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AN OVERVIEW ON NATIONALISM IN CONTEXT OF IBN KHALDUN'S APPROACH AND GLOBAL ASABIYYA MODEL

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Abstract

It is obvious that nationalism needs a new analysis. One of the aims of this article is to enable the discussion and evaluation of nationalistic movements which have had tremendous impacts worldwide for the last 200 years, on comprehensive, predictable and distinctive grounds. While gaining comprehensive insights into pre-or post-80s an evaluation concerning the reasons, effects and outcome of the nationalistic movements of patriotic or ethnic nationalism in addition to a new analysis of the historical change and development of views on nationalism by rendering the concept of "asabiyya" would certainly contribute a lot to these discussions. IbnKhalidun's tribal asabiyya (consanguinity) and asabiyya of affiliation (unity in ideas, belief, emotions and action, as well as goals) plays on important role in clarifying the past and history, while "global asabiyya" which will be explained in this article might shed light on the future, views on nationalism.

Keywords: Nationalism, Ethnic Identity, Nation State, Asabiyya (Social Cohesion), Ibn Khaldun's Model of Asabiyya, Modernity, "Global Asabiyya" (Global Social Cohesion).

1. Introduction

Nationalism is a perspective on the world, society and history; as well as a kind of perception of these. It could be claimed that nationalism is the ideology of modern nation-state concerning a certain historical period. Nationalism also aims at making people establish an "identity". Nationalism decides "What people are". People should consider themselves as a member of their national communities before resorting to other narrow or comprehensive identity determiners. We are witnessing a period in which the identity belongingness and loyalty are discussed in context of "collective identity". These discussions lay in the heart of nationalistic, especially ethnic nationalistic debates.

Without disregarding its sui generis structure, we consider IbnKhalidun's 'asabiyya' concept as something which will enhance the colors and dimensions of collective identity designs. In this sense, asabiyya – which includes definitions such as social coherence, communal spirit and group solidarity – could be associated with collective identity as the concept is related in its essence and quality. The evaluation in this article attempts at revealing the current situation from a different perspective since the phenomenon lacks a proper and adequate conceptualization model due to the crisis that modernity goes through. It is not intended to modernize or evolve "asabiyya".

According to IbnKhalidun, asabiyya is an imaginary community formation based on apprehension or hypothesis. Thus, a certain bond which is related to consanguinity or replaces it could function as a socialization factor. Initially all the groups and communities somehow featured a tribal asabiyya at different levels. Asabiyya of affiliation, on the other hand, reflects the formation which emerged through Islam. Later on people united around belief, ideals, and goals above tribal or blood bonds so as to embrace more participants and certain territories. In this study, "global asabiyya" approach not only encompasses the tribal and affiliation-related asabiyya, but also foresees a "global socialization process" shaped by the common distribution of a fundamental position, perception, and mentality, which appropriates both local and global activities and responsibility.

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Humanity and ethical values have a determining role here; and the universal relatives as well as local facts are handled in a parallel fashion.

2. The concept of Asabiyya and Ibn Khaldun's Model of Asabiyya

Ibn Khaldun emerged in 14th century as a great scholar who experienced both the magnificent Andalusia civilization and culture and the recession and collapse of Maghrib (today's Spain, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) in terms of wealth, politics, knowledge and culture. He blended what he witnessed through a deep old systematic analysis. His *Muqaddimah*, a philosophy of history, aspires to prevent the recurrence of this collapse and to inspire a promising future (Hodgson, 1993: 522-524). He established a sociopolitical doctrine based on economic relations in his work "*Muqaddimah*", which is also the first volume of his history book *Iberia*. The most important aspect of his doctrine is reflected in the analysis of political structures, institutions and events in a general theoretical framework. He also claimed that he established a new branch of science which he called as "*Ilm-i Umran*" (The Science of Prosperity – some people think that it is sociology, philosophy of history or social psychology) never explored before (Hassan, 1982: 1-10). He lists the main topics of *Muqaddimah* as follows: "our subject is humane prosperity or people's social life and the events affecting this life; savageness, familial or tribal solidarity (*asabiyya*) social differentiations leading to the establishment of new states and dynasties; activities in which people are engaged in order to survive (professions, sciences, fine arts); all kinds of changes in societal structure..." (IbnKhaldun, 2009: 208-209). IbnKhaldun did not handle history like a historiographer. In order to understand his era and to direct the events, he employed his own experiences and shed light on a wide area ranging from history to sociology. Especially in context of the opportunities and problem arisen particularly in Andalusian Islam experience, IbnKhaldun engaged in creating a prospective synthesis parallel to retroactive analysis. And maybe he was able to observe through his experiences that "*asabiyya*" created weakness and new matters as well as opportunity and solutions.

IbnKhaldun doesn't limit *asabiyya* to only one definition, and does not reduce it to a certain period or understanding (religion, ideologies). In this sense, *asabiyya* could be considered as a socialization factor also leading to political outcomes (Arslan, 1997: 119). He doesn't confine *asabiyya* to consanguinity; he thinks that *asabiyya* could be produced morally by asylum, guardianship and contract/agreement. He claimed that *asabiyya* emerges not only through consanguinity, but also through integration. Integration is created through co-existence, co-defense, constant communication, growing up together and sharing the grief such as of death and illness (IbnKhaldun, 2009: 334-335). He accepts the existence of various types of *asabiyya* in social units stretching from family to tribes, tribal associations, state owners and government officials. Even in the largest social units such as religious communities (based on spirituality) *asabiyya* plays a certain role (Arslan, 1997: 115-121).

The forces constructing *asabiyya* could be observed as a psychological motive or ideal somehow reflecting a high level value or belief. This value is based on the belief of the superiority of a certain family, tribe or peoples in tribal *asabiyya*. On the other hand, affiliation-related *asabiyya* lays its foundation in the belief that a certain set of values or belief system (religion, ideology) is superior to others. IbnKhaldun states that in the past tribal *asabiyya* was dominant, while after the emergence of Islam, it was abandoned. Instead, affiliation-related *asabiyya* based on religion and belief gained more importance and power. He also considers the existence of a strong 'tribal *asabiyya*' necessary for the spread of a religion (Kozak, 1984: 58-60). He thinks that the two kinds of *asabiyya* form cohesion.

