

14 The concept of "philotimo": Semantics, tradition, and globalization of the term for greek identity in an era of crisis

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ABSTRACT

Since 2009 a turbulent era in the Mediterranean, Greece¹ topped in the news rhetoric in diaspora for 1,000 times/day, with the use of acronyms like *PIIGGS*, *BRICS* etc. which build over stereotypes that transcend communication and redefine terminology on nation branding and identity. The current paper reviews the roots and tradition of "philotimo", its metaphors and extensions, and focuses on the use the term in connection with what is identified as "Greek" in international media coverage. This paper argues that the era of economic crisis has affected language use at an international level in media rhetoric and international relations. The terminology used towards "philotimo" covers a broad spectrum of topical terminological categories from ethics theory and culture to anthropological identities and nation branding. Its association with the enculturation in their peer-group called *parea* and the social networking construction of *Homo dictyous*.

Every culture and nation possesses and reflects a core value that is at the center of their collective self and shared mindset. E.g. USA devotes itself to "*freedom*", whereas in Canada the concept of "*social justice*" prevails. In Greek culture this central value is expressed with the term "philotimo", a non-translatable conscious "arete" (of *logos*) of honor and pride, as expressed through acts of generosity and sacrifice (building *pathos*). Philotimo matches with credibility, with the tendency to cooperate and the ritual of keeping your word (face and commitments) without reserving it in a contract (the catalytic appeal of *ethos*). Philotimo has its anthropological roots in the *poetics of manhood* that are easily observable in micro-communities of the Greek periphery and recognized in presidential diplomacy, as commented by the US President B. Obama. It is a script of a collective programming of mind for Greeks, with multiple terminological connotations and dimensions.

¹ This text uses the root term *Hellenic* instead of the term Greek in accordance with contemporary usage and ELETO's suggestions. The term Greek is also used when the cited literature prefers that. The term *homo oeconomicus*, of Latin origin, emphasizes the ego-interested individual as criticized by Amartya Sen: Sen, A.K. (1977) '*Rational Fools: A critique of the behavioural foundations of economic theory*', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 6(4): 317–44. The term *homo dictyous*, in Hellenic semantics with Latin extension, was coined by Christakis and Fowler (2009) and is utilized here to show the interconnections of cooperation beyond the reciprocity of *homo reciprocans* and the social interaction of *homo communicans*.

Η έννοια του «φιλότιμου»: Σημασιολογία, παράδοση, και παγκοσμιοποίηση του όρου για την ελληνική ταυτότητα στην εποχή της κρίσης

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Από το 2009 μια ταραχώδη εποχή στη Μεσόγειο, η Ελλάδα ξεπέρασε στην ρητορική των ειδήσεων της διασποράς για 1.000 φορές / ημέρα, με τη χρήση των ακρωνυμίων όπως PIGGS, BRICS κλπ, τα οποία οικοδομήθηκαν πάνω στα στερεότυπα που ξεπερνούν την επικοινωνία και να επαναπροσδιορίζουν την ορολογία σχετικά με την εθνική ταυτότητα, την κοινή γνώμη και τη δημόσια εικόνα. Η παρούσα εργασία εξετάζει τις ρίζες και την παράδοση του όρου «φιλότιμο», τις μεταφορές και τις προεκτάσεις του και εστιάζει στη χρήση του όρου σε σχέση με αυτόν που αναγνωρίζεται ως "Έλληνας" σε διεθνή μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης. Το επιχείρημα υποστηρίζει ότι η εποχή της οικονομικής κρίσης έχει επηρεάσει τη χρήση της γλώσσας σε διεθνές επίπεδο στη ρητορική των μέσων ενημέρωσης και των διεθνών σχέσεων. Η ορολογία που χρησιμοποιείται προς το «φιλότιμο» καλύπτει ένα ευρύ φάσμα της θεματικής ορολογίας σε κατηγορίες από την ηθική θεωρία και τον πολιτισμό, στην ανθρωπολογική ταυτότητα και την κρατική επωνυμία. Επιπλέον, ερευνάται η σύνδεσή του όρου με κοινωνικές οντότητες όπως η "παρέα" και ο νεολογισμός του δικτυωμένου ανθρώπου (Homo dictyous). Κάθε πολιτισμική ή εθνική οντότητα έχει και αντικατοπτρίζει μια βασική αξία που βρίσκεται στο κέντρο του συλλογικού εαυτού τους και την κοινής λογικής των μελών της. Π.χ. οι ΗΠΑ τονίζουν την «ελευθερία», ενώ στον Καναδά η έννοια της «κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης» επικρατεί. Στην ελληνική κουλτούρα αυτή η κεντρική αξία εκφράζεται με τον όρο «φιλότιμο», μια μη-μεταφραζόμενη συνειδητή «αρετή» (λογικής) της τιμής και περηφάνιας, όπως εκφράζεται μέσα από πράξεις γενναιοδωρίας και της θυσίας (με ρητορικό πάθος). Το φιλότιμο ταιριάζει με αξιοπιστία, με την τάση να συνεργάζονται και το τελετουργικό της τήρησης του λόγου (πρόσωπο και δεσμεύσεις), χωρίς να υπογράφεται σε ένα συμβόλαιο (ο καταλυτικός ρόλος του ήθους). Το φιλότιμο έχει ανθρωπολογικές ρίζες της στην ποιητική του ανδρισμού που είναι εύκολα παρατηρήσιμο σε μικρο-κοινότητες της ελληνικής περιφέρειας και αναγνωρίζεται στην προεδρική διπλωματία, όπως σχολίασε ο Πρόεδρος των ΗΠΑ Ομπάμα το 2010. Πρόκειται για ένα σενάριο ενός συλλογικού προγραμματισμού του εγκεφάλου για τους Έλληνες, με πολλαπλές διαστάσεις ορολογίας.

