Territory, authority, rights
from medieval to global assemblages

Saskia Sassen

nitory, Authority, Rights takes up pivotal sources of friction in a process of globalizaoo often seen as simple and inexorable. With clarity and insight Sassen shows he meaning of each is reconfigured in contemporary social change. Her work is all to making sense of practical problems as well as theoretical issues."

Craig Calhoun, Social Science Research Council

Sassen is a spectacularly original thinker. She offers us not only new concepts, often a new vocabulary. Her central insight in *Territory*, *Authority*, *Rights*, that undernding globalization actually requires focusing on the national—or more precisely, phenomenon of 'denationalization' of many familiar domestic institutions and proses—opens the door to reimagining and retheorizing some of the most fundamenphysical and political elements of our world."

Anne-Marie Slaughter, Princeton University

is brilliant and pioneering work, Saskia Sassen provides a whole new way of ng about globalization and political development generally. This is a stunning vement. One of the beauties of the book is its careful historical analysis that puts obalizing present in the contexts of the past. However, not only is the message tant, but also the author's way of illustrating the story in wonderful detail, so we ading specifics as well as sweeping abstract ideas."

rate H. Ferguson, Rutgers University, Newark

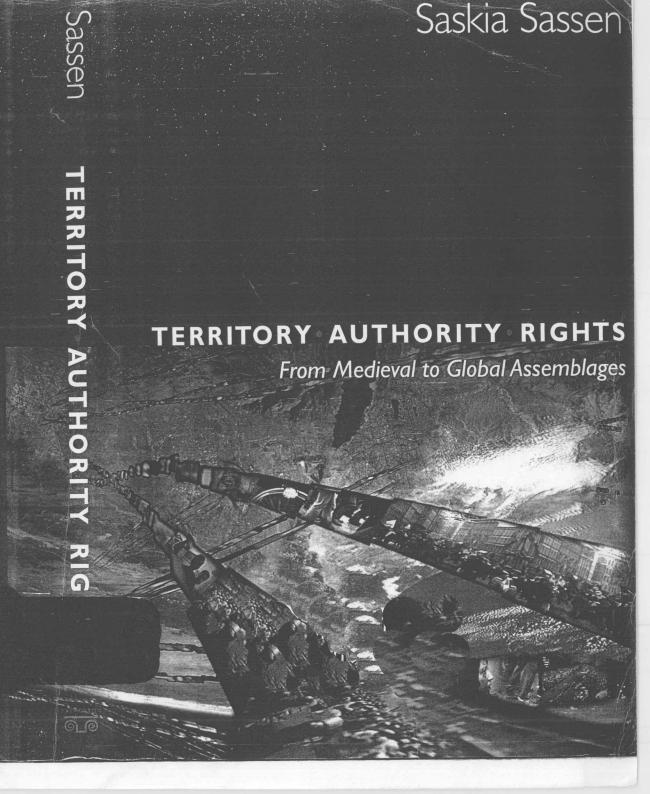
cory, Authority, Rights is a bold new work by the leading scholar of globalization. It oubtedly engage the author's many fans, renewing the conversation about gloun that Sassen has shaped in such substantial ways over the past twenty years. There than merely bringing her readers up to date with her thinking, the book resents a major new theorization of globalization. Profoundly multidisciplinary, ich new audiences, and in the process redefine the issues, possibilities, and that stakes in globalization. Sassen responds to globalization's critics from both left, carving out a distinctive analytical path with critical foundations of its e result is persuasive and compelling—a brilliant achievement that will define earch agenda with respect to globalization for years to come."

fred Aman, Indiana University School of Law

signed by Frank Mahood

photo by Hilary Koob-Sassen. The Paraculture, still nr. 8, 2005.

NCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS



TERRITORY · AUTHORITY · RIGHTS

From Medieval to Global Assemblages

Saskia Sassen

© 2006 by Princeton University Press

Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540

In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 3 Market Place, Woodstock,

Oxfordshire OX20 1SY

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Saskia, Sassen.

Territory, authority, rights: from medieval to global assemblages / Saskia Sassen.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-691-09538-7 (cl.: alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-691-09538-8 (cl. : alk. paper)

- 1. Social systems. 2. Social systems—History. 3. National state.
- 4. Globalization. 5. Jurisdiction, Territorial. 1. Title.

HM701.S26 2006

306.2'01—dc 22 2005048867

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available

This book has been composed in Goudy

Printed on acid-free paper. ∞

pup.princeton.edu

Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To Mara Van de Voort

An explorer of our world and her mind
with admiration.