Erwin Rosenthal handles *asabiyya* as a solidarity and striking power. Muhsin Maghdi reflects *asabiyya* as 'social solidarity', but notes that this definition should be evaluated in the framework of the concept's general meaning. While Rosenthal employs the 'group feeling' term, Zeki Velidi Togan borrows the concept of *asabiyya* as it is. After De Slone's translation of *Muqaddimah* in which he referred to *asabiyya* as 'esprit de Corps', Gastoun Bouthoul, Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Burnes maintained the same commentary. A.F. Von Kremer, on the other hand, referred to *asabiyya* as 'community feeling' (*Gemeinsinn*) and also 'idea of nationalism' (*Nationalitätsidee*). Helmut Ritter, on the other hand, used 'feeling of solidarity' as a counterpart. Salahuddin Khuda Buksh and Harroon Khan Sherwani used 'communal spirit' in the same sense. Ernest Gellner associates *asabiyya* with 'social cohesion' or 'martial spirit'. Manfred Halpern extends group solidarity. Finally, H. Topçuoğlu improvises an analysis featuring the definitions of 'unity', 'social communication bond' and

'sociability' (Hassan, 1982: 173-175). Indeed, Dictionary of Social Sciences defines asabiyya (group feeling) as follows: "*Social loyalty feeling among the members of a community, religious sect or society which provides cooperation and solidarity and enables resistance and attempts*" (Kurt, 1990: 102-104).

Ana Britannica emphasizes the following concerning asabiyya (ANA BRITANNICA, 1993: 137): *IbnKhalidun's asabiyya is not a necessarily abstract feeling of solidarity, but a collective way of living, organization and behavior or cooperation. It might or not depend on consanguinity. In the latter, people might act as if they were relatives relying on the later gained power of collective action. While the first one is called 'tribal asabiyya', the second one is called 'asabiyya of affiliation'.*

Heinrich Simon asserts that IbnKhalidun's concept of asabiyya not only includes the naturally flourishing tribal consciousness, but also goes beyond that. An individual might cooperate with another tribe other than his. Thanks to this asabiyya, he acquires the values of that community and gets ready to fight for them (Simon, 2006: 47-51). Cemil Meriç states that "*prosperity and asabiyya are the two keys of new science; prosperity, more comprehensively civilization, is the whole actions and creations of a people, social and religious order, traditions and beliefs*" (Meriç, 1996: 147). IbnKhalidun says: "remember the state as a part of the natural national communities" and "remember that the sovereignty is a natural goal and outcome of asabiyya" (IbnKhalidun, 1997: 510; IbnKhalidun, 2004: 285). Especially the emergence of a superior 'model of asabiyya' from various types of asabiyya depends on the leader's and his crew's plans, programs and contributions regarding the community.

IbnKhalidun's 'attitudes (steps) theory' is quite meaningful as it displays how he perceives historical-social existence. He thinks that a state's foundation and victory occur thanks to asabiyya's common effort. Victory and unity step results from power as well as morality. The second process is 'the privatization of power', in which sovereignty belongs to a certain person or family. It is a natural process resulting from the reluctance for the division of power. The third step where the political stability is provided embraces the 'construction' period thanks to regular collection of taxes. This period features accumulation of wealth and construction of high buildings. The fourth step is 'peace and stability' period. The state keeps a conservative attitude in the external and internal relations. The last phase is of 'disintegration and annihilation'. The rulers become stuck with arbitrariness and both the political and social system start rotting. The moral values are degenerated and the asabiyya loses its importance. IbnKhalidun claims that these phases are inevitable and cyclical (IbnKhalidun, 2009: 399-402).

Ejder Okumuş points at that IbnKhalidun's second phase of 'attitudes theory' marks the ruler's abstention from consanguinity bond of the first establishment period. He starts avoiding his own relatives and people; then adopts an affiliation-related asabiyya and grants these new positions close to himself. However, these people start organizing against him over time and wait for their turns (Okumuş 2008: 39). Although it is initially possible to accumulate property and establish the state through a community of asabiyya; it might not be necessary after the state gains power and stability (IbnKhalidun, 2004: 215-216).

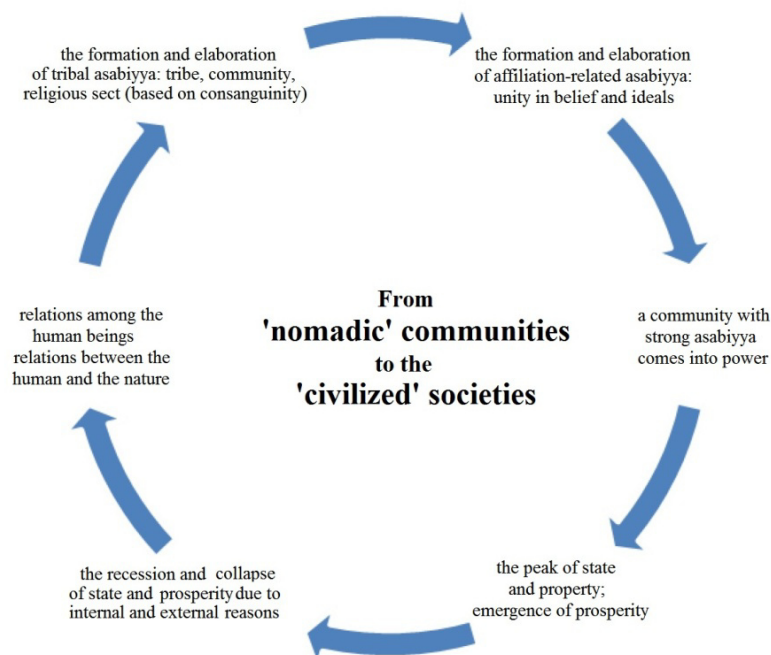


Figure 1: Cycle of Asabiyya

F. Gabrieli's approach to 'theory of asabiyya' is slightly different in that he believes that the rise and the fall of the states and dynasties occur as the 'nomadic' communities take over the 'civilized' societies. He does not see the rationality in modernizing IbnKhalidun mentioning that IbnKhalidun based his historical commentaries and state doctrine on the concept of asabiyya, which explains the fundamental bond of human society and the guiding power of history. IbnKhalidun thinks that the phenomenon represented by this concept enables the establishment of hegemonies, dynasties and empires (Hassan, 1982: 37-38).

