Humiliation, Killing, War, and Gender

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Abstract

The chapter "humiliation, killing, war, and gender" analyzes these phenomenona in their embeddedness in the current transition to Human Rights ideals that promote equal dignity for all. Honor norms are anchored in a social context that is deeply different from contexts of equal dignity for all. Currently, both, honor and equal dignity are cultural concepts that are significant for people world-wide. The problem is that they clash and are incompatible in many ways.

The chapter sheds light on the transition from norms of honor to norms of equal dignity, and how this is played out in the field of gender, killing, and war. Also the phenomenon that people can feel humiliated and retaliate with acts of humiliation is discussed in relation to this transition. The chapter is rounded up by a call for a *Moratorium on Humiliation* in order to safeguard a world that is livable for coming generations.

Humiliation, War, and Gender

This chapter represents a psychological device, namely persuasion, with the aim to mobilize you, the reader, to *get up* instead of *standing by* on the global arena. This chapter tries to entice you to use a psychological mindset for the maintenance of our *global village* that you might have observed in some of your female family members (not exclusively of course), namely the art of how to focus on relationships and their sustainable maintenance.

January 11, 1998, in Nairobi, I met with Asha Ahmed. She is a young Somali woman, and was at that time Information/Dissemination Officer at the Somalia Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross. She and her colleague described to me how they, over years, had struggled to explain the Geneva Convention and the concept of Human Rights to fellow Somalis. However, so she recounted, to their surprise all such difficulties went away in 1997. "How?" I asked. The explanation was interesting. The ICRC had invited historians from all Somali clans to do research and come up with what eventually became the *Spared from the Spear* booklet by the International Committee of the Red Cross Somalia Delegation (1997).

This booklet shows something remarkable, namely that women and children traditionally were "spared from the spear." It documents that traditional Somali war code explicitly protects civilians against warrior onslaughts. Women were not to be touched. Women represented potential bridges between families and clans, precisely because they could move freely, even in wartime. Asha pointed out: "When you look at this booklet, the Geneva Convention is all in there! At first the Geneva Convention was like Latin to the Somalis!"

In my doctoral dissertation – Lindner (2001f), pp. 342-343 – I give Ambassador Dualeh the word. I interviewed him on January 9, 1999, in Nairobi. He backs up what I learned from Asha; see also Lindner (2000a):

> There is one thing which never was part of traditional quarrelling between clans, and this is rape, especially mass rape in front of the family. This is new. It happened for the first time when Siad Barre's dictatorial regime sent soldiers to annihilate us. Soldiers would rape our women in front of their husbands and families.
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> …
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> It is somehow a "tradition" that young men of one clan steal camels from another clan, and sometimes a man gets killed. But women were never touched, never. There might have been the rare case when a girl was alone in the desert guarding her animals, and a young man having spent a long time in the desert lost control and tried to rape her. She would resist violently, and at the end the solution would perhaps be that he had to marry her. But mass rape, especially rape in front of the family, this never happened before, this is new.
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> …
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> Have you noticed how many Somali families live apart? Have you ever thought about the reason why so many Somali women with their children live apart from their husbands? It is because the men cannot live with the humiliation caused by the fact that they were not able to defend their women against the soldiers who raped them.

The husband cannot live together with his wife, because he cannot bear to be reminded of his inability to protect her. The perpetrators intended to humiliate their enemies and they succeeded thoroughly. Rape creates social destruction more "effectively" than any other weapon.

…

This is the reason why today Somalia is so divided. We Somalis are united through our common ethnic background, we speak one language, and are all Muslims. Why are we divided today? Humiliation through rape and its consequences divides us. The traditional methods of reconciliation are too weak for this. It will take at least one generation to digest these humiliations sufficiently to be able to sit together again.

At the end of our conversation, Ambassador Dualeh sighed: "Evelin, believe me, humiliation, as I told you before, was not known to the Somali before Siad Barre came to power!"

Scandinavia houses a large Somali diaspora community. The divorce rate is very high. I remember one Somali woman angrily contesting Ambassador Dualeh's framing, it was in an informal setting in 2001 in Norway. She called out, "It is us, the Somali women, who leave our husbands! Particularly in the diaspora! Because here we receive support for our quest to be treated like human beings! Do you know the saying that a Somali husband will fetch the doctor when his camels are sick, but not for his wives? How come that our husbands shun us after we were raped? Are we not human beings who need more support after being victimized, and not less? How come that these men are so consumed by their own pride and honor – and how it has been humiliated – that they do not see that we suffer and need help? Instead of helping us they sulk and nurture their feelings of humiliation and their hurt pride!"

So far, my aim was to wet the "appetite" of the reader of this chapter and create question marks. Let me continue: On December 3, 1998, I was a guest in a *khat* chewing "focus group" session in Hargeisa, capital of Somaliland. Such sessions typically last for many hours, starting in the afternoon and running through half of the night (typically, such meetings are not attended by "respectable" women; I tried therefore to keep "decent" by at least not chewing *khat* myself…). I asked the men in the round about humiliation or *quudhsiga* (belittling = humiliation). The hours were well invested and yielded many proverbs, such as the following: "Hadellca xun ayaa ka xanuun kulul xabada," meaning "Humiliation is worse than killing; in times of war words of humiliation hurt more than bullets" or "Rag waxaaa ku maamula agaan ama ku maamuusi," meaning "I can only be with people who are equal," or "Masse inaanu nahay oo tollim meerto no tahay," meaning "A man deserves to be killed and not to be humiliated."

At this point, I would like to end my introductory vignettes. I hope that they have elicited the reader's interest for the topic of humiliation, war, and gender. As you understand, for some, humiliation overrides fear of death – indeed, a formidable phenomenon. And as you also see, in much of traditional warfare – and incidentally also in blood feud – women go free; they are, ideally, spared selectively while men are

targeted selectively.[1] And in case such rules are violated or neglected, stark feelings of humiliation may be rendered or maintained in the hearts and minds of those who identify with these codes of behavior.

However, and this I also found out, the fact that women are spared in certain settings, does not necessarily signify that women are too valuable to lose, or that women stand for more "peaceful" attitudes than their fellow males. Sometimes, I was told in Somalia, it was the women who drove their men into tribal war to address their grievances.[2] And, furthermore, women were not spared under all circumstances. In different situations, women were – and in numerous cultural contexts still are – the ones to be killed selectively, for example, in cases of so-called honor killings. When family honor is perceived to be soiled and humiliated through the rape of a daughter, for example, it is first and foremost the raped daughter who is killed, and rarely also the rapist (Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, a criminologist of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, feels uneasy with the term "honor killings" and prefers to use the term "femicide," personal communication, November 2003, Jerusalem[3]).[4]

Thus, women and men – in what I, in the spirit of Weber's *ideal type* approach, call *traditional hierarchical honor-based societies* – are either selectively identified as persons to be spared or selectively identified as persons to be killed, according to certain rules.[5] And the violation of such rules carries the potential to elicit or maintain feelings of

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[1] Blood feud has become rampant in Albania since Hodscha's downfall. Today, around 10,000 men sit in their homes and cannot go out, because they fear blood revenge. At the same time, their women can go around freely, thus they have to shoulder all family responsibilities and tasks alone. See other evidence relating to blood feuds in Boehm (1984), Malcolm (1998), and Rodina (1999).

[2] Militarism has been examined from a feminist point of view in, for example, *Women and War* by Elshtain (1995). Jean Elshtain examines how the myths of *man* as *just warrior* and *woman* as *beautiful soul* are undermined by the reality of female bellicosity and sacrificial male love, as well as the moral imperatives of just wars. Cynthia Enloe (1990) investigates international politics and reveals the crucial role of women in implementing governmental foreign policies; see also Enloe (2000). International relations as a mirror to masculinity have been discussed, for example, by J. Ann Tickner (1992). She examines the meaning of global security through a gender-sensitive lens. V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan describe both women's roles in world politics and the impact of world politics on women's roles; see Peterson (1992a), Peterson (1992b), Peterson & Runyan (1993).

[3] See, for example, Shalhoub-Kevorkian (2000), and literature she uses, such as Abu-Odeh (2000), Al-Khayyat (1990), Baker, Gregware, & Cassidy (1999), Polk (1994), Radford & Russel (1992), Hanmer, Hester, Kelly, & Radford (1996), and Stout (1992).

[4] The phenomenon of "honor killings" is to be found in many parts of the world, even though they occur most in Muslim countries, despite the fact that Islamic religion and law do not sanction it. According to Stephanie Nebehay (2000), "honor killings" "have been reported in Bangladesh, Britain, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Sweden, Turkey and Uganda." Afghanistan, where the practice is condoned under the rule of the fundamentalist Taliban movement, can be added to the list, along with Iraq and Iran" (Nebehay, 2000).

[5] Please read in Coser (1977), "Weber's three kinds of *ideal types* are distinguished by their levels of abstraction. First are the *ideal types* rooted in historical particularities, such as the 'western city,' 'the Protestant Ethic,' or 'modern capitalism,' which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract

humiliation. In all these cases humiliation and gender – or, more precisely, humiliation and the gender selective taking or sparing of lives – are interlinked in very precisely defined ways.