Contents

List of Tables	2
Acknowledgments	хi
1. Introduction	
Historicizing Assemblages of Territory, Authority, and Rights	
Foundational Transformations in and of Complex Systems	
Capabilities	
Tipping Points	
Organizing Logics	1
Using History to Develop an Analytics of Change	1
Outline of the Book	1
Part One • Assembling the National	2
2. Territory, Authority, and Rights in the Framing of	
the National	3
Deciphering Medieval Territory, Authority, and Rights	3
Territorializing Authority and Rights	4
The Political Economy of Urban Territoriality	5
The Legal Order	6
Political Cultures of Towns	6
Conclusion: Medieval Capabilities and Their Consequences	7
3. Assembling National Political Economies Centered on	
Imperial Geographies	7
The State as the Critical Actor	7
Constructing a World Scale	8
Constructing National Economies Centered on	
Imperial Geographies	8

Constructing the Legal Persona of a National Bourgeoisie	96	Toward Global Law Systems: Disembedding Law from	
Constructing the Legal Fersona of a National Bourgeome	110	Its National Encasement	265
Constructing the Legality of a Disadvantaged Subject		Conclusion	269
The American State: Making a National Sovereign	121	Appendix	272
Out of a Confederation	132	Vulture Funds and Sovereign Debt: Examples from	2,2
Hypernationalism and Imperialism	132	Latin America (2004)	272
art Two • Disassembling the National	141	6. Foundational Subjects for Political Membership:	2,2
	148	Today's Changed Relation to the National State	277
The Tipping Point: Toward New Organizing Logics	149	Citizenship and Nationality	281
Varieties of Internationalism	157	Debordering and Relocalizing Citizenship	286
The Tipping Point	158	Deconstructing Citizenship: A Lens into the	200
Why Was Bretton Woods Not the Tipping Point?	130	Question of Rights	290
The United States: Shaping Systemic Capabilities for the	163	The Multiple Interactions between Legality and Recognition	294
Tipping Point	168	•	294
Redistributing Power inside the State		Unauthorized Yet Recognized	296
The Executive's Privatizing of Its Own Power	179	Authorized Yet Unrecognized	298
Reconstructing the Public-Private Divide	184	New Global Classes: Implications for Politics	
The Variable Articulations of Private and Public Authority	187	Toward Postnational and Denationalized Citizenship	303
The Rise of Markets and the Law in Reshaping the		Distinguishing Postnational and Denationalized	305
"Public Interest"	196	Toward a Partial Repositioning of Nationality	309
Appendix	204	Citizenship in the Global City	314
Executive Secrecy and Discretionary Abuses-		Conclusion	319
Bush Administration, 2001–2005	204		
	222	Part Three • Assemblages of a Global Digital Age	323
5. Denationalized State Agendas and Privatized Norm-Making	222	7. Digital Networks, State Authority, and Politics	328
Variable Interpretations of State Power in the		State Authority Confronts Digital Networks	330
Global Economy	224	Distinguishing Private and Public-Access Digital Space	336
Denationalized State Agendas	230	A Politics of Places on Cross-Border Circuits	338
Antitrust Policy: From Extraterritoriality to a Global System?	236	Embedding the Digital	340
International Economic Law: Autonomous from But Inserted		Digital/Nondigital Imbrications	344
in National Law	240	The Destabilization of Older Hierarchies of Scale	345
A New Institutional Zone of Privatized Agents	242	Mediating Cultures of Use	347
The Global Capital Market: Power and Norm-Making	247	New Interactions between Capital Fixity and Hypermobility	348
Distinguishing Today's Market for Capital	248		350
Governments and the Global Market for Capital	259	A New Generation of Markets and Instruments	352
The Partial Disembedding of Specialized State Operations		Managing Risk in Global Financial Markets	355
and Nonstate Actors	264	The Need for Technical Cultures of Interpretation	לננ

х A Politics of Places on Global Circuits: The Local 365 as Multiscalar 375 Conclusion 8. Assembling Mixed Spatial and Temporal Orders: Elements for a Theorization 378 379 Analytic Borderlands: Specificity and Complexity Mixed Spatio-Temporal Assemblages as Types 386 of Territoriality Juxtaposed Temporalities and New Economies 390 Excavating the Temporality of the National 395 397 Conclusion 399 In Conclusion 9. Conclusion 401 On Method and Interpretation 404 Territory, Authority, and Rights: National and Global Assemblages 406 From National Borders to Embedded Borderings: Implications for Territorial Authority 415 Toward a Multiplication of Specialized Orders: Assemblages of TAR 420 Bibliography 425

Index

CONTENTS

473

Tables

5.1.	Financial Assets of Institutional Investors, 1990–2001,	
	Selected Countries (bn USD)	252
5.2.	Cross-Border Transactions in Bonds and Equities, as	
	Percentage of GDP, 1975–2002 (Selected Years)	255
5.3.	Major Markets by Capitalization for Top 12 Markets,	
	2000–2004 (bn USD)	257
5.4.	Foreign Listings in Major Exchanges, 2000–2004	258

Acknowledgments

Any project that proceeds over years accumulates vast numbers of people and institutions to thank. I would like to begin with the Schoff Memorial Lectures Fund, which invited me to deliver three lectures on new work. Those lectures, delivered at Columbia University in 1995, were the first step into the subject of this book. Because these lectures were to be published, they ever so gently forced me to write, and there is no discipline like writing. Through this initial work I came to understand that I would need years of research, ruminations, and writing to do what I wanted to do. In addition to the fund I owe a large debt of gratitude to the late Dean Warren, to Kenneth Jackson, and to the many members of the Columbia community who came to all three lectures and provided support and valuable comments. Also special thanks to John Ruggie, Jagdish Bagwhati, and Katherine Newman, each one of whom introduced one of the lectures generously and with intellectual contributions of their own.