The concept of 'asabiyya' might gain both negative and positive meaning and values. It is a social phenomenon that could bring about different structures and orders depending on people, groups, communities or societies of different worldview, belief and attitudes. 'Asabiyya' might form the essence of a wrongful, negative and banal nationalism as well as the momentum of a positive, productive and advancing core. It is a beneficial servant under the light of the goodness, justice and truth; otherwise becomes an evil ruler or judge.

It would surely be a mistake to associate asabiyya directly with a modern ideology such as nationalism. However, after a careful evaluation, it is possible to see the link between asabiyya and the fact that ethnic nationalism is a community ideal, value and behavior crystallized by collective identity and demands for belongingness. Stating that different types of asabiyya might exist in different societies, IbnKhalidun indicates the mutual relations and interaction between the concept of property and asabiyya. Considering that, it is possible to claim a similar connection between nationalism and nation-state without disregarding that they are different entities.

3. Ethnic Nationalism and Tribal Asabiyya

Ethnicity comprises the feelings such as commitment and loyalty for an ethnic group, culture or the origin that individuals think they belong to. Ethnicity is closely related to affinity, tribalism, ethnic bonds and ethnic nationalism (Eades, 1999: 252).

According to Smith, nation and ethnic community are historically and conceptually convergent; and becoming a nation would not be a successful process without ethnicity. The phenomenon of the nation's rise has been beneficial for the ideal of becoming a nation for many ethnic communities. The revolutions of the West (including the formation of nations) took place on a longer period within the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Territorial centralization occurred along with cooperation and cultural standardization. State borders geographically paved the way to a new social formation. The West witnessed a nation formation process based

on more territorial nationalistic ties along with citizenship, while the eastern territories such as Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary and Poland featured ethnic concepts as the basis of this formation (Smith An, 1996: 129-144). Connor states that it is impossible to define a nation without its ethnic composition; and there is a wide family believing in the myth that the nation originated from a common ancestry. Gellner says that when the ethnicity goes beyond trusting its own existence and starts demanding a political border, it becomes politicized and leads to nationalism (Altuntaş, narrating from Connor and Gellner, 20014: 173-174).

Hobsbawm asserts that ethnic nationalism emerged as the non-historical emphasis on common ancestry- especially after the increase of Eastern nations-became as the determining factor in nation formation and it is quite separatist (Hobsbawm, 1995: 126). Civil nationalism, on the other hand, is defined as the common security, fundamental rights and freedoms of the people living on a certain territory. It appears to be politically neutral and comprehensive. However, it is observed that none of the states, including France and the USA, remained culturally neutral; and a certain set of history, language, myth and symbols have been imposed on the citizens. State-citizen relation based on rationality and mutual interest could not be adequate; therefore, the necessary emotional factors strengthening loyalty and commitment were met by ethnic origin, language, religion and culture (Altuntaş, 2004: 179).

Commentaries concerning civil nationalism and ethnic nationalism are in harmony with the fact that the life and the history go beyond the theories. For example in the West, Catalan nationalism dates back to 1850s, while Basque nationalism descends from 1880s and they are all before the ethnic nationalism wave in the East (Hobsbawm, 1995: 131). Thus, the hypothesis that the ethnic nationalism emerged within non-historical Eastern societies is traumatized.

Civil nationalism and ethnical nationalism- seen as a banal and inferior type of nationalism- are both originated in the West. As every imitation fades away from its origin, the types of nationalism in East appear to be different from the West. Ramon Maiz's terminology for defining nationalisms is also outstanding: organic, cultural and pluralist nationalism. Organic nationalism might manifest the ethnical structure through authoritative, xenophobic natured race, language, religion and tradition factors. Nation is accepted as a natural entity. In cultural nationalism ethnicity is still at the heart of the concept of nation, but in a more liberal and cultural fashion. Nationalism is attempted be purified from ethnicity's biologic and determinist elements. Pluralist nationalism democratizes the concept of nationalism and formulates sister-communities by gathering and restructuring a political community within a national community (Altuntaş, narrating Maiz, 2004: 180).

While it is possible to some extent to associate 'tribal asabiyya' with organic nationalism, some applications of cultural nationalism could be connected with 'affiliation-related asabiyya'. The main focus of this article, 'global asabiyya', is characterized with pluralism; and it potentially serves as a moderator between the historical realities and a new future design.

4. Nation-state Nationalism and Affiliation-related Asabiyya

Ahmet Arslan claims that the first function of asabiyya is its sense of community; however, it has a more important function and task as 'the principle providing sovereignty and state'. According to IbnKhalidun's approach, asabiyya enables a group of people dominate over another community and forms the origin of state (Arslan, 2009: 100). In this sense, asabiyya or another representative socialization factor could be considered as the basis for the formation of the state within a historical process and progress. Handling nation-state from this perspective would enrich the historical and social analysis in modern terms.

The fundamental propositions of nationalistic ideology or the core doctrine could be defined as the following (Smith, An., 2009: 121):

1. The world has been divided into nations of distinct individualities, histories and fates.
2. Nation is the source of the whole political and societal power; and loyalty to the nation is superior to all other kinds of commitment.
3. If the people wish to be free and to realize themselves, they must identify themselves with a nation.
4. If the peace and justice should rule over the world, nations must be free and secure.

Modernization paradigm simplifies nationalism as the outcome or conveyor of the construction process of modern state and modern economy. This perspective requires the purification of nationalism from pre-modernist impacts such as ethnicity. These are considered as undesired epiphenomenal situations. However, reducing nationalism to a narrow politic phenomenon does not mean it actually eliminates ethnic feelings. Thus,

it becomes hard to believe that nationalism emerged as a completely modern phenomenon. Today, nationalisms feature an ethnic content which displays a deep inconsistency with certain political situations (Behar, 1998: 10).

