Unity in Diversity

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Biocultural diversity: A checklist
by peace linguist Francisco Gomes de Matos, Recife, 20th December 2017
Does biocultural diversity help...
beautify/fortify Humanity? How?
dignify/edify Humanity? How?
educate/elevate Humanity? How?
enhance/advance Humanity? How?
humanise/ spiritualise Humanity? How?
nurture humility/simplicity? How?
pacify/gratify Humanity? How?
support/sustain Humanity? How?
tranquilise/ harmonise Humanity? How?

At the current point in time, the dominant overarching integrative narrative in most parts of the world is 'search for happiness through material acquisitions'.[1] In a situation, where the scramble for material acquisitions depletes the world and causes ecocide and sociocide, what should become the next overarching narrative for humanity? Society is a complex system and it is viable and vigorous only when it succeeds in being both differentiated and integrated — when it unifies diversity. This insight has the potential to guide the next narrative, one that transforms unity *versus* diversity into unity *in* diversity.

The two prongs of unity and diversity are both essential and complementary.[2] The tension between the Many and the One extends across the entire range of human thinking, explains cognitive scientist Bruce Schuman.[3] This tension can be expressed in mathematical form, we can easily detect it wherever it appears because the term *versus* signals it. Schuman believes that if humankind is to succeed with the radical transition that is needed now, then the core challenge is to accept this tension and envision its endless practical implications: unity must not become uniformity and diversity not division. Schuman thinks that the way to go is to look for and revive all available ancient wisdom for how to balance this tension.

Transforming 'unity *versus* diversity' into 'unity *in* diversity' will not be easy. The list of conventional dichotomies waiting to be bridged is long: religious versus secular, right versus left, capitalist versus communist, Eastern versus Western, industrial versus pre- or post-industrial, realism versus idealism, altruism versus egoism, self-interest versus common interest, collectivism versus individualism, big versus small government, visible hand versus 'invisible hand', women versus men, globalisation versus localisation, and so on.

When I lived in Japan, I was introduced to the work of intercultural communication scholar Muneo Yoshikawa, who brings together Western and Eastern thought into his non-dualistic *double swing model*, graphically visualised as the infinity symbol, or Möbius strip ∞. Unity is created out of the realisation of differences, and in that way, individuals, cultures, and intercultural concepts can blend in constructive ways.[4] Yoshikawa draws on Martin Buber's idea of *dialogical unity* — the act of meeting between two different beings without eliminating the otherness or uniqueness of each — an idea that is in harmony with the ideal of equal dignity as enshrined in many religions around the world, as well as in human rights ideals. Yoshikawa connected these insights with the notion of *soku*, the Buddhist non-dualistic logic of 'not-one, not-two', or the twofold movement between the self and the other that allows for both unity and uniqueness.[5] Yoshikawa calls the unity that is created out of the realisation of differences *identity in unity*: dialogical unity does not eliminate the tension between basic potential unity and apparent duality.[6] Yoshikawa's model includes also a third element, namely, an emphasis on the processual, relational, and contradictory nature of intercultural communication.[7]

All strategies that transcend the either-or dichotomy use the concept of *non-dualism* that has strong roots in Asia.[8] Philosophy of mind is a wide field, yet, for the most part it can be defined as the study of the ontology or 'nature' of the mind, of mental events, mental functions, mental properties, consciousness, and their relationships to the physical body. The dominant Western orientation during its expansion throughout the past centuries has been *dualism*, a metaphysics that holds that ultimately there are two kinds of substance, and René Descartes' mind-body dichotomy is perhaps its most widely known form. Dualism is to be distinguished from *pluralism*, which claims that ultimately there are many kinds of substances, as well as from *monism*, which is the metaphysical and theological view that all is one, either only the mental — *idealism* — or only the physical — *materialism* and *physicalism*. Finally, there are philosophies that refuse to get involved in answering questions about how many kinds of substance there are.

Africa has a tradition of non-dualism as well. The African *ubuntu* philosophy for living together and solving conflicts in an atmosphere of shared and dignified humility stipulates that 'we are two, and we are one, and this at the same time'.[9] Non-dualism means separation *and* connection, agreement *and* disagreement, one *and* two. Competency in non-dualistic thinking is essential for grasping the value of unity in diversity and make it a synergistic 'win-win game', to understand that unity is not the same as oppressive uniformity, and diversity is not the same as unrestricted freedom for divisiveness. Unity *and* diversity can grow together if kept in mutual balance and nurtured and celebrated simultaneously. Linda Hartling formulates it as follows: 'Unity and diversity in balance provides for the growth and participation of all involved, though people grow and participate in different ways'.[10]

Balancing the One and the Many, binding the *either-or* dichotomy together with an *and*, differentiating while integrating, and thus creating unity in diversity, this is an inextricable part of all life, it is a pillar of evolution, as symbiosis (mutually beneficial relationships) depends on diversity.[11] *Holarchy*[12] or regulatory pyramids[13] is a model from brain research that describes how the human brain embeds subordinate loops into superordinate loops.[14] In legal thought, we find notions such as legal pluralism, complementarity, and qualified deference.[15] Sociologist Max Weber's notion of *ideal types* operates with the idea of layers,[16] and also in political anthropology, the formalist versus substantivist debate can be solved by applying layers.[17] In my work, I use layered approaches as well, for example, when I conceptualise the notion of humiliation in layers, or even when I organise my own personal identity (see more in my personal note further down). When we face cases of moral collisions, only maintaining a

'precarious equilibrium' can help us avoid 'desperate situations' and 'intolerable choices', teaches also philosopher Isaiah Berlin,[18] for him, decency and dignity were 'two commensurable values with overlapping intrinsic qualities'.[19]

I appreciate the visualisations that the image of a lying eight ∞ enables. For instance, when we look at the master-slave dyad, be it the one that constitutes honour-based hierarchies or the one created through consumerism-based exploitation, we may say that it is best described as a vertically standing eight rather than a horizontal eight. When the downtrodden rise up to manifest a world of equal dignity for all, they try to turn the eight from a vertical into a horizontal position. When the downtrodden want to become the new masters, they break the bond between the two circles of the eight to bring the two sides into mutual hostility as equal opponents in competition for dominance. In many present-day Western societies atomisation has reached a point where even the connectivity of mutual hostiliy is lost and disconnected individuals float aimlessly, equal but lonely, feverishly trying to brand themselves according to the rules of global uniformity. The 'McDonaldisation' of the world creates cultural uniformity to the point that there is only one circle of the eight left so to speak, filled with narcissistic loners, and this is the context in which dignity is defined as autonomy. This situation can be so painful that even the connectivity offered by mutual hostility is experienced as relief, which, in turn, is instrumentalised by humiliation entrepreneurs and creates polarised societies. My definition of dignity is that all sides are at an equal level and hold each other by their hands in loving solidarity.

Non-dualism is not a preserve of Asia or Africa. Even though current political events seem to contravene the realisation of this ideal in the U.S.,[20] this ideal still remains present, for instance, in the motto on the Great Seal of the United States, *E pluribus unum*, Latin for 'out of many, one'.[21] The Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle, has in 2001 assembled recommendations for the United States titled *Diversity within unity: Essential principles for teaching and learning in a multicultural society*, and there we read, '*E pluribus unum* diversity within unity is the delicate goal toward which our nation and its schools should strive'.[22] Diversity within unity is also what sociologist Amitai Etzioni sees as the only societal design that can solve the tension between the rights of members of minorities and the particularistic values of a national community, as diversity within unity 'assumes that all citizens will embrace a core of values while being welcomed to follow their own subcultures on other matters'.[23]

As a path to nurturing more unity and at the same time allow for more diversity in the world, I recommend studying many (in principle all) human cultures and 'harvesting' all the cultural worldviews, practices, and social-psychological skills that have unifying and dignifying effects.[24] All continents offer harvest. Catherine Odora Hoppers is the former Chair of Development Education at the University of South Africa, and she speaks of 'transformation by enlargement for the academy', enlargement through including *indigenous knowledge systems*.[25]

The Quechua phrases *Sumak Kawsay* and *Alli Kawsay*,[26] together with similar terms in other indigenous Latin American languages, cannot truly be translated into English because they describe a concept that is 'foreign to Western logic'.[27] *Living Well* is an approximate translation, or the Spanish *Buen-Vivir* and *Vivir Bien*, denoting an indigenous social system that focusses on reciprocity between people and Earth.[28] Ecuador's 2008 Constitution is one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world insofar as it is the first to enshrine the rights of nature, 'the principles of harmony with nature and of reciprocity followed since times immemorial by the indigenous peoples'.[29]

The year 2014 was the last year of the United Nations Decade for Indigenous Peoples, and on that occasion, global dignity advocate Kjell Skyllstad warned, 'We cannot ignore what amounts to genocide in our continued contribution to the eradication of the peoples who contain the key to our own survival'.[30] In 2016, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on the rights of indigenous peoples, stressing the urgent need to preserve, promote, and revitalise endangered languages, and it proclaimed 2019 as the International Year of Indigenous Languages, inviting UNESCO to 'serve as the lead agency for the Year'.[31] *Dignity* is the title of a book that documents indigenous people in photography.[32]

The field of indigenous psychology is on a similar path.[33] From the point of view of indigenous psychologists, current dominant Western thinking in psychology is doubly misleading insofar as it subscribes to a decontextualised vision and an extreme focus on individualism, mechanism, and objectivity.[34] Indigenous psychologists therefore invite mainstream psychologists to muster the self-reflexivity of competent multiculturalism and see themselves as what they are, namely, adherents of an indigenous psychology that is rooted in the historical and cultural context of Europe and North America.[35] The view from *nowhere* that natural sciences claim must change into local views from *somewhere*[36] — only a synergy of multiculturalism and internationalism can help bring together local constructions of meaning and global consciousness, so that all can draw on multiple *somewheres* and arrive at shared visions and goals.[37]

While I call for harvesting from all world cultural heritages,[38] I take great care to avoid romanticising 'the indigenous'. I appreciate the warnings from a psychologist in India who laments that it is 'great for the West to just box us in spirituality, Ayurveda and yoga *alone*', as this helps in making it esoteric, finding useful cultural 'samples' for cross cultural psychology, 'appropriating when suitable, monetising it, and caricaturing it, when not suitable'.[39] Likewise, while the Chinese notion of harmony entails helpful concepts of connection,[40] we see also very sophisticated ways of punishment and torture being developed in China, warns indigenous psychologist Louise Sundararajan: 'No population in its entirety embodies one particular way of knowing'.[41] Rather than using the phrase 'indigenous knowledge', it may be more appropriate to say 'knowledge systems of indigenous populations'.[42]

Again, maintaining unity in diversity is a balancing act that requires high degrees of cognitive sophistication, interpersonal sagacity, and dignifying communication skills. The first hurdle to overcome is the misconception that unity in diversity is a zero-sum game, meaning that if one wants more unity, one has to sacrifice diversity, and vice versa. This misconception leads to thinking in narrow dualities, 'cosmopolitanism versus communalism, statism versus anarchism, and top-down versus bottom-up'.[43] This mental hurdle seems to be very high and I observe it often, particularly when I speak about unity in diversity in Western contexts, where people have great difficulties to grasp that both unity and diversity can be increased together, that it is far from a zero-sum game.

