

Index

- accidents, 42, 191, 215, 278
 accommodation, 170, 172, 177, 185–186
 activists, 82–83, 85, 87, 89–91, 96, 98, 282
 actors, xii–xiv, 10–16, 21–23, 29–37,
 42–45, 60–64, 67–68, 121–125,
 272–277
 agile, xii, xiv, xv, 6, 10, 54, 129, 167, 169
 collective, 36, 121, 122, 293
 experience, 6, 10, 13–15, 29, 33, 88, 94,
 126, 270
 financial, 132, 169, 171–172, 179, 186
 innovative, 65, 76, 81, 132, 187
 market, 17, 173–174, 176, 178
 political, 4, 26, 40, 47, 276, 278
 private, 33, 133, 206, 248, 256,
 258–261, 263
 public, 167, 177, 186
 societal, 95, 185–186, 190
 state, 36, 94, 97, 122, 179, 269
 weak, 74, 77, 232
 actuality, 5, 8, 10, 267, 282, 291
 actualization of potentialities, 4–6, 16, 53,
 143, 149, 282–283, 286, 295, 297
 and protean power, 288–292
 affirmation, 11, 13–14, 33–35, 77, 80–81,
 94, 133, 270–271, 273
 and refusal, xiii, 11, 80, 83–87
 afforestation, 253
 Afghanistan, 75, 194, 197, 201, 235
 Africa, 72, 74, 140, 153, 209, 214,
 220–221, 249
 Agamben, Giorgio, 290–291, 292
 agency, 5, 10, 28, 31, 35, 38, 51, 150, 151
 agents, 8, 48, 49, 112, 150–151, 157–158,
 203, 258, 292
 state, 104, 205, 274, 281
 agile actors, xii, xiv, xv, 6, 10, 54, 129,
 167, 169
 agility, 12, 14, 23, 25, 102, 104, 188–189,
 207, 280–281
 ambiguities, 12, 25, 166, 181–182, 185,
 193, 272, 298
 of power, 103–105
 America, 26–28, 65, 71, 73, 213–214, 222,
 224–225, 267, 297–301
 culture, 213, 222, 225
 and United States, 267, 297–301
 analysis, levels of, xiii, xiv, 39, 96, 101,
 103–104, 120–121, 205
 anti-discrimination, 86, 92, 94
 anti-imperial superpowers, 71
 anti-imperialism, 60, 72, 269
 anti-personnel landmines (APL), 229,
 234–240, 242, 244, 280
 APL, *see* anti-personnel landmines
 Arab Spring, xi, 3, 38, 51
 Arendt, Hannah, 54, 283, 288
 Argentina, 184
 Aristotle, 54, 267, 284, 290–292, 295
 armed non-state actors, 188, 194
 arms control, 15, 36, 44, 56, 262, 269,
 275–279, 280
 anti-personnel landmines (APL), 229,
 234–240, 242, 244, 280
 case studies, 234–243
 cluster munitions, 229, 234, 237–240,
 277, 281
 Cold War security environment, 231–232
 conventional arms trade, 240–243
 humanitarian, 229, 234, 237–238, 244
 innovation and continuity, 229–245
 post-Cold War security environment,
 232–234
 Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), 230, 234, 240,
 243–244
 arms transfers, 241
 Asia, 3, 72, 74, 140, 153, 161–162
 assets, 141, 175, 178
 financial, 138, 166, 172–173
 asymmetries, 9, 31, 188
 ATT, *see* Arms Trade Treaty
 attacks, terrorist, 199, 201, 203–204
 audiences
 global, 209, 216, 217, 225, 272

- local, 89, 93, 95, 223
- Australia, 75, 203
- autonomy, 36, 50, 150, 170, 171
- Ayoub, Phillip M., 61, 77–79, 91, 262
- Bachrach, Peter, 7, 34, 282
- bankers, 30–31, 143
- banks, 132, 134, 136, 137–139, 140, 160, 174, 176, 179–180
 - central, 137, 138, 142
- Baratz, Morton S., 7, 34, 282
- bargaining model of war, 43–47, 50
- Barnett, Michael, 61
- beliefs, 22, 47, 69, 167, 189, 197, 201, 223
- best practice, xii, 14, 90, 202, 255, 272
- Bismarck, Otto von, 27
- bitcoin, 56, 124, 131–141, 142, 272–273, 275
 - definition, 134–137
 - and dynamics of protean and control power, 137–140
 - network, 135, 141
 - technology, 124, 136, 138, 143
- blockchain, 135, 138–139, 141–142, 275
- Bollywood, 209, 219
- bombers, suicide, 201
- bondholders, 180–181, 183
- bonds, 168, 173, 183, 184
- border agents, 112, 113–114
- border collision, 100–123
- border control, 77, 101, 105, 107–109, 112, 121
- border crossers, 117–118, 121
- border enforcement, 107, 109, 111, 115
- Border Patrol, 108–110, 112, 114, 115
- borders, xiv, 101, 102–103, 106, 107, 108–112, 114, 116–117, 120–121
 - national, 90, 147, 214–215
 - US–Mexico, 100–123
- borrowers, 180, 182, 183
- calculable probabilities, 16, 25, 52, 151
- calculable risk, 3, 6, 10, 53, 60, 63, 69, 139, 147
- California, 109, 212
- CAN, *see* Climate Action Network
- Canada, 37, 75, 193, 203, 236–237, 242
- cancer, 128, 142, 143
- capabilities, xiv–xv, 6, 10, 14–15, 16, 53, 60, 283, 296
 - material, xv, 231, 284
- carbon
 - forest, 254, 258, 260
 - markets, 246, 261–262
 - offsets, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 255
 - sinks, 37, 269, 270, 275–277, 278–279, 280
 - appropriation, 259–260
 - early history, 249–250
 - parallel relations, 254–256
 - policy phases, 256, 261, 262
 - politics of, 246–263
 - from private practice to public rules, 256–259
 - rise of voluntary market, 254–256
- causality, 19–20
- CDM, *see* Clean Development Mechanism
- Central Americans, 106, 114–116, 119, 121–122
- central banks, 137, 138, 142
- central counterparties, 173, 176
- chance, 4, 11, 19, 30, 42, 46, 231, 283, 287–289
 - and control power, 283–288
- change, unexpected, 3–4, 9, 11, 52, 97
- chaos, 208, 287
- chess, 24–25
- Chetaille, Agnès, 90–91
- China, 132, 135, 140, 162–163, 164, 215, 219, 260, 297
 - government, 140, 153, 161
- Chinese firms, 141, 162
- Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC), 161–162
- choice, 31–32, 36, 47, 113, 133, 191, 258, 287, 293
- Chollywood, 209
- circulation of power, xv, 10, 52, 98, 133, 209, 218, 225, 245
 - and finance, 166–187
 - and hydrocarbons, 147–165
 - protean, xiv, 17, 21, 25, 29, 32, 34, 38–39, 51
- citizens, 73, 85, 158, 192, 193, 201, 286
- civil and political rights, 37, 66, 74
- civil wars, xiv, 51, 118
- civilians, 190, 191, 201, 236, 280
- clandestine flows, 101, 121–122
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 283, 287–288
- Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), 250–252, 253–255, 257, 258, 260–261
- climate, 19, 247, 259
- Climate Action Network (CAN), 252, 260
- climate change, 23, 68, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 276
 - effects, 248, 250, 254, 262
- climate policy, 248, 257, 261
- closed systems, 6, 17, 19–20, 53, 167, 268