Apart from such cases, clearly, in the course of human history, killing and dying also occurred with no gender selection involved and no humiliation being invoked. History offers ample examples. Often men, women and children died from the ravages of war, indiscriminately. Wars destroyed whole regions so that their inhabitants withered away from famine and lack of resources. In pre-human-rights times, the latter case typically was not regarded as any violation or humiliation; it was rather seen as "fate" or "God's will" or "natural disaster."

In contrast, nowadays, wherever Human Rights ideals are guiding moral deliberations, the killing of people is deplored and seen as illegitimate, under whatever circumstances (except in clear cases of self-defense, or for military personnel in wars that are perceived to be legitimately waged, or for those waiting in the death row in countries that legitimize capital punishment). In present times, predominantly in the West, but also in many non-Western cultural spheres, the overall ethical framework is in the process of changing. Human rights ideals stipulate that people ought to be offered so-called "enabling environments" that give them the chance to build dignified lives. People should not be victimized by war lords who render their homes unsafe and bring famine upon them. And the killing of raped girls in order to redress humiliated family honor is not condoned by Human Rights either. On the contrary, a Human Rights promoter may claim that the act of killing a girl – who has been victimized through being raped – victimizes her doubly, and thus compounds humiliation instead of redressing it. Incidentally, as is widely known, rape has lately increasingly been used as "weapon" in war, thus intensifying the moral dilemma entailed in such cases.

In the following, I will briefly describe how I researched the notion of humiliation that formed the starting point for my subsequent theoretical work on humiliation. I am currently building a *theory of humiliation* that is transdisciplinary and entails elements from anthropology, history, social philosophy, social psychology, sociology, and political science.[6] After laying out my research, I will explain the current state-of-the-art of related

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elements of social reality – such concepts as 'bureaucracy' or 'feudalism' – that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, there is a third kind of *ideal type*, which Raymond Aron calls 'rationalizing reconstructions of a particular kind of behavior.' According to Weber, all propositions in economic theory, for example, fall into this category. They all refer to the ways in which men would behave were they actuated by purely economic motives, were they purely economic men" (Coser, 1977, p. 224).

[6] See, for example, Lindner (1999), Lindner (2000b), Lindner (2000c), Lindner (2001a), Lindner (2001b), Lindner (2001c), Lindner (2001d), Lindner (2001f), Lindner (2002a), Lindner (2002b), Lindner (2002c), Lindner (2003b), Lindner (2003c). The concept of humiliation may be deconstructed into at least seven layers, Lindner (2001e), each requiring a different mix of interdisciplinary research and analysis. The seven layers include a) a core that expresses the universal idea of "putting down," b) a middle layer that contains two opposed orientations towards "putting down," treating it as, respectively, legitimate and routine, or illegitimate and traumatizing, and c) a periphery whose distinctive layers include one pertaining to cultural differences between groups and another four peripheral layers that relate to differences in individual personalities and variations in patterns of individual experience of humiliation.

research carried out by other scholars. Thereafter I will discuss how the phenomenon of humiliation is embedded into a larger historical time-line. I will describe in what way I see globalization at work. At the end I will address what can be done about the destructive effects of humiliation.

Before proceeding further, let me make a little note. In everyday language, the word humiliation is used at least threefold. Firstly, the word *humiliation* points at an *act*, secondly at a *feeling*, and thirdly, at a *process*: "I humiliate you, you feel humiliated, and the entire process is one of humiliation." In this text the reader is expected to understand from the context which alternative is referred to, because otherwise language would become too convoluted.

Let me give you, furthermore, the definition of humiliation that I use in my work:

Humiliation means the enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will (or in some cases with your consent, for example in cases of religious self-humiliation or in sado-masochism) and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. It may involve acts of force, including violent force. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of humiliation as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless.

People react in different ways when they feel that they were unduly humiliated: some just become depressed – anger turns against oneself – others get openly enraged, and yet others hide their anger and carefully plan for revenge. The person who plans for revenge may become the leader of a movement. … Thus, feelings of humiliation may lead to rage, that may be turned inwards, as in the case of depression and apathy. However, this rage may also turn outwards and express itself in violence, even in mass violence, in case leaders are around who forge narratives of humiliation that feed on the feelings of humiliation among masses.

There are many points that would merit closer attention and that are not discussed here, out of lack of space. For example, what is the difference between humiliation that is felt genuinely and feelings of humiliation that are instigated by propaganda or prescribed culturally? Or, if feelings of humiliation are felt by individuals, how are they elevated to group levels, if at all? Or, what about people who are resilient to feeling humiliated even in the face of serious attempts to humiliate them? Why did Nelson Mandela find a constructive way out of humiliation, and a Hitler unleashed a world war? Why did Mandela not instigate genocide on the white elite in South Africa? All these questions and many more are attended to elsewhere in Lindner's writing – see reference list further down.

Furthermore, what should be discussed in more length is my personal stance in relation to Human Rights. I promote Human Rights ideals, where human worthiness and dignity is regarded to be equal for every human being. However, I stand in for Human Rights not because I enjoy presenting myself as an arrogant Westerner who humiliates the non-West by denigrating their honor codes of ranked human worthiness. On the

contrary, to my view, people who endorse honor codes may not be looked down upon; my conceptualization is that honor codes had their respected place in a world that did not yet experience the coming-together of humankind into *One single* family. However, we live in a new reality, the vision and emerging reality of a *global village*, and this new reality can, according to my view, best be tackled with Human Rights norms. I believe that Human Rights represent a normative framework that is better adapted to an emerging *global village*. Thus, I wish to encourage every inhabitant of the globe to abandon "we" and "them" differentiations and define herself as "we," as "we humanity," who *together* searches for the best ways to provide our children with a livable world.

My research and the current state-of-art

In 1994, after many years of international experience – as medical student and psychology student in Asia, Africa, Middle East, America and Europe, and later seven years as a psychological counselor and clinical psychologist in Cairo, Egypt – I asked myself: "What is the most significant obstacle to peace and social cohesion?" My hunch was that dynamics of humiliation may be central. This hunch was based not only on my clinical experience, but also on other evidence. There is a widely shared notion that German was humiliated through the Versailles Accords and that this gave Hitler the necessary platform to unleash World War II and the Holocaust. Marshal Foch of France said in 1919 about the Versailles Treaties: "This is not a peace treaty – it will be a cease-fire for 20 years" (Fuller, 2005).

In 1996, I began to examine the available literature and was surprised that humiliation had not received much academic attention. Search terms such as "shame" or "trauma" would render innumerable hits, however, not "humiliation." I was astonished, because, if humiliation indeed can trigger war, there must be a large body of research to be found. However, this was not the case. I thus designed a doctoral research project on humiliation (for a doctorate in psychology).

I conducted a four-year doctoral research project (1997-2001) at the University of Oslo (1997-2001). It was 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*. I carried out 216 qualitative interviews addressing Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi and their history of genocidal killings. From 1998 to 1999 the interviews were carried out 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).

As the title of the project indicates, three groups had to be interviewed, namely both the conflict parties in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi, and representatives of third parties who intervene. These three groups stand in a set of triangular relationships (at least this is the minimum version – where there are more than two opponents, as is the case in most conflicts, the pattern, obviously, has more than three corners). Both in Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi, representatives of the "opponents" and the "third party" were approached. The following people were included in the "network of conversations" that was created in the course of the research:

- Survivors of genocides were interviewed, that is people belonging to the groups that

were targeted for genocidal killing. In Somalia this included, among others, the Isaaq tribe, in Rwanda the Tutsi, in Burundi Hutu and Tutsi. The group of survivors is typically divided into 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 onslaught inside the country. The German background of this fieldwork consists of the network of contacts that I have established, over some decades, with survivors from the Holocaust and, especially, their children.

- Freedom fighters were included into the "network of conversation." In Somalia, interviews were conducted with SNM (Somali National Movement) fighters in the North of Somalia, who fought the troops sent by the central government in Mogadishu in the South; in Rwanda the interviewees 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 extremist Hutu government which carried out the genocide in Rwanda in 1994; in Burundi there were also Hutu rebels. In Germany, the equivalent of these contacts were exchanges with those aristocratic circles in Germany that fed opposition against Hitler, but also with those, especially from the researcher's family, who advocated Human Rights in the middle of World War II and paid a high price for their human compassion. Furthermore, the researcher's contacts with people from the occupied countries who tried to sabotage German oppression, for example the Norwegian resistance movement, belong into this group, as well as representatives of the allies who finally put an end to German atrocities.

- Some Somali warlords who have their places of retreat in Kenya were interviewed.

- Politicians were included, among them people who were in power before the genocide and whom survivors secretly suspected of having been collaborators or at least silent supporters of those who perpetrated the genocide. The equivalent in Germany is the atmosphere of underlying suspicion in which I grew up, generally a mistrust towards everybody of a certain age, but in particular suspicion towards the past of those people in power, a suspicion that only diminishes as the years pass and people die.

- Somali and Rwandan/Burundian academicians who study the situation of their countries were interviewed. For Germany the last striking manifestation in this field, and a focal point for discussions, has been Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's book on *Hitler's Willing Executioners*.

