Chapter 4. The Terrorist

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The role of humiliation in generating violence

 "Especially after humiliations, revenge can become a primary goal" for social movements, this is what sociologist James Jasper concludes after having reviewed the literature of twenty years of theory and research on emotions and social movements.[1]

Alex Schmid is an internationally renowned scholar in Terrorism Studies whose experience in the field stretches over many decades. He is the former officer-in-charge of the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations. He writes (in a personal communication to the author on June 7, 2014): "Humiliation often leads to feelings of revenge and the desire to exact vengeance for oneself or others with whom one identifies and this is a major driver for terrorism."

Shane Paul O'Doherty, a former IRA bomber turned pacifist, explains that his path to terrorism began when he was a child, and it began with humiliation, with him becoming aware that he was an "inferior" class of person. "In 1916, a bunch of poets and artists launched a revolution against the British from Ireland's capital, Dublin. …The British executed the ringleaders of this 'rising,' and those deaths inspired a successful uprising against the British that ended with Ireland split in two. Suddenly there was a border, and Irish Catholics on the north side of it found themselves treated like second-class citizens."[2]

The leading question of my global life mission is the following: We, as humankind, stand before unprecedented challenges. These challenges can only be met with global cooperation. What furthers such cooperation? What hinders it? What is the strongest force that undermines cooperation? My conclusion after forty years of global experience at micro, meso and macro levels, gathering theoretical and qualitative evidence, is that dynamics of humiliation are the strongest forces that hinder cooperation and that in times when global cooperation is urgently needed, attention to humiliation, its prevention, and its healing is of preeminent importance. Therefore, I highly appreciate Latha Nrugham's work on associates and predictors of attempted suicide among depressed adolescents.[3]

In 2001, I suggested that humiliation "is the strongest force that creates rifts between people and breaks down relationships"[4] This claim has motivated younger social psychologists to design experiments to shed more light on this dynamic. In one experiment, people were asked to read scenarios that evoked humiliation, anger, or happiness, while having their cognitive intensity measured electro-physiologically. Indeed, humiliation scenarios elicited markedly higher measures of perceived (negative) affect than either happiness or anger scenarios.[5]

Both terms, *terror* and *humiliation*, refer to complex phenomena – they are acts, emotional states, and social mechanisms. Perpetrators act when they humiliate victims and inflict terror on them, victims feel humiliated and terrorized, and social processes such as apartheid

humiliate and create an atmosphere of terror by ways of their very rules. More so, interventions as innocent as help can have deeply humiliating effects, even though the helpers themselves intend the stark opposite and may feel humiliated on their part when the receivers of their "help" act "unthankfully."[6] To add to the complexity, each side of a dispute will typically insist on using the label of painful feelings of humiliation requiring revenge only for its own experience, while labeling the other side as evil terrorists.[7] To avoid overwhelming the reader with overly convoluted language, the reader is expected to infer which manifestation of the concept is being referred to at the given moment.

Also the role of humiliation in generating violence is complex. Feelings of humiliation entail anger and shame over not being able to redress the degradation that is felt to be so undue. A Somali proverb says, "A man deserves to be killed and not to be humiliated." One person may turn her rage inward and become depressed and apathetic,[8] whereby the combination of loss and humiliation is the strongest predictor of major depression.[9] Another may turn her rage outward and explode in hot desperate and self- and other-destructive rage. Passionate murder and/or suicide might be the result. Yet another may go down the Hitler-path and organize humiliation entrepreneurship. Hitler attempted to redress humiliation by inflicting humiliation on the supposed humiliators, thus achieving yet another spiral in the cycle of humiliation. The Hitler-script seems to be the template for present-time efforts to bring back a glorious caliphate.[10]

Or, and this is the royal path into a dignified future, feelings of humiliation may also inspire a person to choose the path of *conscientization* and social change that Paulo Freire called for[11] and Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela manifested.

Self-directed violence and other-directed violence

As to self-directed violence, more than 800,000 people commit suicide every year – around one person every 40 seconds – according to the United Nations health agency's first global report on suicide prevention, which was published on September 4, 2014.[12] Suicide is the second leading cause of death globally in people between the ages of 15 and 29.

Experiences of humiliation are part of suicidal behavior in various ways. The phenomenon of cyber-bullying has emerged particularly in Western societies and has drawn intense attention,[13] and it is associated with suicidal behavior.[14] Humiliation is a core agent of the terror that bullying entails. Yet, not only in the West, also in other parts of the world, are suicides associated with humiliation. The wave of suicides of indebted farmers in India can serve as an example: "farmers are battered by indifferent administration and apathetic political class and slaughtered by a three pronged attack of indignity, non recognition and humiliation."[15]

School shootings are a combination of self- and other-directed violence, and also here humiliation plays a core role. The Columbine High School massacre was a school shooting which occurred on April 20, 1999, at Columbine High School in Columbine in Colorado, U.S.A. The perpetrators were two senior students and they murdered a total of 12 students and one teacher. This shooting influenced subsequent school rampage shootings insofar as it "redefined such acts not merely as revenge but as a means of protest of bullying, intimidation, social isolation, and public rituals of humiliation."[16]

Regarding other-directed violence, statistics show that there have been very few interstate wars during the last two decades, while the number of civil wars rose, until it peaked in 1992, when also this number began a significant decline. Until 2005, however, only a narrow cycle of experts was aware of these statistics; they had no significant impact on the wider audience of policy-makers or the media.[17] Still in 2011, the decline of war and other forms of violence

was "the no. 1 overlooked story in the international media."[18] Drawing on new datasets and a wide range of other research findings, the first Human Security Report (HSR) 2009/2010 offered a comprehensive analysis of the half-century decline in battle deaths since the early 1950s, and the post–Cold War decline in the number of conflicts.[19] The year 2011 also saw the publication of Joshua Goldstein's book *Winning the War on War*, where he argues that "we have avoided nuclear wars, left behind world war, nearly extinguished interstate war, and reduced civil wars to fewer countries with fewer casualties."[20] The Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) found that if current trends in key structural variables are sustained, the proportion of the world's countries afflicted by civil wars will halve by 2050.[21]

Clearly, present-day conflicts in Ukraine, East Asia, and Africa may undo such positive prospects. And also terrorist-related deaths have leaped by almost one third in the last twelve months – global deaths have risen 30 per cent compared to the previous five-year average – with Iraq enduring the highest number of attacks in the last year with 3,158 incidents. These figures were released on July 23, 2014, by the Terrorism and Security Dashboard (MTSD) of a British risk consultancy that maps reported incidents of terrorism worldwide.[22]

However, there is also another caveat. Encouraging as statistics on a "new peace" are, they cannot hide the transformation of open violence into structural violence.[23] The socio-economic inequalities associated with structural violence cause a far greater number of deaths among poor people worldwide than does physical violence.[24] One study from PRIO found that some 18 million people died prematurely around the world as a consequence of inequality in 1970.[25] The estimated worldwide number of battle deaths from armed conflict in the same year was less than 300,000.[26] In 2014, Johan Galtung, the principal founder of the discipline of peace and conflict studies, warns that direct violence is not the only problem, without equity there is more inequality and more structural violence, "killing even more."[27] If we consider this reasoning, then the self-directed violence of the Indian farmers can be interpreted as the result of other-directed structural violence, including structural humiliation.[28]

