

**CULTURE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:  
A CONCEPTUAL ASSESSMENT**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**2012**



Date: 26-07-2012

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "CULTURE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A CONCEPTUAL ASSESSMENT", submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University is my own work. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

Mayanglambam Roshan Singh

CERTIFICATE

We recommended that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Supervisor

## Acknowledgement

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First and foremost, I express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, **Dr. Siddharth Mallavarapu**, for his intellectual guidance, motivation and inspiration throughout the course of this dissertation. I have had the privilege working under his supervision. Without his generous support, this dissertation would have been far from complete. I have received invaluable insights from his academic knowledge which in one way or another have immensely contributed to my understanding of the field.

Furthermore, I would like to consider this opportunity to thank **Prof. Swaran Singh, Chairperson** of **Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament** for his kind approval to work on this topic.

Last but not the least, I am deeply indebted to my brother (Rakesh) and sisters (Romibala & Premika), colleagues and friends for their moral support and encouragement during the course of writing my dissertation. My special words of thanks to Rajkumari Tamphasana for her longstanding emotional support.

**Place: New Delhi**

**Date: 26.07.2012**

**Mayanglambam Roshan Singh**

*Dedicated*

*To*

*My Parents*

*Mayanglambam Surchandra Singh*

*&*

*Mayanglambam Memcha Devi*

## Abbreviation

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CDR:	Common but Differentiated Responsibility
EDCs:	Economically Developed Countries
ESRC:	Economic and Social Research Council
GATT:	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GHG:	Greenhouse Gases
IAEA:	International Atomic Energy Agency
IPCC:	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LDCs:	Less Developed Countries
NEPP:	Netherlands National Environmental Policy Plan
NIEO:	New International Economic Order
OPEC:	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
ProSus:	Programme for Research and Documentation for a Sustainable Society
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCSD:	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
UNCTAD:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP:	United Nations Environment Programme
UNFCCC:	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNGA:	United Nations General Assembly
UNGASS:	United Nations General Assembly Special Session
WCED:	World Commission for Environment and Development
WMO:	World Meteorological Organization
WSSD:	World Summit on Sustainable Development

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## Introduction

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The history of International Relations (IR) has been constructed around several distinct theoretical approaches. Through engaging critical debates, these contributions occupy a significant place for any scholarly inquiry. The intellectual history of the discipline aims to incorporate various analytical approaches, discourses, perspectives and contextualizations by examining across several issue-areas and substantive questions which remain underlying concerns of International Relations scholarship and contemporary research. As a field of inquiry, International Relations today opens up a multiplicity of research programs. The scope and the methods of analysing the field are expanding in contemporary International Relations research. The historical evolution of the field begins with the disciplinary defining great debates between various substantive theories i.e. between Idealist and Realists in the first place and continuing today in some forms between Rationalists and Reflectivists. This great debate basically concerns debates involving a ‘paradigm shift’ due to change in international political structures and order across time. Paradigm shifts indicate in some forms progress in explanation of international politics.

However, there is a big challenge in the intellectual writing of contemporary International Relations history since some dominant analytical approaches project issues like wars and state’s foreign policies are more fundamental factors than any others in explaining the development of International Relations scholarship. International Relations is sometimes referred to as an essentially ‘American social science’ (Hoffmann, 1977). The origin of the field with the founding of the world’s first Chair for the study of International Relations, in 1919 at the Department of International Politics at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, was the result of tragic events of the First World War. The field began to grapple with circumstances leading to such abrupt disasters. In this regard, Realists theory especially Neo-Realist thought has dominated the intellectual understanding of International Relations literature. While highlighting the prevailing domination of some theories in mainstream literature of International Relations, several



International Relations scholars now argue that this undue influence of certain theories has been a major source responsible for the weakness in understanding International Relations in a true sense. It is argued that the explanations of historical events or issues are not to be tied to any single framework or level of understanding since it is observed that the study of International Relations has to be seen as dynamic field and as having constantly evolved through different phases or historical contexts.

To include a broad spectrum of International Relations as a field of scholarly endeavour, it is not justified to give inappropriate credits to some particular thoughts. So, this study is an attempt to explore other explanations that have been ignored by the status-quoist theories. This study on *Culture and International Relations: A Conceptual Assessment* basically tries to understand the cultural domain in the field of IR. Recognizing the urgent need for a debate about civilizations, the credit for the popularization of “Dialogue of Civilizations” belongs to Mohammad Khatami who, as President of Iran, used this formulation to secure the unanimous designation of 2001 as the United Nations (UN) Year of the “Dialogue among Civilizations” (UNGA, 1998).

The underlying structure of the study is as follows: The *first* chapter deals with the existing theoretical literature on how culture is understood in the field of International Relations. It shows the broad analysis of culture related scholarship and explains the conceptualization of culture in the discipline of International Relations. The subsequent chapters are issues based explanations from a cultural perspective as to assess how culture is understood across some substantive issues. This pertains to evaluate any difference in the manner in which culture is explained across three core issues: ‘security’, ‘international political economy’ and ‘environmental issues’. These chapters demonstrate the cultural related explanations and the importance of cultural understanding in addressing these three issues. The *second* chapter explores the cultural explanation of security studies. Culture as an ideational variable affects the determination of national security policy since security includes other factors such as political, social, economical and environmental in addition to purely military affairs. The *third* chapter holds that culture as a key carrier of globalization determines the functions of global economy. This explains that the success of regional economic cooperation is affirmed with the sharing of

the particular predominant cultural values of the region. Finally, the *fourth* chapter discusses the core issue of environmental negotiations and the regime formation in terms of justice or equity norm principles. The idea of sustainable development focuses on the initiatives from local communities through embracing local economies and cultural understandings.

The ambiguous definitions of culture and the possibility of different explanations have been the major challenges in engaging studies of culture in International Relations. Nevertheless, the term ‘culture’ is regarded as of vital importance in the study of world politics since it represents the symbol of difference within several communities. In short, culture defines the way to understand the distinction between ‘self’ and ‘others’. As a matter of fact, culture and civilization are the mediums through which the ideas or construction of distinctive or particular way of life for different people are understood. This precisely means that human or groups of people are classified in terms of belonging to a particular culture which is the expression based on sharing common ideas, traditions, customs, history and language.

Clifford Geertz finely asserts that “the analysis of culture is not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (Geertz, 1974:5). This chapter has drawn various definitions and meaning of culture, however, these meanings are classified in two broad categories that “culture is analyzed in terms of a set of evaluative standards (such as norms and values) or/and of cognitive standards (such as rules and models)” (George, 1980: 235). In this chapter, the both dimensions are broadly discussed as to explore a comprehensive account on culture. Moreover, this chapter explains the role of ideas (ideational based definition of culture) and its influence in setting of new identity for different communities. The civilizational study is another dimension discussed widely. Civilization which is linked to culture at large occupies a significant place for analyzing the world politics. The discourse of civilization falls under two categories of thoughts: ‘Essentialist’ and ‘Post-Essentialist’, based on their assumptions of culture characteristics (Katzenstein, 2010). These two perspectives are also classified under two analyses i.e. ‘dispositional’ analysis and ‘discursive’ analysis (ibid). The ‘Essentialist’ approach talks about the action-oriented definition of culture

that it views culture as static objects or entities differ sharply in terms of thinking. It revolves around the ideas that civilization is characterized by essential difference of mutually exclusive communities. Samuel P. Huntington's explanation of civilization comes under this category of analysis as he defines culture in terms of close entity resting on homogenous bases. Huntington's analysis portrays around eight civilizational identities that are marked by distinctive differences and claims that these differences are so fundamental that their distinct values and features of civilizations make incommensurability an aspect of the clash or conflict among civilizations.

Whereas, the 'Post-Essentialist' sees civilization from a 'pluralist' perspective, their understanding is that civilizations as loosely joined, less coherent, internally differentiated that are globally integrated and are having the characteristics of inter-civilizational encounters and trans-civilizational engagement. In another words, the 'Post-Essentialist' views civilizations are gradually evolving within the features of internal pluralism and external encounters. Contrary to the 'Essentialist' thought, the 'Post-Essentialist' basically explains civilizations are process-oriented definitions of culture and constructed through discourses. This discursive analysis talks about culture in terms of unfolding relations. It stresses that civilizations are complex notion generally constructed by traditions, process and practices that are over time produced and reproduced discursively (Katzenstein, 2010: 4-7; Hall & Jackson, 2007: 7). Further, this chapter seeks to examine the paradigm shift debates of the post Cold War era. Culture or civilization(s) related debate has been a promising factor of explanation for the post Cold War world politics. The significant contribution of this chapter is that both non-material and material factors are both influential to understand the reality of world politics.

In the chapter on "Culture and Security", the study analyses the issue of security from a cultural perspective. It basically offers an explanation of cultural influence in the national security policies and explains how cultural values and ideas influence the way states define military threats and interests associated with it. Unlike the traditional sense of defining security, this study holds that social, political and environmental security threats also affect not only states but also communities and individuals as well as other non-state actors in the way the military factor is dealt with. Ideational or psychological factors are

influencing the national security policy making and have an inadvertent effect on military based strategy.

Different views of the concept 'security' and broadens the scope of analyzing it. The societal security approach of Copenhagen school in this context builds on the notion of security that is closely linked to how a society constructs the feeling of insecurity which is part of the process referred to as 'securization'. The school views both the ideas of insecurity and security as subjectively constructed by political actors which legitimize their actions by making reference to a threat. The two dominant schools in the field of International Relations i.e. Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberalism offer two approaches dealt with culture and security. Both schools subordinate the ideational variables or factors in explaining the state's behaviour. The perception on the account of domestic threat which represents a significant factor in explaining state's behaviour and national security policy is totally missing in both schools. Further, this study offers the theoretical understanding of strategic culture as one of the important approaches to study the relation between culture and security. It is in the view that states deploy culture and ideational factors strategically as to understand security affairs. The idea of security now extends to the welfare of the communities and means to the avoidance of both the presence of internal and external threats across several areas. Human security emerged as the core analytical area for contemporary world politics.

"Culture and International Political Economy" deals with how culture explains the issues of international political economy especially the global economy. This chapter focuses upon the cultural explanation of processes such as economic globalization and various discontents of globalization as approaches from a cultural perspective. It explores the various levels of culture interaction that affects and creates the behaviour of business organizations. Through the model of multi-level and multi-layer approaches, interaction of different levels of culture is shown by top-down and bottom up processes to indicate the mode of change in cultural interaction. These processes shape and reshape the structures and behaviours of business institutions. The changes of culture finally affects to the behaviour of the states at national and global levels. The behavioural change in the national level may affect the global institutional structures and the change in global

culture to national state behaviour. Both the levels are analysed in the context of international business practices and this has implications for the issue of culture convergence and divergence of some communities or states.

The bifurcation of the North-South debate on economic development has further enhanced the implication of cultural ideas in the existing structure of global economy. The developing countries address the reconstruction of global economic structure since it favours mostly the Western countries precisely known as developed countries. The increasingly emergence of discontent movements against globalization signifies the presence of ideational gap between the West and the non-West. This chapter also focuses on distinction of the concepts of 'modernization' and 'Westernization' and their understanding to the developing countries. Modernization is the way to define the economic development which represents common problems for both the western countries and non-Western countries. Thus, developing countries basically oppose the analogous use of the concept of modernity/modernization and Westernization. In this context, this chapter deals with the Asian values in the emergence of a successful regional economic cooperation.

In the chapter on "Culture and Environmental Issues", the study offers a brief history of environmental regimes and the theoretical propositions of the Greens discourse. Environmental politics is a newly emergent issue in the field of International Relations and the ideas of decentralization of national authorities to local communities is the main claim of the Greens perspective. Greens propose to focus on local level culture and economy as for establishing mechanisms and regimes for environmental problems. In the debate of establishing a global normative principle to lay policy frameworks for the environment issues preservation, the negotiations are failed to bring a standard solution. This chapter presents how the debate of justice has implications for an understanding of negotiation processes of environmental issues. It further shows the division of interest among the developed and developing countries which are widely discussed in the area of climate change issues. The principle of 'common but differentiated responsibility' has been a matter of delivering justice for establishing mechanisms of environmental governance.

The idea of sustainable development includes a broad dimension rather limiting its scope to environmental protection. It addresses the existing issues ranging from environmental problems to poverty elimination. Different strategic plans for different nation-states are seen in the light of sustainable development. However, the effort is aimed at arriving towards a global defined equity norm which guides policy making for a sustainable environment. In addition to state responses, other non-state actors are taking part in it and influencing the making of national policies in an environmentally friendly manner.

This study is an attempt to conceptualize the term 'culture' by drawing on the extensive theoretical literature of culture in the field of International Relations. It basically explores the general theoretical assumptions on culture within the debate of three specific substantive issues i.e. security, international political economy and environmental issues. These different issues raise several substantive questions in understanding international affairs and order which the cultural paradigms seek to explain. This study is explanatory in nature and relies on secondary sources alone.

# Chapter 1: Conceptualizing Culture in International Relations

Definition of Culture and Civilization

Role of Ideas (Cultural) and Identity in Construction of Nation-State

Two Basic Categories of Thought on Civilization: 'Essentialist' and 'Post-'Essentialist''

Culture: A Paradigm of Post Cold War World Politics

Implication of Cultural Discourse in World Politics

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Generally, most social science scholars argue that one common reason for the concept 'culture' being ignored is because of the dominant paradigm of positivist approaches in field of conducting social science research. Positivism holds that the logic of science or scientific methodology can only derive from social facts. However, this approach has weakened gradually due to the emergence of several new elements and new forces in society which cannot be explained exclusively from a scientific logic or standpoint. The emergence of various alternatives approaches to study of social science research in late 1950s has provided a momentum to assure us that the social facts or social phenomenon can no longer be properly dealt with purely in empirical or scientific terms alone. In fact, social facts are no longer value neutral, so the perspectives from both ideational and materialistic views are required to examine any social event.

In the field of International Relations, the term 'culture' was not properly constructed in any of major theoretical understanding or considered to be a significant explanatory factor till 1990s in mainstream IR scholarship. This does not mean there were no literatures on culture engaged by IR scholars and schools of thought before 1990s. Several scholars from other disciplines, like Norbert Elias and Clifford Geertz worked on it extensively several years ago. Their systematic works on culture and civilization have indeed shown many outstanding interpretations of how world politics can be analyzed from the way a community or an individual engaged in performing a particular process

which Norbert Elias termed as ‘a civilizing process’. Further, the connotation of ‘self’ and ‘others’ which is the root cause of the division of mankind into several communities and raises the question of identity *per se* can be properly acknowledged from their insightful scholarship. The discourse of world politics cannot be completed without knowing how the question of culture and identity has impacted the political understanding of several communities. However, due to certain influences of the dominant theories in International Relations study, it is seen that the term ‘culture’ has been either neglected or ignored from the mainstream theorization of world politics. It was later in the early 1990s that culture was prominently taken into account in construction of International Relations theory due to emergence of various events especially the collapse of the erstwhile Soviet Union in 1989-90 leading to the end of the Cold War confrontation. In other words, as the 20<sup>th</sup> century drew to a close, the salience of cultural explanations in International Relations appeared to be highlighted by the tremendous reorganization of world politics which followed the end of the Cold War and the release of a new wave of globalization. This chapter deals with basic assumptions, concepts and an overview of existing literature relevant to cultural analysis while focusing on the study of International Relations. The chapter basically tries to understand new trends of world politics by suggesting including other causal factors which were once ignored in mainstream IR theory. In this regard, ‘culture’ emerges as one of the potential factors. The cultural based explanation has actually provided the study of International Relations with a broad spectrum of different explanations possible. From this line of ideas, different scholars started dealing on culture as one of the essential causal factors in explanation for newly occurred phenomenon. It is obviously true to assert that cultural factors have better explanations than those counterpart theories in certain cases or events in world affairs of a particular epoch.

Francis Fukuyama’s *The End of History* (1989) oversimplified the real facet of world structure and order after the end of the Cold War since he emphasized much on western liberal democracy as the best and ultimate victory of human governance. Fukuyama’s thesis predicted that the liberal philosophy had won the ideological conflict that prevailed during the Cold War. While referring to the world structure after the end of the Cold War, Fukuyama suggested, in effect, that a liberal world would be without major conflict and



that humanity could look forward to an almost perpetual peace. However, the advocacy of perpetual peace in the post Cold War international structure proposed by Fukuyama was critiqued. Samuel P. Huntington's article *The Clash of Civilizations* which was published in 1993 argued that the world still continued to face several confrontations based on division of ideological strands among various groups and communities. Fukuyama's holistic interpretation of world structure is superseded by Huntington's ideas of conflicts among several communities based on a set of cultural assumptions. Huntington argued that cultural difference, and specifically civilizational difference, was the new axis of world politics. Huntington's analysis of culture, which at the broadest level is civilization, is based on certain essential cohesive features. In this context, Huntington highlights and stresses that cultural factors are amongst the most essential in explaining the future of world politics. Nevertheless, Huntington's argument is never far away from critics. Some of the main critics can be briefly pointed out that Huntington's analysis of world structure is a state-centric view and based on western centric analysis. Most significantly, the 'pluralist' perspective on civilization argues that Huntington describes an 'Essentialist' nature of understanding cultural or civilizational identities. On the contrary, 'pluralist' stresses that culture is contested and highly interacted in nature (Katzenstein, 2010). The debate between these two perspectives on culture and civilization is broadly discussed in the subsequent chapter.

### **1.1 Definition of Culture and Civilization**

Generally, there remains ambiguity within several fields of social science in providing an acceptable definition of both the terms 'culture' and 'civilization'. It is, perhaps, because of the idea of 'culture' includes a range of processes which are so divergent that it defies the possibility to provide any singular idea. However, it is seen that the term is encountered in everyday life. Although the term lacks fixed definition, its importance in understanding human nature to society cannot be ignored. To mention one of the finest quotes on significant of the concept 'culture' is that "everyone is into culture now" (Kuper, 1999: 2). The famous line of Ortega Gasset once says 'man does not have a nature, but a history...' and in this parallel view, Clifford Geertz quotes "there is no such

thing as a human nature independent of culture” (Geertz, 1965: 112). Since the term ‘culture’ opens a possibility to explore different meanings to different circumstances, several disciplines use it in such a manner to fit their convenient purposes. Therefore, once Raymond Williams remarks, the term ‘culture’ is one of the most complex words in the English language (Williams, 1983). In the field of International Relations, ‘culture’ has recently emerged a fashionable term though the idea of culture has been neglected long in the mainstream theories. The problem associates with defining the term ‘culture’ itself has been one of the impediments faced by International Relations culture scholars in constructing a proper theory.

The essence of cultural representation is the distinction between ‘self’ and ‘others’. Stephanie Lawson once suggests that “implicit commonly in many contemporary debates is an assumption that the essential meaning of ‘culture’ is to be found in its capacity to function as a marker of difference between human communities” (Lawson, 2006: 5). To mention one of the outstanding efforts made to define ‘culture’ is the work of two anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn. Their work is entitled *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (1963). The two scholars, over many years, devoted an entire book to the sole task of exploring possible meanings associated with the term ‘culture’ and were inclined to define the term “as ‘the distinctive life-ways of different peoples’ which were evident in ancient works of literature ranging from the Bible to the Chinese scholars of the Han dynasties and the recurrence of such themes in the ‘anthropological’ thinking of later writers such as Descartes, Pascal, Montesquieu and Voltaire” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1963: 3-4). In similar veins, Glenn Jordan and Chris Weedon broadly define the term ‘culture’ in two dimensions:

1. “Culture as a ‘particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group’ and which is therefore informed by a ‘common spirit’. It exists only as the property of particular groups. These may be named – ‘Japanese culture’, ‘Balinese culture’ and so on.
2. Culture as the signifying system through which a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored. This indicates a concept of culture as immanent, that is, as a dimension of virtually all economic, social and political

institutions, and which resides in ‘a set of material practices which constitute meanings, values and subjectivities’” (Jordan and Weedon, 1995: 6-8).

From some of these definitions, it can be observed that the idea of ‘culture’ explicitly refers to a particular way of life and sort of differentiation among different groups of political communities. In 1942/43, the American cultural anthropologist, Margaret Mead claimed, “we are our culture” (Mead, 1942/43: 21). This inevitably shows that human or groups of people are classified in terms of belonging to particular culture which is the expression based on sharing common ideas, traditions, customs or language for instance. Joel Kahn, an anthropologist points out that this concept exists, most thoroughly, in a state of ‘taken for granted’ (Kahn, 1989: 17). So, the ideas attaching to a particular community through the reason of self-reflection or affiliation refer the vital element of culture and are regarded as undeniable fact to understand the term ‘culture’.

The meaning of culture is succinctly captured in the words of Huntington. He observes “people define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations. People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their identity. We know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against” (Huntington, 1996: 21). With slight difference from above analyses, in his monumental volume *A Cultural Theory of International Relations* (2008) Richard Ned Lebow introduces his analysis of political order and International Relations based on theories of human motives. His analysis has some reservation on this account of explaining the cultural importance that it also takes into account the behavior of an individual or a political leader rather than limiting itself to a group or community. Starting from ancient Greeks to the war of Iraq, his theory stresses the human need for ‘self-esteem’, and shows how four motives: ‘appetite’, ‘spirit’, ‘reason’ and ‘fear’ influence political behavior at every level of social aggregation. It demonstrates how each generates a different logic concerning cooperation, conflict and risk-taking among the relationship of the actors. Lebow understands the term ‘culture’ in the manner of how motives work in different segments of time and situations. He defines culture as “the

hierarchy of motives in a society and the ways in which they are channeled” (Lebow, 2009).

Meanwhile, it is argued that if culture is defined in terms of belonging to a particular community or group through reason of self-reflection, then the concept is parochially defined. The ranges of various transformations brought by the new wave of globalization are massive that an individual or group of people seem as losing their attachment to a particular culture. These multidimensional processes have impinged on the intensity of interaction among different communities. Due to the emergence of several networks, people start changing the way they perceive the world through exploration of human values and living under the obligations of a multicultural world. So, culture now is also defined in global terms assuming that global culture includes all humankind. Illustrating popular culture as one of the instances of global culture, once John Storey claims that culture can range beyond social exclusivity and embrace popular culture as well, thereby extending its reach to a ‘whole way of life’ (Storey, 1996: 1-2). This idea extends to the existence of multiple cultures and finally leads to ideas of a bigger political community. This involves the meeting of different cultural communities to forge a global culture. Therefore, several scholars believe in interaction of several cultural values which can be seen as essential feature of human existence. Nevertheless, “the definition of culture both as a particular way of life (distinct from others), and as a whole way of life (in an-all embracing sense) are important for analyzing how ideas (culture) actually work to understand the dynamic nature of world politics. Although it hardly settles the debate over its ‘true’ meaning and the conceptualization of culture has remained extraordinary a challenging task in social science, the ‘particular way of life’ (distinct from others) is considered to be a primary point of reference for cultural studies” (Lawson, 2006: 9).