Smith considers ethnic reality as the only constant reality and likens it to a super family. He sees the nations as modernized ethnic communities. Nationalism is the political-legal spring of the identities created by race, language, religion and culture in the modern era (Behar, 1994: 175-183). Especially Smith's book on nations' ethnic origins mentions that the ethnic origin of a nation would contribute to the state formation through a vital factor of stability. Although Hobsbawm and Gellner are generally doubtful about the validity of this thesis, they admit the existence of a political connection between ethnicity and nationalism. Today's global world feature small nations. Although Scottish, Catalan and Quebec nationalisms occurred before the contemporary globalization process, the writers think that globalization has a key role in the formation of small nations (Pryke, 2009: 98-102).

5. A Trial for a New Model: Global Asabiyya

Nationalism and the tendencies to globalization might seem as paradoxically and mutually exclusive, however, they are in a complicated 'hostile brothers alliance' when the factors they strengthen are considered. They are parallel in context of realpolitik and economy. Nationalism theories should be comprehensively evaluated concerning their before and after qualities; they must be processed in humanly common culture and lighten up the future, thus the conceptualization of 'me and the other'.

We think that 'global asabiyya' (global socialization factor; global humane and intellectual coexistence, and loyalty) could let us overcome many difficulties. Global asabiyya is a dynamic perception and application of a dialectic integration which does not ignore the contradictions and dilemmas. As a compound vector including different mentalities and reasoning, global asabiyya will enable the check-up of world cultures and civilizations. In order to establish a real peaceful order in the world or at least in some parts of the world, we naturally need a new paradigm and vision. It is possible to transform asabiyya. It also possess a huge potential to solve the actions resulted from irrational nationalisms and ideologies.

Global asabiyya is obviously a global critical mind and conscience approach on the local and global scale which lets us understand the distinctive paradigms beyond a new proposal for global nationalism. It should be emphasized that global asabiyya never puts forward world discourse without nations or states.

The problems haunting human kind are also the problems of global asabiyya. When we talk about international terrorism, environmental or health-related problems, international drug networks, smuggling and criminal organizations, we immediately think about the problem range on the global scale. However, all of these issues inevitably result from the deadlock of psycho-social, economic, politic and even ideological vacancies, indifference and alienation. In order to prevent the destructive and explosive outcomes of these vacancies, slippery slopes and fault lines, we need the global asabiyya's spiral impact ranging from one individual to the whole human family. We hope that it people will consciously reevaluate the deep layers of history, society, economy and politics which could raise the society's problems to politics for the sake of humanity. Thus they will provide the global society with a new and marginal benefit (increasing the total gains of humanity and preventing the deterioration of even a single individual).

5.1. Global Ethical and Political Communication Area

Global asabiyya is not a new set of concepts that is considered to cause a new global sovereignty doctrine. On the contrary, it is a check and balance system of the global system that could start from civil, humane and individual scale and could gradually reach the global one. The power of systems, states and organizations lay in their capacity to respond in crises and disasters. Today we face a world and humanity system that barely goes beyond a weak and marginal reaction. The contribution of large religions and civilizations to the global morality might slow down the global hegemony; and might balance it in favor of the weak and the forlorn. Here the word 'wide' refers to the new paradigms that could form new values, ideas and positive feelings which passed the common experiment and test of humanity.

The golden rule of social life saying "do not treat anyone the way you don't want to be treated" is quite meaningful in terms of global ethical discussions. All the religions and cultures feature this principle. This golden rule is expressed as "You will not be a true believer unless you do not wish what you wish for yourself for your neighbor, as well" in Islam. Buddhism says "treat all the creatures the way you want to be treated". Hinduism also states "the foundation of morality is to avoid any action that would give pain to you if had been directed to you". While Christianity preaches "doing the actions you would wish to be directed to yourself",

Judaism says “do not do something you hate to your neighbor, this is the constitution, the rest is commentary (Muzaffar, 2006: 14).

Karl Popper asserts that “*Human beings have created new worlds in language, music, poetry and science; the most important of these is the world of moral demands for equality, freedom and helping the weak*”. Even though the first source of morality is religion, it is the people who would instill it into life and apply. The decision and responsibility belong to the humans. Protagoras believed that man is the measure of all things and that he forms norms but he can reveal them only through supernatural help. Socrates, as well, doubted any authority through both his religious beliefs and his conscience and looked for the norms that he could believe to be just (Popper, 1994: 74-75).

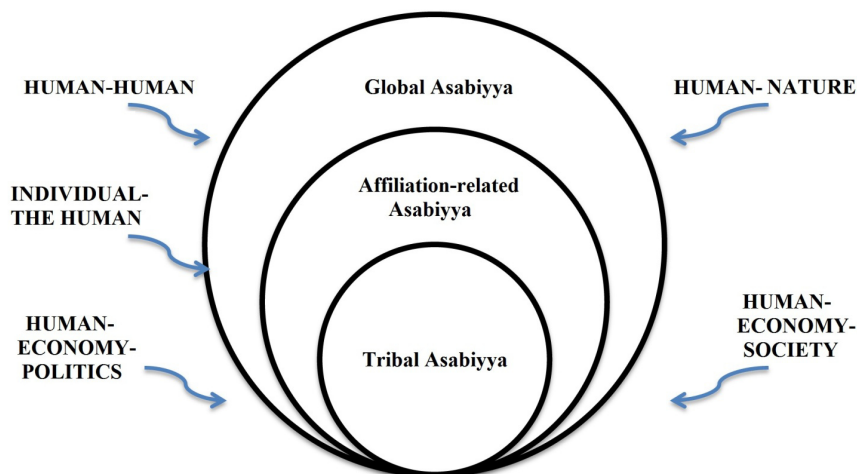


Figure 2: Global ethical – political communication area

It will be possible to balance the excessive tension and conflict caused by either ethnic nationalisms or nation-state nationalisms within the global ethical-political communication area and to provide a reasonable line. Thus, there is a huge need for the support of a lively global civil society areas as well as an active global public sphere. Here, global asabiyya refers to the formation and reinforcement of the absent loyalties, identities and belongingness within a humane ideal.