The role of humiliation in the intention to kill oneself and others

Humans do not exist in a vacuum; they are affected and shaped by their social, economic, cultural, and political environment. Therefore, both the study of terrorism and of humiliation have to be based on a multi-disciplinary approach and incorporate a number of different academic disciplines including, amongst others, sociology, criminology, social psychology, and political science, says Peter Neumann, professor at the Security Studies at the Department of War Studies, King's College London, and director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), which he founded in early 2008.[29] Furthermore, a historical lens must be adopted to avoid *chronocentrism*, urges Paul Rock, expert in criminal justice policy. Within British criminological studies, for instance, there is a propensity to ignore writings that are over fifteen years old.[30]

How far back in time should one go to avoid chronocentrism? I suggest searching for significant turning points within the entire duration of the roughly 200,000 years that the species *Homo sapiens* has walked the surface of planet Earth. Geographer Jared Diamond, for instance, warns that one turning point that began to emerge about 12,000 years ago, namely the invention of agriculture, was "the worst mistake in the history of the human race," as it brought "starvation, warfare, and tyranny."[31] If Diamond is right, then agriculture is also the backdrop for terror. I offer a slightly different analysis: to my view, both agriculture and terror have a common root, namely, the essential qualities or characteristics of domination.

As long as humans were few, nature was the sole producer of resources and there was enough for all to share. Yet, beginning around 12,000 years ago, the situation changed. *Intensification* means extracting more resources from a given area, for instance, through agriculture. It is possible that agriculture was invented by growing populations who began to feel the finiteness of planet Earth's surface, as resources were increasingly taken by others and free roaming became more difficult. What anthropologists call *circumscription* began to loom.[32]

Anthropologist William Ury drew up *a simplified depiction of history* (whose core elements are widely accepted in anthropology):

1. *simple hunter-gatherers* (first 95 percent of human history, if the starting point is set at 200,000 years ago)
2. *complex agriculturists* (last 12,000 years, emerging in different places around the world between 12,000 and 5,000 BCE, representing the past five percent of human history)
3. *knowledge society* (presently in the making)[33]

Under conditions of circumscription, the *security dilemma* emerged. The term is used in political science to describe how mutual distrust can bring groups of people who have no intention of harming one another into bloody war. The security dilemma plays out when states (or social units) are too close to each other to be oblivious of the fact that others can represent a threat, but too far away to be able to safely gauge the other's true objectives and intentions and develop trust.[34] An atmosphere of terror is the security dilemma's core aspect.

If we think of intensification, then also raiding and plundering is a form of intensification. Farmers' productions added a new "hunting ground" for those who were mobile and did not engage in agriculture themselves. During my years as a psychotherapist and counsellor in Egypt (1984–1991), I learned about the deep-seated fear in the *fellaheen* culture of the Nile Delta of the *Arabs*, the *nomads*, threatening them from the surrounding desert. Often, nomadic raiders had been aggressive and had plundered what farmers had planted. Later, when I carried out my doctoral research in Somalia, I got a profound insight into the belligerent culture of Somali pastoralists.[35] I learned how pastoralist warriors look down on agriculturalists and their willingness to bow down to the ground to make a living. Noble warriors keep their heads high and would never succumb to the humiliation of agriculture, I was told.

Complex sedentary cultivation depends on the control over land. Land needs to be mine if I am to harvest in autumn the plants that grow from the seeds I sowed in spring. Hobbesian fear of sudden attacks from outside one's area was bound to become an inescapable all-defining state of emotion. And, indeed, this emotion became part of cultures all around the globe. And it informs also today's terrorism. Dialogue with nature and dialogue with each other became replaced by domination over nature and each other. And this, in turn, inspired the myth that is virulent until today – which also inspires terrorism and counter-terrorism – namely, that competition for domination is the only possible "state of nature," rather than partnership and dialogue.

In the context of the security dilemma, hierarchies of domination and a rigidly male-dominant "strong-man" rule came to the fore. Social scientist and activist Riane T. Eisler has developed a cultural transformation theory through which she describes how during the past millennia otherwise widely divergent societies followed what she calls a *dominator model* rather than a *partnership model*.[36] In *Gender, Humiliation, and Global Security*, I attempt to shed light on the connection between the security dilemma and the male-dominated model of society.[37] A culture of male prowess tends to go hand-in-hand with a strong security dilemma, and vice-versa. In a self-enforcing feedback loop, a culture of male prowess makes the security dilemma stronger and thus tragically increases the problem rather than solving it.

The security dilemma is called dilemma because it is tragic. Within its confines, honor defines society. Humiliation in honor societies – we may call it *honor humiliation* – can be categorized in a number of variants.[38] A master uses *conquest humiliation* to subjugate formerly equal neighbors into a position of inferiority. When the hierarchy is in place, the master uses *reinforcement humiliation* to keep it in place. The latter may range from seating orders and bowing rules to brutal measures such as customary beatings or killings. Attempts by inferiors to humiliate their superiors are responded to with such reinforcement humiliation. A third form of humiliation, *relegation humiliation*, is used to push an already low-ranking underling even further down. *Exclusion humiliation* means excluding victims altogether, exiling, or even killing them.

The situation is different for underlings. Only aristocratic peers can respond to humiliation with anger and violent conquest humiliation – they can go to duel, for example, or duel-like wars. Underlings, in contrast, are expected to swallow humiliation from superiors in meek and quiet humility. Subordinates may engage their own peers into duel-like struggles and oppress their own inferiors; however, superiors will have an interest to minimize such activities as they "disturb peace and stability." It is possible that Roman law, for instance, was invented more than 2,000 years ago to keep underlings from infighting; and this law's successors define the entire world-system by now[39] and endanger the survival of humankind on a finite planet.[40]

Honor codes are to be found in societies all around the world. Honor in Iraq, for instance, can be described with three words: *sharaf, ithiram,* and *ird* (also *'urd*). As Victoria C. Fontan, scholar of conflict resolution and peace studies, reported from her fieldwork in Iraq, *sharaf* is honor bestowed on a man whose service or lineage is found deserving by his peers; *ithiram* is the honor he can gain by imposing himself on others by force; and *ird* is the honor measured as his success in protecting his women from intruders.[41] *Sharaf* is given to a man – he can only invite it through benevolent actions – while *ithiram* and *ird* depend on him and his ability to impose his will on his environment. Together, these three elements describe the standing a man can claim to have in his social context. Women are his substrate.

In such a context, victims of rape remain silent. "In Iraq, a woman who suffered rape is considered to be dead to society, as she is held responsible for having enticed males to abduct, rape or molest her."[42] A woman to allege she has been raped runs the risk of being accused of *zina,* or "unlawful sexual intercourse." Punishments for *zina* are still practiced today in many world regions, even while their legality is disputed.[43] The documentary *Women on the Frontline* provides a lively account of this practice.[44]

If the woman moreover gets pregnant after a rape, this will be taken as proof that she consented, because it is regarded to be biologically impossible to become pregnant through rape. Remnants of such beliefs are to be found also in Western contexts. In 2012, Todd Akin, the Republican Senate nominee for Missouri, U.S.A., said on television in defense of his no-exceptions policy on abortion: "If it is a legitimate rape, the female body has ways to try and shut that whole thing down."[45]

In other words, the victim will be punished, not the perpetrator. Raped women may even be killed for shaming their husbands by being raped. Rape is not seen as a human tragedy, after which the victim deserves help and trauma therapy, but as a female misstep for which the victim deserves no leniency or must be punished. After being raped, "she will become the victim of a honor-killing, whereby the (usually) male member of a family, keeper of the *'urd,* will cleanse the family's honor by killing the subject of the crime."[46] Many raped women, knowing that they cannot expect help, will take their own lives, making the ultimate sacrifice themselves.