As for communication skills, what waits to be learned are skills of *waging good conflict*, as Linda Hartling's mentor, pioneer in women's psychology Jean Baker Miller, has called it. If it succeeds, the benefits are considerable, as the reward is a sense of *zest* that follows from engagement in mutually beneficial growth-fostering relationships that are characterised by:

- A sense of zest or well-being that comes from connecting with another person(s)
- An increased ability and motivation to take action in the relationship as well as in others situations

- Increased knowledge of oneself and the other person(s) and the relationship
- An increased sense of worth
- A desire for more connection beyond the particular one.[44]

The challenge, however, is not just dualities waiting to be transcended, also processual thinking needs to be embraced, the third ingredient in Yoshikawa's double swing model. Embracing processual thinking means going from clinging to fixities to moving in flux. William Stafford, son of Kim Stafford, both renowned peace poets from Oregon on the West Coast of the United States of America, would say, 'The river always finds the right way, if there is a way…'[45] Embracing processual thinking means leaving behind the expectation that fixity can or should exist for all solutions, it means accepting that the tension between unity and diversity can never be made permanent once and for all, and that all parties involved need to balance it in a never-ending process. Moreover, this balance needs to be achieved through dialogue rather than the threat of breakup and violence whenever the equilibrium is felt wanting. A 'power to' approach serves this aim better than a 'power over' approach, as the latter easily slides into abuse and oppression. Kim Stafford's story of the poet cited earlier describes the way, and author H. Jackson Brown reminds us that 'in the confrontation between the stream and the rock, the stream always wins — not by strength but by perseverance'.[46]

However, going with the flow can also be overdone, there is a 'too much' and a 'too little'. 'Only dead fish go with the flow' is a reminder.[47] Sometimes, firmly standing up is more important than simply 'standing by'. In sum, the art is to stand up in ways that make maximum use of the flow.[48]

Economist Paul Collier demonstrated dignifying communication skills when he engaged in conversations with his critics, for instance, of his book *Exodus*.[49] In this book, he warns that an overdose of non-Western immigration can diminish trust in Western host communities, that too much diversity may diminish unity, and he defends his position using a respectful and non-adversarial conversation style.[50]

If we look for geopolitical illustrations, North Korea seems to be one of the most difficult cases to address, while Scandinavia may serve as an uplifting example. North Korea's 'myth of Juche' makes its citizens believe that they are the 'cleanest' 'race' on Earth, and while some observers hope that North Korea's only aim is self-reliant communism, the North Korean nuclear programme may betray a more serious aim, namely, 'final victory' over rival South Korea.[51] North Koreans are therefore invited to join hands with the global community, relinquish wishing for splendid isolation or final victory, and become respected members in the concert of globally responsible actors.

On the other side of the spectrum we find Norway. The World Happiness Report typically ranks Norway at the top of the 'happiest' countries in the world,[52] and many identify as major cause for this happy outcome that Norwegians have applied a processual approach called *Fabian strategy*,[53] or *piecemeal social engineering*, as philosopher Karl Popper called it.[54] This approach refrains from rigid dogmaticism as it listens to all and silences none, it counts on respectful dialogue and allows for insights from science to enlighten political processes.[55]

The balance of unity in diversity succeeds if it is talked about continuously, without vilifying those who wish for their side to 'win', be it the side of unity or of diversity. Those who speak up for diversity need to make sure they do not create hostile division, and those who wish for unity must avoid creating oppressive uniformity. In an interconnected world everyone's hands are needed to join in, which means that also 'splendid isolation' is no alternative for those who wish

to escape from hostility or oppression. In a world where collective responsibility is to be shouldered, where free-riding needs to be contained, where the protection of our collective commons is at stake, new societal institutions wait to be created that systemically cultivate dignifying communication skills that allow for intelligent and creative adaptations to these tasks.

Many questions challenge the balance of unity in diversity

Intercultural psychologist Anthony Marsella admonishes us that 'cultural diversity is as important for human survival, adaptation, and adjustment, as biological diversity'.[56] The disciplines that need to be involved, he suggests, range from indigenous psychologies to primitive psychiatry, to ethno-psychiatry, cross-cultural psychiatry, trans-cultural psychiatry, folk psychiatry, cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, minority psychologies, cultural anthropology, psychological anthropology, culture and personality, cross-cultural counselling, and, finally, to medical sociology. Francisco Gomes de Matos chimes in and recommends the exploration of the field of ecolinguistics, as this field covers language diversity, language minorities, language endangerment, and the link between the loss of languages and the loss of species,[57] thus helping solve environmental problems through bringing to a wider attention the role of language and discourse in describing and concealing those problems.[58]

'Biological and cultural diversity: The inextricable, linked by language and politics', is the title of a chapter by Darrell Posey, scholar of traditional resource rights and the environment, ethics, and society:

> The integral (holistic) nature of knowledge systems has been shown to be linked to land and territory. Thus, it is impossible to discuss conservation of cultural and linguistic diversity without discussing the basic rights of local peoples and their self-determination and control over their own lands and resources. This, of course, makes future activities of linguistics, anthropologists, environmentalists, and others working with indigenous and local communities a profoundly political matter. And it implies that continued research into language and cultural diversity requires a more collaborative approach in which equitable partnerships evolve from mutual interest between researchers and local communities. The days of 'our' studying 'them' (with the added barb of 'before they become extinct') must be replaced with collaboration to conserve the biological, linguistic, and cultural diversity of the planet — before we all become extinct.[59]

A conference titled 'Forum 2019: Vanishing voices: Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage under threat in an urbanising world', took place in Bangkok in Thailand in March 2019. In honour of Kjell Skyllstad, a pioneer who looks back on ninety years of dignity work, allow me to share his early draft of aims and themes for presentations and panels:

- Encouraging citizens at all levels to engage in preserving their cultural heritage
- Raising awareness and reinforcing a sense of belonging to a common cultural space
- Developing research and action plans for preserving local languages and arts
- Mapping endangered cultural and arts venues and activities in urban communities

- Teaching local traditions and arts at all school levels for cultural continuity
- Promoting museums of cultural heritage
- Giving tribal and underprivileged people a voice
- Supporting vanishing vocal traditions towards upholding historical memory Initiating digitalisation of local historical and cultural archives
- Training marginalised groups in using technology and social media to actively engage with societies in upholding their traditions
- Building an atlas of endangered music traditions[60]

When we consider Kjell Skyllstad's list of themes, we become aware of the extent of the challenge to create enough unity in the world so that our diversity can be held and protected.

Many questions become pertinent when we look at the motto of unity in diversity: Who decides where unity ends and diversity begins? What happens when diversity divides unity? Who decides at what point unity is no longer collaborative unity but oppressive uniformity, and who determines when diversity no longer means enriching heterogeneity but destructive division? What are the guiding parameters? Can human rights ideals work as parameters? Howard Richards thinks so — he argues for 'celebrating diversity while simultaneously unifying all human behaviour under an ethic of respect for universal human rights'.[61]

More questions: When we speak of unity in diversity, what do we mean by diversity? What does biological and cultural diversity mean? How can it be protected? Does it mean protecting diversity within an in-group, so that it becomes less homogenous? Or does it mean to protect a homogenous in-group from being invaded by out-groups? An uncontacted tribe, for instance, will lose its cultural uniqueness the moment it is being contacted. Uncontacted tribes need help from outside to keep invaders off their territory when under siege. What about a man such as Anders Behring Breivik, who went on a shooting spree to protect Norwegian culture? Can Norway isolate itself like an uncontactable tribe? Who has the 'right' to keep others 'off' their territory? What about all the -isms that separate people from each other and from their natural environment, ranging from racism to anthropocentrism to human supremacism? Where does protection end and hatred start? At what point does ethno-pluralism veer into parochialism? How far can intra-cultural diversity go before it is rejected and global inter-cultural division is the result?[62]

More questions: How can unity become strong enough to prevent diversity from turning into division when people anchor their 'we' identity in an enemy imagery of 'not we'? If we imagine a spectrum ranging from total isolation to total openness, and we take as outer pole for isolation uncontacted tribes, what would the pole of total openness be? If we imagine planet Mars were taken over by humans, at first, every newcomer would perhaps be welcome without any restriction, after a while, however, even Martians would resist further immigration by saying, 'Now we have developed a unique Mars culture and we do not wish to have more Earthlings move here!' How can individuals and groups calibrate their place on the range of this spectrum without violence and hatred?

Where shall we in the future have borders, and how shall these borders look like?[63] On one side, in a shrinking world, no individual, no village, and no nation-state can have full autarchy, there is no total independence anymore. Will autonomous agency atrophy, will the nation-state atrophy, should it atrophy, or not?[64] On the other side, globalisation lets many big power centres lose their former influence and smaller populations gain space to call for more independence — the Kurds, the Catalans, the Sami, the list is long.[65]

How shall borders be devised in a world of rising hatred and anger? The exploited of the world make themselves increasingly known — so-called economic refugees try to partake in the riches of their exploiters by migrating to them, only to meet barriers erected by authoritarian leaders elected by the 'forgotten' people in de-industrialised and rural regions.[66] Also the exploiters get angry, they typically overlook their role as exploiters and believe that their riches originated solely from their ingenuity, character superiority, and hard work. They deem the exploited to be losers, traitors, or would-be free-riders who should stay where they are and 'work as hard as we did'. British scholars of the nineteenth century classified peoples and races as 'civilised', 'barbarians', and 'savages', categorisations that lived on after WWII as 'developed', 'developing', and 'underdeveloped' countries, labels that remain in effect in the 'world's deep culture/structure' until the day today.[67]

In this situation, the United Nations would need to forge world governance institutions for *village Earth*,[68] for instance, the world's defence ministries could be replaced with one single 'ministry for future generations'.[69] What we have instead are Disunited Nations weakened from within by their members. Would United World Regions be better?[70] Or self-governing city-states led by citizens' assemblies?[71]

How should borders look like that respect the wish for independence while avoiding angry confrontations? Experience shows that it is very easy to split groups and turn people against each other.[72] Even the most irrelevant group differences can lead to fragmentation.[73] Splitting tendencies are particularly strong in groups where responsibility for individual action is diluted,[74] as this enables collective 'stampedes' of mutual radicalisation to overwhelm individual resistance.[75] The Balkan region is a sad showcase. Former Yugoslavia was once highly admired, it was a well-thought-of entity in the world, respected all over the globe. Then it allowed divide-and-rule manipulations to set off horrifying stampedes, ultimately leaving the region fractured, weak, and its people in agony.[76] The contrast between former glory and later downfall could not have been more abrupt. We held our 27th Annual Dignity Conference in Dubrovnik in 2016, and I spent several months in Sarajevo and Dubrovnik, attempting to understand how this could happen.

New stampedes of mutual radicalisation may be in the making at a global scale now. Shortly before his summit with Russian Vladimir Putin in Helsinki on 16th July 2018, American president Donald Trump was asked in a TV interview to name his 'biggest foe globally right now'. His answer was, 'Now you wouldn't think of the European Union but they're a foe'. Next on Donald Trump's list of foes was Russia, and third, 'economically speaking', China.[77] Political Europe might be the next Yugoslavia if attempts continue from both the American and Russian side to fracture and weaken it.[78] The entire world awaits to be fractured if big powers increase their current divide-the-world competitions.

Is the so-called international community strong enough to withstand such divide-and-rule manoeuvres? Is it strong enough to unite for the well-being of all? There are always glimpses of hope. 'For the first time ever, United Nations Member States have agreed an all-encompassing Global Compact to better manage international migration, address its challenges, strengthen migrant rights and contribute to sustainable development'.[79] Notably, however, the United States pulled out of the agreement in December 2017.[80]

Clearly, in the future it will not suffice to simply 'manage' catastrophes. The world needs to unite and attend to the root causes, the root causes not just of migration but of all manifestations of sociocide and ecocide. Increasing global migration is only one of the many challenges that create deep tensions in the global governing systems, and constructive institutional

transformation will only be possible if we engage with 'the politics of global diversity and disagreement' in fruitful ways.[81]

This leads back to the question of how cultural and biological diversity can best be protected, and how unity in diversity can be balanced. The situation seems relatively straightforward with biological diversity: habitats need to be guarded. Mountain gorillas, for instance, need borders, similar to uncontacted tribes, as many indigenous species can only survive if invaders are kept out.[82] Wild species must be kept from mating with their domesticated brothers and sisters, as this would weaken their resilience in the wild.[83]

What if people were to use the same argument to prohibit freedom of travel and restrict migration, what if borders are closed with walls,[84] what if people are shot who approach a territory,[85] and those are killed who disagree with closed border strategies?[86] How should societies design boundaries so that they protect cultural and biological diversity without violence in tandem?[87]

How can people be convinced to respect boundaries rather than interpret them as infringements on their freedom? How can we prevent people from misperceiving due humbling for the sake of the common good as undue humiliation of free individuals? Are there commonly agreeable rules that can keep everyone committed? If planet Earth is our global commons, and we are its stewards, how can we protect it? So far, the widespread sense of entitlement to dominate the planet's ecosystems has allowed human 'freedom' to become ecocidal. Can our ancestors teach us how to overcome this sense of entitlement? Can traditional approaches to ecosystem protection help us? Can indigenous taboo rules help us curb the pollution of the world that is now so thoughtless that even majestic Mount Everest looks like a rubbish heap?[88] Professor, writer, and activist Don 'Four Arrows' Jacobs of Cherokee and Muscogee Creek ancestry thinks so.[89]

Who shall contain human hubris and how? Is this hubris a disease that needs treatment like alcoholism, or is it a crime that needs prohibition like drug trafficking? Drug prohibition laws often only serve drug traffickers, while prohibition against smoking was somewhat more effective, while alcohol dependency is now regarded as a disease. Can human hubris be contained without creating lucrative shadow economies? Can backlashes be avoided? What kind of world do we want to live in, a world where people do the right thing because they are afraid to be caught, or because they feel responsible for the common good, or at least duty-bound? The presently unfolding coronavirus pandemic plays out these question before our eyes.