Money-capital and the historical dominance of power-government over the individuals and societies have deteriorated the human nature and the reality. Lord Acton quite truthfully remarks that “every kind of power corrupts, absolute power certainly does”. All kinds of suppressive methods for subjugation and intimidation which institutionalize unequal relations should be considered as the heaviest strike against the concept of human rights and material and moral development of human kind. Such political discourses and actions produce and spread the conceptualization of ‘conflict myth, paranoia for rightfulness and the hostile other’ which are provoked usually by the ethnic nationalisms and sometimes by the nation-state nationalisms. These should be restrained and balanced by the culture of peace, reconciliation and cooperation to be developed both on the local and the global scale. Therefore, check and balance mechanisms and the local public opinion should be supplied with the facilities and tools that would be mobilized in a positive fashion on the local and global scale.

5.2. The Rise of Global Asabiyya

Below is the graphical design of the (possible) emergence and rise of tribal, affiliation related and global asabiyya in the context of history/time, location/geography. Especially the global asabiyya model aims at outlining its subjective or objective parameters, restrictions and potentials. ‘Asabiyya’ could be considered as a unifying power factor. Global asabiyya could be described as the following: ‘Global Humanitarian and Intellectual Co-Existence and Loyalty’ or just ‘global group feeling’. ‘Group feeling’ is a term first used by Franz Rosenthal who translated Muqaddimah into English in 1958, and today, could be explained as ‘a kind of asabiyya that forms the concept of ‘we’. He used this term mostly the socialization factor. Today, this could be called as ‘global unity concept’.

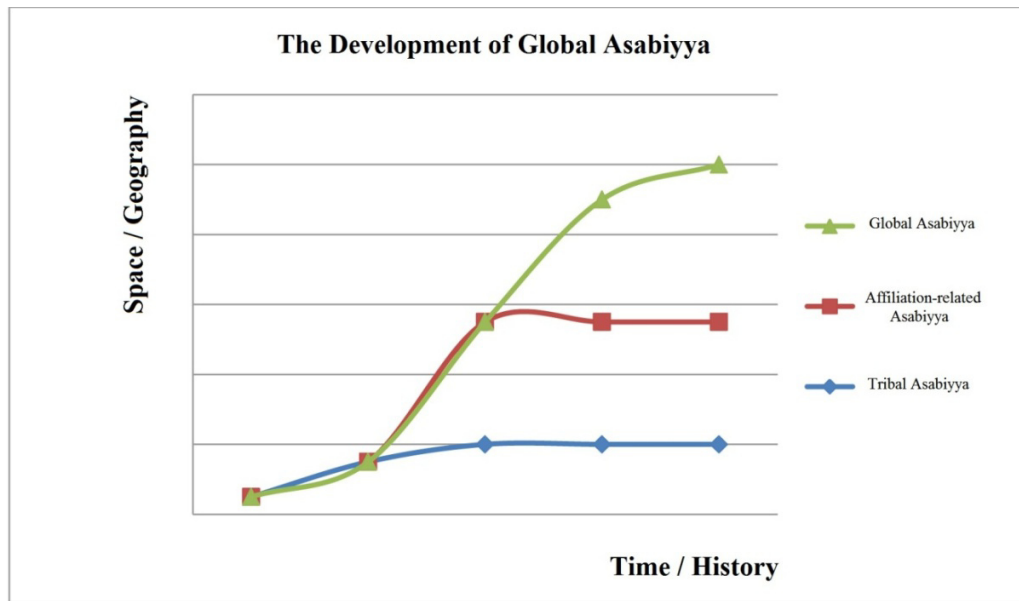


Figure 3: The Development of Global Asabiyya

‘Global asabiyya’ has wide practice areas. For example, the problem of hunger should be solved by supplying the kids dying of malnutrition and inadequate water with the necessary items. The modern technology might be employed to dig water wells to prevent water inadequacies. Then the establishment of new schools might fight against ignorance. In order to offer a quality service, there should be flexibility in acquiring permission and approval swiftly from local authorities and the national government. The activists carrying out humanitarian and voluntary activities in question could be individually or institutionally attributed with global asabiyya.

One of the features of global asabiyya is flexibility. It is a fact that only the reality and truth set human beings free. The extent of free thoughts, free initiatives, entrepreneurship and movement depends on the elimination of strict rules, norms and attitudes. Social life should include tolerance and understanding, as well. Thus, it is a must to create a lively and dynamic cultural atmosphere.

Free movement is another feature of global asabiyya. Global flexibility is possible only through the smooth movement of thoughts, property, capital, labor and entrepreneurship; the accessibility of modernity’s potentials and tools for each and every individual; and the elimination of obstacles against the free and equal individuals.

Global ethics is a vital condition of global asabiyya. The moral ideals put forward by Kant as a universal value source beyond the impact of phenomena refer to the set of values, norms and ideals that would leave a positive impact on the solution of today’s humane miseries.

The area where the global activities take place would be the global public sphere: the interdependence of local and supranational authorities would create a sphere open to a wide range of activities complying with governance and subsidiarity principles which are under the impact, authority, responsibility and supervision of international law, human rights and universal fundamental values.

Another parameter of global asabiyya is ‘the private area never to be interfered with’. It aims at an area where the civil and fundamental rights and freedoms are protected. The ethical, cultural, economic and political dimensions of global asabiyya should exist within an essential area which is inviolable and inalienable so as to prevent the emergence of authoritarian, totalitarian and dictatorial regimes that control the minds and hearts of humanity and lead them into a new depression. Here the concept of global asabiyya is not proposed as a new ideological design, but a guiding set of concepts. For the sake of consistency and development of global asabiyya, the ethical dimension should be constantly enriched by cultural depth, pluralism, artistic productivity and novelties.

NGOs exist due to the need for their availability for action at the micro, norm and macro level of society/community, nation/government, and global society in order to immediately respond to the natural crises, depressions and challenges without needing a global identity card or flag.

These proposals surely do not offer a new global state design. It emphasizes the necessity for opening out to comply with 'flexible organizations' approach. It is obvious that nation-state will maintain its existence by transforming over time. It includes a universal (in terms of the legal order and the ethical-humanitarian values); economically global; culturally local; and scientific (in terms of reason, perception, and vision) attitude and behavior. The governance phenomenon and process of the control and feedback mechanisms should aim at constant reproduction in compliance with the active and convertible decision, action and practices just as those in the nature.

