The Theory of Humiliation: A Summary

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When we approach the phenomenon of humiliation, we are surprised by the fact that *humiliation* is a word that is used in complex ways. It is being connected with an intricate set of dynamics that entails *feelings*, *acts* and *social and societal structures*. Firstly, the word humiliation is used for a *feeling*, namely the feeling of humiliation felt by a person; secondly, the word is used for an *act*, namely the act of humiliation perpetrated by an actor. More so, thirdly, the same word is used for social phenomena entailing humiliation that is tacitly embodied in *institutions*.

The complexity of the notion of humiliation is not ending here. Some people abhor humiliation, others seek it. Furthermore, interestingly, sometimes well-wishing help is perceived as poignant humiliation; in other words, "evil" intentions are not required on the part of actors for situations to be felt as humiliating by targeted parties. In such cases, only the recipients define it as humiliation, not the helpers-perpetrators. In yet more detached cases, only third parties label a situation as humiliating and apply the diagnosis of "false consciousness" to those who refuse to define themselves as victims of humiliation. Marx, for example, thought that workers ought to feel humiliated and rise; when they did not follow his prescribed path, they suffered, according to his view, from "false consciousness."

The most complicated cases emerge when different definitions of humiliation clash. A human rights advocate, for example, who is confronted with so-called honor killings – homicide designed to repair humiliated family honor – will be repulsed by this framing of humiliation and feel that such killing, far from redressing humiliation, perpetrates humiliation and in a way even humiliates humanity.

To summarize, at first sight the notion and phenomenon of humiliation seems to be too complex and too replete with internal contradictions to be understood in one single theory. However, the *theory of humiliation* here presented aims at precisely that, namely forging one single theory that includes apparent contradictions in ways that make them fathomable and manageable. This theory is necessarily interdisciplinary and unavoidably has to entail elements from anthropology, history, social philosophy, social psychology, sociology, and political science.[1]

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[1] The concept of humiliation may be deconstructed into at least seven layers (Lindner, 2001e), each

The background of my research on humiliation

My interest in the notion of humiliation has been formed over many years of international experience, and on the backdrop of the traumatic World Wars and Holocaust of the past century. My personal aim, quite early on, was to dedicate my life to contributing to "never again" – never again war and atrocities. In a "first round," after finishing school, I attempted to get a feel for the range of the cultural diversity on the globe; of how people in different cultures handle conflict and conflict resolution, peace and war, and love and hatred. I started with "reading the contents list of the globe," or, more precisely, I attempted to become part of as many and as diverse cultures as possible and learn at least one language out of the five most significant language families. As a medical student and psychology student, I thus worked and studied in China, New Zealand, Thailand, Israel, West-Africa, the USA, as well as a number of other places, and I learned to handle several languages.

After having graduated as a psychologist (1978) and a physician (1984), I opened "a specific chapter in the book of the globe" and worked in Cairo, in Egypt, for seven years, as a clinical psychologist and psychological counselor. This gave me an intimate insight into Egyptian and Arabic cultural characteristics (as well as many other cultures, since my clients came from all corners of the world).

Back in Europe in 1991, I was struck by the observation that I had developed a deep "gut feeling" for global responsibility, a feeling that was not shared by most of the intellectuals I interviewed for my medical doctorate (in which I compared how Germans and Egyptians define quality of life). This observation prompted me to search for ways as to how to communicate my acquired deep sense that nobody can escape from our joint responsibility for the social and ecological long-term sustainability of our globe. David Hamburg's *An Ounce of Prevention Is Worth a Pound of Cure* had become my motto.[2]

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requiring another 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. Thus, the concept of humiliation contains

1. a core that builds on the universal idea of "putting down,"
2. a middle layer that plays out the core in two diametrically opposing ways, namely whether this "putting down" is regarded as legitimate or not,
3. a first peripheral layer pertaining to cultural differences that affect groups of people,
4. a second peripheral layer that relates to differences in stable personality traits and the way these differences pertain to experiences of humiliation,
5. a third peripheral layer which relates to deep damage inflicted on children by humiliation altering their overall personality make-up in a deeply injurious way,
6. a fourth peripheral layer that addresses the hurt that is inflicted on adults by incidents that entail humiliation,
7. a fifth peripheral layer that concerns variations in the emotional condition of a person that influence the orientation of the person concerned towards acts and experiences of humiliation.

[2] See Hamburg, 2000, Hamburg, 2002. Please appreciate David Hamburg's remarkable and unique lifelong contribution to "never again."

I thought that politics would perhaps be the appropriate arena and entered politics; I became a candidate for the European Parliament (1994 in Hamburg). However, I abandoned politics quite fast; it seemed to me that politics were unable to adapt fast enough to current challenges. Concurrently, I also "tried" activism. I set out to mobilize people directly, and invited the population of Hamburg (1.5 million citizens) on all media channels to get active for global responsibility. In June 1993, around twenty thousand people came and gathered for a very special festival, I named it the *Hamburg Chain of Ideas*; thousands brought objects that they had prepared beforehand to express their ideas.

However, neither politics nor activism seemed to go deep enough for my quest to contribute to "never again." In 1994, I sat down and 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 on German history, and the 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. Furthermore, my clinical experience indicated that humiliation plays a crucial role in conflict. In 1996, I began sifting through literature and was amazed that humiliation had not received much academic attention. If humiliation can trigger war, I reflected, there must be a wealth of research to draw upon; 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*.[3] 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).[4]

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[3] I thank the Department of Psychology at the University of Oslo for hosting this project, and Reidar Ommundsen and Jan Smedslund from Oslo University, as well as Dennis Smith, Loughborough University, and Lee D. Ross , Stanford University, for being my academic advisers. See for an overview over articles published within this project http://folk.uio.no/evelinl.

[4] 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 OAU.
- 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

The questions that formed the starting point for my research where the following:[5] 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?[6]

The etymology of the word humiliation

Let us begin to approach the *theory of humiliation* to be presented here by asking, "What is at the core of the notion of humiliation? What is its inner core structure?" The core, to say it simplified, is a *downward* movement along a vertical scale.

Whatever language we search for words that signify humiliation, we always find a downward spatial orientation of *pushing down*, *holding down* and *keeping down*. The word *humiliation* has at its core *humus*, which means *earth* in Latin, or being put down with your face into the dust of the earth.

Consider also the words *de-gradation, ned-verdigelse* in Norwegian, *Er-niedrig-ung* in German, or *a-baisse-ment* in French. The syllables *de, ned, niedrig,* and *bas* all mean the same, namely *down from, low*, or *below*. *To put down, to degrade, to denigrate, to debase, demean, derogate, lower, lessen,* or *belittle*, all these words are built on the same spatial, orientational metaphor, namely that something or somebody is *pushed down* and forcefully *held down*. These spatial metaphors are, at least to my linguistic knowledge, to be found in all languages; they are global. This suggests that a vertical scale of *up* and *down* is part of the mental landscape of human beings everywhere.[7] And humiliation is being played out on this vertical scale; humiliation is *down* and arrogation is *up*.

The history of the practice of humiliation

As pointed out earlier, humiliation and its redress can be framed in various and

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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.

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

[6] See for Lindner's publications so far: Lindner, 1996, Lindner, 1998, Lindner, 1999b, Lindner, 1999c, Lindner, 1999d, Lindner, 1999a, Lindner, 2000l, Lindner, 2000a, Lindner, 2000j, Lindner, 2000k, Lindner, 2000m, Lindner, 2000r, Lindner, 2000q, Lindner, 2000p, Lindner, 2000n, Lindner, 2000o, Lindner, 2000f, Lindner, 2000e, Lindner, 2000d, Lindner, 2000g, Lindner, 2000h, Lindner, 2000i, Lindner, 2000b, Lindner, 2000c, Lindner, 2001k, Lindner, 2001h, Lindner, 2001j, Lindner, 2001d, Lindner, 2001i, Lindner, 2001b, Lindner, 2001c, Lindner, 2001e, Lindner, 2001g, Lindner, 2001a, Lindner, 2001f, Lindner, 2002f, Lindner, 2002b, Lindner, 2002c, Lindner, 2002g, Lindner, 2002a, Lindner, 2002e, Lindner, 2002d, Lindner, 2003a, Lindner, 2003b, Lindner, 2003c, Lindner, 2003e, Lindner, 2003d.

[7] Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, describe orientational metaphors as *up-down*, *in-out*, *front-back*, *on-off*, *deep-shallow*, *central-peripheral*. Lakoff and Johnson, 1999 address this activity of vertical ranking, when they speak about *moral ranking*, a ranking of moral *up* and moral *down*.

sometimes irreconcilable ways. How are we to react when faced with a family who feels that it is their duty to kill their raped daughter in order to repair humiliated family honor, while human rights advocates respond with repulsion to the very idea of such redress? What should our response be when we are asked to show respect in such situations? Human rights adherents will ask for respect for human dignity that ought not be humiliated, while those planning to repair humiliated family honor with killing will request respect for their respective customs and traditions.

If this situation were to represent an exceptional incidence, one could perhaps put it aside. However, this dilemma is all pervasive, even if not always as dramatic as in the case of honor killings. What about the manager who believes that humiliated employees work more effectively and generate more profit? What about the husband who beats his wife and requests respect for what he perceives to be his duty – namely to punish disobedient family members – while his wife calls for help and describes her situation as deeply humiliating for her dignity? Or, what about all other situations where people believe in the legitimacy of hierarchy and inflict humiliation to "remind" those further down of "where they belong"? Not least many customs, traditions, and institutions embody the assumption that it is "prosocial" to humiliate those who are further down, so as to "teach" them "proper behavior" and "maintain social stability." "Teaching lessons" and "sending messages" often means nothing but inflicting humiliation in the hope that this will restore social cohesion and peace. How are we to deal with such phenomena?

Should human rights promoters, for example, respect honor killings in the spirit of respecting and celebrating diversity? Should they accept the view that such killing, far from gruesome humiliation of humanity, repairs and maintains honor and social peace? Or, should human rights advocates reject such practices on the grounds that they violate human rights? If rejecting them on the grounds of human rights, how should the universal validity of human rights be justified? Furthermore, is it opportune for human rights advocates to lecture those who believe in the merits of inflicting practices such as honor killings to redress what they perceive as humiliation of their family honor? Are those who believe in honor killings "evil" or "bad" people whose nature is inherently cruel? Or are these people uninformed, backwards, less developed and less civilized? If they were labeled in such a way by human rights promoters, would not this inflict the very humiliation human rights promoters criticize? Do not human rights advocates humiliate people by lecturing them and telling them that they are wrong? And is not this irreconcilable with the very message of human rights?

Hunting-gathering and pride communities

I believe, we can shed light on this apparent conundrum by analyzing human history and how the practice of *putting down something* has evolved.

If we start with early human history, we look at hunters and gatherers. Ninety percent of human kind's history has been spent in this manner. Anthropologists explain to us that hunters and gatherers lived in small groups of about two hundred people (see for example William Ury, 1999). These small groups were organized in rather egalitarian ways and as open networks that related to each other by negotiation. Being obedient to orders was not the rule of the day. Differences, when they existed, were not ranked in hierarchal systems as was done later in human history. Furthermore, abundance reigned. Abundance meant that there were sufficient resources around to allow the situation to be defined as a win-

win game (or both-gain or both-lose). Wild foods were generously available and the pie of resources, as described in game theory, thus could always be expanded. See Table 1, adapted from William Ury.

A Simplified Depiction of History: Hunters-Gatherers

Type of Society: / Conditions:	**Simple hunter-gatherers**
Basic resource	Expandable pie (wild foods)
Basic logic of conflict	Both-gain or both-lose
Basic form of organization	Open network
Basic form of decision making	Negotiation
	↓
	Coexistence

Table 1: A simplified depiction of history: Hunters-gatherers (adapted from Ury, 1999, p. 108)

When we ask whether early hunters and gatherers were engaging in the practice of *putting down something*, we may find that *tool making* indeed could be perceived as *putting down something*, namely *putting down* nature and instrumentalizing it for the use of Homo sapiens. *Language* as well, may be viewed as *putting down something*, in this case *putting down* things under words, turning an untouched and pristine world into a subjugated world, subjugated under human utility.

