

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
 carbon 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
 Hollywood, 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

- 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

- 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

- 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
jihadi 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
legitimation, 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

- 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, 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, 65–66, 70, 76, 82, 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

- 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

- 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

- 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
techne, 170–173, 177–178, 268
techne-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