More questions. What if biological and cultural diversity collide?[90] Given that 'the indigenous "people of wildlife" know a lot about how to protect nature',[91] can we protect natural habitats by excluding the people who live in them?[92] How can future *Earthland* unite in protecting cultural and biological diversity in its intertwinement?

How can humiliation be healed and prevented, so that cultural diversity can flourish and be liberating? What about cultures that are the result of humiliation? Earlier, the case of honour killing was discussed. Shall this cultural practice be protected as part of humanity's cultural heritage? What about female genital cutting? I once sat in a conference between a Somali man and a Somali woman. Like many of my Somali sisters, this woman shunned the practice, calling it mutilation, and she cried out to me, 'Evelin, do not respect Somali culture, it humiliates us!'[93] The Somali man sitting on my other side urged me to do exactly the opposite, namely, to respect Somali culture, including a tradition he called 'important', namely, to protect girls by 'closing' them. I have since met many women who grew up in migrant communities in Western countries who have shared bitter experiences with me. When they were being mistreated by their own

migrant communities and needed help from the majority population that surrounded them, their sufferings were regarded as 'part of their culture', and her cries for help went unheard. Deeyah Khan is one of these women, born in Norway into a Pakistani community, and she brings this message to the world through her personal story and her documentary films.[94] In other words, in the case of conflicts between members of different cultures, what should be respected, the other culture or the other person?[95]

If we say that the best protection of unity and the best definition of the limits of diversity come from human rights ideals, then we have to protect the individual person's human rights, the individual person's dignity, rather than the rights and dignity of 'a culture'. Yet, when we say that human rights ideals are best suited to delineate the limits of diversity, how can we avoid that this will be interpreted as imperialist Western narrative of 'we are better than you', of 'we, the civilised free world, are better than you, the uncivilised unfree world'?[96] How can we emerge from local narratives of 'we are better than you' and create a global narrative of 'let us learn together'? How can we nurture a culture of entrustment rather than one of empowerment and entitlement that endangers both unity and diversity? Psychologists have concluded long ago that the challenges of life are best approached with a mindset of personal growth rather than with a fixed mindset.[97] Can this be valid also for the world community? Can we grow in wisdom?

What if humiliation stands in the way of unity? What if cycles of humiliation make unity impossible? There are, for instance, 'culture wars' in American politics that are fired up by conflicting understandings of political correctness. Who is right? A study of the relationship between political belief and personality identified two types of political correctness, egalitarian and authoritarian.[98] PC egalitarians hold the belief that cultural forces are responsible for group differences and that differences among groups arise from societal injustice, they support policies and ideas that prop up historically disadvantaged groups, they show high emotional responses to discriminating language, they have a high openness to new experiences, and they desire a more diverse, democratic governance.[99] PC authoritarians, on the other side, believe biological forces are responsible for group differences, they are more likely to be religious, they support censorship of offensive material and harsher punitive justice, they desire security for people in distress, they show a higher need for order and feel easier disgusted, they are likely to report a mood disorder or anxiety disorder either for themselves or their families, and, finally, they desire a more uniform society through autocratic governance.[100]

On the authoritarian side of the culture war, we have people like Jordan Peterson, who warns against 'social justice warriors' who 'weaponise compassion'.[101] Sociologists Bradley Campbell and Jason Manning were introduced before, also they see the 'culture of dignity' as having devolved into a 'culture of victimhood'.[102] Social psychologist Jonathan Haidt was quoted earlier with his disapproval of young people being taught that 'feelings are always right'.[103] If we follow the research of psychologist Jean Twenge on the self-esteem movement, indeed, this movement seems to have led to a widespread 'dukes up' narcissism of entitlement.[104] On the other side of the culture war stand those who say that the new culture of political correctness emerges from a noble wish for greater empathy for one anothers, far from instrumentalising victimhood. In other words, what is a despicable culture of victimhood for one, is a commendable culture of empathic revolution for another,[105] what is an intolerant thin-skinned red fascist for one is a heroic liberator of tolerance for another,[106] what is a 'rainbow plague of bleeding-heart political correctness' for one is liberation from oppressive patriarchal mindsets for the other.[107] Who is right? Who is to decide? While many elements in these narratives are based on valid research, this research is then caught in cycles of humiliation, used and abused for culture wars.[108]

If we look through the lens of unity in diversity and its balance, then we observe that what is 'too much' for one side in this culture war is 'not enough' for another and both sides antagonise each other. Those who decry a culture of victimhood feel that diversity is overemphasised and unity endangered, while those who praise a culture of empathic revolution call on society to include more diversity into the overall scope of unity.

Steven Roach has thought a lot about decency in world politics, and for him, the culprit is the global dimension of moral propriety as it has increased the range and intensity of tensions between the uniform application of decency standards on one side, and the political and moral proprieties of underrepresented groups on the other side. As a result, he observes, the very openness of liberal decency has become a source of political uncertainty, and this, in turn, fuels retrogression.[109]

The outcome, by now, is that the balance of unity in diversity is in danger of tipping. The balance is fragile when angry people fight for their in-group against enemy out-groups — when those who fight for African-American, Latino, L.G.B.T., or women's rights, clash with right wing authoritarians who smart from being excluded from the list of endangered people and rage against 'political correctness'.[110]

Indeed, the balance of unity in diversity is difficult to keep. Through my work, I meet many angry people all around the world, eager to rise from humiliation, ready to condemn unity in diversity as unworkable. Jonathan Haidt describes how in the beginning of his career, everything was about diversity for him, until he understood how divisive this can be. Consequently, he became more of a conservative and began to speak up against diversity.[111] I always recommend the re-balancing of unity in diversity rather than its rejection. Anger is important as 'fuel' for action to overcome humiliation, however, it needs to be kept from undermining its very own goals. It needs to be channelled into what Paulo Freire called *conscientisation*, constructive social change in the spirit of a Gandhi or Mandela.[112] As Roach observes, 'emotions can be thought of as ideological conveyers' towards decency, or away from it'.[113]

I have met many who are caught in obsessive revenge and have seen the destructiveness of this path.[114] As philosopher Avishai Margalit has noted, some hold on to memories of humiliation to be able to maintain anger[115] as license to transgress ethical limits and embrace the *post-victim ethical exemption syndrome*.[116] I have seen people who remain addicted to humiliation,[117] stuck in the indignation that often characterises adolescence, stuck in rage against authority figures, incapable to shoulder the responsibility of becoming nurturant parents themselves.[118] Revolutions have failed due to this dynamic, when enraged revolutionaries were unable to let go of the heroism and adrenalin rush of *fighting against* authorities, unable to transform themselves into leaders who *work for* a functioning community.

When we look at PC egalitarians and their wish for more diversity, then we can say that they risk undermining their own goals and create division rather than protect diversity when they overlook or even ridicule that their proposals might elicit visceral disgust in right wing authoritarians. Authoritarians have strong gag reflexes and literally choke, for instance, when they think of homosexual orientations.[119] As reported earlier, humiliation has been described as a combination of shame, disgust, and 'dissmell',[120] and psychologist Paul Rozin found in his analysis of moral disgust that 'there is quite a bit of oral in moral experience', particularly in the face of violations of divinity or betrayal of autonomy (see chapter 10).[121] All around the world, 'rightists' go on the barricades in angry disgust now, raging against 'liberal' universalism and diversity. The sense of humiliation that is at work sits deep in the gut.

It requires continuous balancing efforts to make unity in diversity work. It necessitates high levels of humiliation awareness and dignity communication skills in society to keep processes and institutions alive that open space for sustained trust building so that constructive consensuses can be achieved.[122]

To make unity in diversity work in practice

To make unity in diversity work in practice, the principle of *constrained pluralism* is the way. It comprises three complementary sub-principles: *irreducibility*, *subsidiarity*, and *heterogeneity*:

> Irreducibility affirms One World: the adjudication of certain issues necessarily and properly is retained at the global level of governance. Subsidiarity asserts the centrality of Many Places: the scope of irreducible global authority is sharply limited and decision-making is guided to the most local level feasible. Heterogeneity grants regions the right to pursue forms of social evolution consonant with democratically determined values and traditions, constrained only by their obligation to conform to globally mandated responsibilities.[123]

The European Union builds on the subsidiarity principle to bring together the One and the Many, unfortunately not always in practice, sometimes more in theory.[124] Subsidiarity implies that local decision-making and local identities are retained to the greatest extent possible, while allowing for national, regional, and international decision-making when needed. Governance systems for large-scale environmental problems can only be effective through such nested layers.[125] The turmoil in Europe, with Brexit as its most recent expression, illustrates how subsidiarity can never be made static once and for all, it is always 'in crisis', necessarily so, since a continuous recalibration of superordinate and subordinate layers is its normality.

The case of Rwanda can illustrate the delicacy of the calibration of the One and the Many. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Rwanda began to use the so-called *single re-categorisation* policy. This means that traditional group boundaries were replaced by a superordinate identity,[126] all citizens were regarded as citizens of Rwanda and no longer identified as Hutu or Tutsi. Scholars often recommend *dual re-categorisation*, as this makes both superordinate and subordinate identities salient,[127] avoiding 'identity threat' and backlash.[128] Yet, the case of Rwanda shows that this may not always be the best solution, particularly not in a post-genocide context.[129] Again, layers are the answer, rather than either-or dichotomies.[130]

My suggestion is that all people on planet Earth, be it a person hailing from a Hutu or Tutsi background or any other background, identifies not only as a citizen of a country or a continent, but as a citizen of the world, with the responsibility to be a guardian of the entire planetary socio-ecosphere in the spirit of unity in diversity. All problems would be solvable if all citizens of planet Earth embraced this responsibility.

Whatever the best balance between unity and diversity may be, in all cases, what has to be avoided is that unity degrades into uniformity and diversity into division. This is perhaps the most important task humankind faces now. The global society needs to protect *unity* from being turned into *uniformity*, be it through oppressive domination or through consumerism in a mass market, and *diversity* needs to be protected from devolving into *division*, be it division between nations, ideologies, classes and/or religions, or the division of everybody-against-everybody that results from extreme individualism in hyper-capitalist contexts.

A society that succeeds in balancing unity in diversity avoids what peace researcher Johan

Galtung calls *structural violence*. He coined this notion when he observed the situation in Rhodesia in 1965, as the country was boasting of domestic peace because there had been no direct racial violence since its 1923 independence, whereas, at the same time, black life expectancy was only half of the white. Galtung wondered how this can represent 'domestic peace'. In structural violence, 'structure' stands for patterned interaction, and 'violence' for insults to basic human needs, survival, wellness, freedom, and identity. To achieve structural peace, the structure must be adapted, Galtung demanded, and this requires structural literacy.[131] This literacy means avoiding the development of social structures that are too much, too tight, too little/too loose, or too dominant.[132] It means being aware of the many forms of structural violence, be it that structures are too dominant as in vertical *hierarchy*, or that the loneliness that is entailed in *anarchy* disregards the human need for belonging and interaction, while *polyarchy* can impose too much interaction both vertical and horizontal and disregard the need for some measure of solitude. Even in the context of *equiarchy*, purely horizontal and equitable interactions may become violent through limiting interaction only to small groups.[133]

The notion of structural violence is not a reserve of political science, though. Charles A. Kiesler was a psychologist and university administrator and he warned of the *myths of uniformity* also in his field, namely, that too many professional psychotherapies fail to acknowledge the ubiquitous variations in patients, therapists, methods, and disorders.[134] Psychologist Anthony Marsella recommends Kiesler's work and illustrates it with an ancient Chinese story of a monkey and a fish who are caught in a turbulent flood:

> The monkey and fish are being tossed in the waters and face a perilous end. The monkey then spies a branch and pulls himself out of the water; then wanting to help the fish, grabs the fish and holds the fish out of the water until the flood waters recede. Moral: Good intentions are not enough! If you wish to help the fish, you must understand its nature.[135]

Uniformity risks error, this is Marsella's warning. He offers as an example the widespread endorsement of cognitive behaviour therapies in the field of psychotherapy. Marsella asks, 'How does CBT work? Are there variations in CBT healing principles associated with CBT processes? Further, there are many types of healers, and one type of healer may not be best for everyone, or best for a situation in which there is a cultural difference'.[136] Marsella points out that 'empirically validated' therapies based on clinical studies that compare therapies with controls cannot be the arbiter for 'success' for therapists and healers of all identities. Marsella offers a number of questions to ask for both therapists and world society: What are our ontologies, our views of human nature? What are our epistemologies, our views of how we know what we know? What are our praxiologies, our views of our practices? What is the nature of the cultural construction of reality? How do wealth, power, position, and person determine our actions?