There are many great research assistants to thank, spanning my move from Columbia to Chicago. How to thank them for their intelligence, enthusiasm, support, reliability, and willingness to regularly do all-nighters—of which there were many at various junctures of the project. My appreciation goes to Giselle Datz, Rachel Harvey, Kathleen Fernicola, Harel Shapira, Chi-Chen Chiang, Shawna Davis, Lital Mehr, Sheldon Lyke, Joanna Woczjek, Geoff Guy, Nilesh Patel, Zachary Hooker, and many others. Colleagues both close to home and far away were an indispensable source of support and criticism. I owe many people a great thank you for intellectual support and great dinners. I wish I could name them all, but space constraints rule.

Funding was generously provided by various institutions directly and indirectly, among them the Ford Foundation, the Schoff Memorial Lectures Fund, the Volkswagen Foundation, and the Social Sciences Division Faculty Research Fund of the University of Chicago.

Princeton University Press was, as always, enormously supportive and helpful. I want to especially thank Ian Malcolm for his commitment,

energy, and wisdom in moving the project along. Jennifer Backer was exceptionally helpful and precise in her copyediting. Meera Vaidyanathan was swift and very helpful in guiding the book through production.

At home, Richard Sennett and Hilary Koob Sassen made all the difference with their love and laughter.

TERRITORY · AUTHORITY · RIGHTS

1 INTRODUCTION

We are living through an epochal transformation, one as yet young but already showing its muscle. We have come to call this transformation globalization, and much attention has been paid to the emerging apparatus of global institutions and dynamics. Yet, if this transformation is indeed epochal, it has to engage the most complex institutional architecture we have ever produced: the national state. Global-level institutions and processes are currently relatively underdeveloped compared to the private and public domains of any reasonably functioning sovereign country. This engagement cannot be reduced, as is common, to the victimhood of national states at the hands of globalization. The national is still the realm where formalization and institutionalization have all reached their highest level of development, though they rarely reach the most enlightened forms we conceive of. Territory, law, economy, security, authority, and membership all have largely been constructed as national in most of the world, albeit rarely with the degree of autonomy posited in national law and international treaties. For today's globalizing dynamics to have the transformative capacities they evince entails far deeper imbrications with the national—whether governments, firms, legal systems, or citizens—than prevailing analyses allow us to recognize.

The epochal transformation we call globalization is taking place inside the national to a far larger extent than is usually recognized. It is here that the most complex meanings of the global are being constituted, and the national is also often one of the key enablers and enactors of the emergent global scale. A good part of globalization consists of an enormous variety of micro-processes that begin to denationalize what had been constructed as national—whether policies, capital, political subjectivities, urban spaces, temporal frames, or any other of a variety of dynamics and domains. Sometimes these processes of denationalization allow, enable, or push the construction of new types of global scalings of dynamics and institutions; other times they continue to inhabit the realm of what is still largely national.

These are charged processes, even though they are partial and often

highly specialized and obscure. They denationalize what had been constructed as national but do not necessarily make this evident. The institutional and subjective micro-transformations denationalization produces frequently continue to be experienced as national when they in fact entail a significant historical shift in the national. Such transformations often need to be decoded in order to become evident. These instantiations of the global, which are in good part structured inside the national, do not need to run through the supranational or international treaty system. Nor do they need to run through the new types of global domains that have emerged since the 1980s, such as electronic financial markets or global civil society. They include particular and specific components of a broad range of entities, such as the work of national legislatures and judiciaries, the worldwide operations of national firms and markets, political projects of nonstate actors, translocal processes that connect poor households across borders, diasporic networks, and changes in the relationship between citizens and the state. They are mostly particular and specific, not general. They reorient particular components of institutions and specific practices—both public and private—toward global logics and away from historically shaped national logics (including in the latter international operations, which are to be differentiated from current global ones). Understanding the epochal transformation we call globalization must include studying these processes of denationalization.

Much of the writing on globalization has failed to recognize these types of issues and has privileged outcomes that are self-evidently global. Global formations matter, and they are consequential. Yet even global regimes often only become operative, or performative, when they enter the national domain. This entry is predicated on—and in turn further strengthens—particular forms of denationalization. The encounter between national and denationalizing processes is not an innocent event; it has multiple and variable outcomes. There is a sort of invisible history of the many moments and ways in which denationalizing tendencies failed to materialize and succumbed to the powerful currents of the national, still alive and well. In other cases denationalizing processes feed nationalizing dynamics in separate though at times connected domainsfor example, the denationalizing of certain components of our economy and the renationalizing in some components of our immigration policy. In brief, there is much more going on than meets the global eye—or than highly recognizable global scalings allow us to understand. The transformation we are living through is a complex architecture with many distinct working elements, only some of which can easily be coded as globalization.

Both self-evidently global and denationalizing dynamics destabilize existing meanings and systems. This raises questions about the future of crucial frameworks through which modern societies, economies, and polities

(under the rule of law) have operated: the social contract of liberal states, social democracy as we have come to understand it, modern citizenship, and the formal mechanisms that render some claims legitimate and others illegitimate in liberal democracies. The future of these and other familiar frameworks is rendered dubious by the unbundling, even if very partial, of the basic organizational and normative architectures through which we have operated, especially over the last century. These architectures have held together complex interdependencies between rights and obligations, power and the law, wealth and poverty, allegiance and exit. I will emphasize both negative and positive potentials associated with this destabilizing of existing arrangements.