346 *Index*

- Cluster Munition Convention (CMC), 36, 234, 237, 239–240, 281
- cluster munitions, 229, 234, 237–240, 277, 281
- CMC, *see* Cluster Munition Convention
- CNPC, *see* Chinese National Petroleum Company
- coalitions, 229, 233–234, 236, 241, 256–258, 267
- coercion, 12, 28, 59, 70, 77, 167, 194, 285
- co-evolution, xv, 16–17, 124, 141, 222
- cognitive limitations, 63, 280, 287
- cognitive uncertainty, 63–66
- Cold War, xi, 44, 229, 234–236, 238, 240–241, 243, 276, 280
 - security environment, 231–232
- collective actors, 36, 121, 122, 293
- colonies, 60, 72, 77, 232
- competence, 63, 151, 172, 192
- competition, 130–131, 140, 174, 218, 220, 242, 272, 295
- competitiveness, 27, 127, 219
- competitors, 130, 167, 212, 218, 219, 222
- complexity, 49–50, 62–64, 65, 93–96, 98, 233, 276, 278–279, 294
 - and power, 16–25
 - theory, 17, 24
- complication, 23, 49
- compulsion, xiii, 212, 223
- conceptualization, 16, 34, 48, 167, 253, 282
- conditionality, 79–80, 93
- consensus, 27, 101, 142, 231, 236, 238, 243, 261
- consequences
 - unanticipated, 17, 24, 80, 87–88, 168, 273
 - unintended, 126, 169, 173
 - unpredictable, 168, 177, 185
- consumers, 148, 153, 165, 224, 261, 272, 281
- context
 - and experience, 269–274
 - uncertain, xii, 14, 31, 38, 126, 129, 177, 254, 270–271
 - underlying, 10, 13, 33, 81, 88, 94–96, 104, 189, 248
- contingency, 38, 42, 287–288, 292
- contract structures, 155, 159, 161
- contracts, 66, 138, 149, 156, 162, 175–176, 181, 277, 281
 - debt, 181, 185, 187
 - derivative, 173, 176
 - standardized, 171, 178, 185
- control
 - incomplete, *see* incomplete control
 - instruments of, 133, 172, 180
 - mechanisms of, 53, 279, 284, 286
- control efforts, 121, 173, 195, 198, 201
- control power, 14–19, 76–80, 108–112, 120–124, 132–139, 148–150, 239–241, 243–248, 260–268
 - ambit of, 248, 259–260
 - diffusion of, xiii, 5, 29, 31, 34, 39
 - exercise of, xv, 36, 61, 105, 155, 172, 181, 258
 - and Hollywood, 211–218
 - practices, 94–95, 150
 - and protean power, 3–26
 - resources, 230, 233, 240, 272
- controlled experiments, 20, 53, 124, 219
- conventional arms trade, 240–243
- conventional arms transfers, 240
- conventional weapons, 229, 235, 240–242
- cooperation, 46, 83, 193, 221, 261
- core, xv, xvi, 40, 42–43, 71, 73, 75, 89, 94
- corporations, 39, 247, 275
 - large, 137–138, 249, 273
- Costa Rica, 258, 260
- costs, 4, 43–44, 118, 135, 136, 147, 162, 212, 221
- Council of Europe, 80, 83–84, 86, 98
- counterparties, 168, 174–176
 - central, 173, 176
- counterparty risks, 174–175
- counterterrorism, 56, 190, 193, 204, 271, 273
 - agility and improvisation, 204–207
- creative practices, 25, 94, 278
- creative solutions, 127, 161–162
- creativity, 4, 23, 38, 47, 49–51, 142–143, 150, 186, 188
- credit, 168, 175, 178, 281
- credit rating agencies, 175, 281
- creditors, 184–185
- Crimea, xiv, 164, 273
- criminal bosses, 105, 111, 119, 122
- criminal groups, 104, 113, 115
- criminal organizations, 35, 117
- criminal territory bosses, 114, 116, 119, 122
- criminals, 79, 107, 113–115
- crises, xii–xiii, 12–13, 14, 38, 48, 166, 174–175, 177, 186
 - financial, xv, 3, 49–50, 137, 142–143, 176, 179, 293, 297
 - gas, 155–156, 157
- CRISPR, 125–127

