Assemblage, Globalization and the State

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GLOBAL-RURAL project





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Research Questions:

- How does globalization transform the material composition of rural places through the introduction, removal, substitution and circulation of material objects including commodities, technologies, crops, financial capital, etc.?
- How is globalization 'performed' in rural space through the behaviours, cultural practices and mobilities of migrants, tourists, entrepreneurs and public officials?
- How is the rural discursively constructed and contested as a global space, in economic, social and environmental terms?
- How do local governance institutions and policies condition and contribute to the negotiation of globalization processes in rural localities?
- How are contemporary rural experiences of globalization historically situated?

Background

 Point of departure is the relational critique of globalization articulated by Ash Amin,
 Doreen Massey, Michael P Smith and others

"Globalization is not a single all-embracing movement (nor should it be imagined as some outward spread from the West and other centres of economic power across a passive surface of 'space'). It is a making of space(s), an active reconfiguration and meeting-up through practices and relations of a multitude of trajectories, and it is there that lies the politics" (Massey, 2005: 83)

Background

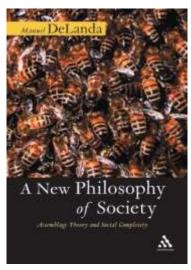
- How to operationalise a relational approach to globalization?
- Attracted to assemblage thinking for its emphasis on emergence, multiplicity and indeterminacy
- Drawing on Foucault and Latour, but especially DeLanda's (2006) Deleuzianinspired rendering of assemblage thinking

DeLanda's Assemblage Thinking

Manuel DeLanda posits 3 core attributes of assemblages:

- I) Assemblages are composed of both material and expressive components, and individual components may have both material and expressive roles
- 2) An assemblage is given shape, stabilized and destabilized through processes of territorialization and deterritorialization.
- 3) An assemblage is given an identity through coding, including practices of naming, classification and rule-setting. Decoding processes dissent from established meanings, break rules and give rise of heterogeneity.





DeLanda's Assemblage Thinking

Further principles from DeLanda:

- Assemblages are dynamic and contingent, always in a state of becoming
- Assemblages are engaged in recurrent interactions with other assemblages from which larger assemblages may emerge
- Components of an assemblage may be detached and plugged into a different assemblage in which its interactions are different
- Assemblages tend towards internal homogeneity

- Fragmented and partial engagement by assemblage scholars
- Two broad concerns:
 - 'Global assemblages' as structures or systems (assemblage as noun)
 - Globalization as a process of assembling (assemblage as verb [agencement])

Work on 'global assemblages'

- Saskia Sassen (2006) Territory, Authority,
 Rights
 - Purely descriptive use of 'assemblage'
 - "my useage is profoundly untheoretical compared to that of [other] authors. I simply want the dictionary term. I locate my theorization elsewhere, not on this term" (Sassen, 2006: 5 fn)

Work on 'global assemblages'

- Collier and Ong (2005) global assemblages as "systems that mix technology, politics and actors in diverse configurations that do not follow given scales or political mappings" (Ong 2005, p 338)
- Emphasis on technological, administrative and ethical regimes articulated through global assemblages and how these reshape ways of ruling and living
- Global produced through interactions within assemblages

Work on 'global assemblages'

"The product of these interactions might be called the actual global, or the global in the space of assemblage. In relationship to 'the global', the assemblage is not a 'locality' to which broader forces are counterposed. Nor is it the structural effect of such forces. An assemblage is the product of multiple determinations that are not reducible to a single logic. The temporality of an assemblage is emergent. It does not always involve new forms, but forms that are shifting, in formation, or at stake. As a composite concept, the term 'global assemblage' suggests inherent tensions: global implies broadly encompassing, seamless, and mobile; assemblage implies heterogeneous, contingent, unstable, partial and situated." (Collier and Ong, 2005: 12)

Work on 'global assemblages'

- Collier and Ong echo the relational critique of globalization and point towards analysis of microprocesses and experiences
- "what Deleuze has called 'little lines of mutation', minor histories that address themselves to the 'big' questions of globalizations in a careful and limited manner" (Collier and Ong, 2005: 15)
- Global not necessarily spatial, also global as universal
- See also Hollander (2010) on the global ethanol assemblage