HISTORICIZING ASSEMBLAGES OF TERRITORY, AUTHORITY, AND RIGHTS

In my reading of the evidence there are two distinct sets of dynamics driving globalization. One of these involves the formation of explicitly global institutions and processes, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), global financial markets, the new cosmopolitanism, and the war crimes tribunals. The practices and organizational forms through which these dynamics operate are constitutive of what is typically thought of as global scales.

But there is a second set of processes that does not necessarily scale at the global level as such, yet, I argue, is part of globalization. These processes take place deep inside territories and institutional domains that have largely been constructed in national terms in much of the world. What makes these processes part of globalization even though they are localized in national, indeed subnational) settings is that they are oriented towards global agendas and systems. They are multisided, transboundary networks and formations which can include normative orders; they connect subnational or "national" processes, institutions and actors, but not necessarily through the formal interstate system. Examples are cross-border networks of activists engaged in specific localized struggles with an explicit or implicit global agenda, for example, human rights and environmental organizations; particular aspects of the work of states, for example, certain monetary and fiscal policies critical for the constitution of global markets now being implemented in a growing number of countries; the use of international human rights instruments in national courts; and noncosmopolitan forms of global politics that remain deeply attached to or focused on localized issues and struggles.

A particular challenge in the work of identifying these types of processes and actors as part of globalization is the need to decode at least some of

what continues to be experienced and represented as national. The practices and dynamics listed above are not usually seen within global scalings. When the social sciences focus on globalization it is typically not on these practices and dynamics but rather on the self-evidently global scale. These instances are too often absorbed into conceptual frameworks that equate their location in a national setting with their being national, which obscures their global dimensions

A key proposition that has long guided my research is that we cannot understand the x—in this case globalization—by confining our study to the characteristics of the x—i.e., global processes and institutions. This type of confinement is a kind of endogeneity trap, one all too common in the social sciences and spectacularly so in the globalization literature. The basic position in that literature is to explain globalization as growing interdependence, the formation of global institutions, and the decline of the national state; the most persuasive organizing fact in these descriptions is the power of transnational corporations (TNCs) to override borders and national governments or of the new telecommunications technologies to compress time and space. These various features of the global amount to a description but not an explanation of globalization.

Avoiding this endogeneity trap is one of the organizing efforts in this book. There are consequences to a type of analytics that posits that an explanation of x needs to be configured in terms of the non-x. For one, it demands a focus on the work that produced the new condition—in this case, globalization. How do we get from non-x to x? But we cannot confine this effort to tracking how a new condition—in this case, globalization—gets constituted. The "new" in history is rarely simply *ex nihilum*. It is deeply imbricated with the past, notably through path dependence, and, I will argue, through a tipping dynamic that obscures such connections to the past. The new is messier, more conditioned, and with older lineages than the grand new global institutions and globalizing capabilities suggest.

To avoid endogeneity and to historicize both the national and the global as constructed conditions, I have taken three transhistorical components present in almost all societies and examined how they became assembled into different historical formations. These three components are territory, authority, and rights (TAR). They assume specific contents, shapes, and interdependencies in each historical formation. The choice of these three rests partly on their foundational character and partly on the contingency of my fields of knowledge. One could, and I hope someone will, choose additional components or replace one or another of these.

Territory, authority, and rights are complex institutionalizations constituted through specific processes and arising out of struggles and competing

interests. They are not simply attributes. They are interdependent, even as they maintain their specificity. Each can, thus, be identified. Specificity is partly conditioned by level of formalization and institutionalization. Across time and space, territory, authority, and rights have been assembled into distinct formations within which they have had variable levels of performance. Further, the types of instruments through which each gets constituted vary, as do the sites where each is in turn embedded—private or public, law or custom, metropolitan or colonial, national or supranational, and so on. Using these three foundational components as analytic pathways into the two distinct assemblages that concern me in this book, the national and the global, helps avoid the endogeneity trap that so affects the globalization literature. Scholars have generally looked at these two complex formations in toto and compared them to capture the differences. Rather than starting with these two complex wholes—the national and the global—I disaggregate each into these three foundational components. They are my starting point. I dislodge them from their particular historically constructed encasements—in this case, the national and the global—and examine their constitution in different historical configurations and their possible shifting across and/or insertions in various institutional domains. This also produces an analytics that can be used by others to examine different countries in the context of globalization or different types of assemblages across time and space.1

The dislodging of national capabilities that, I posit, is at work in constituting the global poses particular analytic difficulties. Critical here are the historical assemblage represented by the nation-state and the state-centric interpretation of history that has dominated the social sciences. In the modern