- Representatives of national non-governmental organizations who work locally for development, peace and reconciliation were included. In Germany, the response to the atrocities of World War II permeates everybody's life – even the generation born after the war – and the researcher's intimate knowledge of a culture of German self-criticism may stand as an equivalent to the pre-occupation with past, present, and future anticipated bloodshed that characterizes people's lives in Somalia, Rwanda, and Burundi.

- Third parties were interviewed, namely representatives of United Nations organizations and international non-governmental organizations who work on emergency relief, long-term development, peace, and reconciliation in all parts of the world.

- Egyptian diplomats in the foreign ministry in Egypt who deal with Somalia were

visited; Egypt is a heavyweight in the Organization of African Unity.

- African psychiatrists in Kenya who deal with trauma and forensic psychiatry were asked about their experience with victims and perpetrators from Rwanda/Burundi and Somalia. In Kenya many nationals from Somalia and Rwanda/Burundi have sought refuge, some in refugee camps, others through various private arrangements. Some, both victims and perpetrators, seek psychiatric help. The equivalent in Germany are those researchers who focus on the effects of the German Holocaust and other World War II atrocities.

- Those who have not yet been interviewed are the masterminds of genocide in Rwanda, those who have planned the genocide, and organized it meticulously. Some of them are said to be in hiding in Kenya and other parts of Africa, or in French-speaking parts of Europe, or in the United States and Canada. Some are in prisons in Rwanda and in Arusha, Tanzania. However, accounts of people who were close to Somali dictator Siad Barre have successfully been collected. In the case of Hitler and those who supported him, a culture of openness and frank discussion is currently unfolding in Germany – the whole country has entered into a phase of "working through" these past experiences, and people who never talked before, do so now, more than 50 years after World War II.

- The topic has also been discussed with more than 500 researchers working in related fields. The current state-of-the-art has been mapped, showing that few researchers have turned their attention to this field. A Theory of Humiliation is currently being developed by the author, and a larger book project is envisaged (in co-operation with Dennis Smith, professor of sociology).

Some of the interview conversations were filmed (altogether the author produced 10 hours of film, comprising many interviews, but also images of Somaliland and Rwanda), other interviews were taped on mini discs (altogether more than 100 hours of audio tape), and in situations where this seemed inappropriate the researcher made notes. The interviews and conversations were conducted in different languages; most of them in English (Somalia) and French (Great Lakes), many in German, and in Norwegian.

Few researchers have studied humiliation explicitly. In many cases the term humiliation is not differentiated from other concepts; humiliation and shame, for example, are often used exchangeably, among others by Silvan S. Tomkins (1962–1992) whose work is carried further by Donald L. Nathanson. Nathanson describes humiliation as a combination of three innate affects out of altogether nine affects, namely as a combination of shame, disgust and dissmell (Nathanson in a personal conversation, October 1, 1999).[7]

In Lindner's work, humiliation is distinctly addressed on its own account and differentiated from other concepts. Humiliation is, for example, not regarded simply as a variant of shame. Dennis Smith, professor of sociology at Loughborough University, UK and founder of LOGIN, has been introduced to the notion of humiliation through Lindner's research and has since incorporated the notion actively into his work in a fascinating way; see, for example, Smith (2002).

The view that humiliation may be a particularly forceful phenomenon is supported by

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[7] See also Nathanson (1992).

the research of, for example, Suzanne M. Retzinger (1991) and Thomas J. Scheff & Retzinger (1991), who studied shame and humiliation in marital quarrels. They show that the suffering caused by humiliation is highly significant and that the bitterest divisions have their roots in shame and humiliation. Also W. Vogel & Lazare (1990) document *unforgivable humiliation* as a very serious obstacle in couples' treatment. Robert L. Hale (1994) addressed *The Role of Humiliation and Embarrassment in Serial Murder*. Humiliation has also been studied in such fields as love, sex and social attractiveness, depression, society and identity formation, sports, history, literature and film.

Donald Klein (1991) carried out very insightful work on humiliation in, for example, the *Journal of Primary Prevention* that devoted a special issue to the topic of humiliation in 1991, 1992, and 1999. 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.

Scheff and Retzinger extended their work on violence and Holocaust and studied the part played by *humiliated fury* in escalating conflict between individuals and nations – see Scheff 1997, p. 11; the term *humiliated fury* was coined by Helen Block Lewis (1971). Consider Scheff (1988), Scheff (1990a), Scheff (1990b), Scheff (1997), Masson (1996), Vachon (1993), Znakov (1990), and see, furthermore, Charny (1997), and his analysis of excessive power strivings. Psychiatrist James Gilligan (1996), as well, focuses on humiliation as a cause for violence, in his book *Violence: Our Deadly Epidemic and How to Treat It*.

Vamik D. Volkan and Joseph Montville carried out important work on psycho-political analysis of intergroup conflict and its traumatic effects. See Volkan (1988), Volkan (1992), Volkan (1994), Volkan & Harris (1995), Volkan (1997), and Montville (1993), Volkan, Demetrios, & Montville (1990), Montville (1990). See also Blema S. Steinberg (1996). Furthermore, Ervin Staub's work is highly significant. See Staub (1989), Staub (1990), Staub (1993), and Staub (1996). See also the journal *Social Research* in 1997, whose special issue was stimulated by the *Decent Society* by Avishai Margalit (1996).

Nisbett & Cohen (1996) examined an honor-based notion of humiliation. The honor to which Cohen and Nisbett refer is the kind that operates in the more traditional branches of the Mafia or, more generally, in blood feuds. William Ian Miller (1993), wrote a book entitled *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence*, where he links humiliation to honor as understood in *The Iliad* or Icelandic sagas, namely humiliation as violation of honor.

There is a significant 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 Honneth (1997), on related themes. Max Scheler (1912) set out these issues in his classic book *Ressentiment*. In his first period of work, for example in his *The Nature of Sympathy*, Scheler (1954) focuses on human feelings, love, and the nature of the person.

He states that the human person is at bottom a loving being, *ens amans,* who may feel *ressentiment*.

This overview does not exhaust the contributions to be found in the literature on the topic of humiliation – or rather on related issues, since, to my awareness, only Miller, Hartling, and the two above-mentioned journals explicitly put the word and concept of *humiliation* at the centre of their attention. Later other authors will also be introduced and cited.

However, as soon as we turn to issues that are related to humiliation then a wide field of research opens up: Research on mobbing and bullying touches upon the phenomenon of humiliation and should therefore be included.[8] Research on mobbing and bullying leads over to the field of prejudice and stigmatization,[9] which in turn draws on research on trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder PTSD,[10] aggression (see further down), power and conflict,[11] stress,[12] and last but not least emotions.[13]

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[8] See especially Heinz Leymann for work on mobbing, Leymann (1990), Leymann (1996), Leymann & Gustafsson (1996), as well as Dan Åke Olweus on mobbing and bullying at school, Olweus (1993), Olweus (1997). The confusion around the use of the terms mobbing and bullying stems from the fact that these phenomena are addressed differently in different countries. Leymann suggests keeping the word bullying for activities between children and teenagers at school and reserving the word mobbing for adult behavior at workplaces.

[9] Edvard E. Jones (1984), *Social Stigma - The Psychology of Marked Relationships*, is a central book on stigmatization.

[10] There exists a huge body of research and literature, see, for example, Bremner, Southwick, Brett, Fontana, Rosenheck, & Charney (1992), Eitinger (1990), Everly (1993), Figley (1989), Gerbode (2000), Havermans (1998), Horowitz, Weine, & Jekel (1995), Kardiner (1941), Lavik, Laake, Hauff, & Solberg (1999), McCann & Pearlman (1992), Nadler & Ben Shushan (1989), Pearlman (1994), Pearlman (1998), Perry (1994), van der Kolk, Blitz, Burr, & Hartmann (1984), van der Kolk (1994), van der Kolk & van der Hart (1989), van der Kolk & van der Hart (1991), van der Kolk & Kadish (1987).

[11] Political scientists P. Bachrach & Baratz (1962), were among the first to address power and conflict in their article 'The Two Faces of Power' that is placed within the context of the civil rights movement in the USA of the nineteen sixties. See also Tedeschi, Schlenker, & Bonoma (1973) on Conflict, Power, and Games: the Experimental Study of Interpersonal Relations.

[12] Standard reading on stress psychology is Richard S. Lazarus (1966), *Psychological Stress and the Coping Process* and Lazarus & Folkman (1984), *Stress, Appraisal and Coping*. Stress is not necessarily negative, it may also be a stimulating challenge – and there are individual differences why some people thrive under stress and others break. See, for example, *Resilience and Thriving: Issues, Models, and Linkages* by Carver (1998), *Embodying Psychological Thriving: Physical Thriving in Response to Stress* by Epel, McEwen, & Ickovics (1998), *Quantitative Assessment of Thriving* by Cohen, Cimbolic, Armeli, & Hettler (1998), *Beyond Recovery From Trauma: Implications for Clinical Practice and Research* by Calhoun & Tedeschi (1998), *Exploring Thriving in the Context of Clinical Trauma Theory: Constructivist Self Development Theory* by Saakvitne, Tennen, & Affleck (1998).