Culture, sometimes, equates largely with the idea of ‘civilization’. It is generally accepted that civilization represents culture at large. In similar position of how culture is based on knowing of ‘other’, civilization generally denotes a state of civility distinguishable from barbarism. ‘Civilization’, deriving from the Latin word ‘*civilis*’, is a term shortly defined as a state of belonging to an advanced stage of social development that personified certain qualities which distinguished it from being characterized as that of the

'barbarians'. Both terms 'culture' and 'civilization' are often used interchangeably in marking opposition to notions of what is called backward or barbarian. The definitions of Arnold J. Toynbee and Norbert Elias have been the well-defined explanation that "civilizations are social modalities that center on urban forms of life; are based on resources and divisions of labor that make urban life sustainable and free elites from the necessity of producing to secure their daily subsistence; and provide the social space for cultivating a life of refinement and reflection" (Toynbee: 1953, Elias: 1995). For William McNeill (1990: 8), "a shared literary canon and expectations about human behavior framed by that canon, are probably central to what we mean by a civilization". In his famous article *The Clash of Civilizations* (1993), Huntington defines a civilization as "the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species . . . Civilizations are the biggest 'we' within which we feel culturally at home as distinguished from all the other 'thems' out there" (Huntington, 1993: 24). His classification of eight distinguished civilizations is mainly based on the idea of existing coherent cultural values within self-conscious communities. However, a different school of thought on civilization known as 'pluralist' has suggested different ideas and meaning to the term 'civilization' that contradicts Huntington's analysis.

The 'pluralist' approach believes in existing of multiple values and elements within a civilization, so there is no much difference in one civilization to other. Michael Mann's *The Sources of Social Power* defends the assumption that "the borders of a state are not coterminous with that of its society, culture, economy, and so on, or that any of these spheres coincide with one another. Rarely, if ever, in history has there been such a bounded entity. Overlapping and intersecting socio-spatial networks of power have always been the norm" (Mann, 1986). Diffusion of the civilizational borders becomes the central theme of the 'pluralist' approach. Moreover, the 'pluralist' emphasizes that ideas of civilizations are constructed through discursive analysis. As Shmuel N. Eisenstadt argues, "the central core of civilizations is the symbolic and institutional inter-relation between the formulation, promulgation, articulation, and continuous reinterpretation of the basic ontological visions prevalent in a society, its basic ideological premises and core symbols on the one hand, and on the other the definition, structuration, and

regulation of the major arenas of institutional life” (Eisenstadt, 2000: 2). On similar lines, Martin Hall and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson’s edited volume *Civilizational Identity* (2007) basically deals with the production and reproduction of civilizational identity across time and scrutinizes the critical work of Huntington. Hall & Jackson point out that there are two steps towards a useful analytical concept of civilizations: firstly, civilizations are not to be perceived as if they were structures or things and secondly, civilizations are to be seen as processes and relations (Hall & Jackson, 2007: 8).

These whole ranges of definition have produced a complex nature in understanding the term ‘culture’. In the context, some IR scholars argue that religion plays the vital role in cultural discourse and is widely acknowledged as a central characteristic of civilizational complexes. As Bhikhu Parekh once suggested that “religion matters so much to the construction of individual identity and culture in many societies” (Parekh, 1997a: 5). Recently, the notion of ‘religion’ gains prominence for further International Relations research. However, this study does not go into details with the possible attributions which the term ‘culture’ may include. It suggests that culture as a holistic term has its importance in understanding world politics. In this study, culture is broadly understood as the thought process under which several ideas of interest determine a particular collective consciousness. In this context, the whole debate of culture (or civilization) has come under two categories of thought based on coherent and multiple values assumptions. In fact, the role of ideas makes this difference possible and different ‘cause and effect’ can be seen in these two different categories of thought. It has in fact several implications to the political process of how ideas actually influence the behavior of an actor.

## **1.2 Role of Ideas (Cultural) and Identity in Construction of Nation-State**

This chapter deals with the role of ‘ideas’ in defining the term ‘culture’ as a thought process determining the differentiation that exist in the collective consciousness of groups of people or communities. Moreover, it explains how the idea of culture and the notion of ‘identity’ have taken major roles to understand how ‘nation-state’ came into being. These debates further map on to issues of sameness and difference reflected in the

West and non-West bifurcation of world politics and the insider/outsider dichotomy that emerges from culturalist constructions of contextual ideas.

Generally, “identity refers to a person’s conception of which of his characteristics makes him distinct from others according to his social roles” (Philpott, 2000: 217). Following the definition, identity and culture are the two complimentary terms that measure the distinction among groups or communities. Daniel Philpott defines “culture is made up in parts of ideas which people hold stably over the long term on basis of ‘reason of reflection’ by giving instance that “a person with a protestant identity or culture persists in holding protestant ideas” (ibid). In this particular case, Philpott explains here how ideas could play major roles in formation Protestant identity which finally produced the system of Westphalia, 1648 in Europe. He describes the role of ideas in two significant ways: firstly, ideas create a new identity (Protestant identity) through reason of reflection or preferences which interests are shaped and secondly, ideas, as social power, converts new identity into legitimate authority (actors or institutions). Each of the two roles of ideas as changing identities and as wielding social power echoes the commitments of constructivist scholars. So, the outcome of Westphalia or interest in it corresponds in time and place to the strategic actions of bearers of identities asserting the demands implied by those identities (ibid: 219). In other words, the end of Europe Thirty Year’s War (1618-1648) was acknowledged through the treaty of Westphalia Peace in 1648 signed between many European provinces in order to ensure or respect the sovereign rights to state system. So, Philpott explains the roles of ideas influence in setting of new identity which is turned into a source of legitimate authority for a particular community.

This reflects the issue of defining the identity difference among political communities is made through cultural assumptions. So, the idea of political community attaches to the difference made by the construction of separate identity which is largely found as the emergence of separate nation-state. The terms like aliens, strangers, foreigner or outsiders are mostly associated with identity politics that define one political community is seen different from others. However, the usage of these notions and their implication of understanding other political communities are different across nation-states. The idea of ‘nation’ flows with the cultural conformity of particular political communities within

which a bounded sovereign state is created. However, this does not imply that these political communities within a nation-state are culturally homogenous. Despite the existence of cultural diversity within, political communities of a nation-state is always sought to be different from other political communities of different political territories.

While the 'Essentialist' prefers to project a coherent characteristics of national culture, the "concepts of culture and nation taken together therefore have important implications for political legitimacy and authority in so far as the 'normative nationalist principle' holds that homogeneous cultural units not only form the 'natural' foundations for political life but that cultural unity between rulers and ruled carries a self-evident legitimacy" (Gellner, 1983: 125; Smith, 1986: 211). Regarding the construction of normative nationalist principle, it is based on the assumption of existence of homogenous culture of dominant political communities. Further, it is assumed that the institutions governing the political life of the community must conform to the cultural contours of the community, the 'doctrine of fit' (Beitz, 1989). This means that there is a cultural conformity in the relationship between the ruled and rulers regulating the political life of a nation. These nations are assumed to be cultural units comprising a large community that each nation is entitled to form itself into a sovereign political community. Similar arguments can be seen present in the work of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983) that the ideas on nation-states are encompassing those groups of people which are assumed to share common cultural elements and are thought to be belonging to that particular culture under a homogenous cultural identity.

It is generally regarded that the identity based division of political community continues to play a significant role in the formation of several different nations. While acknowledging the main theme of political communities which are conceptually bounded and distinct from each other; Andrew Linklater points out that "those political communities endure at least partly because of their claims to exclusivity, and have created their peculiar identities by stressing the differences between their own members and aliens" (Linklater, 1998: 1). In the words of John Armstrong, it is "increasingly obliged to confront the fact that groups tend to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion, that is, by comparison to strangers" (Armstrong,



1994: 141). Apart from these 'Essentialist' views, Stephanie Lawson (2006: 4) argues "the concept of culture has become crucial to the formulation of distinctive identities especially, but not exclusively, in relation to the issue of who belongs and who does not belong in or to specific political communities". Lawson further suggests that "while not all identities require a negative contradistinction, they are invariably relational, depending on the existence of other quite separate identities to achieve contrast and thereby affirm a sense of self as belonging to a distinctive entity. And although this is not all there is to the acquisition of group identity, nor is such an identity the only characteristic of political communities, the claims of identity based on uniqueness and the insider/outsider theme together with an emphasis on 'difference' is no small part of the exercise" (ibid).

The concept of political community includes several new notions like international community and other values like global justice, equality and norms after the end of Cold War. In fact, the post Cold War politics has engaged a new dimension of identity politics that it now incorporates the ideas of global political community which is beyond the cultural preservation of national political community. However, Kalevi J. Holsti argues that "the search for political community is not an 'abstract, global moral community' but rather the sovereign community 'based on ethnicity, religion, language and other primordial attributes'. This has been manifest in the quest for identity, justice and cultural preservation through statehood by a great many different groups ever since the French Revolution" (Holsti, 1993: 407). Holsti defies the existence of global community as he suggests that cultural community based on statehood as the legitimate basis for political identity as well as political autonomy. Several notions like justice and identity are constructed implying to primordial attributes of the particular cultural community (ibid). The point highlighted here as 'primordial attributes' which have impacted to issues of identity and justice, are precisely the dimensions of culture.

From these analyses, the 'Essentialist' believes in existence of a core national culture which can be defined in terms of territorial boundaries. Here, the concept of culture coincides with the geopolitical entities for instance, 'American culture' for the U.S. and Japanese culture for Japan. The main weakness of the 'Essentialist' perspective is that it prefers to project the importance of national level definition of culture, but it ignores the

roles of sub-national culture or apparent global culture. So, the 'Post-Essentialist' talks about the ideational values as core definition of culture which culture is composed, at least in part, of beliefs, and if cultural phenomena in the form of behavioural patterns, socio-political organization, language and so on, convey meaning arising from those beliefs (Bevir, 1999: 1). All these debates about culture, whether these are related with the issues of nationalism or democracy and their further examinations for political community or identity politics, have been the major theoretical understanding in the existing cultural literature.

The role of idea illustrates how important it is to understand within which the idea of culture as a key concept in the human sciences was actually produced and what purposes it was meant to serve. Some of the more specific themes that arise in this history of ideas concern the perception and treatment of human difference and sameness through notions of race and culture, and how these in turn have impacted on various strands of thought about the nature of political community have significant implications in the understanding of world affairs (Lawson, 2006: 15). It can be observed that ideas of culture play significant roles in construction of nation-states and nation-states take a role to carry on the cultural values embraced by political community. Nonetheless, the history of nation-states formation in the West has different trend as compared to the Non-West basically the developing countries. The ideas of culture also take different roles in the context of formation of nation-states in the West and Non-West societies. As a matter of fact, in the western societies the idea of sovereign state comes first and the ideas of so called nation comes later. Even though there is some reservation in the state formation of some West countries, most of the nation-states in the West were the direct consequence of Westphalia treaty. However, in the context of the Non-West basically Afro-Asian countries, post colonial scholars stress that culture plays significant roles in the construction of nation-states due to the massive experience of colonial subjugation. It is perhaps to true to suggest that ideas of culture has had been the core factor to comprehend discourse of the West and Non-West dichotomy and their different reactions to several issues in the contemporary international affairs.

In some areas of issues, the reactions and roles of nation-states have clearly shown the dichotomy between the West and Non-West still exists. For instance, developing countries like India, Brazil and South Africa are the core supporter of the dictum of ‘equity principle and common but differential responsibilities’ which was the agreement part of Kyoto Protocol, 1997 as a policy to curb environment issues. Most of the developing counties are criticizing that the global warming is the result of mainly the process of industrialization took place in the West and the West must pay the price. Meanwhile, it is obvious to understand that the analysis of bifurcation between West and Non-West is complex in certain cases. Within the West in the present context, a state national policy is different from others. Acknowledging the fact, Bhikhu Parekh once remarks that “the difficulties encountered in defining the character of highly diverse national societies and in re-thinking political theory to take account of this has been the subject of a growing body of literature on multiculturalism” (Parekh, 2000).

### **1.3 Two Basic Categories of Thought on Civilization: ‘Essentialist’ and ‘Post-Essentialist’**

The term ‘civilization’ is emerging as the heuristic device for contemporary world politics. Post Cold War history has remarkably contributed a new face of analysis on world politics; the term ‘civilization’ occupies a significant place in analyzing world history. Samuel Huntington’s thesis is one of the major scholarly efforts in this direction that has drawn huge attentions from numerous scholars in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics. In this chapter, the broad understanding of civilizations and its various debates or study can be broadly discussed by dividing into two perspectives: ‘Essentialist’ and ‘Post-Essentialist’ (‘pluralist’). Both the perspectives have contributed their significant positions to understand the whole discourse of civilization in world politics. Generally, the main distinction between the ‘Essentialist’ and ‘Post-Essentialist’ perspective is that the ‘Essentialist’ upholds civilizations are like states and other political communities that exist by virtue of a preexisting consensus on core value. On the other hand, the ‘Post-Essentialist’ stresses that civilizations are marked by traditions, process and practices that are mobilized to create socially significant boundaries which are over time produced

and reproduced discursively. This is the line with Richard Rorty's (1993: 115, quoted in Crawford, 2008: 29) observation that "there is a growing willingness to neglect the question 'What is our nature?' and to substitute the question 'What can we make of ourselves?'"

### 1.3.1 'Essentialist' Perspective

Unlike Fukuyama, Huntington's thesis argues that world history does not end after the Cold War. The heuristic device is to explain the post Cold War politics defined in terms of culture or civilization at large. In Huntington's hypothesis, global politics is still an arena of conflicts based on civilizations. His hypothetical proposition claims that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will be primarily a cultural based and the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. In broad analysis, he further adds that a civilization is a cultural entity. Huntington suggests the fault lines (presently conflicts zones) between civilizations will represent the source of conflict in future; the clash of civilizations will be the dominant aspect of global politics.

In analysis the notion 'civilization', the 'Essentialist' approach believes in existing coherent cultural values in a civilization that make one civilization different from other. In other words, the present civilizational based conflicts as Huntington's observes is centered on existing of distinct values or ideas in different cultures. The central theme of *The Clash of Civilizations* is that "culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest levels; are civilization identities, are shaping the pattern of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post Cold War world" (Huntington, 1996: 20). In the precise words, Huntington claims that "people define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations and at the broadest level, civilizations. People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their identity. We know who we are only when we know who we are not and often only when we know whom we are against" (ibid: 21). Huntington's basic proposition remarks the

world is divided into mutually exclusive communities characterized by their distinct values and these differences are so fundamental as to make the communities in question more or less implacably opposed to one another. These differences are so fundamental that their distinct values and features of civilizations create a clash or conflict among civilizations.

Huntington's proposal for a new map of world politics revolves around the interaction of seven, or possibly eight civilizational identities - Western, Latin American, Islamic, Hindu, Japanese, Confucian, Slavic-Orthodox and possibly African Civilization - based on cultural entities each distinguished by commonalities of blood, language, history, customs, institutions, religion, and way of life or which are probably by the subjective self-identification of people (ibid: 43). Huntington, however, suggests that there is no clear-cut boundary for civilizations and people do redefine their identities over time, but civilizations are meaningful entities for the post Cold War world politics because people and countries now rally round civilizational flags on basis of cultural kins cooperation. Huntington also claims that the efforts to remake countries in the image of other civilizational traditions fail, so the ideas of cultural entities distinguished by commonalities of blood and traditions turn out to be a real facet of civilizational identities.

In his description of prevailing inter-civilizational issues between 'the West' and 'the Rest', Huntington claims that western influences still dominate world politics even though western power is relatively declined in the present context. Huntington further says that the West's political culture provides a model of pluralism and tolerance toward which other civilizations might aspire; however their aspirations are innately constrained by the inherent qualities and limitations of their own cultures. While his projection on demarcation of civilizations between the West and the Rest (especially represented by Islamic and Confucian civilization) and their conflict is to show the future clash of civilizations, the main conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating civilizations. For instance, Huntington cites Kashmir conflict, Yugoslavia and Kosovo conflict, and Persian Gulf conflict between Arabs and Israel are the areas of civilizational conflicts. Huntington argues that this is due to differences among

civilizations or “different views from the relations between god and man, the individual and the group, the citizen and the state..., liberty, authority and equality, these fundamental differences are the products of centuries which are not soon disappear... differences among civilizations have generated the most prolonged and the most violent conflicts” (Huntington, 1993: 25).

The differences between civilizations are real and important; due to increase in civilizational-consciousness, conflicts between groups in different civilizations will supersede ideological and other forms of conflict as the dominant global form of conflict. Huntington hypothetically claims that conflicts between groups in different civilizations will be more prolonged violent than conflicts between groups in the same civilizations. The recent politics of non-Western civilizations will attempt to reconcile “modernity” with their traditional culture and values which is the case of Japanese Civilization. Their main aims are preserving indigenous values and institutions which mean “to modernize but not to westernize”. The recent development of the Confucian-Islamic connection is the form of cooperation so as to challenge Western interests, values and power. Huntington claims that Islamic civilization has bloody borders and rallied on kin countries poses a biggest threat to the western civilization, his prediction of cultural clash based on the ‘West’ and the ‘Rest’ had come into reality when the events of September 11 attack to world Trade Organization in the United States was occurred.

In the question of who is the actor representing civilization or is civilization an actor itself, Huntington still maintains that civilizations are not actors; rather, they are cultural contexts within which other actors say political units act. Huntington’s essentialism holds a reassertion of the state-centrism characteristic of so much of IR scholarship: even if they are defining their interests in civilizational terms, states remain the primary actors in world affairs. Huntington states that, “nation-states remain the principal actors in world affairs. Their behaviour is shaped as in the past by the pursuit of power and wealth, but it is also shaped by cultural preferences, commonalities and differences” (Huntington, 1996: 21). The claim that “civilizations are cultural not political entities,” which means that “they do not, as such, maintain order, establish justice, collect taxes, fight wars, negotiate treaties, or do any of the other things which governments do” (ibid: 44). This is

the main contesting part for Huntington's analysis that he upholds states as main actor; he is being criticized both from the Realist right as well as the cultural left. As Peter J. Katzenstein points out from the Realist critics argues that most of the world's violent clashes occurred within rather than between different civilizations. Moreover, the culturalist left criticizes Huntington's assumptions that civilizations were a kind of mega nation-state with a stipulated cultural homogeneity that could be summed into categories such as "West" and "Rest" was met by skepticism and disbelief (Katzenstein, 2010: 8).

### **1.3.2 'Post-Essentialist' or 'pluralist'**

Civilizations study despite much less of a precise definition is scrutinized both empirically and theoretically to forge useable analytical tools to understand world politics. The notions of "being civilized" and "belonging to a civilization" continue to have not only prominent use in the academia but also have political and practical resonances. In fact, a recent debate about civilization has become so obvious that scholarship on the concept of "culture" has achieved remarkable consideration in analyzing or explaining global politics. However, there is still a division among thoughts on how civilizations are defined. Prominent scholars on civilizations like Norbert Elias, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Randall Collins, William McNeill, Peter J. Katzenstein and Fernand Braudel among others define the concept in 'pluralist' accounts of civilizations. These scholars claim that culture or civilizations are to be analysed from a 'Post-Essentialist' perspective. The 'Post-Essentialist' has also prominently discussed other civilizational voices coming from non-western parts of the world rather than stressing to western definitions and understandings as described by Huntington. In the volume *A World of Plural and Pluralist Civilizations* (2010) edited by Peter J. Katzenstein has explored different parameters of civilization from different parts of the world especially from the non-western world. This volume incorporates Asian's civilizational primacy in world affairs from Japan, China and perhaps India and describes how civilization discourse is understood apart from western meanings.

'Pluralist' civilizational scholars disagree with Huntington's thesis on the ground of giving over-emphasis to a certain analysis of civilizations. Huntington's hypothetical construction of civilizations has been attacked due to his 'Essentialist' view which makes claims to justify particular courses of action. From the initial point of view, Huntington points out certain core values characterizing a civilization. In other words, he considers a civilization is to be composed of a coherent ensemble of values, or a characteristic set of dispositions. As per the 'pluralist' perspective, "civilizations are loosely coupled, internally differentiated, elite-centered social systems that are integrated into a global context" (Katzenstein, 2010: 5). Moreover, Huntington's weighty preference on primary role to the state as main actor has been severely criticized due to its resemblance with the way old Realist IR theory thought about state. Broadly, 'pluralist' is critical of two aspects of Huntington's account on civilizations: over-emphasis on cultural factors and lack of attention to inter-civilizational encounters and exchanges. 'Pluralist' argues that "civilizational configurations are most similar not in their cultural cohesion and tendency toward clash but in their 'pluralist' difference and in their inter-civilizational encounters and trans-civilizational engagements. Violent clashes occur for the most part within rather than between civilizations. Encounters and engagements, reflecting multiple traditions and practices are typically peaceful forms of borrowing that run in one direction" (ibid: 7).

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Randall Collins and Norbert Elias are the three well-known scholars of civilizations who have endorsed the ideas of intermingling of different civilizational complexes in one global setting. Eisenstadt (2001) makes a key distinction between two types of civilizations: Axial Age civilizations emerged together with the major world religions around the sixth century BCE and the 'civilization of modernity', a recent product of past brought by the scientific and technological revolution of European Enlightenment. Axial Age civilizations include numbers of powerful cultural developments occurred independently from one another in China, India, Iran, Palestine and Greece. "This is the stage where humankind moved at the position for a self-reflexive striving for transcendence and self-determination" (Katzenstein, 2010: 15). Following Max Weber, Eisenstadt argues that the different religious cores and cultural programs of Axial Age civilizations are historically grounded, continually reconstructed



traditions. The religious cores of civilizations thus continue to have a strong impact on the unending restructuring of their chief states. However, Eisenstadt dissents from Weber's Euro-centrism by insisting that this reconstruction "is shaped in all civilizations by specific antinomies: transcendental and mundane, universalistic and particularistic, totalistic and pluralistic, orthodox and heterox" (ibid, 15-16). Jacobinism as a movement in the West and Sufism as in Islam culture are the main instances of transformation of civilizations that finally produce the theme of multiple modernities. For Eisenstadt, the civilization of modernity embodies a multiplicity of different cultural programs and institutions of modernity that derive from the interaction between West European modernity and the various civilizations of the Axial Age. Through the syncretism of religious belief systems, the legacies of different world religions thus create multiple modernities as sources of cultural innovation (ibid: 17).

For instance, historians of Islam have written about the encompassing frame in which several civilizations coexist as a broader ecumene. In this context, Eisenstadt (2001) characterizes this frame neither a world polity, nor as a world society, nor as a global ecumene, but as a 'civilization of modernity'- a secular, technological social order based on a normative commitment to the expansion of human rights and the improvement of human welfare. This civilization of modernity interacts with and is constituted by a plurality of civilizations. Furthermore, as Sheldon Pollock (2006) argues, the commonality of a global ecumene does not require a central power. All these definitions basically stress to suggest that civilizations are not enlarged nation-states and the ideas of coherent culture which Huntington projects of civilization has a complex understanding.

As Katzenstein refers Randall Collins' (2004) claims that civilization is not an actor or an attribute of actors; it exists as a set of relationships and practices and also as a primordial construction of identity. His complementary view of 'civilizations as zones of prestige' organized around one or several cultural centers. In the words of Katzenstein, Collins describes civilizations are marked by dialogue, debate and disagreement that generate intellectual and artistic tension. In their engagement of the world, both attraction and propagation characterize zones of civilizational prestige that are composed of multiple, competing networks and distant connections (Katzenstein, 2010: 18). In this regard,

Robert Gilpin argues cultural prestige and military or economic primacy are important factors to form the prestige of a state. In his words, “Ultimately, however, the hierarchy of prestige in an international system rests on economic and military power... the fact that the existing distribution of power and the hierarchy of prestige can sometimes be in conflict with one another” (Gilpin, 1981: 30-31). Norbert Elias (1978) even though his classical volume on foundational analysis of the ‘civilizing process’ centers on European societies, was not a proponent of Euro-centrism. Elias argued that the sum total of different societies, court and bourgeois rationality emerged in competition with one another and such historical and spontaneous processes of interactions among individuals, society and the state produced the civilizing process and the eventual transformation of European society. While referring to the contextual relationship between society and state, all societies must socialize their members (Linklater, 2004: 8-9).