Το φιλότιμο ορίζεται ως μια έμφυτη ιδιότητα που μπορεί να παρακινήσει τους ανθρώπους να κάνουν περισσότερα από ό, τι αναμένεται, χωρίς να περιμένουν τίποτα σε αντάλλαγμα. Ως εκ τούτου, φιλότιμο είναι μια αρχή η ζωή για τους Έλληνες, ερμηνεύεται ως αγάπη για την τιμή, τιμή να δείξεις στους άλλους και τιμή να λάβεις από τους άλλους-και είναι ένα χαρακτηριστικό που είναι έντονο σε μικρές κοινότητες στην ελληνική περιφέρεια. Πρόκειται για μια περίπτωση ενός ιδανικού κατά την οποία οι συμμετέχοντες αποδέχονται γενικά ένα πρότυπο που βασίζεται στα θεμέλια της κοινωνίας κανονιστικά, όπως ορίζεται από τον Habermas [22]. Αυτό το είδος της κανονιστικής ηθικής υπερβαίνει τη δεοντολογία των δασμών και των

κανόνων, καθώς και συνεπειοκρατία. Με αυτή την έννοια, το φιλότιμο στενά αντιστοιχεί στις αρετές και το ήθος που ορίζουν την ενάρετη ηθική: η ηθική αρετή, η πρακτική σοφία και η ευδαιμονία-είναι κατανοητή, αντικειμενική και συνεπής εμπειρικά [23]. Το φιλότιμο είναι μια αρετή που αντιστοιχεί στην αξιοπιστία, στη στάση συνεργασίας και στο τελετουργικό της τήρησης του λόγου (με πρόσωπο και δεσμεύσεις), χωρίς να καταγραφεί σε ένα συμβόλαιο. Είναι ένας τρόπος ζωής με ήθος, σύμφωνα με την τελεολογική ερμηνεία του Αριστοτέλη.

Στη τρέχουσα περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης και αντι-τραπεζικής ρητορικής, το φιλότιμο ως στοιχείο προσωπικής ακεραιότητας, διατήρησης του προσώπου και εμπιστοσύνης είναι απαραίτητο για όλες τις τραπεζικές πρακτικές και αποκτά θεσμική στήριξη μέσω των κοινοτικών δικτύων που αποτελούν θεμέλιο συνεταιριστικών τραπεζών με τα στοιχεία της συλλογικής ορθολογικότητας. Πρόκειται για ένα σενάριο ενός συλλογικού προγραμματισμού τουεγκεφάλου για τους Έλληνες [25], ένα καθοριστικό παράγοντα της ίδρυσης των συνεταιρισμού και των πιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων που συνδέονται με την ευρωπαϊκή μεσογειακή κουλτούρα και την ελληνική παράδοση. Σε επίπεδο χρηματικών συναλλαγών και διαπροσωπικών σχέσεων, η εμπιστοσύνη οικοδομείται αμοιβαία και υπερβαίνει το homo oeconomicus του «ορθολογισμού», του «υπολογισμού» και της «αποτελεσματικότητας» ως απρόσωπης οικονομικής επιταγής. Το φιλότιμο μετουσιώνει σημασιολογικά αυτές τις συνεργατικές σχέσεις για τους Έλληνες και στοιχειοθετεί καίριο στοιχείο ταυτότητας για την ελληνικότητα, όπως γίνεται αντιληπτή στο εξωτερικό. Μια λέξη, μια αρετή, ένας τρόπος ζωής που συνδέει παράδοση και ορολογία με τη μοναδικότητα της ελληνικής ταυτότητας.

0 Introduction

Language is so tightly embedded to human experience since when people meet they are most likely that they start exchanging words or symbols [1]. In Greece people consider themselves a brotherless nation that maintained their diachronic identity by cultivating network bonds on spatial, cultural, and communal dimensions. Greek language enriches such bonding with signifiers which are definitive of Greek identity; philotimo encapsulates the expressive power of several attributes of Greek identity, has evolved as a floating signifier used from various agents in diverse contexts, during the years of economic crisis. The words and signals we use capture the most “human and humanizing” activity that people execute “[when] talking to each other” [2]. All these elements of our interaction using language determine the mode with which we act toward people and things: the basis is the meaning we assign to people or things [3].