I use the concept assemblage in its most descriptive sense. However, several scholars have developed theoretical constructs around this term. Most significant for the purposes of this book is the work of Deleuze and Guattari, for whom "assemblage" is a contingent ensemble of practices and things that can be differentiated (that is, they are not collections of similar practices and things) and that can be aligned along the axes of territoriality and deterritorialization. More specifically, they posit that particular mixes of technical and administrative practices "extract and give intelligibility to new spaces by decoding and encoding milieux" (1987: 504-5). Another significant contribution is that of Ong and Collier, for whom the proliferation of technologies across the world produces "systems that mix technology, politics, and actors in diverse configurations that do not follow given scalings or political mappings." Their concern is not with the broad structural transformations or new configurations of society and culture, but rather with "a range of phenomena that articulate such shifts: technoscience, circuits of licit and illicit exchange, systems of administration or governance, and regimes of ethics or values" (2004: 4: 9-14). These global assemblages are sites for the formation and reformation of "anthropological problems." There are many more elaborations around the concept assemblage, including not surprisingly, among architects and urbanists (vide the journal Assemblages). While I find many of these elaborations extremely important and illuminating, and while some of the assemblages I identify may evince some of these features, my usage is profoundly untheoretical compared to that of the above-cited authors. I simply want the dictionary term. I locate my theorization elsewhere, not on this term.

state. TAR evolve into what we now can recognize as a centripetal scaling where one scale, the national, aggregates most of what there is to be had in terms of TAR. Though never absolutely, each is constituted as a national domain and, further, exclusively so. Where in the past most territories were subject to multiple systems of rule, the national sovereign gains exclusive authority over a given territory and at the same time this territory is constructed as coterminous with that authority, in principle ensuring a similar dynamic in other nation-states. This in turn gives the sovereign the possibility of functioning as the exclusive grantor of rights. Clearly, then, globalization can be seen as destabilizing this particular scalar assemblage. Much attention has gone to the fact that the nation-state has lost some of its exclusive territorial authority to new global institutions. Now we need to examine in depth the specific, often specialized rearrangements inside this highly formalized and institutionalized national apparatus that enable that shift. It is not simply a question of policymaking. In overlooking such rearrangements it is also easy to overlook how critical components of the global are structured inside the national, producing multiple specialized denationalizations.

Today particular elements of TAR are becoming reassembled into novel global configurations. Therewith, their mutual interactions and interdependencies are altered as are their institutional encasements. These alterations take place both within the nation-state, for example, from public to private, and through shifts to the international and global level. What was bundled up and experienced as a unitary condition—the national assemblage of TAR—now increasingly reveals itself to be a set of distinct elements, with variable capacities for becoming denationalized. The disassembling, even if partial, denaturalizes what has often unwittingly become naturalized—the national constitution of territory, authority, and rights. These three building blocks are my navigators inside the two black boxes that are the national and the global. Each evinces the analytic capability for dissecting these two master categories.

FOUNDATIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN AND OF **COMPLEX SYSTEMS**

At its most abstract, my question is about how to study and theorize foundational transformations in and of complex systems. Complex systems are not made ex nihilum. Critical to the analysis in this book is the possibility that some capabilities can be shifted toward objectives other than the original ones for which they developed. Also critical is that for this shift to happen a

foundational reorientation in existing systems must occur. In part 1 of this book, that foundational shift is the constructing of the national in good measure through a repositioning of particular medieval capabilities. In part 2 this foundational reorientation is the construction of the global in good part through the repositioning of particular national capabilities. Part 3 then examines what assemblages might be forming though they may remain as yet barely legible, and what elements of the new organizational logic articulating territory, authority, and rights are getting locked in, thereby precluding other path dependencies.

When it comes to the analytics of historical transitions, knowledge about the dynamics shaping them can help raise the level of complexity through which we examine and understand current transformations. Rather than modeling the past or current periods to isolate a few causal variables, the effort here goes in the opposite direction. Recent scholarship has shown us the multifaceted rather than monocausal character of the earlier historical period that saw the emergence of territorial sovereign states. This is an important correction of the state-centric perspective that continues to dominate our understanding of the rise of territorial states and emerged partly as a function of the formation of national states. The effect has been a sort of capture by the nation-state frame of much of post-sixteenth-century history in the West.

This book uses particular historical conjunctures as a type of natural experiment. My analysis of such historical periods is not aimed at historical chronologies and evolutions. Though historical details are crucial and constitutive to my analysis, the effort is theoretical. Thus, going back to the earlier period of state formation is using history to illuminate possibilities and lockins rather than tracing an evolution. The fact that key dynamics of the current transformation tend toward disaggregation, in a reversal of the earlier period that saw the formation of the nation-state, is only one aspect of this inquiry. The main rationale is to use history as a natural experiment that has run its course and hence allows us to understand the character of discontinuities, to wit, that they can accommodate the transfer of old capabilities into new organizing logics. In developing this analytics of change, I specify three constitutive elements: capabilities, tipping points, and organizing logics. I introduce these briefly here; they recur throughout the book.

Capabilities

INTRODUCTION

Capabilities are collective productions whose development entails time, making, competition, and conflicts, and whose utilities are, in principle, multivalent because they are conditioned on the character of the relational systems within which they function.² That is to say, a given capability can contribute to the formation of a very different relational system from the one it originates in. In using historical conjunctures as natural experiments to develop a more complex analytics of change, one can detect whether and how major transitions ushering novel arrangements, such as the shift from the feudal to the nation-state order, might depend on multiple capabilities of the older order. This "dependence" is not necessarily easy to recognize, as the new organizing logic can and will tend to alter the valence of a given capability.

