Adler and Barnett

Chapter 2:

A&B talk of pluralistic security communities. Pluralistic security communities (PSC) are transnational regions comprised of sovereign states whose people maintain dependable expectations of peaceful change. Dependable expectations of peaceful change implies neither the expectation of nor the preparation for organized violence as a means to settle interstate disputes i.e. states do not undertake or consider security actions that can be interpreted by others within the community as militarily threatening. There are two types of PSC—

1. Loosely coupled PSC—those that observe the minimum definitional properties i.e. they expect no aggressive activities from other members and consistently practise self-restraint.

2. Tightly coupled PSC—those that are more demanding in two ways: 1) they have a "mutual aid" society in which they construct collective system arrangements and 2) they have a post-sovereign system that has supranational, transnational and national institutions and some form a collective security system.

A&B attempt to trace the factors that lead to dependable expectations of peaceful change. Their framework is organized around three tiers.

1. Tier One—in this stage, because of exogenous or endogenous factors like changes in technology, demography, external threats etc., states begin to orient themselves in each other's direction and desire to coordinate their relations.

2. Tier Two—this tier is divided into the "structural" categories of power and knowledge and the "process" categories of transactions, international organizations and institutions and social learning. The interaction between these two categories of variables provides the conditions under which a collective identity and mutual trust can form without which there could not be dependable expectations of peaceful change. In the first category, power is an important factor in the development of a PSC. Not only can core states nudge and occasionally coerce others to maintain a collective stance but power can be a magnet—a community formed around a group of strong states creates the expectations that weaker states that join the community will be able to enjoy the security and other benefits that are associated with the community. Knowledge is another factor because part of what constitutes and constrains state action is the

knowledge that represents categories of practical action and legitimate activity. The process category involves international organizations and institutions which promote other factors which in turn promote mutual trust and shared identities. Social learning too plays a critical role in promoting trust because people communicate to each other their self-understandings, perceptions of reality and their normative expectations, there is the diffusion of meanings from country to country etc.

3. Tier Three—the dynamic and positive relationships among the variables described above are the wellsprings of both mutual trust and collective identity. Trust is defined as believing despite uncertainty i.e. states no longer rely on concrete international organizations to maintain trust but do so through knowledge and beliefs about the other. Identities are defined by the actor's interaction with and relationship to others. In the third tier, the distinction between loosely coupled and tightly coupled PSCs acquire special significance. In the former case it is mainly a social identity that generates a positive identification between peoples of member states. The closer we get to tightly coupled PSCs the shorter is the collective cognitive distance between its members and the more the community acquires a corporate identity i.e. the meaning, purpose and role of the state derives from the community.

There are three phases of development in PSCs:

1. Nascent—in this phase governments do not explicitly seek to create a PSC. Instead they begin to consider how they might coordinate their relations in order to increase their mutual security, lower the transaction costs associated with their exchanges and encourage further interactions.

2. Ascendant—this phase has increasingly dense networks: new institutions and organizations that promote tighter military coordination and cooperation, cognitive structures and the emergence of collective identities that begin to encourage dependable expectations of peaceful change.

3. Mature—this phase is characterized by the fact that war becomes improbable. Regional actors share dependable expectations of peaceful change and a PSC comes into existence. There are various indicators of this:

- multilateralism
- unfortified borders
- changes in military planning: "worst case" scenarios do not include those within the PSC.
- common definition of the threat
- discourse and the language of the community.

Chapter 4:

A&B explore a case study of an institution attempting to transform itself into an explicit and distinct security community-building institution—the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The OSCE was constituted in August 1975 by the Helsinki Final Act which was signed by 35 countries—Canada, the United States and all European states (including the Soviet Union) except Albania.

The OSCE performs seven functions that contribute to the development of community—1) it promotes political consultation and bilateral and multilateral agreements among its members 2) it sets liberal standards, applicable both within each state and throughout the community, that are used to judge democratic and human rights performance and monitors compliance with them 3) it attempts to prevent violent conflict before it occurs 4) it helps develop the practice of peaceful settlement of disputes within the OSCE space 5) it builds mutual trust by promoting arms control agreements, military transparency and cooperation 6) it supports assistance to newly independent states and supports the building of democratic institutions and market economic reforms 7) it provides assistance to post-conflict reestablishment of institutions and the rule of law.

These seven functions can be understood in the light of six characteristics of the OSCE—1) cooperative security which results from imbuing security with political and human dimensions 2) socialization and the teaching of norms which implies providing new members with knowledge necessary for imitation such as information about the workings of democracy, the rule of law and the market economy 3) expectations of international legitimacy and the accountability norm which implies the creation of shared values 4) system of governance which means that the OSCE's constitutive norms and associated institutions and practices may be conceived as a crude governance system which relies for compliance on a shared transnational liberal identity 5) cognitive region and agent states which implies that the OSCE encourages people to imagine that with regard to their security and well begin borders run more or less where shared understandings and common identities end 6) the OSCE practices are community building devices.