What is the logic behind such norms? An intact hymen proves that "her men" were able to protect "their women" from other men. The woman's body is thus the symbol of male honor.

If this symbol is severed, even though she is the victim, it is seen as her fault (unless it is public rape in front of her family's males), because her males feel their honor to be slighted. Blaming the victim to avoid having to blame themselves, her males assume that this violation must be her fault.[47] Then they inflict the ultimate punishment on the raped woman. If motivated by the *post victim ethical exemption syndrome*, as James Jones describes it, their punishment will go beyond all limits.[48] In this sequence of events, the first step is: her body represents his honor; second step: if her body is severed, his honor is severed; third step: since the violation rests in her body, she must the source of the violation of his honor; fourth step: punishing her; possible fifth step: punishing her excessively, as outflow of the ethical exemption syndrome. In recent years, rape has increasingly been used in war situations as a weapon, and its ultimate manifestation is public rape, in front of the family and "her men," precisely because it prevents the enemy, "her men," from blaming their women and leaves them in no doubt that they fail to protect their women.[49]

Examples of *zina* and rape may seem irrelevant for readers from other world regions. Yet, just recently, humiliation connected with rape and caste culture in India has made headlines all around the world.[50] Latha Nrugham comments:

> I understand rape as an ancient and contemporary struggle between the powerless and the powerful – the so-called "caste" factor being one more brick. It is not necessary for a local policeman to ask for the complainant's caste because it is usually revealed in many ways such as surname without asking for it specifically if the policeman does not already know. Yes, there are groups that use all that they can to humiliate other groups, in India also. What the *New York Times* author did not write about is that the policeman and the culprits and the current government all belong to a group which has risen to power based on "we are oppressed, we are humiliated, we must rise to dignity" politics.[51]

Honor is not just a matter of *zina* and rape. During the Cold War, the culture of honor permeated all segments of world society and gave each side the same sense of righteousness that also vindicates honor killing. Scientists, engineers, and strategists in the United States and the Soviet Union followed an ethic of "national security" when they created nuclear weapons that could destroy much of the earth. The motto of the security dilemma is "If you want peace, prepare for war."[52] As psychiatrist and author Robert Jay Lifton observes: "Over the course of my work I have come to the realization that it is very difficult to endanger or kill large numbers of people except with a claim to virtue."[53]

Also after the Cold War, the culture of war lives. Honor plays a strong role, including in the West, particularly at macro levels. Powerful international elites dealing with each other draw on the honor code, as, for example, in foreign policy matters, in armed services, or among diplomatic staffs. As historian Donald Kagan expresses it, it is a passion to retain a state's "honorable" preeminence,[54] even if "national honor" is now partly concealed by human rights rhetoric and no longer invoked as openly as in the past.[55]

Consistent with the culture of the security dilemma, U.S. administrations mobilized Islamic fundamentalist forces in the Middle East throughout the Cold War against secular nationalist leaders viewed either as potential allies of the Soviet Union or as direct threats to the profits and property of American and European corporations. After the Cold War, the culture of the security dilemma inspired the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), an American think tank based in Washington, D.C. established in 1997 as a non-profit educational organization.[56] "Force as the preferred policy option, black-and-white moralism as the preferred form of analysis, and unilateralism as the preferred mode of execution,"[57] is its logic, and this is also the logic of the security dilemma. Strengthening the military-industrial complex is part and parcel of the imperative of the security dilemma. Inspired by this spirit, it

would be also consistent for the West to secure supremacy by fostering Islamist terrorism, then exploiting the crimes of such groups as a pretext to engage in war and repression abroad, and to undermine democratic rights at home.[58]

One danger with strategies that fit the security dilemma is that dark forces called for help may get out of control and eat their master. „Die ich rief, die Geister, werd' ich nun nicht los," wrote Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in 1797 in his famous ballad *Der Zauberlehrling*, or *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*.[59] This tragic "side-effect" of security-dilemma strategies may unfold as this text is written. In May of 2013, U.S. Senator Arizona Republican John McCain reportedly took a secret trip to Syria to discuss giving arms and support to Syrian rebels against Syrian President Assad. Pictures show John McCain at a meeting where also Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi was present.[60] One year later, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is the "caliph" of the Islamic State (IS), formerly the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), and he and his warriors have turned from possible ally to foe: now McCain urges to extend American air power in Syria, so as to deprive IS of their bases of operations.[61] Also Saudi Arabia acts in line with the culture of the security dilemma:

> As for Saudi Arabia, it may come to regret its support for the Sunni revolts in Syria and Iraq as jihadi social media begins to speak of the House of Saud as its next target. It is the unnamed head of Saudi General Intelligence quoted by Dearlove after 9/11 who is turning out to have analyzed the potential threat to Saudi Arabia correctly and not Prince Bandar, which may explain why the latter was sacked earlier this year.
> Nor is this the only point on which Prince Bandar was dangerously mistaken. The rise of Isis is bad news for the Shia of Iraq but it is worse news for the Sunni whose leadership has been ceded to a pathologically bloodthirsty and intolerant movement, a sort of Islamic Khmer Rouge, which has no aim but war without end.[62]

The role of dignity in the transformation of humiliation

The security dilemma is strong only in a compartmentalized world, in a world of dependence versus independence. There is a chance for the security dilemma to weaken when global interdependence and interconnectedness increases, provided this is accompanied by mutual respect. Anthropologists call the coming-together of humankind the *ingathering* of the tribes of the Earth: "For the first time since the origin of our species, humanity is in touch with itself."[63]

Indeed, the human generations currently alive are participants in an unprecedented historical transition from a traditional collectivist culture of ranked honor, or the dominator model (Eisler), as it was prevalent in almost all world regions throughout the past millennia, to a culture of human rights ideals with its emphasis on the partnership model with unranked and equal dignity for each individual.

At the current point in time this transition, however, is shaky and inconclusive. Two positions oppose each other – and I can attest to this, because I meet both positions on my global path, a path that by now encompasses four decades.[64] One camp believes that it may be dangerously foolish to dream of a dignified world, a world of dialogue, partnership, and mutual trust among future generations. For them, the best hope humankind can ever entertain is to keep the world under firm control. The other side does indeed hope for global partnership. For them, the military-industrial complex no longer represents a valued savior but transmutes into a deplorable "devil's dynamo," a dynamo that produces what it wants to avert, a dynamo that shuts the door for the very partnership that otherwise would be possible. "The money flows like the electrical current in a dynamo, driving a diabolical machine," warns John

Scales Avery, a theoretical chemist who was part of a group associated with the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, which received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995.[65]

At the core of the transition from ranking human worthiness to unranking it stands a shift in the meaning of the word humiliation. Around 1757, humiliation dramatically changed course in the English language, from positive to negative. While humiliating and humbling underlings was legitimate before, it became illegitimate. Showing underlings their "due lowly place," "teaching them due humility," humiliating them, was seen as prosocial until 1757. William Ian Miller notes 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."[66] While humiliation turned negative, humility remained positive; not enough, humility became even more positive, growing from the traditional meekness of subservient humility into an expression of humble pride.