[13] Antonio R. Damasio (1994), with his book *Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain*, provides a perspective on the important "constructive" role that emotions play for the process of our decision making; it shows how the traditional view of "heart" versus "head" is obsolete. Daniel Goleman (1996), in his more widely known book *Emotional Intelligence* relies heavily on Damasio. Goleman gives, among others, a description of the brain activities that lead to post-traumatic

Conflict and peace are topics that have been widely studied; thousands of publications are to be found that cover a wide range of conflicts, from interpersonal to intergroup and international conflict. The search word *terrorism* renders thousands of hits in databases. Instead of presenting large lists of publications at this point I would like to mention some of those that had particular significance for this research project on humiliation. A pioneer of conflict studies in social psychology was Morton Deutsch, the founder of the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR) at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, see, for example, Deutsch & Coleman (2000).

Also Herbert C. Kelman was among the first to work in this field, see, for example, Kelman (1999), and Kelman & Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (1965). David A. Hamburg's work for prevention, as President of the Carnegie Corporation, has been crucial, see, for example, Hamburg (2002).

Lee D. Ross, principal investigator and co-founder of the *Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation (SCCN)*, addresses psychological barriers to conflict resolution, see, for example, Ross & Ward (1995). William Ury, Director of the *Project on Preventing War at Harvard University*, and co-author of *Getting to Yes*, Fisher, Ury, & Patton (1991), and author of *Getting to Peace*, Ury (1999), focuses in his anthropological work on conflict. Monty Marshall (1999), founding director of the *Integrated Network for Societal Conflict Research (INSCR)* program at the *Center for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM),* University of Maryland, wrote a seminal book on protracted conflict and the hypothesis of *diffusion of insecurity*. Bar-On & Nadler (1999) call for more attention to be given to conflicts in contexts of power asymmetry.

In cases where humiliation shall be studied in cross-cultural settings, cross-cultural psychology has to be included,[14] and the anthropological, sociological and philosophical

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stress disorder. The *Handbook of Emotion and Memory* by Christianson (1992), addresses the important interplay between emotions and memory. Humiliation is a process that is deeply embedded in the individual's interdependence with her environment, and therefore relational concepts of mind such as Gibson's ecological psychology of "affordance" are relevant. Gibson "includes environmental considerations in psychological taxonomies" writes de Jong (1997) (Abstract). M. A. Forrester (1999) presents an related approach, that he defines as "discursive ethnomethodology," that focuses on "narrativization as process bringing together the discourse theory as developed by Foucault (1972), the affordance metaphor used by Gibson (1979) and conversation analysis. I thank Reidar Ommundsen and Finn Tschudi for kindly helping me to get access to psychological theories on emotion, especially as developed by Tomkins and Nathanson. Silvan S. Tomkins (1962), developed one of the most interesting theories of the human being and emotions; see his four volumes of Affect Imagery and Consciousness. See also Virginia Demos (1995), editor of *Exploring Affect,* a book that eases the otherwise difficult access to Tomkins' thinking. Donald L. Nathanson (1996) builds on Tomkins' work; he writes on script, shame, and pride. Nathanson describes humiliation as a combination of three innate affects out of nine, namely a combination of shame, disgust and dissmell (Nathanson in a personal conversation, 1st October1999 in Oslo). Abelson (1976) addresses the issue from the cognitive perspective, compared to Tomkins personality-psychological perspective. Also the sociology of emotions is relevant; see especially the work of Thomas J. Scheff (1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1997) on violence and emotions such as shame.

[14] See, example the work of Michael Harris Bond. I can only present a small selection of important books and some articles, Bond (1997), Bond (1998), Smith & Bond (1999), Bond, Leung, and Schwartz (1992). Harry Charalambos Triandis is an important name as well, see, for

embeddedness of processes of humiliation in different cultural contexts has to be addressed. If humiliation between groups or even nations is to be studied then history and political science play a central role.

Women are *in* and *down* and men are *out* and *up*

The questions that formed the starting point for my research in 1996 where the following:[15] What is experienced as humiliation? What happens when people feel humiliated? When is humiliation established as a feeling? What does humiliation lead to? Which experiences of justice, honor, dignity, respect and self-respect are connected with the feeling of being humiliated? Which role do globalization and Human Rights play for humiliation? How is humiliation perceived and responded to in different cultures? What role does humiliation play for aggression? What can be done to overcome violent effects of humiliation?

How can these questions be addressed? How can the gender dimension be included? A family in Norway, for example, whose daughter was raped, might send their child into trauma therapy and not want to kill her in order to remedy humiliation. This stark and brutal example shows that what is experienced as humiliation and what it leads to, together with experiences of justice, honor, dignity, respect and self-respect, deeply varies depending on the overall cultural context. Even the use of the honor-killing example itself in this text, employed by me, a Western author with the best intentions, elicits angry protests, for example, among Palestinian female students, who claim that it exposes humiliating arrogance on behalf of the author (March 2004, Jerusalem).

How are we to understand this confusing situation and how are we to tackle it? In the following I will make the argument that globalization (or better, the *ingathering* of humankind) is central to the transition towards a new paradigm of dignity that is characterized by Human Rights ideals. Later, I will address the last question, namely what can be done to overcome violent effects of humiliation.

Let me first explain why I believe that the coming-into-being of the term and the reality of a "global village" is crucial. Please bear with me for a journey. As mentioned earlier, I have spent the past thirty years practicing being a global citizen, living, studying and working in different parts of the world and in various cultural spheres. Wherever I spent time, I observed women predominately inhabiting the private sphere. I call this the *inside* sphere. Men, in contrast, moved around in what the respective community defined as *outside* sphere – or they straddled the border between both spheres.[16] Let me give you some examples.

Women are *in* and men are *out*

In Cairo, traditional urban houses had a segregated space for women, the so-called

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example, Triandis (1980), Triandis (1990), Triandis (1995), Triandis (1997), Schwartz (1994). Richard W. Brislin is another very relevant name, see, for example Brislin (1993), Cushner & Brislin (1996), Landis & Brislin (1983).

[15] I thank Dagfinn Føllesdal for his support in formulating these questions.

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

harem, which was not be visited by males who were not part of the family. Today these houses can still be seen in Cairo; they are now museums. An old saying, not only in Egypt, prescribes that a "good" woman ought to leave the house only twice in her lifetime, first, when she gets married and moves from the house of her father to the house of her husband, and second, when her dead body is carried to the cemetery. Even though houses with harems are not anymore built today in Egypt, still daily life is reminiscent of this segregation. For example, I have Egyptian friends where the woman inhabits the master bedroom and her husband is only a guest – he usually sleeps with the boys; or, in other families, only the women use the bathroom inside the house, while the men go out and relieve themselves in the fields; or, women receive their female friends inside the house, while men meet their male friends outside, in the tea house. The different versions of body cover that are used in many traditional communities, including Muslim, Christian, and others – *burka, burkha, bourka, hijab*, headscarf, etc. – could be interpreted as "portable inside spheres," making it possible for a woman to stay *inside* while actually venturing *out*. There is an Egyptian proverb saying that "the woman is the neck and the man the head," and the explanation I received was that the woman is in control of the position of the "head" *inside* the home – by telling the husband what to represent *outside*. The list of examples highlighting an *inside/outside* dichotomy that is linked to gender could be prolonged almost indefinitely.

One may expect that such customs and traditions are restricted to non-Western parts of the world. Clearly, as compared to earlier historic times, women are welcomed into the public sphere more than ever before. However, the transition is far from complete, even in the West. In Germany, there is a proverb saying "Der Mann geht hinaus in das feindliche Leben" or "the man goes out into the hostile world" while the woman stays home; indeed, Germany, still today, ranks on a comparatively meager place 17 (in 2001) on the Gender-related Development Index GDI.[17] Not only in the non-West, also in the West are women typically still the home-makers, not men. Even in the most egalitarian family, where women have top jobs, the women are the ones to remember the birthdays of family members, friends and neighbors; they are the ones to buy the gifts; they are the ones to maintain emotional and social life *inside* their families; they attempt to create harmony and console the distressed; and they heal and repair social cohesion.

I would like to insert a clarifying note at this point. I am not an advocate of the view that women and men are irreconcilably different by nature, even though there are undoubtedly hormonal differences between the two sexes.[18] I believe that a woman can step into a male role and vice versa. When I talk about female or male roles, I refer to

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[17] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2002) explains, "The human development index (HDI) is a simple summary measure of three dimensions of the human development concept: living a long and healthy life, being educated and having a decent standard of living ... Thus it combines measures of life expectancy, school enrolment, literacy and income to allow a broader view of a country's development than using income alone, which is too often equated with well-being. Since the creation of the HDI in 1990 three supplementary indices have been developed to highlight particular aspects of human development: the human poverty index (HPI), gender-related development index (GDI) and gender empowerment measure (GEM)" (p. 34).