Unlike the ‘Essentialist’ view of Huntington, ‘pluralist’ opens up an analytical space that combines ‘materialistic with ideational processes’ as foundations for explanation or understanding of the discourses of world politics. The most influential point generated here is that civilizations are to be seen as processes and relations rather than they are structures or things/entities. Generally, ‘pluralist’ argues that civilizations are loosely institutionalized social orders reflected in and shaped by a variety of practices and processes. In the words of Martin Hall and Patrick T. Jackson (2007: 11), Jacinta O’Hagan argues that the civilizational research agenda in IR can be enhanced by a focus on what the concept of civilization *does*, rather than on what civilizations *are*. Hagan identifies two significant trends in IR’s incorporation of civilizational analysis: firstly, the use of civilization as a way of studying and defining interests and identity and secondly, the use of civilizational analysis is to understand or explain conceptions and institutions of governance (Hagan, 2007: 17). When Fernand Braudel refers to the term ‘civilization’ there is “an association with concepts such as society, progress, development, religion, culture, empire, and even humanity” (Braudel, 1980).

Thus, the concept of civilizational identity provides with a useful framework to understand how agents/actors locate their identities in broad cultural identities. It is the tool to comparatively evaluate the political cultures of different communities. The

discussion above suggests that civilizational identity is often used as to differentiate and define who are included within the boundaries of a political community. To some extent, the discourse of civilizational identity may be used to evaluate the practices, norms, and institutions and to ascribe the self in ways to create a distinct community. According to McNeill, civilization processes are open-ended and plural civilizations are fundamental foundation of world history. McNeill remarks “cultural pluralism and differentiation is a dominating feature of human history; yet beneath and behind that pluralism there is also an important commonality” (McNeill: 1990: 19). In more persuasive definitions made by drawing a cordial relationship between the two perspectives of civilizations; Robert W. Cox, one of the prominent IR scholars, claims “civilizations evolve gradually in response to both their internal pluralism and their external encounters (Cox, 2000: 217, 220). As Cox suggests that a civilization is an amalgam of social forces and ideas that has achieved a certain coherence, but is continually changing and developing in response to challenges both from within and from without. On similar lines, Clifford Geertz (1973: 17-18) argues, “culture systems must have a minimal degree of coherence, else we would not call them systems; and by observation, they normally have a great deal more”.

#### **1.4 Culture: A Paradigm of Post Cold War World Politics**

One of the remarkable explanations of cultural complexity and emerging importance of culture study is that “the study of culture and the modes in which knowledge is produced has precipitated a crisis of intellectual confidence while providing an opportunity to ‘reconfigure the terrain of the human science’, thus carrying with it the promise of a new social theory paradigm” (Chaney, 1994: 40-41). In the discipline of International Relations, culture as a heuristic device has considerably gained a significant place in contemporary politics and is being proposed to be a paradigm of post Cold War world politics. However, this does not mean completely denying the existing approaches to the study of world politics, but it would encourage various thought about alternative approaches, including those perspectives that give greater prominence to cultural factors.

The term 'culture' or 'cultural turn' started gaining an important defining moment in world politics with the collapse of the bi-polar world order along with the Soviet Empire over the period 1989-91. Among several and competitive discourses advanced regarding about the existing world politics in post Cold War, Francis Fukuyama's *End of History* (1989) and Samuel Huntington's thesis on the *Clash of Civilizations* (1993) had attracted an enormous attention from several IR scholars. In 1989, the famous work of Francis Fukuyama 'End of History' suggested that the end of Cold War brought the end of ideological conflict between (U.S. liberal democracy and erstwhile U.S.S.R. communism) and finally achieved stage of ultimate victory in direction of historical development. Fukuyama stressed that the end of the Cold War reflected end of history: the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. Whereas, for Samuel Huntington, the post Cold War global politics still engages an arena of conflicts among civilizations which is the broadest level of culture.

Those subsequent events of the post Cold war era namely the 9/11 attacks to the twin towers and the controversial security policy on 'war on terror' seemed to confirm Samuel Huntington's notion that 'culture' provided the new battlegrounds for future political conflict. Given the nature of the 9/11 events and its aftermath, the United States along with its closest allies, "has consistently depicted 9/11 as an act of barbarism against the 'civilized world' and the ensuing struggle as one of good against evil - of unambiguous right against wrong" (Lawson, 2006: 2). On other side, some scholars have suggested that the authentic voice of Islam, in addition to seeking the pure, portray the United States 'as an instrument of Satan, oppressing Muslims and threatening Islamic civilization with its secular culture and power' (Philpott, 2002: 90). So, culture emerges prominently a political as well as academic jargon in the contemporary political analysis. The manner in which these terms 'culture' and especially 'civilization' are becoming more than mere academic interest and are often seen using by political elites and leaders to condemn others political communities. Richard Crockatt notes that this has provoked the idea of a 'values gap' between certain nations and groups, and 'a reaffirmation of the need to defend "cherished ways of life" in the face of attack' (Crockatt: 2007). President Bush declared within a matter of hours of the 9/11 attack "the deliberate and deadly attacks

which were carried out yesterday against our country were more than acts of terror... they were acts of war” (Snauwaert, 2004: 121). In the new *National Security Strategy of the United States*, it is stated “the United States of America is fighting a war against terrorists of global reach. The enemy is not a single political regime or person or religion or ideology. The enemy is terrorism - premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against innocents” (ibid: 121-122).

Several IR scholars raise numerous questions in the context of ‘war on terrorism’ and the main question is whether the terrorism is linked with the matter of military affairs or values/beliefs based affairs. In this context, Dale T. Snauwaert (2004) mentions the then U.S. President George W. Bush’s speech of 9/11 aftermath that “targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem, we reveal a problem. And we will lead the world in opposing it”. Snauwaert (2004: 126) has pointed out an ambivalent claim by questioning the nature of asserting ‘terrorism or terror acts’ is determined by political ends or moral principles. Here, Snauwaert tries to examine a historical meaning of just war tradition which is morally based in this context. His supposition claims that if Hobbesian state of nature which is inherently a condition of ‘a war of all against all’ between states in the presupposition of international anarchy and there is no global sovereign power to enforce morality, then there is no terrorism *per se* as a moral and legal concepts. It means to say that any means necessary, including attacking innocent civilians, to achieve one’s political ends is valid, for there are no legitimate moral or legal principles that define that an act as immoral or illegal. However, to assert that international terrorism is immoral and illegal is to make a claim about the nature of the international system: it possesses an international moral and legal fabric based historically on just war (ibid).

Snauwaert acclaims that the central theme is the principle of nonintervention or nonaggression. From the perspective of international society, there is inherent equality between states, a state right to self-determination, and the universal obligation of

nonintervention. From this perspective, international justice is procedural. It is constituted by a mutual respect for the equal sovereignty of each society. Injustice is therefore defined as the crime of aggression, the violation of nonintervention. From a cosmopolitan perspective, the state right of self-determination is a manifestation of individual right. The principle of nonintervention thus rests on the individual right of security of person, which in turn is based upon the recognition of the equal inherent dignity of each person. Aggression is an international crime not only because it violates national sovereignty, but also, more fundamentally, it violates the rights of individuals to security. From this perspective, there exists a *prima facie* moral presumption against the use of force. (ibid: 126-127).

Patrick Jackson (2007) offers and examines the historical rhetoric of the western civilization by relying on public discourse. Although in 1945 Americans asserted that it had existed for two millennia, dating back to ancient Greece, western civilization has existed in public debate for only about two hundred years. Jackson shows that the rhetorical reconstruction of a world in ruins after 1945 had an effect on Germany's integration to Western Europe and the North Atlantic community. Public rhetoric bound together a transnational coalition of liberal Americans and conservative West Germans. Western civilization after the end of World War II came to contain Germany, one of its most enemies in the first half of the twentieth century. This shows that western civilization was a discursive resource. Jackson provides a case study of the language of legitimation, of the drawing and redrawing of civilizational boundaries. At the origin of the Cold War a clash of civilizations, created and maintained by public rhetoric, helped create, reflect and reinforce the division of the world. The main theme of Jackson's argument is that social relations have the effects of reproducing the object from moment to moment.

This civilizational dimension of Cold War politics has largely been lost in Realist and Liberal reconstructions that conceive of international politics as a game played by actors with given identities and fixed interests. Jackson's striking conclusion differs from and extends Huntington's (2006: x). The public rhetoric on both sides of the Atlantic shows that, from its inception, the Cold War was a civilizational conflict and drew sharp

civilizational boundaries between East and West- before and after the Cold War (Katzenstein, 2010: 11).

Illustrating Germany's inclusion in the Atlantic community with U.S., Katzenstein (2010) mentions Jackson's argument that civilization is not the category but the act of reification or construction that is politically consequential and that requires political analysis. Furthermore, Jackson claims that convincing ourselves and others of a specific mental map and aligning self identities and interests with that map, we rely on rhetorical constructions to impute meaning that otherwise eludes us. In other terms, making "civilizations primordial is a political project that aims at creating a taken for granted sense of reality that helps in distinguishing between self and others and right and wrong. It requires elimination of the awareness that civilizations are multiple traditions of religious, philosophical and scientific ideas, and that they are reflected in multiple processes and practices" (ibid: 12). As Stephanie Lawson (2002) suggests that the post Cold War analyses presented an opportunity not merely for re-adjusting existing approaches but for forging a new agenda in the study of world politics encompassing not only alternative theoretical and methodological approaches but also bringing the sub-disciplines of comparative politics and IR closer together as well as engaging with a broader range of issues than those which dominated during the Cold War.

### **1.5 Implication of Cultural Discourse in World Politics**

Cultural approaches have drawn attention to serious blind spots in mainstream theories in their search for constants which hold across both time and space. Mainstream IR scholarship seems to be focusing on some particular ways of explanation and trying to understand things in certain context. Though it is observed that world politics is dynamic in nature, however, some IR schools of thought still try to reject such claim. This is because they believe that there are some constant factors or elements which consistently define world politics regardless of time and circumstances. So, this makes IR scholarship rigid and fails to draw insight of newly coming up events and phenomena. It is seen some

schools of thought have occupied dominant voices in explaining the structure of world politics due to their mode of defining phenomenon based on material realistic factors.

In fact, global politics becomes a field of study drawing a huge tendency to base its explanation on material factors. There is less scope given or considered for other causal factor in an account of explaining phenomenon. However, it is fact that non-material factors; ideas for instance also contribute as much as material reality in terms of a causal explanation for several occasions. Moreover, the question of how material factor based explanations have been influenced or affected by the construction of ideas cannot be ignored in understanding of reality of world politics. The trend in embracing issues of both culture and identity cut across familiar disciplinary divisions and included 'both mainstream orthodoxies and newly established critical voices' (Yosef, 1996: 3).

Here, this chapter analyses existing theoretical positions of IR in order to demonstrate why ideational (cultural) or non-materialistic assumptions are so essential to discuss in the study of world politics. One of the remarkable comments made by the great pioneer of classical Realism, Hans J. Morgenthau on the importance of ideational values is that "readily incorporated non-material factors.... focused not simply on cold calculations of national interest, the projection of power and the threat of force, but also attended to intangibles such as 'national character' (Morgenthau, 1966: 122). In this question of how culture is being interpreted by Realist approach, R. B. J. Walker argues that Realist theory effectively translated questions about culture into questions about state sovereignty. Culture then 'becomes nothing more than an affirmation of the fundamental assumptions of the theory of International Relations as these have emerged since the early modern period' (Walker, 1990: 6-11). Others saw rationalism more generally as deficient in the treatment of culture. Richard Falk argues that (neo-) Realism could only assimilate cultural influences in a limited way. Different cultural legacies, for example, were seen as relevant only to the efficacy of political actors, or as influencing the contours of government and leadership (Falk, 1992: 37-38). Following the rationalism debate, Katzenstein argues that "while Realists have normally seen culture and identity as derivative of the distribution of capabilities with no independent explanatory power, rationalists see actors as deploying culture and identity strategically, like any other



resource, as a means of promoting their own self-interest” (Katzenstein, 1996: 52). A common argument was that structural Realism had typically allowed no space for the influence of ideas themselves, especially ideological beliefs or what are now more commonly called ‘ideational factors’. One commentator suggests that the essential structure of world politics should be seen as determined not so much by the distribution of military and other formal capabilities but by ideas. According to John Mueller, “the Cold War was structured around certain expansionary notions entertained by communist leaders that worldwide capitalism ought to be overthrown. When Communist leaders changed their minds, the structure of world politics also changed in a very profound way—something which structural Realism could not have anticipated” (Mueller, 1995: 4).

From those above analysis, it can be ascertained that all are focusing attention on contingent factors and the role of ideational forces which are at least as crucial in the ‘real’ world of politics as material ones. On the remarks of cultural implications to the study of international politics, T. S. Eliot notes the emphasis placed on the importance of culture in world political affairs “we not only hear, from high political quarters, that ‘cultural relations’ between nations are of great importance, but that bureaux are founded, and officials appointed, for the express purpose of attending to these relations, which are presumed to foster international amity” (Eliot, 1962: 83). Insights from other disciplines were also harnessed to new approaches to foreign policy studies which seemed in need of interfacing with studies of culture if issues like nationalism and identity politics in the post-Cold War period were to be understood (Hudson, 1997: 4). So, the eloquent words of Beate Jahn show the overall evaluation of theoretical judgments on existing perspectives of international politics and especially on cultural approach. Jahn takes a different approach to the critique of mainstream IR, arguing that implicit in all varieties of Realism and Liberalism is an approach to culture or more especially cultural diversity which sees it as a problem while ‘nature’, on the other hand, is a universal through which solutions may be found (Jahn, 2000: 29).

So, culture or civilization becomes an essential category to understand world politics. Cultural approach adds another broad dimension to engage further research in the field of International Relations. Culture represents as a tool to classify one community distinct

from others and it finally creates to build up separate identity. This identity politics has had further implications to the construction of separate bounded sovereign states and this leads to influence the behaviours of nation-states. The contemporary world politics sees the emerging prominent roles of political community since the domestic politics becomes an important arena of national policy decision.

The two broad categories of civilizations i.e. 'Essentialist' and 'Post-Essentialist' approaches have highlighted that ideational variables (which is culture is often defined) are important factors in addition to materialistic variables in understanding world politics. These two categories explore in-depth theoretical explanation of culture domain in the discipline of International Relations. In the context of post Cold War world structure, the existence of cultural confrontation among several cultural communities explains the world order.

Culture approach explains the changing international structure and incorporated new elements coming up which are once ignored by traditional theories. The main contribution of culture based studies is that culture includes contextual explanation and explains the circumstances on why a nation behaves a particular manner in engaging different issues-areas or different behaviours in same issue-areas across time. The study of international politics is far from complete without incorporating the cultural paradigm. Culture related studies in fact expand and rebuild the scope of intellectual understanding of world history.

## Chapter 2: Culture and Security

Defining the term 'Security' and its Debate in International Relations

Theoretical Understanding of Security through Cultural Lens: Strategic Culture

A Debate on the Analytical Scope of Security Culture

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There has been a persistent concern about cultural theories on diverse areas or fields in the social science. It seems, however, an incomplete project to represent a well explained theory because of inherited problems on various possibilities defining the term 'culture'. Since the ideas of culture are emerging as important variables of analysis and explaining different phenomenon, especially in contemporary international politics, it is preferable to analyze these ideas in particular contexts and issues of world affairs. One of the most prominent issues of international politics is the security related studies. This study seeks to apply a cultural approach to the study of security study in the quest of finding out the correlations prevailing between culture and security. Perhaps, it is being often argued that the questions of how these security studies or policies of different states are formulated and regulated can be explained sometimes much better by cultural theories through particular events or historical period.

Carole Pateman, in her article on *Political Culture* once points out the challenges engaging the term 'culture' in theorization since it had lost all conceptual clarity (Pateman, 1971: 305) and cultural variables were difficult to define and operationalize (Geertz, 1974: 4-5). By the mid-1970s, culture had largely fallen into disrepute throughout most of the social sciences because political culture had come to be widely regarded as a "degenerate research program" (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1950: 587-600). And the definition of the term 'security' has fallen under the debate within narrow and broad perspectives: material or ideational determined, realm of state or non-state actors, domestic or international factors. Although these obstacles associate with defining both terms culture and security, several cultural scholars within study of International

Relations suggest that both terms have been emerging as prominent vocabularies in contemporary world politics and there is close relationship between these two terms. Katzenstein once argues that now, “with the end of the Cold War, the mix of factors affecting national security is changing. Issues dealing with norms, identities, and culture are becoming more salient. It argues that security interests are defined by actors who respond to cultural factors” (Katzenstein, 1996: 44). It is commonly being argued that culture as domestic factor has influenced the behavior of the states which is finally affecting the security studies or policies. Here, in this chapter, the main aim is to analyze how the ideas of identity or cultural values influence the way in which actors define their interests in the first place. Moreover, it is to offer a promising avenue for explaining the changing contours of national security policies by focusing on political identity and the cultural-institutional context. However, this does not mean that every state’s behavior can be analyzed through the perspectives of cultural strategies only; of course material capabilities determination is inevitable to take into account in some cases, but the main theme is to illustrate that certain security policies are determined by cultural factors or the way political identity is created. As Michael C. Desch mentions, “cultural theories that may not be amenable to generalization across cases might still lead to generalization within cases across time. In other words, they may not offer general theories of all states’ behavior but may suggest theories of a particular state’s foreign policy behavior over time” (Desch, 1998: 16).

This chapter explores security debate in the field of International Relations from the cultural perspective. One of the key analytical tools to understand the cultural approach to the study of security is strategic culture. Security culture basically explains that various determinant factors including ideas and values other than military affairs influence the actions and behaviours of the states in certain contexts. Moreover, the concept of security has broader scope in the contemporary world affairs study since it includes other dimensions such as economic, environmental, social and political security. By attaching to cultural aspects, the security studies are analysed in the broader terms of ensuring human security and safety. Now, formulating a security policy of a nation is contextually defined and under the influences of various agencies and actors from domestic as well as international arenas. The post Cold War politics has transformed the traditional concept

of security and the term 'security' becomes a concept of welfare for communities within the nations by responding to internal and external threats.

## **2.1 Defining the term 'Security' and its Debate in International Relations**

For much of the intellectual history of the discipline, the cause of war has been the core debate and the security related study occupies a key concern for the discipline. Some schools of thought believe in providing a wider and generally acceptable explanation for the cause, whereas other view that the cause of the war and security studies are unique to each cases. Since different analytical perspectives suggest different definitions of security, such disagreements are probably unavoidable (Walt, 1991: 213). Those explanations interested in the roles of nation-state and in traditional issues of national security tend to incline established Realist and Liberal approaches developed during the last some decades. In his explanation of 'three images' of war (man, the state and the international system), Kenneth Waltz describes about the origins of conflict throughout the history of Western civilization. Waltz focuses on the nature of international anarchy (wars occur because there is nothing to stop them from occurring) and explains the relative understanding of all three. "The third image describes the framework of world politics, but without the first and second images there can be no knowledge of the forces that determine policy, the first and second images describe the forces in world politics, but without the third image it is impossible to assess their importance or predict their results" (Waltz, 1954: 238). This means that war and violent conflict are the main areas concern for security study and seen as persistent features of inter-state relations tracing back through human history.

Security generally implies freedom from threats to core values (for both individuals and groups) but there is a major disagreement about whether the main focus of inquiry should be on 'individual', 'national' or 'international security'. Most of the writing on the Cold War period on security was dominated by the idea of national security which was largely defined in militarized terms. However, more recently the tradition idea of security has been criticized for being ethnocentric (culturally biased) and too narrowly defined.

“Those interested in unconventional, broader definitions of national security such as economic competitiveness, human rights, or human welfare as affecting not only states but also non-state actors tend to favor alternative analytical perspectives” (Katzenstein, 1996: 48). In distinguishing between traditional narrow definitions and recent broad conceptions of security studies, Stephen Walt and Barry Buzan among others, have articulated very different views about how to define the concept of security, as well as about the scope of analytical approaches and empirical domains appropriate to security studies (Walt, 1991; Buzan, 1991). The narrow definition of security tends to “focus on material capabilities and the use and control of military force by states” (Walt, 1991: 212). This contrasts with “the distinctions among military, political, economic, social, and environmental security threats that affect not only states but also groups and individuals, as well as other non-state actors” (Buzan, 1991: 432-33). Buzan analyses the new concept of security in some very significant ways, succeed in any effort to displace the traditional military based definition of security. In fact, the ideas on security need to be explained above from the perspectives of military or materialistic determinism since many non-conventional like ideational factors may have an effect on military based strategy. The concept of security has become much more multifaceted and complex.

Like other subfields in International Relations, security study is influenced by major theoretical debates since it becomes a common vocabulary for every state’s foreign policy making. Precisely, it can be assumed that the first and foremost concern of any state is to ensure security in general sense. However, the term ‘security’ still appears as a complex structure. While referring to dual process of integration and fragmentation brought by the new wave of globalization which characterizes the contemporary world politics, security studies attract different meaning. For instance, the fragmentation of various states, like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, has created new problems of boundaries, minorities and organizing ideologies which are causing increasing regional instability (Waever, 1993: 196). In the case of integration, European Union faces challenges to create a regional security system while protecting the inter-state security. This leads to the argument that ethno-national groups, rather than states, become the centre of attention for security studies. The interpretation of the complexity of security is

also closely linked to the Copenhagen school concept, which views security as a special type of policy, characterized by the securitization process.

To examine the problem of the relationship between foreign policy and culture, Copenhagen school holds a 'societal security' approach. It proposes an understanding of the evolution of the state's role in a context of cultural penetration that takes into consideration the articulation of the different conceptions of security coexisting in a given society. As Louis Belanger summarizes essential thrust of the societal security approach as "the principal impact of the cultural aspects of globalization on political societies is that it generates a fundamental redefinition of the problem of security. Although the growing interpenetration of states in the political, military, economic, and even environmental spheres is giving rise to new forms of external threats, these threats are part of the challenge to state sovereignty - that is, to a government's ability to exercise control over its own territory and institutions. In contrast, cultural interpenetration, whether it takes the form of migration or overriding cultural influence from a dominant culture, engenders threats both real and perceived, not to state sovereignty but to the identity of societies - that is, the sense of belonging or the mode of subjectivization of a society" (Belanger, 1999: 679). The idea here is that a societal identity can be reproduced independently of a state and even in opposition to a state mode of political organization (Waever, 1993: 23). As Waever further points out "of course, the rhetoric of security will often be employed in cases where survival, whether of sovereignty or identity, is not actually threatened, but where it is possible to legitimate political action by making reference to such a threat" (ibid: 26). This process, by which a referent object is admitted to be existentially threatened, will here be referred to as 'securization' (Buzan et al., 1998). The connection between state and societal security depends on the strategic configuration of the actors who will benefit from playing on feelings of insecurity. It is clear that both insecurity and security are always subjective constructions used by political actors (Campbell, 1992).