In a partnership context, honor humiliation is replaced by dignity humiliation, and this is more painful than honor humiliation as it lowers not just within a ranking order but excludes from humanity altogether. Honor humiliation is part of humankind's cultural adaptations to the security dilemma and a more collective feeling and institution than dignity. Honor is worn like armor, and people may defend their group's honor against humiliators merely as a duty, without much personal emotion. Dignity humiliation, in contrast, is more than armor; it affects the core of the individual. Humiliated honor requires revenge and the show of strength to achieve victory over the humiliator. The script of honor humiliation is the script of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany, and it is the script that informs acts of terrorism. Dignity humiliation, in contrast, is predicated on human rights ideals.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) begins: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." This sentence indicates that all human beings, without exception, are invited as equal members into the human family. While humiliating underlings was seen as beneficial in the context of ranked honor, this turns into a violation in a human rights context. Human rights un-rank human worthiness and are therefore not simply about dignity, but about *equality in dignity* or *non-domination*.[67] In a human rights context, being treated as a second class citizen contradicts its very political, cultural, and ethical spirit. Practices and institutions that once were normal – patria potestas, coverture, slavery, bondage, serfdom, feudalism, lords and vassals, apartheid, anthrosupremacy, speciesism – turn into *rankism*: rankings by sex, race, class, imperialism, age, or ability, all acquire the label of illegitimately discriminatory inequality.[68]

Being *united in equal dignity for all* produces a new kind of peace and harmony, and a new kind of reconciliation and conflict resolution. These new kinds flow from social and ecological sustainability and replenishment, nurtured in a global partnership of care by the entire human family. In the new context, it is no longer feasible for masters to employ humiliation to create humble underlings. Humiliation is now experienced as an undeserved and unjust violation of dignity. Humiliation no longer produces humility as surely as before; it may now trigger opposition and rage. This rage may turn inward and lead to apathy and depression; it may also lead to open violence. Humility no longer flows from meek submission, but is now restraint that is intentionally chosen.

While honor humiliation permits only elites to respond with duel-like responses, human rights ideals democratize this entitlement. Millions of underlings previously accustomed to swallowing humiliation quietly in meekness, are now encouraged to raise their heads. Dignity humiliation calls for anger in the face of debasement, and for investing this anger into the conscientization of a Paulo Freire, to which Nelson Mandela so courageously dedicated his life.

Yet, the present situation, unfortunately, is not that simple. Feelings of dignity humiliation do not automatically lead to Mandela's path. On the contrary, at the present point in time, they

often fuel behavior that is informed by honor humiliation – even though one feels one's dignity slighted, the response may still be forged within the honor code. Dignity humiliation and honor humiliation, even though they are irreconcilable at their core, can stand side by side. I participated in the International Congress of Somali Studies in Turku, Finland, August 6–9, 1998. A young Somali woman decried the practice of female genital cutting (FGC) as follows, "I feel that my culture humiliates me!"[69] Some older male Somali participants defended this practice and demanded respect for Somali culture, in the name of human rights. They were profoundly irritated by their female colleagues and their redefining of "Somali culture" as not entailing FGC. The older males derided the suffering of their young female colleague and asked her not to side with the "enemy" and to stop shaming Somali culture. Human rights ideals were invoked incompletely, so to speak, respect was requested for "non-Western cultures" in the name of equality in dignity, while overlooking that this very cultural context denied equality in dignity, for example, to their own women.[70]

Or, inversely, the documentary film *Banaz: A Love Story* illustrates how well-intentioned Westerners with a noble desire for dialogue may endanger the lives of girls targeted for honor killings.[71] Approaching the girl's family for dialogue may only hasten her death sentence. It is impossible to respect a cultural background by overlooking the imminent killing of a girl and at the same time protect the girl's life. One has to decide. One has to take an unequivocal stance. "A human rights defender can therefore not be true to herself if she thinks that the traditional paradigm can coexist with the new one. She cannot avoid conflict."[72]

In other words, the world, as it transitions from honor humiliation to dignity humiliation, begins with the feelings and lags behind with the acts. The world is caught in the rising intensity of feelings of humiliation, however, only too often, these feelings are channeled into familiar scripts for action, which are not the Mandela path of constructive social change, but the path of violence. "Everyone knows how the Muslim country bows down to pressure from the west. Everyone knows the kind of humiliation we are faced with around the globe," said Faisal Shahzad, confessed attempted bomber of New York's Times Square, May 1, 2010. It is estimated that so-called home-grown terrorists have been responsible for 78 percent of al-Qaeda and al-Qaeda inspired terrorist plots in the West from 2003-2008.[73]

For young men with a reduced sense of worth, the honorable warrior script, including its relegation of women to "protected inferiors," offers a dramatic remedy. It is a path from painful feelings of dignity humiliation to heroic acts of honor humiliation. It may motivate them to join brutal youth gangs,[74] it has inspired anti-Muslim Anders Behring Breivik in Norway,[75] as much as the Jihadists who believe that the Islamic Armageddon, Al Malhamah Qubra, or the final control and final end of the world, will begin in Syria.[76] The latter has dominated the news in recent times, as at least 11 main groups call themselves Jihadist and are labelled as terrorists by Western nations.[77]

Particularly Muslims who live in the West learn about dignity humiliation, and they are impacted by its heightened intensity. New research shows that social pain is processed like physical pain.[78] In other words, also feelings of humiliation are felt like physical pain, and dignity humiliation hurts most. Muslims in the West may feel considerably aggrieved when they note that during the period 2000 to 2008, in the British press, for instance, four of the five most common discourses about Muslims associated Islam/Muslims with threats and opposing dominant British values – Islam as dangerous, backward or irrational was presented in 26 percent of stories – while, "by contrast, only 2 percent of stories contained the proposition that Muslims supported dominant moral values."[79] Moreover, Muslims in the West are connected with the rest of the world through the same technology that also drives globalization. Research on mirror neurons demonstrates that one can feel as humiliated on behalf of victims one identifies with as if one were to suffer the same pain oneself.[80] This

phenomenon is magnified when media give access to the suffering of people in far-flung places.[81]

While working as a clinical psychologist in Egypt (1984–1991), young Palestinian clients came to me because they were depressed. They felt they should help their suffering families in Palestine, instead of studying in Cairo, preparing for a happy life.

Farida, a young woman, not yet 20 years old, cried heart-wrenchingly[82]:

> My father wants me to study, get married, and have a normal life. But I cannot smile and laugh and think of happy things, when my aunts and uncles, my nieces and other family members face suffering in Palestine. Their suffering is a heavy burden on me. I feel it in my body. Sometimes I cannot sleep. I feel tortured.
> I know Palestinians my age who do not care. They go to the discotheque and dance – they even drink alcohol. I think this is disgusting. Our people are suffering and we should stand by them. If we cannot help them directly, we should at least not mock them by living immoral lives or be heartless and forget them altogether. I feel I have no right to enjoy life as long as my people suffer.
> I respect my father and I try to obey him and concentrate on my studies. If it were not for him, I would go to my homeland, get married, have as many sons as possible, and educate them in the right spirit. I would be overjoyed to have a martyr as a son, a son who sacrifices his life for his people.
> I feel that suicide bombers are heroes, because it is hard to give your life. I want to give my life. I want to do something. I cannot just sit here in Cairo and watch my people suffer and be humiliated. I feel humiliated in their place, and feel that I humiliate them more by not helping them. I feel so powerless, so heavy; sometimes I can hardly walk.