Without repassing the present national borders and rejecting the national sovereignties, the opportunities and potentials of nation-state should be evaluated within a legitimacy enabling the solution of global scaled problems. Therefore, the notion advocating limitless action within the borders of a certain state has become outdated. The limits of nation-state have been stretched in practice by the legitimacy formulation of both the internal and the external public opinion. This flexibility is the niche of the nations, communities and individuals.

There is a potential to be activated in the in site solution of the problems with individual and collective identities within an area of 'global ethic', economy and politics, communication and interaction created by humanitarian decisions, actions and activities. Global asabiyya is the will of this potential for maintaining and conducting a type of loyalty, a framework for belongingness caused by the humanity and co-existence including the micro and macro scales within legitimacy. This wide definition could be limited to an 'apprehension of the self' which could overtake the responsibility of the global humanitarian action in its narrow sense.

The scientific research and studies along with free thoughts to be employed in the solution of all global and local problems play the role of a key that would unlock all the locks. A real enlightenment would be possible only when science, mind and experience are re-explored in terms of the innate and transcendent dimensions of belief, culture and tradition.

5.3. The Functioning of Global Asabiyya

We assume that we are moving towards the era of 'global asabiyya' which has not been clearly defined and understood in terms of its parameters and factors except for IbnKhaldun's cyclical model of asabiyya.

The phenomenon of politics/regimes could be summarized as the formation of effective, balanced and successful network among the human beings, governors and resources. In this sense the human beings are actually the center of the human-human, human-society and human-nature relations. The production activities of human beings reach the level of civilization through the construction of a socio-politic system on culture and economy. Here all regimes stand for one of the milestones of a certain civilization project. Human beings compete against the regimes in civilization race.

Here the atmosphere shaped by the civilization(s) affect the individual and the society. There is no doubt that the regimes affect and are affected the most. However, the regime can trigger, transfer and control the developments which could lead to reshaping the climate thanks to the outcomes and achievements elicited from human or other resources.

Everybody on earth accepts themselves as the center. However, what is more important is the construction of a real center considering the needs and priorities.

The sets of moral values and high ideals emphasized as ethical values play an important role in the formation of organizational climate along with knowledge and information. The interactions among the information and regime, regime and the ethics increase the standard and quality of the regime. If a regime is morally and spiritually powerful and it also possesses the knowledge and the technology, it can overcome all kinds of crises.

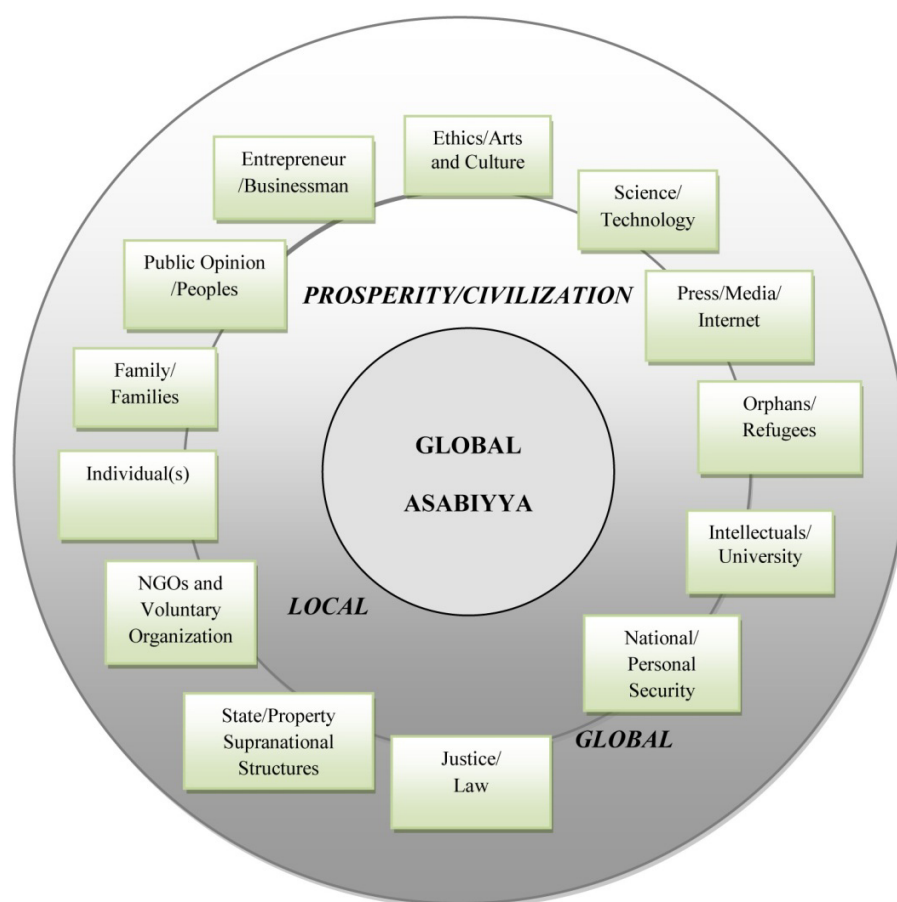


Figure 4: Global model of asabiyya

This model aims at providing a horizontal/authentic function which is away from vertical/hierarchical human-human and human-nature relations within a multidimensional active and dynamic communication and interaction atmosphere based on the center-periphery relations. Global asabiyya is in the core of all of these. Global asabiyya will provide the balance of centrifugal and centric powers directed inward or outward. Individual-group-community (NGOs), community-nation, state-supranational structures and global society will be informed about each other in any case and level thanks to feedback mechanisms; and the potentials of the modern world will be simultaneously mobilized along with the information networks and they will be evaluated and processed by the authorities of that location.

While solving the global problems, global asabiyya might encompass the momentum effect of central powers and create a snowball effect and possess a capacity of expansion from the center to the periphery. The periphery has an inward structure and function that separates and focuses on itself affected by the centrifugal powers. This will build up a new balance and decision levels as well as center-periphery relations that will reshape the process dialectically due to the constant and systematic fluctuation of central powers.