- cryptocurrencies, *see also* bitcoin
 culture, 56, 65, 92, 171, 210–212, 218, 222–223
 American, 213, 222, 225
 global, 225
 popular, xvi, 300
 currencies, 132–134, 136–138, 140–141, 142, 181, 272
 see also bitcoin
 electronic, 134, 139, 276
 national, 140, 180
 cyberspace, 201, 205–206
- Dahl, Robert, 7–10, 20, 34, 282, 294–295
 Dallas, Mark, 50
 Davidson, Adam, 140
 dealers, primary, 180, 270
 debt, 5, 116, 182–184, 185, 249
 contracts, 181, 185, 187
 sovereign, 168, 180–181, 183, 184–185, 186, 270, 277
 debt-for-nature swaps, 249–250, 255
 decentralization, 21, 22, 190, 195, 198, 202, 211
 decision-making, 12, 14, 32, 41, 49, 248
 decolonization, 61, 67, 73, 75
 post-1945, 60, 71–72, 77
 deep-seated uncertainties, 6, 39, 125
 definitional improvisation, 237–240
 deforestation, 246, 249–250, 253, 256–257, 260
 Deleuze, Gilles, 283, 289–290
 democracy, 65, 91, 141, 191
 derivative contracts, 173, 176
 derivatives, 173–175, 177–179, 186
 markets, 174, 176, 178, 180, 186, 270
 OTC, 173–174, 176–179, 186
 deterrence, nuclear, 42–43, 44, 46
 developing countries, 249, 251, 257, 260
 development, 126–127, 136, 141, 171, 174, 178–179, 215, 245–246, 267–268
 diffusion of power, 3–4, 51, 53, 79–80, 86–87, 93, 95, 284, 286
 control, xiii, 5, 29, 31, 34, 39
 diplomatic innovation, 229, 231, 232–233, 234
 diplomatic strategies, innovative, 229, 234, 236, 243
 direction, 9, 10, 25, 29, 36, 120, 164, 210, 223
 disciplinary power, 285–286, 289
 discretion, 112
 disrupted ecosystems, 126
 distribution, 67, 69, 210, 212, 214, 216–217, 218, 278, 279
- DNA editing, 125–127
 domestic sphere, 84, 89, 91–93, 95
 dominance, 194, 213–215, 219
 domination, 28, 169, 215, 233, 274, 292
 Duvall, Raymond, 61
- economics, xvi, 12, 41, 47–48, 218
 ecosystems, disrupted, 126
 effectiveness, 152, 195, 199, 204, 282, 296
 efficacy, 20, 23, 86, 125, 213, 293
 El Salvador, 51, 113–114
 electronic currencies, 134, 139, 276
 elites, 52, 70, 77, 91, 180, 286
 Elliott Associates, 183, 184
 emissions, 249, 252, 254, 256, 260
 reductions, 250, 251, 252, 256, 260, 261
 empires, 60–61, 71–74, 77, 163
 institution of, 32, 60, 71–73, 269
 legitimacy, 72–73, 77
 multiple, 60, 72
 empowerment, 117, 119–120, 122, 141, 287
 enemies, xi, 36, 189, 191, 195–196, 203, 208
 energy
 markets, 152, 159, 164, 275
 see also gas; hydrocarbons; oil
 security, 152–153
 enforcement, 100, 106, 110–111, 271
 border, 107, 109, 111, 115
 environment, 14, 130, 131, 151, 167, 169–170, 173, 219, 221
 environmental NGOs, 246–247, 249–250, 253–254, 255, 258–259, 261–263
 episteme, 170–173, 178, 186, 268
 episteme-type knowledge, 170, 172, 178, 186
 euphoria of the moment, 51
 European Markets Infrastructure Regulation (EMIR), 176, 179
 European Union (EU), xiii, 77, 80, 163, 176
 evasion, 102, 105, 120, 286
 expectations, rational, 30, 49
 experience
 actor, 6, 10, 13–15, 29, 33, 88, 94, 126, 270
 and context, 269–274
 lived, 103, 111, 122
 experiential knowledge, 171, 173, 177
 experiments, controlled, 20, 53, 124, 219
 expertise, 126, 246, 250, 253, 255, 260, 262, 280, 285

348 *Index*

- explication, xii, 9, 20, 36, 268
 exports, 159, 242, 244
- Facebook, 130, 200, 202, 203,
 206, 207
 families, 114, 116, 117, 285
 family members, 104, 113, 116, 196
 fear, 30, 32, 155, 190, 195, 200, 202,
 205, 208
 Federal Reserve, 133, 138, 140
 fees, 114, 136, 153, 180
 fictions, 102, 189, 223, 293–294
 legal, 178, 181–182, 277, 293
 film industry, xv–xvi, 35, 37
 control power and Hollywood, 211–218
 global, 209–225, 278
 and protean power, 219–223
 film producers, 219, 221, 275, 277
 films, xvi, 209–211, 212–221, 222–224,
 269, 272, 275, 278–279, 280–281
 Hollywood, 216, 219, 222
 finance, xv, 28, 30, 132, 138, 216, 275
 circulation of power, 166–187
 OTC derivatives, 173–179, 186
 sovereign debt, 168, 180–185, 186,
 270, 277
 systems of knowledge, 169–173
 financial actors, 132, 169, 171–172,
 179, 186
 financial assets, 138, 166, 172–173
 financial crisis, xv, 3, 49–50, 137, 142–143,
 176, 179, 293, 297
 financial institutions, 132, 142, 169,
 176, 275
 financial markets, 30, 166–169, 171–173,
 174, 177–179, 181, 187, 282, 293
 financial sector, 26, 139, 166, 168–169, 177
 financial systems, 134, 142, 176
 financialization, 168, 185
 fluidity, xvi, 4, 22, 34, 128, 209, 211,
 219, 250
 interactive, 15, 271
 foreign producers, 214, 224–225, 275
 forest carbon, 254, 258, 260
 forest degradation, 250, 256, 260
 forestry, 246, 252
 forests, 246, 249, 253, 257, 260, 270
 Foucault, Michel, 8, 34, 36, 54, 283–285,
 286, 289
 fragmentation, 115, 200, 232
 imperial, 71
 France, 140, 157, 167, 203, 214, 237
 freedom, xi, 19, 31, 35, 117, 165, 262,
 286, 292
 Friedman, Milton, 133
 fundamental human rights, 75–76, 83
 futility, 14, 33, 142, 192, 201, 271
- gangs, 30, 114–115
 gas, 147–148, 152, 153, 154, 155–161, 162,
 164–165, 274
 see also hydrocarbons
 crises, 155–156, 157
 Eurasian borderlands, 163–164
 liquefied, 148, 159
 markets, 154, 165, 276
 prices, 156, 162
 Sino-Russian rapprochement, 161–163
 Gazprom, 155–157, 159–161, 162
 Genco, Stephen J., 19
 gender, 67, 79, 82, 85, 93
 gene editing, 125–126
 general individual rights, 65–67, 75, 77
 generative effects, 11, 248, 262
 geopolitics, 95, 157–158
 Germany, 27, 81, 203, 213–214, 237
 global audiences, 209, 216, 217, 225, 272
 global culture, 225
 global film industry, 209–225, 278
 global markets, 130, 131, 178–179, 211,
 216, 218, 222, 275, 277
 globalization, 222, 299
 goals, 80, 103, 110, 188–189, 198, 255,
 262–263, 270
 Goebbels, Josef, 211, 213
 governance, 169, 173, 178, 261, 297
 governmentality, 285
 governments, xiv–xv, 132–134, 137, 139,
 147–148, 152, 182–183, 213–214,
 270–271
 grasslands, 246, 249–250
 Greenspan, Alan, 174
 groups
 criminal, 104, 113, 115
 jihadi, 196, 197–198, 208
 terrorist, 33, 188–191, 192, 193–195,
 204–206, 207–208, 274, 281
- Hayek, Friedrich, 21–23, 36, 133, 296
 Hayward, Clarissa, 8–9, 38, 282
 hierarchies, xiii, 77, 199, 247, 290
 systemic, 73
 high-tech, 56, 124–143, 274
 Hironaka, Ann, 52
 history, 4, 28, 39, 40, 51, 212, 218,
 269, 271
 Hobbes, Thomas, xi, xv–xvi, 53–54, 267,
 283–285, 287–288, 292, 296
 Hollywood, 37, 209, 212–216, 218–219,
 221–223, 225, 275, 281

