked to the old paradigm of honour and men have problems stepping out of that; we have to teach them that they can be proud, while we have to concentrate on learning something we traditionally were not taught and may therefore be afraid of, namely how to be effective and constructive leaders.'

A summarised narrative of gender relations could look as follows: 'Women sent out men to risk their lives as defenders, women should be thankful to men for their willingness to die. Men invented mobility and communication technology that eradicates traditional warfare because it creates the global village. Though this result may be unintended, it means that men do not have to risk their lives anymore. They have a safer life, but lose the privileges associated with their willingness to die. Men may be sad about having lost their task as defenders that made women dependent on them, but they may also be happy about the newly acquired security.
…
Women gain security in the global village, they can move around more freely and do not need men's protection anymore – again they may be thankful to men, although their freedom may be an unintended result as well. Women get children, but the task of caring is made easier by household technology and societal institutions as Kindergarten. This frees both women and men, they both can now engage in all kinds of professions. Not men protect women anymore; both extend protection. Protection and provision were male tasks; women can fulfill them today as well as men. This gives space to both genders for what is called 'love,' love between independent free individuals.
…
In former times men had an obligation to secure the next generation's survival with their lives (mediated through the concept of honour); the next generation was obliged to thank primarily

their fathers; women's carer role was less risky. Today emergency is over, the next generation may be equally thankful to men and women for fostering them.'

This narrative is a theoretical game, playing out a hypothetical dialogue. But perhaps such a dialogue would have the potential to pacify relations between men and women. Women may learn from a Nelson Mandela or Mahatma Gandhi. Many women living within a human rights framework feel humiliated by males who cling to old honour values. The clash of both frameworks hurts and humiliates especially women who try to unfold their talents within a human rights framework and are discouraged by the obstacles coming from men who feel humiliated within the honour framework by courageous women.

Mandela succeeded in convincing the white 'masters' that they ought to discontinue their humiliation. He impressed the white elite. He stepped out of the 'humiliator'/'humiliated' dyad, he stepped out of the role of the re-actor, and became an actor. He rejected the definition of the situation given by the humiliator, and with it the 'normal' response to humiliation, namely the upholding of an unbridgeable gap towards the humiliator. Mandela, as well as Gandhi, 'undermined' the paradigm of humiliation, and invented a peaceful response to humiliation.

A *'decent society'* (Margalit, 1996) is in need of Mandelas and Gandhis, and men and women who can follow their path. A '*decent society'* is a society whose institutions do not humiliate people, neither men nor women. Also the global village should be a *'decent global village.'* And a *'decent global village'* ought not to entail circles of humiliation between men and women. The Dalai Lama formulates the matter as follows: 'In human societies there will always be differences of views and interests. But the reality today is that we are all inter-dependent and have to co-exist on this small planet. Therefore, the only sensible and intelligent way of resolving differences and clashes of interests, whether between individuals or nations, is through dialogue. The promotion of a culture of dialogue and non-violence for the future of mankind is thus an important task of the international community. It is not enough for governments to endorse the principle of non-violence or hold it high without any appropriate action to promote it' (Dalai Lama, 1997, 4).

This paper is intended to make a contribution towards building a decent society, both globally and locally, by presenting a hypothetic dialogue of honour and humiliation as pertaining to gender roles that may improve our understanding of the workings of humiliation. This will, hopefully, be a useful tool in identifying and thus helping to prevent or heal humiliation – and also provide an orientation for the further research that is urgently needed.

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[i] See Lindner, 1996; Lindner, 1998; Lindner, 1999a; Lindner, 1999b; Lindner, 1999c; Lindner, 2000b;

Lindner, 2000c; Lindner, 2000d; Lindner, 2000e; Lindner, 2000f; Lindner, 2000g; Lindner, 2000h;

Lindner, 2000i; Lindner, 2000j; Lindner, 2000k; Lindner, 2000l; Lindner, 2000m; Lindner, 2000n; Lindner, 2000o; Lindner, 2000p; Lindner, 2000q; Lindner, 2000r; Lindner, 2000a; Lindner, 2000s; Lindner, 2000t; Lindner, 2001a; Lindner, 2001b. The theory of the humiliation process will be developed further in a book I am currently writing in collaboration with Dennis Smith. Smith is professor of sociology at Loughborough University (UK), see his publications: Smith, 1983; Smith, 1991; Smith, 1997a; Smith, 1997b; Smith, 1999; Smith, 2000a; Smith, 2000b; Smith, 2000c; Smith, 2002.

[ii] See for case studies as method of inquiry in political psychology, Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999.

[iv] The title of the project indicates 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. 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.

[v] See for 'International Perspectives on Feminist Social Psychologies' Wilkinson & Malone, 1998.

[vi] Margalit defines humiliation as the 'rejection of persons of the Family of Man,' as injury of self-respect, or, more specific, as failure of respect, combined with loss of control (Margalit, 1996). His position is disputed, however, for example by Quinton, who argues that self-respect 'has nothing much to do with humiliation' (Quinton, 1997, 87).