Furthermore, meanings are in people –not in words only- and meaning is negotiated through the use of language, while people interact. Thus, you hardly understand Greece without referring to

social relations embedded in the local, regional or national collective selves that provides the medium for concrete ties of diaspora Greeks with their homeland. Greeks as individuals live in a collectivistic culture, belong to their extended families and are enculturated in their peer-group called *parea*². *Parea* is constructed in layers, from personal life to school days and professional activities. Society is organized in a set of relationships that are endemic in Greek identity. Communication materializes any type of relationship in the Greek tradition. The modern *homo communicans* seems to prefer to be connected to and stay in contact with their surrounding world. Mutuality matches *philotimo* with social cohesion as a security mechanism in the current era of turbulence and is projected in ethical virtues explicit in the use of language and terminology.

This paper argues that the semantics of *philotimo* cover multiple layers of Greek culture and behavior and are reinforced during the crisis years, and are perceived as identifiers in the network structure of establishing and functioning in the base of cooperation. Every national culture possesses and reflects a core value that is at the centre of its collective self and shared mindset. The USA is devoted to 'freedom' (e.g., [4]) and Canada to the concept of "social justice" [5]. In Hellenic culture, this central value is *philotimo*, which is an untranslatable and unique cultural virtue of honor and pride idiosyncratic to Hellenes [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12].

Culture consists of relatively specialized lifestyles, values, beliefs, artifacts, forms of behavior, and patterns of communication. Culture includes anything that a group has produced and developed—i.e., language, religion, laws, ways of thinking, art, communication patterns, rituals, styles, and attitudes [13]. Hofstede [14] provides an operational definition of culture: "*A collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group from another... [a type of] mental programming... [with] patterns of thinking and feeling and potential acting*". Culture defines a moral frame with standards about how to belong to, and be an upstanding of a group.

When people interact and exchange verbal transactions they may disclose different aspects of

² Gregory Nagy (<http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/1234>), Director at Harvard University's Center for Hellenic Studies, supports the spirit of "parea" as a unique Greek phenomenon. Moreover, he connects the Greek Spirit of *parea* with camaraderie described in the TV Series "Friends" (see the Greek Embassy's newsletter at <http://us5.campaign-archive1.com/?u=6cb2d297ff616984b41ff4bae&id=672e064336>, Jan 2014). The connection between friendship and the Greek collective self is analyzed from Gregory Jusdanis in his book "A Tremendous Thing: Friendship from the "Iliad" to the Internet, Cornell University Press (2015)."

their private, public, collective, and inner 'self'; cultural, societal, institutional, and deeper value factors interfere with, and organize their perception of their actions. If virtues are ethical messages, then culture is the propagation channel of these virtues. In the case of the social networks that people identify with, the constituent elements of individuals and their relationships promote reciprocity in ethical behaviour and facilitate the supplier-customer interaction. Such an interaction communicates 'ethos' as dependability, in the traditional sender-receiver model of communication [15].

1 The Hellenic mindset of *philotimo*

Since antiquity, Hellenes have considered economics (governing the *oikos*) as part of their inquiry into ethics, politics, and social organization [16]. Traditionally Hellenic economic thought is placed within the Mediterranean tradition that perceives the economy as embedded in a web of social and political institutions that are regulated by religious and ethical norms [17], [18]. Therefore, the economy contributes to developing interpersonal relationships based on the mutual respect of oral commitments, pride, and honouring the virtue of *philotimo* that generates bonds of trust [19]. Emphasis on integrity (*akeraiotita*), the primary layer of current *philotimo*, has been a constant value for centuries [20]. Integrity originally reflected public pressure to behave uprightly, a norm of the responsible citizen (*politis*). In this sense, while profit making can be considered legitimate and part of the atomistic system, profiteering is punished [21]. It would be unthinkable that someone without integrity—in terms of honesty, justice, and truthfulness—is admired. *Philotimo* seems to have earned the status of a collective conscience in modern Hellas, where people no longer philosophize about it or try to impose it on others, but rather take it for granted and assume its widespread existence.

Philotimo is defined as an innate faculty that may motivate people to do more than what is expected, without expecting anything in return. Hence, *philotimo* is a life principle for Hellenes; it is interpreted as love for honor—honor 'to show' for others and honour 'to receive' from others—and is a characteristic that is intense in small communities on the Hellenic periphery. It is a case of an ideal occurrence where participants generally accept a norm based on the foundation of that normative society, as defined by Habermas [22]. This type of normative ethics transcends the deontology of duties and rules, as well as consequentialism. In this sense, *philotimo* closely corresponds to the virtues and moral character that define virtue ethics. Furthermore, in its various manifestations, the three central concepts of virtue ethics—virtue, practical wisdom, and

eudaimonia—are comprehensible, objective, and empirically truthful [23]. Philotimo is a virtue that corresponds with credibility, with the tendency to cooperate, and with the ritual of keeping your word (face and commitments) without writing a contract;³ it is a way of life with *ethos*, consistent with the teleological approach of Aristotle.