The recent rise of authoritarian populism in the world signals that global uniformity — global McDonaldisation — seems to have been overdone. Extremist nationalism may be interpretable as a backlash against this uniformity, a backlash that now turns diversity into division. Defenders of globalisation have long advertised it's a blessing, while too many people around the world have experienced it as a curse. Globalisation was promoted with double standards, forgetting that double standards often are more destructive to ideals than open betrayal. As has been widely discussed in this book, double standards have the potential to generate so profound a sense of humiliation that it may explode into hostile polarisations (chapters 5 and 10). 'It's a failed neo-liberalism that sowed the seeds of authoritarianism, by dehumanising and violating and abusing

people'.[137]

The term 'globalisation' hides many meanings. For some it means the globalisation of care, for others it means the globalisation of exploitation. Throughout recent decades, starting shortly after World War II, the globalisation of exploitation has manifested itself behind a veil of a rhetoric of care.[138] Sociologist George Ritzer, in extending his McDonaldisation thesis, speaks of *grobalisation*, growth + globalisation, a situation in which indigenous customs, familiar gathering places, and personalised interaction are replaced with 'non-places', 'non-things', 'non-people', and 'non-services'.[139] Globalisation unfolded in ways that were much more abusive than the rhetoric of freedom and rising-boats for all made it seem, and the betrayal became particularly obvious after the Cold War ended and the hoped-for economic miracles failed to manifest while economic crises unfolded. Even former supporters of the so-called neo-liberal paradigm like economist Joseph Stiglitz, investor George Soros, or philosopher John Gray have become critics of a deregulated global economy.[140] The theory of 'the market' as a thoroughly wise natural force, and the belief that global markets will bring happiness to all,[141] created illusions that have turned first into disappointment and then into anger.[142]

Globalisation critics do not oppose all aspects of globalisation. They do not oppose global civil society, for instance. Global civil society merits to be hailed as great benefit that flows from the coming-together of humankind, the 'ingathering of the human tribes',[143] the shrinking of the world. What globalisation critics focus on is not global cohesion but global systemic humiliation. Their point of criticism is the lack of what I call *egalisation*, or the problem that arises when equal dignity is promised but betrayed and feelings heat up, including feelings of humiliation.

By now, as the credibility of free market theories has been weakened, and crises such as a virus pandemic shake the world, we can hope that a window of opportunity opens for the globalisation of care, responsibility, solidarity, connectedness, and compassion to take root,[144] for egalisation and solidarity or what I call *co-globegalisation* to find support.

Unfortunately, globalisation critics have so far not been able to use such windows constructively, and the anger that has accumulated in populations around the world is being abused by populists who create hostile divisions. Many of those in America and Europe who were hurt by the exploitative aspects of globalisation experienced them as oppressive uniformity imposed by dictatorial Washington or tyrannical Brussels. People in America and Europe are the most privileged among the victims of the globalisation of exploitation, as they are in a position to vote. They vote for populists who turn against the rest of victims around the world who are even more destitute and have only their feet to vote with — the poorer are turned against the poorest.[145] A 'body politic well advanced in decay' places 'dangerous parasites' in high office,[146] and populists promising 'freedom for us from them' re-divide the world into hostile divisions in a situation where 'freedom for all' through a globalisation of care would be possible.

With the election of Donald Trump as president in the United States, we see happen what economic policy expert Bruce Fisher calls a 'turn from a neo-liberal Wilsonian globalised system of trade and alliances to a Hobbesian nation-centred system organised by thug capitalists (oligarchs in Russia, hedge-fund and private-equity in the greater US)'.[147] In this way, what I call a global economic security dilemma — a global 'superclass' pitted against the rest — is re-spawning also the classical security dilemma of states pitted against other states.

This is my ideal of a decent *Earthland*: We know from research that diversity can be successfully unified only when there are common superordinate goals that are attainable and determined by common consent among equals.[148] Protecting humankind from ecocide and sociocide represents such a common superordinate goal. Ideally, in a decent Earthland, there are

no 'aliens', all are Earthland citizens, and all are invited to learn from all others and join hands in solving common problems. No longer can 'frequent' business travellers from a few privileged countries strip-mine the rest. All are respectful of the new kinds of borders and restrictions to their activities that protect biological and cultural diversity, restrictions that all agree on to prevent sociocide and ecocide.[149] These Earthlanders co-create globally inclusive political systems and economic systems that nurture consensus-building processes that balance unity in diversity and incentivise mutual care in the spirit of the indigenous seven-generation rule rather than destruction for short-term gain.

Federico Mayor Zaragoza served as director-general of UNESCO from 1987 to 1999. I follow him in his call, 'Now yes, is the time to implement the "We, the peoples"!' 'Now, yes, the peoples can be women and men, of one belief or another, or one ideology or another, of one ethnic identity or another!'[150] The words 'we, the peoples' was included in the first phrase of the UN Charter in 1948 with farsightedness, yet, as it turns out, this was premature. I follow Federico Mayor Zaragoza also in his call to manifest the right to self-determination established in Article 1/2 of the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in July 1993. Like him, I assert that cultural diversity is an asset, while xenophobia, hate, and rejection are threats to peace — there are 'cultures that count' and 'cultures that should be countered'.[151] In the face of global challenges, where global cooperation needs to overcome global fragmentation more than ever, and Mayor calls for two main transitions that must take place: First, 'from an economy of speculation, productive delocalisation and war to a knowledge-based economy of global sustainable and human development', and, second, 'from a culture of domination, violence and war to a culture of encounter, dialogue, conciliation, alliance and peace'.[152]

We can heal and re-weave the 'mesh of life', we can repair 'the damage done to it by the heteropatriarchal capitalist/colonial ontology of separation', we can work 'towards ontologies of care', this is also anthropologist Arturo Escobar's appeal.[153] Escobar's vision is for us to rethink and rebuild healthy communities by re-communalising our social life. His vision is to re-localise all activities that have to do with food, transport, energy, building, educating, and healing, and to strengthen our local autonomies and direct forms of democracy. Escobar calls on us to simultaneously de-patriarchalise and de-colonise our societies, to engage in 'the Liberation of Mother Earth', and to work for 'the flourishing of the pluriverse'.[154]

Re-localisation requires global thinking, Meg Holden, expert on urban ethics, concurs with me: Yes, there is a path towards 'local, biophilic self-reliance', towards 'rediscovering the focus and peace of localised and lower-technology life-styles'.[155] Holden wants to 'hold a candle to the possibilities of shooting for the stars, for the majority of the world's population', she wants 'to keep all of our fellow humans' hopes in mind'.[156] She warns, however, 'when this work is seen as an alternative to global thinking, not its necessary synergistic complement, it is pragmatically indistinguishable from the work of grave diggers', [157] because then it is simply *work*, not *action*, as Hannah Arendt would say.

'Many historians think that the engines for change in history have been greed and fear', writes economist Roberto Savio, and yes, 'since 1989, we have been educated to greed, which has become a virtue: and since the crisis of 2008 (a direct result of greed), fear has become a strong reality. Immigrants are now the scapegoats…' Savio envisions the coming-into-being of a world political party that waits to be founded by all of us collectively:

> What bonded people together, until 1989, were values. It is enough to read any constitutions to find those values: justice, solidarity, ethics, equality, law as the basis of society, and so on.

> Today we live in a world where nobody speaks of values (unless you take market as a value), and least of all the political world. It would be a long walk, but a world party should be based on values, the defence of international cooperation as a warrant for peace and on the fact that competition and greed make few winners, and many losers.[158]

On biocultural diversity: A rhymed reflection
by peace linguist Francisco Gomes de Matos, Recife, 11th August 2017
Biocultural Diversity is more than a bioecoquality
It is a LIFE-supporting commitment by all Humanity
Biocultural Diversity is also expressed through linguistic variability
It is a globally shared way of peacefully exercising one's dignity
A world bioculturally diverse
is also sustainable though prose and verse
Biocultural diversity is a fascinatingly evolving global scenery
To thrive everywhere as a multilingual LANGSCAPE greenery

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[1] Retail analyst Victor Lebow, 1955, advised that Americans should 'make consumption their way of life', that buying and using goods should become a kind of ritual, that things should be 'consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced and discarded at an ever-increasing rate'. In his view, this would not just keep the economy going, people would also find 'spiritual satisfaction and ego gratification in consumption'. See also 'Materialised meaning: The biggest problem in the modern world', by Zat Rana, *Medium*, 11th October 2019, https://medium.com/personal-growth/materializing-meaning-the-biggest-problem-in-the-modern-world-88bc8bcc9740.

[2] See Lalonde, 1994.

[3] Bruce Schuman in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of 'Journey to Earthland: Making the great transition to planetary civilisation', 24th September 2016, in response to Raskin, 2016.

[4] See Yoshikawa, 1980, 1987.

[5] See also the notion of *catuṣkoṭi*, employed particularly by Buddhist thinker Nagarjuna around 150–250 CE, a 'four-cornered' system of argumentation that involves the systematic examination of each of the 4 possibilities of a proposition, P: (1) P; that is being, (2) not P; that is not being, (3) P and not P; that is being and that is not being, and (4) not (P or not P); that is neither being nor that is not being. See also Priest, 2018.

[6] See Martin, et al., 2001.

[7] See Martin, et al., 2001.

[8] See Lindner, 2017, *Honor, humiliation, and terror*, p. 166. See also Yoshikawa, 1980, 1987, and Martin, et al., 2001.

[9] See Battle, 1997. See also scholar Joy Ndwandwe explain *ubuntu* on 26th April 2013 in our 2013 Annual Dignity Conference in Stellenbosch, South Africa, titled 'Search for dignity', 24th–27th April 2013. See http://youtu.be/usyyqVdnDgI.

[10] Linda Hartling in a personal communication, 27th July 2019.

[11] 'Evolving democracy', by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 13th February 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/02/evolving-democracy/.

[12] For essayist Arthur Koestler's theory of holons and holarchies, see Koestler, 1967, 1970, 1978. I thank John Bunzl for reminding me of Koestler's work. It is a privilege to have John Bunzl's support for our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[13] Braithwaite, 2002. It is a privilege to have John Braithwaite as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[14] See Powers, 1973, Powers, 1998.

[15] I had the privilege of listening to Phil Clark and Joanna Quinn during the International Symposium on Restorative Justice, Reconciliation and Peacebuilding, at the New York University School of Law, 11th–12th November 2011, www.iilj.org/RJRP/about.asp. They introduced me to the work of Sally Engle Merry and Mark Drumbl. See Goodale and Merry, 2007, and Drumbl, 2007. I learned that British colonisers set up a 'relationships commission' as long ago as 1898. Lord Lugard wrote about the 'dual mandate' in Africa. See Lugard, 1965. See also Clark, 2010.

[16] In my work, I apply the *ideal-type* approach as described by sociologist Max Weber, 1904/1949. See Coser, 1977, p. 224:

> Weber's three kinds of ideal types are distinguished by their levels of abstraction. First are the ideal types rooted in historical particularities, such as the 'western city', 'the Protestant Ethic', or 'modern capitalism', which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract elements of social reality — such concepts as 'bureaucracy' or 'feudalism' — that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, there is a third kind of ideal type, which Raymond Aron calls 'rationalising reconstructions of a particular kind of behaviour'. According to Weber, all propositions in economic theory, for example, fall into this category. They all refer to the ways in which men would behave were they actuated by purely economic motives, were they purely economic men.

Michael Karlberg explains how analytical constructs never correspond perfectly with some presumably objective reality. See Karlberg, 2013, p. 9:

> Care must be taken, therefore, not to reify these frames or over-extend the metaphors that inform them. These frames can, however, serve as useful heuristic devices for organising certain forms of inquiry and guiding certain forms of practice — such as inquiry into the meaning of human dignity and the application of this concept in fields such as human rights and conflict resolution.