Various issues of international politics have been sought to be rethinking and needed to be re-analyzed in order to address the changing elements of world politics after the end of Cold War. National security is one of the most contested emerging issues in the post Cold

War era since the division of humankind on bases of cultural affinity (otherness) seems accelerated within various communities and their consciousness. In this regard, this section examines the prevailing theories positions focusing on the effects that culture has on national security study and several areas where these theories have certain complexities to compromise. This study broadly deals with two specific schools of thought: Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberal on how these two theories have been so far to talk about the relationship between culture and security. In his great work *The Culture of National Security* (1996), Peter J. Katzenstein critically analyses various theoretical claims on this account and briefly explains that for Realists, culture and identity are at best derivative of the distribution of capabilities and have no independent explanatory power. And, for Rationalists, actors deploy culture and identity strategically, like any other resource, simply to further their own self-interest. Katzenstein further asserts “definitions of identity that distinguish between self and other imply definitions of threat and interest that have strong effects on national security policies. Furthermore, such definitions of identity are rarely captured adequately with the language of symbolic resources sought by self-interested actors” (Katzenstein, 1996: 52).

Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberalism: these two schools have several similar assumptions on many areas though Neo-Liberalism considers cultural-institutional factors which are exogenously given affecting state action. Both schools mainly focus on how structures affect the instrumental rationality of actors. By sharing assumption on existence of international anarchy and unified state actors for the analysis of international politics, Neo-Realists emphasize on competitive pressure of an anarchic system that determines behavior of states to ensure balancing whereas Neo-Liberal Institutional scholars believe in existence of multiple supra-national institutions through which states can define their interests and coordinate conflicting policies. Kenneth Waltz, the well-known International Relations scholar ever and the pioneer of Neo-Realist school of thought, elaborates a great deal about security. He suggests that the international state system molds states and defines the possibilities for cooperation and conflict (Waltz, 1979). Further, he argues that “neo-realism contends that international politics can be understood only if the effects of structure are added to the unit level explanations of traditional realism... The range of expected outcomes is inferred from the assumed motivation of



the units and the structure of the system in which they act since causes operate at different levels and interact with one another, explanations operating at either level alone are bound to be misleading” (Waltz, 1989: 41-42). Here, he prioritizes systematic effects on national policy; ideational domestic factors have no roles in security study in Neo-Realist perspectives since international system moulds the behavior of states to determine their security policies based on material capabilities. However, Stephen Walt, a realist scholar who propagates the theory of ‘balance of threat’ once considers the importance of ideational factors in perceptions of states and views ideology as a variable that competes with others for explanatory power (Walt, 1996). He takes into account the perception of domestic threat that has considerably impact on security policies of the states.

Neo-Liberal thinkers believe that conflict inheres in the international system.... Under some political conditions, international conflict can be ameliorated through collective management (Axelrod, 1984). Meanwhile, Neo-Liberal Institutionalism takes interest in articulating the idea of interests in national security study though it is based on Realist assumptions of egoistic human nature. Robert Keohane agrees when he writes that “institutional theory takes states’ conceptions of their interests as exogenous: unexplained within the terms of the theory... Nor does realism predict interests” (Keohane, 1993: 285). He further suggests that “without a theory of interests, which requires analysis of domestic politics, no theory of International Relations can be fully adequate” (Keohane, 1993: 294-95). In the question of how egoism and empathy relates to defining self-interest, he takes into consider the deeper understanding of values and issue of identity with which people and organizations relate to one another. So, the notion of self-interest is elastic and defined in terms of distinguishing between ‘self’ and ‘other’ relation (Keohane, 1990: 236). In his work *War and Change in World Politics*, Robert Gilpin, one of the Realist scholars analyses that international system explicitly incorporates recognition by others, or prestige. And he asserts that “prestige, rather than power, is the everyday currency in International Relations” (Gilpin, 1981: 14-31).

Under the umbrella of Neo-Liberalism, regimes theory has had a profound influence which is very close to Neo-Liberal Institutionalism. The existence of multiple supra national institutions in the international arena can be described as the sources of regimes.

Stephen Krasner once suggests that the idea of ‘regimes’ as intervening variables between state power on the one hand and international outcomes on the other. Regimes are principles and rules that regulate the interaction of states and other actors across a range of issue-areas and they impart a degree of ‘governance’ to the international system. Krasner’s contribution to the debate on regimes, particularly regarding their capacity to transform state interests and maintain cooperation despite changes in the balance of power, is contained in his provocative book *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism* (Krasner, 1985: 197). He defines “regimes as particular combinations of principles, norms, rules and procedures” (Krasner, 1990). Although it is often argued that emergence of regimes as a product of powerful hegemonic state in order to suit its interest and purposes, but international regimes do not simply limit to power relationships. With the passing of time they acquire their own dynamic. So, regimes present states with political constraints and opportunities that can substantially affect how governments calculate their interests (Katzenstein, 1996: 53). “State interests and strategies thus are shaped by a never-ending political process that generates publicly understood standards for action” (Johnson, 1991). In this similar line, Robert Jervis argues talks about the possibility of relatively high levels of cooperation between states confronting a security dilemma in international politics (Jervis, 1986).

The identities of states are the product of both domestic societies and international environments. With different social environments and prevailing norms, actors construct and reconstruct identities through dynamic political and social processes. In Charles Tilly’s work on *Coercion, Capital and European States, A.D. 990-1990*, it is argued that history is more than a progressive search for efficient institutions that regulate property rights. And history cannot be reduced to a perpetual recurrence of sameness, conflict, and balancing. History is a process of change that leaves an imprint on state identity. In a broad historical perspective the eventual success of the national state in Western Europe should not blind us to the wide array of institutional experimentation, both domestic and international, that preceded it. On similar track by Suzanne H. Rudolph (1987) referring to Asian perspective on state formation asserts that “influenced by a long history of universal empires, regional kingdoms, and sub-continental empires, Asian states also differ greatly from the conventional image of unified, rational states. The historical

evidence compels us to relinquish the notion of states with unproblematic identities”. It views that political identities of states are needed to be analyzed in specific historical contexts since changing identities have a bearing on political interest that thus affect on national security policies.

## **2.2 Theoretical Understanding of Security through Cultural Lens: Strategic Culture**

Culture as the notion defined in terms of primordial attributions has influenced the behaviours of several actors. The disposition of nation-state actors has to confirm the expectation of the cultural groups within the sovereign boundaries. It is because of the distinct social system and its values consistently check the behaviour of the nation-states or political elites. In Clifford Geertz’s view, cultural assumptions constitute a “system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life” (Geertz, 1973: 89).

Cultural theories were one obvious choice, and so they again attracted adherents in security studies (Desch, 1998: 7). The study holds that the current strategic thought has important implications for contemporary International Relations theory. According to Michael C Desch, four strands of cultural theorizing dominate the current wave: *organizational, political, strategic and global* (Desch, 1998: 3). Several IR scholars talk about culture based organizational behaviour and its prevailing influence on military behaviour has been an important approach to study culture based security studies. Basically, organizational approach holds that security or military behaviour is determined within the context of specific organizational culture and different behavioural patterns of military can be observed due to change in different organization. In a landmark study on functions of military organizations, Barry R. Posen argues that the preferences of military organizations for offensive doctrines are guided by the idea of enhancing the social prestige of military officers (Posen, 1984). Elizabeth Kier further develops a sophisticated study on military functions and explains that the choice of offensive and defensive military doctrines by military leaders reflects organizational interest which is to

be understood within the context of specific organizational cultures. Military organizations nest in broader political-military cultures distinctive of the politics of different states (Kier, 1995). A similar view is held by Jeffrey W. Legro who points out that militaries have different organizational cultures that will lead them to fight differently (Legro, 1995). Applied to questions of national security, the work of Elizabeth Kier on strategic culture offers a compelling application of that general perspective. Here, Kier argues that different domestic political cultures will adopt divergent means of controlling their militaries based on domestic political considerations, not external strategic concern (Kier, 1995). Further, in this debate of domestic and global culture influences on the role of state's strategic behaviour, Martha Finnemore and Alastair Iain Johnston talk a great deal about. Finnemore argues that "global cultural norms, rather than domestic state interests, determine patterns of great power intervention" (Finnemore, 1996: 156). Whereas, Johnston suggests that domestic strategic culture rather than international system imperatives, best explains a state's grand strategy (Johnston, 1995: 63). So, these are the sum up broad analytical parameters of culture and security studies.

Snyder was the first to coin the term 'strategic culture' and defined as the "sum total of ideals, conditional emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behavior that members of the national strategic community have acquired through instruction or imitation and share with each other" (Snyder, 1977: 9). 'Strategic culture' is a term that refers to examine the relationship between the role of ideas (culturally distinct from others) and accordingly the strategic dispositions (behavior) of an actor. Various scholars suggest taking caution about using strategic culture as an analytic tool because of the fact that it has so far been unable to offer a convincing research design for isolating the effects of strategic culture on strategic choice of actor's behavior. It means strategic culture may not have a direct independent and societal-specific effect on strategic choice across cases. Despite these, strategic culture approach has certain advantage in explaining how state's behaviour are influenced and determined by cultural values under certain cases or contexts.

In his article *Thinking about Strategic Culture*, Alastair Iain Johnston claims that "most of those who use the term 'culture' tend to argue, explicitly or implicitly, that different

states have different predominant strategic preferences that are rooted in the early or formative experiences of the state, and are influenced to some degree by the philosophical, political, cultural, and cognitive characteristics of the state and its elites. Ahistorical or “objective” variables such as technology, polarity, or relative material capabilities are all of secondary importance. It is strategic culture, they argue, that gives meaning to these variables. The weight of historical experiences and historically-rooted strategic preferences tends to constrain responses to changes in the ‘objective’ strategic environment, thus affecting strategic choices in unique ways. If strategic culture itself changes, it does so slowly, lagging behind changes in “objective” conditions” (Johnston, 1995: 34).

In the words of Johnston, “all cultural approaches take the realist edifice as target, and focus on cases where the structural material notions of interest cannot explain a particular strategic choice” (Johnston, 1995: 41). This study mainly focuses on strategic culture approach for explanation of state’s behaviour and its military actions through cultural perspective in spite of other cultural approaches are no less important in explaining security affairs. Johnston defines strategic culture is an integrated “system of symbols (e.g., argumentation structures, languages, analogies, metaphors) which acts to establish pervasive and long-lasting strategic preferences by formulating concepts of the role and efficacy of military force in interstate political affairs, and by clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the strategic preferences seem uniquely realistic and efficacious” (ibid: 46). It is precisely assumed that strategic culture may have an observable effect on state behavior. From that point of view strategic culture as a ‘system of symbols’ comprises two parts: “the first includes basic hypotheses about the state of the strategic environment, such as the role of war in human affairs, the nature of the adversary and the threat it poses, and the efficacy of the use of force. ...As for the second part it consists of assumptions at a more operational level about what strategic options are the most efficacious for dealing with the threat environment, as defined by answers to the first three questions. These lower-level assumptions should flow logically from the central paradigm” (Johnston 2005: 46-47).

The concept of linkage between culture and national security policy exists in classic works, including the writings of Thucydides and Sun Tzu (Lantis, 2002: 93). Challenging Realist perspective on the unitary rational actor assumption in security policy studies, Jack Snyder's strategic culture theory is based on domestic political conditions which vary across different states. Snyder applies his strategic cultural framework to interpret the development of Soviet and American nuclear doctrines as products of different organizational, historical, and political contexts and technological constraints. He suggests that elites articulate a unique strategic culture related to security-military affairs that is a wider manifestation of public opinion socialized into a distinctive mode of strategic thinking. He contended that "as a result of this socialization process, a set of general beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns with regard to nuclear strategy has achieved a state of semi-permanence that places them on the level of 'cultural rather than mere policy'" (Snyder, 1977: 8). On a similar vein, Colin Gray defines strategic culture as referring to "modes of thought and action with respect to force, which derives from perception of the national historical experience, from aspirations for responsible behavior in national terms" and even from "the civic culture and way of life" (Gray, 1986: 36-37). Colin Gray's *Nuclear Strategy and National Style* (1986) also suggests that distinctive national styles, with "deep roots within a particular stream of historical experience", characterize strategy making in countries like the United States and the Soviet Union. Further, Gray accentuates mainly behaviour of political elites, that is why he defines strategic culture as a sum of thoughts, attitudes, traditions and behaviours which make strategic culture a part of us, of our institutions and of our acts (Gray, 1999). In the words of Ken Booth, strategic culture "has influence on the form in which one state interacts with the others concerning security measures" (Booth 1991: 121). As acknowledged by him, "it includes national traditions, habits, values, attitudes, ways of behaviour, symbols, approaches and special processes chosen to influence external environment and the ways of solution of problems face to face to threats or to using of force" (ibid).

David Jones suggested three levels of factors had bearing into a state's strategic culture: "a macro-environmental level consisting of geography, ethno-cultural characteristics, and history; a societal level consisting of social, economic, and political structures of a society; and a micro level consisting of military institutions and characteristics of civil-

military relations. This strategic culture did not just delimit strategic options; it pervaded all levels of choice from grand strategy down to tactics” (Jones, 1990: 35). Unlike the structural Realism research program, strategic culture tries to deal with different factors not relying only on materialistic determinism to show how different strategic culture based factors affect strategic choice of the state. Despite the concept of culture in the security affairs varies across the spectrum substantially, it highlights a better explanation on state’s behaviour in some particular cases and contexts. Gray has succinctly stressed “strategic culture provides a context for understanding rather than explanatory causality for behavior” (Gray 1999: 51). Thus, strategic culture offers contextual explanation of state’s behaviours and pattern of strategic choices made in different circumstances. It is not the differences in military capabilities that decide the behaviour but it is the strategic cultures (ideational based) that define the military behaviours of the states.

### **2.3 A Debate on the Analytical Scope of Security Culture**

In this context, culture denotes an ideational variable; these ideas are usually domestic; and they are frequently emphasized the uniqueness within, rather than similarity across, cases. In the early 1980s, Richard Ullman stressed a general account for broadening the concept of security. Ullman viewed national security as more than a goal with different trade-off values in different situations. He insisted that national security is threatened by the consequences of events that quickly degrade the quality of life of the state and non-state actors alike, thus narrowing significantly the future range of political choice (Ullman, 1983: 130-35). In other words, there are various factors and actors that affecting the determination of national security which are behaving differently in different contexts. The related studies of national security policy highlight the importance of culture. There are emerging consensus among several scholars that in national security policy studies, culture affects significantly grand strategy and state’s behaviour.

The post Cold War politics has further stressed to address the nuclear balance of terror. In emerging suspect of some groups’ accessing of nuclear weapons, the world faces new kinds of threats. A growing numbers of countries are developing nuclear, biological and

chemical weapons and some already possess the technology for ballistic missiles to deliver them. Big or small, several countries or several groups of people are developing new capabilities to conduct different forms of threat for instance cyber terrorism. To deter and address all these unconventional threats, the ideas of security needs to be addressed widely. The post Cold war era's nature of threat and concept of security is widening across that security needs to response the individual's unconventional actions or responsibilities in addition to national level. Since the proliferations of nuclear capabilities are now suspected to be accessible to some powerful groups of people besides states, international cooperation and institutions seek to instill a culture of security. It is the process to build the foundation for the future of human security.

In March 2005, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) international conference on *Nuclear Security: Global Directions for the Future*, held in London, recognized that the risk of successful malicious attacks remains high and stated “the fundamental principles of nuclear security include embedding a nuclear security culture throughout the organizations involved. By the coherent implementation of a nuclear security culture, staff remains vigilant of the need to maintain a high level of security” (IAEA, 2005: 262). This was the result of the June 2000 meeting of the Working Group of the Informal Open- Ended Expert Meeting to Discuss Whether there is a Need to Revise the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM). In order to create some regulations on exercising nuclear within the ambit to control, this meeting of 2000 has endorsed certain objectives and fundamental principles to ensure ‘security culture’. The meeting finally appealed all organizations involved in implementing physical protection should give due priority to the security culture; to its development and maintenance necessary to ensure its effective implementation in the entire organization.

The main aim of nuclear security is the provision of ‘Physical Protection’ that mentioned in the Physical Protection Objectives and Fundamental Principles. It is broadly described as the prevention and detection of, and response to, theft, sabotage, unauthorized access, illegal transfer or other malicious acts involving nuclear or other radioactive substances or their associated facilities. For this purpose, nuclear security culture is defined as “the



assembly of characteristics, attitudes and behaviour of individuals, organizations and institutions which serves as a means to support and enhance nuclear security” (IAEA; 2008: 3). Regarding the IAEA Code of Conduct on the Safety and Security of Radioactive Sources, 2004 contains the following principle, “Every State should, in order to protect individuals, society and the environment, take the appropriate measures to ensure ... the promotion of safety culture and of security culture with respect to radioactive sources” [Basic Principle 7(b)]. The concept of a nuclear security culture provides an overview of the attributes of nuclear security culture, emphasizing that nuclear security is ultimately dependent on individuals: policy makers, regulators, managers, individual employees and - to a certain extent - members of the public. Furthermore, individuals in isolation influence nuclear security; the way they interact with one another, with management and with technical systems also has an influence. The concept of a nuclear security culture - and its promotion and enhancement - is refined with a view to establishing international guidance and raising the level of awareness of all concerned, including the public and private sectors.

In addition to the nuclear security, ‘environmental security’ is a relatively new concept that brings together environmental and national security considerations. This new trend breakdowns the bipolar geopolitical structure that characterized the Cold War period. Although it is less visible to many policies formulation of nation-states, however, it now shifts environmental issue from compliance and remediation to strategic for society. It is evident that environmental security may be an important evolution of national state and international policy systems. The concept of environmental security potentially affects arenas such as foreign policy, security policy, environmental policy, and science and technology policy. “The existing environmental problems such as loss of biodiversity and habitat; stratospheric ozone depletion; degradation of water, soil and atmospheric resources and sinks; and global climate change are the main concerns for national security affairs. In this context, the environment policy structure dealing with natural and human systems has further implication on national security policies that idea of achieving a national security is to ensure the maintenance of sustainable environment. Institutionally, we are beginning to recognize that the scale of human economic activity is for the first time fundamentally affecting a number of basic global and regional physical,

chemical, and biological systems” (Turner et al., 1990). In 1995, for example, the National Science and Technology Council identified a number of potential issues, including climate change, ozone depletion, and ocean pollution, and the possibility of ‘large numbers’ of environmental refugees, which requires to constitute a broad class of global threats evident in the post Cold War world.

On the geopolitical side, the end of the bipolar cold war structure with its ironically comfortable definition of global geopolitics as conflict between capitalist and communist global ideologies has led to a more fragmented, complex world as previously submerged local and regional tensions emerge, often explosively. Not only are these regional perturbations difficult to manage in themselves, but they are complicated by important shifts in institutional authority - such as devolution of power from the national state to local, regional and international institutions, to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and to transnational corporations and capital markets -which are occurring at the same time (Sassens, 1996). Such trends suggest that human societies are moving towards a globalized economy and society which will not, however, be necessarily more homogeneous than those which characterized the cold war period. From the environmental perspective, the critical pressure to evolve environmental security as a policy system derives from the fundamental recognition that environmental issues are an integral component of industrial, social and economic systems. Thus, the integration of environmental considerations into the national security apparatus of any nation can be seen as one example of a broader transition of environmental issues from ‘overhead’ to ‘strategic’ for consumers, producers, and society itself (Allenby and Richards, 1994; Socolow et al., 1994).

Braden R. Allenby talks about environmental security and its implication to the study of national security. Allenby claims that “this raises a fundamental point which occasionally is not duly appreciated: it is very important to differentiate between the perspectives of a global view, where one is concerned with human security or, more broadly, biological security as a whole, and a national state view, which focuses on the interest of the state rather than on global systems” (Allenby, 2000: 10). Moreover, it is necessary to draw a distinction between foreign policy and security related affairs within the level of national

state. The idea of national security requires responding various factors and it is not limited to the area of military affairs.

However, J. A. Goldstone defines 'national security' in most measured terms as "there is only one meaningful definition of national security, and it is not inherently military, environmental, or anything else. Variations of that definition guided us throughout the cold war, and long before. That definition goes something like this: a 'national security' issue is any trend or event that (1) threatens the very survival of the nation; and/or (2) threatens to drastically reduce the welfare of the nation in a fashion that requires a centrally coordinated national mobilization of resources to mitigate or reverse. While this seems common sense, it is clear from this definition that not just any threat or diminution of welfare constitutes a national security threat; what does constitute such a threat is a matter of perception, judgment, and degree - and in a democracy, a legitimate subject for national debate" (Goldstone, 1996). The nature of security threat is also a matter of ideological debate and different behaviour of states response differently in various security related studies.

This relates now to incorporate various factors and areas to be considered as security parameters. The main theme in the debate of the analytical scope of security culture is to include ideational factors which are socially constructed. So, international structures are made possible by shared knowledge, material resources and practices which are the products of social relationship. In this context, Alexander Wendt in his study 'Anarchy is What States Make of It' (1992) argues that security dilemmas and wars can be seen, in part, as the outcome of self-fulfilling prophecies. The 'logic of reciprocity' means that states acquire a shared knowledge about the meaning of power and act accordingly. Equally, Wendt argues, policies of reassurance can also help to move states towards a more peaceful security community. It is in the view to suggest that understanding the crucial role of social structure is important in developing policies and processes of interaction which would lead towards cooperation rather than conflict. Moreover, the Feminist school also challenges the traditional emphasis on the central role of the state in the study of security. Ann Tickner argues that "women have 'seldom been recognized by the security literature' despite the fact that conflicts affect women, as much, if not more,

than men” (Tickner, 1992: 191). This school of thought challenges the concept of national security, arguing that the use of such terms is often designed to preserve the prevailing male-dominated order rather than protect the state from the external attack. These whole debates provide a significant process of rethinking the concept ‘security’ and share the view that ideas, discourse and the logic of interpretation are crucial in understanding international security and politics. The ideas of security or national security now expand its scope of study due to change in the international structure after the end of the Cold War.

## **Chapter 3: Culture and International Political Economy**

Understanding International Political Economy (IPE) and Globalization

Importance of National and Global Culture in International Business (IB)

Cross-Culture and Organization: Issues of Cultural Convergence or Divergence

North-South Debates on Economic Development: Regional Cooperation

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This chapter deals with the theoretical understanding of international political economy (IPE) and globalization from the cultural perspective. The issue of globalization or global economy has been a major theme in the study of international politics and this chapter argues that culture in its various forms now serves as a primary carrier of globalization. To understand the real facet of globalization, it is very necessary to incorporate cultural dimensions in addition to the economic and political aspects. Globalization is seen as multi-facets phenomena which has its impacts on every sphere of social life. Meanwhile, globalization demonstrates certain positive aspects that it facilitates the interaction among several communities across the globe and growing the process of economic interdependence among countries. However, the process of economic integration or the emergence of global economy shows discontent among several countries as globalization is closely associated with values and ideas of Western developed economies.

The two main categories of culture: national and global cultures are widely discussed though others for example organization and group cultures are no less important. The main theme highlights in the context of national and global cultures is that culture is a dynamic process and different levels of culture are highly interacting and influencing to one another in the process of ideas and norms development of particular organizations. Another debate is on the issues of convergence or divergence in the context of global culture influence. This basically explores the relationship of cultural shift in some countries under the banner of Western culture which is sometime refereed as 'global

culture'. One of the most important debates relating to globalization is the process of economic development of developing countries. In this context, it especially deals with two different notions 'Westernization' and 'modernization' in the issue of economic development. This chapter argues that modernization is the problem for both developed and developing countries and developing countries see modernization rather than Westernization is the way for their economic success. North-South debate on economic development is further analysed as to show how developing countries try to develop themselves apart from those developed countries. The debate further moves on the emergence of regional economic cooperation that now several countries are tied with the cultural attachment to determine the economic development. It raises the other non-Western values for instance Asian's values a factor to the regional economic success.