[18] On *genes, hormones* and *violence*, see, for example, Bernhardt (1997), Caspi, Moffitt, Mill, Martin, Craig, Taylor, & Poulton (2002), Clark & Grunstein (2000), Fuller & Thompson (2003), Hamer & Copeland (2000).

them as a set of culturally determined "recipes," "prescriptions," "templates," or "scripts."[19] I see those scripts as a set of "how to do" and "how to be," which are assimilated through socialization by every individual.[20] I value the following formulations, by Simone de Beauvoir (1962), "Femininity is neither a natural nor an innate entity, but rather a condition brought about by society, on the basis of certain physiological characteristics" (Simone de Beauvoir, 1962, p. 291). Or, as Theodor Adorno (2005) formulates it, "The feminine character, and the ideal of femininity of which it is modelled, are products of masculine society" (Theodor Adorno, 2005, para. 59).

Women are *down* and men are *up*

To continue my previous thought, even though in many parts of the world, for example in modern Western societies, men are increasingly expected to take over some of the competence for "inside matters" that originally were the reserve of female socialization, this still frequently ends in bitter disappointment. Instead of bringing joy and mutual understanding, this expectation shift often merely opens up a painful expectation gap. As a clinical psychologist, I frequently witnessed women struggling to communicate with their spouses, expecting to be able to attain a relationship of "mutual understanding on an equal footing" with their men. After years of attempting to build what she would call a "real" relationship with her husband, the wife would give up and file for divorce. He, on his side, would be flabbergasted. To his view, everything was fine, apart from her sometimes being a little "difficult," something he prided himself of generously

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[19] Donald L. Nathanson builds on Tomkins' work; he writes on *script*, shame, and pride (Nathanson (1987), Nathanson (1992), Nathanson (1996). Scripts are "the structures within which we store scenes;" they are "sets of rules for the ordering of information about SARS" (Stimulus-Affect-Response Sequences) (Nathanson (1996). See for work on scripts also Eric Berne (1972), with his book *What Do You Say After You Say Hello?* that illuminates script theory from the clinical perspective.

[20] Henri Tajfel (1984) wrote, "it is not the difference which matters, but the distinction." Larrow & Wiener (1992) contribute to the same subject (p. 239): "There has been much controversy over the use of the terms *stereotype* and *prejudice. ...* We would distinguish three terms: categorization, stereotypes, and prejudice. *Categorization* will be used when classification of a person into a category is based on the necessary defining attributes of class membership. *Stereotype* is the classification based on non-definitional attributes. Finally, *prejudice* is classified when social evaluation is explicitly included with the stereotype. In the field of sex/gender research, we would like to make a distinction between using the term sex to refer to categorization of males and females based on biological attributes, such as chromosomes, genitals, reproductive functions, and so on, and *gender* to refer to stereotypes of women and men based on non-biological attributes such as clothes, hairstyle, behaviours, and the like. Most of our beliefs about men and women are based on gender stereotypes." Unger & Crawford (1992) formulate it succinctly (p. 619): "When sex is not present, people need to invent it. They use sex as a cue even when more useful sources of information are available." The authors look for alternative explanations and name inequality through power difference as often explaining more of observable differences than sex or gender differences. I would agree concerning the necessity of alternative explanations, but would be careful with the power argument, as long as the power argument is simply used as men having the power and women being the suppressed ones. I would take into account the distribution of tasks of different urgency leading to a power difference.

overlooking. It escaped him that her "hysteria" indicated that she painfully realized that her expectations had never made it into his heart and mind, namely her hope that her husband would become part of the female world of relationship building on one side, and she would be allowed into his world on the other side. See also Lindner (1999).

The last example not only gives a feel for the *inside* sphere where women are "responsible," as compared to *outside* spheres where men roam, but also for its ranking. Female *inside* maintenance tasks enjoy a lower prestige and status than male control of *outside* spheres. In other words, what we can observe, is not only an *inside/outside* dichotomy, it is furthermore a dichotomy that is ranked and not deemed to be equally worthy. This state of affairs has been labeled by a number of terminologies, such as that of patriarchy or male chauvinism.[21] Even though the earlier quoted Egyptian proverb of women being in control of men shows that the situation is not completely clear-cut – women do indeed carry power – altogether we may conclude that men are not only *outside*, but also *up*, while women are *inside*, and *down*. And the current historic transition that our generations witness and forge sees women attempting to come *out* and rise *up*, while inviting men *in* and *down*.

Interestingly, not only men, also women struggle with the current transition, not least with regard to their own selves. Admittedly, women no longer cripple themselves by binding their feet so as to become humble eligible brides who thus make themselves stay *inside* and *down*, as they did for a millennium in China. Yet, just listen to Jane Fonda and her speech at the National Women's Leadership Summit in Washington DC on December 2, 2003[22] :

> Before I turned sixty I thought I was a feminist. I was in a way, I worked to register women to vote, I supported women getting elected. I brought gender issues into my movie roles, I encouraged women to get strong and healthy, I read the books we've all read. I had it in my head and partly in my heart, yet I didn't fully get it. See, although I've always been financially independent, and professionally and socially successful, behind the closed doors of my personal life I was still turning myself in a pretzel so I'd be loved by an alpha male. I thought if I didn't become whatever he wanted me to be, I'd be alone, and then, I wouldn't exist.

I hope I have by now given you some interesting perspectives on the interlinked dichotomies of *inside/down/female* and *outside/up/male* and how they currently are in the process of shifting. We currently observe historic transitions that deeply affect male and female role descriptions, a process that is evolving daily and that is far from finalized. *Outside/up/male* and *inside/down/female* linkages are on the move. Women attempt to rise *up* and go *out*, while men are invited *in* into relationships characterized by equal dignity. Concepts of humiliation, honor, war and violence are profoundly linked to these

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[21] Clearly, the intertwined relationship between social construction and biological facts (and their construction) requires a more thorough discussion. Yet, it would take too much space here. See for masculine domination as patriarchy and male power, for example, *Men in the Public Eye: The Construction and Deconstruction of Public Men and Public Patriarchies* (Hearn (1992).

[22] see http://www.trans4mind.com/healing/fonda.html, or http://www.awakenedwoman.com/jane_fonda_talk.htm. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of Fonda's speech.

transitions and are equally on the move.

I would like to continue this chapter by offering you, in the next section, my conceptualization of the underlying conditions that, according to my analysis, might guide the historic transition we find ourselves in. I will start the following section by pointing out that my conceptualization not only offers a historical contextualization, but also an answer to pressing question such as, "Why were women *inside* and *down* and not 'worth' being warriors?"

Why were women *in* and *down* before and now want to get *out* and *up*?

In my analysis I give attention to globalization and its effect on gender. I believe that gender role differentiations are weakened in the course of globalization (I define the term globalization in a very specific way, namely as the coming-together of humankind). I have coined the word *egalization* to match the word *globalization*, in order to preserve the coming-together aspect in *globalization* that concerns *inside* and *outside* demarcations. I place the currently growing level of global injustice (concerning the question of who is *up* and who is *down*) in a different term, namely *egalization*. Thus, through the conceptualization of the *inside/outside* and the *up/down* dichotomies and linking them with global historical developments such as globalization, I contextualize the current historic shift that relates to gender, humiliation, and war in a specific way. Let me explain more in the following sections.

Times of transition: Before, "many villages" and hierarchical ranking of worthiness

Prior to the emergence of the imagery and terminology of the *global village*, which clearly signifies *One single* village covering the entire globe, the world consisted, if we follow the logic of the term of *One* village, of *many* villages. And indeed, historically this is what we observe. More so, these *villages* were often pitted against each other; between the sovereigns of *villages* – heads of tribes, fiefdoms, nations – wars were frequently waged. People drew clear boundaries between in- and out-group, "we" and "them," "friends" and "enemies." There was little doubt about where *inside* and *outside* spheres were to be defined. *Inside* was *inside* the house, or at best *within* city walls or village demarcations. *Outside* was beyond city walls, at best beyond the frontiers of one's *in*-group's territory.

International relations theory ascribes to this state of affairs the term *Security Dilemma*. The Security Dilemma is a term that encapsulates a dilemma that each sovereign found himself facing. No sovereign could risk not amassing weapons, lest the neighbors were to attack. However, amassing weapons typically has a counterproductive effect. Bulging weapon arsenals, apart from soothing one's own people's fears, make the neighbor grow more fearful and make them respond with amassing even more weapons on their part. In short, one's own people's decrease of fear is paid for with increasing fear among neighbors. Thus, arms races and ultimately wars were almost inevitable. Fear of attack was bound to dominate the emotional arsenal of both sovereigns and underlings. Being prepared for the emergency of war was of eminent importance.

I suggest that the fear of imminent war, the necessity to continuously staying prepared for the emergency of sudden attack from *outside*, may in many cases have been

overwhelming and all-defining. And, I furthermore propose that this state of continuous fear and emergency alert, combined with the particularities of human reproduction features, may be taken to present a push towards the dominance of men. As widely accepted, Jeanne d'Arc was an exception; typically men – and not women – were the ones to be sent *out* to defend the borders of the *village*.[23] I do not wish to enter here into the discussion of whether this *division of labor* was a functional adaptation to biological differences or not.[24] Perhaps it was. Men are expandable, women much less, considering that women can never be procreators of as many children in their lifetimes as men.