[17] The opposition between formalist and substantivist economic models was first proposed by Karl Polanyi in 1944, see Polanyi and Joseph E. Stiglitz (Foreword), 1944/2001. See more in chapter 9. Layering these models would mean giving priority to substantivist economic models and using formalist models only to keep them functioning, rather than allow what is happening at present, namely, that formalist models are increasingly crowding out substantivist models and replacing them.

[18] With his concept of *value incommensurability*, Isaiah Berlin, 1959, aimed at averting the destructive outcomes of value monism, such as totalitarianism and the violent repression of humanity. His pluralism was guided by liberalism and humanism, meaning that avoiding harm to human beings should be the first

moral priority. In case moral collisions were unavoidable, they should be softened by compromise so that desperate situations could be avoided through maintaining an equilibrium, if ever so precarious.

[19] 'For Isaiah Berlin, decency and dignity were two commensurable values with overlapping intrinsic qualities. Reasonable persons, he argued, learned to abide by humane ideals that could direct us toward the preservation and flourishing of human dignity', Roach, 2019, p. 116.

[20] See Hartling and Lindner, 2018, where we quote 'Killings and racial tensions commingle with divided and divisive politics', by Dan Balz, *Washington Post*, 8th July 2016, www.washingtonpost.com/politics/killings-and-racial-tensions-commingle-with-divided-and-divisive-politics/2016/07/08/5a422e08-451e-11e6-88d0-6adee48be8bc_story.html?utm_term=.8f5203cf84a3.

[21] See Hartling and Lindner, 2018, quoting Putnam, 2007.

[22] Banks, et al., 2001, p. 13.

[23] Etzioni, 2009.

[24] For 'harvesting' from all cultures, see Lindner, 2007. See as a foundational text, Wright, 1942. See also Goonatilake, 1998. Much has been written since, here are just some recent examples, Daly, 2013, Dupré, 2015, Schlichtmann, 2017, or Cabrera, 2017.

[25] Catherine Alum Odora Hoppers edited the *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*, volume 7, number 2, 'Development education in the global south', 2015, http://ingentaconnect.com/content/ioep/ijdegl/2015/00000007/00000002/art00002. It is a great privilege to have not only Catherine Odora Hoppers and her brother George, but also many other authors in this issue as esteemed members in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship, namely, Howard Richards, 2015, Magnus Haavelsrud, 2015, and Kosheek Sewchurran and McDonogh, 2015.
Crain Soudien, 2015, recommends drawing on the concept of the 'transaction' in John Dewey for a new approach to knowing, and Haavelsrud, 2015, recommends Odora Hoppers' term of transformation the academy by enlargement and suggests to use as scientific methodologies forms of transdisciplinarity, praxis, and *trilateral science* as described by Johan Galtung, 1977. The concept of trilateral science describes the relationship between three worlds, the empirical, the foreseen, and the ideal world, or, in other words, the world *as it is* (the data or facts positively given), the world *as it will be* (the world as predicted or theorised) and the world *as it ought to be* (values). The gaps and differences between the three worlds can be reduced by transformations in all three. The aim of science should be to achieve greater *consonance* among the three: 'The world as it is can be changed, and if so the foreseen world will also be changed. Values may be modified', Haavelsrud, 2015, pp. 54–55.
See, furthermore, Odora Hoppers, 2002, and her article 'Indigenous knowledge systems: An invisible resource in literacy education', by Catherine Alum Odora Hoppers. *The Soka Gakkai International (SGI) Quarterly: A Buddhist Forum for Peace, Culture and Education*, January 2003, www.sgiquarterly.org/feature2003Jan-4.html.
See also Odora Hoppers and Richards, 2012, Richards, et al., 2015.

[26] 'Sumak Kawsay is not Buen Vivir', by Javier Cuestas, *Alternautas*, 3rd March 2018, www.alternautas.net/blog/2018/3/2/sumak-kawsay-is-not-buen-vivir.

[27] On 5th June 2008, more than one thousand representatives from indigenous communities across the Americas gathered in Lima, Peru, and agreed on a new social system, called *Living Well*. See, among others, www.villageearth.org/pages/Projects/Peru/perublog/2008/06/living-well-development-alternative.html#. See also Graeber, 2001. See also the *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing*, http://journalindigenouswellbeing.com. See, furthermore, 'The key to a sustainable economy is 5,000 years old', by Ellen Brown, *Web of Debt* & *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 2nd September 2019, https://ellenbrown.com/2019/08/30/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/, and www.transcend.org/tms/2019/09/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/.

[28] Ibid.

[29] See 'From the middle of the world to the end of the world: Ecuadorians revolt against President Lenin Moreno's austerity measures', by Boaventura De Sousa Santos, *Wall Street International Magazine*, 18th October 2019, https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/58167-from-the-middle-of-the-world-to-the-end-of-the-world.

[30] Kjell Skyllstad in a personal communication, 15th December 2014. It is a privilege to have Kjell Skyllstad as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship since its inception. He inspired three of our dignity conferences, in 2008 in Oslo, in 2014 in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand, and in 2016 in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

[31] 'United Nations General Assembly proclaims 2019 as the International Year of indigenous Languages and invites UNESCO to take the lead', Geneva Office, UNESCO Liaison Office in New York, 8th December 2016, www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco-liaison-office-in-new-york/about-this-office/single-view/news/united_nations_general_assembly_proclaims_2019_as_the_intern/.

[32] See Gluckstein and Desmond Tutu (Foreword), 2010. I thank Merle Lefkoff for making me aware of Dana Gluckstein's work on the rights of indigenous peoples.

[33] See Sundararajan, 2012. See for a scathing critic of the journey of the field of indigenous psychology Gustav Jahoda, 2016. Jahoda's article has elicited efforts to rebut his negative view on Louise Sundararajan's special interest group list. See, among others, Marsella, 2009. See for Non-Western, indigenously arising constructs such as relational mindfulness, for example, Sundararajan and Fatemi, 2016, an investigation of mind-perception inspired by Chinese aesthetics, where the authors follow the distinction made by Paul Bloom, 2007, between two distinct cognitive systems — 'one for dealing with material objects, the other for social entities'. They write: 'We propose two forms of mindfulness — non-relational and relational. Non-relational mindfulness is exemplified by Ellen Langer's cognitive mindfulness, whereas relational mindfulness is best articulated by Chinese aesthetics'. Bloom invokes the physics notion of symmetry to explain relational mindfulness and shows that this framework is compatible with the Langerian formulation of mindfulness.
See, furthermore, some recommendations offered by Michael Harris Bond in October 2018 on Louise Sundararajan's special interest group list, among others, Kwan, et al., 1997, on relationship harmony; Leung and Bond, 2004, Leung, et al., 2012, on fate control; Fabrizio, et al., 2015, on family concord; Cheung, et al., 2011 on interpersonal relatedness; and Wang, et al., 2017, on Chinese ethical leadership. The notion of relational mobility can be traced back to the network theory of Mark Granovetter, 1973, see Louise Sundararajan's comment on the work of Masaki Yuki's research group, as shared by Peter Smith, see Thomson, et al., 2015, Sato and Yuki, 2014, Schug, et al., 2009, Schug, et al., 2010, and Thomson, et al., 2018. James Liu's suggests Cheng, et al., 2004, for paternistic leadership theory developed in Chinese societies and applied to other societies. See Yeh and Bedford, 2003, on filial piety theory, with a specific theory of dual filial piety. See, furthermore, Keller and Bard, 2017, for multidisciplinary perspectives on the cultural and evolutionary foundations of children's attachment relationships, and on its consequences for education, counselling, and policy. Contributors to Keller's book, are, among others, Morelli, et al., 2017, Rosabal-Coto, et al., 2017. Note the phrase WAIC = Western-Attachment-Industrial-Complex, recognising that children need to be studied in their context. Recent studies by anthropologists and developmental psychologists that are sensitive to the power of culture have deepened the challenge to attachment theory, see suggestions by Frank Kessel: Vicedo, 2017, Keller, 2017, and Rosabal-Coto, et al., 2017. See, furthermore, Bhatia, 2017, and Bhatia and Priya, 2018.
I thank also Richard Pearce for making us aware of Tanu, 2017, who uses languages other than English to reveal hitherto imperceptible interactions.

[34] Gergen, et al., 1996, quoted in Marsella, 2015. Marsella warns that North American psychology is wrongly driven by a commitment to the following:

1. Individuality — The individual is the focus of behaviour. Determinants of behaviour reside in the individual's brain/mind, and interventions must be at this level rather than the broader societal context.
2. Reductionism — Small, tangible units of study that yield well to controlled experimentation are

favoured.
3. Experiment-based Empiricism — An emphasis on experiments with controls and experiment group comparisons and uses of ANOVA analyses that often account for 5–10 per cent of the variance, and this is considered 'science'. Lab studies are often favoured over field studies.
4. Scientism — The belief that methods of the physical sciences can be applied similarly to social and behavioural phenomena, which results in spurious methods and conclusions that are inappropriate to the subject under study or that avoid studying certain subjects.
5. Quantification/Measurement — 'If something exists, it can be measured', said Edward Thorndike. Unless something under study can be quantified, it is not acceptable for study. This, of course, leads to 'operationalism' as the standard for assessing concepts.
6. Materialism — Favours variables for study that have a tangible existence rather than higher order constructs — I can see it and touch it under a microscope.
7. Male Dominance — Years of male dominance favours particular topics, methods, and populations for study — remember 'involutional melancholia', the psychiatric disease of middle-aged women, or the labelling of transgender as an illness. While this is changing, we must be alert to its legacy.
8. 'Objectivity' — Assumption that we can identify and understand immutable aspects of reality in a detached way, unbiased by human senses and knowledge.
9. Nomothetic Laws — Search for generalised principles and 'laws' that apply to widespread and diverse situations and populations because of an identification and admiration for the physical sciences.
10. Rationality — Presumes a linear, cause-effect, logical, material understanding of phenomena and prizes this approach in offering and accepting arguments and data generation.

[35] See Gergen, et al., 1996.

[36] See Nagel, 1986.

[37] Taylor in Lowman, 2013, pp. 52–53.

[38] For 'harvesting' from all cultures, see Lindner, 2007. See as a foundational text, Wright, 1942. See also Goonatilake, 1998. Much has been written since, here are just some recent examples, Daly, 2013, Dupré, 2015, Schlichtmann, 2017, or Cabrera, 2017.

[39] Shilpa Pandit in a personal communication to and Louise Sundararajan's Indigenous Psychology Task Force, 29th October 2018.

[40] The Chinese concept of harmony 'retains the integrity of the relationship unit without eliminating any of its constituents', as psychologist Michael Harris Bond formulated it in a conversation with Louise Sundararajan on her Indigenous Psychology Task Force list on 16th July 2020. See also Lun and Bond, 2006, Sundararajan, 2013, and Sundararajan, 2020.

[41] Louise Sundararajan in a personal communication, 19th October 2018.

[42] Louise Sundararajan in a personal communication, 22nd October 2018. Sundararajan acknowledges that 'sloppy uses' of the term 'indigenous' are widespread. Also the term 'aboriginal' may not be respectful. Rather, the intention must be, Sundararajan states, 'to avoid the mistake of using people as a symbol for one's own values ('women' as a symbol of purity, the 'indigenous' as a symbol of our lost virtues, and so on), thereby denying the humanity of the other'.
See also 'Why Native Americans do not separate religion from science', by Rosalyn R. LaPier, *The Conservation*, 21st April 2017, http://theconversation.com/why-native-americans-do-not-separate-religion-from-science-75983.

[43] Raskin, 2016, p. 84.

[44] See Miller, 1986.

[45] In Wixon and Merchant, 2014, p. 28. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this quote.

[46] Harriett Jackson Brown Jr. became known in 1991 with the inspirational book, *Life's little instruction book*.

[47] In Latin, 'Pisces mortui solum cum flumine natant'.

[48] Esther Perel is a psychotherapist who explores the difficult relationship between the need for security, such as love, belonging, and closeness, and the need for freedom, including the satisfaction of erotic desire, adventure, and distance. She calls on Americans to muster the power to stand up in the current political situation, see Trevor Noah in his Daily Show, 29th November 2017, www.cc.com/video-playlists/kw3fj0/the-opposition-with-jordan-klepper-welcome-to-the-opposition-w--jordan-klepper/42kf85.

[49] See Collier, 2013.