- Hollywood, and control power, 211–218
 Hollywood films, 216, 219, 222
 hometown smugglers, 100, 113
 homosexuality, 81, 85
 Hondurans, 117, 119
 human rights, 66, 74–75, 80, 84, 91, 98, 275
 fundamental, 75–76, 83
 norms, 74–75, 91
 regime, 60, 82–83
 Human Rights Watch (HRW), 238
 human security, 101, 191, 229–230, 236
 humanitarian arms control, 229, 234, 237–238, 244
 hydraulic fracturing, 158, 161
 hydrocarbons, 37, 39, 56, 269, 273, 274–277, 280–281
 and circulation of power, 147–165
 firms and states, 149–152
 markets, 147, 149, 150, 152, 155, 160, 164, 168, 273, 277
 prices, 153–155
 supply and transit, 152–153
 identity, 8, 25, 37, 64, 113, 205, 274
 national, 84, 89, 203, 222, 262
 ideology, 21, 189, 205
 imagination, 37, 43, 47, 200, 283, 287, 289, 293, 300
 and power, 292–297
 imperial legitimacy, 73
 imperial powers, 60, 72
 impotentialities, 290–292
 improvisation, xiii–xiv, 23–26, 33–35, 36–38, 80–81, 87–93, 104–105, 269–271, 273
 definitional, 237–240
 NGO, 247, 261
 tactical, 201–204
 incalculable uncertainties, 10, 139, 166, 171
 incentives, 43, 67, 84, 111, 127, 135, 160, 174, 272
 incomplete control, 166–187
 incorporation, 150, 246, 248, 259, 262
 independence, 73, 194, 279, 289
 independent post-colonial states, 74–75, 76
 indeterminacy, 64–65, 66–67, 75, 85, 86, 95, 288–289, 291, 293
 meaning, 54, 65, 67–68, 70, 182, 268–269, 277
 norm, 73, 75, 86
 India, 74, 215, 219, 297
 indigenous peoples, 66, 249, 252
 individual rights, 32, 59, 66, 277
 general, 65–67, 75, 77
 inflation, 80, 84, 137
 INGOs, *see* international non-governmental organizations
 innovation, 13–15, 23–26, 33–34, 36–38, 75–78, 80–82, 130–133, 157–159, 223–229
 diplomatic, 229, 231, 232–233, 234
 technological, 35, 37–38, 130, 204
 innovative actors, 65, 76, 81, 132, 187
 innovative diplomatic strategies, 229, 234, 236, 243
 innovative practices, 35, 37, 76, 80, 96, 98, 167, 169, 171
 innovators, 62, 125, 128, 130–131, 142, 171
 instability, xiii, 177, 218
 of mixed worlds, 69–70
 institutional complexes, 54, 61, 63, 67–69
 institutional environments, 67–68, 76, 147
 institutional power, 61–62, 212
 institutional settings, and social settings, 278–281
 institutions, xiii, 22, 40, 67–68, 86–87, 88–89, 114, 212, 278–281
 financial, 132, 142, 169, 176, 275
 instruments of control, 133, 172, 180
 intellectual property rights, 127, 214, 272
 intelligence agencies, 205–206
 intentionality, 76, 150
 intentions, 29, 76, 84, 222
 intergovernmental negotiations, 250, 254, 270
 International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), 234–237, 238, 241
 international law, 73, 192–193, 236, 239, 289–290
 international markets, 180–181, 184, 217, 219, 223
 international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), 87, 94, 97–98, 249, 271
 international order, 188, 208, 297
 international organizations, xv, 76, 250, 257–258
 international political economy, 48, 150, 279
 international relations, 6, 8, 14, 29, 39, 163–164, 283–286, 294, 298
 exclusive focus on risk and control, 41
 limits of theory, 27–56
 international security, 230, 233, 236
 environment, 231, 234, 236, 243, 245
 International Swaps and Derivatives Association (ISDA), 175, 186