Work on process of assembling the global

- Latour (2005) Re-assembling the Social
- Global exists only in sites in which it is assembled from components
 - Study of the global must start by localizing the global back to these sites
 - Only then can the global be re-assembled by laying "continuous connections leading from one local interaction to other places, times and agencies through which a local site is made to do something" (Latour 2005, p 173)
 - Global not necessarily spatial, also specific to general

"Capitalism has no plausible enemy as it is 'everywhere', but a given trading room in Wall Street has many competitors in Shanghai, Frankfurt and London – a computer breakdown, a sneaky movement by a competitor, an unexpected figure, a neglected variable in a pricing formula, a risk accounting procedure - that may shift the balance from an obscure profit to a dramatic loss. Yes, Wall Street is connected to many places and in this sense, but this sense only, it is 'bigger', more powerful, overarching. However, it is not wider, larger, less local, less interactive and less an inter-subjective place than the shopping centre in Moulins, France, or the noisy and smelly market stands in Bouake, Ivory Coast. Don't focus on capitalism, but don't stay stuck on the screen of the trading floor either: follow the connections, 'follow the actors themselves'"

Bruno Latour (2005) Re-assembling the Social, pp 128-9.

Work on process of assembling the global

- Latourian perspective on assemblage developed in work on urban assemblages (e.g. Farias and Bender (2011) *Urban Assemblages* and Blok and Farias (2016) *Urban Cosmopolitics*)
- Applied to globalization:
 - Latham and McCormack (2011) on big city marathons as 'global events'
 - Slater and Ariztia (2011) on urban regeneration and cultural globalization

Work on process of assembling the global

- Tania Murray Li (2007, 2005) on land and forestry assemblages
- Foucauldian-informed framework of six practices generic to any assemblage
 - Forging alignments
 - Rendering technical
 - Authorizing knowledge
 - Managing failures and contradictions
 - Anti-politics
 - Reassembling

- Adding DeLanda provides a bridge and another dimension
- Emphasis on stabilization of assemblages and interaction between assemblages
- I) Globalization involves re-arranging components in assemblages
 - Adding, detaching, altering material or expressive roles, reconfiguring relations between components, transferring components between assemblages
 - Branch plants sold by one company to another; international land transactions; commodities trade transnationally; migrants moving from one social assemblage to another.

- 2) Globalization occurs through the recurrent interaction between assemblages
 - Aligns or fuses capacities to produce new translocal assemblages with global reach
 - E.g corporate mergers; coalescence of social movements; tendency of trading blocs (e.g. EU, NAFTA) to negotiate agreements to create more extensive trade areas

- 3) Globalization also occurs through the deterritorialization of assemblages
 - New connections made or relations between components re-ordered to overspill the boundaries of the assemblage
 - E.g. Company starting to export; household sending member abroad as a migrant worker.
 - Literal forms of deterritorialization as detachment from territory (e.g corporate divestment, refugee fleeing from home)

- 4) Globalization proceeds through cycles of coding, decoding and recoding
- Involves processes outlined in Li's (2007)
 Foucaldian model
- Includes linguistic coding of scale (e.g. local, regional, national, international)
- Decoding as internal rules of assemblages are transgressed (e.g. tax avoidance by transnational corporations; illegal immigrants)
- Global assemblages develop their own internal codes and rules and give rise to new transnational regulatory assemblages

- 5) Globalization fostered by natural tendency of (global) assemblages towards internal homogeneity
 - TNCs standardizing supplies, products and processes
 - Tourism operators making the exotic familiar
 - Supra-national organizations adopt and promote universal values and standards
 - Neoliberalism pushing global economic assemblage towards trade liberalization and eradication of trade barriers.