This attribute of personal integrity, maintaining face, and trust is essential for all banking practices and acquires institutional support through community networks that form cooperative banks with elements of collective rationality. It is a script of a collective programming of mind for Hellenes [25], a determinant of the foundation of cooperative and credit-related institutions in European Mediterranean culture and the Hellenic tradition. In monetary transactions and intimate relationships, trust is mutually cogenerated and goes beyond the *homo oeconomicus* of 'rationality', 'calculation', and 'efficiency' as impersonal economic imperatives.

2 Moral aspects of philotimo in routine language

The community of members in the Greek periphery live by the notion of philanthropia as the gist of philotimo in several respects. In social enterprises and community-based markets, corporate governance issues are manifested as compatible with the concepts of accountability, reliability, and transparency. This widespread reference to philanthropia reflects the primary issue of philotimo: the collective self is explicitly related to approaches of trust. Trust can be described as reflex [26], as a fixed expectation of culture, sometimes as being learned and situational. Trust is also considered as a resource of social capital, power, and social support. Salem [26] suggests that trust emerges from communicative interaction; trust and communication are interdependent and lead to 'a probability of structural coupling' between humans.

Therefore, individuals achieve a sense of 'betweenness' that has its roots in ethical ties of well-informed citizens. Throughout Hellenic society, the premise of moral equality interacts with strategies to gain advantage among widely separated class or professional interests [27]. As Campbell [28] describes it, there is a nuance in philotimo, a dependability of moral respect and social asymmetry. Moral respect is simultaneously a mask and a condition of mutual dependence (and exchange) of shepherds, merchants, and politicians. On the other hand, others like Lyberaki and Paraskevopoulos [29] are skeptical of the 'elusive boundaries between

³ It is also a direct response to *rouspheti*—the reciprocal dispensation of favours [24]—as practiced and enforced during the post-Byzantine Turkish rule of Hellas; it remains as a major obstacle to modernization.

social trust and its [Hellenic] substitutive notion of *philotimo*', especially when small communities are examined. It is a type of critique that supports the fusion of trust with *philotimo* at a group level beyond the criteria of the individual; this argument could be interpreted as a notion of institutional *philotimo*.

In rural areas, honour and the lack of it takes dimensions that embrace the whole family, whereas in the cities it becomes more confounding and individualized. The only social class that does not consider honour of such primary importance is the urban middle class. This is consistent with Herzfeld's idea that names are semiotic markers for moral boundaries (in non-urban settings), since those boundaries are themselves highly flexible: what is considered evidence of socially acceptable morality (*philotimo*) in one individual may be treated as its very opposite in another. This morality contagion is a projection of an implicit culture to an explicit identity [30].

Tracing the roots of community-based moral contagion in contemporary Hellas, there are several junctures that created an amalgam of Hellas with its 'oriental' self in the post-antiquity period. The pre-Islamic Arabs were proud of their pastoral way of life that gave birth to *murū'a* [31], the Arab concept of *virtus*, which embodies courage in war, hospitality in peace, independence of spirit, and love of liberty. A similar connotation is found in Turkish for 'honour': *seref*, *izzet*, *haysiyet* and *onur*. The most common word denoting pride is *gurur* whereas *onur* is connected with *philotimo*, respectively [32]. In decentralized Hellenic society, such effects in moral values are reinforced in local communities, and the value of *philotimo* is relayed through the social networks that shape people's lives [33]:

- Hellenes prefer self-organization in commons where they recognize common attributes forming networks of affiliation.
- Love thy neighbour: The Hellenic state is organized in geographically dispersed local communities, starting from the 'neighbourhood'. Thus, a solid fabric of connected members is typical in the Hellenic periphery.
- Communal protection cultivates bonding in Hellas.
- Hellenes are social—so inevitably connected—animals following Aristotle's principles.

Again, it is important to distinguish an honour of position, which is an ascribed category related to possessions, and a discrete moral category that devolves from achieving reputation among social peers. In egalitarian contexts, male competitions subsumed by honour may be expressed in terms of 'seniority', or 'respect' and 'honor' [34]. In recent years, *philotimo* has become an ideal; it is the consciousness of superiority of mental achievements against material interests in

life, a subconscious voice of authentic humanism with its own rationale. Personal dignity is the consciousness of ultimate sacredness of the corporeal human, but for the Hellenes it is the axiom that directs life [35]. Philotimo is one of the ideals that traditional nuclear Hellenic families aim to implant in the generations that follow, and it is frequently invoked when asking someone to 'come to one's senses' or to correct an undesirable attitude. Similarly, the urge—conscious or not— to prove worthy of the nationally praised characterization of philotimos (as an adjective) might function as a self-fulfilling prophecy. It involves a collective sense of belonging [36], and the positive experience of this identity was the efficiency by, and dithyrambic recognition of Hellenic volunteers during the Athens Olympic Games of 2004.⁴

In economic terms and banking, philotimo filters relationship-based transactions to implement the 'know your customer' (KYC)⁵ policy which involves constant communication with depositors and borrowers to increase awareness. This process is not routinely implemented by mainstream banks but by cooperative banks in a solidarity economy during the crisis. The lack of a credit record, fully documented revenues, and sufficient collateral is compensated by operational sources of repayment that connects the individual borrower-member of the bank with their collective relations and individual ethical traits of philotimo.