This type of analysis makes legible the multivalence of capabilities and thereby helps explain some of the illegibility of major transformations in the making. It also signals that the capabilities needed to constitute complex structures are built over time, and that notions about major transformations entailing the destruction of the prior order are deeply problematic. But so are those who, accepting this proposition, then consider that there is nothing new in today's global era. My interpretation of the historiographies and the evidence about current developments points to an in-between dynamic: some of the old capabilities are critical in the constituting of the new order, but that does not mean that their valence is the same; the relational systems or organizing logics within which they then come to function may be radically different. The critical issue is the intermediation that capabilities produce between the old and the new orders: as they jump tracks they are in part constitutive and at the same time can veil the switch by wearing some of the same old clothes. In much of the book I seek to decipher particular historical configurations to understand this process of switching.

Much discussion about the ongoing role of the national state in today's global age evinces this type of confusion. First, it is not the national state as such, in its totality, but particular components that are undergoing denationalization; second, the valence of particular capabilities arises out of the organizing logics within which they are inserted.

This is made evident in, for instance, the rule of law and various components of the supranational system that were critical capabilities for the

development of the nation-state and the interstate system but at a given confluence of dynamics can enable the formation of a global system. As they do, they begin to neutralize some (not all) of the critical features of the nation-state and interstate system. This illustrates one of the crucial dynamics I identify as part of foundational social changes. I mostly designated this dynamic for shorthand as the fact that capabilities can jump tracks and become part of new organizing logics.

Tipping Points

A second feature, then, of the methodology and heuristics developed in this book is specifying the particular dynamics involved in capabilities switching relational systems and/or organizing logics. That is to say, this type of analysis can accommodate the fact of tipping, or the "event" in Sewell's sense, rather than being confined to the outcome—a new whole or order.³ A focus on the outcome rather than the tipping point is typical of much of the literature on globalization; this then leads to comparisons of the national and the global and easily falls into the trap of assuming that if the global exists it is in spite of the national. An analytics of capabilities and tipping points keeps us from having to posit that the ascendance of a new order necessarily means the end of the old order. And it keeps us from having to accept the proposition that the national state is still doing what it has long done and that not much has changed.

I specify three distinct features of an analytics of tipping points.

First, for the types of questions raised in this book, identifying the tipping point is a matter of extant historiographies and possibly novel interpretations. The central concern in this book is twofold: to develop an analytics that allows a more complex explanation of foundational change and to develop a better explanation of the foundational change we are living through today. The critical historical tipping point of concern in this book is the one that moves us from an era marked by the ascendance of the nation-state and its capture of all major components of social, economic, political, and subjective life to one marked by a proliferation of orders. Correspondingly this is also the most extensive analysis of a tipping point in the book, covering much

² The concept of capabilities has been developed conceptually by a variety of scholars with different questions in mind. Most known and influential are probably the constructs developed by Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000). In both these elaborations there is a strong positive valence. My use of the term is simpler, more descriptive, and closer to the word as distinct from the construct. Further, in my use it is multivalent, in that I include what we might think of as negative capabilities normatively speaking: the capacity to destroy what ought not to be destroyed, such as human life or good cropland. Finally, I do not confine the term to individuals, but also include systems.

³ The notion of tipping points first entered the public discourse in the United States in discussions about white flight from inner-city neighborhoods in the 1960s where black residents had crossed a certain threshold as a percentage of the population (e.g., Crane 1991). Sociologists developed several models capturing these and other trends (e.g., Granovetter 1978; Schelling 1971). Gladwell (2000) has once again brought the term into circulation.

of part 2. Detecting the transformations I am after, then, required moving inside the national state apparatus as it becomes the site for its own partial disassembling (chapters 4 and 5). Parts 2 and 3 address specialized instantiations of dynamics that construct the switch.

Second, because this analytics aims at capturing the transition from one order to another, it must accommodate the possibility of informal actors and practices as part of the pertinent processes, both of which may eventually become formalized. Among these dynamics informal practices are particularly important as they allow me to explore one of my hypotheses, to wit, that also the excluded make history. In terms of the analytics in this book, making history here can be identified as constructing capabilities. I explore this, among others, through the burghers of the Late Middle Ages—informal political subjects engaged in informal political practices—and their struggles to constitute themselves as carriers of formalized rights and obligations through the development of urban law (chapter 2). I also explore this through the case of minoritized citizens and unauthorized immigrants who through their informal practices can destabilize and blur formalized meanings of political membership as defined in today's modern nation-state (chapter 6).

Third, because it is about switching from one to another relational system and/or organizing logic, an analytics of tipping points needs to accommodate the distinction between that which is prevalent and that which is not yet is in the process of becoming dominant, that is, it is already producing systemic changes. What is already becoming dominant may as yet be incompletely formalized or basically informal.

Organizing Logics

Insofar as I use history to detect and deduce the character of organizing logics, the three major such instances of concern in this book are, respectively, the centrifugal scalings of the Late Middle Ages held together by several encompassing normative orders, the centripetal scaling of the modern nation-state marked by one master normativity, and the centrifugal scalings of the global that disaggregate that master normativity into multiple partial normative orders, thereby leaving open the questions as to its sustainability if we take history as a guide. In this regard then, the global is novel—different from earlier centrifugal scalings in that it also disaggregates normativity into specialized subassemblages.

