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## Challenges to Ethnos (ἔθνος) in a Global Society

### Abstract

Ethnos is a broad term, often understood as an element in nation making, or else an umbrella term for the processes of building the modern nation. The academic discussion around ethnos nowadays is being challenged not only by the principles of globalization, and with them a possibility of a global village, where nations will or will not have an important role, but also the efforts to establish states based on faith and strong ideology on the part of some right wing parties or the supporters of the Muslim caliphate. This article presents a short study on the problems created by globalization and discusses the parameters of possible influences imposed on the nation by world coalitions and associations. It addresses questions like: Can the nation survive in a globalized society? What kinds of nations might be developed in the future? Is the Greek ethnos compatible with these developments? What is the relation of radicalization and terrorism to nation building?

**Keywords:** nation, nation state, globalization, immigrants, convergence, terrorism, radicalization, *Dar al-Islam*, *Dar al-Harb*, jihad, free trade, alliances.

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## Ethnos and nation state

A nation (ἔθνος – *ethnos*) is a group of people sharing common characteristics regarding their language, religion, historical heritage, cultural background and geographical ancestry. However, the most important connecting element is their consciousness of belonging to the same ethnic group and a sense of common historical mission. This differentiates the nation from both narrower ideological groupings, like family clans and later more generally factions (united by φατριασμός – *fatriasmos*) or inhabitants of a locality (τοπικισμός – *topikismos*), and broader groups like that of subjects of an empire or adherents of a religion (οικουμενισμός – *oikoumenismos*, or ecumenism) (Kouloumpēs & Wolfe, 1981).

In classical sociology, two basic approaches to the nation prevail. Zenonas Norkus (2014) discerned outlines of both in the work of Max Weber (who was admittedly sceptical about the merit of using the notions of *ethnicity* and *nation* as scientific categories). In the first of approaches, which might be called the political-economic (or national-economic) approach, the nation is “the organizational form of economic association which is optimal in the fight for ‘elbow-room’ in the globalized ‘Malthusian world’ as described by the classical model of long-term economic dynamics” (Norkus, 2004, p. 389). Within the other, political-sociological approach, however, the bond unifying members of a nation originates from their common historical memory and manifests itself in shared culture and values. The nation itself is here a status group competing with other nations for cultural prestige. Another influential theory of nation, not least so because of the subsequent political standing of its author, belongs to Joseph Stalin, who combines both the latter approaches. Stalin sees the nation as a community that is stable (as opposed to casual or ephemeral conglomerations) but also, and crucially, historically constituted (as opposed to racial). A nation thus comes into being owing to long-standing and systematic interaction between people living together in a territory over the course of generations. This process results from, but at the same time in, a common language, as well as both economy and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture (Jughashvili, 1913). More recently, Benedict Anderson famously described the nation as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991), referring to the fact that the connections it engenders are far too extensive to be direct and thus the nation requires that they are – but at the same time allows them to be – imagined. A similar point is made by Paul James (2006) when he speaks of the nation as an “abstract community,” which despite being objectively

impersonal, has its members experience themselves as partaking in an embodied unity with others.

Yet, in spite of its apparent ubiquity and universality on the one hand, and the Greek etymology of the ethnos word family in many European languages on the other – the term ἔθνος did not exist in ancient Greece, even if the debate regarding the relations of all those who were citizens of Athens (Ἀθηναῖοι – *Athinaioi*) with all others who did not share the Greek education and culture (βάρβαροι – *Barbaroi*) was amazingly similar to the current discussion of the treatment of illegal immigrants, thousands of years later (cf. Plato’s *The Republic*, book V, 470c – Plato, 2013, pp. 526–529). In ancient Greece, the term that was used in similar instances was φιλοπόλις (*filopolis*), meaning “adherence and love to one’s own town” (cf. φιλοπόλιδες – *filopolides*, translated as “patriots,” in: Plato, *The Republic*, book V, 470d – Plato, 2013, pp. 528–529). The term, and the phenomenon of, nationalism (εθνικισμός – *ethnikismos*), expressing high admiration for one’s own nation,<sup>1</sup> are nevertheless a result of the modern social phenomenon of nation building.

The nation building process of the nineteenth century occurred simultaneously in the political and in the cultural fields. In the latter realm, it was this process that resulted in the creation of nations as described above by Anderson and James. In the sphere of the political, it caused these, now largely culturally homogeneous, groups to become recognized as independent states (nation states), something which lasted in Europe until 1951 (Treaty of Paris), when the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established, thus opening the door to the creation of the European Financial Community and the EU of today.

From the perspective of the individual, these results of the nation building process manifest themselves as nationality – understood as a peculiar relationship between a person and their state of origin. One of the facets of this relationship is the protection to which nationality entitles. Nationality is entangled in a complicated interrelation with ethnicity, which can be defined as a group, and a state belonging to a group, of people considering themselves to be different from others. Whereas both custom and international law proclaim it the right of each state to determine who

<sup>1</sup> In divided societies like Cyprus some people use this term with a “positive meaning,” while many others use it to express the superiority of their own nation over those of the “others.” Greek Cypriot nationalists nowadays use the words “our nation” not because they want union with Greece, but as a reaffirmation of their Greek identity “in the context of an independent polity which is organically tied to Greek culture” (Mavratsas, 1997, p. 718).

its nationals are,<sup>2</sup> ethnic groups are united by common tradition, culture, language, ritual, behavioural traits and often religion. Nationality, in its turn, does not necessarily pertain to these features. Apart from nation states, there are multinational states where many ethnoses are united in one sovereign political organism. An empire may include people from different nations or ethnicities. A federation is a political entity characterized by a union of partially self-governing states or regions under a central (federal) government. In other words, while a nationality can be counted among legal concepts, ethnicity is a cultural concept (Vonk, 2012).