350 *Index*

- international system, 69, 188, 193, 208, 289
 internet, 139, 201, 215
 interpretation, 44, 64, 68, 70, 80, 142,
 182–183, 187, 253
 intuition, 24, 30, 125, 151, 165, 171,
 272, 277
 invention, 42, 121, 127, 143, 272, 282, 285
 investments, 47, 162, 217
 investors, 27, 130, 139, 141, 167, 224
 Iraq, 208, 241, 275, 281
 irreducible uncertainty, 40, 168, 179
 ISDA, 175, 186, *see* International Swaps
 and Derivatives Association
 ISIS, 188, 194, 196, 199–200, 202–204,
 205–206, 207, 275, 281
 Islam, 189–190, 195, 196, 198–200
 Islamic State, *see* ISIS
- Japan, 152, 241, 257, 297
 jihad, 29, 196, 202
 jihadist groups, 196, 197–198, 208
 jihadis, 189–190, 196–200, 205–206
- Keynes, John Maynard, 47–48
 kidnappers, 113, 116–117, 119
 kidnappings, 103, 113, 116, 193
 Knight, Frank, xv, 47–48
 Knightian uncertainty, xv, 167, 181
 knowledge, 21–22, 31–32, 39–40, 62,
 169–171, 177–178, 253, 277, 285
 episteme-type, 170, 172, 178, 186
 experiential, 171, 173, 177
 frontiers, 56, 124–125, 142, 275
 local, 17, 88, 177
 systems in finance, 169–180
 techné-type, 170–173, 186
 Kyoto Protocol, 247, 250–254, 263, 270
- landmines, *see* anti-personnel landmines
 Laplace, Pierre-Simon, 18
 leadership, 174, 236, 280, 298
 Lebanon, 74, 238
 legal fictions, 178, 181–182, 277, 293
 legitimacy, xiii, 65, 69–70, 71–73, 76–77,
 85, 190–192, 194, 205
 crisis of, 70, 72
 empires, 72–73, 77
 politics of, 65, 70
 legitimate power, 59, 67
 legitimization, 52, 70, 221
 leverage, 114, 160, 187, 190, 248, 256
 LGBT
 activism, 81, 87, 90, 93, 97
 European rights regime, 81–83
 movements, 28, 84–85, 90, 91
 norms, 35, 81, 83–84, 85, 87, 91, 94–95,
 97–98
 people, 79, 83–86, 87–88, 90, 95–96, 97
 rights, 32, 39, 67, 271, 275
 revolution, 79–99
 Liberia, 209
 liberty, 33, 116, 300
 limitations, cognitive, 63, 280, 287
 liquidity, 153, 176, 178–180
 lived experience, 103, 122
 US–Mexico border today, 111–119
 local audiences, 89, 93, 95, 223
 local knowledge, 17, 88, 177
 lone-wolf attacks, 200–201, 202–203
 lone wolves, 190, 197, 203
 luck, 40, 44, 278
 Lukes, Steven, 7–8, 34, 282, 292
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, xv, 4, 54, 151, 283,
 284, 287–289
 manifestations of protean power, xii, 38,
 124, 201
 Marglin, Stephen, 167, 170–172, 186
 market actors, 17, 173–174, 176, 178
 market control, 185, 216, 224
 market conventions, 167, 172, 216
 market mechanisms, 250, 252
 market players, 15, 167, 172, 177,
 180–181
 markets, 147–150, 154–155, 164–168,
 172–174, 177–179, 181–183,
 184–187, 214–216, 220
 derivatives, 174, 176, 178, 180, 186, 270
 energy, 152, 159, 164, 275
 financial, 30, 166–169, 171–173, 174,
 177–179, 181, 187, 282, 293
 gas, 154, 165, 276
 global, 130, 131, 178–179, 211, 216,
 218, 222, 275, 277
 hydrocarbons, 147, 149, 150, 152, 155,
 160, 164, 168, 273, 277
 international, 180–181, 184, 217,
 219, 223
 secondary, 181, 184, 215
 sovereign debt, 37, 168, 180, 184, 185,
 186, 277
 voluntary, 247, 254–256, 258–263, 270
 martyrdom, 190, 196–197, 201
 material capabilities, xv, 231, 284
 meaning indeterminacies, 54, 65, 67–68,
 70, 182, 268–269, 277
 mechanisms of control, 53, 279, 284, 286
 media, social, 51, 190, 200–201, 203–204,
 205, 215, 275
 Mexico, 100–123, 274

Index

351

- migrants, 30–31, 35, 36, 97, 100–105, 109, 110–120, 122–123, 273–274
 and smugglers, 104–105, 114, 121, 280
 unauthorized, 101, 121, 122
 migration, 36, 39, 51, 120, 122, 273–274, 277, 279, 280, 281
 military capabilities, 27, 230, 239
 miners, 135, 140
 minorities, sexual, 82, 89
 mixed worlds, instability, 69–70
 mobile-minutes, 140
 mobility, xvi, 25, 100, 113, 119
 mobilization, xv, 51, 120, 122, 273–274, 277, 196, 233, 237
 models, risk, 18, 30, 171–172, 178, 270, 282
 modes of operation, 10, 81
 money, 30, 113, 116, 133, 135, 139, 140, 153
 moral beings, 66, 76
 qualified, 67
 morality, 119, 120, 192
 motivation, 16, 114, 120, 207
 movement actors, 89, 97
 movie industry, *see* film industry
 movies, *see* films
 multiple empires, 60, 72
 Muslims, 196, 200, 202–203
- Naftogaz, 155–157
 national borders, 90, 147, 214–215
 national currencies, 140, 180
 national identity, 84, 89, 203, 222, 262
 National Institutes of Health (NIH), 128
 natural gas, *see* gas
 negotiations, 153, 156, 230, 234, 237, 239, 243–244, 246, 250–253
 intergovernmental, 250, 254, 270
 neopositivism, 20
 nesting of protean power, 259, 262
 networks, 22–23, 37, 131, 138, 161, 176, 210
 financial, 134
 transnational, 80, 89, 93
 transnational advocacy, 65, 78, 96, 252, 276
 New Zealand, 209
 NGOs, 36–37, 230–231, 233–234, 238–239, 242, 243–247, 249–250, 253–256, 270
 see also INGOs
 environmental, 246–247, 249–250, 253–254, 255, 258–259, 261–263
 Nigeria, 220–221
 Nollywood, 37, 220, 221
- non-state actors, xiii, 3, 28, 31, 97, 229, 231, 235, 242–243
 non-state actors, armed, 188, 194
 Nord Stream pipeline, 157
 norm indeterminacy, 73, 75, 86
 Norway, 257–258
 nuclear deterrence, 42–43, 44, 46
 nuclear war, 42, 231–232
 nuclear weapons, 27, 42, 231, 244
- Obama, President Barack, 4, 86, 96–97, 298–299
 offsets, carbon, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 255
 oil, 90, 147–148, 152–154, 158–159, 162, 164–165, 274–276
 see also hydrocarbons
 prices, 5, 148, 154, 159, 163–164, 277
 one-size-fits-all approaches, 23, 214
 open economy politics, 48, 50
 open systems, 17–18, 19–21, 53, 70, 168, 188
 openness, 53, 70, 130, 152
 operational uncertainty, 41, 62, 64, 80, 82–83, 87–88, 190, 200–201, 248
 and radical uncertainty, 276–278
 translation during, 87–91
 opposition, 90, 93, 97, 98, 106, 237, 239, 241, 244–245
 Ostrom, Elinor, 21, 22–23
 Ottawa Treaty, 229–230, 234–236, 237, 240, 242, 243–244, 280
 outcomes, unexpected, xiii, 14
 over-the-counter (OTC) derivatives, 173–179, 186
- Pakistan, 74, 209, 221
pari passu clauses, 182–184, 186, 277
 Parsons, Talcott, 133
 partnership, 87, 162, 231, 242
 patents, 127, 131, 138
 Paypal, 134, 137
 peace, 45, 90, 267
 periphery, 73, 82–83, 122, 134, 232
 Peru, 130, 183–184
 pervasive uncertainty, 14–15, 208
 pipelines, 15, 147–148, 153–155, 160–162, 165, 273
 Poland, 35, 89–90, 91, 262
 policing, 101, 102–105, 115, 120, 122
 policymakers, 24, 103, 151, 155, 157, 164
 policy tools, 25, 232, 241, 249
 Polish activists, 37, 89, 91, 96
 political actors, 4, 26, 40, 47, 276, 278
 political economy, 47–50, 52, 149