Three further principles

- There is no predominant direction to the exercise of power or agency in globalization
 - The global does not impose its will on the local
 - Scale is not a natural hierarchy but is present as reach and magnification
 - The territorialization of a smaller assemblage can impact on the territorialization of a larger assemblage of which it is part
- Globalization is not a linear process
 - Territorialization/deterritorialization, coding/decoding
 - No clear line of causality
 - Rhizomic assemblages reproduce through mimicry and imitation (e.g. social movements, cultural fashions, technological mimicry)

Three further principles

- Globalization is a more-than-human phenomenon
 - Global assemblages can only be global because of incorporation of non-human components that enable them to transcend space (e.g. jet engines, fibre optic cables, satellites, refrigeration technologies etc)
 - Non-human components only arranged in this way and inscribed with meaning through human agency
 - Some non-human entities escape from globalizing assemblages to form new dissident assemblages (e.g. invasive species and pathogens)

- Surprisingly limited geographical analysis of places as assemblages
 - Urban assemblages (Farias and Bender, 2010;
 Blok and Farais 2016)
 - Parker (2009) on Amman
 - Rosin et al (2013) on Central Otago
 - McFarlane (2011) on Mumbai and Sao Paulo

- DeLanda discusses neighbourhoods, cities and nations as assemblages
 - Material components including buildings, public spaces, infrastructure

"On the material side, we must list all the physical locales defining stations for the periodic intersection of life paths of neighbours (the local square, churches, pubs, shops) as well as the street providing the necessary connectivity among them. A whole underground infrastructure, starting with water and sewage pipes and conduits for the gas that powered early street lighting was added in the nineteenth century, and the twentieth contributed with electricity cables and telephone wires" (DeLanda, 2006: 99)

- DeLanda discusses neighbourhoods, cities and nations as assemblages
 - Expressive components including building facades and iconic skylines

"On the expressive side, it was the exterior of buildings, that is, the decoration (or lack of it) of their facades, that defined the personality of the neighbourhood. In residential neighbourhoods where streets were narrow and their layout formed a complex maze, the frontage of houses remained rather plain. Hence, expressive exteriors appear first in public buildings. They were typically located on a central square in which the surrounding space open up vistas, that is opportunities for unusual visual experiences, and effect enhanced by a straight street leading to the church, administrative building or monument." (DeLanda, 2006: 100)

- DeLanda discusses neighbourhoods, cities and nations as assemblages
 - Territorialization linked to processes of congregation and segregation in social mixing of population

"The case of institutionalized segregation is perhaps the clearest example, since in this case both the boundaries and composition of a neighbourhood are codified by law and enforced by government organizations. But congregation may also result in relatively homogenous composition (by race, ethnic group, class, language) even when one assumes a desire by residents to live in a relatively integrated neighbourhood. If people who do not actively discriminate also prefer not to be in the minority whether relative to their immediate neighbours or relative to their overall proportion in the neighbourhood, there will be critical thresholds in the composition of a neighbourhood beyond which a chain reaction takes place causing a flight away from the locale by one of the groups." (DeLanda, 2006: 101)

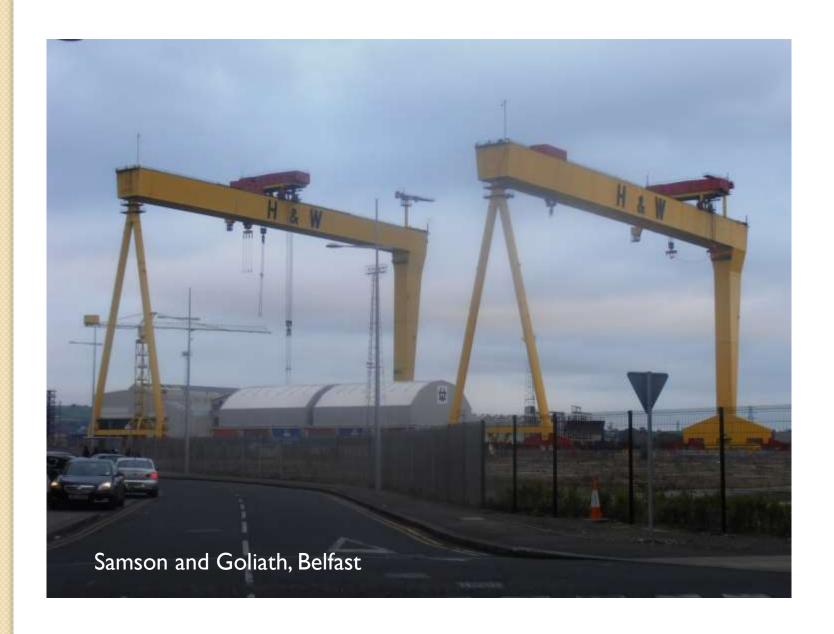
- DeLanda discusses neighbourhoods, cities and nations as assemblages
 - Deterritorialization through processes such as outmigration and innovations in urban transportation:

"A good example of the destabilizing effects of the increased mobility afforded by mechanical transportation are the changes that working-class neighbourhoods underwent towards the end of the nineteenth century. These neighbourhoods had sharply defined borders when the journey to work was on foot, but as the electric trolley became available the need to live near the factory was removed and new working-class suburbs with more porous boundaries emerged." (DeLanda, 2006: 100)

Three statements from McFarlane (2011)

- "Assemblage thinking emphasizes the depth and potentiality of sites and actors in terms of their histories, the labour required to produce them, and their inevitable capacity to exceed the sum of their connection" (p 654)
- "urban assemblages are not simply a spatial category output, or resultant formation, but signify doing, performance and events" (p 255)
- "the urban assemblage is structured, hierarchized and narrativised through profoundly unequal relations of power, resource and knowledge. Rather than a kind of crude opposition to structural hierarchy, the spatialities and temporalities of urban assemblages for instance in relation to policy or development formations can be captured, structured and storied more effectively and with greater influence by particular actors or processes than by others" (p 255)

- I) Globalization impacts on places through the interactions between place-assemblages and translocal social, economic, cultural, political and technological assemblages
 - Place- and translocal assemblages share components, but with different roles
 - The relations of a component in a translocal assemblage may change without affecting the material or expressive role of the entity in a place-assemblage (e.g factory switched to producing goods for new market, or takenover by another TNC)
 - Reterritorialization of a translocal assemblage impacts on the material role of a component in a place-assemblage (e.g. closure of a factory; FDI; arrival of new migrants)
 - Entities lose material role in place-assemblages due to reterritorialization of translocal assemblages, but retain an expressive role



- 2) Effects in translocal and place assemblages linked by developments in assemblages of connectivity that provide conduits between places
 - Enabling and constraining effects
 - Budget air travel enabled expansion of international tourism, transformed new destinations, denuded traditional resorts, but is constrained by location of airports, landing fees and distance range of aircraft

- 3) Patterns of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in translocal assemblages prompt patterns of deterritorialization and reterritorialization in place assemblages
 - FDI and divestment, booms in international tourism, out- and in-migration all deterritorializing pressures on place assemblages as they dilute internal homogeneity and/or transgress spatial boundaries
 - New forms of territorialization and connectivity introduced, which may be spatial or organizational

- 4) Globalization can prompt processes of decoding and recoding in place-assemblages as meanings are re-negotiated and 'rules' no longer hold effectively
 - Changes in formal codes, e.g. land use planning policies
 - Changes in informal rules of everyday social interaction, e.g. language, customs and cultural practices
 - Re-coding from incorporation into translocal assemblages and tendency toward internal homogeneity, e.g. new rules for areas designated as national parks, nature reserves etc..

• But what about the State?



Assemblage and the State

Strange invisibility of the State in assemblage thinking

- Little mention in work on urban assemblages (e.g. Farais and Bender 2010; Blok and Farais 2016) or global assemblages (e.g Collier and Ong 2005)
- Positioned in work on policy assemblages as the site in which policy assemblages are produced and reproduced
- Dismissed by DeLanda in his materialist ontology
 - "Other reified generalities, like 'the State' should also be replaced ... in addition to communities a set of interacting persons can give rise to institutional organizations possessing emergent properties like legitimacy. Organizations, in turn, can interact to form a larger whole like a federal government" (DeLanda, 2010, Deleuze: History and Science, pp 7-8)
 - "both 'the Market' and 'the State' can be eliminated from a materialist ontology by a nested set of individual emergent wholes operating at different scales" (ibid, p 8)

Assemblage and the State

 However, DeLanda also notes 'incompatabilities' with Deleuze and Guattari's frequent references to the state

• "The first sign of incompatibility is that the expression 'the State' occurs throughout their work." (DeLanda, 2010: 10)

Back to Deleuze and Guattari....