Thus, a nation state is differentiated from an ethnos (ἔθνος, nation) by its political legitimacy as a *sovereign nation*. It is at the same time a political and geopolitical entity, as well as a cultural and ethnic one. For the purposes of this article we refer to an ethnos as a cultural and ethnic entity. When the term “nation state” is used, I mean an ethnos which enjoys at the same time state sovereignty.

## Global society

Globalization is a process whereby the world is increasingly entangled in a network of relationships, which brings with itself a unification of practices and ideas about social life. Its crucial feature is mobility – on an unprecedented scale, the world sees a constant move of goods, people, contracts (including financial claims) and thoughts (facts, ideas, and beliefs).

The question remaining now to be answered is what is a “global society” in this regard. Let us begin with the term “society.” Speaking most generally, the existence of society has to do with the fact that acting separately, one person has rather limited means – and it is the satisfaction of those needs of the individual that they cannot satisfy on their own that is made possible by the social group. The reflection concerning society in the pre-globalized world is well exemplified by the work of Gerhard Lenski (1966), who classifies societies on the basis of their advancement in technology, communication, and economy. On a strictly political plane, societies have likewise been differentiated in terms of their size and complexity into bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and state societies, all with a varying extent of political power, depending on the cultural, geographical, and historical environments that these societies are faced with. This situation has become even more complex with the advent of globalization. What is particularly of importance here is that nowadays, a society which “goes international, becomes global” (Kumar,

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<sup>2</sup> See the Convention on Certain Questions Relating to the Conflict of Nationality Laws. The Hague, 12 April 1930. Article 1: “It is for each State to determine under its own law who are its nationals [...]” (“Convention on certain questions relating to the conflict of nationality laws,” 1930).

2007, p. 413). Thus, the key to grasping what is novel about today's society and the meanings to which it gives rise is precisely "its global, ecumenical character" (Kaldor, 2003, p. 7).

## Problems for the ethnos created by globalization

A global society promotes worldwide interconnectedness among people in the spheres of economy, politics, culture, communication, defence, and education. This implies freedom and interaction, dissemination of ideas and habits, communication by means of social media, free trade agreements, migration possibilities, preference for cheap labour, technological services, control over criminal acts, transparency, and the nearly unrestricted right of businessmen to establish industry, trade or commerce either in their home country or abroad. Some of these features can be positive for the nation state and help it to survive, albeit in their majority the above characteristics form a threat to the ethnos. Technology supports this progressive global development in a practical way, though the free market, the "no borders" migration policy, and the emerging hegemony of the G7 "leading industrial countries" question the role of the national state as the "protector" of its own interests.

Globalization functions on a social level like a "thunderstorm." This term was originally used by professor Anastasios Yannoulatos (Yannoulatou, 2015) to describe globalization and its effects because there are some common characteristics between the two: globalization in the socio-political and economic sphere happens as suddenly as a thunderstorm, without giving people any chance to prevent this negative occurrence. Similarly, the citizens of different nations cannot resist all the effects of the global market, the free communication or the "free migration" etc.; they give up (willingly or unwillingly) and they just try to "heal their wounds" and continue their already greatly affected or compromised old way of life.

It might be instructive to view this problem through the prism of one of globalisation's key aspects, that of commerce and markets. In his classic work *Globalization of markets* (1983), Theodore Levitt points to one of the problems demonstrated by globalization. Since products should satisfy customers and lead to the adjusting of production to their needs and not only those of the companies, as long as customers originate from same nation, it might be that their needs are nation-based and similar. This changes, however, when a product, Greek olive oil for instance, is being globalized (παγκοσμιο-ποιημένο – *pankosmio-poiimeno*).<sup>3</sup> This means that

<sup>3</sup> From παγκοσμιο-ποιώ – *pankosmio-ptoio*, literally "to make global."

it can be sold or it is already being sold all over the world, where market demand allows it. It is a commodity which brings money under well-prescribed commercial circumstances. On the other hand, and from a more philosophical perspective, virtues like peace, love, respect and honour are not globalized; they are global (*παγκόσμιες* – *pankosmies*). Now, what is the role of the nation in this regard? On one hand, modern nations, which are (for the most part) represented in the political arena as states, normally wish their products to reach all markets and be sold there; commerce brings money and increases the economy and thus wealth and political stability. The Greek olive oil, however, by doing its world round trip, brings back home not only money but also restrictions and prescriptions on how different markets want to have it prepared (e.g., ecologically or not) or even how it is packed. In addition, values from the receiving countries, such as “different approaches” regarding love, peace or even family structure, come to the homeland of the commodity and seek to influence it. It is precisely this process that is an example of the thunderstorm theory. What are the options for the Greek economy under such circumstances? To sell the olive oil all over the world and be influenced by world values or not to sell it and stay a closed society? And if the choice is, “Yes, let us stay a closed society!,” how will the economy be promoted? It seems that free commerce and exposure to foreign influence must go hand in hand. Can the nation become resistant to influences which are not welcome – or will it end up with the replacement of the traditional marriage contract with that of registered cohabitation (the so-called civil union), which has become a matter of fashion in western countries?<sup>4</sup>