As soon as a *division of labor* is in place that puts men at the task of dealing with the continuously reigning fear and the tackling of emergencies emanating from attacks threatening from *outside*, while women are to take care of maintenance *inside*, men enjoy a certain kind of definitorial priority. This is because emergencies typically trump maintenance. Not least our bodies demonstrate this; stress hormones take over in case of emergency, while maintenance – digestion, restitution, repair – are secondary and have to wait. Emergency comes first, maintenance second (a state that, if continued for too long, leads to grave neglect of maintenance and eventually to collapse; the human body, for example, might react with a heart attack, or, for societies, the under-use of human potential for social cohesion may be the result).

In other words, prior to the emergence of the idea and reality of *One global village*, humankind lived in *many villages*, and these *villages* were usually hierarchically organized. Elites, mostly males, were meant to tackle fear of attack by guarding the borders towards the *outside*, while underlings, among them almost all women, inhabited secondary and lowly positions *inside*. This state of affairs was regarded as God's will or nature's order, starting about ten thousand years and slowly encompassing almost the entire globe, while hunting-gathering societies (which were rather egalitarian) where pushed aside.[25] During the past millennia, usually, neither elites nor underlings in hierarchical cultural contexts questioned this order. If underlings rose, they typically replaced the master and kept hierarchy as it was. Honor was the concept that was used to describe and encapsulate everybody's position in the hierarchical ranking order.

How is honor structured? And how are gender, humiliation and war linked to it? I propose to merge the two elements already discussed, namely the *inside/outside* dichotomy (women *inside*, men *outside*), and the *top*dog/*under*dog dichotomy (women *down*, men *up*) into one single image, an image that is often alluded to, not least in the above-mentioned Egyptian proverb and in cases of honor killings, namely the image of the *body* for a group. In other words, I suggest analyzing the world of honor and

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[23] Read on *masculinity, violence,* and *war*, for example, Breines, Connell, & Eide (2000), Brittan (1989), Brod (1987), Connell (1995), Connell (1996), Connell (1997), Hanmer, Hester, Kelly, & Radford (1996), Hooper (2001), Kimmel (1996), Kimmel (1997), Kimmel (2000), Messner (1997), Morgan (1992), Walby (1990), Whitehead (2002), Wrangham & Peterson (1996), Zalewski & Parpat (1998). See also *The Men's Studies Bibliography* at <http://www.xyonline.net/mensbiblio/>.

[24] Read, for example, Durkheim (1993).

[25] See Ury (1999) for a very accessible presentation of the historical and anthropological background of the transition from hunting-gathering to agriculture and from there to today's global knowledge society.

humiliation in traditional societies by taking the body as a guiding image. In that image, the man represents the *head* that thinks, steers, strategizes and decides, and the woman represents both the *substrate* of the body and its *caring hands*, with which to extend maintenance and continuous renewal. Men are conceptualized as the rationally and responsibly thinking *heads* of social entities conceptualized as bodies – families, tribes, nations, or what I earlier called *villages* – being in control of *outside* matters, while the *caring hands* of the women are to maintain, so-to-speak, harmony *inside* these social entities.

In such contexts, men represent the outer shield, the armor covering *inside* spheres; they defend family honor against humiliation by going to duel with other men who attack from *outside*. Free will, independent deliberation, rational evaluation of risks, autonomous decision, all this is the world of honorable men, particularly those in ruling elites, who move *outside*, where Hobbsian anarchy reigns between *villages*.[26] Women, on the other hand, not only are meant to be *caring hands*, they also represent the *fabric* of the inside sphere. In such framings, women do not *act*, they *are*; they *are* either *pure*, or *rotten*. Men are seen as *actors*, women are *substrate*. In cases of honor killings the raped girl is killed because she resembles a rotten limb that has to be cut out of the body, lest the entire body should begin to rot. This is the framing and explanation, I was frequently confronted with.[27]

As long as honor codes are strongly anchored in a given community, both men and women are caught in their respective role descriptions as parts of a larger *body*. A man, for example, cannot avoid "being a man," even if he wishes to. Many men were killed in duels that they would have avoided if they had a personal choice. I had a client in Egypt who ridiculed the blood feud practices of his native village; he did not identify with those "anachronistic traditions" as he called them. He was the next in line to be killed in a blood feud of his village. He stopped mocking his fellow villagers after narrowly escaping the first attempt to kill him. Also women are caught in this social system. A raped girl is a "living dead" person, if not physically dead, then at least socially dead, reports Victoria Fontan (2005) from her fieldwork in Iraq. A raped girl cannot escape her fate of being killed by her family, and even if she were to avoid death, she would never be able to be part of her social home again. Fontan quotes from Khayyat (1990), who explains that in Iraq a raped woman is considered to be dead to society for having enticed males to abuse her.

To summarize, in what I call *traditional societies* – societies based on honor codes that rank humans in *lesser* and *higher* beings, including gender ranking – humiliation is linked in very specific ways to the selective killing or sparing of men and women. See Table 1. In blood feuds, humiliated family honor is redressed by the selective killing of men, while women are not regarded to be "worthy" of being killed. In duels as well, men are killed so as to redress humiliated honor; women are not entitled to defend their honor with the sword in duels. Men in battle-age are never regarded as civilians, but rather as continuously representing potential enemies "worthy to be killed." National honor in many countries, still today, resembles male honor, and its humiliation is redressed by

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[26] Life is "nasty, brutish and short," according to Hobbes (1651) (p. 91). "Anarchy" is what Hobbes calls this abominable experience.

[27] See interesting related work, for example by Mary Douglas (1984), on purity and taboo.

duel-like wars.

Humiliation and the selective killing of men in honor based social contexts		
Blood feud	➡	Redress of humiliation of family honor
Duels	➡	Redress of humiliation of family honor
Propensity to kill males in battle age among enemy groups independently of them being civilians or not, because all males are regarded as potential warriors/soldiers	➡	Prevention/redress of potential future humiliation of family/clan/tribal/national honor
Humiliation and the selective killing of women in honor based social contexts		
Honor killings	➡	Redress of humiliation of family honor

Table 1: Humiliation and the selective killing of men and women in honor based social contexts

Times of transition: Today, globalization and egalization

We live in times of transition. And these transitions are marked not least by a shift in the meaning of the word humiliation. In the English language, the verbs *to humiliate* and *to humble* parted around 250 years ago. Their meanings and connotations went into diametrically opposite directions. Up to 1757 the verb *to humiliate* did not signify the violation of dignity. *To humiliate* meant merely *to lower* or *to humble*. I quote from Miller (1993), who informs us that "the earliest recorded use of *to humiliate* meaning to mortify or to lower or to depress the dignity or self-respect of someone does not occur until 1757" (Miller, 1993, p. 175, italics in original).

Thus, the old meaning of the word *to humiliate* (1757) lasted almost until the American Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) and the French Revolution (August 4, 1789), both important starting points for the subsequent rise and canonization of Human Rights ideals. Undoubtedly, the ideas that feed into today's Human Rights ideas predate 1757. Not least important religions such as Christianity and Islam entail significant ideals of equality. However, these ideals seem to have gathered pace only about 250 years ago.

Historians are the ones to describe the transition that acquired significance around 250 years ago; this text is not the place. However, I believe that we live in the middle of a transition from old honor codes in traditional hierarchical settings to new Human Rights based on equal dignity norms. Clearly, we are far from having arrived "on the other side" yet. Old honor norms and related feelings of humiliation are still alive and well – alongside with new equal dignity norms and their respective emotional expressions. Therefore it is important to understand both.

What is important for the topic of humiliation is, I believe, that with the advent of Human Rights ideals, the notion of humiliation changes its attachment point. It moves from the top to the bottom of pyramids of power, from the privileged to the

disadvantaged. In the new Human Rights framework, the downtrodden underling is given the right to feel humiliated. The master, on the other side, is called upon to humble himself, and he is no longer given permission to resist this call by labeling it as humiliating. Elites who arrogate superiority lose their age-old right to cry "humiliation!" when they are asked to descend and humble themselves.

The Human Rights revolution could be described as an attempt to collapse the master-slave gradient to the line of equal dignity and humility. The practice of masters arrogating superiority and subjugating underlings is now regarded as illicit and obscene, and Human Rights advocates invite both, masters and underlings, to join in shared humility at the line of equal dignity.

It is important to note that I speak about the *vertical ranking of human worth and value,* and less about *inequality*, *hierarchy*, or *stratification*. This is because the significant point for my discussion is not the absence or presence of hierarchy, inequality or stratification, but whether human worthiness is ranked or not. The horizontal line is meant to represent the line of equal dignity and humility. This line does not signify that all human beings are equal, or should be equal, or ever were or will be equal, or identical, or all the same. This horizontal line is to represent a worldview that does not permit the hierarchical ranking of existing differences of human worth and value. Masters are invited to step down from arrogating *more* worthiness, and underlings are encouraged to rise up from humiliation, up from being humiliated down to *lower* value. Masters are humbled and underlings empowered.