We, Homo sapiens (*sapiens* means *wise*) proudly baptized our own species as *wise*, precisely because we regard this kind of subjugation of our environment as useful. However, subjugation can also go too far and be exploitative. Zygmunt Bauman uses strong negative words when he describes this subjugation. He writes that nature at some point in human history became the victim of a

> declaration of hostilities that made the unprocessed, pristine world into the enemy. As is the case with all genocide, the world of nature…had to be beheaded and thus deprived of autonomous will and power of resistance…The world was an object of willed action: a raw material in the work guided and given form by human designs…Left to itself, the world had no meaning. It was solely the human design that injected it with a sense of purpose. So the earth became a repository of ores and other "natural resources," wood turned into timber and water – depending on circumstances – into an energy source, waterway or the solvent of waste (Bauman 1992, x-xi).[8]

Thus, we may summarize that hunters and gatherers were to some extent aware that *something can be put down*. They applied the practice of *putting down* primarily to

[8] I owe this reference to Dennis Smith. See also Smith, 1999, on Bauman. As Smith points out, Bauman's analysis overlaps with the approaches of critical theory (for example, Adorno and Habermas) and post-structuralism (for example, Foucault and Lyotard) but cannot be fully aligned with either.

nature. They subjugated nature. However, this strategy was not yet driven to the exploitative extent that Bauman describes. And, most importantly, people did not *put down* other *people*, at least not in organized and institutional systems.

> Hunter-gatherers are generally peoples who have lived until recently without the overarching discipline imposed by the state. They have lived in relatively small groups, without centralized authority, standing armies, or bureaucratic systems. Yet the evidence indicates that they have lived together surprisingly well, solving their problems among themselves largely without recourse to authority figures and without a particular propensity for violence. It was not the situation that Thomas Hobbes, the great seventeenth-century philosopher, described in a famous phrase as "the war of all against all": By all accounts life was not "nasty, brutish and short": With relatively simple technology – wood, bone, stone, fibers – they were able to meet their material needs without a great expenditure of energy, leading the American anthropologist and social critic Marshall Sahlins to call them, in another famous phrase, "the original affluent society": Most striking, the hunter-gatherers have demonstrated the remarkable ability to survive and thrive for long periods – in some cases thousands of years – without destroying their environment (Lee and Daly, 1999, pp. 1-2).

Most interestingly, archaeologists explain to us that the hunters-gatherers era of human history is not characterized by violence and killings. "…individual killings seem rare and organized killing nearly absent…" (Ferguson, 1997, cited in (Ury, 1999, p. 34). In other words, we learn that for the first ninety-nine percent of our human evolution, archaeological evidence for organized killing lacks. Or, for the vast majority of our history, we seem to have refrained from organized killing. Clearly, lack of evidence for organized killing is not the same as evidence for its absence. Yet, it allows us to develop the *educated hunch* that "human nature" may be rather *nonviolent* than violent, however, that there exists a disposition to act violently under certain circumstances.

I call the hunting-gathering period of human history the *period of pristine pride*, and communities that are characterized a *culture of pristine pride* still at present times, *communities of pristine pride*. With pristine pride I want to signify the untouched pride of people who have not yet experienced subjugation. Pristine pride, according to my use of this term, is a state that can only occur pre-humiliation, not cum-humiliation and not post-humiliation.

If we boil down hunting-gathering ways of life and their diverse expressions to a few core characteristics, or to an ideal type, we can summarize the following.[9] We may hypothesize, not without empirical support, that hunter-gatherers prior to the introduction of agriculture may be described as having lived in a state of pristine pride. They applied the practice of *putting down* not on each other, at least not in institutionalized ways, but on nature. However, they did this in relatively mild ways. They furthermore regarded this practice as profoundly legitimate and satisfying – not least, tool-making is regarded as sapiens, or wise, still today, only that it nowadays is called "technology." Difference, struggle, conflict, and hardship certainly were not absent in hunter-gatherer communities – we want to refrain from idealizing a rosy past – however, occurring problems were embedded in basic conditions, such as abundance, that enabled relatively humiliation-free

[9] Max Weber developed the technique of "ideal types," see, for example, Weber, 1922, p. 172.

ways of tackling them. Hunter-gatherers, who live in today's world, in contrast, meet quite different conditions and typically prevail only in areas unfit for agriculture. Therefore, even though presently living hunting-gathering communities may share many of the here described characteristics, the ideal type analyzed here could only exist in undisturbed ways prior to and in the absence of the deeply irreconcilable logics of agriculture.

Agriculture and honor societies

About ten thousand years ago, the age of hunter-gatherers ended. Today, extremely few of the planet's inhabitants still follow the hunting-gathering pattern of life. At some point a compelling phenomenon emerged, namely *circumscription*.[10] Circumscription meant that there was simply not enough for everybody anymore, not enough space that could easily be populated and not enough resources that could easily be accessed. Simply, our planet is small, and it gives the illusion of being unlimited only as long as one has not yet reached its limits.

Circumscription is another word for getting to feel limits. We all know, today, that planet Earth has a limited surface, however, early hunters and gatherers, as long as they were still few in relation to the size of the planet, were in no need to realize this. Circumscription taught them the lesson in an indirect way. Our forefathers had no access to the image of a rotating planet that we see in the introductory clip of every news program on television, they learned about the limits of the planet's surface indirectly, through circumscription.

Circumscription could thus be taken to be another word for the *first round of globalization* of humankind. Or, in other words, Homo sapiens had populated the entire globe, or at least those areas that were known and habitable. What was feasible before, namely to wander off and find untouched abundance in the next valley, was no longer possible, because the next valley was already inhabited by other people. Homo sapiens had reached the limits of the globe.

Yet, circumscription was not the only new element emerging on the stage. 11,600 years ago, *world climate* changed, fast and profoundly. Pleistocene's[11] last ice age ended, and the Holocene[12] period of relatively warm, wet, stable, CO2 rich environments began.

Circumscription in combination with climate change saw agriculture emerge, or more precisely, *intensification*. When people cannot easily wander off and find more resources, when people are forced to do with what they find on the spot, they have an incentive for intensification. Hanging on to soil and exploiting it through agriculture is an alternative way of expanding the pie when pristine abundance fails; an option evidently available only where climate allows for it and technology is pre-adapted. This is indeed what happened about ten thousand years ago, starting at the margins of optimum habitats.

… climatic conditions about 11,600 years ago transformed the world from a place

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[10] Latin circum = around, scribere = to write, circumscription means limitation, enclosure, or confinement. The terms "territorial" or "social circumscription" address limitations in these respective areas. See, in particular, the work of Carneiro, 1988.

[11] Greek pleist = most, cene = recent.

[12] Greek holo = entire; whole, cene = recent.

> where agriculture was impossible anywhere to a place where it was possible on a large fraction of the earth's surface. The various trajectories of agricultural origin and spread in different parts of the world thus result from a single, strong, "manipulation" (Richerson, Boyd, and Bettinger, 1999, p. 2).

Intensification and fear

As soon as people attach themselves to fixed plots of land, as opposed to wandering off to yet untouched abundance, life changes profoundly. Clinging to fixed plots of land lends itself to becoming afraid of one's neighbors. "Do my neighbors wish to respect my borders and cooperate with me, or do they secretly plot to throw me out and steal my land? What are their intentions? Perhaps I have to get some more weapons for defense, or, even better, I may preemptively attack my neighbors so as to stop them from amassing weapons and attacking me? Or, perhaps I am not strong enough for such boldness, and better bow to a mighty protector?"

This paragraph shows the dilemma of agriculturalists. Their existence is much harder than that of their hunting-gathering predecessors, in many ways. Life under such conditions is "nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes, 1651, p. 91). "Anarchy" is what Hobbes calls this abominable experience. Hobbes, lacking the wider horizon provided by nowadays archeological and anthropological insights, generalized this sad state to be the "state of nature."

One reason for this sad "state of nature" is that a piece of land represents a much more fixed pie of resources than abundant wild food, and this means nothing else than living in a win-lose situation that is much less benign than a win-win situation.[13] Thus, as soon as some people turn to intensification as a way of increasing the output of a given piece of land, raiding them becomes an attractive method for their neighbors to increase their respective resources. Indeed, in the course of human history outsiders regularly intruded; from Vikings to Huns, raiders caused people to build walls and fortresses, seek powerful protectors and accept their domination. Life was basically characterized by constant fear of attack. Something as cruel as the *security dilemma* reigned.

The term security dilemma has been coined by *international relations theory* that explains it as follows: "I have to amass power and weapons, because I am scared. When I amass weapons, you get scared. You amass weapons, I get more scared."[14] Thus arms races and finally war were bound to be triggered repeatedly. In such contexts, even the most "benign" sovereigns are compelled to be belligerent because they are victims of the security dilemma. So-called *classical* and *structural realism*, two early *international relations theories*, see the *security dilemma* as unavoidable.

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[13] Samuel L. Gaertner and John F. Dovidio and others (1993, 1999) stipulate that an environment that is formed as a win-win situation may be expected to lend itself to bringing people together, while zero sum circumstances may increase the likelihood of divisions between people.

[14] Beverly Crawford at the Sommerakademie für Frieden und Konfliktforschung, Loccum, Germany, July, 20-25, 1997. See for further references, among many others, Jervis, 1976, Jervis, 1978, Roe, 1999, Roe, 2000, Posen, 1993.

Human beings are neither born free nor equal in dignity and rights

Intensification attracts neighbors to come for raids and thus encourages warfare *between* societies, yet, it also underpins strategies of *differentiation within* societies (Gil, 1998). What does *differentiation within societies* signify? If we reflect carefully, it signifies nothing else but *putting down* people. It means building hierarchical societal systems with *higher* beings at the top and *lower* beings at the bottom of pyramids of power. In other words, agriculturalists began to rank human worthiness vertically. Some people were allotted more value, others less. Not anymore was only nature *put down*, people, too.

In such societal structures, *lower* beings were typically made to understand this state of affairs as *nature's order* or *divinely ordained order*. The ranking order was justified by *legitimizing myths* (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Ranking people was even equaled with "civilization." In his book on *Early Civilizations*, Bruce Trigger (1993) reminds us that "because of the pervasiveness of inequality, no one who lived in the early civilizations questioned the normalcy of this condition. If egalitarianism was known, it was as a feature of some of the despised, barbarian societies that existed beyond the borders of the 'civilized' world" (Trigger, 1993, p. 52).

Over long stretches of history, the pater familias, for example, had absolute power over life and death of his household members, wives, children and slaves included. Sovereigns jealously guarded their status as *higher* beings, as did their lackeys. Intricate customs of bowing, cow-towing, hierarchical seating arrangements, and punishments for disobedient underlings were in place. Closed pyramids of power were structured around coercion and no longer around negotiation as in hunting-gathering times. And the era of closed pyramids of power lasted until very recently. Today, Norway is the world number one of the Gender-related Development Index, GDI;[15] few would expect that until as recent as 1868, Norwegian law gave full right to husbands to beat insubordinate wives. As is widely know, in some parts of the world, social relations are structured in this way still today.

See Table 2, which is now expanded to include agriculturalists.

[15] 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)."