352 *Index*

- political life, 10, 21, 37, 52, 69, 225, 285
- political orders, 59, 76, 285
- political processes, 7, 21, 279
- political rights, civil and, 37, 66, 74
- political theory, 267, 283, 292
 - control and protean power in, 282–283
 - and power complexities, 267–301
- politics, 49–51, 270–271, 287, 289–290, 291–292, 294, 296, 298, 300
 - of carbon sinks, 246–263
 - of legitimacy, 65, 70
- polycentric systems, 22–23
- Popper, Karl, 19
- post-1945 decolonization, 60, 71–72, 77
- post-colonial states, 32, 60, 74–76
- potentia*, 11, 288
- potential capacities, xiv, 4, 8, 283, 287, 291, 296
- potentialities, 4–5, 8, 10, 50–51, 267, 282–283, 287–289, 290–294, 295
 - actualization of, 4–6, 53, 143, 282–283, 286, 287–289, 291, 295, 297
- power
 - ambiguities, 103–105
 - analysis of, xii, 11, 53, 185, 267, 268, 288, 292
 - capabilities, 53, 65, 294, 296
 - circulation, *see* circulation of power
 - and complexity, 16–25
 - concept, 6–9
 - diffusion of, 3–4, 51, 53, 79–80, 86–87, 93, 95, 284, 286
 - disciplinary, 285–286, 289
 - institutional, 61–62, 212
 - legitimate, 59, 67
 - shifts, 46, 169, 209
 - soft, 3, 28
 - state, 83, 97, 101, 137, 177, 194
 - structural, 62, 150, 212, 215, 222, 224
- power complexities and political theory, 267–301
- power dynamics, 9, 11, 28–29, 39, 50–51, 52–53, 267–269, 270–271, 279–280
 - bitcoin, 137–140
 - of enforcement and evasion, 100–123
 - protean, 29, 31, 39, 43, 52, 273, 279–280, 281–282, 301
- power potentialities, xiii, xv, 32, 34, 143, 180, 185, 282, 291
 - actualization, 4–5, 53, 143, 271, 286, 287–288, 291, 295, 297
- power relations, xiv, 4, 28, 31, 34, 36, 170, 219
- power types, 11, 15, 16, 33, 127, 224, 282
- power wielders, 28, 94–96
- power-generating effects, 168, 171, 173, 178, 270
- power-generating practices, 167–169, 178
- powerlessness, 9, 118
- predation, 119–123
- predictability, 18, 21, 129, 167, 180, 191, 207, 284–285
- predictive accuracy, xii, 26, 56
- prices
 - gas, 156, 162
 - hydrocarbons, 153–155
 - oil, 5, 148, 154, 159, 163–164, 277
- primacy, 74, 193, 210–211, 215, 267, 297–298, 300
- private actors, 33, 133, 206, 248, 256, 258–261, 263
- private regulators, 247, 248, 250, 254–255, 258, 262–263
- probabilities, 10, 13, 31, 44, 45–46, 47, 102, 189, 287
 - calculable, 16, 25, 52, 151
 - calculations, 4, 12–14, 34, 47, 127, 276
- probability distribution, 42, 48, 279
- producers, 159–160, 165, 211, 218, 219–220, 222, 224, 272
 - film, 219, 221, 275, 277
- profitability, 125, 162, 167, 177, 179, 186
- profits, 114, 127, 135, 142, 160, 173, 218, 244
- propaganda, 204, 207
- property, 19, 27, 67, 139, 192
- property rights, 16, 21, 138
- protean power
 - analysis, 6, 22, 43
 - circulation, xiv, 17, 21, 25, 29, 32, 34, 38–39, 51
 - and control power, 3–26
 - effects, xiv–xv, 11, 15, 174, 177, 230, 234, 238–240, 243–244
 - emergence, 22, 99, 248
 - and film industry, 219–223
 - limited case, 246, 263
 - manifestations of, xii, 38, 124, 201
 - nesting, 259, 262
 - practices, 93, 95–96, 97
 - and predation, 119–123
 - processes, xii, 298–299
 - and revolutions in rights, 59–78
 - transformative, 76
- protection, 26, 75, 83, 85, 214, 235, 257
- public authorities, 169, 172, 174, 177
- public regulators, 174, 176, 177, 179