I) The evolution of the modern state is tied to the realization of global capital

"What is called a nation-state, in the most diverse forms, is precisely the State as a model of realization" Deleuze and Guattari (1988) A Thousand Plateaus, p 456

"In principle, all States are isomorphic; in other words, they are domains of realization of capital as a function of a sole external world market" Deleuze and Guattari (1988) A Thousand Plateaus, (p 464)

- States not suppressed by global capital, but necessary to globalization of capitalism
- Opens door to drawing on political-economy theory

2) The state is a striation machine, it divides and rules

"abstract machine of overcoding or stratification" (Bonta and Protevi, 2004, p. 147)

"Not only does the State exercise power over the segments it sustains or permits to survive, but it possesses, and imposes, its own segmentarity" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, ATP, p 210)

"One of the fundamental tasks of the State is to striate the space over which it reigns, or to utilize smooth spaces as a means of communication in the service of striated space" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, ATP, p 385)

- 2) The state is a striation machine, it divides and rules
- States striate global smooth space into nation-states
- States striate their internal territory into a political geography of administration
- States striate or segment society
- State territorialisation follows an arborescent structure that others are compelled to imitate (Woods et al., 2013 in EPD)

"If we ask the general question what holds things together?", the clearest, easiest answer seems to be provided by the formalizing, linear, hierarchized, centralized, arborescent model." (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, ATP, p 327)

3) The state can also act as a smoothing machine

In striating space and segmenting society, the state also creates smooth spaces in which social and economic interactions can take place (cf Bogard, 2000, in *Cultural Studies*)

- Markets as smooth spaces
- Social policy as the creation of smooth spaces
- Communications infrastructure as smooth spaces
- Smoothing of the body
- "Smoothing, then, necessarily implies striation" (Bogard, 2000, p 288)

- 4) The state is a coding machine
- Nation-states as the over-coding of global space
- States code people, places, commodities, practices, values etc
- Law as a coding device
- Coding (and de-coding, re-coding) is essential to governance (cf governmentality)

"The State ... is an apparatus or complex mechanism whereby alien and rogue semiotics and machine assemblages are captured and overcoded, engulfed by a transcendent force that striates all reality: space, time, body, culture, nature." Bonta and Protevi (2004) p 147

The State as smoothing machine facilitates globalization by creating smooth spaces for the movement and exchange of capital, commodities and people

- Free trade areas/agreements and transnational 'single markets'
- Visa-free travel areas and arrangements
- International treaty obligations
- Smoothing also striation
- New hard boundaries to transnational smooth spaces (e.g. external border of EU)
- Construction of the 'global' itself an act of striation by establishing planetary boundaries

The State's coding and striation of its internal territory and subjects conditions interactions with global or transnational assemblages

- Internal lines of striation (spatial and social) that inhibit the mobility of objects (e.g. employment restrictions on migrants; market regulations; biosecurity zones)
- Coding of entities restricts or conditions their exchange between assemblages (e.g. laws on foreign ownership of land or corporations; tariffs on imported commodities)
- The neoliberal state is engaged in internal smoothing and re-coding in the interests of global capital

The State is engaged in an ongoing struggle with rhizomic lines of flight that seek to evade its coding and segmentarity

"Migration and trade across national borders tend to complicate the effort to create a single national identity, and to this extent they may be considered deterritorializing" (DeLanda, 2006, ANPS, p 117)