[50] See the 'head to head' discussion about the costs and benefits of migration, *Politics, immigration, Africa, Europe, refugees: Paul Collier on immigration*, Al Jazeera, 20th January 2016, www.aljazeera.com/programmes/headtohead/2016/01/transcript-paul-collier-immigration-160104190604853.html. It was encouraging for me to see Paul Collier in good spirits, as I had met him in 1999, when he worked at the World Bank. The doctoral degree stipend that enabled me to carry out the research for my doctorate on humiliation, war, and genocide, was awarded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Multilateral Development Assistance Program, in cooperation with the Research Council of Norway. Paul Collier participated in the concluding conference of the programme, titled 'The Multilateral Aid System', on 12th October 1999, on Voksenåsen, Oslo, Norway.

[51] See Myers, 2015.

[52] *World happiness report 2017*, http://worldhappiness.report/ed/2017/:

> Norway has jumped from 4th place in 2016 to 1st place this year, followed by Denmark, Iceland and Switzerland in a tightly packed bunch. All of the top four countries rank highly on all the main factors found to support happiness: caring, freedom, generosity, honesty, health, income and good governance. Their averages are so close that small changes can re-order the rankings from year to year. Norway moves to the top of the ranking despite weaker oil prices. It is sometimes said that Norway achieves and maintains its high happiness not because of its oil wealth, but in spite of it. By choosing to produce its oil slowly, and investing the proceeds for the future rather than spending them in the present, Norway has insulated itself from the boom and bust cycle of many other resource-rich economies. To do this successfully requires high levels of mutual trust, shared purpose, generosity and good governance, all factors that help to keep Norway and other top countries where they are in the happiness rankings.

[53] See Shaw, 1889.

[54] See Popper, 1957.

[55] See Brandal, et al., 2013. Howard Richards added in a personal communication, 20th January 2018: 'Unbiased science was a key pillar of Karl Popper's concept of how democracy was supposed to work'. I recommend the Norwegian news programme Dagsnytt Atten of NRK1. NRK is an abbreviation of Norsk rikskringkasting AS, generally expressed in English as the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation.

[56] 'Reflections on the cultural construction of reality: Assumptions, issues, directions', by Anthony Marsella, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 23rd April 2018, www.transcend.org/tms/2018/04/reflections-on-the-cultural-construction-of-reality-assumptions-issues-directions/.

[57] See the *Routledge handbook of ecolinguistics*, Fill and Penz, 2018.

[58] See also Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 2016, for language rights.

[59] Posey, 2001. I thank Jeffrey Warner for sending us this quote. It is a privilege to have Jeffrey Warner as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[60] The Urban Research Plaza (URP) — Bangkok, is an academic collaboration and exchange programme between Osaka City University, Japan, and Thailand's Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Fine and Applied Arts. This collaboration focusses on topics related to urban culture in the areas of artistic expression, management, cultural preservation, documentation, and education. See

www.urp.faa.chula.ac.th/urp/Welcome.html.
I had the privilege of participating in the 12th Urban Culture Forum, 'Arts and Social Outreach — Designs for Urban Dignity', organised by the URP from 3rd–4th March 2014, and my presentation was titled 'Urban dignity: What is it? How do we achieve it?', see a recording at http://youtu.be/Vh0ZSRzzfDY.
Kjell Skyllstad was Editor in Chief of the *Journal of Urban Culture Research (JUCR)* at Chulalongkorn University. See www.cujucr.com. On 25th December 2017, he kindly shared with me his preliminary draft of suggested themes for the envisioned Urban Research Plaza Forum in March 2019. It is a privilege to have Kjell Skyllstad as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship since its inception. He inspired three of our dignity conferences, in 2008 in Oslo, in 2014 in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand, and in 2016 in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

[61] 'Moral and ethical realism and unbounded organization', by Howard Richards, *Research Outreach*, 2019, https://researchoutreach.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Howard-Richards.pdf.

[62] Ethno-pluralism is a concept that is closely associated with movements such as the Nouvelle Droite, the Identitarian Movement, and French academic and philosopher Alain de Benoist. Ethno-pluralism positions itself against multiculturalism, globalisation, and one world doctrines in which every region becomes culturally identical.

[63] The topic of the Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology ISPP 2018 was 'Beyond borders and boundaries: Perspectives from political psychology'. See www.ipsa.org/news/event/ispp-2018-conference-beyond-borders-and-boundaries-perspectives-political-psychology:

> …we are particularly interested in proposals that provide new theoretical or empirical insights into the dynamics of boundary making and boundary contestation. The border controls resulting from the refugee crisis, the plans for a USA-Mexico border wall, the rise of radical right populism, and increased social inequalities exemplify boundary making in different forms, resisted and contested by many social movements and politicians who strive to weaken such boundaries by enhancing cohesion and empowerment. These opposing forces of making and breaking boundaries are intertwined and occur in parallel.

[64] The term 'new medievalism' is used in political theory on modern international relations and it is originally associated with international relations scholar Hedley Bull, 1977. It compares the political order of a globalised world with the complex, overlapping, and incomplete sovereignties of high-medieval Europe, where nobody exercised full sovereignty, not states, nor the Church, nor other territorial powers.
Philosopher and sociologist Ole Thyssen is an expert on the work of sociologist and philosopher Niklas Luhmann and his systems theory, see Luhmann, 2002/2013. He writes in Thyssen, 2007, Abstract:

> In Luhmann's scheme of three different kinds of social system (interaction, organisation and society as a whole) 'society' is not, as in colloquial talk, the nation state, but the system of all communication, an inclusive concept with no social counter-concept. As he defines social systems in only one dimension, communication, and as communications can easily connect to other communications across geographical borders, it is no wonder that the spatially defined nation state is not occupying an important position in his theory. 'Society', is, by definition, the world society. Globalisation is, by this choice of basic concepts, built into his theory of social systems.

Thyssen critiques the argument of the atrophy of the nation-state, as has been brought forward, among, others by sociologist Manuel Castells, 1996–1998. See Thyssen, 2007, p. 15:

> The global dynamics of functional subsystems is the background for what philosophers such as Manuel Castells has baptised the 'new medievalism'. The argument is that as nation states have lost control over the economic market, the information process, the education and so forth, they are atrophying. Not even the welfare system can be controlled, because nation states competing for attracting working places are eager to meet the demands from multinational organisations, asking for a

flexible working force, low taxation and an attractive infrastructure.
There are several flaws in this argument. In the first place, nation states were never in control. They ride the tiger, and the tiger rides them. They try to be winners in a world where not everybody can win. Social order and security have always been fragile resources. In the second place, even if functional subsystems are global, they are operating on local scales, demanding a legal system and organisations proper which again demands a nation state.

[65] See, for instance, 'Separation is beautiful', by Uri Avnery, *Human Wrongs Watch*, 7th October 2017, https://human-wrongs-watch.net/2017/10/14/separation-is-beautiful/. Ury Avnery asks 'why smaller and smaller peoples want independence, when the world is creating larger and larger political units? It looks like a paradox, but really isn't:

> We in this generation are witnessing the end of the nation state, which has dominated world history for the last few hundred years. It was born out of necessity. Small countries were unable to build modern mass industries which depended on a large domestic market.
> They could not defend themselves, when modern armies required more and more sophisticated weapons. Even cultural development depended on larger language-areas.
> So Wales and Scotland joined England, Savoy and Sicily created Italy, Corsica and the Provence joined France. Small nationalities joined larger ones. It was necessary for survival.
> History is moving on, and now even the nation-State is not large enough to compete. States unite in ever-larger units, such as the European Union. I have no doubt that by the end of this century, there will be in place an effective world government, turning the entire world effectively into one state. (If some extra-terrestrials threaten this world, it will help.)
> So how does the separation into smaller and smaller states fit this trend? Simply, if the state of Spain is not necessary anymore for economic and military purposes and its central functions are moving from Madrid to Brussels, why shouldn't the Catalans and the Basques secede and join the Union under their own flags? Look at Yugoslavia, look even at the Soviet Union. Germany is the great exception but it is quite large by itself.
> The two processes are not contradictory, they complement each other.

[66] Sociologist Arlie Hochschild, 2016, went to an impoverished area in Louisiana and lived there for six years, studying the people sympathetically.

[67] 'Civilized, barbarians, savages', Antonio C. S. Rosa. editor of the *TRANSCEND Media Service*, featured research paper, 23rd March 2020, www.transcend.org/tms/2020/03/civilized-barbarians-savages/.

[68] See, for instance, 'Why saving the biosphere is impossible now, and the unbounded approach to making it possible', by Howard Richards, *Life Encounters: Free Online Magazine from Village Earth*, August 2020, https://liveencounters.net/2020-le-mag/08-august-2020/dr-howard-richards-why-saving-the-biosphere-is-impossible-now-and-the-unbounded-approach-to-making-it-possible/.

[69] See, for instance, 'Four ways to redesign democracy for future generations: A new movement of time rebels is challenging the myopia of conventional politics', by Roman Krznaric, *Open Democracy*, 12th July 2020, www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/four-ways-redesign-democracy-future-generations/.

[70] See 'Johan Galtung's acceptance speech of the People's Nobel in Sweden', *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Editorial #512, 11th December 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/12/johan-galtungs-acceptance-speech-of-the-peoples-nobel-in-sweden/.

[71] See 'Four ways to redesign democracy for future generations: A new movement of time rebels is challenging the myopia of conventional politics', by Roman Krznaric, *Open Democracy*, 12th July 2020, www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/four-ways-redesign-democracy-future-generations/.

[72] See Sherif, 1961.

[73] See Tajfel, 1970.

[74] See Hewstone, et al., 2006, Passer, et al., 2011.

[75] See Moghaddam, 2018. See also the 'Author interview behind the books, Fathali M. Moghaddam: On mutual radicalisation', with David Becker, *APA Books Blog*, 20th June 2018, http://blog.apabooks.org/2018/06/20/fathali-m-moghaddam-on-mutual-radicalization/. I thank Louise Sundararajan for making us aware of this publication.
Moghaddam sees four key universal features of mutual radicalisation, first, that it is a collective process where individuals are overwhelmed by a collective 'stampede', second, the main purpose of each group becomes inflicting pain on the other, no matter how high the costs is for themselves, third, high levels of conformity and obedience in both groups make it difficult for even highly intelligent group members to act against the 'collective stampede', fourth, an identity transformation takes place, where 'we' become the 'good people' who do not share the same humanity with 'them', the 'despicable, hated animals'. In order to prevent mutual radicalisation and achieve de-radicalisation, Moghaddam conceptualises three basic principles and four steps: The first principle is to remember that the 'causes' of conflict can shift over time — from a conflict over water to collective humiliation impacting identity, ending in conflict over resources and religious values. The second principle is to acknowledge that usually collective identity underlies all the different elements in conflict. Third, the subjective perspective of the respective groups trapped in the process must be understood. On these basic principles, Moghaddam builds four steps for a mutual de-radicalisation process. First, the two groups need to be helped to recognise that mutual radicalisation is what has happened. Second, both groups need help to imagine the other group not as 'animal' but as part of humanity. Third, the fault line between practitioners and extremists in both groups needs attention. Finally, the two groups must be helped to adopt and engage in mutual superordinate goals.

[76] See also Lindner, 2016, *Cities at risk — From humiliation to dignity: A journey from Sarajevo to Dubrovnik, or the case of Southeast Europe*. Paper written for the 27th Annual Dignity Conference 'Cities at risk — From humiliation to dignity', in Dubrovnik, Croatia, 19th–23rd September 2016.

[77] 'Trump calls European Union a 'foe' — ahead of Russia and China', Andrew Roth and David Smith in Helsinki and Edward Helmore and Martin Pengelly in New York, *The Guardian*, 15th July 2018, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jul/15/donald-trump-vladimir-putin-helsinki-russia-indictments.