[vii] The word humiliation has its roots in the Latin word humus, earth. This entails a spatial orientation, a downward orientation, literally a 'de-gradation.' 'Ned-verdigelse' (Norwegian), 'Er-niedrig-ung' (German), 'a-baisse-ment' (French), all mean 'de-gradation.' All these words are built on the same spatial, *orientational* metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) describe orientational metaphors as up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. Humiliation clearly is 'down.' 'These spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment. Orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial environment: for example, HAPPY IS UP' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 14, capitalisation in original). If 'up' is happy, then 'down' must be 'unhappy': 'being put down' makes unhappy.

[viii] See for 'The Role of Reflexivity in Feminist Psychology' Wilkinson, 1988.

[ix] For example, William Ian Miller wrote a book in which he links humiliation to honor as understood in the Iliad or Icelandic sagas and explains that these concepts are still very much alive today, despite a common assumption that they are no longer relevant. See William Ian Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press,

1993). The theme of his book is 'that we are more familiar with the culture of honor than we may like to admit. This familiarity partially explains why stories of revenge play so well, whether read as the *Iliad*, an Icelandic saga, *Hamlet*, many novels, or seen as so many gangland, intergalactic, horror, or Clint Eastwood movies. Honor is not our official ideology, but its ethic survives in pockets of most all our lives. In some ethnic (sub)cultures it still is the official ideology, or at least so we are told about the cultures of some urban black males, Mafiosi, Chicano barrios, and so on. And even among the suburban middle class the honor ethic is lived in high school or in the competitive rat race of certain professional cultures.' (9)

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[xi] I thank Beverly Crawford, Research Director at the Center for German and European Studies at Berkeley, for her course in international relations and gender at the 'Sommerakademie Friedens- und Konfliktforschung in Loccum,' 20.07.- 25.07. 1997. She gave an excellent introduction into Gender and International Relations Theory. I base this overview of the state-of-the-art in the field largely on her framework.

[xii] Recommendable is Kim, 1993 'Toward a Feminist Theory of Human Rights: Straddling the Fence Between Western Imperialism and Uncritical Absolutism. See for feminist methods and peace and conflict studies feminist methods readings Berg, 1994; Mohanty, in Mohanty, Russo, & Turres, 1991; Byrne, 1996; Fuller, 1992; Forcey, 1991. For background to feminist pedagogy and peace and conflict see Molloy, 1995. For feminist theory and international relations see a good introduction in Zalewski, 1993, 'Feminist Standpoint Theory Meets International Relations Theory: A Feminist Version of

David and Goliath? See also Zalewski, in Bowker & Brown, 1993; Peach, 1994; Cuomo, 1996; Grant, in Grant & Newland, 1991; Binion, 1995; Cohn, 1987.

For background readings see Zalewski, 1995 and her article 'Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?' in *International Affairs*, which gives a good overview and links International Relations Theory with human rights, militarism, and gender. See also Peterson, 1992 for a very good introduction. Widely cited is also Brown, 1988. See also Keohan, in Grant & Newland, 1991, Dalby, 1994, Tickner, 1988, Whitworth, 1989. Regarding gender, identity, and conflict and theoretical approaches to gender and identity, see Moghadam, 1994, Yuval-Davis, 1996, Rosenburg, 1996, Kandiyoti, 1991. See for feminist theories of non-violent conflict resolutions for example Toro, in Peters & Wolper, 1995.

[xiii] See Kohlberg, 1981; Kohlberg, 1984; Lickona, Geis, & Kohlberg, in Lickona, Geis, & Kohlberg, 1976; Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989.

[xiv] See for further discussion Lindner, 2000e and Lindner, 2001a. In these articles it is argued that the divide between logical positivism and social constructionism may be less significant than the 'war-like' relations between protagonists suggest that sometimes can be observed in academic encounters (see, for example, Moscovici, 1997).

[xv] See also Parsons, 1951 work about *Social System.*

[xvi] Beverly Crawford in her comments on *Women in the Global Village* (Lindner, in Breines, Gierycz, & Reardon, 1999).

[xvii] 'The key concepts in this system are given definitions, and the basic assumptions are presented in the form of axioms. A number of corollaries and theorems are formally proved. The text also contains numerous notes in which the formal propositions and their broader implications are discussed. It is assumed that the relationship between psycho-logic and empirical psychology is analogous to that existing between geometry and geography. Psycho-logic and geometry both provide a formal system in terms of which one may describe and analyze respectively psychological phenomena and geographical terrains' (Book-cover text of *Psycho-logic*, Smedslund, 1988.

xviii Using Grounded Theory means trying to avoid simply applying existing theories to data (usually interviews, taped and written down), or merely accepting conventional explanations, but instead being as open as possible and developing arguments and categories out of the data, as they emerge.

xix Personal communication with Ross January 2000, quoted with his permission.

xx See for literature on Somalia, for example, Adam, in Adam & Ford, 1997; Ahmed, 1995; Castagno, 1975; D'Haem, 1997; Heath and Television Productions 1993; Human, 1995; Hussein, in Adam & Ford, 1997; Lewis, 1965; Lewis, in Gulliver, 1969; Lewis, 1994; Mazrui, in Adam & Ford, 1997; Samatar, 1995; Simons, 1995; The Africa Watch Committee, 1990.