Farida's involvement and sincerity were intense, pure, deep and selfless. She was highly intelligent, a strong woman, with an acute awareness of justice, with a bright future ahead. Yet, her strength was wasted because she saw no constructive action. She could not digest the violence, neglect, thoughtlessness, and humiliation she perceived around her. She found solace in dreaming about sacrificing her life as the mother of sons who gave their lives to defend their people.

Arif Ejaz Majeed, an engineering student from Kalyan near Mumbai in India, went missing from his home in May 2014. He was reported to have died in August near Mosul in Iraq.[83] In his fare-well letter, he wrote: "I cried when I saw you all sinning, smoking cigarettes, taking interest, watching TV, illegal sexual intercourse, living luxurious lives, intermingling of sexes, not praying, not growing beards. These things will lead to you burning in the hell-fire."[84] He had harsh words, in particular, for his sister, and female cousins, who all watched television, which he saw as "a professional way to ensure nudity, lewdness, obscenity and disbelief prevail. It is a major sin. In it is music, which is an instrument of Satan…"[85] "O Mother," he concluded, "the sun is setting in the backyard of our house, behind the mountain and I have told my friend that we will meet there for our greatest journey. It is a blessed journey for me because I don't want to live in this sinful country. At the time of my death, the angel of death will ask me why I did not make *hijra* (migrate) to Allah's land, which is spacious."[86] "He was a good boy," Arif's deeply aggrieved father reports, "He was very religious, never spent time in bad company, never chased after girls, never seemed attracted to violence."[87]

When reading this letter, I find myself wishing that Arif had found a Mandela-inspired path out of his feelings of humiliation. Although we may applaud that women's sexuality is no longer a taboo subject in Western culture, we may question whether the sexualization of women's bodies in Western culture is indeed liberating.[88] Mary Roach asks: When did sex research shift from prudish to freewheeling to corporate-controlled? How did this happen, and

why?[89] "This is also the question I ask myself when I walk by newsstands that bruise my soul with the glossed-up pictures of naked female skin for the sake of the male portemonnaie."[90]

A tragic mix of dignity and honor might also provide the backdrop for general demoralization. Peace researcher Johan Galtung offers the following analysis for the increase in collective shootings all over the United States of America, geographically and socially, in addition to the usual homicides and suicides:

> The standard analysis is to psychiatrize the murderer, searching for a profile and its likes in society to prevent more shootings. Another approach would focus on the shootings as a collective, slow suicide of a US incapable of solving its countless problems, even addressing them, to the point that people simply give a damn, kill what they see as the problem including, often, themselves. General demoralization has such consequences, like the suicide epidemic at the end of the Austrian-Hungarian empire and beyond, lasting to our days. [91]

As mentioned earlier, not only terrorist-warriors use the dominator model as their script; it has also largely been applied in so-called counter-terrorism efforts. Former South African President and human rights icon Nelson Mandela, for instance, was on the US terror watch list till 2008, and "a decade spent fighting and funding, with over $1 trillion, the Global War on Terror destabilized the world and left us more vulnerable."[92]

As it seems, the *Realpolitik* tools of the dominator model no longer work in a globalizing world informed by human rights ideals.

Global perspectives

The medical approach to health is that of diagnosis, prognosis, and therapy. In my doctoral dissertation, I applied this approach to the psychology of humiliation, when I examined the dynamics of humiliation in Somalia and Rwanda-Burundi, on the background of Nazi Germany.[93] Also Johan Galtung leans on health studies in his work: diagnosing the empirical, factual, objective, and observable is followed by prognosis, which means making critical, future projections based on the past, and, finally, the most future-oriented activity is the design of therapy, a value-oriented creation of the future. Like in medicine, architecture, and engineering, the criterion of being scientific is *practicality*, or the question of "does it work?"[94]

The big question of our present time is: Does it work to sit together in partnership and create totally different constitutive rules of engagement for humankind on Earth? What do our engineers say? Sigurd Støren is professor emeritus of Metal Forming and Ecodesign at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway. Støren's work is exemplary and needs to inspire others to follow him, as he was an active contributor in the establishment of a study program in Industrial Design and in Industrial Ecology, both multidisciplinary fields for bridging the gap between natural science, engineering sciences, social science and life sciences. He has formed the Group of Integral Design at NTNU in 2010, for "Integral Design for a Sustainable Society and Dignified Living."

First, to the diagnosis of our present state of the world: industrial-scale use of chemical pesticides, herbicides and fertilizers; food production as a branch of global industry; increasing reliance on fossil fuels and accelerating climate change; the transformation of fresh water into a depleting resource and the mass extinction of other life forms.[95] In 2014, The UN refugee agency UNHCR reports that the number of refugees, asylum-seekers, and internally displaced people worldwide has, for the first time in the post-World War II era, exceeded 50

million people, close to the Second World War, when the number of refugees was estimated at 55 million.[96] As noted above, direct violence is not the only problem, without equity there is more inequality and more structural violence, "killing even more."[97] My conclusion is that the beginning of the 21st century will once be described as a dark age, dark not because of terrorism, but because of its unsustainable social and ecological arrangements that first seed terror and then perilously under-estimate and over-estimate terrorism.

What is the prognosis? Can we technologize our way out of our ecological crises? Can we dignify our way out of our social crises? Will we be able to radically change our behavior? Will we, for instance, fight less, and consume less? Stephen Emmott, professor of computational science at the University of Oxford, offers the following prognosis: "The problem is us … We urgently need to do – and I mean actually do – something radical to avert a global catastrophe. But I don't think we will. I think we're fucked."[98] Also the Schumacher Center's founding President, Robert Swann, identifies an unjust and unsustainable economic system as the root cause of war, and therefore as first candidate for radical change: "Our Earth is in crisis; our communities are in crisis. At the heart of these twin issues is an economic system that treats land, air, water, and minerals – our common inheritance – as commodities to be bought and sold on the market. An economic system distributes the income from that inheritance to a relatively few 'owners,' whose wealth increases disproportionately as a result, leading to social disruption."[99]

A slightly different prognosis is given by Danny Dorling, professor of geography at the University of Sheffield, who calls his position *practical possibilism* in resonance with Hans Rosling, Swedish professor of international health and development.[100] For Dorling, Emmott "is the embodiment of angry pessimism." But Dorling distances himself also from "rational optimists" such as science writer Matt Ridley, whose attitude he labels as "greed will prevail."[101] Ridley stands for the view that business-as-usual will be a successful path into a dignified future. Yet, even Ridley has a caveat, namely, the human propensity for hostility: "generally speaking the more cooperative a species is within groups, the more hostility there is between groups"[102] This propensity for hostility constitutes a far greater danger than climate change, the exhaustion of raw materials or any other disaster scenario.[103]

In conclusion, even the most ardent optimist, like Matt Ridley, acknowledges that global cooperation is what is most needed and least likely. This coincides with my analysis that humiliation is becoming a factor that is much more salient than before and needs to be taken into account in radically new ways. A dangerous expectation gap opens up when people get into ever closer connections, while hearing the human rights message that all humans belong to one single family where all members deserve respect for equal dignity. When respect is expected, while disrespect is harvested, a dangerous humiliation gap opens and dignity humiliation raises its head as an unprecedented strong force.[104] So far, the world has too few Mandelas, and this gap only leads down the familiar path of violence for domination rather than that of dialogue for partnership.