3 Philotimo as the ethical core observed in banking transactions

One of the primary consequences of living in crisis years in Greece is the changes observed in transactional behavior. The island of Crete is a popular destination for tourism, employment mobility, military personnel, student population with diversified economy. Its island dynamics offer a nice example for the use of language and nissology culture. It could be the best of times for cooperative banking, as the current crisis provided arguments against the dominant theory of perfect information and the capacities of self-regulating markets. The crisis has also provoked widespread rethinking about the potential contributions of credit in local development and the behavior of the local towards their transactions. Finally, it has highlighted the pressing need for local societies to work towards exerting control on the global and its self-organized governance.

⁴ Jacques Rogge, President of International Olympic Committee, was quoted as saying: 'These Games were unforgettable, dream Games,' in his speech at the Closing Ceremony. He also thanked the 'marvellous volunteers who have charmed us with their confidence and kindness' (Associated Press 2004. HTTP: <<http://sports.espn.go.com/oly/summer04/gen/news/story?id=1870458>>).

⁵ Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (2004) 'Consolidated KYC risk management', Basel: Bank of International Settlements. Online HTTP: <<http://www.bis.org/publ/bcbs110.pdf>> (accessed 15 June 2012).

Along these lines, *philotimo* is a value of personal honor and pride that massages empathy for the “other”, as expressed through acts of generosity and sacrifice. Greeks since antiquity put emphasis on integrity (*akeraiotita*), the primary layer of the modern *philotimo*. Integrity originally reflected the public pressure to behave uprightly, a norm of the citizen. It would be unthinkable that someone without integrity - in terms of honesty, justice, truthfulness- is admired. Emphasis on goodness is encapsulated in the ancient inscription “*kalos k’ agathos*”⁶ on numerous Greek artifacts; it means, literally, “good and purely good” in person and good as a social being. One is esoteric for personal improvement, the other extrovert to the quality of social relations. Integrity as a purpose and criterion of good life survived in modern times in Greece as the proverbial *philotimo*, with a teleological perspective but a deontological rootage.

Philotimo seems to gain the status of a collective conscience in modern Greece, where people no longer philosophize about it, or try to impose it on the masses, but take it for granted and assume its widespread existence⁷. That is the case of Crete, as an insular community constructed by scattered individual households with prowess to defend themselves against enemies. It is a society with a radical shame culture with a “*what we are and what we stand for*” lifeworld practice that also is represented in its ethical approach to banking⁸. The primary sanction that matters is “*what people in the community will say*”.

At a community level when living in affinitive local societies, transactions in local banks during the crisis transform their cultural values to ethical – originally meaning *daily-expected* – traits when they decide to start doing business after assuming the membership experience⁹. This is an Aristotelian ideal that “*we are what we repeatedly do*”; *ethos* is a way of life diffused through the

⁶ A full explanation is offered in Petrochilos, G. A. (2002), *Kalokagathia: The Ethical Basis of Hellenic Political Economy and Its Influence from Plato to Ruskin and Sen*, History of Political Economy, Vol 34, No 3, Duke University Press.

⁷ Several researchers document why, traditionally, in Greece *philotimo* is “taken for granted”: see [6], [7], [9], [10], [11]. Also: Kostoulas G. (2008), *Philotimo and the Greek Manager* at <http://www.capital.gr/news.asp?Details=502016> (accessed on 9/ 2009). Mavreas V., Bebbington P., Der Geoff (1989), *The Structure and Validity of Acculturation Analysis of an Acculturation Scale*, Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, No 24, pp. 233-240.

⁸ Brian Harvey (1995), *Ethical Banking: The case of the Co-operative Bank*, Journal of Business Ethics, p. 1005-1013.

⁹ Geert Hofstede provides a well- documented analysis of cultural aspects in business in several publications and in his site at <http://www.geert-hofstede.com/> (accessed on October 2013).

cooperative network fabric. The core value of Greek “*philotimo*” safeguards integrity and performance in Cretan society, as an enthymeme of a social added-value. Greekness as identity¹⁰, manifested in Crete with *philotimo*, enriches transactional ethos with a social dimension that makes local banking ethical and a benefit dimension that makes it sustainable.

Local cooperative banks, in such a context, adopted the definition of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) : “[a cooperative is] *an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise.*” Socially organized business finds an exemplary application in cooperative banking and institutionalizes *philotimo* in daily life terms. The cooperative doctrine with seven internationally recognized principles that ICA¹¹ labels as *cooperative identity*: (i) voluntary and open membership, (ii) democratic control by members, (iii) member economic participation, (iv) education, training and information, (v) cooperation among cooperatives, and concern for the community. These principles materialize the use of *philotimo* at an operational level.