A Simplified Depiction of History: From Hunting and Gathering to Agriculture

Type of Society: / Conditions:	**Simple hunter-gatherers**	**Complex agriculturists**
Basic resource	Expandable pie (wild foods)	Fixed pie (land & power)
Basic logic of conflict	Both-gain or both-lose	Win-lose
Basic form of organization	Open network	Closed pyramid
Basic form of decision making	Negotiation	Orders
	↓ Coexistence	↓ Coercion

Table 2: A simplified depiction of history: From hunting and gathering to agriculture (adapted from Ury, 1999, p. 108)

I call the period of human history that is characterized by hierarchical rankings of human worthiness the *honor period* of human history, and societies that are organized around a *culture of honor* still today, *honor societies*. Honor typically is a collective and a gendered social device of social structuring that, according to my analysis, draws its relevance both from the security dilemma and from differentiation.

Throughout the past millennia, usually males and not females were the ones to be sent out against enemy attacks (security dilemma); male lives were seen to be more expendable. Women were to care for the next generation, while men secured the present generation. Yet, attacks signify emergency and emergency usually trumps maintenance.[16] It is perhaps due to the logical preeminence of emergency over maintenance that males in honor societies are regarded to be worth more and ranked higher than women (differentiation).

In "Women in the global village: Increasing demand for traditional communication patterns," Lindner, 1999d, describes how women are supposed to stay under male protection inside private spaces and take care of maintenance tasks. Men are those in charge of the public sphere outside. Males' task is to defend their honor against intruders who may defile their women and thus humiliate family honor. The ultimate proof of a man's ability to protect his family against intruders is the untouched hymen of his daughters. The family, or clan, or tribe, is the significant unit, not the individual. This social structure is typically called *collectivist*. It means that a family is perceived as a distinct entity, similar to a body, the pater familias being the head and the rest playing the roles of body limbs. Hence, the killing of a raped daughter is often being framed as the attempt to cut out a spoiled part from the body and thus, by sacrificing the rotten limb, save the entire body from further disease and humiliation.

For centuries, hierarchical ways of structuring the world were accepted by the majority

[16] People who expose themselves to stress for too long periods, risk dying of heart failure. This is because the body prioritizes emergency and puts maintenance on the hold. If emergencies are not sufficiently interrupted by periods of calm, body maintenance is neglected and the bodily system breaks down.

of communities and societies worldwide as profoundly legitimate and divinely ordained, not just by elites, but also by many underlings. Many underlings turned their lowliness into "their culture." A number of terms might be referred to, for example, *identification with the oppressor*. Also Johan Galtung's notion of *penetration*, or "implanting the topdog inside the underdog" (Galtung, 1996, p. 199), illustrates the fact that acceptance of subjugation may become a culture of its own. Furthermore, Ranajit Guha's understanding of the term *subaltern* points at this process.

Learned helplessness is another "term coined by Martin Seligman to characterize the generalization that helplessness is a learned state produced by exposure to noxious, unpleasant situations in which there is no possibility of escape or avoidance" (The Penguin Dictionary of Psychology, Reber, 1995). Also the discussion of the *Stockholm syndrome* may have its place here. The Stockholm syndrome is "an emotional bond between hostages and their captors which is frequently observed when the hostages are held for long periods of time under emotionally straining circumstances." (Reber, 1995).

However, it may be arrogant to frame underlings in such social systems as mere victims. Voluntary subservience may in many cases have been more than behaviorally learned helplessness or culturally transmitted penetration. Lowliness and helplessness can also be displayed out of conviction. Many underlings were conceivably not only coerced or seduced into believing in their own lowliness; throughout human history many may have genuinely shared their superiors' views on the legitimacy of ranking human essence in a way that turned some into higher and others into lesser beings. And, most importantly, being ranked somewhere *down* in the pyramid of power never hindered underlings to inflict the same painful treatment on their inferiors that they had received from their superiors.

Cognitive appraisal theory of emotions addresses the question of how emotions are intertwined with cognitive appraisals of given situations.[17] Being subjected to painful treatment, for example, may give rise to outrage. However, it may also trigger subservience, or acceptance, depending on how it is appraised. Hopeful acceptance, for example, is the result when people undergo surgery; the pain entailed in this treatment is appraised as unavoidable "collateral damage" on the way to restituted health. Whipping oneself to gain god's attention is another way of embracing pain. Thus, pain is not always avoided ore resented; people may resolve to accepting or even welcoming it.

The subjugation of human beings is legitimate

What can we conclude when we look at the practice of *putting down something* in what I call the *honor period* of the past ten thousand years? We may describe the transition from hunting-gathering to agriculture as inspiration for another transition, namely the transition from *putting down only abiotic nature* to *also putting down biotic nature.* In other words, agriculturalists expanded the application of the practice of *putting down* from nature to people. They did not only instrumentalize nature and turned it into tools, they instrumentalized animals and people as well. More precisely, some people

[17] C*ognitive appraisal theory of emotions* indicates that victims evaluate and react to harm on the basis of questions such as "Who is responsible?" "Is there a justification for what happened?" "Were norms violated?" (see, for example, Smith & Ellsworth, 1985, and Clore & Ortony, 2000).

instrumentalized other people and turned these people into tools. Slaves are tools in the hands of their masters.

And, most importantly, for roughly the past ten thousand years, this was regarded as profoundly useful and legitimate. It was in no way seen as a violation. On the contrary, *putting down* and *keeping down* underlings was being regarded as the duty masters were expected to attend to. To show underlings their place, to teach them lessons, to humble them, was seen as central to keeping order and stability, an order that included higher and lesser beings.

Might was right and whoever prevailed, justified newly-won privileges with suitable legitimizing myths that turned privileges into honorable entitlements. If masters did not protect their privileges and hold down subordinates in their *sub* position, they were called *lazy*. The "lazy kings" (les rois fainéants) of the sixth and seventh centuries in France, for example, were ridiculed because they allowed their immediate subordinates, the "maires du palais," the managers of the palace, to usurp power. One of these "maires du palais" indeed eventually took over the throne in the year 751. Thus, we see that even though underlings sometimes rose, in case they succeeded, they did not dismantle hierarchy, but merely replaced the master. Risen underlings kept the system as it was and treated their inferiors no different than they themselves had been treated when they still were subordinates.

Legitimizing myths thus indicated superordinates to stay *up*, and subordinates to stay *down*. Inferiors were expected to accept obediently to be *held down*. A disobedient wife had to accept and respect being beaten; she was expected to show gratitude for being shown "her place." Respect meant nothing but respect for hierarchy; by no means did it signify respect for equality for all.

In honor societies people in each stratum thus attach a sense of entitlement to their respective place in the ranking order and call this honor. Even the lowest person feels entitled to some form of honor. When slavery still was seen to be legitimate, a slave, for example, would perhaps feel honored by not having to work in the quarries but in personal service of the sovereign. Perceived entitlement was defended against being pushed to levels inferior than deemed due. Thus, even if subjugation was accepted in general, humiliation was felt when perceived entitlement to honor was touched. Humiliation meant being pushed down further than one felt entitled to. In such cases, redress could be sought, however, subordinates typically had but humor or covert sabotage at their disposal when facing painful subjugation from superordinates; only few underlings succeeded in rising up.

Yet, as pointed out earlier, even in cases when being pushed down was resented, hierarchical order was not questioned. Abuse from superordinates did not lead subordinates to treat their respective inferiors as equals. Even today, we may see so-called minorities seek more equality in their host societies, while not recognizing that their call for more justice is undermined when they treat, for example, their own women as inferiors. A subordinate could bow and smile when being beaten by his master and bite his teeth in covert anger, however, the next day he would abuse his inferiors as harshly. Only the use of weapons was usually reserved to elites. Typically, only aristocrats were allowed to carry swords and defend their honor against humiliation in duels. Lower men and women were not extended this privilege.

To conclude this section, around ten thousand years ago, complex agricultural

societies developed stratified social and societal structures with human worthiness ranked vertically. The practice of *putting down something* was being expanded from nature to people. No longer was only nature being instrumentalized and *put down* in the attempt to make tools, people were *put down* as well, in new and systematic ways. Masters *held down* underlings in hierarchically ranked societies. Some people were worth more than others. Honor was attached to each rank. Privilege was regarded as divine entitlement and defended, and lowliness was to be accepted obediently. This social system was regarded as deeply legitimate, as nature's order or god's will. It was called "civilization." Equality of all was seen as "barbaric."

Knowledge and global dignity society

Today, we live in the *global village*. Or, more precisely, we entertain a vision of a global village. However, even if we do not experience the full realization of this vision yet, we at least witness increasing global interdependence. Usually we do not pay much attention to this historical process because it evolves somewhat inconspicuously as a backdrop of our lives.

Yet, I believe, it would be advisable for us to think twice. We should become aware to what extent the vision and idea of a global village is novel and revolutionary and deeply affects our lives. The mental picture and reality of *One single* village was unknown to our agricultural ancestors. Our agricultural ancestors were forced to live in *many villages* that often were pitched against each other.

As discussed earlier, as long as people live in *many villages* whose borders they try to defend, the danger from *outside* attackers is great. One of the revolutionary innovations brought about by the emergence of a global village is precisely the coalescence of *many* villages into *One* single village. In-groups, who used to define others as out-groups, are now in the process of merging into *One single in-group*. This process attenuates existing rifts between in- and out-groups and removes the *outside sphere*, from where attacks were to be expected. Thus, the *global village* represents a *new* set of conditions for our lives that turn *old* worldviews into outdated worldviews.

Among others, it is the danger that permeated a world of *many villages* that brought about its demise. I call *second round of globalization*, what anthropologists call *ingathering:*

> 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).

Thus, ingathering ultimately created the *One single* global village whose inception and coming-into-being we witness. It has the radically new feature that it lacks the traditional *outside* from where it can be attacked. William Ury makes the central point: "for the first time since the origin of our species, humanity is in touch with itself" and able to perceive herself as *One single* family, as citizens of *One single* village. This, together with land being replaced by knowledge as main resource, opens up for completely new frames for humankind's faring. Much of what we have learned during the past ten thousand years is

now inappropriate. Old Realpolitik loses its anchoring in precisely this reality; its teachings no longer describe what is real. At the same time, what formerly were mere dreams becomes new Realpolitik, not as dreams anymore, but as hard facts under new circumstances.

The new situation enables us to look back at the period prior to the past ten thousand years and remember that human beings are perhaps not aggressive by nature but disposed to act aggressively under certain circumstances only; as mentioned earlier, the past ten thousand years represent only one percent of our history. The past ten thousand years could even be described as an aberration that humankind at present is in the process of re-defining and re-molding.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights

The new situation of a knowledge society coming together in *One* single village, resembles the early world of hunter-gatherers insofar as the pie of resources is expandable again (knowledge behaves more like abundant wild foods than like fixed land), a fact that provides a win-win (or both-gain or both-lose) situation that is much more benign than win-lose situations. This in turn allows for open networks to manage themselves with negotiation, as opposed to closed pyramids that depend on orders. Coexistence is again possible, a way of life that was pushed aside by coercion for the past ten thousand years.

Clearly, most of the time humans during human history were little aware of the consequences of their actions, still, the here described historical process evolved because of human activity. It is Homo sapiens who conquered the planet and even started mapping outer space. It is human-made technology that brings about the "shrinking" of the planet.[18] I choose to take this "shrinking" as defining characteristic of what we call *globalization*; I will expand on this point later.

Homo sapiens is not only the author of change, Homo sapiens is also the target and receiver of change. As soon as we live under conditions of globalization's ingathering, hunter-gatherer forms of life are again more suitable – even though this most probably was utterly unintended by the great explorers and their sponsors of the past centuries – and this finds its expression in many aspects of life. One aspect is the rise of human rights ideals. The first sentence in the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reads, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." This is a message that hunter-gatherers fathom much easier than agriculturalists. See Table 3 by William Ury.

[18] See on the information age, the work by Manuel Castells, Castells, 1996, Castells, 1997b, Castells, 1997a.