Another example used in Cyprus when giving seminars to teachers on how they might teach multicultural education is the Cypriot potato. When asked, “Is the Cypriot potato global or globalized?,” most of them obviously answer, “Globalized.” This is quite right, as the potato, by being sold all over Europe or even the Middle East and Asia, has been made to be global (although before the free market it was known and sold only in Cyprus). The thunderstorm theory, however, shows that this free movement in the market of the potato brings with it competition in product prices and quality. This has resulted in the Cypriot potato no longer being produced not just for export but even for the local market because it has recently been deemed not profitable; there are equally good potatoes on the market from other countries at a lower price. What are we to do now with the Cypriot potato and our national agriculture in general? And what are the damages to our state or even to our *ethnos* brought about by the competition of products and pricing?

<sup>4</sup> Albeit in the Muslim world, one might be reminded, this was a praxis known since the time of early Islam as the so-called “temporary marriage” (*muta’ah*).

If we take the education system as another example, globalization exerts a significant impact on the mission and goals of education worldwide. This millennium started with debate on multi-culturalism, and schools, having accepted emigrants from nearly all over the world, had to modify their teaching methods so as to make them more appropriate for culturally diverse school populations. The students no longer belong to one nation existing in one country but are likewise children of asylum seekers, or working migrants, or war refugees, etc. All of them co-exist in classes and have to interact and collaborate in a school environment that is conducive for educational purposes. This means that especially in this decade, we are moving towards an intercultural school, hosting different pupils from different ethnicities and cultures. Some teachers regard this as a thunderstorm of new realities, which calls for new working methods for successful schooling.<sup>5</sup> One solution to this problem might be sought in the more general theory of convergence. At first concerning the possibility of eventual assimilation, or convergence, of capitalist and communist economies, after the fall of the Soviet bloc, it came to be applied to the globalizing world economy. Re-opening the discussion, Robert Boyer (1993) advocated for a theory of convergence which he dubbed “convergence in institutional forms and ‘régulation’ modes.” Rather than putting all faith in market mechanisms or proposing a uniform recipe for a democratic control of the market, his model posited that,

the interactions of political and economic interests can take a multiplicity of configurations according to the precise balance between market [...] and the mix between public regulations, associations, private and public hierarches and finally markets (Boyer, 1993, p. 14).

In short, Boyer proposed that “the idea of a ‘one and unique best way’ should be replaced by a variety of punctuated equilibria, which take into account local specificities” (Boyer, 1993, p. 1). Meanwhile, the “education for global citizenship” as it is practiced in various states, though supported by national governments, politicians, and policy-makers across different nations, creates problems for educational institutions, which find themselves pressured to respond to globalization forces by teaching their students to become competitive and successful participants in this new realm, unless they want to see both their students and their nations be left

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<sup>5</sup> During national days’ celebrations it is customary for the best pupil to hold the national flag in the parade in front of the President of the state and government officials. Since schools became multi-cultural, the best pupil has not always been Greek but could be an Albanian or an Egyptian, which has given rise to the question whether it is appropriate to have a foreigner holding the Cypriot flag, being the symbol of the Cypriot nation.

behind (cf. Si-lova & Hobson, 2014). In practice, it is a challenging task to promote during the daily class schedule the students' national values and at the same time to prepare them for their role as world citizens enjoying international values such as peaceful co-existence and respect for all.<sup>6</sup>

## Political ideologies threatening the ethnos

In the recent century or so, Communism, Socialism, Fascism, and Corporatism have all turned out to be distracting labels for the same, age-old construct (Gopin, 2002). No matter the regime, power is vested in a centralized system, reminiscent of oligarchy (ολιγαρχία – *oligarkhia*),<sup>7</sup> and small ethnic groups mingle together under political, economic and military pressure. Capitalism with its free market system may offer freedom in some aspects of life, even though for decades it proved to be a system where banks authoritatively govern nations and states (αυτοκρατορία των τραπεζών – *autokratoria ton trapezon*, “empire of the banks”).<sup>8</sup> The recent Euro zone crisis and the financial situation of many south European and non-European states reveal a clear inadequacy of political structures and their supportive principles. The world has become more integrated. Free trade agreements and bilateral investment treaties, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed by the United States, Canada and Mexico, have mushroomed between nations. A question arising from all this is whether the nation state will rise to the challenge. Conversely, there is the remote possibility that these world alliances may one day collapse due to the existing clash of interests within them and precisely the lack of ethnos values. The future will be very decisive in this regard, though people as citizens of small ethnoses do not have a chance to choose for themselves the political system under which they wish to live. This is in reality a lack of freedom and democracy, a demeaning of human kind, as described by Konstantinos Kavafis, the famous Greek poet.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See for instance the educational targets set by Cyprus Ministry of Education for the years 2015-16 (“Stochoi scholikēs chronias Ypourgeiou Paideias kai Politismou,” n.d.).