- Off-shoring of economic activity and divestment of capital
- Migration flows
- Global cultural circulation and imitation
- Transnational terrorism and crime
- Global social movements
- More-than-human globalization of pests and pathogens
- The state is constantly engaged in re-coding and reterritorialisation in response to globalizing lines of flight

The persistence of the state in globalization

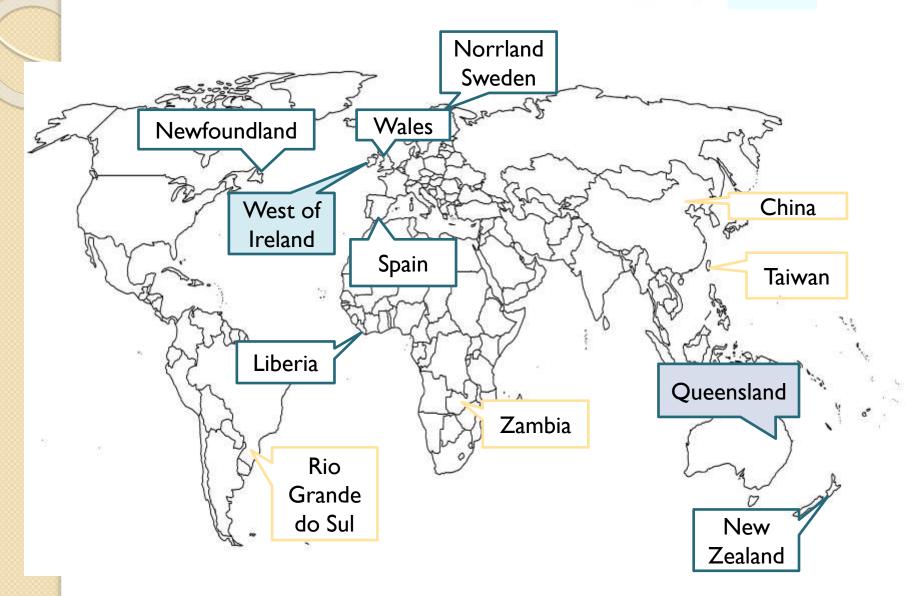
"the nation-state system ... overcodes the planet, such that it is not only simply impossible to carve out a non-State anywhere, but also all attempts to achieve independence from existing nation-states result in the establishment of yet more nation-states; regardless of the proliferation of non-State actors and even globalization, the State is still the 'only conceivable' way by which the earth can be organized by humans."

Bonta and Protevi, 2004, pp 147-8

Case Studies



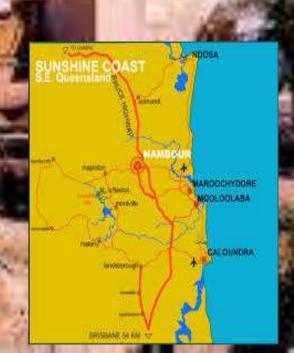




Closure of Moreton Sugar Mill, Nambour, Queensland, 2003

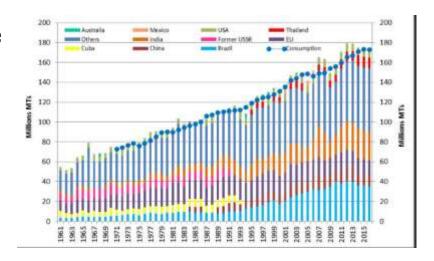
"With poor harvests, falling world prices and growing competition from Brazil, the owners of the mill at Nambour – Bundaberg Sugar – say the Sunshine Coast operation is no longer viable."

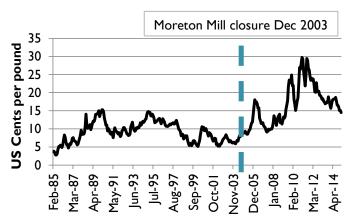
ABC 7.30 Report, 15 July 2003



Reterritorialization of the global sugar assemblage

- Deterritorialization of historic trade arrangements
- Emergence of new markets
- Additional input from Brazil, Thailand etc
- Effects of over-supply on coding of world sugar price