A Simplified Depiction of History

Type of Society: / Conditions:	**Simple hunter-gatherers**	**Complex agriculturists**	**Knowledge Society**
Basic resource	Expandable pie (wild foods)	Fixed pie (land & power)	Expandable pie (knowledge)
Basic logic of conflict	Both-gain or both-lose	Win-lose	Both-gain or both-lose
Basic form of organization	Open network	Closed pyramid	Open network
Basic form of decision making	Negotiation	Orders	Negotiation
	↓ Coexistence	↓ Coercion	↓ Coexistence

Table 3: A simplified depiction of history (Ury, 1999, p. 108)

The subjugation of human beings is illegitimate

What does the new situation mean for the phenomenon of humiliation? What does it mean that the first sentence in the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reads, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights"? It means that every human being has an inner core of dignity that is equal and ought not to be humiliated. The subjugation of human beings is no longer legitimate.

Obviously, equal dignity is something profoundly new for those who are used to live in ranked societies; during the past ten thousand year equal dignity was an unknown and unacceptable concept. Human worthiness was categorically ranked in unequal ways. It was inequality and not equality that was regarded as unbreakable order. Thus, what humankind carries out when applying human rights ideals, resembles a steep u-turn of basic worldviews: what was legitimate during the past thousand years, suddenly is not valid anymore.

Human rights ideals represent a message from presently living generations of humankind to past generations, "What we thought to be ethical, moral and right for the past thousand years, namely *putting down* people and turning them into instruments, we no longer regard either ethical or moral or right. We now withdraw from practices that we applied for the past thousand years. We decide that we went too far in our application of *putting down something*. We have expanded this practice from things to people for the past ten thousand years, now we renounce this expansion. We declare it to be illegitimate. We declare humankind's ranking practices of the past ten thousand years to be illegitimate."

Evidently, we live in the middle and not at the end of the human rights revolution. Not everybody agrees with the human rights message, and even where it is subscribed to, the message more often than not merely figures as empty rhetoric and is far from being put in action. Yet, not having reached a goal does not mean being on the wrong track, and too much impatience may be more destructive then helpful. More so, I believe, the human

rights revolution may be the first continuous revolution in human history. Whenever power is abused, and the proclivity for power abuse seems embedded in the human psyche, people from below are called upon to undo the situation again. Incidentally, the same technology that drives globalization, namely communication technology, also makes a continuous revolution possible. Not least the internet is a potential platform for continuous revolution.[19] And of all ideas, the idea of democracy is to keep a continuous power control in motion.

Yet, even though human rights ideals still fail reality, the human rights message is gaining visibility and substance. Slowly, step by step, change can be observed on the ground. During the 1990s, United Nations global conferences[20] have strongly emphasized the relationship between the three main goals of the UN Charter, namely peace, development and human rights. The force of the global human rights movement is growing. Apartheid has been toppled and topics such as personal landmines or debt relief are being addressed. Dictators from around the world are bound to observe with special attention how Chile's General Augusto Pinochet was apprehended in London and Slobodan Milosevic brought to The Hague (even though not yet joined by likes, such as Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic). And, in July 1, 2002, in The Hague, the International Criminal Court started its work.

The dismantling hierarchical rankings of worthiness has not reached its end yet. Nowadays, not only human beings, also animals are increasingly included in the equalizing and dignifying process. Calls for equal human dignity are being superseded by calls for dignity for living creatures altogether. In a few hundred years, people will perhaps have abandoned eating dead animals and will look down on the meat-eating people of the twenty first century and despise them as barbaric and amoral.

The notion of dignity itself thus traveled a journey from lending itself to legitimizing rankings of worthiness to signifying the very dismantling of such rankings. The notion of dignity may have started as a "ranking device," however, it has long left this behind. Read, for example, James Rachels, 1990 and his rejection of the use of the notion of dignity as "ranking device."

> The idea of human dignity is the moral doctrine which says that humans and other animals are in different moral categories; that the lives and interests of human beings are of supreme moral importance, while the lives of other animals are relatively unimportant. That doctrine rests, traditionally, on two related ideas: that man is made in God's image, and that man is a uniquely rational being … (Rachels, 1990, p. 171).[21]

Rachels concludes: "…the traditional supports for the idea of human dignity are gone. They have not survived the colossal shift of perspective brought down by Darwin's

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[19] RAWA, www.rawa.org, for example, was founded by Afghan women who went out with cameras hidden under their burkhas; they took pictures and published them on the Internet. American women and human rights advocates became aware of this site, forged a coalition and contributed with their resources.

[20] The 1990s have witnessed a remarkable cycle of world conferences convened by the United Nations. These conferences enabled member states to address some of the major developmental, economic, social and environmental problems of our times. Taken together, the results of these conferences form the UN's Global Agenda.

[21] I thank Lars Tjelta Westlye for making me aware of Rachels' writing.

theory" (Rachels, 1990, p. 171). Clearly, if we follow Rachels' definition of dignity as ranking device, we have to abandon it in the wake of dismantling rankings of worthiness. However, alternatively, we could choose to define dignity as a notion that can be expanded beyond human beings. The latter seems to reflect the current usage of the term dignity.

Globalization and egalization

We may suggest that globalization, or the ingathering of humankind, or the coming-together of humanity, in conjunction with the rise of a new resource, namely knowledge, triggers a deep change in the understanding and application of humiliation. If we look at the sentence, "the subjugation of human beings is illegitimate," then we recognize that this sentence is a deeply modern sentence and that it evolved from the earlier one, namely "the subjugation of human beings is legitimate," and that this sentence in turn had a predecessor, namely "the subjugation of nature is legitimate, while the subjugation of human beings is unknown." The sentence, "the subjugation of human beings is illegitimate" resonates as morally sound with human rights adherents and stands for modern knowledge society, or what I call *dignity society*. The three sentences could be used as labels for what I call *pride societies*, *honor societies* and *dignity societies*. See Table 4.

"A Simplified Depiction of History" by Ury, with Humiliation Added

	Simple hunter-gatherers **I**	**Complex agriculturists** **II**	**Knowledge Society** **III**
Type of society and period in human history	**Pride**	**Honor**	**Dignity**
The application of the idea that something can be put down, instrumentalized, or subjugated	Humankind undertakes its first tentative attempts of applying the idea of subjugation and, by making tools, instrumentalizes nature.	Humankind expands the practice of subjugation on to human beings; some human beings, slaves and underlings, are transformed into "tools" at the hands of others, the masters.	Humankind turns against the practice of ranking human beings into lesser and higher beings, and declares the practices of the past ten thousand years to be illegitimate.
The evolution of the sentence of humiliation	The subjugation (of nature) >	and of human beings (no longer only nature) >	is defined as illegitimate (no longer as legitimate).

Table 4: "A simplified depiction of history" by Ury, with humiliation added

The here presented transition from *pride* to *honor* and then *dignity* as main characteristics for communities and societies from the dawn of human history to present times lends itself to being described as a historic discourse with the focal topic of worthiness ranked *up* and *down*.

Figure 1 presents this historical transition in a graphical way. We begin with hunter-gatherers. How would you depict the pristine pride and egalitarian social structures of hunter-gatherer communities graphically? Perhaps it could be made visible as a horizontal line, a line representing equal worthiness and pride? We can visualize all members of a hunting-gathering band being placed, more or less, around this horizontal line as they are ranked at roughly the same level of worthiness; none is very much higher or lower, and while differences exist, they are not deeply institutionalized. This horizontal line thus represents the core principle of an egalitarian hunter-gatherer community that can be taken to stand for the first ninety percent of human history.

Then, about ten thousand years ago, the agricultural revolution began to take up center stage. The agricultural revolution led to a gradient to be erected between the level of the master at the top and the place of the underling at the bottom. No longer was only nature *put down*, but some people *put down* other people as well. *Higher* beings dominated *lesser* beings. Everybody had his or her slot somewhere between the master and slave

echelon. Honor was attached to each stratum. The notion of humiliation was linked to the violation of privilege and supremacy because myths were in place that gave legitimacy to privilege. Basically might was right, and whoever was victorious, translated this victory into an entitlement to supremacy and privilege. When privilege was offended, when perceived entitlement to supremacy was violated, humiliation was invoked. Aristocrats would defend their honor against humiliation in duels, while underlings – usually women, children and low men – were not permitted to define their state as humiliation. Underlings were taught to obediently accept being subjugated and downtrodden.

Many underlings resigned themselves to this order and even created "cultures of bowing." Others rebelled and rose, however, only to replace masters and preserve hierarchy. Keeping hierarchical social and societal structure and culture in place was called "maintaining nature's order" or "protecting divinely ordained stability." While master figures could change, the system of ranking human worthiness vertically and categorizing people as *higher* and *lesser* beings did not change. Typically, uprisings saw liberators soon turn into despots.

About two hundred fifty years ago, yet another revolution began to emerge, the human rights revolution. It is about to undo ten thousand year's of practice. With it, the notion of humiliation changes its attachment point. It moves from the top to the bottom, from privilege to disadvantage. In the new framework, the downtrodden underling is given the right to feel humiliated. The master, however, who faces calls to become humbler, is no given permission anymore to resist this call by labeling it as humiliating. Elites who arrogate superiority are not anymore entitled to cry "humiliation!" when they are asked to descend and humble themselves.

The human rights revolution is an attempt to collapse the master-slave gradient back to the line of equal pride, or more precisely, now not to pristine virgin pride anymore, but to 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 the horizontal line is meant to represent the line of equal pristine pride, 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.

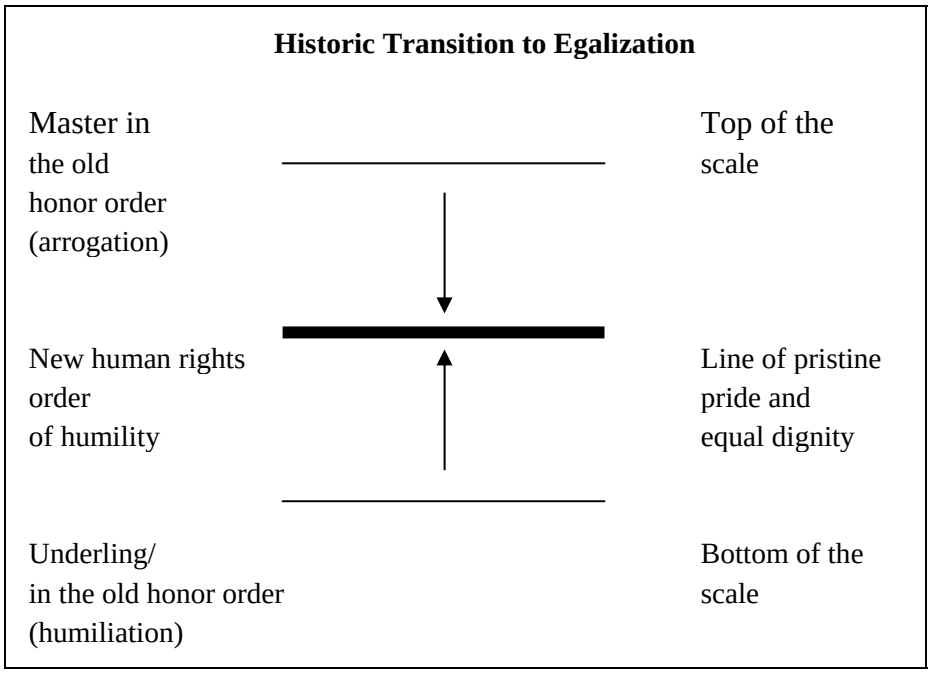

Figure 1: The historic transition to egalization

If we define globalization as the coming-together of humankind, or a horizontal movement of people coming closer to each other, then the new call for equal dignity represents a vertical movement towards greater equality. I have called the vertical movement towards equal dignity *egalization* to match the term *globalization*. I believe we live in historic times that are characterized not by one force, but by two forces, namely globalization and egalization. I think it is a mistake to use one term, namely globalization, for two very different processes. We gain in clarity of analysis and practice, I suggest, when we differentiate globalization and egalization.