<sup>7</sup> The term derives from ολίγος (*oligos*, “few”) and ἀρχω (*arkho*, “to rule, to command”) and refers to a political system whereby power is effectively held by a small group of people. Aristotle, who first described this type of regime, characterized it as a system where (few) bad people rule unjustly (as opposed to aristocracy) (Aristotle, 2004, p. 156). Outlining ways in which such system can come about, he pointed to economic mechanisms, thus associating oligarchy with the rule of the rich, which is presently referred to as πλουτοκρατία (*ploutokratia*, or plutocracy) (Winters, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Michael Albert in his *Capitalism vs. Capitalism* discusses extensively the role of the banks in capitalism (Albert, 1993, pp. 106–110).

<sup>9</sup> «Κι αν δεν μπορείς να κάμεις τη ζωή σου όπως τη θέλεις, τούτο προσπάθησε τουλάχιστον όσον μπορείς, μην την εξευτελίζεις» (Cavafy, 2007, p. 38) (“Even if you cannot make your life



## Economic challenges faced by the ethnos in a global society

A sound economy protects and preserves national independence. It guarantees a stable political system which keeps democracy and justice at their highest point. When a nation state faces financial problems, it often seeks to become part of bigger political or economic constructs, which can help this state to survive. In addition, these bigger formations e.g. the European Union, the USA, the former Soviet Union et alia, introduce their migration policies to member states and prescribe labour and administration rules. Game theory in political sciences analyses the formation, workings and break-up of such coalitions (Myerson, 1991) but such analysis likewise needs to take into account macroeconomic factors. In the last three decades, nation states worldwide – including Ireland, Italy, Spain, Greece and others – faced economic problems despite being part of bigger political organisms. These interstate unions minimize the potential for conflicts between member states and promote peaceful co-existence when the economy is flourishing. When this is not the case, conflicts arise as well as the wish to separate from the union. Financial problems of the recent years have caused the increase of nationalism and consequently of right wing parties or movements all over the world.

The economic, and by extension political, situation of both states and unions is made even more complicated by the increased mobility associated with globalization, which makes it very difficult to influence meaningfully the national economy. Products now often contain parts built all over the world. The parts of a computer could have been built separately across Asia, assembled in the United States, sold by a Chinese laptop company with technical support handled by call centres in India.

Related dangers, not entirely new but made more dire in the global age, pertain to the exploitation of natural resources. If governments really wish to have both a non-disputable income from their natural wealth and at the same time peace – if only because it is peace alone that creates, war usually destroys economy as well (every bombing flight of the NATO against the Islamic State costs nearly half a million dollars) – then nation states have to work collectively for the sake of everyone's welfare, and refrain from micro-political interventions. A cautionary case in point is the Arab Spring, which

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the way you want, try this, at least, as best as you can; do not demean it" – Cavafy, 2007, p. 39). This demeaning of citizens by the rise of oligarchies existed in antiquity too, especially during the fourth century BC. Once oligarchical governments had been removed by the Athenians, governing officials began to be elected by means of drawing lots. This was seen as a countermeasure against oligarchical tendencies within the authorities that were run by a professional governing class (Hansen, 1991).

resulted in the Arab Winter (Israeli, 2013) – a related power game regarding resources in a continent which is “richly endowed with mineral reserves and ranks first or second in quantity of world reserves of bauxite, cobalt, industrial diamond, phosphate rock, platinum-group metals, vermiculite, and zirconium” (Yager et al., 2012, p. 2).

Considering all this, what is the role of the ethnos? One might argue that its task is to keep the memory of identity and history of its people under the threat of disappearance due to this kind of globalization. This can be achieved by maintaining a balance between nation states and the global alliances without necessarily changing the current political status quo.

## Mass media and technology

Are the mass media global or globalized? This question is of importance to our discussion because of the enormous power of the mass media to influence the shaping of ideas and characters as well as to affect the control of the market, and thus – apart from being sometimes seen as the fourth power in state politics – to function as a third power in global terms. The mass media broadcast from a region (local level) to the world (global level) and spread information regarding all, the regional and the international. Since they may influence people’s minds, the debate is naturally also about the nation. Do citizens of one ethnos, who are naturally exposed to this exchange of information, feel citizens of their own state or citizens of a global village, the planet Earth? If the latter is the case, then the importance of the ethnos is secondary to that of the global village. At the same time, however, another question emerges: Can the global village deal with the problems of its citizens, who are so huge in numbers and so different in character and culture? Or do we speak of a non-personal relation between the global village and its inhabitants? Are these people happy? Do they still feel a bond to the mother country or their ethnos?

The interplay between the global and the local in the media is problematic in more than one way. Having access to all happenings in the world touches emotionally sensitive hearts of young people and creates unilateral comparisons. Teenagers who are exposed through the media to what is seen as a superior and thus desirable life style which is out of their reach may end up suffering from depression, hate, and enmity. What is more, it is nowadays often forgotten that emotional intelligence is a prerequisite for productivity. The recent priority given to technological computer classes in schools diminishes the students’ ability for historical thinking. History is not regarded as an interesting subject any more and topics of the national past are given lower priority. A resulting problem is the lack of

“intercultural protection.” To acquire this kind of social mechanism, young people need to gain a sound knowledge of their own national culture and consequently the ability to make informed comparisons with that of the others with whom they live in their country and share school life.