The therapy must therefore entail more attention to the salience of the dynamics of humiliation, more attention to their prevention and healing, and more attention to building dignified and dignifying ways of global cooperation.

Physicist Paul Raskin is the founding director of the Tellus Institute, which has conducted research and policy projects throughout the world on environmental issues. He is the lead author on the National Academy of Science's Board on Sustainability, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, UNEP's Global Environmental Outlook, and the Earth Charter. Twelve years ago, in 2002, he published a seminal text on the Great Transition.[105] Now, in 2014, he recalls the considerable optimism that was in the air after the Brundtland Report came out in 1987.[106] The idea of sustainability gained a foothold in policy and academic circles, yet, at the same time, a neoliberal political-economic philosophy consolidated in

centers of power and unleashed a highly unsustainable form of market-led globalization. "The world became rich in sustainability action plans…, but poor in meaningful action. Science could illuminate the challenges and civil action could win this or that battle, but systemic deterioration outpaced piecemeal progress."[107] By 2012, the Rio+20 Summit ended a quarter century of the decline of hope."[108] Raskin calls for pragmatic hope, beyond naïve optimism or dystopian despair. "There's something fundamentally new on the face of the earth: a superordinate planetary place circumscribing a world of many places."[109] Raskin concludes:

> The signature feature of the Planetary Phase – the enmeshment of all in the overarching proto-country, Earth – suggests an answer. The natural change agent for a Great Transition would be a vast and inclusive movement of global citizens. The world now needs citizens without borders to come together for a planetary community… The challenge is extraordinary, but so are the times. In transformative moments, small actions can have large consequences. The efforts of an active minority can ripple through the cultural field and release latent potential for social change.[110]

Here we are back to humiliation. Feelings of humiliation and their consequences may be so strong that they override and undermine otherwise "benign" tendencies, in a downward spiral. The destructive nature of the dynamics of humiliation becomes the more visible the more the other parameters veer to the benign side.[111] It is likely that the near future may bring, not *clashes of civilizations*,[112] but ever more *clashes of humiliation*. As discussed above, based on many years of research on humiliation, I suggest that feelings of humiliation come about when deprivation is perceived as an illegitimate imposition of lowering or degradation, a degradation that cannot be explained in constructive terms. All human beings basically yearn for recognition and respect. When they perceive that recognition and respect are withdrawn or denied they may feel humiliation, the strongest force for creating rifts and destroying relationships. It does not matter whether this withdrawal of recognition is real or misread, as the reaction will become a fact. The desire for recognition unites human beings and thereby provides a platform for contact and cooperation. Ethnic, religious, or cultural differences or conflicts of interests can lead to creative cooperation and problem solving, and diversity can be a source of mutual enrichment, but only when relationships are characterized by respect. When respect and recognition fail, those who feel victimized are prone to highlight differences to "justify" rifts caused by humiliation. Clashes of civilizations can be nurtured into global unity in diversity, but only if clashes of humiliation are avoided and healed.[113]

Robert Jay Lifton uses terms such as *swerve*, *stranded*, and *ethical passion* to describe the status of the paradigm shift that needs to be nurtured intentionally now.[114] A new ethical passion, new emotions of individual conscience need to be pooled into a shared narrative by enormous numbers of people. Lifton reflects on the swerve in awareness that unfolded with regard to the nuclear threat, and how it now emerges also with respect to climate threats: "People came to feel that it was deeply wrong, perhaps evil, to engage in nuclear war, and are coming to an awareness that it is deeply wrong, perhaps evil, to destroy our habitat and create a legacy of suffering for our children and grandchildren." "Stranded assets" are the oil, coal and gas reserves that are still in the ground, trillions of dollars in assets, which should remain "stranded" in the ground or else contribute to the demise of the human habitat. "Stranded ethics" are shareholder-dominated principles that are better left behind to be buried as well, albeit at present still too active. I am a global witness of the terror emanating from the shareholder-dominated principles; I have seen activists disappear at the hands of state actors and non-state actors, activists who wished to protect dignity in the social as well as ecological realm.[115]

The image of the Blue Planet from the astronaut's perspective summarizes the window of opportunity that opens for humankind to embark on dignifying their future, it publicizes and symbolizes it. Having escaped nuclear annihilation during the Cold War, the new threat is just as global, human-made, and potentially lethal. A sense of emergency befits humankind now, so as to truly see and use this historically unique window of opportunity that may not remain open for long. The Blue Planet image provides a powerful frame for collaboration. None of our forefathers was able to see anything comparable. None of our predecessors was able to fathom in the same way as present-day *Homo sapiens* that we are one single family living on one tiny planet. None of our founders of religions, philosophies, or empires had access to the vast amount of knowledge about the universe and our place in it that we possess today.

Indignez vous! Cry Out! This is the voice of Stéphane Frédéric Hessel, a French wartime resistance hero, born in 1917. In the 1940s, he cried out against Nazism. Today, he calls on people to "cry out against the complicity between politicians and economic and financial powers" and to "defend our democratic rights." Necessary conflict needs to be addressed rather than neglected, and this must be done in dignified ways, without humiliating the humiliators. This insight can be institutionalized at the societal level. In his book *The Decent Society*, Avishai Margalit calls for institutions that do not humiliate.[116]

What is needed today is a *decent global society*. Only then can the motto of the security dilemma, "If you want peace, prepare for war," be replaced by Gandhi's tenet, "There is no path to peace. Peace is the path."

This is precisely the path of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies (HumanDHS),[117] of which I am the founding president. It is a global transdisciplinary fellowship of concerned academics, practitioners, activists, artists, and others, who collaborate in a spirit of mutual support to understand the complex dynamics of dignity and humiliation. We wish to stimulate systemic change — globally and locally — to open space for mutual respect and esteem to take root and grow, thus ending humiliating practices and breaking cycles of humiliation throughout the world. We do our best to cultivate a relational climate characterized by mutual dignity, walking the talk, and mutual growth. For more than a decade, our relational approach has not only been sustainable, it has offered a new model of collaborative action, a *replenishing relational-organizational climate* that is constantly evolving and growing with — rather than at the expense of — the people involved.[118]

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[1] Jasper, 2011: p. 290.

[2] "8 Terrifying Life Lessons from a Former Terrorist," by Robert Evans interviewing Shane Paul O'Doherty, a former IRA bomber turned pacifist, July 28, 2014, www.cracked.com/article_21472_8-terrifying-life-lessons-from-former-terrorist.html#ixzz39zHCcBSR.

[3] Nrugham, 2010.

[4] Lindner, 2001.

[5] Otten and Jonas, 2013.

[6] Lindner, 2006, pp. 79–80.

[7] Lindner, 2006, p. xiv.

[8] See, among others, Sayler, 2004, Giacaman, Abu-Rmeileh, Husseini, Sasb and Boyce, 2007, Elison and Harter, 2007, Walker and Knauer, 2011, Leidner, Sheikh and Ginges, 2012, and Torres and Bergner, 2012.

[9] Kendler, Hettema, Butera, Gardner and Prescott, 2003.

[10] David Cook is a historian at Rice University, Texas, U.S.A., who studies Muslim apocalypticism, see, among others, Cook, 2010. According to Muslim apocalypticism, the battles preceding the Day of Judgment will take place in modern Syria, with a final showdown in the year 1500 of the Islamic Hijra calendar, or A.D. 2076.