It is a typical example of an amalgam of social and value capital supported by a banking network with connected members in the local community. Market share is not a goal but an inevitable evolution of togetherness between locals in Crete. Most importantly, by encouraging people's input into the ongoing development of cooperative banks' ethical policy, *Homo Communicans* forwards *Homo Economicus* to *Homo Dictyous* (a connected member).

4 Globalized use of *philotimo* terminology

The conceptualization of *philotimo* has become a story-telling narrative in major announcements, speeches, and occasions with international appeal when speaking about Greece. In this part, several examples of these uses articulate the advancement of term an entity synonymous to identity perception, formation, and sustainability.

¹⁰ Managerial and behavioral aspects of *philotimo* are explained in: Bourantas D. and Papadakis V. (1996), *Greek Management*, International Studies of Management and Organization, Vol. 26, Issue 3, pp: 13-32. Skiftou V. (2005), *Within Social and Cultural Practices of Greek Society Subjects Negotiate a Series of Issues that are Related to Family and the Complexities of It*, LSE Doctoral Conference. Vassiliou V. G. & Vassiliou G. (1973), *The Implicative Meaning of the Greek Concept of Philotimo*, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 4(3).

¹¹ ICA definitions and principles are described in <http://www.ica.coop/coop/principles.html> (2013).

In the event of 2010 White House ceremony for the Greek Independence day US President Barak Obama chose to analyze philotimo as a virtue, cultural identifier and roadmap in collective life. That reception's significance extends beyond the remembrance of Greek Independence Day, as Obama remarks on the enduring bond of USA and Greece forged by the shared history, common values, and the united obligation to build a better future [*emphasis added to highlight key points*]¹²:

*"There's a concept that captures it, and it doesn't translate easily; it **doesn't really have an equivalent** in English. But it's a virtue that all of you know well, because it's the **very essence of being Greek** -- and you will forgive if my pronunciation is just so-so -- philotimo. Right? Philotimo. Literally, it translates as "love of honor." **I love that concept -- love of honor.** But, of course, it means much more than that. It's a sense of love, to family, and to community, and to country -- **the notion that what we're here on this Earth to do is to be all in this together.** We all have obligations to each other and to work together. And so it was that the democratic example of a small group of city states more than 2,000 years ago could inspire the founding generation of this country, that led one early American to imagine that **"the days of Greece may be revived in the woods of America."***

Philotimo's semantics in the Presidential address show the essential attribute of being recognized as Greek, its connection with family structure, community building, togetherness, and the sense of respect.

One of the most prominent younger members of Greek- American business community, George Logothetis¹³, Chairman and CEO of Libra Group, outlined how the financial crisis in Greece is currently dominating the agenda and overlooks the problems people face in their everyday

¹² It is noteworthy that Presidential staff has used data from the author's paper cited as "Katerinakis T., From Kalokagathia to Philotimo: Connected Ethics in Modern Greek Cooperatives (at It is noteworthy that http://www.afglc.org/katerinakis_ppt_AFGLC_2010.pdf). 15th Annual AFGLC-ICHS Forum/Conference 2010, "Hellenic Values in a Global Civilization: Engaging the Colleges, Universities and Citizens" USF, Tampa, February 18-20, 2010. And that paper received 50,000 downloads according to AFGLC's web administrator (at the time) Dr. Ulysses Ballis.

¹³ Logothetis G. (2012). "What We Have Built Has Been Underwritten by Philotimo". Libra Group presentation for Greece, 2012 National Innovation Conference in NYC. Available at <http://www.greekamerica.org/nic/nic-talks/talks-2012/> (or <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBEXkmNGqDE>) - See more at: <http://usa.greekreporter.com/2012/05/28/george-logothetis-what-we-have-built-has-been-underwritten-by-philotimo/#sthash.td5lJBo4.dpuf>. Logothetis data in Libra Group is available at <http://www.libra.com/en/people/executive-team/george-m-logothetis>.

lives. *"We keep hearing about the financial crisis but not the social one. We do not hear about the massive jump in suicides, the rise in homelessness, the practical unwinding of the social fabric of society,"* he explained. In several of his talks and presentations, He identified how philotimo as a value is part of the Greek character and one he has seen over the years in every corner of his family's business:

"To me, the undercurrent of Hellenism, the commonest and starkest theme that unites us all as Greeks, is philotimo... duty, loyalty, integrity, honor, love, trust, faith and, perhaps most important of all, the pride in being decent. The fabric of what we have built as a family and a group has been underwritten by philotimo."

Logothetis adds the dimension of corporate values and the expansion of philotimo in the professional world, as a determinant of a Greek professional with the creativity and care for entrepreneurial good beyond the individual.