Moreover, there is a psychological dimension to the problems created to the ethnos by global social media, which have allowed people from across the globe to connect and communicate in ways that were impossible before, and have resulted in an unprecedentedly wide dissemination of ideas. The recent years have also shown its political potential. During the Arab Spring of 2010–2013, protesters in Egypt, after hearing on the news about popular demonstrations in Tunisia, planned demonstrations of their own using Facebook and mobile phones and reported the situation in real time to people worldwide using Twitter. Yet these political upheavals aside, even though in many countries people have unlimited contact via Facebook, Twitter, and other Internet services, they actually live in a time of a-communication (α-επικοινωνία – *a-epikoinonia*). What is regarded as communication is in actual fact nothing more than exchange of information. Meanwhile, communication between members of an ethnos is *sine qua non* for the good organization of the nation.

The country of origin gives people safety and forms fundamental values for the family and community. Do the mass media safeguard and broadcast these values? The effects of the mass media on people’s lives and orientation have long been the subject of very interesting and telling research. As early as 1976, Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin Defleur in their study titled *A Dependency Model of Mass-Media Effects* (Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976) voiced concerns about the possibility of people becoming dependent on the technology, even though at the time it was written, social media were not yet known. Anne Schäfer (2015) focuses on the dependency of audiences on media information resources. This phenomenon, which is especially acute in societies where the media perform numerous central information functions and in times of rapid social change or persistent social conflict, affects the audiences’ beliefs, behaviour, and feelings. The diffusion of knowledge in the media is based on the “shock and change of picture” principle, which makes viewers violent. Once the viewer switches on the TV, in order for them to stay there (without any channel surfing), what is presented is shocking, often violent and contradictory. The change of pictures in a rapid, not understandable but impressive manner does attract viewers but the end result is amusement without any constructive thinking. If this happens on a daily basis, viewers will not have the opportunity to exercise their ability for critical thinking. A nation without critical thinking is a fragile construction.

## Religion, ethnicity and the nation

All three monotheistic religions of the Middle East preach peace and respect for life. However, the question of one ecumenical God (οικουμενικός Θεός – *oikoumenikos Theos*) and the consequent relation to the *ethnos* of all adherents of the common faith is represented in each religion in a different way. Judaism longs for a Jewish state, where people can share one faith and be protected as such by state law. Jewishness has a common cultural, religious and national origin for all citizens. Marc Gopin describes accurately the meaning of national loyalty based on “being chosen” as God’s nation in his famous book *Holy War, Holy Peace* (2002). In Christianity, Jesus Christ ordered his disciples to, “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, to the end of the age” (Matthew 28:19–20 English Standard Version). In this sense all nations are invited to the “New Jerusalem” of Christian teaching, while the *ἔθνος ἅγιον* (*ethnos agion*, holy nation) is the new group of people baptized in his name (1 Peter 2:9).

In Islam things are somewhat different. After the establishment of the new religion, the world in Arabia as well as in other regions of the soon expanded Muslim state was divided into the House of Islam and the House of War, the *Dar al-Islam* and the *Dar al-Harb*. The *Dar al-Islam* were the territories ruled by an Islamic government according to the religious Law of Islam, known as the Sharia (*Sharī‘ah*). Non-Muslims may live in the state where Sharia is the ruling law, but are a subjugated population. The rest of the world, the territories which have not yet been subdued, are termed the “House of War,” and strictly speaking, the Sharia imposes a continuous state of *jihād*, or holy war, against them. The law further classifies unbelievers theologically into two groups, people of a Book, who adhere to what Islam acknowledges as a divine religion, and others; politically, they are divided into the *dhimmis*, who have recognized the supremacy of the Muslim state and the primacy of the Muslims, and the *harbis*, those inhabiting the *Dar al-Harb*, the House of War, who are outside the Muslim world, and against whom there is thus, as a matter of principle, a canonically prescribed permanent state of war, which can only end once the entire world is either converted or subdued. In this context, the *Dar al-Islam* is the nation of Muslims all over the world, the global caliphate.

The differences in religion are often enriching for a society. We need to familiarize ourselves with other faiths. Then we will decide whether we will become friends or keep a distance. On the other hand, every religious law demands superiority and exclusivity in order to protect its adherents.

Religious enmity instigated by political, economic, and short-term interests of leaders destroys people, their minds, and their national cultures.<sup>10</sup>

## Modern Jihadism

The Arabic word *jihād* derives from the verb *jahādā*, which means “to confess the faith in front of an Emperor.” Its basic problem seems to be the correct interpretation of God’s will, and the establishment of a just and humanitarian *umma’h* (Muslim community) all over the world as an alternative to the existence of different nations having different religious principles. This is actually the aim of every Muslim ideological group. This level of justice requires a permanent effort by the faithful, and diligent observance on the part of the representatives of Sharia. According to a hadith, one of the reports on the deeds and habits of the Prophet Muhammad that form a pillar of Islamic jurisprudence, jihad is one of the doors to paradise. The modern Jihadism, aiming at establishing the world caliphate which will unite all Muslims under the same umbrella of one faith in Allah, is different than that of the first Islamic years. In its modern guise, Jihadism is regarded as being an extreme social reaction against many current social, political, legal, economic, and other injustices. Besides, it is a form of “exclusive politics” in religion, embodying the slogan “whoever is not with us, is against us.” Last but not least, the modern Jihadism is a way of achieving political and economic power over resources, seeking to replace the power of nations worldwide.<sup>11</sup>

As a caliphate, the state organism posited by Jihadists claims religious, political and military power over all the world’s Muslims and that the legality of all states and even groups and organizations, is to be annulled by the spread of the caliphate’s authority. Many communities, Islamic

<sup>10</sup> It might not be without merit to point out here that in Ancient Greece the gods of Olympus never asked people to have wars for them, albeit they themselves loved fighting. They displayed a diversity of temperament and character but all belonged to the same nation.

