

Peter Katzenstein, "Introduction: Alternative Perspectives on National Security" (Chapter 1), in Peter Katzenstein, ed., *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*.

I. Introduction -- The introductory passages emphasize the increased salience of ideas (norms, identities, and culture) as explanatory variables in the post-Cold War world. Katzenstein asserts that the main analytical perspectives in IR -- neorealism and neoinstitutionalism -- failed to foreshadow the major changes in the international system in the 1990s, leaving analysts of all theoretical persuasions uncertain as to how to interpret the consequences of change. This time of uncertainty is an opportunity to develop new perspectives on international security.

(Ironically, though, the two empirical chapters assigned from this book look at the salience of norms and identity in periods of time that predate the end of the Cold War -- Risse-Kappen on the history of NATO and Finnemore on humanitarian intervention in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Have norms and identities become more salient as Katzenstein says, or were they important all along and analysts just became more sensitive to them with the end of bipolarity?)

II. Definitions for terms used throughout the book:

A. Norms -- these describe collective expectations of an actor with a given identity. In some cases, norms can operate like rules that define the identity of an actor, i.e. they can have "constitutive effects." In other cases, their effects are "regulative" in that they specify proper behavior for an actor with an already defined identity.

B. Identity -- varying constructions of state- or nationhood.

C. Culture -- used here as a broad label to denote collective models of nation-state authority or identity, carried by custom or law. Culture here includes both evaluative standards (norms, values) as well as cognitive standards that define what actors exist in a system and how they relate to one another.

III. Katzenstein next explains that the book deliberately focuses on traditional security issues (material capabilities and the control and use of military force by states) even though new conceptions of security (stressing issues such as economic competitiveness, environmental threats, nonstate actors, and so on) have been gaining currency since the 1970s. The idea is to test ideational variables in hard cases, i.e. if they can be shown to matter within this narrow context, it should be easy to apply them to the broader conceptions of security

III. Relevant shortcomings of neorealism and neoinstitutionalism:

A. Both of these perspectives on IR take interests as exogenous, i.e. they are assumed, which leads to serious gaps in their explanatory power that are acknowledged in some cases (eg., Keohane). The attempt in this book is to endogenize interests by examining how norms and identity shape them.

B. Gilpin's work notes the importance of identity (revisionist vs. status quo states) and prestige in IR, but relates these issues to material rather than ideational factors.

C. This book relaxes two assumptions that underpin these two perspectives. First, it relaxes the neorealist premise and asks what happens when the international system includes qualities other than those stemming from the physical capabilities of states? Having done

that, what happens if, in contrast to neoinstitutionalism, the focus of analysis shifts from the constraints on interests imposed by institutions?

#### IV. Two Social Determinants to be Examined: Cultural-Institutional Context and Collective Identity

A. Cultural-Institutional Context: Explanations of this kind emphasize the role of norms, whether they operate at the level of a specific organization or internationally. The development of norms at the international level is obviously closely related to regime theory and institutionalism -- the emphasis here appears to be on distinguishing between compliance with norms stemming from the rational pursuit of some utility (institutionalism) and compliance for more "social" reasons.

B. Collective Identity: Unlike the previous variable, identity considerations do not simply regulate behavior; they also constitute the actors whose behavior is in question. The identities of states emerge from their interactions with both domestic and international environments.

V. The need for closer examination of ideational variables is clear when one reviews the IR scholarship that touches upon these concepts. Snyder's *Myths of Empire* at one point discusses how the "blowback of propaganda" can trap decisionmakers in political-ideational contexts they themselves created, but fails to explore the full implications of this idea. Similarly, Walt's Balance of Threat theory represents a major revision of neorealism and opens the door to a host of ideational questions relating to threat perception and identity. These issues warrant much more thorough investigation.

VI. The point of the book is not to test interest-based explanations against idea-based explanations, but rather to see how identities and norms help shape the formation of interests in the first place. In this way, Katzenstein is departing from the approach of Goldstein and Keohane, who argue that these two types of explanations must be seen as separate and tested against each other. Instead, Katzenstein appears to take an approach more similar to Wendt, though he is not nearly as radical in his application of it.