Global asabiyya will be able to display the ambition, will and capacity to fight for peace, justice, rights, law, freedom, wealth and security. The preventive function of global asabiyya will pave the way to eliminate the inequalities, injustices, tyranny and slavery. Its formative function will provide the infrastructure for the sustainable economic and social development worldwide. Its practical dimension, on the other hand, will reveal the will to face and solve the problems. Finally, its ideal aspect will include the struggles to realize the goals and the standards as well as the constant escalation of the threshold. There will certainly be a need for the conflict management in these process and phases. Wise management of disputes, tensions; and conflicts and the search

for a peaceful and conciliatory solution will be instilled into the life as a new cultural code. Its easy transition among the 'asabiyyas' (tribal-affiliation related-global) could be discussed in the framework of universal colors, values and ideals and in context of expanding and developing global asabiyya.

Bio-psycho social human beings and all the situations related to them maintain their success, impact and power on the basis of health and maintenance of health. Increasing the quality of life could be realized only by the free, equal and honored people who are living in a healthy and natural environment.

The concept of 'governance' is important in terms of improvising solutions in individual or societal life-related approaches. The phenomenon of governance in analytical, emphatic and strategic dimensions will make the life easier and sustainable on the national and international scale. Analytical dimension embraces multi-participatory functional structures instead of hierarchical ones, while the emphatic dimension represents the agreement, cohesion and dialog among the civil society actors. Strategic dimension, on the other hand, aims at the immediate functioning of politics. In this sense, governance is a structure of the outcomes elicited from the collective effort of all related actors in the socio-politic system (Baykal, 2005: 10-12).

We see that today the individuals and masses face a problem called alienation. In order to add meaning and value to all the humanitarian activities along with the above mentioned issues depends on a comprehensive philosophy of life so as to unite these activities and prevent the disconnection between the individual's activities and his environment and enable him feel the completeness (Kozak, 1999: 108-109).

Health, education and environment are the sub-systems of the socio-political system. The sectors of health, education and environment have some of the following structural features: they constantly and swiftly change and develop; they are the focus of an interdisciplinary approach; they relate to the whole society; and they are important enough to determine the present and the future of the society.

Just like every living organism, the human beings are affected by their inanimate environment and also affect it. The position of human beings in the nature is quite different. Human beings can analyze the events by establishing reason-outcome relations. Health, education and environment interact with various areas (Berkes and Kışlalioğlu, 1994: 14-17). These require the interdisciplinary common approach in health-education-environment, sociology, psychology, culture, technology, productivity and quality, development and planning (Gulbenkian, 2009: 91-97). A productive and bright team for health, education and environment which focused on getting outcomes should possess absolute experience and equipment on sociology, culture, technology, productivity and development. Health, education and environment will be referred as 'HEE' in short. The right and freedom to choose healthcare, education and environment is a natural and indispensable right of each individual, community and global actor.

There is a need for developing a new understanding and thought dialectic which comprises all the sects and layers of the society. A free and open society will be constructed with the help of salesmen, businessmen and children, youth, the elder, women, men, animate or inanimate nature (environmental factors), the intellectuals, academicians, public institutions, political parties, national and international organizations, NGOs, public opinions, press and media, and voluntary institutions.

The actual functionality of the institutions, rules and values depend on their successful representation. Here the educated, academicians and intellectuals must ethically maintain the search for the real information beyond superficial curiosity, which is dilettantism. The main duty of the educated is to look for and advocate the justice and the truth beyond national and political desires (Avcı, 1999: 16-19).

Global asabiyya does not propose a new world citizenship. It neither legitimizes the present status quo nor ignores it. We bring forward global asabiyya as 'a new model of asabiyya' globally directed and located in order to build 'a new future' recording both the modernity and the tradition. As it comprises the flexibility, dynamism and active human mind and the animate nature, every individual is expected to experience global asabiyya personally and on their own.

The most serious set of measures against a new trial for authoritarianism / totalitarianism is to eliminate the conditions causing totalitarianism. Therefore, the ideologies should not be allowed to put pressure on theories. The main theme of the approach proposed by the global asabiyya model is to establish the infrastructure for bringing the mind and the feelings together and developing attitudes-behaviors that could solve the problem at micro or macro level.

Here the being that the individual of global asabiyya will associate with would be himself and his ideals within the set of values that he accepted with their authentic realities. He will be able to form a realistic existence

that would prevent the fragility and virtuality of this subject. The emerging real subject will taste a real representation by acting freely.

The existence and development of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual and the civil society is possible only by the availability of economic opportunities and facilities. The capital combined with entrepreneur man force should turn into investment for the sake of economic success. If the economic benefit and cost analyses correspond to financial structure and convenience, societal projects can be carried out. At this point prosperity and wealth, labor, man power and of course the business world should function as a whole.

Global asabiyya's acquisition of its own historical context might be realized by an active and conscious public opinion movement and a civil society area not interfered in terms of its open society, fairly functioning law system, economic and cultural entrepreneurship, initiatives and gains. Especially like the role of bourgeoisie in the emergence of nation-state, there is a need for the position and motivation of a pioneering entrepreneur and intellectual. The bright, thinking, productive and enlightened faces of global asabiyya will be directing the history – but first their own history- as the founder ancestors; and global asabiyya will be represented and publicized. Such determined and ethically trustworthy entrepreneur and innovators canalize their humanitarian ideals to the concrete, practical and especially global problems worldwide. They will emerge as the pioneers who would employ the reason and the science from the individuals and communities that would solve problems, act as conciliators and peace messengers. They will re-instill the holy ring of the humanity and the civilization that was lost.

Here, the features of the bearers and carriers of global asabiyya should be emphasized as a personality that could be negotiable. The whole humanity comprises the children of different qualities from the same holy family. The bravery to consider the different without fear belongs to this type of people. Global asabiyya is not a type of call for a belief in globalization. It even highlights the perception of globalization within critical dimensions and acceptance of local self-determination of individuals and communities of different levels as the supplementary factors of a liberalization process. Global asabiyya is put forward as a greeting to the emergence of a free climate.

One of the main practice areas of the 'model of global asabiyya' to be developed will be health, education and environment, while the other will be justice, security and economy. It will be possibly on the agenda to shape the internal and external political decision mechanisms against local and global problems depending on the preferences and attitudes within an interactive dynamic process. Solving the issues on agenda in a healthy fashion, on site and on time will minimize the possible risks and uncertainties.