<sup>11</sup> However, it has to be stressed that while modern Jihadism addresses existing injustices, it also creates injustices itself – as many other movements of this kind in history. Delicate aspects of society like this have to be treated with respect and openness in order to help all of us discover and understand the “others” as well as ourselves, and to seek the best ways to cooperate, if cooperation is possible. It is a matter of fact that a neighbour is not always an enemy; he might be a friend if we get to know him. This is the attitude which guides our activities at the Institute of Historical Research for Peace (INISME, n.d.). In any of our approaches we need to be careful not to challenge the faith of others. A report published by the Demos think-tank (Bartlett, Birdwell & King, 2010) emphasized that while all terrorists are radicals, only a small minority of radicals are terrorists. Non-violent radicals are potentially important allies in the fight against violent radicalism. The challenge is identifying the violent few within the much bigger group of radicalized individuals.

and otherwise, deem this current unrepresentative of Islam.<sup>12</sup> Jihadism has reached a scale which makes it a problem in international relations; nowadays a struggle between political and religious ideologies has already started, which introduces a new dimension into the relations between states and diplomacies. What is equally important for our current discussion is that the proliferation of Jihadist ideology has introduced a new type of state, one that is simultaneously a nation state and a multinational one.

The Islamic State, according to its declarations, wants to invest in justice worldwide, claiming that modern nations have failed to create a fair and just socio-economic political system. In this short article we take Islamic State endeavours as an illustrative case in order to perceive the depth of the crisis of the current world administration at the national level. France, for instance – a modern secular state, hosting people from quite different national and religious groups – faces problems indicative of the inefficiency of the existing potential for interaction between ethnic groups. The majority of young French Muslims are jobless and they declare a lack of any kind of satisfaction with their life. Most of these young Muslims who were radicalized into modern Jihadism were former atheists without any religious orientation. Among a nation's duties is to provide a social network and a sense of direction to its members, to support them with meaning in life through festivals and cultural events, to combat corruption. If so many young people look for an alternative which preaches a world caliphate, something in the system must for sure be missing.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Muslim intellectuals' attitude regarding the Islamic State as announced by the Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID) in a conference titled *Understanding the Root Causes of Radicalization, ISIS, and the Attack on Charlie Hebdo* (held on 22 January 2015 in Washington, DC) was the following: "While Muslims were offended by cartoons mocking the Prophet, those images do not justify assassinating civilians and journalists. The terrorist and criminal acts are much more offensive to Islam than the cartoons they claim justify violence" (Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, 2015). The principle cause of this violence and extremism in the view of Radwan Masmoudi (Founding President of the CSID) is "the existence of corrupt, ruthless regimes and dictatorships in the majority of Muslim countries. These regimes fail to provide their citizens with basic necessities, decency or dignity. Millions of young people risk losing hope in peaceful, democratic change because of the nature of these regimes. Half of the population in the Arab world is under 26 years of age. An increasing proportion of this demographic is joining groups such as Al Qaida, ISIS, Ansar Shari'ah, Boko Haram, and others, and there is a risk many more will do so." He called for "new measures to stem the tide of discrimination, racism, alienation, isolation, and frustration experienced by Arab and Muslim youth in European and other western countries" ("Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy," 2015).

<sup>13</sup> It is important to note, however, that other factors are also at play and not all groups are equally susceptible to anti-state sentiments. A good example of an ethnic group which is to be found in many countries and is fully integrated into society without fanatic separatism, co-existing peacefully with other ethnic groups, are the Maronites (Demosthenous, 2012).

## Responses to modern challenges to the ethnos

A global society, though not directly aiming to make family more fragile than before, has brought on a series of problems to the traditionally functioning family policy. Over the past 40 years, “the geography of family life has been destabilized by two powerful forces; one is the striking progress toward equality between men and women. The other is the equally striking growth of socioeconomic inequality and insecurity” (Coontz, 2014).<sup>14</sup> Although I agree to a certain extent with the view that gender equality and related laws influenced family life in one way or another, the recent destabilization of family is also a result of global communication strategies, the free movement of people and free dissemination of new ideas, inter-marriages and generally the change of the approach towards the existing principles of how, whom and where to marry – and whether to get married at all. In many places, education plays an important role in strengthening the traditional family model that is often identical to the national (εθνική – *ethnike*) one as opposed to more liberal global definitions of family relations.

Education might also be a countermeasure against the dangers brought about by globalization in another, more fundamental way. The education system ideally should offer the same religious, cultural and history lessons to all students without exclusion. This means all pupils will attend the same lessons. This model of education was suggested by Didier Reynders, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Reynders, 2015) as a means of combating religious terrorism. However, this measure is very positive not only for the prevention of terrorism but likewise for creating the basis for peaceful co-existence and understanding among people coming from different countries, while at the same time strengthening family relations. A unified system of education gives all pupils similar knowledge regarding important aspects of life. If the orientation of education keeps the balance within a multi-cultural approach and at the same time teaches values of the ethnos in daily classes, if it welcomes newcomers from other countries but at the same time teaches the importance of observing the laws of the host country, then national virtues will continue to exist.