Index

353

- al-Qaeda, 188, 196, 199, 201–203, 206, 208
 qualified moral beings, 67
 quantum physics, 10, 293, 295
- radical uncertainty, 61–63, 64–65, 67–68, 76–77, 80–82, 93–94, 232–235, 247–248, 276–279
 and operational uncertainty, 276–278
 and terrorism, 190–194
- ransoms, 113, 116–117, 193
- rational design approach, 22, 279
- rational expectations, 30, 49
- rationalist models, 13, 43, 52
- rationality, 4, 12, 44, 287
- realists, 3, 283, 284, 298
- reasonableness, 12, 44
- REDD, 246–263
- refugees, xiv, 190
- refusal, 23, 33–36, 77, 80–81, 83–86, 94–95, 133, 261, 273
 and affirmation, xiii, 11, 80, 83–87
- regulators, 158, 166, 172, 174–175, 178, 179, 256, 261, 263
 private, 247, 248, 250, 254–255, 258, 262–263
 public, 174, 176, 177, 179
- religion, 30, 66–67, 92, 189–190, 195–196, 198
 and production of uncertainty, 194
- religious authority, 195, 198, 200
- religious certainty, responses to, 198–200
- resilience, 17, 26–27, 103, 195, 197, 288, 296–297, 299
- resistance, 36, 82, 84, 88–89, 90, 95, 97, 120, 170
- resources, 119, 129, 131, 151–152, 158–159, 204, 207, 232–233, 257–258
- reversibility, 127, 268, 281–282
- revolutions, 3, 36, 38, 51, 158, 200, 208, 287, 291
 in rights, 59–78, 79, 185, 269
 unconventional, 148, 158–159
- rights, 59–60, 62–63, 66–68, 73, 75–77, 79–80, 84, 85, 96
 civil and political, 37, 66, 74
 human, 66, 74–75, 80, 84, 91, 98, 275
 individual, *see* individual rights
 LGBT, *see* LGBT, rights
 property, 16, 21, 138
 revolutions in, 59–78, 79, 185, 269
 sexual, 80, 88, 91, 262
 sexual minority, 82–83, 84, 86
 social and economic, 66, 74–75
 and universal sovereignty, 71–76
- risk, 9–15, 24–27, 29–31, 32–34, 39–44, 45–50, 102–105, 172–175, 269–271
 calculable, 3, 6, 10, 53, 60, 63, 69, 139, 147
 calculations, 29, 130, 142, 215
 models, 18, 30, 171–172, 178, 270, 282
 systemic, 173, 176, 179
- risk-based models, 12, 43, 248
- risk-based world, 18, 38, 94
- rules, systems of, 61, 69–70, 72, 78
- Russia, 84, 86, 95–97, 156–157, 160–164, 237, 239, 243, 273
- Sabel, Charles F., 248, 261
- safety, 152, 158, 165, 192, 208
- Sagan, Scott, 278–279
- sanctions, 83, 163–164
- Saudi Arabia, 75, 199–200, 202
- Schelling, Thomas, 42, 47, 231
- Schweller, Randall, 24
- science, 3, 15, 18, 20, 24, 124–125, 129, 272, 274–276
- scientists, xv, 25, 37, 125–126, 127–130, 247, 272–273
- Scott, James, xv, 32, 36, 48, 51–52, 167, 170, 171
- secondary markets, 181, 184, 215
- security, 27, 28–29, 39, 55–56, 152, 153, 159–160, 191, 192
 environment, 230, 231–233, 237, 240
 human, 101, 191, 229–230, 236
 international, 230, 233, 236
- security environment
 Cold War, 231–232
 international, 231, 234, 236, 243, 245
 post-Cold War, 232–234
- security studies, 42–47, 48
- self-determination, 32, 60, 74–76, 78
- self-regulation, 172, 173, 175
- sellers, 153–154, 176
- sexual minorities, 82, 89
 rights, 82–83, 84, 86
- sexual orientation, 81, 83, 85, 93, 94
- sexual rights, 80, 88, 91, 262
- sexuality, 67, 80, 84, 90, 93
- shale, 158, 161, 273
- shocks, 4, 39, 84, 148, 161, 183, 191
- Silicon Valley, 130, 141
- simplifications, 23, 49, 294
- sink projects, *see* carbon sinks
- skeptical states, 230, 239–240, 244, 281
- small arms, 237, 242
- small states, 36, 231, 233, 235–236, 239, 243, 280