It is a well-known fact that the understanding of the contemporary democracy has improved not only in producing ideal goals and targets, but also practical solutions, tools and mechanisms. Here it is inevitable to transit from an ideological, strict, doctrinarian state to a neutral, dominant, caring state. It should be kept in mind that the healthcare, educational or environmental problems are not limited to just these services; and that it is open to an impact that surrounds the whole life from political philosophy to state philosophy, from economy to social structure, from beliefs to culture, from individuals to global actors. Thus, we have to consider the global actions and dialogs like European Union and UNESCO, while working on the healthcare centers in our neighborhood, the schools nearby and the local environmental problems. The problems should be handled by global vision, the solutions should be produced in by a local mission and the total quality should be constantly improving.

There must be exemplary national and international councils and congresses locally and globally for the sake of solutions for the problems; and the outcomes of these activities must be institutionalized with the formation of a general secretariat and gain a permanent status. Internal and external justice, security and diplomacy and the domestic and external reflections of the already global economy might be made transparent within model of global asabiyya. Especially in developing negotiation methods and mechanisms that could prevent the conflicts among different nationalisms, there is a need for supranational and international perspective and attitude which would peacefully build up individual and collective identities using common sense.

Nationalisms should be transformed into constructive and reformative- open to development potential on a reasonable and legitimate ground before becoming a destructive and explosive power. Thus, the approaches about HEE should be produced and popularized in context of economy-politics comprising the culture and ethics of similar approaches in line with freedom-equality and prosperity. The critical and

responsible attitudes in approaching to nationalism will be realized only when a certain part of media refrains from the function of violence, hatred and hostility caused by a nationalism syndrome; and turns towards a mode of consciousness, enlightenment, mercy and love. Practical-instrumental intelligence, needs and decisions which are carried out in line with media and technology could be balanced and organized by the set of values belonging to the ideal intelligence.

There is a demand for a new and globally oriented paradigm which includes common perception, thought and behavior codes. It enriches differences by combining them with ethical and universal values; protects and develops the personal and civil areas; include and internalize instead of excluding. In other words, the relationship and contact are of the people is expanding to a global dimension; and perceptions also expand at a global level. Rising loyalty and interdependence to a global adherence, belongingness and loyalty in the face of humanly and universal problems is hard to perceive within the present paradigms as it is a new phenomenon. Information and technology, as well as their power and potential are not under the control of the presumed power centers; thus, the new power center will not belong to the national or global bourgeoisie. It will have a less control capacity. The problems will be solved locally and will be observed on the global scale as well. If there is a problem, the solution for it is certainly nearby. Global asabiyya will be able to reveal the explicit or implicit impacts and intervention of global powers and will always reach their reflections. Here it will be possible to talk about the exploration and production of the global conscience and intelligence as a new energy resource.

Nowadays tensions emerge between the modernity and the post-modernity, and almost all scientific branches mentioning 'anachronism' started a search for new paradigmatic transformations. In such an era there is a huge need for a plural and rich ethical code and a set of values which would provide the coexistence of the differences and similarities. Distinctive models that could reasonably process the emotional (including the subconscious) aspect of human beings might be put on agenda rather than the approaches based on absolute reason. The main focus of this article, global asabiyya, was designed as such a model.

Media has become differentiated; there is a transition from monologism to plurality, from black and white to the color. Evaluation of media culture and realities in this context will bring about beneficial outcomes. The society along with the media will also reach the maturity to easily keep up with the rapid change and transformation tempo.

In global asabiyya model the press, media and the communication on the internet are considered as a whole along with the other actors and institutions. Individual and the civil society, economy and politics, science and technology, law and justice are interacting in a local and global scaled functioning dynamics. Global asabiyya model is an ethical model, but not a utopian one. Although it has some idealist aspects, it foresees the progress on a realist ground.

6. Conclusion

This article features IbnKhalidun's "model of asabiyya" as an 'independent variable' used in evaluation of nationalism considering the historical potentials, capacity and limitations; or as a neutral key concept such as the enzymes that start the reaction but do not intervene. The missing dimension of asabiyya, global asabiyya, is being developed for the current and post-modern era to draw a perfect circle out of the lines of the past, present and future. It will enable a full spin around our globe. There has been a need for constructing the parameters of global asabiyya, which are reason in terms of its innate and transcendental dimensions, common accumulation of experiences, universal humanitarian values, a legal system based on human rights, liberal market economy, real and permanent democracy, a lively and productive culture and the focus of universal cooperation and socialization feeling (global asabiyya). This construction requires the emergence, development and the reinforcement of a global ethical-politic communication area which enables the participation of NGOs, governments and individuals as the institutions and organizations developed at a necessary micro, norm-related and macro level. Another reality that is put forward here is the struggle for taking asabiyyas and nationalisms beyond a trouble-maker area to a position where the solutions are devised thanks to global asabiyya.

The perspective or the taste of an idea, thought or perspective depends on from which humanitarian or societal, deep or superficial layers it originated. The researches to take a place in history must have the adequacy and capacity to reflect the dram and tragedy of humanity.

Realizing oneself and manifesting the existence of the self is one of the most fundamental existential realities of human being. This process goes on depending on individual and collective identities. It is a well-

known fact that the identity and personality reveal themselves along with the historical and societal setting. It is possible to talk about a social and political psychology that ranges from the freedom of expression to culture, art, folklore and all the other dimensions of societal existence. The main characteristic of the manifestation of personal, social and political psychology is 'content, satisfaction, inner peace and happiness'. If we consider the feeling of being hindered in the self-realization process, and the humiliation, belittlement, derogation policies caused by the pride and arrogance of the addressee, we will elicit a black box which hides the origins of the problems. Interpreting the codes in the black box would offer and explain evidences for the fault lines in the societal struggles and their sources. It is a must to evaluate the nationalisms in terms of individual, social and politic psychology. Otherwise, the confidence brought by the healthy communication among the societies will be replaced by a spiral of silence caused by learned helplessness.

Life goes beyond the theories; and everything has an explanation which will be learned by the humanity when the time comes. The day when a real enlightenment away from manipulation and conditioning occurs will be a new dawn for the humanity.

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