Equal pay for equal work is one more response to the challenges that globalization brings to the nation. If the same work is remunerated with the same amount of money worldwide, then the “migration without borders” policy, which provides better payment opportunities for people of other countries, will collapse. The jobs need not be identical, but they must be substantially equal regarding remuneration.

<sup>14</sup> For another version of this opinion, see (Collins, 2014).

In terms of dangers posed by religion, one cannot avoid referring to a more personal practice of religion as a method which can play an important role in the reduction of religious conflicts instigated by fanaticism. Religion has to be practiced as a personal relation to God, not as a political, communal or even national organization. This is because when religion is practiced as a communal or political relation, it results in organized social groups representing ideologies aiming at righting the wrongs of society. This in turn leads to national or international movements endangering the ethnos. Rather, an understanding of religion ought to be promoted that sees as its ultimate aim the eschatological salvation of man.

Another necessary change concerns the banking system, which has to work for the benefit of poor people and the small nation states. Ways need to be found to ensure a democratic management and human-rights-based governance of multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-faith societies, which will not allow the financially stronger to rule over poorer ethnic groups. In the end, one must not forget that most world associations aspire to keep and protect ethnic communities and national identities as guarantors of multiculturalism. While some might find a world with no ethnic differences appealing, any kind of worldwide culture is difficult to imagine at this point. If the long-standing and, all their disadvantages aside, tried constructs that are the ethnic communities and national identities disappear or assimilate, in any foreseeable future this would translate into subjugation of the less powerful groups to mightier ones.

### What is the relation of radicalization and terrorism to the nation state?

The word τρομοκρατία (*tromokratia*) derives from the Greek words τρόμος (*tromos*, “terror”) and κράτος (*kratos*, “rule”), and refers to a situation where terror is the prevailing factor and where violent acts create fear and pain. Recent political history illustrates the huge problems nation states or ethnic groups face due to terrorism, or rebel groups functioning as terrorists. To face terrorism, we need to know the enemy well. This requires the co-ordination of the state’s civil and police services, efficient organization of civil society, the passing of better laws and their implementation. In addition, management mechanisms need to be in existence. Only all this taken together will protect nation states and ethnic groups from political, economic and social violence. A surprisingly important aspect of this safeguarding of the nation state from terror at a time of globalization is what might be termed “intercultural protection” of the nation state’s values (cf. Charles Ess’s overview of privacy protection



laws in various cultures and how these can be brought into some sort of agreement – Ess, 2005). This is a mechanism that can be actually taught at school and passed by law. Different ethnic groups living in the same region may be allowed to have a voice according to the principles of proportionate democracy, modified as appropriate to ensure the safeguarding of their rights regardless of their size. This will prevent possible rebellion against the ethnos, and has the potential of averting clashes of interests, and being of profit for all communities, now able to enjoy and be aware of their rights and responsibilities. It is interesting to note that some groups argue that they do not have equal rights as other citizens (i.e. the Albanians in Greece), whereas the opposing view is that they do not pay taxes (according to the Golden Dawn party). Moreover, it is important to stress that this approach can demand compromise on the part of the newcomers. Immigrants and foreign workers are required to adhere to the laws of the hosting country. Muslims, for example, must adjust their expectations regarding the public life, if they live in a non-Muslim country.

The foundations for such mechanism of fighting against terrorism were laid down by Aristotle, according to whom it could be defeated through the promotion of morality and social justice via education and collaboration. Distributive justice, as described by Aristotle, requires that goods and assets are distributed to people according to their merit (*Nicomachean Ethics*, book V, chapter 3 – Aristotle, 2004, pp. 85–87). Besides, the established laws of the polity (πολιτεία – *politeia*, according to Aristotle, the correct, unbiased state, cf. *Politics*, book II, chapter 6 – Aristotle, 1998, pp. 36–40) require a system that is just (δίκαιο – *dikaio*) and fair (αποτελεσματικό – *apotelesmatiko*) (*Nicomachean Ethics*, book V – Aristotle, 2004, pp. 81–102). Only such a political system can ensure an ethnos that would not become a breeding ground for terrorism.

### Education contributes positively

Since antiquity, school education has had a humanistic orientation. How can an education system based on the humanistic principles, which are to a great extent a product of Western traditions and values and, consequently, are prone to Western biases, create a culturally unbiased global curriculum? One thing worth considering is that ανθρωπισμός (*anthropismos*, humanism) – that is educating the soul and the heart to be respectful, kind and to share values as well as goods for the common benefit (Plato, *Protagoras*, section 324d – Plato, 1952, pp. 140–141) – had precedence not only in Greece but in Confucianism as well. In ancient China, the fundamental principle in which social life in microcosm and democratic justice in macrocosm were

based was that of humaneness (*Jen*), which Confucius saw as a pervasive force that is never far away (“Is humaneness a thing remote? I wish to be humane, and behold! humaneness is at hand.” – “Chinese Cultural Studies: Confucius: The Analects,” n.d.). Thus, while differences between various versions of human-centred values and Euro-Atlantic humanism exist, the very need to live a life for the sake of more than just oneself is far from exclusively European. And everywhere an increase in emphasis on humanistic principles and virtues in the education system is required. People need to be strengthened with spiritual and classical tools that will function as an alternative to the priority globalization gives to materialistic products. In this way the ethnos might be deemed useful and can survive.