Historic Transition to Egalization

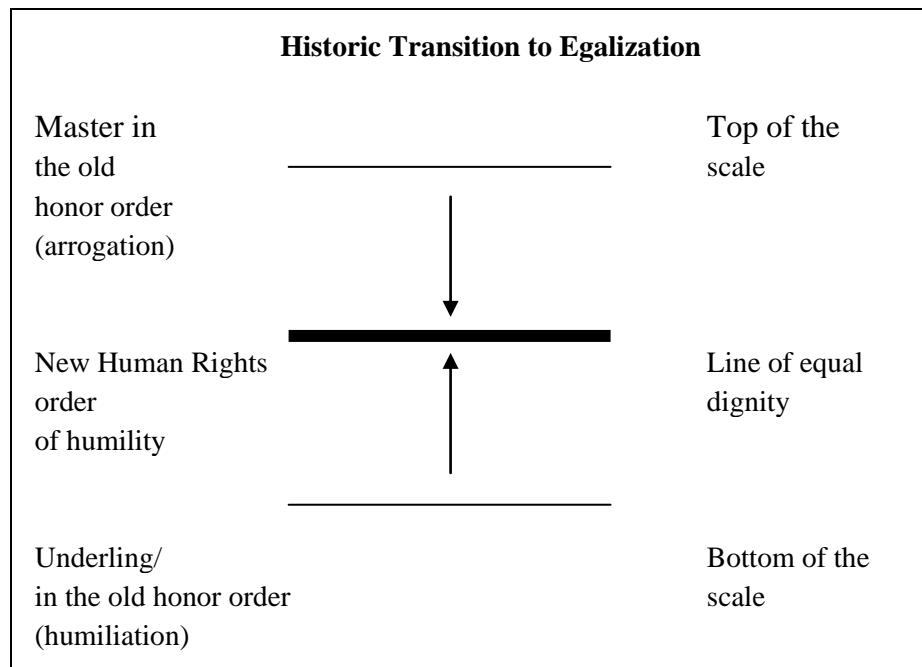| Master in the old honor order (arrogation) | | Top of the scale |
| New Human Rights order of humility | | Line of equal dignity |
| Underling/ in the old honor order (humiliation) | | Bottom of the scale |

Figure 1: The historic transition to egalization

As mentioned above, I believe that what anthropologists call the *ingathering* of the

human family is a central force in the current historic shift. "Over the last ten thousand years, there has been one fairly steady trend in our history: the ingathering of the tribes of the earth, their incorporation into larger and larger groups, the gradual unification of humanity into a single interacting and interdependent community. For the first time since the origin of our species, humanity is in touch with itself" (Ury, 1999, p. XVII). In my theory of humiliation, I base myself on the work of William Ury (1999). I recently detected that also Carol Lee Flinders (2002) conceptualizes human history in similar ways. I suggest that we can describe a historical development from hunting-gathering to complex agriculturalism and finally to the global information and knowledge society. Thus, I propose that globalization is significant for the current Human Rights' call for collapsing the master-slave gradient, and for related changes in the humiliation dynamic that in turn have deep effects on concepts of gender and war.

I propose that "globalization critics" do not oppose all aspects of *globalization* – global civil society, for example, benefits from the coming-together of humankind – however, that they are uneasy about what I call *egalization*.

Lindner (2003a, p. 9), defines egalization as follows:

The word *egalization* has been coined by the author in order to match the word *globalization* and at the same time differentiate it from words such as equality, because the main point is not equality. The point is rather equal dignity, even though there is a connection between equality and equal dignity. (The connection is "hidden" in the Human Rights stipulation that equal chances and enabling environments for all are necessary to protect human dignity.)

The term egalization is meant to avoid claiming that everybody should become equal and that there should be no differences between people. Egality can coexist with functional hierarchy that regards all participants as possessing equal dignity; egality can not coexist, though, with hierarchy that defines some people as lesser beings and others as more valuable.

If we imagine the world as a container with a height and a width, *globalization* addresses the horizontal dimension, the shrinking width. *Egalization* concerns the vertical dimension, reminiscent of Hofstede's power distance. Egalization is a process away from a very high container of masters at the top and underlings at the bottom, towards a flat container with everybody enjoying equal dignity.

Egalization is a process that elicits hot feelings of humiliation when it is promised but fails. The lack of egalization is thus the element that is heating up feelings among so-called "globalization-critics." Their disquiet stems from lack of egalization and not from an overdose of globalization. What they call for is that *globalization* ought to marry *egalization*.

To conclude, we find ourselves in times of transition, a transition from hierarchical rankings of human worthiness to equal dignity as stipulated in Human Rights ideals. "Globalization critics," according to my view, burn for globalization that is infused with egalization and oppose globalization which lacks egalization. They do not oppose globalization as I define it. The transition that causes hot feelings is the transition towards egalization – and among the hottest feelings are feelings of humiliation that are felt by

those who perceive themselves or identify with the downtrodden.

The vision of a new world of equal dignity calls for individuals to represent whole and dignified entities in themselves. Nobody shall be regarded as subservient part of the larger "body" of a group. Killing women or men is not anymore legitimate. Particularly using human lives as means of sending "messages" of honor between groups, is not anymore condoned. See Table 2.

The vision of the *global village* signifies nothing but the vision of *One single in-group*, namely of all humankind, and the retreat of the notion of *out*-groups. Together with the weakening of *out*-group conceptualizations, all former *out*-group concepts are weakened. No longer are men those to guard the frontiers of the *inside* against aggression from *outside*, no longer are *out*-groups being called "enemies." Instead, good and bad neighbors share *One village, One in-group, One single inside* sphere. In this new *inside* sphere that covers the entire globe, traditional *inside* conflict management methods such as, for example mediation, gain importance. Women and men share this common *inside* sphere and all engage in cooperative communication patterns that formerly were rather specific for the socialization of females. This is no dream or idealized world vision, it is an emerging reality that is driven by the *ingathering* of humankind and is currently conquering the hearts and minds of an ever increasing number of earth-dwellers.

Humiliation and killing of people in Human Rights based social contexts	
The killing of people is deplored and seen as illegitimate, under whatever circumstances (except in clear cases of self-defense, or for military personnel in wars that are perceived to be legitimately waged, or for those waiting in the death row in countries that legitimize capital punishment)	➡ Killing people is not regarded as a means for redressing humiliation

Table 2: Humiliation and killing of people in Human Rights based social contexts

What can be done?

What can be done to overcome violent effects of humiliation? The following paragraph outlines the background of UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme: "The end of the Cold War has enabled the United Nations to begin realizing the potential for which it was created nearly fifty years ago, that is, to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

So, how are we to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and how is humiliation and gender relevant to that? In *An Agenda for Peace*, published in 1994, the UNESCO Secretary-General outlines the areas where the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies face challenges: "preventive diplomacy, which seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peacemaking and peace-keeping, which are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained, and post-conflict peace-building – to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict" (*Final Report over the First Consultative Meeting of the Culture of Peace Programme*, Paris, 27-29

September 1994, p. 1).

In short, what we need, worldwide, is nothing else but *global social control*. I think the term *social control* is useful in this context because it combines psychological tools and aspects of strategies that formerly were allotted to the female versus male role description. Please read Lindner (1999), p. 94:

> The term "social control" expresses the combination of both aspects. On the national level, police and prisons represent some of the coercive aspects (more effective if the average citizen does not carry weapons), while institutions like lawyers, courts and rehabilitation programmes have the potential to fulfill the role of social caring and healing. The culture of peace is a multifaceted, creative combination of certain aspects of traditional "male" and "female" role strategies. At this historical point of an emerging, increasingly interdependent "global village", traditionally "female" strategies of caring and healing are more needed and must be integrated on the international level. As mentioned above, the notion of a "culture of peace" advocates on the social level what "sustainable development" promotes on the ecological level. In both cases, the aim is to achieve a better quality of life and the challenge is the long-term maintenance of interdependent systems. In order to tackle this challenge traditional female role descriptions concerning maintenance must be elevated from the private to the public sphere and used there by both men and women.

Please read more in Lindner (1999) on female role characteristics for keeping *inside* harmony and how they currently emerge on the new world stage of an *ingathering* humankind. The following paragraph is adapted from Lindner (1999), p. 94:

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme urges precisely the strengthening of the "female" aspect in conflict resolution efforts. Space does not allow me to give a detailed description of every facet of this "female" contribution. The list is a long one: using multi-track, "track II" and citizen-based diplomacy;[28] installing early warning institutions; rethinking the notion of state sovereignty; setting up projects to better study and understand the history of potential conflict areas, collect this information and make it available to decision makers; using psychology not only on a micro-level, but also on a macro-level, taking identity as a bridge;[29] keeping communication going with warring parties; talking behind the scenes; including more than just the warlords in peace negotiations; developing conflict-resolution teams with less hierarchy and more creativity; setting up mediation teams; installing "truth commissions;"[30] allowing warring parties to feel the world community's care, respect and concern; taking opponents in a conflict out of their usual environment;[31] taking the adversaries' personal feelings and

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[28] See the efforts of individuals such as the former American President Jimmy Carter, or the Norwegians helping behind the scene in the Israel-Palestine peace process.