354 *Index*

- smugglers, 37, 100, 102–105, 107–109, 110–117, 118–119, 121–123, 274, 280
 - hometown, 100, 113
 - and migrants, 104–105, 114, 121, 280
- smuggling, 102, 108, 110–111, 114, 122
- social and economic rights, 66, 74–75
- social boundaries, 8–9
- social media, 51, 190, 200–201, 203–204, 205, 215, 275
- social movements, 50–51
- social orders, 22, 59, 67, 96, 282, 285
- social power, 27–28
- social relationships, 66, 101, 122
- social settings, 268, 278
 - and institutional settings, 278–281
- social world, 19, 294–295
- societal actors, 95, 185–186, 190
- society, 8, 23, 27, 56, 79, 82, 84, 297, 299–300
- soft power, 3, 28
- South Africa, 79, 98, 220
- South Stream pipeline, 157, 160
- sovereign bonds, 181–182, 277
- sovereign debt, 168, 180–185, 186, 270, 277
 - contracts, 168, 180, 182, 184, 277
 - markets, 37, 168, 180, 184, 185, 186, 277
- sovereigns, 69, 168, 180–181, 183, 185, 187, 270, 283–285, 287
- sovereignty
 - local, 88
 - norms, 208
 - universal, 71–76
- Soviet Union, *see also* Russia
- spot prices, 148, 154, 159
- stability, 104, 137, 167, 180, 191, 280
- stable systems, 69–70, 210
- standardization, 178, 212
- standardized contracts, 171, 178, 185
- start-ups, 62, 129–131, 136, 142, 272
- state actors, 36, 94, 97, 122, 179, 269
- state agents, 104, 205, 274, 281
- state power, 83, 97, 101, 137, 177, 194
- status quo, 7, 48, 248, 262
- strategies, 37–38, 97, 98, 216, 229–230, 237–238, 241–243, 270, 298
- structural advantage, 193, 212, 222
- structural power, 62, 150, 212, 215, 222, 224
- suicide bombers, 201
- suicide bombings, 190, 197, 200–201
- superpowers, 45, 60, 231–232, 240–241, 280
 - anti-imperial, 71
- suppliers, 148, 155, 159–160, 165
- supply, 21, 148, 149, 152–155, 159, 161, 252, 277
- surprises, xi–xii, 3, 13, 37, 80, 130, 247
- swaps, debt-for-nature, 249–250, 255
- Sweden, 235, 238
- Syria, 194, 208, 240, 243, 275
- systemic hierarchies, 73
- systemic risk, 173, 176, 179
- systemic uncertainty, 149, 161, 277
- systems
 - closed, 6, 17, 19–20, 53, 167, 268
 - financial, 134, 142, 176
 - of knowledge, 169–173
 - open, 17–18, 19–21, 53, 70, 168, 188
 - of rule, 61, 69–70, 72, 78
 - stable, 69–70, 210
- tactical improvisation, 201–204
- techné*, 170–173, 177–178, 268
- techné*-type knowledge, 170–173, 186
- technological change, 124, 149, 158
- technological innovations, 35, 37–38, 130, 204
- technology, xvi, 125–126, 127, 130, 133, 136, 138, 141, 161–162
- tensions, 21, 35, 141, 191, 194, 300–301
- terrorism, 188–208, 271, 275
- terrorist attacks, 199, 201, 203–204
- terrorist groups, 33, 188–191, 192, 193–195, 204–206, 207–208, 274, 281
- terrorist violence, 26, 46
- terrorists, 46, 188–195, 197–198, 200–201, 205, 207–208, 271, 280
 - jihadi, 197–199
 - religion and certainty, 195–198
- Texas, 107, 281
- threats, 42, 80, 84, 184, 189, 191, 195, 231–233, 236
- Toska, Silvana, 51–52
- trade, 68, 173, 174, 234, 240
- transcripts, hidden, 32, 36
- transformative change, 80, 125
- transformative protean power, 76
- translation, 31–33, 88, 91, 95, 98, 256, 258, 259, 262
 - during operational uncertainty, 87–91
- transnational advocacy networks, 65, 78, 96, 252, 276
- transnational networks, 80, 89, 93
- transparency, 137, 176, 222–223
- narrative, 222
- Trump, President Donald, 298–299

- trust, 149, 155–156, 171, 281
 Twitter, 200, 202, 203, 206, 207
- Uganda, 86, 96–97, 220
 Ukraine, xiv, 85, 91, 96, 148, 155–157, 163–164, 273
 Ukrainians, 85–86, 163
 Ulrichs, Karl Heinrich, 81–82, 88, 96
 unanticipated consequences, 17, 24, 80, 87–88, 168, 273
 unanticipated effects, 126, 128, 132
 unauthorized migrants, 101, 121, 122
 uncertain context, xii, 14, 31, 38, 126, 129, 177, 254, 270–271
 uncertain world, 14–15, 36, 38, 55, 97–99
 uncertainty, 9–19, 23–27, 29–31, 38–53, 61–64, 127–131, 165–169, 186–190, 271–282
 cognitive, 63–66
 fundamental, 23, 181, 195, 215
 incalculable, 10, 139, 166, 171
 irreducible, 40, 168, 179
 Knightian, xv, 167, 181
 operational, *see* operational uncertainty
 pervasive, 14–15, 208
 and protean power, 31, 32, 50, 69, 70
 radical, *see* radical uncertainty
 systemic, 149, 161, 277
 and terrorists, 188–208
 underlying, xiii, 21, 127, 157, 187, 211, 280
 unconventional revolution, 148, 158–159
 underlying context, 10, 13, 33, 81, 88, 94–96, 104, 189, 248
 unexpected change, 3–4, 9, 11, 52, 97
 unexpected outcomes, xiii, 14
 unintended consequences, 126, 169, 173
 United Kingdom, 82, 193
 United States, 65, 72, 108–109, 115–116, 158–159, 174–176, 236–239, 241–243
 and America, 267, 297–301
 Border Patrol, 108–110, 112, 114, 115
 universal sovereignty, and rights, 71–76
 unknowable unknowns, 63, 64, 125
 unknown unknowns, xiii, 30, 38, 41, 62, 124, 248, 271, 276
 unknowns, 39, 41, 62, 64, 70, 128–129, 276, 280, 288
 unknowable, 63, 64, 125
 unknown, xiii, 30, 38, 41, 62, 124, 248, 271, 276
 unpredictability, xi, 17, 218, 223, 272, 277, 284, 296–297, 298
 at technological frontier, 124–143
 unpredictable consequences, 168, 177, 185
 US–Mexico border, 100–123
 utility, 14, 47, 230, 269
- venture capital, 138–139
 Victor, David G., 248, 261
 violence, 101–103, 115, 118, 120, 191, 194, 200, 207, 291
 terrorist, 26, 46
 virtual currencies, 133
 visas, 85, 107, 134, 137
 visibility, 89, 121, 204
 volatility, 293, 298
 voluntary market, 247, 254–256, 258–263, 270
 volunteers, 196–197, 202
 vulnerability, 103, 231
 vulture funds, 181–182, 183, 185, 187
- Wall Street, 12, 137, 141, 174
 war
 bargaining model, 43–47, 50
 civil, xiv, 51, 118
 nuclear, 42, 231–232
 water, 147, 158, 161, 237
 weak, weapons of the, 36, 105, 120
 weaknesses, 53, 193, 197, 207
 weapons, xv, 229, 235, 239–241, 245
 conventional, 229, 235, 240–242
 nuclear, 27, 42, 231, 244
 of the weak, 36, 105, 120
 Weber, Max, 42
 Wellywood, 209
 Weyland, Kurt, 38, 51
 women, 47, 66, 113
 Wood, Elisabeth, 51
 World Bank, 174, 184, 257
 worldviews, 44–45, 102, 294
- Yellen, Janet, 139
 Yemen, 194, 199, 208, 240
 YouTube, 199, 203–205, 206