### Threats to the ethnos and to the development of national concepts in the broader context of globalization

It is evident that there is intense public debate and mobilisation around issues presented in this short article. In addition, migrant and minority communities, not only in Europe due to the refugee crisis which emerged recently but in Africa or other continents as well, are treated as “social problems” or even seen as “enemies within,” causing the host societies to become “too diverse” (Bloch & Solomos, 2010) and not capable of preserving their own ethnos values. Family principles, amusement possibilities, even eating habits face the challenge of modernization vis-a-vis traditionalism when experiencing the Other and habits coming from other parts of the world.

Ecology may give a further example to this discussion. In Cyprus, pollution of the atmosphere is not a considerable problem. There are not many factories and cars are largely adjusted to the international standards of emissions. However, there are many newcomers to the island either as settlers from mainland Turkey on the Turkish-occupied side or asylum seekers from different countries. Are these people aware of “our national” European environmental rules? Will their economic situation allow them to comply with them? One difficult issue might be water consumption. Water is an expensive commodity and its economical use is a matter unifying Cypriots. Will the newcomers be persuaded to join in the local communities’ efforts?

Another aspect of the problem is the so-called transnational organized crime, which has increasingly threatened national and global security, with dire implications for public safety, public health, democratic institutions, and national as well as international economic stability. Criminal networks are growing in size and complexity as well as scope of activities. One

consequence of this is a convergence of threats which used to be distinct but now have explosive and destabilizing effects (Shelley, 1995). Transnational organized crime is also more and more associated with terrorism and political insurgents, who use criminal networks as sources of monetary means but also organizational capabilities to perpetrate their violent acts endangering citizens and threatening national interests.

When it comes to chances for development of national concepts in the broader context of globalization, it is worth quoting Karl Moore and David Lewis, who concluded their very interesting book on *The Origins of Globalization* with the statement, “culture matters; it matters a lot. Culture has been a theme throughout, a constant that applies steadying realities on the sometimes utopian-sounding rhapsodies of Globalization’s boosters” (Moore & Lewis, 2009, p. 208). The cultural principles of ethnos, like those of hospitality, honesty, the ancient Greek virtue of synagonism (συναγωνισμός – *sunagomismos*) as opposed to antagonism (ανταγωνισμός – *antagonismos*),<sup>15</sup> of faith, love and protection of the environment et alia, might be preserved and elaborated in regional associations, youth centres and NGOs. Moreover, educational institutions may be of great use in this regard, helping the ethnos preserve its values – especially since most of the representatives of formal education work on a regional basis according to the necessities and demands of local communities. As David Landes (2000) famously argued, culture makes and will make almost all the difference.

Last but not least,<sup>16</sup> education, and most of all cultural education, may offer chances for working out a model of development that consistently prioritises the national concepts. However, the general relationship between nation and culture is important but complex as well. For a nation-centred model of development to flourish, cultural phenomena of the ethnos, including features as complex as religious texts and myths, laws, and values, need to be thoroughly studied from different perspectives, including political, psychological, and economic. All of these disciplines can help explain and maintain traditions, evaluate them from a cross-cultural point of view (Gopin, 2001), and find ways to draw on them in building a new future.

<sup>15</sup> While antagonism refers to an unwillingness to collaborate with others motivated by enmity, “synagonism” means synergy – an interaction of elements that combined produce a result greater than the sum of the individual contributions. Synergism in social sciences is the cooperative action of two or more people or groups for the benefit or all.

<sup>16</sup> This article does not aspire to address all problems created to the ethnos by globalization. However, it is, I hope, a positive contribution towards understanding the public debate on how problems occur, seemingly unexpectedly. Understanding realities is the first step, prerequisite for turning things around (Mason, 2003).

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## Ethnos (ἔθνος) a wyzwania społeczeństwa globalnego

Ethnos jest terminem o szerokim zakresie semantycznym, zwykle rozumianym jako jeden z elementów, z których konstruuje się naród, albo przeciwnie jako termin-worek na określenie procesu budowy nowoczesnego narodu. Dzisiejsze dyskusje naukowe wokół terminu ethnos odbywają się w obliczu wyzwań związanych nie tylko z potencjalną globalną wioską, w której narody mogą odgrywać ważną rolę lub też jej nie odgrywać, lecz również z podejmowanymi przez partie prawicowe czy zwolenników muzułmańskiego kalifatu próbami budowania silnie zideologizowanych państw opartych na religii.

Niniejszy artykuł jest krótkim studium problemów związanych z globalizacją, rozważa także zakres możliwego wpływu światowych koalicji i stowarzyszeń na narody. Formułuję szereg pytań, jak choćby: Czy narody mają szansę przeżyć w społeczeństwie globalnym? Jaki rodzaj narodów wykształci się w przyszłości? Jaki los czeka w związku z tym grecki ethnos? Jakie są relacje pomiędzy radykalizacją i terroryzmem a procesem budowania narodów?

### Note

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