From humiliation and arrogation to humility

As mentioned earlier, in the process of the human rights revolution, the notion of humiliation moves from elites to underlings. Or, in other words, humiliated honor is not the same as humiliated dignity. Humiliated honor means that a sense of entitlement to privilege is challenged. An aristocrat defends his humiliated honor in a duel, while his downtrodden underlings are not extended any right to translate their sad fate into feelings of humiliation.

Humiliated dignity, in contrast, refers to a sharply different sense of entitlement, namely the entitlement, qua birth as a human being, to be part of the family of humanity, not as higher or lesser being, but as equally dignified creature (the entitlement to dignity is currently expanded, as mentioned earlier, in attenuated forms, also to animals). In the new framework, it is the downtrodden underling who is encouraged, by human rights advocates, to define her lowly fate no longer as nature's order, but as humiliation, as

infringement of her entitlement to equal dignity as a human being, and thus as violation of her human rights.

Language itself marks this transition. Miller (1996)[22] 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." The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that up to 1757 the verb *to humiliate* was not differentiated from verbs such as *to lower* or *to humble*. Only after 1757 did the verb *to humiliate* and *to humble* take separate paths in the English language, *humiliation* carrying the connotation of violation, and *humbling* pointing at prosocial humility.

Undoubtedly, humankind was "pre-adapted" to the human rights revolution. 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. As early as 1575, in his essays, Michel de Montaigne gave "birth to the self."[23] However, ideals of equal dignity for every human self seem to have gathered pace only about two hundred fifty years ago. The author of *The Invention of the Self,* John O. Lyons (1978) suggests that the self – as we know it today – emerged around 1750.[24] And the American Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) and the French Revolution (August 4, 1789), both important junctures for the subsequent ascend and canonization of human rights ideals, closely postdate the emergence of the new meaning of *to humiliate*.

Humility, or humbleness, and equal dignity are the new ideals. Humbleness and humility are seen as prosocial states to be in – they represent respect for equal dignity – while humiliation is now a violation of the entitlement to equal dignity. Humbleness and humility are not anymore understood as subservience to masters, but as wise recognition of limits. Limits are introduced by human rights, namely that arrogating superiority is no longer permitted. However, limits are also to be found in our ecological environment; the carrying capacity of the biosphere, for example. Humility in this case means recognizing that development is sustainable only when respecting these very limits. Only humble people can denounce arrogant exploitation of the biosphere and of other people. Only humble people, with humility as strategy, can work for sustainability, both ecologically and socially.

Human rights humiliation is more hurtful than honor humiliation

In human rights based societies humiliation becomes more hurtful and therefore more important a topic for research than it has been ever before. The reason is that the *four* kinds of humiliation (at least) of honor cultures are conflated into *one* kind of humiliation in human rights contexts, and, not enough, into the worst kind. Let me explain.

Humiliation in honor societies – we may call it *honor humiliation* – can be categorized in four variants (see Table 5).[25] A master uses *conquest humiliation* to subjugate formerly

[22] Miller, 1993, p. 175, italics in original.

[23] I thank Jon Elster for making me aware of Montaigne, 1575.

[24] See Lyons, 1978. I thank Barnett Pearce for making me aware of Lyons's book. Lyons analyzes the ways travelers describe their experiences and finds that around 1750 these descriptions change insofar as the authors insert themselves as subjects who describe their personal perspective on what they observe.

[25] See Smith, 2001, whom I thank for coining the words conquest/relegation/reinforcement/inclusion

equal neighbors into a position of inferiority. As soon as the hierarchy is in place, the master uses *reinforcement humiliation* to keep it in place. The latter may range from seating orders according to honor and rank, to bowing rules for inferiors in front of their superiors, but may also include brutal measures such as customary beatings or even killings to remind underlings of their place. A third form, *relegation humiliation*, is used to push an already low-ranking underling even further down, and, finally, *exclusion humiliation* means excluding victims altogether, in other words, exiling or even killing them.[26]

The first three forms of *honor humiliation* keep human beings within humanity, only the last type excludes them. In other words, the first three forms may, in many cases, be less hurtful than being excluded from humanity entirely. In the beginning of a conquest people may shout, "Rather dead than slave!" yet the large empires of human history would not have existed if people had consistently followed this path. Smaller peoples where swallowed up into larger empires continuously and the conquered did not all commit suicide; most of them adapted to lower ranks.

What we may conclude is that the first three types of *honor humiliation* may, indeed, have had quite a number of positive and prosocial effects in the course of human history, even though they at times were painful to endure. Clearly, in many instances underlings have gone too far and have lost their ability and courage for civil disobedience, yet, in other instances they have gained self-control that may be beneficial and a precondition for peaceful conflict resolution. Thus, the first three types of *honor humiliation* that play within the vertical scale of human value lend themselves to somewhat ambivalent evaluations, some aspects even appear prosocial. However, the fourth type of honor humiliation, namely *exclusion humiliation*, is of an entirely different quality. Being excluded from one's *ingroup*, expelled from humanity itself, exiled, called *vermin* or *pest not meriting being alive*, is of a totally different caliber.

Norbert Elias (1994) addresses the prosocial aspects of humbling/humiliating people in his seminal book *The Civilizing Process* (Elias, 1994). Durkheim, Marx, Weber and historians such as Marc Bloch presented similar lines of reflection. Elias explains how a process of subjugation may have had a civilizing effect on formerly rough and haughty knights, lords, and commoners. He studied the French court and how feudal lords were seduced into bowing to the absolute ruler. Unruly, proud local warlords were being "civilized" by being taught the lessons of shame. According to Elias, pacified and civilized people learn to feel embarrassed; they learn "social anxiety."

The resulting *civilized habitus* that Elias describes could also be called the "successfully humiliated habitus"(Smith, 2001). Not only the French court, also the Indian caste system, the Chinese system of kow-towing, and the low Japanese bow all express and reinforce strong hierarchies. These Indian, Chinese and Japanese hierarchies were all constructed, historically, around the practices of ritual humiliation.

In human rights contexts, however, the four types available in hierarchical structures collapse into *exclusion humiliation*. The reason is that human rights denounce as deeply illegitimate the application of a vertical scale to human worth and value. Human rights dismantle the gradient and range of levels between the master and the underling. Human

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humiliation.

[26] See Lindner, 2000h, p. 8.

rights define one single line of equal dignity, humility and modesty as the only legitimate one.

Human rights advocates explain to underlings around the world that their lowliness is a humiliating violation of their dignity. Human rights promoters invite underlings to rise up to the line of equal dignity. And they teach that tyrants perpetrate something profoundly illegitimate, namely that they arrogate superiority. Human rights promoters urge tyrants, dictators, and brutal rulers to descend from the top seat of the master to the line of equal dignity. A master is seen as arrogant, an underling as humiliated, and both are invited, by human rights advocates, to meet in the middle, at the level of equal dignity, modesty, humility, and humbleness as to our shared humanity.

Table 5 depicts the kinds of humiliation a hierarchical honor society may contain, as opposed to a human rights context that allows for but one kind of humiliation – and in addition the worst type, namely exclusion from humanity.

Four Variants of Humiliation

	Honor humiliation	**Human rights dignity humiliation**
Conquest humiliation: When a strong power reduces the relative autonomy of rivals, previously regarded as equals, and forces them into a position of long-term subordination. Creation of hierarchy or addition of a new upper tier within a hierarchical order.	X	–
Relegation humiliation: When an individual or group is forcefully pushed downwards within an existing status hierarchy.	X	–
Reinforcement humiliation: Routine abuse of inferiors in order to maintain the perception that they are, indeed, inferior.	X	–
Exclusion humiliation: When an individual or group is forcefully ejected from society, for example through banishment, exile or physical extermination.	X	X

Table 5: Four variants of humiliation (adapted from Smith, 2001, p. 543)

In a human rights context the total expulsion from humankind or *exclusion humiliation* – a fate that is seen as illegitimate and unfathomably painful – is the form in which humiliation expresses itself even if no killing is carried out. This is the reason why humiliation is so much more hurtful in a human rights context than in a traditional honor context. This is the background for why practices of humiliation that before where "normal" and far from traumatic such as beating and "breaking the will," at present

acquire medical labels such as that of *victimhood* or *trauma*.[27]

Human rights define the parameters of equal human dignity very narrowly, thus the violation of this entitlement amounts to the single strongest hurt, namely being excluded from humanity entirely (or even from living creatures). I call this type of humiliation *human rights humiliation* or *dignity humiliation*; it is a deeply destructive and devastating experience that attacks the core of a person's humanity and dignity. Being excluded from humanity is much more hurtful than being debased within humanity.

How ideals of equal dignity may trigger atrocities

The human rights message of equal dignity sounds straightforwardly peace-inducing; however, there is an important caveat. Human rights advocates may have to reflect more on the fact that rising awareness of human rights in the world also increases the intensity of the feelings of hurt when they are violated. Human rights violations exclude victims from humanity, a situation that produces intense pain and suffering.

It is not difficult to grasp that passions boil hot when people are made to understand that their wretched existence is not divine fate, but a breach of their entitlement to equal dignity, perpetrated on them not least by the rich, who, at the same time, hypocritically or inadvertently, preach the opposite, namely human rights.

Figure 2 illustrates how the curve of feelings humiliation is currently linked to the curve of awareness of human rights ideals. Awareness of human rights rises, however, reality lags behind, and thus feelings of humiliation fill the gap.[28]

[27] See Lindner, 2001b.

[28] See also Davies famous J-Curve; Davies, 1969, Davies, 1962, see also Boudon, 1986.

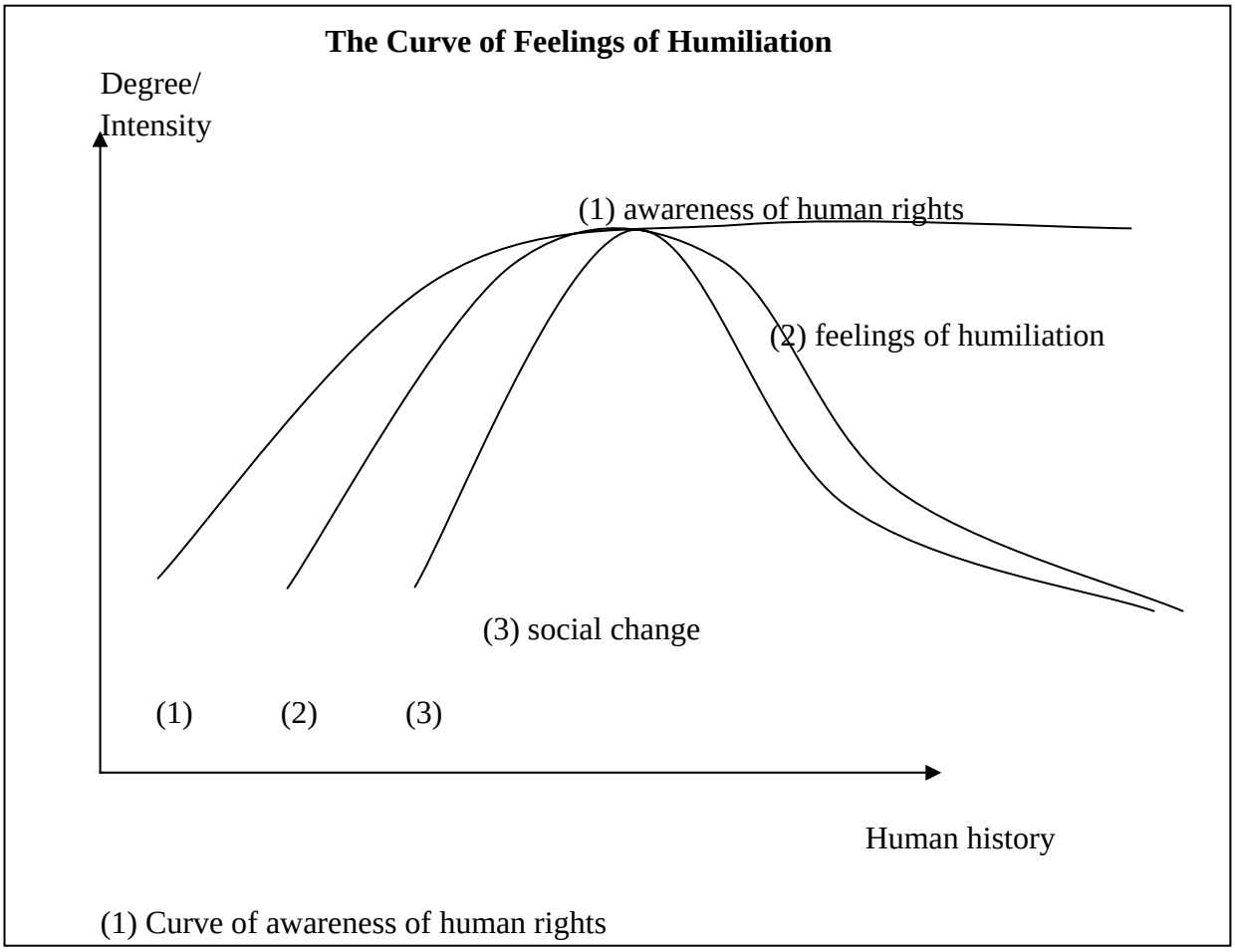

Figure 2: The curve of feelings of humiliation

Morton Deutsch writes in 2002 on the problem of *rising expectations*:

> Many social scientists, before and after Tocqueville, have written insightfully about the "revolution of rising expectations" to explain the paradox that social discontent and even revolutionary activity is more likely to occur after social conditions have improved, when there is rising hope, not bleak despair. The explanation generally follows two major lines. First, improvement of social conditions increases aspirations by increasing what is perceived to be possible to attain. Demand may increase at a faster rate than the actual gains received, with a resulting increase in relative deprivation and in the sense of injustice. The increased discontent is most likely to occur if the gains are discontinued or reversed after the initial gains have heightened further expectations.

> The second explanation of the effects of gains is that, the increase is not uniform in all areas in which the victimized are disadvantaged. Improvement in one area, such as education, only makes one more sensitive to the injustice one is experiencing in other areas such as employment, police protection, and housing. Many social scientists have advanced the proposition that status-disequilibrium (such that there are differences in one's relative statuses in income, education, social prestige, and the like) is a source of tension and discontent. Thus, a very effective way of enhancing the sense of injustice of the victimized is to increase their education and little else (Deutsch, 2002, p. 27-28).

How to avoid rankism and preserve rank

As you already noticed, I prefer to 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. Hierarchy, inequality and stratification can very well coexist with the absence of ranking human beings as unequal. Robert W. Fuller, 2003 describes this in his book *Somebodies and Nobodies*. According to Fuller, humiliation is not the *use* of rank, but the *abuse* of rank. For the abuse of rank, he coined a new word, namely *rankism* (as overarching term that includes special cases such as sexism or racism). A pilot, for example, in a plane, or the captain of a ship, is the master over his passengers when in the sky or at high sea; clear hierarchy and stark inequality characterize this situation. Yet, nonetheless, the pilot need *not* look down on his passengers as *lesser* beings. Excellence or excelling performance among leaders characterizes deeply functional hierarchies, without violating the principle of equal dignity.

In other words, using concepts such as hierarchy, inequality or stratification, would be somewhat misleading here, because they would invite statements and objections such as, "There have always been differences between people! Human beings have never been the same and never will be! Some will always be more intelligent, skilled, beautiful, or worthy of influence than others! Are you a dreamer who believes that we could or should all to be the same? This is not only impossible, but also boring!"

Such statements or objections are irrelevant to our discussion and would represent a grave miscomprehension of its focus. The point that is highlighted here is not the absence or presence of sameness or equality, but the absence or presence of the vertical scale of human worth and value. Diversity and difference can, without a problem, go together with sameness of value and worth; there is no automatism that necessarily links diversity and difference to rankings. The vertical scale of human worthiness is conceptually independent of hierarchy, inequality or stratification (even though some links that may be conceptualized).

The important point at this stage is that a system that condones the vertical scale of human value *essentializes* hierarchy, inequality, and stratification. In such a social framework, a street sweeper not only does a lowly *job*, the lowliness of the task is essentialized as inner core of his entire being: He or she is a lowly *person*. Something that could very well be peripheral to this person's essence, namely the task of sweeping the street, is turned into her core definition: this person is deemed to be of lower human value and worth. This act of essentialization is what we find in many, if not most, traditional

societies. For them, rankism is mainstream doctrine.

Clearly, this state of affairs varied greatly during the past ten thousand years. Initially, slavery was not as cruelly practiced as later and there were great differences between cultural realms. Norman rule and law in England as characteristic of the later monarchy, just to pick a random example, was despotic and exploitative compared to the much more flexible and fair custom of even the late Anglo-Saxon monarchy.

The bridge between equal dignity and enabling environments

Equal dignity seems to be a straightforward notion; however, at closer sight it is rather complicated. Alain Badiou (2001)[29] explains that we have on one side a *Kantian* interpretation of human rights as abstract rights, and on the other side a *Lévinasian* interpretation, which highlights that human rights may also entail care and respect for the other.

We may assert, for example, that a poor person might enjoy as much dignity as a rich person. The Kantian version of equal dignity could be simplified as follows. "Equal dignity means that, although you are poor, you can have full dignity. What is necessary for you in order to have dignity is a societal framework that gives you political rights, such as the right of free speech. In other words, you can be poor and at the same time dignified and happy."

However, what about people who die because they have no access to clean water when at the same time the large international hotel next door is using all water so as to give their wealthy guests the opportunity to take ample showers? Is not this obscene? Where is equal dignity here? The Lévinasian version of equal dignity would go as follows, again, simplified. "You are poor and live under circumstances that violate human dignity. However, dignity can be brought into your life by embedding you within enabling environments that give you the chance to work yourself out of debilitating poverty into more a dignified quality of life."

The notion of equal dignity seems to be a Lévinasian "Trojan horse" that "sneaks" into the Kantian view. The "Trojan" connection is implicated in the human rights stipulation that equal chances and enabling environments for all are necessary to protect human dignity. As soon as human rights are defined in this way, when "equal chances and enabling environments for all" are on the table, Lévinasian "caring for the other" is also on the table.

What we touch upon here is the discussion of so-called *negative* and *positive* ("welfare") *rights*. *Negative rights* have at their core the right to be free of violence. Negative rights constitute a nonaggression axiom. *Positive rights*, on the other side, are rights to food, clothing, shelter, and meaningful experiences. They entail the Lévinasian caring aspect.

There is a problem with positive rights, however, at least when they are framed as forced egalitarianism. Who shall give all the food, clothing, shelter, and meaningful experiences and how should this be given? Is not a coercive socialist state needed to do that? What about cars, and villas and luxury items that people may wish to own so as to

[29] Badiou, 2001. I thank Bjørn Flatås for pointing the work of Badiou out to me.

have meaningful experiences? Who is to distribute such luxury and from where should it be taken? And what happens when one person buys a Ferrari? Does not this mean, in a positive rights framework where everybody is entitled to equal conditions, that everybody has a right to own a Ferrari? Would it not be crazy, if one person's luxury would automatically bring about the right of the rest to own the same? And what about charity? Is not the notion of charity destroyed when the poor claim a right to equal conditions? And, let alone poverty, what about inequalities in beauty and intelligence? Should not the beautiful and smart construct a machine that would transfer some of their beauty and intelligence to the less fortunate so as to attain leveled conditions? In other words, positive rights, if framed as forced egalitarianism, are merely unrealistic and unrealizable. They portray a nightmare of indistinguishable, interchangeable human beings. Therefore the argument is often made that only negative rights are legitimate.

Yet, positive rights may be framed differently, not as everybody having the right to own a Ferrari, but as a right to enjoy *enabling circumstances*. Positive rights could be defined not as rights to be overindulged, but as rights to be nurtured to the point that self-help has a chance. We do not usually withhold care from our children out of fear that they will expect being nurtured lifelong. Mapped onto the international system this means that aid is useful, and must be combined with fair global trade rules that enable people to step out of poverty.

Why equal dignity is more appropriate today than unequal dignity

At this point we may discuss why human rights teachings of equal dignity may be more appropriate for today's world than former rankism, and how human rights advocates may defend their ideals against criticism that their preachings are internally contradictory. As discussed earlier, how can a human rights advocate legitimize that she criticizes honor killings, for example? A human rights promoter wishes to respect diversity on an equal footing, how can she claim that practices such as honor killings are to be deemed outdated and illicit? How can human rights activists judge age-old customs of *unequal* dignity to be inferior to new ideals of *equal* dignity without violating these very ideals of equal dignity? Wherefrom does a human rights promoter take the legitimacy to impose herself as missionary and lecture the rest of the world? Is not this nothing but arrogant humiliation of all those who do not adhere to human rights ideals?[30]

I believe the answer lies in the newly emerging frameworks imposed upon the world by globalization, or the ingathering of humankind. This ingathering brings about a new set of conditions; and new conditions require new solutions. Old solutions are not "bad" or "inferior" in their essence, they are merely not anymore appropriate. In times of transitions, however, shifts typically are not recognized by all players at the same time, thus, some people still believe in the old solutions, while others attempt to adapt to the new situation. Thus transitions often are made doubly difficult by the head-on opposition between those who have not yet grasped the necessity for adaptation to change and those who cry out "but don't you see that the world is different today!" Particularly, when transitions proceed relatively gradually, over several generations, they proceed too slowly to be recognized easily by everybody, and at the same time too fast to allow for smooth

[30] See philosopher Dagfinn Føllesdal, 1996, and *How Can We Use Arguments in Ethics*?

and painless adaptations.

So, this is the world we live in: globalization (as I define it, namely as ingathering of humankind) runs ahead of egalization, and egalization is lagging behind. However, both are linked and globalization entails a push towards egalization. This push is strong and undermines the efforts of elites to maintain elitism; it is difficult to live door-to-door on a tiny planet with people you exploit; you might suffer the effects of humiliation.

Currently, the gap between the rich and the poor is still increasing, locally and globally; however, this trend may be short-lived. The corporate sector, currently preying on the lack of rules at supra-national levels, increasingly understands that profits that are morally illegitimate are not feasible in the long-term. At national levels, rules were successfully introduced subsequent to industrialization's hard punch, and the Hobbesian "state of nature" was replaced by a "state of law." An entrepreneur, who wants his children to live safely side-by-side with the children of his employees, welcomes such a state of affairs. The currently living generations of humankind face the task of instating a similar "state of law" supra-nationally at global levels. Read Thomas Pogge, 2002, on *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms*.

Evidence that this development is well under-way is to be found everywhere. Internet sites that promote social corporate responsibility are on the increase; empty human rights rhetoric is slowly being replaced by action (see a conversation I had at a Special Event on Development Cooperation in Geneva, 2000, with UNOPS, United Nations Office for Project Services). Increasingly initiatives emerge that attempt comprehensive solutions, such as *Debt, Aids, Trade in Africa (DATA)*.