The Washington "Oxi Day Foundation" ¹⁴ is a nonprofit initiative founded in the US to promote the Greek resistance during WWII. In 2014 a whole campaign started with a video titled "The Greek Secret"; the video suggests that the secret to extraordinary Hellenic excellence – personally and as a people – may spring from the uniquely Greek word philotimo. Arianna Huffington, George Stephanopoulos, Bob Costas and Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America Demetrios, and key business figures are among the nationally-known Greek-Americans who appear in this video. This video features interviews with 29 leading Hellenes who each share their definition of philotimo, as they understand it in the Greek language. Those interviewed defined philotimo as:

"not only the "love of honor but also as finding pleasure in sacrificing for the good of others; doing the right thing; improving themselves and their families; and seeking to achieve respect and love from others... Philotimo may in great part explain the Greeks' spectacular achievements throughout history, as well as their close family and community relationships".

¹⁴ The Washington Oxi Day Foundation (at <http://www.oxidayfoundation.org/mission/#sthash.LKEE2fvU.dpuf>) is a nonprofit, 501c3 organization dedicated to informing American policymakers and the public about the profound role Greece played in bringing about the outcome of World War II and celebrating modern day heroes who exhibit the same courage as the Greeks did in continuing to fight to preserve and promote freedom and democracy around the world - The so-called " philotimo" video is available at <http://www.oxidayfoundation.org/philotimo-the-greek-secret-video/>.

The Foundation underlines that the video highlights such Hellenic achievements as: the miraculous leap forward that the ancient Greeks brought to humankind's standard of living and freedom; Greece being identified by America, Great Britain and Russia as the only other country essential to the defeat of Hitler; the Greeks' unsurpassed response to the Holocaust; and Hellenes alone in America's 20th century rising from universal, uneducated poverty to ranking among the top in education and income.

In this case, *philotimo* acquires a transformational function for the community and may help the Greek brand may be coming true¹⁵.

On 2014 the "Stavros Niarchos Foundation" established the Annual *Philotimo* Award to recognize extraordinary acts of "*philotimo*" performed by everyday Greek citizens who, despite the economic crisis, have rallied around others working to maintain social cohesion. In the case of Stavros Niarchos Foundation *philotimo* reflects back to society, as a collective voluntary duty for a common good. In the Foundation's documentation:

"the Greek word "philotimo" literally means 'friend of honor', however its definition encompasses multiple virtues such as decency, dignity, personal sacrifice, honesty, truthfulness, honor, courage, sense of duty, pride, love of family, country and humanity".

Philotimo in this case has been recognized as a desired attribute, a goal empowered by explicit motivation promoted by this award on an annual basis. Acts of *philotimo*, activities and campaigns, voluntary contributions to a collective "self", common efforts and incentives are, among others, aspects of the semantic load of the original term. The emergence of a prize in the nominal value of "*philotimo*" term forwards the use of the term in the additional dimension of an ideal situation.

The last but not least in importance example is the so-called *Philotimo* foundation¹⁶. It is an undertaking following the realization of the systematic epistemological gap in current

¹⁵ See more at <http://www.oxidayfoundation.org/philotimo-the-greek-secret-video/#sthash.xrTBMeXc.dpuf> from Oxi Day Foundation Founder and President, Andrew Manatos.

¹⁶ The story behind the *philotimo* initiative begins in London in 2011. Since that very first research idea of exploring or rediscovering the "lost *philotimo*", as it's often referred to by Greeks, begins an eventful path favored by illumined encounters and improbable coincidences that lead to the incorporation of the non-profit center for social innovation in September 2014. Details at: <http://philotimo.org/?lang=en>

international bibliography around the "complex and central to the Greek cultural identity, concept of philotimo", as noted in the Foundation's declaration. The Foundation's claim is that philotimo has its position in international in international dictionaries right under the word "philosophy". The first crucial step of this project involved the "opinion crowdsourcing", namely the international open invitation to provide contemporary definitions and stories on philotimo towards its universal understanding by Greeks and non-Greeks alike which was launched on 21 December 2014. The Foundation describes the theoretical socio-anthropological significance of investigating the term as follows (emphasis added on aspects of philotimo):

*"The specific case of esteem and importance attribute partakers of Greek language and culture where land is particularly valuable object of study since the **oxymoron** and identify complex traits such as gentleness, or condescension, selflessness even naivety on the one, and stubbornness, pride, or irritability or even eterodosolipsia other. Worthy of study and the evolutionary trend and plasticity concept pride seemed to show, when investing the period 1960-1970, where populations are rural areas of the country entered in the urban centers of the time by adopting, inter alia, more **personalized and mature existential beliefs esteem, personal freedom and dignity** in just a few months. Worth mentioning is the specificity of the term to negotiate **uniquely pairing personal virtues** such as honor integrity even pride – with more **social values** such as friendship, honesty in trade, and humanity. Besides their academic value, the above estimates of esteem exhibit specific innate behavior tendencies, thinking and feeling that are distinguished for their unique ability to enable and empower the person as to the **optimal individual functionality and development.**"*

The Philotimo's Foundation initiative is based on a key policy shift of the humanities do employ systematic research and specific interventions in order to understand and serve people as integrated entities specified by pursuing their welfare, excellence and prosperity.