[11] Freire, 1968, 1970.

[12] "'Now Is the Time to Act,' UN Urges on Release of First Global Report on Suicide Prevention," *United Nations News Centre*, September 4, 2014, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=48637#.VAsGYmPittrt.

[13] According to U.S. Legal Definitions, "cyber-bullying… may go to the extent of personally identifying victims and publishing materials severely defaming and humiliating them," see http://definitions.uslegal.com/c/cyber-bullying/.

[14] The victimization by peers in children and adolescents is associated with higher rates of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts, whereby cyber-bullying has a stronger impact than traditional bullying, see van Geel, Vedder and Tanilon, 2014. See Borowsky, Taliaferro and McMorris, 2013 for statistics: 22% of frequent perpetrators only, 29% of frequent victims only, and 38% of frequent bully-victims reported suicidal thinking or a suicide attempt during the past year, with other environmental risk factors and risk behaviors also associated with suicidal thinking and behavior among youth involved in bullying. There is a strong association between bullying and suicide-related behaviors, but this relationship is often mediated by other factors, including depression and delinquency, see Hertz, Donato and Wright, 2013. Youth victimized by their peers were 2.4 times more likely to report suicidal ideation and 3.3 times more likely to report a suicide attempt than youth who reported not being bullied, and students who are both bullied and engage in bullying behavior are the highest risk group for adverse outcomes, say Holt and Espelage, 2012. See an overview on the website of the Megan Meier Foundation at www.meganmeierfoundation.org/statistics.html.

[15] Joshi, 2014, Abstract.

[16] Larkin, 2009, Abstract.

[17] Mack and Human Security Report Project, 2013, pp. 18-19. See for early studiesMueller, 1996, Lynn-Jones and Miller, 1993, Gurr, 2000, Marshall, Gurr and Khosla, 2001, Gleditsch, Wallensteen, Eriksson, Sollenberg and Strand, 2002, Lacina and Gleditsch, 2005.

[18] "Books That Deserve a List of Their Own," by Gregg Easterbrook, *Reuters*, December 1, 2011, http://blogs.reuters.com/gregg-easterbrook/2011/12/01/books-that-deserve-a-list-of-their-own/.

[19] Mack and Nielsen, 2010.

[20] Goldstein, 2011.

[21] Hegre, Karlsen, Nygård, Strand and Urdal, 2012.

[22] See http://maplecroft.com/portfolio/new-analysis/2014/06/18/new-maplecroft-terrorism-security-dashboard-enhanced-global-threat-analysis-and-dynamic-risk-mapping/.

[23] The term *structural violence* was introduced by Johan Galtung, 1969.

[24] Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac and Keshavjee, 2006.

[25] Høivik, 1977.

[26] Krause, Muggah and Gilgen, 2011.

[27] "Uniting for Peace, Building Sustainable Peace through Universal Values at the Centenary of World War I–Criminalizing War," by Johan Galtung, August 18, 2014, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Keynote, 25th International Peace Research Association Conference, Istanbul, Turkey, August 11-14, 2014, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/08/uniting-for-peace-building-sustainable-peace-through-universal-values-at-the-centenary-of-world-war-i-criminalizing-war/.

[28] See more on structural humiliation in Lindner, 2008b.

[29] Neumann, 2008b. See also Neumann, 2008a, 2009, 2010, Neumann and Smith, 2008, Neumann, Stoil and Esfandiary, 2008. The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), http://icsr.info/.

[30] Rock, 2005.

[31] "Archaeologists studying the rise of farming have reconstructed a crucial stage at which we made the worst mistake in human history. Forced to choose between limiting population or trying to increase food production, we chose the latter and ended up with starvation, warfare, and tyranny," "The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race," by Jared Diamond, *Discover Magazine*, May 1987, pp. 64-66, www.ditext.com/diamond/mistake.html. See also Hemenway, 2009, and "Is Sustainable Agriculture an Oxymoron?" Toby Hemenway, *Permaculture Activist*, number 60, May, 2006, www.patternliteracy.com/203-is-sustainable-agriculture-an-oxymoron.

[32] Anthropologist Robert Carneiro is the "father" of circumscription theory. See Carneiro, 1988, and Carneiro, 2012.

[33] Ury, 1999, p. 108.

[34] See Herz, 1950. Under the conditions of the security dilemma, the Hobbesian fear of surprise attacks from outside one's nation's borders reigns. Barry Posen and Russell Hardin discuss these emotional aspects of the security dilemma and how they play out between ethnic groups as much as between states, see Posen, 1993, and Hardin, 1995.

[35] Lindner, 2000b.

[36] Eisler, 1987. See her most recent book Eisler, 2007.

[37] Lindner, 2010.

[38] Lindner, 2006, pp. 28–29. See also Smith, 2001, whom I thank for coining the words conquest/relegation/reinforcement/inclusion humiliation.

[39] Wallerstein, 1974.

[40] Lindner, 2012a, pp. 45–46.

[41] Victoria C. Fontan at the 2nd Annual Conference of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies, September 12–13, 2003, at the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme de l'Homme, in Paris; see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting02.php. Fontan discusses *sharaf*, *ihtiram*, and *ird* also in chapter 1 in Fontan, 2008. See also Johnson, 2001. Victoria Fontan hosted the 7th Annual Conference of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies, September 6–9, 2006, at the United Nations-mandated University for Peace in San José, Costa Rica; see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/annualmeeting07.php.

[42] Fontan, 2001, p. 7. See also Al-Khayyat, 1990.

[43] Karamah: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights, 2008.

[44] *Women on the Frontline*, by Television for Education—Asia Pacific, www.tveap.org/index.php?q=film_details.php&id=W019/W021/W023/W025/W027/W029/W031.

[45] "'Legitimate rape' Rarely Leads to Pregnancy, Claims US Senate Candidate," by Matt Williams, *The Guardian*, August 19, 2012, www.theguardian.com/world/2012/aug/19/republican-todd-akin-rape-pregnancy.

[46] Fontan, 2001, p. 7. Honor killings have been reported in Bangladesh, Britain, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Sweden, Turkey, and Uganda; see Nebehay, 2000. There is a vast amount of literature addressing honor killing.

[47] Another mechanism may be the so-called *correspondence bias,* meaning that there is a human propensity to believe that others do what they do because they believe in it; the human mind has a tendency to overlook that others might have been forced by external circumstances to act against their will. See, among others, Gilbert, 1998, and Gawronski, 2004, Gawronski and Bodenhausen, 2006.

[48] Jones, 2006. James Jones is professor of World Religions and African Studies in New York.

[49] I was given accounts of public rape and their effects in the course of my doctoral research in Somaliland, see Lindner, 2000c.

[50] "India's Feudal Rapists," by Amana Fontanella-Khan, *New York Times*, June 4, 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/06/05/opinion/indias-feudal-rapists.html?_r=0.

[51] Latha Nrugham, in a personal communication, August 29, 2014.

[52] Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus and Reeve, 2004.

[53] "The Climate Swerve," by Robert Jay Lifton, New York Times, August 23, 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/08/24/opinion/sunday/the-climate-swerve.html?_r=0. I thank Karen Hirsch for making me aware of Lifton's article.

[54] Kagan, 1998.

[55] Lindner, 2000c, p. 108–109.