Not least corporations who hire consultants pay vast amounts for being taught to reform their organizational structures and build flat hierarchies with flexible teams. Teams, however, work best when people are in full possession of their capabilities and face circumstances that allow them to develop the fullness of their potential. In former times, when only aristocrats were assigned to do the thinking and strategizing, and underlings to carry out the dirty work and lower tasks, both were handicapped. Underlings had their capacity to be in control cut off – their right sword arm was bound behind their backs so-to-speak – while their masters had their left arm disabled, and prior to the emergence of *One single global village*, as long as *many villages* competed, it were typically men who were socialized to prepare for the emergencies of war and defense, while women and lower men were those to take care of maintenance tasks. None were in thorough possession of their full capabilities. Modern teams, in contrast, are counseled to overcome this division; this division is not only violating human rights values of equal dignity, it is also impractical in the One single interdependent in-group of the Homo sapiens species living on a tiny planet.

Old male-assigned emergency tasks thus currently lose their significance and a new world of social interdependence calls for abilities that formerly were assigned to the "left hand." What in the past was taught to women – mediating, negotiating, networking, social bonding, making peace – is now the call of the day for all (see Lindner, 1999d). Elites and men have to learn to care and underlings and women to be in control and strategize.

Creativity is another "Trojan horse" for equal dignity aside from successful teamwork. Humiliated employees may very well develop creativity, yet, most probably so as to covertly undermine and sabotage their masters. Dignified, empowered, and motivated

employees, in contrast, will make their creativity available to their employers.

Thus, the call for equal dignity is not only a lofty moral request, but a hard element apt to secure profitability and long-term sustainability in an interdependent global village.

Why history can be described in stages without ranking them[31]

Scholars who adhere to human rights do not wish to be seen as *looking down* on people.[32] Therefore the historic process described here is unacceptable to some of them. Some scholars, in order to avert being misunderstood as arrogantly humiliating humanity's past and humanity's diversity, deny that any historic evolution ever took place. They reject the very word *evolution* and the notion of *historic stages*. They attempt to describe human history not as development, but as diverse endeavors by human beings of putting in place equally valuable and worthy social and societal systems. These thinkers do not wish to sustain previous scholarship that indeed once provided justifications to colonizers and other humiliators. Western white male supremacy is not what they want to contribute to. They attempt to give equal dignity to all human experiments ever designed on Earth, particularly to those groups that previously were branded as "primitive," "barbaric," or in other ways "aberrant."

I agree with the goal that arrogant humiliation ought to be avoided, not least as to human history and the diversity of human societies that ever lived on the planet. However, I would want to suggest that stages must not automatically be ranked hierarchically. They can be posited on an equal level of worth and value. Hunter and gatherer lifestyles were evolved under circumstances of *abundance*, whereas agriculture was an attempt to expand the pie of resources through *intensification* when abundance was faltering. Modern societies, in turn, are deeply influenced by the coming-into-being of *One single global village*, which posits yet another uniquely novel set of circumstances to humankind.

In each case, humankind coped creatively. There is no need to rank these designs in ascending stages. These stages can safely be regarded as patterns that are equal in worth and value, each coping with another set of limitations, using the toolkit that existed before and expanding on it. The identification of stages, such as hunters and gatherers, agriculturalists, and finally the modern information age, is thus not to be confounded with the identification of an arrogant view that the last stage is the best ever reached in history. However, it may be the best under current circumstances; I, for example, happen to believe that what we call human rights indeed serve the needs of the citizens in *One single global village* best.

The view presented here describes a culturally transmitted mental toolkit that has been developed in the fashion of a slow and long-term historic discourse carried out by humankind. Each stage had the benefit of being familiar with the physical and mental toolkit that had been developed before.

Earlier I stated that it is an ideological decision whether or not to apply a vertical scale

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[31] Adapted from Lindner, 2003d.

[32] Rostow's linear theory of development is criticized in this line (Rostow, 1960). I thank Roger van Zwanenburg for making me aware of Rostow's work.

to human worthiness so as to draw up a hierarchical gradient. The same pertains to human history. Human communities and societies – both present and throughout history – do not need to be ranked hierarchically. I certainly do not intend to rank them. However, the wish to abstain from ranking does not force us to relinquish describing differences, even systematic differences that build on each other. It is not necessary to abandon analysis of stepwise discourses just to avoid rankings. Differences, even differences that can be narrated as steps or stages, may be posited as equal in worth and value.

What has been done or the current state-of-the-art

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).[33]

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.[34]

The view that humiliation may be a particularly forceful phenomenon is supported by the research of, for example, Suzanne M. Retzinger (1991) and Thomas J. Scheff and Retzinger (1991),[35] 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 and Lazare (1990) document *unforgivable humiliation* as a very serious obstacle in couples' treatment.[36] Robert L. Hale (1994) addressed *The Role of Humiliation and Embarrassment in Serial Murder*.[37] Humiliation has also been studied in such fields as love, sex and social attractiveness,[38] depression,[39] society and identity formation,[40] sports,[41] history, literature

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[33] See also Nathanson, 1992.

[34] See Smith, 2002a, Smith, 2002b, Smith, 2001, Smith, 2000b, Smith, 2000a.

[35] Suzanne M. Retzinger, 1991, and Thomas J. Scheff and Retzinger, 1991.

[36] Vogel and Lazare, 1990. See also Anatol Rapoport (1997), who writes that "... the most intense feelings experienced by human beings are probably those engendered by conflict and by love" (Rapoport, 1997, xxi).

[37] Hale, 1994. [Se]e also Lehmann, 1995; Schlesinger, 1998.

[38] See, for example, Baumeister, Wotman, and Stillwell, 1993; Brossat, 1995; Gilbert, 1997; Proulx et al., 1994.

[39] See, for example, Brown, Harris, and Hepworth, 1995; Miller, 1988.

[40] See, for example, Ignatieff, 1997; Markus, Kitayama, and Heimann, 1996; Silver et al., 1986; Wood et al., 1994.

[41] See, for example, Hardman et al., 1996.

and film.[42]

Donald Klein's very insightful work on humiliation dates back to 1991, in, for example, the *Journal of Primary Prevention* that devoted a special issue to the topic of humiliation in 1991,[43] 1992,[44] and 1999.[45] Linda Hartling (1999) pioneered a quantitative questionnaire on humiliation (Humiliation Inventory)[46] where a rating from 1 to 5 is employed for questions measuring *being teased, bullied, scorned, excluded, laughed a*t, *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* (Scheff 1997, p. 11; the term was coined by Helen Block Lewis, 1971) in escalating conflict between individuals and nations (Scheff, 1988; Scheff, 1990a; Scheff, 1990b; Scheff, 1997[47]). Also psychiatrist James Gilligan (1996) focuses on humiliation as a cause for violence, in his book *Violence: Our Deadly Epidemic and How to Treat It*.[48]

Vamik D. Volkan[49] and Joseph Montville[50] carried out important work on psycho-political analysis of intergroup conflict and its traumatic effects,[51] as did Blema S. Steinberg (1996).[52] Furthermore, Ervin Staub's work is highly significant.[53] See also the journal *Social Research* in 1997, whose special issue was stimulated by the *Decent Society* by Avishai Margalit (1996).[54]

Nisbett and Cohen (1996) examined an honor-based notion of humiliation.[55] The honor to which Cohen and Nisbett refer is the kind that operates in the more traditional

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[42] See, for example, Peters, 1993; Stadtwald, 1992; Toles, 1995; Zender, 1994.

[43] Klein, 1991. See for further work Broom and Klein, 1999, Klein, 1992a.

[44] Barrett and Brooks, 1992; Klein, 1992b; Smith, 1992.

[45] Hartling and Luchetta, 1999.

[46] Hartling and Luchetta, 1999.

[47] See also Masson, 1996; Vachon, 1993; Znakov, 1990. See, furthermore, Charny, 1997, and his analysis of excessive power strivings.

[48] Gilligan, 1996.

[49] See, for example, Volkan, 1988; Volkan, 1992; Volkan, 1994; Volkan and Harris, 1995; Volkan, 1997.

[50] See, for example, Montville, 1993; Volkan, Demetrios, and Montville (Eds.), 1990; Montville, 1990.

[51] Together with their colleagues at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction of the University of Virginia, Harris, 1994, Stein and Apprey, 1990; and Ross, 1993; Ross, 1995b.

[52] Steinberg, 1996.

[53] See Staub, 1989; Staub, 1990; Staub, 1993; and Staub, 1996. See for more literature on psychological approaches to the field of international relations, for example, Cviic, 1993; Luo, 1993; Midiohouan, 1991; Steinberg, 1996; Urban, 1990.

[54] Margalit, 1996, see also Frankfurt, 1997; Honneth, 1997; Lukes, 1997; Mack, 1997; Margalit, 1997; Pettit, 1997; Quinton, 1997; Ripstein, 1997; Oksenberg Rorty, 1997; Schick, 1997.

[55] Nisbett and Cohen, 1996.

branches of the Mafia or, more generally, in blood feuds.[56] 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 set out these issues in his classic book *Ressentiment* (1912/1961).[57] In his first period of work, for example in his *The Nature of Sympathy* (1913/1954),[58] Scheler 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*.[59]

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. In later chapters 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.[60] Research on mobbing and bullying leads over to the field of prejudice and stigmatization,[61] which in turn draws on research on trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder PTSD,[62] aggression (see further down), power and conflict,[63] stress,[64] and last but not least emotions.[65]

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[56] See other evidence relating to blood feuds in Boehm, 1984, Malcolm, 1998, and Rodina, 1999. I owe these references to Adam Jones.

[57] *Über Ressentiment und moralisches Werturteil*, by Scheler, 1912, published in English under the title *Ressentiment*, Scheler, 1961. See also Liah Greenfeld, who suggests that ressentiment plays a central role in nation building, Greenfeld, 1992; Greenfeld, 1996.

[58] *Zur Phänomenologie und Theorie der Sympathiegefühle und von Liebe und Haß*, by Scheler, 1913, published in English under the title *The Nature of Sympathy*, Scheler, 1954.

[59] It was Dagfinn Føllesdal, later Thomas Cushman, editor of Human Rights Review, and Reidar Ommundsen, who drew my attention to Scheler and Honneth.

[60] See especially Heinz Leymann for work on mobbing, Leymann, 1990; Leymann, 1996; Leymann and 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.

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

[62] There exists a huge body of research and literature, see, for example, Bremner et al., 1992; Eitinger, 1990; Everly, 1993; Figley, 1989; Gerbode, 2000; Havermans, 1998; Horowitz, Weine, and Jekel, 1995; Kardiner, 1941; Lavik et al., 1999; McCann and Pearlman, 1992; Nadler and Ben Shushan, 1989; Pearlman, 1998, Pearlman, 1994; Perry, 1994; van der Kolk et al., 1984; van der Kolk, 1994; van der Kolk and van der Hart, 1989; van der Kolk and van der Hart, 1991; van der Kolk and Kadish, 1987.

[63] Political scientists P. Bachrach and 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, and Bonoma, 1973 on Conflict, Power, and

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.[66] 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,[67] the founder of the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR) at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.[68] Also Herbert C. Kelman was among the first to work in this field.[69] David A. Hamburg's work for prevention, as President of the

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Games: the Experimental Study of Interpersonal Relations.

[64] Standard reading on stress psychology is Richard S. Lazarus, 1966, *Psychological Stress and the Coping Process* and Lazarus and 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, and Ickovics, 1998; Q*uantitative Assessment of Thriving* by Cohen et al., 1998; *Beyond Recovery From Trauma: Implications for Clinical Practice and Research* by Calhoun and Tedeschi, 1998; *Exploring Thriving in the Context of Clinical Trauma Theory: Constructivist Self Development Theory* by Saakvitne, Tennen, and Affleck, 1998.

[65] 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 stress disorder. The Handbook of Emotion and Memory by Christianson (Ed.), 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 Foucault's (1972) discourse theory, Gibson's (1979) affordance metaphor 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 (Ed.), 1995, editor of Exploring Affect, a book that eases the otherwise difficult access to Tomkins' thinking. Donald L. Nathanson builds on Tomkins' work; he writes on script, shame, and pride. 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. Tomkins does not always differentiate between humiliation and shame and uses it exchangeably, while 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). 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. 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 on violence and emotions such as shame.