In a recent book coming from the German world Andreas Deffner, a German Health Ministry executive, reviews current Greek reality with the "adventure, routine, and crisis" of philotimo. He goes one step further to provide a recipe metaphor for the multiple meanings and connotations of philotimo: "two or three positive thoughts, a litre of joy of life, 500 grams of hospitality, a whole ripe friendship, ten drops of helpfulness, a little pride, dignity and sense of duty." [37]

5 Discussion and communication for "philotimo" and Greeks

The traditional language relativity (known as Sapir-Whorf) hypothesis claims that language we speak influences the thoughts we have; people speaking widely different languages will see the

world differently and will think differently “dividing areas of experience in a variety of ways” [38]. Philotimo terminology and documentation seems to be compatible with the relative differentiation of the Greek spirit. It is a case of language liaison with persuasion (for the uniqueness of philotimo traits in Greek language and culture) and is measured with the following criteria [39]:

- Intentionality: language focus is cautious and purposeful distinguished from social influence; it serves certain goals.
- Effect: persuasion does not take place if no one is persuaded (the process continues).
- Free will and conscious awareness: language cultivates good practices and not coercive acts
- Symbolic action: persuasion begins and ends with symbolic expression; i.e. language and meaningful acts.
- Interpersonal and intrapersonal: the dyad is indispensable; language imposes self-persuasion, rationalization and discipline, as the usual first step of perception.

Language as a system of words, sounds, drawings and gestures in a standardized form incorporating four dimensions [40]:

- Pragmatics: social context, assumptions, expectations and beliefs for all interlocutors.
- Semantics: the meaning and knowledge of the signs. How do recipients connect signs with the interpretation of these signs?
- Syntactics: the logic and grammar used for the construction and transmission of signs.
- Empirics: the codes and the physical characteristics of signs and the various media of communication (e.g. pronunciation, legible gestures, proper wording).

In Greek language philotimo has pragmatic, semantic and empirical dimensions depending on the syntax used. The dominant role of philotimo in encapsulating the perception of the Greek spirit connects terminology with story-telling with some basic framing inquiries: (i) what does philotimo mean to you? (ii) what are some extraordinary examples of philotimo that you have seen? (iii) what are the things you can do in your daily life to exhibit philotimo? (iv) how can philotimo improve your life?

Lastly, taking into account the argument of nation branding theory [41] that the only "remaining superpower is the international public opinion" philotimo may become a viable "export product" . Comparing the ingredients of philotimo with prevailing international concepts such as kindness,

fairness, honesty, gratitude, courage and other, offers a field that could be exploited by helping to rebuild the international image of Greece.

The last word comes from Nicholas J. and Anna K. Bouras Foundation Trustee, the Honorable Judge B. Theodore Bozonelis, who received the scholarship for Aristaia and Daria Pappas of La Habra, California. The 7th and 12th grade sisters spent most of their lives in a Russian orphanage. In their thanking note the text reads [emphasis on philotimo added]¹⁷:

“We are not Greek by blood...**but we are Greek by philotimo**...our parents came into our lives when we were lost and alone. They bestowed upon us all the things that meant the most to them: **their culture; their traditions; their morals and their values, their philotimo**. Now we know the meaning of the word philotimo and we can feel it too!”

Philotimo is now elevated as equivalent to the value system of the Greek national character, as a word that you can feel and a semiotic identifier of Greekness [42]. Further work, especially in the branches of psychology and sociology, would reposition the focus of study to create positive development experiences and relationships, starting from the individual and going up to the collective and including the institutional state.

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¹⁷ Former Presidents of the United States and Israel Bill Clinton and Shimon Peres joined the growing number of world leaders and other opinion leaders in recognizing the Oxi Day story — the David vs. Goliath courage of the Greek people in WWII. - See more at: <http://usa.greekreporter.com/2014/10/29/former-u-s-and-israel-presidents-help-resurrect-greek-oxi-day/>.

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Appendix: English to Greek Glossary

Basic Term in English

betweenness
brotherless nation
enculturation
floating signifier
freedom
homo communicans
homo dictyous
homo oeconomicus,
homo reciprocans
Institutionalization
language relativity
lifeworld practice

morality contagion
Nissology
opinion crowdsourcing
profiteering
self-fulfilling prophecy
social justice
the 'know your customer' (KYC) principle

Βασικός Όρος στο Ελληνικά

μεταξύτητα
έθνος ανάδελφον
ενδο-κοινωνικοποίηση
κυλιόμενος σημαίνον όρος
ελευθερία
επικοινωνιακός άνθρωπος
δικτυακός άνθρωπος
οικονομικός άνθρωπος
ανταποδοτικός άνθρωπος
θεσμοποίηση
γλωσσική σχετικότητα
πρακτική και αλληλεπίδραση βιό-
κοσμου
μετάδοση ηθικής
νησολογία
πληθοπορισμός γνώμης
αισχροκέρδεια
αυτοεκπληρούμενη προφητεία
κοινωνική δικαιοσύνη
αρχή "γνώρισε τον πελάτη σου"

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