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

[30] See, for example, Ethiopia, where reconciliation within a society can be reached through 'truth commissions' if other ways, such as tribunals, would be too disrupting.

[31] See the Norwegian approach in the Israel-Palestine Oslo agreement.

emotions seriously; recognizing the importance of human dignity;[32] introducing sustainable long-term approaches on the social and ecological level;[33] progressing from spending aid-money after a disaster to allocating resources to prevent it; and so on. All these rather "female" efforts must be combined with a certain amount of "male" coercion if necessary.

May I conclude this section by quoting George Monbiot (2003),

Globalization is not the problem. The problem is in fact the *release* from globalization which both economic agents and nations states have been able to negotiate. They have been able to operate so freely because the people of the world have no global means of restraining them. Our task is surely not to overthrow globalizing, but to capture it, and to use it as a vehicle for humanity's first global democratic revolution (Monbiot, 2003, p. 23, italics in original).

Concluding remarks

Globalization – here defined as the coming-together of humankind in *One single in*-group, namely *One single global village* – weakens gender segregation. This is one of the central propositions in this chapter. Men and women are not anymore pressed into strict gender templates but can develop more flexible and interchangeable gender identities. The backdrop for this process is, I suggest, that the reality and perception of *outside* spheres disappears in tact with the emergence of the reality and perception of *One in*-group, *One* humanity, or *One* global village. No longer is it "we" against "them," but "we," humanity, together. What is left in a *global village* is *One single inside* sphere, a sphere that, incidentally, traditionally is the sphere of women. This sphere is now jointly inhabited by men and women.

Clearly, this process is not finalized yet; humankind currently finds herself in the middle of a transition; I use the above introduced Weberian *ideal type* approach. My point is that the imagery, framing and emerging reality of the *global village*, or *One* single *in*-group or *One single inside* sphere is bound to impact upon segregational gender definitions that reserve *inside* spheres for woman and *outside* spheres for men. The disappearance of *outside* spheres cannot but weaken gender segregation. We currently observe how the *outside/male* sphere increasingly disappears, both in reality and in our cultural production of imagery and framings, and women and men now have to learn to cohabit in *One single inside* sphere.

More so, globalization must be expected to not only weaken gender *segregation*, but also gender *ranking*. This is my second proposition. Men no longer are worth more than

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

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

women. This, I suggest, is brought about by that fact that the fear of being attacked from *outside* subsides together with the disappearance of the perception of *outside* spheres. What we have *inside* a village – and a global village is no exception – is criminality, or terrorism, or civil war at best. Classical imperial war *between villages* becomes irrelevant in tact with these *villages* merging into *One single global village*. As a consequence, traditional male prowess, male preparedness for *outside* attack, loses its former anchoring in reality and imagery.

As discussed above, males traditionally were assigned to guard *outside* borders and be prepared for the emergency case of attack. Since emergency trumps maintenance, this arrangement gave men a definitional precedence over women, who were assigned to maintain the *inside* sphere. Consequently, as soon as *One global village* emerges and preparedness for emergency attacks from *outside* loses its urgency, male predominance loses its definitional foothold. Women and men, together, now police and maintain the global village. Not anymore are men soldiers and women homemakers, but both are maintainers of the social cohesion of the *One single inside* sphere that is about to be left, namely the *global village*.

One other effect of these transitions is that the notion of humiliation changes its relationship with respect to gender, killing and war. In former times women were "spared from the spear," and not to be killed or molested in war. Only battle-aged men were "worthy" enemies, worthy to defend humiliated male honor with the sword, and worthy of being killed in honorable battles or duels. Women were not "worthy" of being killed in such ways or invoke humiliation. There was no "female honor" similar to "male honor," except that women were expected to accept lowliness and subjugation with deference and display chastity. Men represented the "head" of the "body" of the family, tribe, or village – men were the ones entitled to thinking, strategizing, leading, steering, showing the direction, and enjoying privileges in return. Women represented the less important "limbs" of the "body." Women's worth lay primarily in embodying the proof that their men could protect them against hostile male intruders – for example by displaying an intact hymen – as well as in maintaining the *inside* sphere and therein create the next generation. Women were not regarded as actors, but as "substrate" and were supposed to be killed when they were "rotten." As mentioned above, current explanation for honor killings – and I have received such explanations – is that a raped daughter represents "a rotten part of the body" that has to be "cut out."

As soon as a sense of *One single human family* emerges, what I call "*inside* ethics" expand to the entirety of the human family. The reach of morals is called the *scope of justice*. Coleman (2000) expresses this as follows, "Individuals or groups within our moral boundaries are seen as deserving of the same fair, moral treatment as we deserve. Individuals or groups outside these boundaries are seen as undeserving of this same treatment" (Coleman, 2000, p. 118). Human rights, according to my understanding, represent, at least partly, "*inside* ethics," or how groups typically organize their *inside* dealings, only that Human Rights no longer address one in-group among surrounding out-groups, but the *One single in*-group that is left: all of humanity inhabiting *One single global village*.

More so. My understanding is that Human Rights ideals not only represent traditional "*inside* ethics" expanded onto all humanity, but also what I call the first continuous revolution in human history. What made globalization possible – technology that brings

us closer together – makes also a permanent uprising of underlings possible; this is my conceptualization. In former times, revolutionaries, those coming *up* from *below*, when successful, typically replaced the master and preserved the hierarchical structures. Nowadays, a continuous push from *below* does not permit masters to settle in their privileged seats; this push calls for the dismantling – not only of the tyrant, or the master – but of the very hierarchical social and societal structures. Those coming-*up*-from-*below* are women, blacks, the poor, in other words, all those who formerly were assigned *lowly* places. Human rights bestow equal dignity on all and call for the *global villagers* to work for enabling environments for all, including men and women.

The new situation entails that new Realpolitik no longer is the same as old Realpolitik. New Realpolitik is bound to attend to what women always were socialized to attend to, namely to relationships *inside* an *in*-group. Women and men are not anymore relegated to be either the "heads" or the "caring hands" of larger social bodies. Men and women are encouraged to learn to construct themselves as individual entities or "bodies" and to contribute to society as individuals in egalitarian ways. In earlier times, society was like a ship with a captain (male) and subordinate crew (lower males and women), increasingly, today, every individual represents her own ship. Women learn how to be "heads" and lead, while at the same time continuing to be carers, and men learn how to be "caring hands" that nurture and maintain, while still continuing to be good leaders. Both, caring and leading activities merge and both activities evolve in new ways; modern team work is far removed from former autocratic ways of organizing groups.

Today, we find ourselves in a world that is characterized by a transition that pits representatives of the old honor order against those who promote a new dignity order. In that context complicated dilemmas emerge. Women may acquire a new "worthiness" to be killed as actors, and not merely as substrates: while formerly women were "spared from the spear," they may now be found "worthy of the spear." Thus, acquiring a more egalitarian status may lead to more victimization of women in war. Or, on the other side, the killing of battle-aged men no longer is accepted as the worthy and honorable fate for any male, but as deplorable gendercide, see, for example, Jones (1994).

Avishai Margalit (1996)[34] wrote a book entitled *The Decent Society*, in which he calls for institutions that do not anymore humiliate citizens. Decency reigns when humiliation is being minimized, humiliation in relationships, but also humiliation inflicted by institutions. Decency rules when dignity for all is made possible. Decency does not mean that everybody should like everybody; decency is the minimum that is necessary to keep a neighborhood functioning – coexisting without mayhem – even when neighbors dislike each other.

I wish to extend the call for decency from national to global levels. The vision of a *decent global village* is spelled out in detail in the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* of September 2000. Another relevant key term is *sustainability*. What we need, is sustainability for our planet, ecological and social sustainability. However, on the way to a *decent and sustainable global village*, we have to be alert to dynamics of humiliation and heal and prevent them (Lindner, 2002b). Particularly the danger emanating from the current lack of egalization must be taken seriously. Lagging

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[34] See also Frankfurt (1997), Honneth (1997), Lukes (1997), Mack (1997), Margalit (1997), Pettit (1997), Quinton (1997), Ripstein (1997), Oksenberg Rorty (1997), Schick (1997).

egalization threatens to fuel feelings of humiliation, and feelings of humiliation in turn entail the potential to lead to violence. This danger has to be heeded, since feelings of humiliation represent the "nuclear bomb of the emotions" (term coined by Lindner). Former masters must learn new humility and former underlings develop new self-empowerment so that all can cooperate as equally dignified players of a global team.

All, the international community, its men and its women, carry a particular responsibility in the current transition period. People who are caught in cycles of humiliation may not be able to exit from them on their own; they need the support and sometimes even pressure from outside. The international community, if they wish to extinguish local fires that might inflame the globe, need to take up this responsibility. The international community has to stand up and not stand by (see Staub, 1989).

Incidentally, safeguarding social cohesion in the emerging *global village* is a task that entails many psychological tools and elements that traditionally were primarily part of female socialization. Not allowing the globe to descend into warring neighborhoods, but create a *decent global village*, this is a task that can be greatly enhanced by the psychological "tool kit" for which formerly particularly females were trained. I call for a world-wide *Moratorium on Humiliation* in order to facilitate the building of a *decent global village*.

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