[66] See, just to give two examples, Reich (Ed.), 1990, or Gilbert, 1994.

[67] See, for example, Deutsch and Krauss, 1965, Deutsch, 1973, Deutsch and Hornstein, 1975, Deutsch, 1976, Deutsch, 1994, Deutsch and Coleman (Eds.), 2000.

[68] For an overview over social psychology of conflict see also Stroebe, Kruglanski, Bar-Tal, and Hewstone (Eds.), 1988, *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Conflict*.

[69] See, for example, Kelman and Hamilton, 1989, Kelman, 1992, Kelman and Society for the Psychological

Carnegie Corporation, has been highlighted earlier.

Lee D. Ross, principal investigator and co-founder of the *Stanford Center on Conflict and Negotiation (SCCN)*, addresses psychological barriers to conflict resolution.[70] William Ury, Director of the *Project on Preventing War at Harvard University*, and co-author of *Getting to Yes*,[71] and author of *Getting to Peace*[72] focuses in his anthropological work on conflict. Monty Marshall, 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* (Marshall, 1999). Bar-On and Nadler (1999) call for more attention to be given to conflicts in contexts of power asymmetry.[73]

In the past years innumerable university departments and institutes have been created that carry in their names terms that address conflict and peace. I was in touch with many institutions, centers, departments, and programs, among others with UNESCO's *Culture of Peace* Programme (www.unesco.org/cpp/),[74] as well as with the Eastern Mennonite University, EMU, Harrisonburg, with Howard Zehr,[75] Hizkias Assefa,[76] and Ronald S. Kraybill,[77] and the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research, in Sweden. In Norway the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO, the first peace research institute ever founded), the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, the Norwegian Nobel Institute, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), as well as the Fridtjof Nansen Institute, are central to the international discourse on conflict and peace, and many of the researchers working at these institutions gave invaluable advice to the humiliation project.

In cases where humiliation shall be studied in cross-cultural settings, cross-cultural psychology has to be included,[78] and the anthropological, sociological and philosophical 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.

Study of Social Issues, 1965, Kelman, 1997, Kelman, 1999.

[70] See, for example, Ross and Ward, 1996; Ross and Ward, 1995; Ross, 1995a; Ross and Nisbett, 1991; Ross and Samuels, 1993.

[71] Fisher, Ury, and Patton, 1991.

[72] Ury, 1999.

[73] Bar-On and Nadler, 1999.

[74] I thank particularly Ingeborg Breines, Director of "Women and a Culture of Peace," for her encouraging support, as well as David Adams whom I met already in 1994, as well as Timothée Ngakoutou, John Aglo, Jacqueline Nzoyihera, and Alpha Oumar Diallo.

[75] See, for example, Zehr, 1990, and Zehr, 2002.

[76] See, for example, Assefa, 1987.

[77] See, for example, Kraybill, 1996.

[78] See, example the work of Michael Harris Bond that has been already mentioned. I can only present a small selection of important books and some articles, Bond, 1997, Bond, 1998, Smith and Bond, 1999, Bond, 1992. Harry Charalambos Triandis is an important name as well, see, for 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 and Brislin, 1996, Landis and Brislin, 1983.

Concluding remarks: four logics

We live in times of two basic driving forces, globalization and egalization. The latter term I coined so as to refrain from wholesale rejection or adoption of what usually is referred to as globalization. My aim is to differentiate what globalization stands for.

Globalization, as I choose to define it, is the coming-together of the people of the globe, it is the shrinking of emotional, mental, as well as geographical distances. It is the emergence of *One global village*, of *One family of humankind*. If we conceptualize our imagery of the world as a three-dimensional container, then globalization is what happens at the horizontal dimension: the container grows smaller, because the distances between you and me, wherever we are on the planet, shrink. They shrink geographically, but also in our minds and hearts. This process is driven by technology, by telephone cables, televisions, satellites, internet,[79] planes, ships, even by spaceships that provide us with the view from afar on the blue planet and demonstrate its tininess to us.

The process of coming-together, we could safely claim, is but positive. It is a great source of hope. What could be better than overcoming old in-group/out-group hostilities and grasp that *One family* usually stands together? After all, is not this planet too small for selfish squabbling? Yet, there is also a dark side, at least in the short term. Mutual expectations increase when we unite as *One* family and feelings get hotter. Not surprisingly, "the murderer often comes from within the family." Perceived lack of respect, especially when translated into feelings of humiliation, heats up the emotional temperature. To mitigate such effects, inter-cultural communication skills have to be improved and new sensitivity for global emotional interconnectedness learned.

Egalization is the second force that defines our times. The word *egalization* matches the word *globalization* and at the same time differentiates it from words such as equality, or egalitarianism, because the main point is not equality or sameness or absence of difference. The important point is equal dignity. According to my observation, "globalization critics" are inspired by their allegiance to egalization; they do not oppose the view of the planet as the home for *One* single family of humankind, in other words, they do not oppose globalization as I define it. However, they wish for a global village of equal dignity for every individual, not for a global village of topdogs holding to the ground underdogs. Thus it is not *globalization*, but *egalization* that inflames the hearts and minds of those who feel uneasy, and it is the perception of obscene humiliation that causes this disquiet.

I describe the term egalization as the dismantling of the old world of unequal dignity. Egalization concerns the vertical dimension – in other words, the container is not only becoming smaller in its radius, but also flatter. Egalization is a process that flattens hierarchical rankings of dignity, and this may be seen as a positive development as much as then one entailed in the coming-into-being of the global village. However, as with globalization, there is a dark side, at least in the short term. At present, we live in the midst of transition times. We stand with one leg in the past and the other leg in the future. We have not yet arrived in a global village based on human rights. Even though stark stratifications of dignity such as Apartheid or slavery are not anymore regarded as legitimate (at least very few people would support such practices today, and if they do,

[79] See, Dahan, 2003, Dahan and Sheffer, 2001, Dahan, 1999, Dahan, 2000.

then at least hardly openly), there are still many remnants of the old order to be found the world over, even in the most modern and democratic countries.

Currently, the promise of equal dignity, on the backdrop of an obscene and often further deteriorating reality, enrages many. It is humiliating for the poor to be invited as members of equal dignity into the family of humankind – while being treated as subhumans. Incidentally, European and American cows receive about 2,5 Dollars or Euros as subsidies per day; this is more than twice the average daily income of a small farmer in the poorer parts of the world. Such obscenity does not only humiliate the poor, it also humiliates the wealthy elites; for their self-respect as human beings it is humiliating to be seen as allowing for such an abominable state of the world.

What are the conditions that are changing in the wake of globalization and egalization? Table 6 displays the four basic conditions or logics that may define the way in which humankind has developed *cultures* of *pride* (1), *honor* (2), and *dignity* (3), and the particular manner in which each of them deals with humiliation. Table 6 is based on the above-discussed reflection that, about 10,000 years ago, a humankind of *pristine pride* confronted a dramatic alteration in the core logics that define human lives – suddenly abundant pies turned into fixed ones – and humankind responded with developing a completely new moral ethos and emotional coinage, namely the *honor currency* that legitimizes the vertical scale of human value and worth. Present change corresponds with the development of yet another, completely new and initially disruptive ethos and emotional coinage, namely that of *equal dignity*. Post-modern knowledge society starts to transform the fixed pie of resources into an expandable pie again – the "second round" of *globalization* invites humankind into One single in-group. The security dilemma weakens and long-term thinking seeps in. This development de-legitimizes practices of *putting and holding down*.

The Human Condition

		The Time Horizon		**Social Identity**	
		Short, or long past	**Long future**	**Respect**	**humiliation**
The Pie	**Fixed**	(2)			(2)
	Expandable		(1,3)	(1,3)	
The Security Dilemma	**Strong**	(2)			(2)
	Weak		(1,3)	(1,3)	

Table 6: The Human condition (adapted from Lindner, 2001g, p. 439)

Lindner wrote (2001),

> The most benign scenario is a combination of weak Security Dilemma, expandable pie, long time horizon, and an atmosphere of respect. Conversely, the worst scenario brings together a short time horizon, positioned in an environment that represents a fixed pie of resources, combined with a strong Security Dilemma, within which individuals or groups are exposed to humiliating assaults. As already mentioned, feelings of humiliation and their consequences may be so strong that they override and

> undermine otherwise 'benign' scenarios, in a downward spiral. This model of the human condition may be instrumental to analysing social change over long time stretches and in different world regions, as well as aid future strategy planning for governments and international organisations. It indicates that the destructive nature of the dynamics of humiliation becomes the more visible the more the other parameters veer to the benign side (Lindner, 2001g, p. 439).

A central question of our times is the following: Is the current deplorable state of the global village an expression of the *essence* of globalization? Or is it a *side effect* that can be remedied? I suggest that the condition of the global village, obscene as it currently is, is the side effect of a lack of coordination of globalization and egalization. The unifying tendencies that at present transgress national borders delay egalization. Global institution building that could curb global Hobbesian anarchy is lagging behind.

Avishai Margalit (1996) wrote the book *The Decent Society*, in which he calls for institutions that do not anymore humiliate citizens. He states that it is not sufficient to merely aspire to building *just* societies, *decent* societies should be implemented that do not entail humiliation. Humiliating living conditions are not only unjust; they are also *obscene*. Decency reigns when humiliation is being minimized, humiliation in relationships, but particularly 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.

Lindner wishes to extend the plea for decency from national to global levels and call for a joint effort to achieve what is necessary to attain this state of decency. The vision of a *decent global village* is spelled out in detail in the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* of September 2000. Lindner suggests that dynamics of humiliation hamper the realization of the Millennium goals and that taking account of these dynamics will greatly facilitate the process.

On the way to a *decent global village*, we have to be alert to dynamics of humiliation and heal and prevent them (Lindner, 2002b). The international community carries a particular responsibility in this field. People who are caught in cycles of humiliation may not be able to exit from them on their own; they need the support and 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).

Particularly the danger emanating from the current lack of egalization must be taken seriously. Lagging 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. Lindner has called the feelings of humiliation the "nuclear bomb of the emotions."

To illustrate it starkly: Adolf Hitler stands for cruel humiliation-for-humiliation as response to perceived victimhood to humiliation. In him, feelings of humiliation turned into weapons of mass destruction. A Hitler attempted to redress humiliation by inflicting humiliation-for-humiliation on the supposed humiliators; he turned another spiral in a cruel cycle of humiliation. Sadly, others followed; from the Rwandese 1994 genocide to nine eleven 2001, feelings of humiliation fueled violence that did not require other

weapons than machetes or highjacked airplanes.

A Nelson Mandela, in contrast, represents wise humility. A Mandela lifted the overall societal order up, onto a new level, and thus avoided powering a new turn in a cycle of humiliation. He did this by implementing a new social order based on the notion of respect for individual dignity. At the center of his effort was his inclusion of the humiliator, the white upper class, into the definition of human rights. Mandela attempted to attain humility for all without inflicting humiliation. Even after 27 years of systematic humiliation in prison, Mandela did not give the spiral of humiliation another atrocious twist – he could have unleashed mass killings of the white elite – but brought about beneficial social change.

A *decent global village* calls for moderates such as Mandela and not for extremists like Hitler. Moderates around the world carry the responsibility to form alliances and curb the fervor of extremists, wherever they are placed, because extremists' hot feelings turn them into humiliation-entrepreneurs who keep the world trapped in cycles of humiliation-for-humiliation.

In other words, humility can only be achieved if it is brought about without humiliation. This is because humiliation may lead to violent defiance instead of humbleness and humility. Elites have to be invited to humble themselves, without inflicting humiliation, and underlings empowered to rise, again without resorting to inflicting humiliation. This represents nothing but a call for a world-wide *Moratorium on Humiliation.*

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