xxi See the discussion in evolutionary social psychology concerning prosocial behaviour and the question who is the agent in evolution. Dawkins states that it is the 'selfish gene' that 'wants' to survive and thus is the agent, and that humans cannot escape this frame (Dawkins, 1976).

xxii See for ecology and psychology for example Berry, 1976a; Berry, 1976b; Germain, 1991; Kalin & Berry, 1982; Lee, 1999; Natsoulas, 1997; Weber, 1999. See also James J. Gibson's ecological psychology of 'affordance' are relevant (Gibson, 1966; Gibson, 1974; Gibson, 1979; Gibson, Reed, & Jones, Reed & Jones, 1982). Gibson 'includes environmental considerations in psychological taxonomies' (de Jong, 1997, Abstract).xxii M. A. Forrester, 1999, presents an related approach, that he defines as 'discursive ethnomethodology,' that focuses on 'narrativization as process bringing together Foucault's (1972) discourse theory, Gibson's (1979) affordance metaphor and conversation analysis. He writes that he conceptualises 'theorized subject positioning as participant-oriented social practices, arguably understood as social affordances produced and recognized dynamically in context' (Abstract).

xxiii See for example Sidanius & Pratto, 1999.

xxiv See for social exchange theory Chadwick-Jones, 1976 and Ekeh, 1974, see also Mauss, 1950 and Lévi-Strauss, in Coser & Rosenberg, 1957; Lévi-Strauss, 1968.

xxv See for distributive and procedural justice in its interplay with psychology, also cross-culturally for example Folger, 1984; Bierbrauer, 1994; Bond, Leung, & Schwartz, 1992; Brady & Garver, 1991;

Kaplan, 1986; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Leung & Morris, 1996; Lind & Tyler, 1988a; Lind, 1994; Lind & Tyler, 1988b; Thibaut & Walker, 1975; Tyler & Bies, in Carroll, 1999.

[xxvi] Directeur-adjoint, Institut Universitaire d'etudes du developpement Genève, in a conversation on 28th August 1999 in Geneva.

[xxvii] See for example Woods, 1996.

[xxviii] Or abstain from co-operation. 'Defection' is a word used in the Prisoners' Dilemma literature. See for the Prisoners Dilemma in social psychology Ross & Samuels, 1993.

[xxix] Beverly Crawford at the Sommerakademie für Frieden und Konfliktforschung, Loccum, Germany, 20th – 25th July 1997.

[xxx] Personal comment from Øystein Gullvåg Holter 28th November 1999, see also Holter, 1997.

[xxxi] See Wiseberg (Human Rights Internet, HRI, www.hri.ca) for the currently increasing attention to 'honour-killings' as violation of human rights, as opposed to just being treated as private affair (Laurie S. Wiseberg at the 'Seminar om Sosial Utvikling og Menneskerettigheter,' 10th February 2000, Diakonhjemmets Internasjonale Senter, Oslo).

[xxxii] See, for example, McLuhan & Fiore, 1986 (perhaps the founders of the term 'global village,' or the work of Castells, 1996; Castells, 1997a; Castells, 1997b, and work on globalism, Featherstone, 1990; Oommen, 1997; Puchala, 1995, or Beck, 1999; Beck, 2000.

[xxxiii] See the discussion concerning the observation that democratic states do not go to war against each other, positing democracy as 'protection' against war: Crescenzi & Enterline, 1999; Dyson, 1999; Strausz-Hupé & Possony, 1950; Taylor, 1993; Trotsky & Kautsky, 1922.

[xxxiv] Lt. Col. Michael D. Clay, instructor at Fort Bragg's John F. Kennedy Special Warfare School. 'Quote of the month' retrieved from http://www.clw.org/pub/clw/un/index.html on 3rd January 2001 from the CLWEF's Project on Peacekeeping and the United Nations.

[xxxv] 'diya' means compensation for injuries.

[xxxvi] See for literature on Rwanda and Burundi, for example, African Rights, 1995; Braeckman, 1994; Chrétien, 1997; de Lame, 1997; Des Forges & Human Rights Watch, 1999; Erny, 1995; Gourevitch, 1998; Guichaoua, 1994; Human Rights Watch, 1996; Lemarchand, 1970; Logiest, 1982; Ngakoutou,

1994; Prunier, 1995; Rakiya, De Waal, & African Rights, 1995; Scherrer, 1996; The International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events, 2000; Twagilmana, 1997; Vanderwerff, 1996; Waller & Oxfam, 1996.

[xxxvii] According to Human Rights Watch on June 6th, 1994, as quoted by Jeff Drumtra, Africa policy analyst of the US Committee for Refugees, in his report entitled 'Rwanda, genocide and the continuing cycle of violence,' presented to the House of Representatives' Committee on International Relations, Congress, Subcommittee On International Operations And Human Rights. See www.refugees.org/news/testimony/050598.htm.

[xxxviii] See for the historical background for example 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).

[xxxix] 1999 and 2000 in conversations which have to stay confidential.

[xl] I did not speak to perpetrators myself.