### **3.1 Understanding International Political Economy (IPE) and Globalization**

In simple terms, international political economy (IPE) generally refers to the interaction of economics and politics to study the elements of complex interdependence of international affairs. Global politics and issues are so complex in nature that a single analysis is unable to provide a comprehensive knowledge about how international affairs actually work. Succinctly, those international problems and issues cannot adequately be addressed by recourse to economic, political or sociological analysis alone. So, IPE breaks down the barriers that separate and isolate the traditional methods of analysis and looks at the issues and events both from economical and political perspective. International political economy (IPE) has become so central to the study of International Relations.

According to Susan Strange, International Political Economy ... "concerns the social, political and economic arrangements affecting the global system of production, exchange, and distribution and the mix of values reflected therein. Those arrangements are not divinely ordained, nor are they the fortuitous outcome of blind chance. Rather they are the result of human decisions taken in the context of man-made institutions and sets of self-set rules and customs" (Strange, 1988: 18). While Strange's definition seems to focus

narrowly on economic connections, in fact; IPE basically holds that individuals, states and markets of the world are connected to one another and the arrangements or structures that evolved with them have reflected culture, history and values. Much of the study of IPE focuses on the interaction of two highly important social institutions: states and markets and on the nature of their interaction within the international system. One of the well known explanations of IPE is observed by Robert Gilpin is that IPE as “the field of study that analyzes the problems and questions arising from the parallel existence and dynamic interaction of ‘state’ and ‘market’ in the modern world” (Gilpin, 1987: 8). Both the terms ‘state’ and ‘market’ are commonly represented as the realm of collective action and decisions. Generally, the term ‘state’ means the political institutions of the modern nation-state, a geographic region with an autonomous system of government that extends over the region. The nation-state is a legal entity that has a well-defined territory and population, with a government capable of exercising sovereignty. Meanwhile, market usually means the economic institutions of modern capitalism which is dominated by individual self-interest and conditioned by the forces of competition. The interaction of states and markets is dynamic in nature and a society contains both state and market elements, which reflect the history, culture and values of the social system.

Globalization is the main theme in the study of international political economy. This is in the sense that many more problems and issues are not limited to national parameters; global issues affect the whole world, not just a few nations and require a global perspective and understanding. Globalization usually refers to the ideas of ‘borderless world’ where economic, social and political forces increasingly act at the level of analysis, far above and beyond the control of states and individuals. The term ‘globalization’ has widely become one of the most fascinating categories in the field of social science. It is a phenomenon shaping the modern world and makes it a complex place to understand. Generally, globalization is understood as a multifaceted process that affects whole sphere of human life. In fact, globalization is a complex concept that involves both politico-economic and socio-cultural orders and has created a new global belief. In other words, globalization is a versatile word that does not refer to a simple thought or process; it entirely covers the wide range activities of human being say commercial, cultural or technological. One of the remarkable definitions of globalization

which is widely accepted in the field of social science is given by an eminent scholar called Anthony Giddens. In his great work, *The Consequences of Modernity*, (1990), Giddens defines globalization as “intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1990: 21). Generally, globalization is understood as the process of interaction of many spheres of social life but the term is often used more as the process of economic integration in the social science. Globalization refers to a “growing economic interdependence among countries, as reflected in the increased cross-border flow of three types of entities: goods and services, capital, and knowhow” (Govindarajan and Gupta, 2001: 4). Today the emergence of global economy includes interaction or interchanging a broad network of information, capital, technology and knowledge through supra-national institutions or agents like multinational companies (MNCs) and international non-government organizations (INGOs) etc. that enhance the growth and prosperity both local and world economy. Precisely, the global productions now are diffused widely to distant markets that penetrate across political borders and as production is reorganized across time and space, communities become the dominant actors in the global system.

Meanwhile, one key question is quite essential to deal with the debate of globalization is that “Is globalization a globalized process in true sense?”. The debate of globalization can be broadly divided into two categories of thoughts: ‘Hyper-globalists’ and ‘Sceptics’ (Held & McGrew, 1999). Generally, hyper-globalists see globalization as the process of more efficient and peaceful order through facilitating mass interactions among people from distant places or regions. It allows interactions of several social elements and provides a platform for reconciliation of differences amongst groups of people across globe. Through technological advancements, globalization leads to compression of time and space and reduces the barriers to human interaction. On the other hand, sceptics see globalization is not a generous gift for some groups of people and for their culture, economy and society. For instance, most of the Islamic countries are opposing globalization in the sense of global forces or cultures (basically Western) now intrude the primary culture of Muslims. The rhetoric surrounding the globalization of culture, sometimes compares it to colonialism, as evident for example, in the criticism by



President Mohammed Khatami of Iran that “globalization is a destructive force threatening dialogue between cultures. The new world order and globalization that certain powers are trying to make us accept, in which the culture of the entire world is ignored, looks like a kind of neo-colonialism. This implication threatens mutual understanding between nations and communication and dialogue between cultures” (Hebron and Stack, 2001: 20-24).

Along with the process of great transformation and intensification of broader networks across distant places, markets and people; however globalization is without discontents. It has been seen in many occasions that people demonstrate protest and strong opposition to globalization mostly originated from developing countries since globalization does favor largely to Western developed economies. In this new era of partly globalized world, the issues of cultural convergence and divergence are becoming an interesting insight in study of global politics. Referring to the idea of ‘universal culture’ as Huntington once suggests that “it originates from the intellectual elites from a select group of countries who meet annually in the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. These individuals are highly educated, work with symbols and numbers, are fluent in English, are extensively involved with international commitments, and travel frequently outside their country. They share the cultural value of individualism, and believe strongly in market economics and political democracy. Although those belonging to the Davos group control virtually all of the world’s important international institutions, many of the world’s governments, and a great majority of the world’s economic and military capabilities, the cultural values of the Davos group are probably embraced by only a small fraction of the six billion people of the world” (Huntington, 1996: 57). There has been a persistent issue that globalization partly works on Western values and ideas. Even though some East-Asian countries can flourish their economy under the banner of globalization, many Afro-Asian countries are the victims of this global process of economy integration and technology transformation. Due to the rise of China as economic giant in the contemporary global world and some extent to Japan’s economic policy, many scholars argue that Asian economic success has certain indigenous values and raise questions about certain demerits and merits of globalization.

Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored those factors or ideas that make globalization nearly a universal principle of economic success for developing countries. Shortly, those factors are explained on basis of Western principle of democracy and tolerance of diversity and made developing countries to accept as essential features of globalization. Given the dominance of Western MNCs, “the values that dominate the global context are often based on a free market economy, democracy, acceptance and tolerance of diversity, respect of freedom of choice, individual rights, and openness to change” (Gupta and Govindarajan, 2000). In order to make globalization successful, Western countries are mainly focusing on ideas and values that have to be accepted by non-Western countries. However, it is seen across several regions, that globalization has conflict with local values, ideas and processes; moreover, by observing the fact that regional economic cooperation now becomes a higher preference or platform of choice among nations that are thought to be sharing and commonly acceptable to norms, values and ideas prevailing within that particular regions.

Globalization and its causes and effects on sovereign states is widely discussed area and the issues regarding globalization and states become one of the most important aspects of international politics. Globalization which is simply defined as the widening, deepening and speeding up of world-wide interconnection becomes a contentious issue in the study of world politics. While some scholars argue that globalization is nothing new, others posit that globalization is dramatically diminishing the role of the state. Some hyper-globalists argue that “globalization weakens the sovereign nation-state since global forces undermine the sovereign power of the states to control their own economies and societies” (Ohmae, 1995; Scholte, 2000; Rosenau, 1997). Precisely, the main theme of hyper-globalists is that globalization has eroded the importance of sovereign nation-state and this global process sustains world politics through supra-national institutions and policies which are beyond the controls of nation-states. On contrary, sceptics still maintains states and geopolitical remain the principal forces shaping world order (Krasner, 1999; Gilpin, 2001). Sceptics reject those claims of undermining sovereign power of nation-states. However, it is observed that both the hyper-globalists and sceptics alike exaggerate their arguments and thereby misconstrue the contemporary world order. One of the problems of the sceptical argument is that it tends to conflate globalization

solely with economic trends and ignores other aspects such as culture, social and political trends of globalization. For the hyper-globalists, the ideas and claims of demise of nation-states are not so convincing. The debate concerns here is further broadly analyzed as the confrontation between the globalization of Western modernity (i.e. their way of life) and the globalization of reactions against it. These different aspects are necessary to be discussed so as to see the differing of theoretical and historical interpretation of globalization. P. Hirst and G. Thompson (1996) once remark that “globalization is at best a self-serving myth or ideology which reinforces Western and particularly US hegemony in world politics”. It is in the line of argument that globalization is highly uneven processes with multi-dimensions and the results of globalization is not uniformly experienced across all regions, countries or even communities since it is inevitably a highly asymmetrical process. While referring this trend, Western globalization provokes fears of new imperialism and significant counter-reactions which produces several movements and protests of the anti-globalization. This is to the actions of different cultural or national communities seeking to protect their indigenous culture and way of life amidst in global influences.

Analyzing the present trend of global trade in the wave of massive interaction of distant markets, Clyde V. Prestowitz Jr., President of the Economic Strategy Institute, Washington, DC, observed that most international trade negotiations are in trouble (Leonhardt, 2003). These negotiations were successful in the last decade, but complex issues have emerged that have the potential to derail the growth of international trade in the future. For instance, many representatives of large agricultural countries, such as Brazil and Argentina, notice little significant progress in the area of trade in international exports. Similarly, countries in East and Southeast Asia specializing in exporting complex technological products to the West have undergone significant declines in international trade as a result of fiscal crises. They are beginning to question whether globalization will bring benefits greater than regionalization of trade. In recent years, Japan, for example, has expanded trade activities with China and other East Asian countries rather than with the West. It suggests that because “globalization tends to redistribute economic rewards in a non-uniform manner, a backlash against globalization may occur in countries often confronted with unpredictable and adverse consequences of

globalization, causing them to revert to their own cultural-specific patterns of economic growth and development” (Guillen, 2001). These trends might indicate that globalization is being impeded by tendencies towards country-specific modes of economic development, making the convergence of IB-related values and practices difficult to achieve.

### **3.2 Importance of National and Global Culture in International Business (IB)**

It is recent development that the importance of culture in the international business research is being taken into considered extensively. The credit of revolutionizing the research on culture and international business (IB) goes to Geert Hofstede, the author of *Culture's Consequences*, 1980 and the founder as well as the first director of the Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation (IRIC). Hofstede has done remarkable empirical research on cultural differences across more than 50 countries through collecting information and data from employees of a multi-national corporation, IBM (International Business Machine). By analyzing the response from employees- including managers as well as the lower rank employees, Hofstede explores the finding of his research that organization's behaviour has strong implication from national cultural influences; and both organizational behaviour and national culture are closely influencing each other. According to G. Hofstede (1980), national culture is broadly defined as values, beliefs, norms, and behavioural patterns of a national group. Hofstede is one of the IB scholars who pioneers the idea that the theme of cultural differences, both between nations and between organizations, is not only and even not primarily of interest to social scientist or international business studies.

Hofstede, however, basically focuses on the importance of national culture or national cultural difference has certain implications on the behaviour of business organizations. In spite of Hofstede's analysis gains popularity among several international business scholars, he is criticized for neglecting the global factors affecting the functions of different level organizations. Moreover, his analysis of assuming national culture as coherently defined has drawn certain criticisms. The idea that Hofstede claims that the

world is fully globalized has certain flaws especially when this idea is applied in cultural terms. Global culture cannot be easily understood since culture is dynamic in nature and consists of many layers. While it is acknowledged the difficulties to define culture in one level of analysis whether national or global, one of the prominent methods or analyses is preferred to use for understanding the generally acceptable core levels of analysis. As to analyze the dynamic nature of culture, one proposed model constructed by international business scholars is commonly applied in social science and it has two approaches: (I) Klein and Kozlowski's model (Multi-Level Approach) and (II) Schein's model (Multi-Layer Approach). The first model views culture as a multi-level construct that consists of various levels nested within each other from the most macro-level of a '*global culture*', through '*national cultures*', '*organizational cultures*', '*group cultures*', and cultural values that are represented in the self at the '*individual level*'. And the second model views culture as a multi-layer construct consisting of the most external layer of observed '*artifacts and behaviours*', the deeper level of '*values*', which is testable by social consensus, and the deepest level of basic assumption, which is invisible and taken for granted. The present model proposes that "culture as a multi-layer construct exists at all levels - from the global to the individual - and that at each level change first occurs at the most external layer of behaviour, and then, when shared by individuals who belong to the same cultural context, it becomes a shared value that characterizes the aggregated unit (group, organizations, or nations)" (Leung Kwok et al., 2005: 362).

The model to analyse the dynamic nature of culture is precisely known as the dynamic of 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' processes across levels of culture. Both top-down and bottom-up processes explain how different levels of culture are being shaped and reshaped by changes that occur at other levels, either above it through top-down processes or below it through bottom-up processes. In the similar manner, changes at each level affect lower levels through a top-down process, and upper levels through a bottom-up process of aggregation.

Inglehart and Baker (2000) offer the explanation in change of national culture which is generally a top-down effect contributed from economic growth, enhanced by globalization, on a cultural shift from traditional values to modernization. At the macro-

layer, global culture is being shaped by global networks and global institutions that cross national and cultural borders produced. The global culture is the product of different organizations and networks which may be originated from any of the lower level cultural groups. National culture consists of different local based organizations or groups who are broadly classified under the interest of local organizational culture. These local cultures are also shaped by the type of industry that they represent and the nature of their work engagement. Those micro-level cultures are the products of the collective will of several individuals who share different level of cultural interests. This model shows that a group of people or sub-groups who are sharing under the name of common national culture differ from one another due to different level of cultural interaction. “Individuals who belong to the same group share the same values that differentiate them from other groups and create a group-level culture through a bottom-up process of aggregation of shared values. For example, employees of an R&D unit are selected into the unit because of their creative cognitive style and professional expertise. Their leader also typically facilitates the display of these personal characteristics because they are crucial for developing innovative products. Thus, all members of this unit share similar core values, which differentiate them from other organizational units. “Groups that share similar values create the organizational culture through a process of aggregation, and local organizations that share similar values create the national culture that is different from other national cultures” (Leung Kwok et al., 2005: 363).

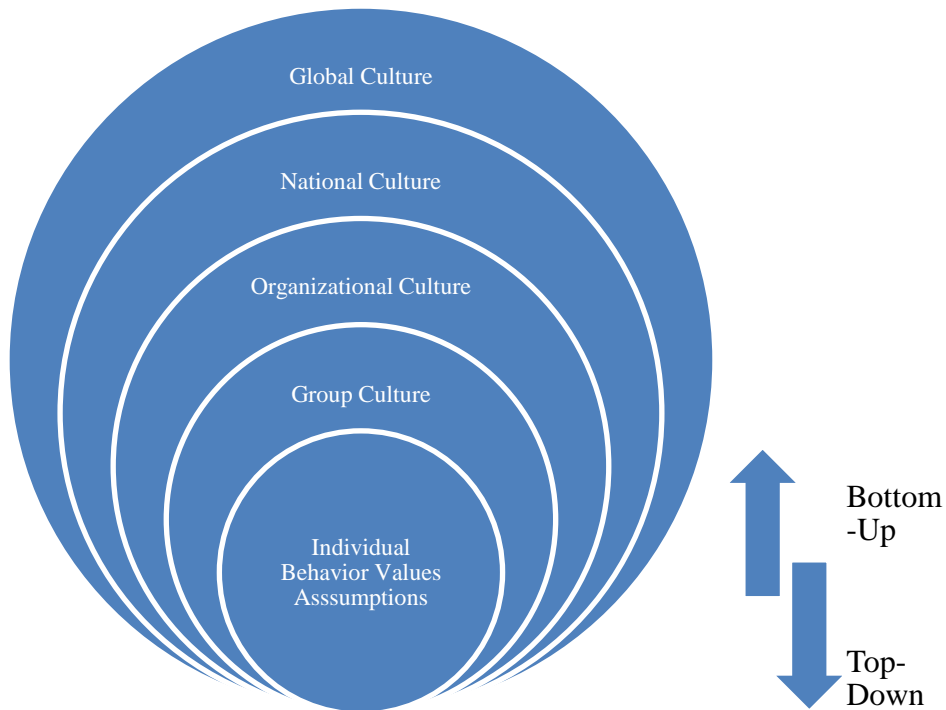


Figure 1: The dynamic of top-down and bottom up processes across levels of culture (Leung Kwok et al., 2005: 363).

Recognizing values of groups or people in business practices and expansion of business activities across globe, Hofstede points out to three reasons behind the importance of nationality to international business. These include: (I) Political - nations build their own institutions and systems rooted in their own history; (II) Sociological - nationality or regionality has a symbolic value to citizens and people's identity is made out of it; and (III) Psychological- thinking process is partly conditioned by national culture factors (Hofstede, 1983: 75-76). According to him, precisely the “essence of culture is collective mental programming: it is that part of our conditioning that we share with other members of our nation, region, or group but not with members of other nations, regions, or groups” (ibid: 76). Difference in mental programming between members of a nation and other nations is denoted by the term culture. Here, Hofstede gives outstanding importance to national cultures in his analysis of international business research. His explanation of national cultures is that “national characters are more clearly distinguishable to foreigners

than to the nationals themselves even though cultural differences between groups such as those based on regions, social classes, occupations, religion, age, sex or even families within nation are existed” (ibid: 77). However, he further explains that “characterizing a national culture does not mean that every individual within that culture is mentally programmed in the same way. The national culture found is a kind of average pattern of beliefs and values, around which individuals in the country vary” (ibid: 78). The most suitable reason for considering national cultures as important determinants in IB research is due to the idea that culture is relatively stable.

According to view of Hofstede (2001) that culture changes very slowly, culture has been treated as a relatively stable characteristic, reflecting “a shared knowledge structure that attenuates variability in values, behavioral norms, and patterns of behaviors” (Erez and Earley, 1993). The assumption of cultural stability is valid as long as there are no environmental changes that precipitate adaption and cultural change. These existing models of assuming of culture and work behavior as cultural stability is to fit high adaptation of managerial practices to a given culture and to have more control over expected behavioral outcomes for high effectiveness (ibid). The assumption of national cultures is closely related with the ideas of cultural stability; it is in the view that one nation’s culture is easily recognized when it is compared with other nations’ cultures due to existing of some distinct and dominant values, beliefs and ideas in each and every nation. So, for Hofstede, national culture is an important determining factor for regulation of various business transactions taking place in international realm. So, understanding the roles and influences of culture is the crux to international business studies.

Global organizations and networks, however, are being formed by having local-level organizations like nations (groups and individuals) join the global arena. This precisely means that there is a continuous reciprocal process of shaping and reshaping organizations at both levels. For example, multinational companies (MNCs) that operate in the global market develop common rules and cultural values that enable them to produce a synergy between the various regions, and different parts of the multinational company. These global rules and values filter down to the local organizations that constitute the global company, and, over time, they shape the local organizations.



Reciprocally, having local organizations join a global company may introduce changes into the global company because of its need to function effectively across different cultural borders.

A study by Erez-Rein et al. (2004) demonstrated how a multinational company that acquired an Israeli company that develops and produces medical instruments changed the organizational culture of the acquired company. The study identified a cultural gap between the two companies, with the Israeli company being higher on the cultural dimension of innovation and lower on the cultural dimension of attention to detail and conformity to rules and standards as compared with the acquiring company. The latter insisted on sending the Israeli managers to intensive courses in Six-Sigma, which is an advanced method of quality improvement, and a managerial philosophy that encompasses all organizational functions. Upon returning to their company, these managers introduced quality improvement work methods and procedures to the local company, and caused behavioural changes, followed by the internalization of quality-oriented values. Thus, a top-down process of training and education led to changes in work behaviour and work values. Sharing common behaviours and values by all employees of the local company then shaped the organizational culture through bottom-up processes. The case of cultural change via international acquisitions demonstrated the two building blocks of our dynamic model of culture: the multi-level structure explains how a lower-level culture is being shaped by top-down effects, and that the cultural layer that changes first is the most external layer of behaviour. In the long run, bottom-up processes of shared behaviours and norms shape the local organizational culture. So, Erez and Gati (2004) proposed that the general model of multi-level analysis (Klein and Kozlowski, 2000) could be adopted for understanding the dynamics of culture and cultural change.

In this new millennium, the globalizing process has brought tremendous change in the interaction pattern of many ventures or business enterprises that transformed people's culture across the globe and at the same time this global force also has also shown the opportunity to introduce the importance of national culture into mainstream international business studies. The flow of capital expansion to the construction of norms or structures in international business or establishment of oversea business enterprises need to weigh

the appeal of national characteristics. The process of globalism becomes an effective tool to ensure long time expectancy for a particular firm for its product since the firm has regulated its behaviour in consonance with those host communities' culture. In fact, the highly competitive nature of international market insists business proprietors or executives to control their share before their counterpart firms' commitment to a particular region. So, all business executives are very much concerned with changes brought by global business opportunities. In the words of John H. Dunning, he once asserts that culture is central to international business research and that "firms which are best able to identify and reconcile (cultural) differences, or even exploit them to their gain, are likely to acquire a noticeable competitive advantage in the market place" (Dunning, 1997: 196).

Meanwhile, this new trajectory has shown another trend with highly promising areas in this increasingly boundary less business world. World is shrinking due to technological advancement and communication development. So, given this new trend, emphasis on culture has profound impact on international political economy. The process of cultural shift or convergence has forged into a new identity which is normally referred to a global or universal community. Free trade policies and principles are now considered as the sources that every stakeholder is enable to create their own resources in international market. In this context, it is important to demonstrate the role or facets of culture in judging whether a product or venture can survive in a long run under highly competitive market. It is precisely understood that the reaction of major global phenomenon or international practices are now determined by the definition of particular values, beliefs, attitudes and norms of the particular cultural groups. Global phenomenon is unequally and unevenly distributed and is given much attention to Western centric processes and values. To assume that world is totally globalized is still a going on debate. The most contentious issues mainly deal with globalization is that the process of globalization is partly globalized and the commitment to universal culture has long way to make a complete shape. However, it is imprecise to ignore the importance of global factors and influences that impacted on cultural related study. Both national and global cultural based studies are two fundamental levels of analysis for the study of international business or to understand the behaviours of various business organizations. Moreover, national and

global culture are consistently interacting each other and under some circumstances, a national culture can become a global culture.

### **3.3 Cross-Culture and Organization: Issues of Cultural Convergence and Divergence**

This chapter explores considerable theoretical significance of culture as productive avenues for international business research. It mainly deals with the nature of cultural convergence and divergence of some groups of communities under the force of globalization has a bearing on standard business practices over time. More importantly, it is preferable to see how philosophy of management is actually being emerged and evolved in Western business organizations. Gradually, since management practices cannot work according to mechanical apparatus and assumptions, there is an issue in management study to incorporate the importance of values and beliefs hold by groups of people. The inclusion of human values in management practices brings change in terms of methods and behaviours of organizations and this makes to carry out the effective analytical study for evaluation of working conditions in cross-culture environment.