[78] Prior to the so-called Brexit referendum in the U.K. in 2016, the referendum that was to determine whether the country was to leave the European Union or remain in it, Steve Bannon, later head of the Trump election campaign, directed an illegal undercover anti-EU operation by psycho-PR firm Cambridge Analytica. See, for instance, 'Cambridge Analytica is what happens when you privatise military propaganda', by Adam Ramsay, *Open Democracy*, 28th March 2018, www.opendemocracy.net/uk/brexitinc/adam-ramsay/cambridge-analytica-is-what-happens-when-you-privatise-military-propaganda. See also 'Britain is the world centre for private military contractors — and it's almost impossible to find out what they're up to', by Iain Overton, Laura Bruun, and Elisa Benevilli, *Open Democracy*, 20th December 2018, www.opendemocracy.net/uk/iain-overton-laura-bruun-elisa-benevilli/britain-is-world-centre-for-private-military-contractors.
On the Russian side, see 'Zwei Zerstörer in Helsinki', by Matthias Koch, *Neue Presse*, 16th July 2018, www.pressreader.com/germany/neue-presse/20180716/281522226862298: At the same time, Russian business partners offered goldmines to Arron Banks, the main financer of the Leave EU campaign. Russian leader Vladimir Putin has long promoted movements and aspirations directed against the European Union also in the rest of Europe. Russian banks helped the French EU opponent Marine Le Pen in France, and Italy's populist Lega-leader Matteo Salvini has posed in a Putin t-shirt. And Syrians who had to flee from Russian air raids contributed to spreading a weary mood across Europe that has since become poisonous. Koch, translated by Lindner from German:

> Welches sind die wichtigsten Gegner der USA? Diese Frage eines amerikanischen Fernsehsenders sollte Donald Trump am gestrigen Sonntag beantworten, kurz vor dem heutigen Gipfel mit Wladimir Putin in Helsinki. Als Erstes nannte Trump die Europäische Union, 'Sollte man nicht denken, aber es

ist so'. Dann folgt laut Trump, 'in gewisser Weise' Russland. Und dann, 'ökonomisch gesehen', China. Es ist Zeit für eine neue, sehr unerfreuliche Bestandsaufnahme: Der jetzt amtierende Präsident der USA sieht die EU allen Erstes als Feld und möchte sie zerstören.

[79] 'Historic moment' for people on the move, as UN agrees first-ever Global Compact on migration', *United Nations News*, 13th July 2018, https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/07/1014632.

[80] 'U.S. quits talks on global migration pact over sovereignty clash', by Michelle Nichols, *Reuters World News*, 3rd December 2017, www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-migrants-un/u-s-quits-talks-on-global-migration-pact-over-sovereignty-clash-idUSKBN1DX0Q4.

[81] 'Roundtable on global government: An exchange on "global government revisited"', by Richard Falk, *Great Transition Initiative*, October 2017, www.greattransition.org/roundtable/global-gov-richard-falk.

[82] See 'How Ohio is trying to keep Asian Carp out of Lake Erie, *Cleveland.com*, 15th August 2017, www.cleveland.com/nation/index.ssf/2017/08/ohio_acts_to_keep_asian_carp_o.html.

[83] See *Wild yak*, Tibet Natural Environment Conservation Network, 21st January 2014, www.tibetnature.net/en/wild-yak/.

[84] Note well-written reflections in 'Few Americans want open borders — democrats included: Trump and his supporters often label his critics as believers in "open borders". Most aren't', by Robert A Stribley, *Medium*, 22nd February 2019, https://medium.com/s/story/few-americans-want-open-borders-democrats-included-dba12884c133.

[85] See 'American missionary killed by tribe on remote Indian island', by Sanjib Kumar Roy, *Reuters*, 21st November 2018, www.reuters.com/article/us-india-usa-murder-idUSKCN1NQ0QT.

[86] On 22 July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik killed eight people by detonating a van bomb amid the government quarter in Oslo, Norway, and then shot dead 69 participants of a Workers' Youth League (AUF) summer camp on the island of Utøya outside of Oslo. His aim was to demonstrate his opposition to Islam — he spoke up for the deportation of all Muslims from Europe — and his rejection of feminism. He blamed Islam and feminism for European 'cultural suicide'.

[87] See related reflections in 'Why did Heidegger emerge as the central philosopher of the far right? Heidegger's philosophy has legitimised the far right's regional environmentalism, populism and cultural racism', by Julian Göpffarth, *Open Democracy*, 23rd June 2020, www.opendemocracy.net/en/countering-radical-right/why-did-heidegger-emerge-central-philosopher-far-right/.

[88] See Anne Wyatt-Brown at the 12th Workshop on Humiliation and Violent Conflict, Columbia University, 8th–9th December 2016.

[89] I thank Peter Barus for sharing, on 2nd August 2020, two paragraphs from the announcement of a Four Arrows' seminar: 'The Indigenous worldview, one that guided us for 99% of human history, has proven to be foundational for relatively peaceful, healthful, and joyful societies, and for sustainable ecological and environmental life systems'. See www.teachingvirtues.net or www.fourarrowsbooks.com.

[90] See Posey, 2001. I thank Jeffrey Warner for sending us this quote. It is a privilege to have Jeffrey Warner as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[91] 'The indigenous "people of wildlife" know how to protect nature', by Baher Kamal, *Inter Press Service*, 10th March 2017, www.ipsnews.net/2017/03/the-indigenous-people-of-wildlife-know-how-to-protect-nature/. See also *Indigenous peoples and climate change: Emerging research on traditional knowledge and livelihoods*, edited by Ariell Ahearn, Martin Oelz and Rishabh Kumar Dhir, International Labour Organization (ILO), 16th April 2019, www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/publications/WCMS_686780/lang--en/index.htm.
See also our 33rd Annual Dignity Conference Dignity conference in 2019 in the Brazilian Amazon, 28th August–7th September 2019, where we experienced traditional knowledge and livelihoods first hand.

[92] See 'A challenge to conservationists: Can we protect natural habitats without abusing the people who live in them?' by Mac Chapin, 2004, *World Watch Magazine*, https://fdocuments.in/document/a-

challenge-to-conservationists.html. See also 'Whose "inclusive conservation"?' *Policy Brief of the Indigenous and Community Conserved Area (ICCA) Consortium*, Issue No. 5, www.iccaconsortium.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Consortium-Policy-Brief-no-5-Whose-inclusive-conservation.pdf. See, furthermore, 'The key to a sustainable economy is 5,000 years old', by Ellen Brown, *Web of Debt* & *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 2nd September 2019, https://ellenbrown.com/2019/08/30/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/, and www.transcend.org/tms/2019/09/the-key-to-a-sustainable-economy-is-5000-years-old/. See also 'Randomise this! On poor economics', by Sanjay Reddy, 2013, in *Review of Agrarian Studies*, www.ras.org.in/randomise_this_on_poor_economics.

[93] Lindner, 2000.

[94] Deeyah Khan is a filmmaker and Fuuse founder, see http://fuuse.net/:

> Fuuse explores the diversity of modern societies and cultures with honesty and compassion. Whether on film or television, online or at live events, Fuuse seeks to bring voices and stories from the margins of the mainstream media into the heart of public discourse. Only through creating more inclusive dialogue across, and within, cultures and communities can we hope to foster understanding. Only through fearlessly confronting complex, controversial topics can we hope to challenge prejudice. That is my passion and this is Fuuse's purpose.

See *Deeyah Khan: What we don't know about Europe's Muslim kids*, TEDxExeter, April 2016, www.ted.com/talks/deeyah_khan_what_we_don_t_know_about_europe_s_muslim_kids. See also Banaz: A love story, a documentary film directed and produced by Deeyah Khan, 2012, https://youtu.be/VepuyvhHYdM. The film chronicles the life and death of Banaz Mahmod, a young British Kurdish woman killed in 2006 in South London on the orders of her family in a so-called honour killing. Banaz fled to the police after an attempt by her family to first drug her and then kill her. The police brought her back to her family, spoke with the family, and left. In other words, by seeking dialogue, the police hastened the killing of Banaz.
It is a privilege to have Deeyah Khan as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[95] See Lindner, 2000.

[96] Lindner, 2006a, p. 44.

[97] See Dweck, 1999, O'Keefe, et al., 2018.

[98] See Andary-Brophy, 2015.

[99] See a summary in 'The personality of political correctness: The idea of political correctness is central to the culture wars of American politics', by Scott Barry Kaufman, *Scientific American*, 20th November 2016, https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/beautiful-minds/the-personality-of-political-correctness/.

[100] Ibid.

[101] 'We're teaching university students lies', an interview with Dr Jordan Peterson by Jason Tucker and Jason VandenBeukel, *C2C Journal*, 1st December 2016, www.c2cjournal.ca/2016/12/were-teaching-university-students-lies-an-interview-with-dr-jordan-peterson/.

[102] See Campbell and Manning, 2014.

[103] 'The coddling of the American mind', by Greg Lukianoff, and Jonathan Haidt, *The Atlantic*, September 2015 Issue, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/09/the-coddling-of-the-american-mind/399356/.

[104] 'The man who destroyed America's ego: How a rebel psychologist challenged one of the 20th century's biggest — and most dangerous — ideas', by Will Storr, *Medium*, 25th February 2014, https://medium.com/matter/the-man-who-destroyed-americas-ego-94d214257b5.
With respect to the failure of the self-esteem movement and the advantages of a mindset of personal growth and self-compassion as antidote to overconfidence, see, among others, 'Why self-compassion

beats self-confidence', by Kristin Wong, *New York Times*, 28th December 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/12/28/smarter-living/why-self-compassion-beats-self-confidence.html. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article. Wong recommends, Barker, 2017, Neff, 2008, and Leary, et al., 2007. See also Neff, 2011, and 'Why self-compassion works better than self-esteem', by Olga Khazan, *The Atlantic*, 6th May 2016, www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/05/why-self-compassion-works-better-than-self-esteem/481473/#.

These insights resonate with those of psychologist Carol Dweck, who found that the challenges of life can be approached better with a *task-oriented learning-mastery* orientation than an *ego-oriented performance* orientation or, or as Linda Hartling would express it, better with a mindset of personal *growth* rather than a *fixed* mindset. See Dweck, 1999, O'Keefe, et al., 2018.

See a few more examples of relevant literature, for instance, Lasch, 1991, Putnam, 2000, Baumeister, et al., 1996, Bushman and Baumeister, 1998, Baumeister, et al., 2003, Baumeister, 2005, Levine, 2007, Twenge and Campbell, 2009, Wood, et al., 2009, Ehrenreich, 2010, Collishaw, et al., 2012, Twenge, et al., 2012, Twenge and Kasser, 2013, Twenge, 2014, Curran and Hill, 2017, and Storr, 2018. See also how Howard Richards, 2013, includes Foucault, 1961/2006, and Frank, 1961.

See also 'Column: This is what happens when you take Ayn Rand seriously', by Denise Cummins*, Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)*, 16th February 2016, www.pbs.org/newshour/making-sense/column-this-is-what-happens-when-you-take-ayn-rand-seriously/. Cummins presents two case studies that show the disastrous consequences of following Ayn Rand's philosophy, namely, the company Sears, and the country Honduras. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article.

Also psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut has worked on narcissistic injury. See Kohut, 1972, p. 380:

> One sees the need for revenge, for righting a wrong, for undoing the hurt by whatever means, and a deeply anchored, unrelenting compulsion in the pursuit of all these aims which gives no rest to those who have suffered a narcissistic injury — these are features which are characteristic for the phenomenon of narcissistic rage in all its forms and which sets it apart from other kinds of aggression.

I thank David Lotto, 2016, for reminding me of this quote.

[105] See 'The rise of victimhood culture', by Conor Friedersdorf, *The Atlantic*, 11th September 2015, www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/09/the-rise-of-victimhood-culture/404794/.

[106] See 'The myth of the free speech crisis: How overblown fears of censorship have normalised hate speech and silenced minorities', by Nesrine Malik, *The Guardian*, 3rd September 2019, www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/03/the-myth-of-the-free-speech-crisis:

> The vast majority of this abuse goes unpunished. And yet it is somehow conventional wisdom that free speech is under assault, that university campuses have succumbed to an epidemic of no-platforming, that social media mobs are ready to raise their pitchforks at the most innocent slip of the tongue or joke, and that Enlightenment values that protected the right to free expression and individual liberty are under threat. The cause of this, it is claimed, is a liberal totalitarianism that is attributable (somehow) simultaneously to intolerance and thin skin. The impulse is allegedly at once both fascist in its brutal inclinations to silence the individual, and protective of the weak, easily wounded and coddled.

We thank Rigmor Johnsen for sharing this article with us.

See also Lindner, 2017, *Honor, humiliation, and terror*.

[107] See, among others, 'Archbishop warns of "rainbow plague" amid LGBT tensions in Poland', by Lauren Chadwick, *Euronews*, 3rd August 2019, www.euronews.com/2019/08/02/archbishop-warns-of-rainbow-plague-amid-lgbt-tensions-in-poland.