[56] "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies, Forces, and Resources For a New Century," A report of the Project for the New American Century, September 2000, www.informationclearinghouse.info/pdf/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf. See also Brzezinski, 1997.

[57] Halper and Clarke, 2004, pp. 74, 99.

[58] "ISIS atrocities and US imperialism," by Patrick Martin, *World Socialist Web Site (WSWS),* September 4, 2014, www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/09/04/pers-s04.html. See also Engdahl, 2012.

[59] Goethe, 1827.

[60] "For Many Iranians, the 'Evidence' Is Clear: ISIS Is an American Invention," by Thomas Erdbrink, *New York Times*, September 10, 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/09/11/world/middleeast/isis-many-in-iran-believe-is-an-american-invention.html?_r=1.

[61] "Republicans Urge Airstrikes in Syria to Defeat ISIS," by Leigh Ann Caldwell, *CNN*, August 24, 2014, http://edition.cnn.com/2014/08/24/politics/republicans-urge-airstrikes-in-syria/.

[62] "Iraq crisis: How Saudi Arabia helped Isis take over the north of the country," by Patrick Cockburn, *The Independent*, July 13, 2014, www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/iraq-crisis-how-saudi-arabia-helped-isis-take-over-the-north-of-the-country-9602312.html.

[63] Ury, 1999, p. xvii.

[64] Lindner, 2014a.

[65] "Why Is the Military-Industrial Complex Sometimes Called 'The Devil's Dynamo?'" by John Scales Avery, June 30, 2014, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/06/the-devils-dynamo/.

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

[67] Pettit, 1997.

[68] Fuller, 2003.

[69] See also Lindner, 2000a.

[70] Lindner, 2008a, p. 35.

[71] *Banaz: A Love Story*, directed by Deeyah Khan, 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=VepuyvhHYdM.

[72] Lindner, 2010, p. 86.

[73] Sageman, 2009. See also Lakhani, 2013.

[74] Nisbett and Cohen, 1996

[75] On 22 July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik bombed government buildings in Oslo, Norway, where eight people died, then killing 69 more people, mostly teenagers, in a mass shooting.

[76] As far as Indonesia, young men are inspired by the *hadiths* that state that the final war for control of the world will start in Syria, see Jones, 2014.

[77] "Jihadist Groups Around the World," by Frank Gardner, *BBC News Middle East*, June 19, 2014, www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27930414. See also Cook, 2010.

[78] Eisenberger and Lieberman, 2005, p. 110.

[79] "Images of Islam in the UK: The Representation of British Muslims in the National Print News Media 2000–2008," by Kerry Moore, Paul Mason and Justin Lewis,

Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, July 7, 2008, www.cardiff.ac.uk/jomec/resources/08channel4-dispatches.pdf, p. 3.

[80] Research on mirror neurons is a new field. In September 2012, the first Mirror Neurons: New Frontiers Summit took place in Erice, Sicily, Italy. An overview is given in "What's So Special about Mirror Neurons?" by Ben Thomas, guest blog in the Scientific American, November 6, 2012, http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/guest-blog/2012/11/06/whats-so-special-about-mirror-neurons/. Christian Keysers was a leading investigator in Parma in the research group that made the original discovery of mirror neurons from 2000 till 2004, see his recent book Keysers, 2011. See also Bråten, 2013. See for a critical appraisal, Hickok, 2014.

[81] See also Lindner, Pick, Speckhard and Jacuch, 2009.

[82] Lindner, 2006, pp. 113–114.

[83] "Missing Mumbai Youth from Kalyan Reported Killed in Iraq," by Gautam Sandip Mengle, Deepak Joshi, Zeeshan Shaikh, The Indian Express, August 27, 2014, http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/missing-mumbai-youth-believed-killed-in-iraq/99/.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] See, among others, Brod, O'Toole and Schiffman, 1997. See also Collier and Horowitz, 1989.

[89] Roach, 2008. See also the life work of feminist, sociologist and political activist Barbara Ehrenreich.

[90] Lindner, 2010, p. 105.

[91] "The Fall of the US Empire-And Then What?" editorial by Johan Galtung,, September 1, 2014, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/09/the-fall-of-the-us-empire-and-then-what/.

[92] "Reclaiming and Using Terror," by Veena Trehan, *Nation of Change*, December 14, 2013, www.nationofchange.org/reclaiming-and-using-terror-1387037263. I thank Anthony Marsella for making me aware of this article.

[93] Lindner, 2000c.

[94] Galtung, 2002, p. 17.

[95] Since I wrote the book *A Dignity Economy* in 2012, the topic of inequality has become ever more prominent. When I wrote my book, everybody told me about Richard Wilkinson's and Kate Pickett's work. See, among others, Wilkinson, 2005 and Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009. See also www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYDzA9hKCNQ. See, furthermore, the Equality Trust at www.equalitytrust.org.uk. Since then, more names have come to the fore, such as Thomas Piketty, 2014.

[96] "World Refugee Day: Global Forced Displacement Tops 50 million for First Time in Post-World War II Era," UNHCR News Stories, June 20, 2014, www.unhcr.org/53a155bc6.html.

[97] "Uniting for Peace, Building Sustainable Peace through Universal Values at the Centenary of World War I–Criminalizing War," by Johan Galtung, August 18, 2014, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Keynote, 25th International Peace Research Association Conference, Istanbul, Turkey, August 11-14, 2014, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/08/uniting-for-peace-building-sustainable-peace-through-universal-values-at-the-centenary-of-world-war-i-criminalizing-war/.

[98] Emmott, 2013.

[99] "War and Peace, Climate Change & Citizen Responses," personal communication from the Schumacher Center for a New Economics, September 9, 2014, http://us5.campaign-archive2.com/?u=69d509d113032e3126c4543ce&id=3dfa2a710e&e=5017fb4435.

[100] Dorling, 2013.

[101] "Crowded planet," review by Clive Cookson, *The Financial Times*, July 12, 2013, www.ft.com/cms/s/2/a7e5ba20-e7e4-11e2-9aad-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Cq4fyzJ8. See Ridley, 2010.

[102] Ridley, 2010, p. 88.

[103] "The Rational Optimist," review by Samuel Brittan, *The Financial Times,* June 12, 2010, www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/2/b2cbb506-74de-11df-aed7-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Cq4fyzJ8.

[104] Lindner, 2007.

[105] Raskin, Banuri, Gallopín, Gutman, Hammond, Kates and Swart, 2002.

[106] World Commission on Environment and Development and Brundtland, 1987.

[107] Raskin, 2014, p. 4. I was invited to Rio-20, but chose to organize an alternative week in Amazonia, see www.humiliationstudies.org/whoweare/videos.php#riosamazon.

[108] Raskin, 2014, p. 4.

[109] Raskin, 2014, p. 4–5.

[110] Raskin, 2014, p. 7.

[111] Lindner, 2000c, p. 439, and Lindner, 2006, p. 48.

[112] Huntington, 1996.

[113] Lindner, Montiel and Noor, 2009.

[114] "The Climate Swerve," by Robert Jay Lifton, New York Times, August 23, 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/08/24/opinion/sunday/the-climate-swerve.html?_r=0. I thank Karen Hirsch for making me aware of Lifton's article.

[115] See, among others, Lindner, 2012b, and Lindner, 2014b.

[116] Margalit, 1996.

[117] Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies (HumanDHS), www.humiliationstudies.org.

[118] Lindner, Hartling, Spalthoff and Britton, 2012.