Further, the debate between individualism versus collectivism cultures has revealed where the areas of contestation as well as of conciliation are likely to occur in business organization. On what situation, an organization is supposed to implement its activities are deeply rooted to the nature how a cultural group actually behaves. Meanwhile, the most challenging task here is to identify a unit of groups as to be considered as a valid cultural groups since studying the estimation of culture effects can vary based on the definition of cultural group. Since there are possibilities that can define a cultural group on basis of various affiliations - religion, race, ethnics, language and region - culture is vaguely understood or defined in most research programs.

A firm needs to formulate certain management principles in order to reach pre-determined objectives laid by devising a stable organization structure. Management practices or policies formulation is considered as the vital task for every organization. In common parlance, management refers to standardization of method of work in order to

achieve certain goals of an organization. So, the key issue for organization science is to have proper knowledge on what sort of method and how things are going to be done so as to ascertain accomplishment of pre-formulated objectives. Here, this looks at the issues of convergence in the management philosophy or practices of international business organizations over time. In fact, many international business scholars have started dealing with cultural importance in organization theory and stressed to focus on explaining business phenomena across and between cultures. The term 'organizational culture' has gained a favorable position and widely prevalent in the international business research since it is required for an organization to work in consistent with the values hold by social environment of particular groups. Precisely, an organization has to earn the capabilities of working effectively in cross-culture environment; only then, the chance of prolonged survival of those firms in a highly competitive market would be better guaranteed.

In the words of John Gaus, "organization is the relation of efforts and capacities of individuals and groups engaged upon a common task in such a way as to secure the desired objectives with the least friction and the most satisfaction for whom the task is done and those engaged in the enterprises" (Gaus and et al., 1936: 66-67). It is of utmost importance to stress that organization basically is not merely a structure but it also embraces human beings who actually convert their energies to achieve a given purpose. And management is the tool to control or direct an organization. The history around philosophy of management had gained significant momentum in industrial evolution when Frederick Winslow Taylor<sup>1</sup> (1856-1915) introduced his theory of scientific principles of management. Another management scientist named Henri Fayol (1841-1925) has written a classic treatise on business management. In Fayol's work *General and Industrial Administration*, he propounded fourteen principles of organization which in the words of L. F. Urwick "has probably had more influence on the ideas of business management in Europe than any other work" (Urwick, 1943: 16). Both Taylor's scientific management and Fayol's management theories, more or less, gave undue emphasis on mechanistic terms of organizational efficiency by subsiding the importance of values and

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<sup>1</sup>F. W. Taylor is regarded as the father of Scientific Management; he first advocated the systematic adoption of the methods of science to problems of management in the interest of higher industrial efficiency.

motivation of human factors. F. J. Roethlisberger, by criticizing both mechanistic management theories, once asserted “too often we try to solve human problems with non-human tools and in terms of non-human data” (Roethlisberger, 1956: 8). In precise terms, management theories were once formulated by resting upon some certain rules, fixed laws and principles as the foundation of all business organization. So, the importance of cultures (or values related assumptions) and its influence on organization practices were absolutely not taken into account in international business research.

Hofstede explained the main reason why the existence of a relationship between management and national cultures was far from obvious around in 1950s and 1960s. It was because of the dominant belief, at least in Europe and the U.S., as management was something universal and sound management existed regardless of national environments. This is one of the major reasons behind ignorance of national cultures in study of organizational management that every organization has same structures, so principles of scientific management can be applied regardless of social environment (Hofstede, 1983: 75). These theories were almost without exception made in the U.S.; in fact, the post-World War II management literature is entirely U.S. dominated. This reflects the economic importance of the U.S. during this period, but culturally the U.S. is just one country among all others, with its particular configuration of cultural values which differs from that of most other countries (ibid: 85). However, later around in 1970s, there were many social evidence emerged as management practice started getting conflict with reality. Hofstede suggested that the question of nationality became an essential issue to management study due to emergence of several factors across globe say European Common Market. The convergence of management philosophy was necessary since the principles of management which were based on culture of rich countries like Europe or U.S. had lost relevance of their existence when they were applied to those poor countries like Third World Countries. So, understanding the influences of national cultures has been a great discover for more scientific management theory of organization. The national and regional differences now do matter for management and may become one of the most crucial problems for management in particular for the management of multinational, multicultural organizations, whether public or private.

One of the remarkable developments in the evolution of management philosophy is that organizational management has to frame its principles according to variances motivation and differences in people's work-related values among employees of different social environment. In this new globalized era, the multinational companies or corporations are extensively focusing on the values and beliefs of people in work-place. Hofstede argues that business activities like management etc. in an organization are culturally dependent because "managing and organizing do not consist of making or moving tangible objects, but of manipulating symbols (culture) which have meaning to the people who are managed or organized. The meaning which we associate with symbols is heavily affected by what we have learned in our family, in our school, in our work environment, and in our society, management and organization are penetrated with culture from the beginning to the end... business leaders need to adapt foreign management ideas to local cultural conditions" (ibid: 88). So, now there is more cultural sensitivity in management theories which are ethnocentric and derived the ideas from different sources.

Hofstede's empirical research across different people working in IBM has found an interesting result on dimensions of a nation culture. His description on national culture has four different criteria or dimensions which are occurring in nearly all possible combinations but they are largely independent of each other. Those four dimensions of national culture are: *Individualism vs. Collectivism*; *Large or Small Power distance*; *Strong or Weak Uncertainty Avoidance*; and *Masculinity vs. Femininity* (Hofstede, 1983: 78). The debate between individualist and collectivist cultures is prominently discussed since it is considered as the appropriate dimension for describing the nature or issues of convergence or divergence of culture in the rise of new global age. However, it is observed that each dimension can be linked to some very fundamental problems in human society; but problems to which different societies have found different answers.

The fundamental issue involved in individualistic society is the relation between an individual and his or her fellow individuals which is referred as loosely integrated society. Here, in this case, everybody gives priority to his or her own interest and perhaps extended to interest of his or her immediate family. On the other hand, collectivistic society refers to interest of groups or in groups that are tightly integrated among

individuals for e.g. extended families. According to the classification of Hofstede empirical research of more than 50 countries revealed all countries figure along the individualist-collectivist scale. Most importantly, Hofstede (1991) describes the mapping of all countries along the scale by analyzing or relating to country's wealth that wealthy countries are more individualist and poor countries more collectivist. Mentioning a few countries like USA, Great Britain, the Netherlands belong to Individualist countries; Colombia, Pakistan and Taiwan are Collectivist countries and in the middle scale countries like Japan, India, Austria and Spain locate (ibid: 75). His finding reveals that issue of culture convergence is taking place very slowly in collectivist countries and some countries are resistance to global influence of culture convergence due to culture is relatively stable.

Popular culture, again mostly Western European and American in origin, also contributes to a convergence of consumption patterns and leisure activities around the world. However, the convergence may be superficial, and have only a small influence on fundamental issues such as beliefs, norms, and ideas about how individuals, groups, institutions, and other important social agencies ought to function. In fact, Huntington noted that "the essence of Western civilization is the Magna Carta, not the Magna Mac. The fact that non-Westerners may bite into the latter has no implications for their accepting the former" (Huntington, 1996: 58). Non-Westerners are very conscious about accepting or acting as the disseminators of cultural influence that typically Western Europeans and Americans encourage to promote or aggregate. A major argument against cultural convergence is that traditionalism and modernity may be unrelated (Smith and Bond, 1998). Strong traditional values, such as group solidarity, interpersonal harmony, paternalism, and familism can co-exist with modern values of individual achievement and competition. A case in point is the findings that Chinese in Singapore and China indeed endorsed both traditional and modern values (Chang et al., 2003). The whole perception of convergence from traditionalism to modernity is generally regarded as problematic. Here, it shows the concert argument that the process of Westernization and modernization are totally different that some developing countries even convert to global culture in the hope to achieve modernity but not to Westernize. It is also conceivable that "talking about Westernization of cultural values around the world resembles to talking

about Easternization of values in response to forces of modernity and consumption values imposed by globalization” (Marsella and Choi, 1993). Although the argument that the world is becoming one culture seems untenable, there are some areas that do show signs of convergence.

Various implications of convergence in some domains of IB activity are easily noticeable, especially in consumer values and lifestyles; at the same time, significant divergence of cultures also persists. Culture itself influences the level of resistance or acceptance of change. In fact, Hofstede (2001) asserts that mental programmes of people around the world do not change rapidly, but remain rather consistent over time. His findings indicate that cultural shifts are relative as opposed to absolute. Although clusters of some countries in given geographical locales (e.g., Argentina, Brazil, Chile) might indicate significant culture shifts towards embracing Anglo values, the changes do not diminish the absolute differences between such countries and those of the Anglo countries (i.e., US, Canada, UK). Huntington, in his *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996), presents the view that there is indeed a resurgence of non-Western cultures around the world, which could result in the redistribution of national power in the conduct of international affairs. The attempt by the Davos group to bring about uniform practices in various aspects of IB and work culture, thereby sustaining the forces of globalization, is certainly worthwhile. However, it is true to suggest that there is no guarantee that such convergence will come about easily, or without long periods of resistance. “Although some countries might exhibit strong tendencies toward cultural convergence, as is found in Western countries, there are countries that will reject globalization, not only because of its adverse economic impact” (Greider, 1997) but also because globalization tends to introduce distortions (in their view) in profound cultural complexes that characterize their national character. This highlights once again the complex dynamics that underlie cultural convergence and divergence in a partially globalized world. Also, in discussing issues of convergence and divergence, it is necessary to recognize that the shift in values is not always from Western society to others, but can result in the change of Western cultural values as well.



### 3.4 North-South Debate on Economic Development: Regional Cooperation

In political theory, the concept of (economic) development was evolved after the end of World War II as the guidance of economic policies for newly independent countries. In short, the concept of economic development was especially addressed to the 'third world' countries which comprised of those countries of Asia, Africa and Latin-American. After the end of the Cold War, the term 'third world' is out of vogue in the contemporary writing of world history and finally it changes to terms 'developing nations' or 'developing countries'.

Generally, a development can be identified as a process of transforming a system, policy and institution into more organized or efficient structured so as to attain certain goals or objectives in terms of satisfying human wants and aspirations. Under the concept of development, it is mainly concerned with the phase of transition to advanced society. The concepts of development and underdevelopment are succinctly explained in the words of James H. Mittelman, "development as the increasing capacity to make rational use of natural and human resources for social ends, whereas underdevelopment denotes the blockage which forestalls a rational transformation of the social structure" (Mittleman, 1988). More precisely in economic terms, 'development' is described by Paul Baran; the author of *The Political Economy of Growth* (1957) as "a far-reaching transformation of society's economic, social and political structure, of the dominant organization of production, distribution and consumption". Baran pointed out that it has never been a smooth or harmonious process unfolding placidly over time and space. In brief, economic development can be seen as the ability of a country to produce economic wealth, which would in turn transform society from a subsistence or agricultural based economy to the one where most of the society's wealth is derived from the production of manufactured goods and services.

The concept of economic development is closely related with the term 'modernization' rather than 'Westernization'. The central theme underlies the concept of economic development is that the developing societies should try to acquire the characteristics of Western societies which are mostly projected as a model of modern societies in order to accomplish the development processes. In this context, it tends to suggest that

modernization of developing countries is equated to Westernization which refers to call for structures of liberal democracy in terms of both economical and political spheres. Precisely, it means to open up market economies and encourage competitive market structures since economic growth is a necessary condition of development. Walt Whitman Rostow once suggested five stages of economic growth which every nation would have to pass through to reach the high level of stability: (i) traditional stage, based on lack of technology and intensive labour in agriculture; (ii) transitional stage, involving preconditions for take-off based on technological advances; (iii) take-off stage or self-sustaining economic growth when structural constraints on industrialization have been removed and an entrepreneurial class has emerged; (iv) the drive to maturity when industrialization has started and the levels of technological development and productivity have risen; and finally (v) high level of mass consumption when society has risen above the level of the fulfillment of basic needs and has turned to widespread use of consumers' durable. Rostow's argument is one of the important concepts in the theory of modernization in social science. Rostow laid emphasis on the efficacy of modern concepts of free trade which classical liberal theorist like Adam Smith once hold. Rostow's model is criticized due to strictly based on American and European history of mass consumptions as integral to the economic development process of all industrialized societies. His model is pointed out as biased towards a Western model of modernization and modernization factors of non-Western countries are never taken into account in the model (Rostow, 1960: 4-16).

This line of argument holds that the concept 'modernization' which rests on the assumption that modern society must accept to the model of the Western society. In other words, this tends to refer that modern civilization is Western civilization. However, the assumptions of term 'modernization' equates to 'Westernization' is severely criticized on the ground that the concept 'modernity' or 'modernization' has different meanings to non-Western perspective and non-Western societies too have had the experiences of modernity which is different from Western modernity. Moreover, it is argued that the West or every society had once a traditional long before it was modern. Though it is not clearly defined, it is generally assumed that the ideas of attitudes, values, knowledge, and culture of people in a modern society differ greatly from those in a traditional society.

Huntington (1996: 68) argues that as the first civilization to modernize, the West leads in the acquisition of the culture of modernity. Reinhard Bendix suggests that “modernization involves industrialization, urbanization, increasing levels of literacy, education, wealth, and social mobilization, and more complex and diversified occupational structures. It is a product of the tremendous expansion of scientific and engineering knowledge beginning in the eighteenth century that made it possible for humans to control and shape their environment in totally unprecedented ways. Modernization is a revolutionary process comparable only to the shift from primitive to civilized societies, that is, the emergence of civilization in the singular, which began in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile, and the Indus about 5000 BC” (Bendix, 1967: 292-293). The form of civilized or modern societies was existed early in the regions which are now considered as developing countries. The model of modernization, in fact, was already there in non-Western societies and their form of modernization represents in the early age civilizations. This tends to suggest that most of non-Western societies have become modern without becoming western. Those dissent voices arise out from developing countries especially China and Islamic societies are showing anti-Western but not anti-modern reaction.

In regarding the debate of conflict between Islam and modernity, Daniel Pipes argues that in most matters other than economic Islam and modernization do not clash. Pious Muslims can cultivate the sciences, work efficiently in factories, or utilize advanced weapons. Modernization requires no one political ideology or set of institutions: elections, national boundaries, civic associations, and the other hallmarks of Western life are not necessary to economic growth. “As a creed, Islam satisfies management consultants as well as peasants. The Shari’a has nothing to say about the changes that accompany modernization, such as the shift from agriculture to industry, from countryside to city, or from social stability to social flux; nor does it impinge on such matters as mass education, rapid communications, new forms of transportation, or health care” (Pipes, 1983: 107; 191). Modernization, in essence, does not necessarily mean Westernization and those proponents of anti-Western and the revitalization of indigenous cultures can use modern techniques. In short, non-Western societies can modernize and have modernized without abandoning their own indigenous cultures and following

Western values, institutions, and practices. In the words of Braudel, it is almost “be childish” to think that modernization or the “triumph of civilization in the singular” would lead to the end of the plurality of historic cultures embodied for centuries in the world’s great civilizations (Braudel, 1980: 212-213). Modernization, instead, is different from westernization and non-Western societies mostly project themselves to become modern rather than Western.

While economic development does not appear to be forthcoming for many developing countries for a variety of reasons: difference in values judgement, issues confrontations and belief systems; the newly industrialized countries, however, are the success stories of development in the post war era. While highlighting the debate of south and north disparities of international trade, The South Commission (1990:1) describes “what the countries of the South have in common transcends their differences; it gives them a shared identity and a reason to work together for common objectives. ... The Primary bond that links the countries and peoples of the South is their desire to escape from poverty and underdevelopment. For the developing countries, economic development has been crucial not just as an end in itself, but also as a means for ensuring sustained political development, independence and a cultural identity”. The development issue is a global problem and not confined only to developing nations; parts of developed industrialized nations remain underdeveloped. However, the main concern here is the growing gap between rich and poor nations (generally regarded Less developed countries (LDCs)/ developing countries) raises questions about equity and fairness related to the distribution of the world’s resources (Mehmet, 1995). In the 1950s and 1960s, LDCs had a great deal in common, especially their colonial history and potential for growth. In fact, by 1990s a few leading East and Southeast Asian economies like Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Malaysia and Hong Kong have begun to achieve some economic success and were some of the fastest growing economies in the world. Although their success can be part of adopting market-oriented prescriptions for economic development, most of LDCs have less influence over those international institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) which were largely controlled by the developed countries. The participation of the LDCs in the post war international economy with the developed countries remained a debatable option.

The 1955 Afro-Asian Bandung Conference in Indonesia is widely regarded as the first major step to forge the identity of developing countries which is the genesis of what came to be viewed as a South perspective. Subsequently, the formation of Non-Aligned Movement in 1961 served for common interest of nations of the South and led to voice against colonialism (in essence neo-colonialism). The massive transformation and fostering solidarity among the nations of the South were come into being in 1964, the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) with groups of 77 LDCs that came to be known as the Group of 77 (G-77). The G-77 sought to make UNCTAD a mechanism for dialogue and negotiation between the South and the North or developed countries on trade, finance and other development issues and proposed a new international trade organization to replace General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Due to the developed countries resistance to UNCTAD initiatives in the areas of trade and other economic activities, UNCTAD was not a successful story for developing countries. Through political economic leverage of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)<sup>2</sup>, in the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly in 1974, a New International Economic Order (NIEO) was established. His program for action was designed largely to facilitate the pace of development among developing countries and to change unequal economic balance between the South and the North. However, the NIEO was not an effective program due to OPEC started losing their interest in the program and pursued of their individual political and economic interest rather than use their collective strength to promote the implementation of the NIEO initiatives.

One of the highly contesting figures in the North-South debate was the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which were prescribed by leading international monetary institutions towards developing countries' development programs. Foremost among the SAP requirement were to encourage privatization in place and involvement in operating industries, creating incentives to attract foreign investors, easing regulations on the private sector and currency devaluation to make local products competitive in the international market. However, the adjustment program was not in favour of development

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<sup>2</sup>OPEC was formed in 1960 and its membership includes Iran, Iraq, Algeria, Nigeria, Gabon, Libya, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Ecuador and Venezuela.

policies of the South due to pertain of technological difficulties and political situations. So, basically the South's efforts made to greater economic independence from the North.

This relates to emergence of several regional economic co-operations across the globe and the end of the label 'South'. The emergence of regional organization reflects the reality that global political economy is increasingly characterized in region based say African, Asian and Latin-American states. The instrumental conditions of international institutions about economic development for developing countries are hardly reconciled. By the 1980, there has been a significant change in the economic development patterns for a numbers of countries, especially in Asia and Latin America. Over the past three decades, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore are widely recognized as the economic 'tigers' in East Asia/Pacific. Some East Asian new comers like Malaysia and Thailand enter into the club of increasingly economic groups. The anticipated success of major Latin American countries like Argentina, Brazil and Mexico are becoming potentially economic powers. In the debate relating to the economic and political development of developing countries, Rajni Kothari, an eminent Indian scholar has observed that the concept of state-building and nation-building represents the political aspect of a country's development whereas modernization is concerned with its economic, technological and administrative aspects. By arguing what Western political scientists suggestion of developing countries to first attend the problem of modernization and political development would take care of itself, Kothari argues that this view is not corroborated by the European history. Kothari further argues that European countries achieve national consolidation before embarking on their modernization (Kothari, 1976). Arguing against the philosophy of liberal democratic principles of economic development, Kothari means to suggest by giving emphasizes on Asian countries that are doing well are those which, from the Western viewpoint, are not quite fully democratic.

The predominant patterns of political and economic development differ from one society to other. It is argued that countries with cultural affinities cooperate economically and politically. "Historically correlating with this economic division is the cultural division between West and East, where the emphasis is less on differences in economic well-being and more on differences in underlying philosophy, values, and way of life" (Northrop,

1946). The economic development of East Asian and Southeast Asian in last three decades is regarded as a 'cultural renaissance is sweeping across Asia' in the words of Ambassador Tommy Koh and further claims that it involves a 'growing self-confidence' which means Asians "no longer regard everything Western or American as necessarily the best" (Koh, 1993: 1). For East Asian economic success, it is generally argued that it is the result of the East Asian culture stress on collectivity rather than the individual-oriented policies. In broad analysis to include the Asian values as doctrine for economic development, it is necessary for Japan and China, as the leaders in Asian development, to move away from its historic "policy of de-Asianization and pro-Westernization" and to pursue "a path of re-Asianization" or, more broadly, to promote "the Asianization of Asia", a path endorsed by Singaporean officials (Kobayashi, 1992: 20).

However, the cultural bifurcation of the world division between West and non-West is still a debatable issue. Japanese, Chinese, Hindu, Muslim, and African civilizations share little in terms of religion, social structure, institutions, and prevailing values. "The unity of the non-West and the East-West dichotomy are myths created by the West. These myths suffer the defects of the Orientalism which Edward Said appropriately criticized for promoting "the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" and for assuming the inherent superiority of the former to the latter" (Said, 1978: 43-44). It has been unfortunate practice of division between South and North in terms of economical relationship and between East and West in cultural terms.

A new wave of globalization has brought cultural dimension in forefront that culture's importance in the governance of international trade has been a crucial matter. The division of the Western and non-Western values of economic development shows the persistent engagement to the ideas of cultural belongingness. Culture is defined as a way of life for particular political communities; the economic activities of national level factors are determined or communicated within cultural communities which lead to have an impact on global economic interaction. This study focuses and heightened the roles of developing countries and newly developed countries which are the dominant figures of looking at the world political sphere. The influence of the developing countries has

played a significant role in construction of definite political structure or system. Culture study offers an essential place for the developing nations in world politics.



## **Chapter 4: Culture and Environmental Issues**

A Brief History of Environmental Issues and Regime Formation

Theoretical Understanding of Greens Discourse in International Relations

Climate Change: An Issue of Justice in the Regulation of Environment Governance

Sustainable Development: A Debate on the Role of Nation-States

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Environmental politics emerges as one of the predominant contemporary studies in the international politics since the problems associated with environmental crisis have certain impacts on the decision making processes of all nations. To respond to existing problems of environment degradation which are in fact the overall threat to human survival needs integrated responsibility and coordination across nations. In other words, the notion 'security' and its traditional sense of securing minimal threat against other powerful nation-states has now expanded into other broader dimensions - the idea of 'national security' transcends the definition exclusively referring to military threats within bounded political territorial states and it now refers also to security from environmental threats. It seems very clear that the threat of environmental problems is a threat to human survival. As the awareness of environmental issues spreads across; many actors whether state or non-state, various local and groups' organizations and social movements have started demanding regulatory mechanism or regimes to curb such threat. However, the process for establishing mechanisms, regimes and institutions to engage such alarming threats are relatively very slow in progress due to reluctance of nation-states to commit common responsibility. One of the main hindrances for committing to a global normative framework engaging the environmental problems is that the scientific explanation has little credibility when it claims that human activities technically referred to as 'anthropogenic activities' are the chief source of environmental disturbances.

'Green' politics has been slowly recognized as the distinct perspective in the field of International Relations. Generally, the green views the issue of environmental problems through the structure of global economy system. Since environmental issues are increasingly addressed as a new-area, green perspectives aim at constructing a proper theory to understand the environment politics in the contemporary world affairs. To outline some of the important greens' normative project, one slogan that best summarizes the project is 'think globally, act locally' (Rene Dubos, 1981). This slogan gives the core idea of greens perspective in understanding world politics. By analyzing the maxim, it suggests that globally-uniform principle of environment protection is hardly convincing and the functions of local institutions are to be promoted to maintain the social and environmental values of local communities. Greens focus on decentralization of power and local level institutions are required to be empowered. Meanwhile, since environmental problems transcend national boundaries, the local commitments or actions are prompted to response the global level environment crisis.