[108] See 'I was Jordan Peterson's strongest supporter. Now I think he's dangerous', by Bernard Schiff, *The Star*, 25th May 2018, www.thestar.com/opinion/2018/05/25/i-was-jordan-petersons-strongest-supporter-now-i-think-hes-dangerous.html. See also 'Nuance: A love story: My affair with the intellectual dark web', by Meghan Daum, *Medium*, 24th August 2018, https://medium.com/s/greatescape/nuance-a-love-story-ae6a14991059.

[109] See Roach, 2019.

[110] 'The end of identity liberalism', by Mark Lilla, *New York Times*, 18th November 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html. See also 'Why Trump seems impervious to scandal — for now: Lessons from an 18th-century English rogue', by Thomas Glasbergen, *Washington Post*, 8th May 2018, www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/05/08/why-trump-seems-impervious-to-scandal-for-now/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.21b47780fd09. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this article.

[111] *Jonathan Haidt — The psychology of self-righteousness*, in 'On Being', with Krista Tippett, WNYC (non-profit, non-commercial, public radio stations located in New York City), 19th October 2017, www.wnyc.org/story/jonathan-haidt--the-psychology-of-self-righteousness.

[112] Freire, 1968/1970, 1968/1973, and Morais, 1979, 1983. See Andersson and Richards, 2013, chapter IV, p. 15, of the unpublished manuscript:

> De Morais, in contradistinction to Freire, sets forward not two but three levels of awareness. He adds to Freire's two, which are: the naïve level and the critical level. The third is the organisational level of awareness. At the naïve level a person is aware of problems but is unable to understand their cause (and so may blame God or the Fates). The critically conscious person is able to identify the factors responsible for problems, and their inter-relationship. Organisational awareness is reached when the person has the ability to act together with others to address a problem or attain particular results. Organisational awareness manifests what de Morais calls a 'methodological rationality'.

[113] Roach, 2019, p. 114. It is a privilege to have Steven C. Roach as an esteemed member in our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[114] See chapter 7: Humiliation addiction, in my book *Making enemies: Humiliation and international conflict*, Lindner, 2006a.

[115] Margalit, 2002. It was a privilege for me to meet with Avishai Margalit in his office at the Faculty of Law at Hebrew University of Jerusalem at Mount Scopus on 16th November 2003.

[116] African-American scholar of world religions and African studies James Jones, 2006, in a paper presented at the 3rd Workshop on Humiliation and Violent Conflict, Columbia University, 14th–15th December 2006. Jones writes:

> Persons affected by the PVEE syndrome often defend, minimise and/or rationalise the most outrageous attitudes held and acts carried out by themselves or members of their particular group. When you talk to such people, you will quickly find that the reason that they take such a usually untenable position is because 'their people' either are or have been victimised by one or more other groups. This is the golden rule turned on its head: 'Do bad unto others because they (or someone else) did something bad to you'. It is a deceptively simple and somewhat pervasive point of view.

It is a privilege to have James Edward Jones as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[117] See chapter 7: Humiliation addiction, in my book *Making enemies: Humiliation and international conflict*, Lindner, 2006a.

[118] Lindner, 2006b.

[119] Terrizzi, et al., 2010.

[120] Donald L. Nathanson in a personal communication, 1st October 1999.

[121] Rozin, et al., 2009:

> During human evolution, the disgust output system was harnessed to a disgust evaluation system that responded not to simple sensory inputs (such as bitter tastes) but to more cognitively elaborated appraisals (e.g., a cockroach). Initially, the evaluation system was a food rejection system that rejected potential foods on the basis of their nature or perceived origin. This was the first 'true disgust',

> because it engaged this evaluation system. Later, through some combination of biological and cultural evolution, the eliciting category was enlarged... the disgust evaluation system was further extended to a class of moral offenses involving violations of purity and sacredness, described by anthropologist Richard Shweder, et al., 1997, as 'the ethics of divinity' in a taxonomy of three widely found clusters of moral meanings. However, recent evidence indicates that disgust may also be elicited by violations of fairness and justice (Shweder's ethic of autonomy). Autonomy violations are typically associated with anger... Divinity and fairness violations activate parts of the brain (particularly the anterior insula) that are also activated by core disgust, but the anterior insula is not uniquely associated with disgust (and vice versa).

It was a privilege to be invited by Paul Rozin to the Solomon Asch Center, and hosted by Clark McCauley on 28th November 2005

[122] When I discussed these questions with Ted Schulman, an experienced Occupy activist and information technology expert, in New York in November 2018, he kindly shared with me his preferred authors, concepts, and initiatives, among others, the Institute of Noetic Sciences, the Global Oneness Project, and Culture Unplugged. He resonates with reflections on the *future of mankind* by Teilhard de Chardin, 1920–1952/1959, with the thoughts on *wholeness and the implicate order* by Bohm, 1980, with the analysis of *mutual causality* by Macy, 1991, and the views on a *living universe* by Groff and Elgin, 2015, and Sahtouris, 2009. Ervin László and Arne Næss co-authored their views on an *interconnected universe* and a transdisciplinary unified theory, in László and Næss, 1995, carried forward by Ervin László's sons in Laszlo, et al., 2011.

[123] Raskin, 2016, p. 84.

[124] See, for instance, europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/subsidiarity_en.htm. See also the Global Dialogue Foundation Unity in Diversity that was established in July 2011 as an initiative of Global Dialogue Foundation (GDF) in collaboration with the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC) to promote intercultural understanding. See www.gdfunityindiversity.org. I learned a lot about it when I was a candidate for the European Parliament in the year 1994.

[125] See, among others, Marshall, 2008.

[126] See Gaertner, et al., 2012.

[127] See Gaertner, et al., 2000.

[128] See, among others, Hornsey and Hogg, 2000, Brown and Hewstone, 2005, Crisp, et al., 2006, Dovidio, et al., 2009. I thank Sigrun Marie Moss reminding me of the more recent developments in this field. See Moss, 2014, Moss and Vollhardt, 2015.

[129] Moss, 2014, Moss and Vollhardt, 2015.

[130] See psychologist Fathali Moghaddam, 2012, and his concept of *omniculture*. I thank Fathali Moghaddam for sharing this article with Louise Sundararajan and her Indigenous Psychology Task Force. Moghaddam, 2012, Abstract:

> In stage one, the omnicultural imperative demands that during interactions with others we give priority to human commonalities. In stage two, group-based differences are recognised. A cross-national survey shows support for omniculturalism within the United States, but less so among minority group members.

[131] 'Meanwhile, around the world', by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Editorial #509, 27th November 2017, www.transcend.org/tms/2017/11/meanwhile-around-the-world-9/.

[132] Galtung, 2009.

[133] 'Structural violence re-explored', by Johan Galtung, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, Editorial #333, 21st July 2014, www.transcend.org/tms/2014/07/structural-violence-re-explored/.

[134] Kiesler, 1995.

[135] 'Homogenization of psychotherapy and counseling: Scientific, professional, ethical/moral issues, risks, and directions', by Anthony Marsella, *TRANSCEND Media Service*, 30th April 2018, www.transcend.org/tms/2018/04/homogenization-of-psychotherapy-and-counseling-scientific-professional-ethical-moral-issues-risks-and-directions/.

[136] Ibid.

[137] 'The day America rejected social democracy and chose more collapse: Some (grim) lessons from Super Tuesday', by Umair Haque, *Eudaimonia*, 4th March 2020, https://eand.co/the-day-america-rejected-social-democracy-and-chose-more-collapse-9c9ebff519fd.

[138] Escobar, 2012. I thank Howard Richards for reminding me of Arturo Escobar's work.

[139] Ritzer, 2004. I thank Thomas Hylland Eriksen for making me aware of Ritzer's extension of his McDonaldisation thesis.

[140] Eriksen, 2016, p. 13. Stiglitz, 2003, Soros, 2002, Gray, 1998.

[141] Retail analyst Victor Lebow, 1955, advised that Americans should 'make consumption their way of life', that buying and using goods should become a kind of ritual, that things should be 'consumed, burned up, worn out, replaced and discarded at an ever-increasing rate'. In his view, this would not just keep the economy going, people would also find 'spiritual satisfaction and ego gratification in consumption'.

[142] See, among others, 'The shutdown is America's authoritarian moment: Why a shutdown is an authoritarian's best friend — and how they destabilize democracies', by Umair Haque, *Eudaimonia*, 25th January 2019, https://eand.co/the-shutdown-is-americas-authoritarian-moment-30c6b292107d.

[143] Ury, 1999, p. xvii.

[144] See, among others, Niemi and Young, 2016, Abstract:

> Why do victims sometimes receive sympathy for their suffering and at other times scorn and blame? Here we show a powerful role for moral values in attitudes towards victims. We measured moral values associated with unconditionally prohibiting harm ('individualising values') versus moral values associated with prohibiting behaviour that destabilises groups and relationships ('binding values': loyalty, obedience to authority, and purity). Increased endorsement of binding values predicted increased ratings of victims as contaminated (Studies 1–4); increased blame and responsibility attributed to victims, increased perceptions of victims' (versus perpetrators') behaviours as contributing to the outcome, and decreased focus on perpetrators (Studies 2–3). Patterns persisted controlling for politics, just world beliefs, and right-wing authoritarianism. Experimentally manipulating linguistic focus off of victims and onto perpetrators reduced victim blame. Both binding values and focus modulated victim blame through victim responsibility attributions. Findings indicate the important role of ideology in attitudes towards victims via effects on responsibility attribution.

See also 'Who blames the victim?' by Laura Niemi and Liane Young, *New York Times*, 24th June 2016, www.nytimes.com/2016/06/26/opinion/sunday/who-blames-the-victim.html. I thank Linda Hartling for making me aware of this research. 'Caring' and 'fairness' are called 'individualising values' in this article, versus 'loyalty-binding values'. I concur with Linda Hartling to call them 'connectedness-compassion values' versus 'loyalty-binding values'.
See, furthermore, Opotow, 1995.

[145] See, for instance, 'The great migration clash', by Joseph Chamie, *Inter Press Service*, 21st July 2020, www.ipsnews.net/2020/07/great-migration-clash/.

[146] 'We are living in a failed state: The coronavirus didn't break America. It revealed what was already broken', George Packer, *The Atlantic*, Special Preview: June 2020 Issue, www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/06/underlying-conditions/610261/.

> The long recovery over the past decade enriched corporations and investors, lulled professionals, and left the working class further behind. The lasting effect of the slump was to increase polarization and

> to discredit authority, especially government's'… This was the American landscape that lay open to the virus: in prosperous cities, a class of globally connected desk workers dependent on a class of precarious and invisible service workers; in the countryside, decaying communities in revolt against the modern world; on social media, mutual hatred and endless vituperation among different camps; in the economy, even with full employment, a large and growing gap between triumphant capital and beleaguered labor; in Washington, an empty government led by a con man and his intellectually bankrupt party; around the country, a mood of cynical exhaustion, with no vision of a shared identity or future.

[147] Bruce L. Fisher, director of the Center for Economic and Policy Studies at the Department of Economics and Finance of the SUNY Buffalo State College in New York, in his contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of 'The struggle for meaningful work', 18th January 2017, in response to Klitgaard, 2017.

[148] Ryan, 1995.

[149] See, among others, 'The spiritual tension of local loyalty and global responsibility', by Courtney E. Martin, *On Being*, with Krista Tippett, WNYC (non-profit, non-commercial, public radio stations located in New York City), 9th November 2017, https://onbeing.org/blog/courtney-martin-the-spiritual-tension-of-local-loyalty-and-global-responsibility/. I thank Cheryl Wells for making me aware of this programme.

[150] 'Peace and democratic multilateralism: The ECPD International Round Table', by Federico Mayor Zaragoza, *Wall Street International*, 17th January 2018, https://wsimag.com/economy-and-politics/35178-peace-and-democratic-multilateralism. It is a privilege to have Federico Mayor Zaragoza as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

[153] 'De/coloniality and displacement: Ontological occupations and the historicity of migration', by Arturo Escobar, 2019, forthcoming in *Socioscapes*. It is a privilege to have Arturo Escobar as an esteemed member in the global advisory board of our Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies fellowship.

[154] Ibid. See also Escobar, 2018.

[155] Meg Holden, professor of Urban Studies and Geography, in her contribution to the Great Transition Network (GTN) discussion on the topic of 'Thinking globally, acting locally?', 24th July 2019.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

[158] 'A world party', by Roberto Savio, *Other News*, 19th February 2019, www.other-news.info/2019/02/a-world-party/. See also Heikki Patomäki, 2015, 2019.