Two components of the organizing logics arising in Europe as of the sixteenth century are the national state and the world political economy. This

consideration entails a complicating element in that each needs to be positioned analytically both in the era of the formation of the national state and that of the global. Thus I posit that there are two critical components in the organizing logic of each the national and global era: the state and the empire—or, more analytically, a world scale for politico-economic operations. Central to the effort is, then, to distinguish the analytic positioning of the state and the world scale in, respectively, the national and global eras. Thus in examining the postwar Bretton Woods system I find that it is not part of the global era even though it developed capabilities that were to become crucial for the new global era. And I examine the national state today to argue that the executive needs to be distinguished as a strategic site for global operations.

Given the type of capabilities analysis developed in this book, foundational change need not entail the elimination of everything that constituted the preceding order. Hence, capabilities and tipping points are intermediations that allow me to capture, or deduce, this feature of foundational change because they disaggregate the whole into capabilities that die with the death of the old order and others that do not. In part 1 I examine how particular medieval capabilities fed the formation of a centralized state bureaucracy and the abstract notion of sovereign authority. A novel order is not an invention ad novo, and it does not necessarily announce itself as new, as radical strangeness—like science fiction or a futuristic account.

USING HISTORY TO DEVELOP AN ANALYTICS OF CHANGE

The scholarship on the earlier periods, with all its debates, produces a far more complex landscape than indicated by current models of social change, which are typically geared toward isolating key variables to create order where none is seen. Detailed historical accounts and debates open up the range of possibilities. Looking at this earlier phase is a way of raising the level of complexity in the inquiry about current transformations. Rather than a model, I am after a finely graded lens that allows me to disassemble what we have come to see as necessary aggregations and to track the formation of capabilities that actually have—whether in medieval times, the Bretton Woods era, or the global era—jumped tracks, that is to say, gotten relodged in novel assemblages. Thus, the divinity of the medieval sovereign represents the formation of an elusive capability whereby power is not just raw power but becomes legitimate authority; this capability in turn I interpret as becoming critical to the later formation of secular sovereignty, albeit with a switch in

vocabularies and a novel rhetoricization. The internationalism that states developed through the setting up and implementing of the Bretton Woods agreement is a radically different type of world scale from that of the global era that emerges in the 1980s; nonetheless, critical capabilities for international governance and operations were developed in that process, which eventually became relodged into novel global assemblages.

This interpretive stance brings with it a methodological concern about including informal, or not yet formalized, institutional arrangements and practices in the analysis of change. That which has not yet gained formal recognition can often be an indicator of change, of the constituting and inserting of new substantive logics in a particular domain of the social—economic, cultural, political, discursive, subjective—which is thereby altered even though its formal representation may remain unchanged, or, alternatively, altered even though it remains informal, or is not yet formalized. These informal logics and practices, I argue, can be shown to have contributed to historical change even though they are often difficult to recognize as such. The fact that informal logics and practices are one factor in historical change also contributes to the lack of legibility that is frequently a feature of major social changes in the making.

This illegibility of social change is an issue that runs through the book and one for which history is a fruitful guide. The scholarship on "mentalities" has shown us, for instance, how difficult it is to apprehend such change. One of my concerns here is deciphering deep structural shifts underlying surface continuities and, alternatively, deep structural continuities underlying surface discontinuities. This then also rests on my conceptualization of certain conditions and dynamics as capabilities that can jump tracks and wind up lodged in path dependencies that diverge from the original ones. For instance, at a time when industrial capitalism was the new dominant logic, most people in England were still employed in agriculture and much of the economy and politics were centered in older social forms; industrial capitalism was dominant but not prevalent. I argue in part 2 of the book that we can make a parallel observation about denationalization today. We still do not recognize the precise locus of the epochal transformation we are living through and as a result cannot see its significance—what prevails in interpretation is the ongoing weight of national states and/or the self-evident scale of the global and its powers, leaving no room for the possibility of this third dynamic.

Two critical categories the book focuses on are the national state and the world scale. I use particular states as emblematic of the major changes in each of the eras examined. They are the French Capetian state in the Late Middle Ages, the British state in the development of industrial capitalism,

and the United States in the post–World War II era. Focusing particularly on one state is a necessity given space constraints and the particular analytics I seek to develop in this book—that is, the need to understand major issues through detailed examinations of practices and discursive domains in ways that can accommodate both formal and informal processes and actors. This matters to the effort of capturing tipping points and the relocation of particular capabilities into a novel assemblage of territory, authority, and rights, one constituted through an organizing logic that differs from that of the preceding assemblage even as it captures some of its capabilities. Substantively, this is a way of specifying the character of the current transformation, to wit, my insistence that the national is one of its key locations. This type of interpretation of what is epochal about the transformation we are living through carries distinct policy implications when it comes to democratic participation and accountability.