This chapter basically deals with the issues of why most of environmental regimes fail to achieve a global normative principle to carry out functions and responsibilities of nation-states as a response to environmental problems. It is observed that there is fundamental difference of interests (basically economic interest) among nation-states in the area to formulate policies on environmental issues. The main contesting part in the negotiation process of environmental issues is that commitment of global principle comes under the jurisdiction of the nation-state since state sovereignty involves control over natural resources and local economic activity. Despite the fact that several countries are voluntarily committing to begin a proper dialogue for environment protection, the negotiation process has little progress in terms to bring a reliable conclusion among nations. Here, this study argues that the most significant reason for the cause is because the debate of environmental politics has now turned into a debate of 'justice'. The idea of global justice has made the debate more complex. It leads to an appreciation of the division of the North-South interest in the issue of environmental regimes formation. The principle of "common but differentiated responsibility" in the formation of global normative framework is to be seen as matter of delivering justice between the developed and developing countries.

Climate change is one of the main issues of environmental problem. It is regarded as the most challenging problem in environmental politics. This is the area where an urgent response is required from all nations but often failed to address the problem through proper political dialogue. In the other words, the collective action for responding the climate change problem is politically challenging. Finally, this chapter focuses on the theoretical conception and understanding of ‘sustainable development’ and explains how the term is locally popularized in the globalized world.

#### **4.1 A Brief History of Environmental Issues and Regime Formation**

International debate on global warming has intensified the issues of environmental problems and displayed it as an increasingly important discourse in the study of international politics. Mentioning a few instances: the rise in sea levels and the melting of ice; irregular precipitation; increasing extinction of various species, fauna and flora are the result of distorted ecological balance of human natural environment. This whole process of de-stabilizing ecological balance finally leads to issue of global warming which now poses a serious threat to human existence and it presently draws urgent attention from different institutions and communities to react to such alarming danger.

Although it can be seen recently that the environment issues are being taken into account by active participation from several international institutions and communities; the history of international institutions like United Nations (UN) concerns preserve and maintain ecological balance, however, can be traced back 1950s. The first step of such initiative to promote environment preservation was based on universal human rights and was incorporated the principles established in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). One year later in 1949 in New York, Lake Success (17<sup>th</sup> August- 6<sup>th</sup> September); the first UN body- the ‘UN Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources’ was established to deal with the global resources depletion. The focus, however, was mainly on how to manage them for economic and social development, and not from a conservation perspective. It was not until 1970s that environmental issues received serious attention by any major UN organs. The first to

include these issues in its agenda as a specific item was decided and endorsed by the General Assembly - to hold the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

The most remarkable attention on the environmental issue from the perspective of international institutions was the UN Scientific Conference which was held in Stockholm, Sweden from 5<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> June 1972, also known as the First Earth Summit, adopted a declaration that set out principles for the preservation and enhancement of the human environment, and an action plan containing recommendations for international environmental action. In a section on the identification and control of pollutants of broad international significance, the Declaration raised the issue of climate change for the first time, warning Governments to be mindful of activities that could lead to climate change and evaluate the likelihood and magnitude of climatic effects. It was the UN's first major conference on international environmental issues, and marked a turning point in the development of international environmental politics (Baylis & Smith, 2005: 454-455).

The UN Scientific Conference also proposed the establishment of stations to monitor long-term trends in the atmospheric constituents and properties, which might cause meteorological properties, including climatic changes. Those programmes were to be coordinated by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) to help the world community to better understand the atmosphere and the causes of climatic changes, whether natural or as a result of human activities. The Conference also called for the convening of a second meeting on the environment and established the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), with its secretariat in Nairobi, Kenya, the Environment Fund and the Environment Coordination Board. But climate change did not become a central preoccupation of those bodies. Most essentially, the conference were limitedly focusing on water resources, marine mammals, renewable energy resources, desertification, forests; environmental legal framework and the issue of environment and development took centre stage.

As part of efforts to implement the 1972 decisions, over the next 20 years, concern for the atmosphere and global climate slowly gained international attention and action. In 1979, the UNEP Governing Council asked its Executive Director, under the Earth Watch

programme, to monitor and evaluate the long-range transport of air pollutants, and the first international instrument on climate - the Convention on Long-Range Trans-boundary Air Pollution - was then adopted. UNEP took it to another level in 1980, when its Governing Council expressed concern at the damage to the ozone layer and recommended measures to limit the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons F-11 and F-12. This led to the negotiation and adoption in 1985 of the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer and the conclusion of a Protocol to the 1979 Trans-boundary Air Pollution Convention, which aimed at reducing sulphur emissions by 30 percent. In the meantime, palpable evidence of climate change due to air pollution was beginning to emerge in the phenomena of acid rain in Europe and North America, which resulted in various programmes by UNEP and WMO for keeping it in check. In 1987 the UN General Assembly gave real impetus to environmental issues, when it adopted the “Environmental Perspective to the Year 2000 and Beyond” - a framework to guide national action and international cooperation on policies and programmes aimed at achieving environmentally sound development. The Perspective underlined the relationship between environment and development and for the first time introduced the notion of sustainable development. It was disappointing, however, that such a long-term policy document, while recognizing the need for clean air technologies and to control air pollution, did not make climate change a central issue, but subsumed it under its policy directive related to energy which subsided the issues of climate change related problems and global warming.

In later 1988, global warming and the depletion of the ozone layer became increasingly prominent in the international public debate and political agenda. UNEP organized an internal seminar in January to identify environmental sectors that might be sensitive to climate change. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 1988 a scientific forum for the examination of greenhouse warming and global climate change was established and met for the first time in November. The General Assembly identified climate change as a specific and urgent issue. In its resolution on the protection of global climate for present and future generations of mankind, it asked WMO and UNEP to initiate a comprehensive review and make recommendations on climate change, including possible response strategies to delay, limit or mitigate the impact of climate

change. As a result, 1989 was a watershed year for climate change, as the first significant global efforts were taken. The Assembly, in resolution 44/207, endorsed the UNEP Governing Council's request to begin preparations with WMO for negotiations on a framework convention on climate change; regional action was also being taken. In addition, the Maldives transmitted the text of the Male Declaration on Global Warming and Sea Level Rise to the UN Secretary-General and the Helsinki Declaration on the Protection of the Ozone Layer was adopted on 2 May. Also in 1989, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer had entered into force effectively.

Efforts to raise awareness of the effects of climate changes were further advanced at the second World Climate Conference, held from 29 October to 7 November 1990. In its Ministerial Declaration, the Conference stated that climate change was a global problem of unique character for which a global response was required. It called for negotiations to begin on a framework convention without further delay. As the urgency for a stronger international action on the environment, including climate change, gained momentum, the General Assembly decided to convene in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The Earth Summit, as it is also known, set a new framework for seeking international agreements to protect the integrity of the global environment in its Rio Declaration and Agenda 21, which reflected a global consensus on development and environmental cooperation. Chapter 9 of Agenda 21 dealt with the protection of the atmosphere, establishing the link between science, sustainable development, energy development and consumption, transportation, industrial development, stratospheric ozone depletion and trans-boundary atmospheric pollution. The most significant event during the Conference was the opening for signature of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); by the end of 1992, 158 States had signed it. As the most important international action thus far on climate change, the Convention was to stabilize atmospheric concentrations of "greenhouse gases" at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. It entered into force in 1994, and in March 1995, the first Conference of the Parties to the Convention adopted the Berlin Mandate, launching talks on a protocol or other legal instrument containing stronger commitments for developed countries and those developing countries that were in transition process.

The cornerstone of the climate change action was, therefore, the adoption in Japan in December 1997 of the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC, the most influential climate change action so far taken. It aimed to reduce the industrialized countries' overall emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases by at least 5 per cent below the 1990 levels in the commitment period of 2008 to 2012. The Protocol, which opened for signature in March 1998, came into force on 16 February 2005, seven years after it was negotiated by over 160 nations. Consistently, the United Nations has shown its leadership role in bringing issues requiring global action to international attention. However, its efforts throughout the years to make the issue of climate change a central focus of the international agenda continues, even as opposing sides of the debate try to make their case. As evidence of the risks of ignoring climate change become more striking, the United Nations will persevere in that effort until the issue is embraced by all.

In 2002, World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was held at Johannesburg, South Africa. It was the summit to focus and direct actions as adopted in Agenda 21, an unprecedented global plan of action for sustainable development at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio. Since the idea of sustainable development has wider dimension that includes environmental issues, the debate on sustainable development claims all sectors of society have a role to play in building a future in which global resources are protected and prosperity and health are within the reach for world's entire citizen.

#### **4.2 Theoretical Understanding of Greens Discourse in International Relations**

Environmental issues are increasingly addressed as an emerging area of study within international politics. The growing literature on green politics have further extended the scope of study and put an essential dimension in the field of International Relations. Now, greens emerge as a distinct perspective and play a significant role in discussions concerning to future of the IR study. One of the best reasons on why greens politics gains an important discourse in the study of International Relations is that it draws a huge attention from scholarly debate on human environment or life is under serious treat and out of balance. It is in the view that different communities from small to large groups

whether they are nation-states or non-states actors have now paid wide attention to environmental degradation and problems. This is due to the problem of environment change would affect the entire planet and human being. So, greens are basically upholding to recognize the importance of social environment as the key to human survival and their voices have offered a different conceptualization of world order which is finally focusing to global structural change. This leads to response several problems associated with the environment issues, many conferences or meetings have been held comprising of international renowned scientists, representations of high level government officials across countries and members of non-states actors including international community, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and different civil societies.

It has been observed that the main cause of the environmental problems is due to the over-use or exploitation of natural resources or use in unsustainable manner. In other words, natural resources are depleted gradually that the total demand of human needs is more than the capacity of supply of existing total resources. Most of the greens scholars link the environmental problems with the economic activities of several groups of people and communities. They emphasize more on to criticize the actions of major economic institutions and organizations like MNCs and TNCs for not giving importance to social environment. So, the idea of sustainable development and environment protection has been a central concern for regulations the behaviour and activities of several economic institutions. Greens have been involved in the political struggles associated with the reform of the Bretton Woods financial institutions as well as broader development debates (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). Moreover, greens political ideas have had influenced that they have played a leading role in organizing 'The Other Economic Summit' which has recently shadowed the annual G-7 summit and criticized its economic proposals<sup>3</sup>. This summit gives efforts to introduce green ideas into debates and discussions across several platforms of international summits and meetings.

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<sup>3</sup>'The Other Economic Summit' was first organised in 1984 and it has taken place alongside the G-7 summit meeting almost every year since this time. The idea originated within the British Ecology Party (now called the Green Party) and it receives central support from the green London-based New Economies Foundation. (See, Sally Willington (1994), "Ten Years On Where the TOES Idea Began", *New Economics*, Vol. 31, pp. 7.



Despite greens' perspectives are growing importance; its normative project in the field of IR is still poorly understood. The basic normative approach of greens can be best understood from the slogan 'think globally, act locally' as coined by Rene Dubos in his work *Celebrations of Life* (1981). This critically argues that economic globalization is undermining the ability of communities and countries to pursue their own chosen economic path without referencing to the competitive pressures of global marketplace. In precise words, "globalization pressures were eroding the creativity, diversity and autonomy of local economic and political life" (Dubos, 1981: 86). The main argument is that large-scale industrial production has destroyed the local economy and polluted the biosphere in an unsustainable manner. The process of economic globalization associates with large industrialization and the firms of MNCs and TNCs pursue profit or exploit resources without much concern for social environment. Eric Helleiner (1996: 60-61) explains that 'act locally' is meant to convey the idea that people should focus their energies primarily on improving the quality of life and solving problems within the local communities where they live. This is to suggest that decentralization is very essential in order to maintain the social and environmental values of local communities.

The Austrian-born economist, Leopold Kohr is regarded as the most prominent green thinker as he is the one who analyses and focuses the environmental problems in the context of economic globalization. From Kohr's perspective, the main reason for causing environmental problems is industrialization and he is critical of large scale nature of social life during industrial age. It is his 1957 book *The Breakdown of Nations*, which is usually cited by other green thinkers as the first major critique of the large-scale nature of industrial life from a green standpoint.

The large concentration of power of nation-states was the result of industrial age that controlled both political and economic realms. This undermined the ability of human to live full and balanced lives within the communities to ensure democratic existence. In such a large political community, Kohr argued that people were unable to check the sustainable governing apparatus of the state. Kohr further argued that since state officials were tempted to use "the concentrated power of the nation-states externally against each other states, thereby unleashing wars more brutal, prolonged and far-reaching in their

effects than any of the pre-industrial era” (Kohr, 1957). In addition, from Kohr’s perspective only in smaller settings could embed economic choices within social life in a more democratic and organic way. Kohr also challenged the assumption that large economies increased people’s standard of living, arguing that the more ‘leisurely way of life’ in small-scale economies led to a higher quality of life (Kohr, 1957: 48). The extended nature of economic life in the industrial age is viewed as encouraging environmentally damaging long-distance trade and transportation (Daly & Cobb, 1989). In another words, Braudel (1985) once called the vast segments of economic activities which had little link to the market economy as of local ‘material life’. Basically, the greens emphasize to initiate regulation of market economy and economic activities in more self-reliant, locally democratic and environmentally-friendly directions. This refers to the embedding of economics and politics within small or local community life through the everyday activities of individuals and local social groups.

Meanwhile, another important theme of green’s perspective is the maxim called ‘think globally’ in addition to ideas relating to reinforce the urgency of the need to act locally. Greens seek to establish a wider form of politics by cultivating a sense of ‘citizenship’ and political community beyond the local and nation-state level. This also reflects a challenge to the nationalist sentiments of the industrial age as well as the principle of state sovereignty (Lipietz, 1995: 65-66). Contemporary greens seek to promote a global order that is no longer centered around the concept of state sovereignty. However, this does not mean to design or encourage a ‘globally-uniform strategies of reform’; but it is mainly designed to encourage people to develop a humble awareness of the complex diversity of the world (Dubos, 1981: 83-84). Greens argue that pursuing globally-unified solutions to environmental problems cannot be effectively implemented, so there is always space reserved for local initiatives to preserve the global biosphere.

In this context, the phrase ‘think globally’ is meant to enhance the vitality and democratic character of local communities. For instance, the knowledge acquired from ‘thinking globally’ would thus act - like the Europe-wide Christian ecumene of the mediaeval era - as a kind of catalyst to change lifestyles and behavior at the local level (Mann, 1986: 379-380). Greens see that decentralization is not an adequate political programme in the face

of existing global-scale environment problems. It is in the view to create more sustainable world over the longer term. As the powerful international corporations can easily destroy the local initiatives; here greens hold that localism needs to be combined in some way with a form of politics that is also more global in nature in this new globalized economy. This might take the form of activities that were “designed to ameliorate global environmental problems or counter global forces that were undermining localism. Equally important, it might involve the promotion of a greater sensibility to green values at the global level” (Wapner, 1995). Here, greens view to promote and maintain some kind of economy above local units since local economies are not envisaged as totally self-sufficient economic units. In parts, greens acknowledge the practical need for some economic activities to be regional and global in nature (Kohr, 1957: 167-68). Likewise, greens also suggest that political institutions may be needed above the local level to deal with issues such as common security, human rights and the world economy<sup>4</sup>. However, some scholars still maintain the significant role performed by nation-states today. Herman Daly and John Cobb, for example, argue that the “nation-state today is the only political institution capable of regulating and challenging the power of global markets and corporations in a serious way, they support capital controls and trade protectionist measures that would strengthen its economic role and self-reliant in the short term, even though in the long term they advocate that power be delegated to more local and supranational political bodies” (Daly & Cobb, 1989).

The main standpoint of greens’ perspective is briefly summarized by what James Robertson calls “a ‘pluralistic, decentralizing multi-level’ world economy in which relatively autonomous local economies would exist within national economic spaces, which in turn would function fairly independently within broader regional and global economic structures” (Robertson:1990: 98). In briefly, greens challenge the transformation of liberal global economy that the global economy is not seen to be made up of isolated individuals pursuing their economic self-interest. Rather, individuals in their economic life are said to be motivated by social values and relationships which have been formed in a community context. In the similar ideas, Karl Polanyi argued that the

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<sup>4</sup>See, for example, The European Green Party, *European Election Manifesto* (The Green Party, 1994), pp. 3.

economy is viewed as 'embedded' in the broader social networks and relationships of the community (Polanyi, 1944). From the greens' perspective, the economy is to be regulated in a manner that substantiates the balance of life or maintenance of a sustainable world.

As mentioned earlier, environmental problems are by nature global and trans-boundary. Such global forces and process transforming systems and structures, in fact, challenge the capacity of nation-states to make and implement effective policy. Since environmental issues and environmental problem solving have been manifested notably in discussions of globalization, where they are often referred as factors that declining functions of nation-states. This leads to an assault on sovereignty, and the multiplication of transnational governmental, non-governmental and commercial actors' emergence. So, it is often suggested that globalization clearly challenge old theoretical assumptions about an international system of self-interested, self-motivated, and largely self-contained states. Several International Relations scholars identify several important changes under the rubric of globalization: "increasing international trade and investment; declining numbers of wars between states (and increasing incidents of stateless terrorism, intra-state and inter-communal violence); technological driven explosions in transportation and communication; growing international political networks; standardization of beliefs about political and economic systems (i.e., a global preference for democracy and free markets); increased importance for international organizations such as the United Nations and World Bank, and treaty organization such as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the World Trade Organization; regional integration, especially the European Union; the awesome power of private transnational actors (including multi-national corporations and non-governmental organizations); and the homogenization of popular culture in what might be called the jeans, t-shirt, running shoes, English-language, and hip-hop phenomenon" (Held, 2004).

It is true to suggest that globalization has brought about a massive transformation in every aspect of life counting from small realities of fashion: food habits, dressing to the formulation of universal values like democracy, free trade and international justice. However, the reality of political lines dividing the Global South and Global North in various issues especially environmental issue is significant trajectory to understand the

global issues. While the Greens' perspective broadly discusses the influence of global forces in the process of establishing environmental regimes, it emphasizes on participation and initiatives from local institutions through various agents and actors whether state or non-state. Greens play a significant role in understanding the real facets of contemporary global politics and broaden the existing scope of the study of world politics.

### **4.3 Climate Change: An Issue of Justice in the Regulation of Environment Governance**

The issue of climate change now seems firmly planted on the international agenda. Yet the political will for meaningful action is not yet apparent. The facts of the matter are now fairly clear. Scientific consensus is expressed in the most recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Working Group (WG) I report, which calls anthropogenic climate change “unequivocal” (IPCC, 2007: 2). Between the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report, the Stern Review, and now the recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Al Gore and the IPCC, it is widely agreed that severe consequences will occur if global concentrations of carbon are allowed to exceed 450-550 ppm by 2050. Keeping emissions below this level will entail 50-85 percent reductions in carbon dioxide emissions by 2050 from current levels (ibid). A standard list of policy responses was also endorsed by the IPCC WG III, many of which hearken back to 1970s efficiency framing of the energy policy debates. These responses include: “increased energy efficiency, fuel switching, more renewable, nuclear power, conservation, appliance efficiency, emission control, carbon sequestration, afforestation, and international cooperation” (Socolow, 2004). Some mitigation responses call for changes in production and others for changes in lifestyle and consumption. Adaptive responses can help the majority of the world's population, but don't receive as much policy attention in terms of immediate actions.

Climate change is the limiting case, though, for the multilateral diplomacy approach. As a matter of fact, climate change is seen as economically and politically more difficult than other environmental issues yet addressed, so the diplomatic negotiations to address on the

issue are really disappointing. The existing gap of core political reality between Global North and Global South is apparently broader than the potential victims from climate change negotiations are primarily those in the countries of the Global South. Thus, those with the most political capacity for dealing with climate change are some of the most reluctant to make meaningful commitments. Despite climate change is a widely shared issue; the projection with which environmental values are expressed still tends to be rather shallow. Some countries still lack of willing to make economic sacrifices, and most people make their decisions based on local and economic factors rather than global environmental ones.

The social construction of climate change governance occurred as diplomats identified climate change as a global problem requiring a global solution through institutions with global membership - the UN - and through procedures of global compromise - consensus (Hoffmann, 2005). Climate Change was consigned to the UN in the late 1980s to avoid exposure to other political forces which may have led to stronger outcomes. The US and other states tried to keep climate change out of the hands of NGOs, scientists and UNEP, following experiences with UNEP and at the non-state organized 1988 Toronto Conference which had surprisingly called for 20 percent cuts in greenhouse gases<sup>5</sup> (GHG) emissions (Haas & McCabe, 2001). It is in the view of Greens that a shift from an interest-based policy discourse to a norm-based discourse would help overcome domestic focus on potential free riding. Al Gore's powerful presentation won an academy award in the US, and has helped to encourage or at least define a shift in the policy discourse from self-interest to ethics. Gro Harlem Brundtland was appointed as a climate change ambassador to serve as a high profile global normative advocate by the UN Secretary General (Hass, 2008).

It is extensively observed that most of the processes to create global arrangements or institutions or regimes especially for climate change are failed due to the contestation arises over one prominent issue i.e. shared ethical standards of responsibility between the North and the South. The issue to formulate equity based norms has been widely

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<sup>5</sup>Greenhouse gases include carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), nitrous oxide (N<sub>2</sub>O) and methane (CH<sub>4</sub>) which are the primary elements causing the global warming.

acknowledged as the serious impediment in the design of institutions for global environmental governance. One major impediment is the issue of the principle of justice or equity based norms as the guiding factor in the formulation of global environmental regimes. In this context, Neo-Liberal economic structures and order is seen as an additional obstacle in the process to foster equity norms for global environmental governance. With persistent efforts, the South or developing countries are basically trying to impose certain moral conditions to be acceptable by the North or developed countries with the purpose of enhancing legitimacy of environmental regulations. With confirming the stand of developing countries, India persistently proposes at the United Nations Climate Change negotiations that “in these negotiations, the principle of equity should be the touchstone for judging proposals. Those who are responsible for environmental degradation, they should also be responsible for taking corrective measures” (Dasgupta, 1994: 133). So, the issue of justice has been a core figure to the debate for environment regimes formation and construction of equity norms in international politics. From the renowned definition of Aristotle, justice as “giving to each his own”; the existing gaps of understanding between North-South in construction of equity norms for environment issues are the problems of justice or equity. The role of norms is ‘collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors’ (Katzenstein, 1996: 5) and there is general assumption on the definition of a norm as a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity (Finnemore, 1996a: 22).

In this light of ideas, regarding the implication of justice to equity norms formation; one principle of environmental regulation becomes a source of division mainly between the North-South i.e. ‘common but differentiated responsibility’ (CDR) principles. Following the existence of division, climate change mechanisms are not properly addressed and global environmental problems are under the debate of interest among groups rather than collective solutions. The development of global environmental issues and projection of impending environmental disasters has two effects. First, they have energized attempts to create mechanisms of environmental governance at the international level, and the past two decades have witnessed a virtual explosion in the number of international environmental conferences and conventions to mitigate environmental problems. Second, the fact that each of these global environmental issues has domestic as well as foreign

origins, and that nation-states claim sovereignty and control over domestic issues, has directed the search for local solutions to individual countries (McBeath & Rosenberg, 2006: 4). So, basically the implication of globalization and nation-states debate is to further illustrate even though globalization has undue influence on behaviour of nation-states but creating of international institutions regarding some several international issues are depended upon the decisions of nation-states. For instance, so far the United States (US) has never ratified the Kyoto Protocol that signed in Japan, 2007 for implementation of proper regulation to reduce global emission and tackle the issues of global warming.

It has been observed from several meetings and summits of climate change that the principle of CDR is the core issue discussed in order to construct equity norms of climate change mitigation policies. The main underlying figure is that the states could be quite willing to admit equity principles in regime texts but not as committed in observing the differentiated responsibilities generated by such principles. In short words, there is responsibility deficit in the commitment on global norms. This principle of CDR was used originally by the UNFCCC and the related Kyoto protocol treaty. Christopher D. Stone (2004: 276) terms this principle as “veiled or encoded variants”. In two of the 24 declarative principles agreed in Stockholm summit are often referred as ‘veiled’. As Chukwumerije Okereke observes that the first is Principle 12 of the *Stockholm Declaration*, where it is stated that in formulating policies in future environmental regimes, the international community would need to devote extra resources to assist the economically disadvantaged states taking “into account the circumstances and particular requirements of developing countries and any cost which may emanate from their incorporating environmental safeguards into their development planning.” The other is Principle 23, which recognizes that national environmental standards adopted by advanced countries may be “inappropriate, of unwarranted social cost and therefore inapplicable for developing countries” (Okereke, 2008: 32). Stone advances an argument that some of its aspects of the principle could be grounded on the basis of rational bargaining and however, admits that the advent of the norm is rooted in “the force of good citizenship in international politics” (Stone, 2004: 282).



Here, the disagreements on the development of equity norms of CDR between the developed and developing countries are broadly discussed under two grounds. The first is responsibility issue. On this dimension, the historical “pressures developed countries placed on the global environment” and the subsequent need for them to take responsibility in dealing with the problems caused is emphasized. The second dimension is capability, stressing the superior technological and financial and resources commanded by the developed countries and their strong leverage to act in support of ecological protection. The developing countries tend to favor the first grounding while the developed countries incline to the second (Matsui, 2002: 151). It has been suggested, though, that by far the most significant presence of CDR in global environmental regimes so far is in the Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC which not only differentiates among different developed countries but exempts the developing countries from undertaking quantified emissions reduction targets. Further, developed countries are required to transfer technology and financial resources to the developing countries in addition to those agreed through other multilateral agreements. Moreover, it is also clearly stated that “the extent to which developing country Parties will effectively implement their commitments under the Convention will depend on the effective implementation by developed country Parties of their commitments under the Convention related to financial resources and transfer of technology (UNFCCC, Art. 4). The principle of common but differentiated responsibilities needs a high level political compromise from both the developed and developing countries in the climate change negotiations as to draw an equity norm for climate change mitigation as well as for the successful of environmental regimes.

Furthermore, climate change negotiations and construction of an equity norm of environmental issues is important to deal with the context of prevailing global economic structure and ideas i.e. the Neo-Liberal economy. This factor seriously affects the whole process of negotiations which leads to aspirations for the North-South distributive justice. In precise words, the prevailing economic structure of free market principles and its credibility is questioned in the context of bringing an equity norm. The norm, Friedheim elaborates, did not imply “merely a change in the particular or specific rules describing permissible activities or the means of managing them, but, rather, a new set of rules for

an entirely different political, economic and moral framework for managing human affairs” (Friedheim, 1993: 220). Friedheim suggests that mostly the developed countries were determined to curtail the influence of CDR as it was seen as the more than anything else as a challenge to the ‘general structure of the world economic system’ (ibid). So, the core developed countries especially the US dissuades other developed countries from ratifying the convention and aims to alter the relevant equity provisions. It is seen that the core developed countries tend to maintain those principles that dictates of free market doctrine. While the overall impact of CDR in global environmental governance has also been more or less shaped by the prevailing neoliberal economic order and constitute the foundation for North-South environmental cooperation during the Stockholm Conference, developing countries had hoped that this principle would result in significant economic empowerment if not the complete closure of the economic gap between the North and the South.

These hopes were also clearly echoed in the World Commission for Environment and Development (WCED) Brundtland Report which asserts that “inequality is the planet’s main environmental problem” and that “it is futile to attempt to deal with environmental problems without a broader perspective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and international inequality” (WCED, 1987: 3). In order to response effective responsibility and to embrace the North-South distributive justice in global climate change, a significant provision is mentioned in Article 3 (5) of the UNFCCC where Parties affirms the need to promote an “open international economic system that would lead to sustainable economic growth,” insisting that “measures taken to combat climate change, including unilateral ones, should not constitute a means of ... restriction on international trade” (UNFCCC, 1992).

#### **4.4 Sustainable Development: A Debate on the Role of Nation-States**

Most environmental disasters, despite their localized effects, result from complex mixtures of global, national and local factors, and therefore can be affected by a wide range of governmental and non-governmental actors at several levels of governance

simultaneously. Further, replying to such disasters needs eliciting of broad process as which include new government policies at the local and national levels, intensified activities by local and international non-governmental organizations, and new corporate policies and strategies. The emerging pattern of governance for sustainability is beginning to place a fresh emphasis on new roles for the nation state. There is a tendency for the nation state to be a player in the international negotiations that eventually incorporate it into a participant for more collective interests. Hence, the nation state could become the channel of international obligations, conveying international agreements into the daily lives of its citizens. However, the types and effectiveness of responses seem to vary considerably from incident to incident and country to country. Following the same context, it can be seen how nation-states have entered and played an important roles in environment policies especially sustainable development issue.

Environmental issues have entered the agendas of most nation-states and these issues such as pollution of land, air, and water have endangered ecosystems and public health, and called for a governmental response. The frequent change of precipitation, rise of global temperature (global warming), and depletion of natural resources such as forest and agricultural land elevated the feature of environmental issues. These issues are the new sets of challenges and demands for political solution of all national governments together. Meanwhile, the level of environmental policies commitment by governments are quite different from one another especially those of the economically developed countries (EDCs) and those developing countries. However, due to the sharing of common threat from environment degradations, several environmental movements proliferate and actively engage in the pursuit of policy goals towards the global solutions which are beyond the boundaries of the nation-states.

The international debate on functions of national governments towards the maintenance of sustainable environment has shown another dimension committed to the areas of human security. “Although the global nature of environmental problems was acknowledged at the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, until the 1980s, environmental problems were thought to be susceptible to national solution, because they appeared to occur primarily within the territorial confines of states and

could be addressed with existing forms of administration” (McBeath & Rosenberg, 2006: 3). Despite the concerns of sustainable development was widely acknowledged long time back, the issue of commitment from national government was delayed due to reason that environmental problems could not be perceived as urgent threat. Moreover, the ideas of committing to global environmental protection raised the question of compromise to the national interests and sovereignty. In the matters of resource and development issues, it was totally dependent upon national governments to decide and these elements were largely connected to national security considerations. Nevertheless, a series of high official negotiations and summits on environmental issues have been held comprising of international renowned scientists, political leaders, mass media and mass public includes NGOs, civil societies and political communities. These summits acknowledged and identified several environmental issues such as climate change and global warming caused by increased in greenhouse gas emissions; biological diversity loss that endangered and threatened species; deforestation; desertification due to natural erosion and drought; trans-boundary air pollution including acid rain and persistent organic pollutants (POPs) caused by industries.

According to the *Brundtland Commission Report*, 1987 (published by the intergovernmental commission set up by the UN system in the mid-1980s under the chair of Gro Harlan Brundtland to report on environmental issues), sustainable development means “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987). It further, recognizing the serious threat posed by environmental degradation to sustainable environment of human community, observed “few threats to peace and survival of the human community are greater than those posed the prospects of cumulative and irreversible degradation of the biosphere on which human life depends. True security cannot be achieved by mounting buildup of weapons (defence in a narrow sense), but only by providing basic conditions for solving non-military problems which threaten them. Our survival depends not only on military balance, but on global cooperation to ensure a sustainable environment” (ibid). The consequence of several environmental issues has generated a highly political debate in the domestic and international sphere, the issue for establishing mechanisms or institutions to curb this menace demands intense

pressure from many social actors and communities. This intention brings out the issue of sustainable development as the main concern or factor to the common strategic solution for environmental problems which can be effectively dealt with from the respective nation-states. International environment debate now calls for reliable procedures implemented by nation-states and focuses on robust mechanisms to ensure sustainable development at the domestic level politics.

In *US National Research Council* (1999), at the time of the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg in August-September 2002, it was strongly argued that “Life support for humans could be in jeopardy”. Precisely, several scholars point out that “the crux of the problem on sustainable development is a mismatch between what is demanded of the Earth and what the Earth is capable of supplying” (Cahill 2001; Goodin 1992). The present demands for resources consumptions are highly alarming since the demands exceed the available resources of Earth. So, the idea of sustainable development is a form of process that focuses on bringing a nexus between enormous demands of human and supply of resources.

One of the important instances of international efforts to address environment and development was the adoption of Agenda 21 which was implied the ambitious “action plan” adopted by government leaders at 1992 Rio Conference on Environment and Development or “Earth Summit” (United Nations, 1993). In reviewing special session on implementation of Agenda 21 called by UN General Assembly, 1997 reaffirmed Agenda 21 as “the fundamental program of action for achieving sustainable development” (Meadowcroft, 1999: 219). However, the fixing of work plan and action under the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) for the five years of Agenda 21 were remained mere idealistic propaganda due to widespread disagreement on several issues starting from financial assistance, technology transfer to fund sustainable development and finally many world leaders especially from developing countries showed their reluctance to commit binding on time-tables and plans of action. In the words of C. Thomas (1996), “the politics of sustainable development represents little more than rhetoric”.

The ideas on global agenda for sustainable development are highly contested and certain nation-states are not responding the manner global agendas projected. At this point of lacking global agents or institutions convinced, the issue is further analysed in the arena of domestic politics since culturally and socially difference has certain implications on policy decision making processes of environmental protection. This precisely means that nation-states vary enormously in their degree of cultural and social division which has had implications to environmental related programme. One of the remarkable quotes made referring to the core philosophy of sustainable development is that “it is quite broad and has quite different meanings when translated into different cultures and languages. . . Some nations such as New Zealand and the Netherlands have adopted far-reaching sustainable development plans and programs, whereas others have dealt with sustainability issues in a piecemeal and ad hoc fashion, if at all” (Vig: 2010: 13-14).

James Meadowcroft (1999) has done a project of seven industrialized countries namely Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, Netherlands, United Kingdom and United states regarding their national environment policies on sustainable development which was financed by the Research Council of Norway, Programme for Research and Documentation for a Sustainable Society (ProSus), and the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom (ESRC). The chief aim of these plans is to allow a more comprehensive, integrated, and long-term approach to managing environmental burdens and to reconciling the economic, social and environmental dimensions of development. With keeping the confidence and affirmative action from domestic roles, Agenda 21 explicitly called upon governments to elaborate ‘national strategies, plans, policies and processes’ to achieve sustainable development, arguing that national strategies “should build upon and harmonize the various sectoral economic, social and environmental policies and plans that are operating in the country’ (United Nations, 1993). Meadowcroft (1999: 222) explores the Netherlands National Environmental Policy Plan (NEPP) and Canada’s Green Plan are the outstanding contributions to the cause. The first NEPP was published in 1989, after nearly two years of preparatory work directed by the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Physical Planning, and Environment (VROMT). This plan presented a comprehensive approach to managing environmental burdens in the Netherlands, with a stated objective “to solve or gain

control of environmental problems within the duration of one generation” (NEPP, 1989: 7). In fact, the NEPP projected extensive targets and further published the national environmental planning process (NEPP2 and NEPP3) appeared in 1993 and 1998. Canada’s Green Plan introduced about a hundred specific environmental projects, anticipating an additional expenditure of 3 billion Canadian dollars over a five-year period which was presented to Parliament in December 1990 after 18 months of discussion and consultation (Canada, 1990). This plan includes several projects across a range of departments. Other countries had also launched their national plans concerning the issues of sustainable development and made strategies to curb environment problems at the level of domestic sphere but different areas of emphasis. For instance, Japan has strong emphasized on technological innovation plan but for Danish plan focused more on socially or behaviorally approaches (Meadowcroft, 1999: 225).

This precisely means that the national problems and policy plans are sorted out within the context of international initiatives and the obligation to contribute to global solutions to environment and development related problems. Jerry McBeath and Jonathan Rosenberg explain the three main reasons for importance of nation-states in the study of environment politics are: firstly; they are the locus of decision-making for a wide range of economic, social, cultural and resource management policies that affect the global environment, national governments, then, are the prime targets of local, national and transnational environmental activism. Secondly, only national governments can decide whether to join or not join, cooperate or not cooperate with international environmental agreements, treaties and protocols. And finally, many of the differences we find among “the environmental policies and situations of nation-states depend on domestic political variables, including ideology, regime type, political culture, state-society relations, and scientific and institutional capacity” (McBeath and Rosenberg, 2006: 7).

The idea of ‘sustainable development’ provides a key conceptual indicator for these plans and strategies, providing a context for the integration of environmental and economic decision making. This emphasizes on a preoccupation with the life support and to maintain functions of the environment, and a concern with the needs of future generations. Thus sustainable development is a broader concept and is associated with a

series of normative objectives that transcend issues of environmental quality which limits its scope with certain features. It includes much broader range of issues to reconcile the demands of economic sufficiency, poverty, inequality, social equity and environmental protection. However, national governments tend to formulate their policies and strategies in such a manner to confirm the emergent international norms legitimized by the UN and World Bank but do not need to follow the particular measure in the hope to bring a more reliable framework for more extensive engagement for sustainable development.

The governance of sustainability is therefore a pattern of managing that is cooperative, interactive and inclusive. It is encouraged by the mix of global forces of economy, security, culture and media. It is charged by local demands for identity and distinctiveness. It is capturing the modernization of traditional forms of government, notably in the public sector. It is gaining from the emergence of multilateralism and regionalism. It is energized by the failure to overcome complex and policy-linked problem arenas such as climate change, biodiversity management, social justice and entitlement to all people to steward essential planetary resources for permanent and workable livelihoods. These are the hallmarks of sustainability (Carley and Christie 2000). Thus, the governance of sustainable development encompass significant roles of major corporate interests aligning themselves with the international environment and development organizations, as well as national and international governments and local civil groups. It is a drive towards social responsibility in the business and other public sectors and the emergence of business-linked corporative deals with various non-governmental organizations. Sustainable development, thus, represents a broad area compressing various issues like poverty, social inequality and environmental issues which are to be responded from several agencies and actors including nation-states and non-states agencies.

Sustainable development basically proposes to search a balance of economic growth and quality of life with concerning to maintain social environment. However, as for now, there are no rigid regulations or principles for directing the national environmental policies and defining a conclusive combination of factors in a country's level of sustainability is a matter of political, economical and social confrontations. As



sustainable development favours in decentralization process of national authorities, local communities are expected to be more responsible to commit on environmental preservation. Nevertheless, there is always a tension that different group of people represent different forms of environmental interests, development processes and social system or socialization.

Although these several difficulties to development a robust mechanism in environmental issues, different nations now forge to create several platforms for interactions and negotiations in search of environmental solutions. It is often put under the debate of global culture based that human security or human values become a source of direction for environmental policies which are quite above the interest of national governments. The green perspective has an important contribution in the field of international study that this encourages the eco-friendly activities and pro-environmental sustainable roles of the local communities. This further leads to the development of global environment sustainable regimes and mechanism by advancing the ideas of human values on based of human security. The role of sustainable development is the role to maintain future generation with aim to preserve the ecological balance and regulate the level of human consumption of carbons and natural resources.

## Conclusion

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This study aimed at conceptualizing the term ‘culture’ in the discipline of International Relations. It sought to look into cultural perspective to approach diverse issues-areas. The study engages a challenging field of inquiry to explore the clear-cut definitions of culture. It has been neglected subject in the study of world politics was due to the predominance of materialist approaches in International Relations.

The main highlighted problem associated with the study of culture in social science research is that the term ‘culture’ is ambiguously defined. Since the term is often used in terms of ideational dimensions; it is difficult to measure the phenomena. This is true within the field of International Relations as well. Since culture is defined contextually and possibly embedded with several interlinked notions, Ronald Rogowski points out that it very hard to formulate a testable theory using these variables. Rogowski argues that “there is a fundamental failing in the theory that makes definitions uncertain; uncertain definitions make for uncertainty about strategies and measures; and so long as measures remain uncertain, convincing tests of the theory are impossible. The problem lies with the theory. It may be possible to remedy it; but ... it is hard to see how” (Rogowski, 1974:13). Rogowski’s idea has certain understanding that the uncertainties of cultural implications in various issue-areas are due to the existence of multiple theories. Moreover, culture is essentially composed of several facets like languages, ethnies and religions; there is an overlapping of notions to explain a particular issue. While contextual definition is important to understand the reality of how politics works, it is also important to construct a robust definition to explain across issue-areas. Definitions such as “collectively held ideas, beliefs, and norms” that cultural theorists commonly use are so broad and imprecise that they have proven difficult to operationalize (Pateman, 1971:293).

Despite several scholarly attempts, the conceptualization of culture need to be undertaken for further research in the social science especially in the discipline of International Relations. Nevertheless, although the task to define the term seems one of

the major challenges scholars face, it would be imprecise to suggest that studies of culture or culture based explanations have lost their importance in understanding world politics. This study finds that culture has a bearing on political outcomes in world politics. It has been seen that there are multifold scholarly attempts to reconstruct a plausible accounts of world history which examine how culture influences international affairs. In most of the attempts scholars construct more viable concepts of humankind and nature. The term 'culture' is privileged in these accounts. Since culture influences the way human beings are recognized under the "idea of basic unity of mankind" (Geertz, 1974), the existence of several or distinct groups or communities are inevitably a product of cultural division. In order to understand the human nature in a practical sense, it is required to define human beings from physical, psychological and cultural positions. The core understanding of cultural related studies across disciplines is finely summarized by Clifford Geertz's assertion that "the analysis of culture is not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (ibid: 5).

Studies of culture engage to reconstruct the intellectual writing of world history through critical interpretations across time. It explores new areas/factors that play a significant role with several issue-areas domains and factors finally lead to extend the parameters of International Relations scholarly research. One remarkable quote is "the revived legitimacy of cultural variables also dovetails with revived scholarly interest in ideas" (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993) and "domestic politics" (Putnam, 1988), and "renewed skepticism about general theories" (Berlin, 1996). This study finds that the ideational factors add a promising analytics to how International Relations discipline may incorporate new elements and explanations to respond the changing structures of world politics. The post Cold War politics has brought tremendous change and reorganized world political structures. As a matter of fact, the question of identity belonging to different political communities and groups has become a matter of persistent debate. Changing the international structures and order has had an inevitable impact on the behaviours of all nations. It is 'culture' as an ideational variable that constructs the way we study actors' different behaviours in plural contexts. Culture has different levels of analysis ranging from smaller groups to the global. Domestic politics plays on influential role in national policy making decision through articulating several interests. Political

community is defined in terms of identity interest that has had interacted the emergence of nation-states. In other words, the idea of national character is the crucial aspect for defining the identity of different political communities or states. Meanwhile, the idea of a core culture that explains the political community of a nation is contested within International Relations. These various issues and debates have questioned the traditional understanding of International Relations theories. Thus, culture related studies have contributed an intellectual understanding of several new elements and provided a critique of mainstream International Relations theories.

Since the end of the Cold War, the study of culture has prominently expanded its scope through various strands of literature on multiculturalism, sameness or difference in regional values, and their impact on international issues such as human security and environmental protection. These issues have drawn great influence to the discipline of International Relations. On similar lines, several areas and issues are being increasingly engaged, for instances: strategic and organizational cultures have been theorized as to explain the cultural perspective on security and global economic issues. In fact, these two developments have emerged as new avenues for contemporary IR research.

This study explores the underlying difference between Western and non-Western cultural assumptions. In the areas of economic development, the developing countries are seen favouring an attachment of regional culture which is exemplified in the case of the Asian values emphasis. The study has drawn on insights incorporating the dimension of developing countries and their concerns to the study of world politics. Cultural paradigms reveal that the study of developing countries has occupied a vital role of understanding and influencing world structures across several issues and areas. In this context, Joel Kahn has suggested that in the future the concept of 'culture' might be defined in the following way: "*Culture*. The common use of the word in English to refer to a group of persons who share common ideational features and form a discrete and separate population unit has no scientific validity, since anthropological theory has long since demonstrated that there are no fixed or discrete cultural groups in human populations . . . However, as a folk concept in western and non-western societies the concept of culture is a powerful and important one" (Kahn 1989:21).

In another dimension of rising global culture, there is fear that global culture may distort the local culture or indigenous cultures of several local communities. This sense of fear is based on the notion that everyone turns out to be the same person. However, global culture is the product of interactions of several factors and elements and demonstrates the complexity of human existence. Meanwhile, human beings are assumed to be more or less commonly sharing the ideas of peaceful co-existence through some shared human values or beliefs. This does not mean that global culture is homogenously defined and separate groups of communities are morphed into one composite culture. In the debate of global culture emergence, the question of whether the cultural clash or respecting cultural diversity needs to be analysed further. Establishing a robust theoretical explanation about the nature of culture would be a novel contribution to understand the future of world politics.

This study of culture has had certain implications to the three broad issues discussed above in the subsequent chapters i.e. security, international political economy and environmental issues. In terms of the first issue, the study finds that culture has become a useful category to define how threat is perceived. Whether it is military threat or social threats, culture as an idea influences the judgment of the nation-states and their sense of security or insecurity is justified through the feelings of political leaders or elites. The issue of security affairs is contextually defined. There is no rule for every state to follow a particular course of actions in defining and responding to perceived threats. Regarding the military threat which may be either from external attacks or internal violence in terms of inter-state affairs and groups of dissent communities, the states behave differently due to the factors of cultural assimilation or difference. State might view internal threat as a matter of national security if the threat comes from groups of people who are from culturally different backgrounds and make contested claims to political legitimacy.

In the realms of international political economy, culture both hinders and facilitates the process of economic trade or global economy. In the case of economic globalization, the industrialized or developed countries reap the benefits from economic integration since they are broadly sharing similar aspects of culture in terms of economic liberation or privatization or technological advancements. However, some non-Western countries react

violently against these Western-centric economic integrations. It is the view that these voices of dissent are coming out so as to restore their indigenous local economy in the interests of cultural co-existence. Culture facilitates the regional integration and helps to expand economic development of regional spheres. The finest example can be seen from the successful regional economy of East-Asian countries that share broad Asian values. These Asian countries have been following different development patterns which are different from the Western doctrine of free trade or liberalization. So, the ideas of cultural difference or sameness have impacted to facilitate or hinder the economic transactions among several nation-states or in the broad level, this has an impact to the regulation of world economy and its structures. The idea of inclusion and exclusion in economic globalization is basically understood from these cultural perspectives.

In the case of the environmental issue, culture plays an important role to understand the nature of its problems and solutions associated with. It is a general understanding that some nation-states or groups of people exhibit certain cultures of consumption impacting their carbon footprint relative to other states. The nature of consumption patterns of communities is tied up with the notions of cultural innovation and renewal as well as the life-style patterns of local communities. The model of living an austere life and high level consumption lifestyle are partly influenced by cultural dispositions of the communities involved.

This study finally concludes that culture as a category helps to explain a broad array of aspects relating to world politics. Culture in global or national or local terms has and continues to define the behaviours of several actors- states or non-states and their policy stances. Culture defines the way we construct differences vis-a-vis several diverse communities as well as negotiate them. It finally represents a category to understand the difference between notions of 'self' and 'others' in the field of International Relations.

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