The configuring of each of these states allows me to examine particular conjunctures when capabilities jump tracks. Specifically, in part 1 the focus is on the tipping points whereby capabilities shaped in the forging of decentered political systems are relodged into a national scalar assemblage; and, in part 2, on today's tipping points that relodge capabilities of national political economies into assemblages that denationalize and globalize nationally oriented capabilities. These capabilities come from both the public and private domains as constituted in the national era. Getting relodged into denationalizing and global organizing logics not only reorients these capabilities toward objectives other than those to which they were oriented, it also reconstitutes the construction of the public and the private, and of the boundaries between these domains.

One of my theses is that today's most developed form of globalization, economic corporate globalization, could not have happened without the use of highly developed capabilities of national economies. Further, precisely because they are highly developed, these capabilities functioned in the immediate past in ways that strengthened the national state. Through their typically partial denationalization they get relodged into globalizing dynamics. My reading of history then makes problematic the prevalent notion in the globalization literature that the new phase entails the elimination, or weakening, of what made the national state strong. I posit that such capabilities are collective productions whose development requires time, constructing, and conflicts; they are constitutive of assemblages, even as the latter in turn produce organizing logics that reposition those capabilities. For instance, the "rule of law" is a capability that was critical to the strengthening of national state authority to institute national economic protectionism. But today it is

also critical to the global economy in order to open national economies. It is sufficiently developed that it can operate in a context of national protected economies and also become a key building block for the success of neoliberal deregulation and privatization—to some extent features that are the opposite of protectionism. But it can do so only by getting relodged in a new organizing logic.

In that sense, using history as a natural experiment can help illuminate some of these issues by providing the complexity of thick environments where multiple pressures and dissensions operate and by providing (rather than our having to forecast) the outcomes of these complex interactions. Game theoretic models would aim at simplifying, which can be a good thing, but they would do so at the cost of assuming we understand the organizing logic. The historical past can, ironically perhaps, provide us with a far more powerful analytic terrain than any model when we are confronting complex reconfigurations such as those we see today. Using particular historical configurations as a natural experiment also disciplines the researcher to avoid the risk of reifying crucial conditions, dynamics, and outcomes.

The second critical category in this book is the world scale. One of the theses I develop is that there are foundational differences between the world scale of several earlier phases of the world economy and today's global economy. The possibility of such foundational differences is critical to my thesis about the denationalizing of conditions historically constructed as national. I interpret these earlier world scales as constituted through the projection of emerging national territorial states onto the world for the purpose of developing national systems. This is an interpretation that corresponds to, and builds on, several strands in the scholarship about the emergence of capitalism, including Wallerstein's masterful contribution (1974) about the modern world system. However, in contrast to much of the current work that builds on historical studies, notably work with a world-system perspective, I interpret today's world scale as foundationally different in that it is constituted in good part through the insertion of global projects into a growing number of nation-states with the purpose of forming global systems. I include de facto as well as formalized projects that secure the development of global systems. Today it is, then, the foundational features of multiple global, rather than national, systems that get partly structured inside nation-states.

From this derives a second thesis about the world scale, one following up on the notion of capabilities. In earlier world scales we see considerable levels of development and institutionalization of capabilities, both administrative and economic, for what today we would consider global operations. Among these we can include already in the seventeenth century

institutions such as the Bank of Amsterdam, the Bank of England, and stock markets that operated internationally, and toward the late 1800s, firms with affiliates across the world. What matters here are not the institutional features of these various entities, since these corresponded to conditions of that time, but the fact that they entailed capabilities for global operations. The Bretton Woods era represents an even more developed world scale.

Emphasizing the existence and development of these capabilities in earlier periods raises the analytical ante when it comes to my first thesis about foundational differences between earlier eras and today's world scale. In emphasizing a difference in spite of the fact that many of the features of today's world scale (firms with affiliates, global markets, cross-border administrative facilities) were present in the earlier phase, I position myself between the two main trends in the scholarship. Simplifying brutally, one of these trends posits a novel development, that is, globalization, and the other contests this notion. In much of the scholarship the earlier world scale has either not been addressed or been used to argue that nothing has really changed and we are living through a further development of what started in the sixteenth century as a capitalist world system.

At some very general level of analysis we can argue that today's global era is more of the same—yet another phase in the history of capitalism and/or the world system. But that is not the level of generality that interests me. I do make room for continuities by emphasizing the development of capabilities, but I diverge from the main strands in the scholarship in that I interpret key historical moments as the dislodging of at least some capabilities from an existing organizational logic and their insertion in a novel one. A key effort is, then, to emphasize analytically the extent of the institutional and operational development of the earlier world scale; this means, for instance, emphasizing the capabilities developed for extracting resources from colonies and imperial domination, rather than emphasizing extraction and domination as such. Herein then lies one point of divergence from what are key interpretations in the scholarship about the current phase and its relation to the past, which tends to emphasize either continuities or discontinuities. I examine to what extent both are flawed interpretations insofar as key capabilities developed in the earlier phase can become foundational to a subsequent phase but only as part of a new organizational logic that in fact also foundationally repositions those capabilities. The flaw, so to speak, I detect in much of this scholarship is an assumption that the sum of a given set of parts inevitably produces the same assemblage.

There are, then, two analytic issues that emerge out of this and might be seen as contradictory: one of them is the fact that much has