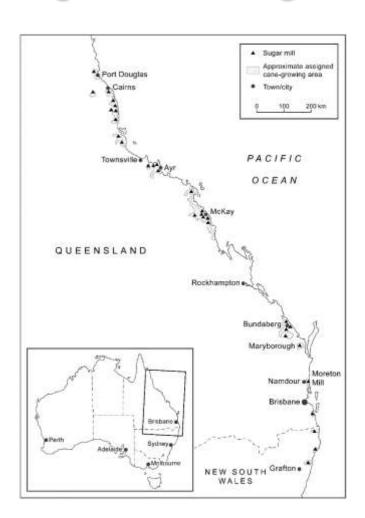




Monthly average price of New York Daily Price, Contract No 11, for raw sugar, 1985-2015 (Data from www.indexmundi.com)

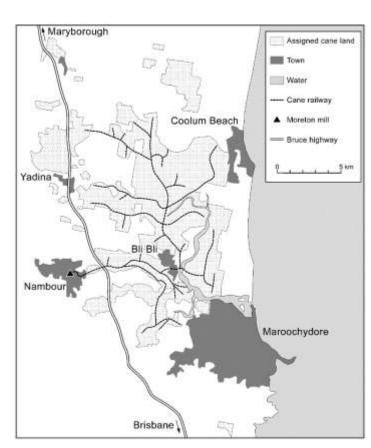
Pressure on the Australian sugar assemblage

- Rigid organizational and spatial territorialisation
- Monopoly purchasing system
- Cane land assigned to mills
- Competitive advantage from R&D, compromised by imitation and capture by other national assemblages
- Discourse of adjustment through increased production



Challenge for the Moreton Mill assemblage

- Rigid organizational and spatial territorialisation connecting caneland to mill
- Consensus view that viability of mill depended on increasing production
- Increasing production required expanding the assigned land: reterritorialisation by recoding and enrolling new components
- Competition for land with alternative assemblages, especially urban development and tourism



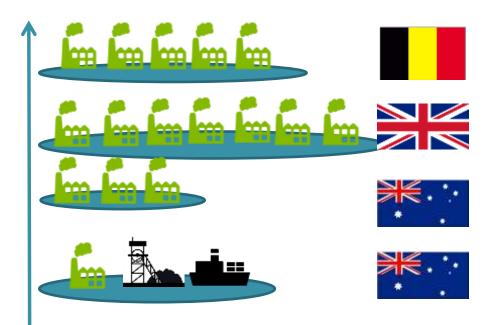
Owners of Moreton Mill

2000-2003 Finasucre

1991-2000 Tate and Lyle plc

1988-1991 Bundaberg Sugar Ltd

1976-1988 Howard Smith Ltd



1894-1976 Moreton Central Mill Ltd





- Re-coding of mill within corporate assemblages as transferred in company takeovers and sales
- Post-closure (unsuccessful) attempts to re-assemble components to access new markets
 - Grower buy-out of mill
 - Attachment of land to other mills
 - Conversion to biofuel production
 - Production of sweet cattle feed for Asian markets
- Endurance of expressive role of components in new heritage assemblage







State as an actor in reterritorialization of global and national sugar assemblages

- State-led smoothing and striation of trade spaces forces reterritorialization (exclusion of Australian sugar from UK market post EEC entry)
- Brazilian state's dismantling of proalcool biofuel programme created smooth space that permitted sugar previously coded for biofuel to flow to export markets
- Australian state as neoliberal smoothing machine promoting global free trade and smoothing striation of Australian sugar market

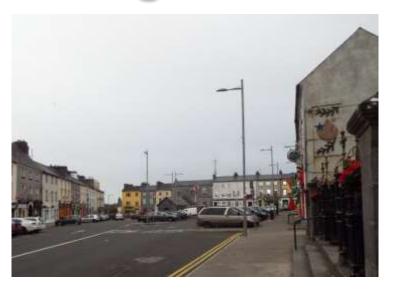
Limits of state power

- Australian state strategy based on erroneous coding of projected world sugar price
- Privatization and deregulation of Australian sugar industry only partial deterritorialization, as also dictated by other influences including materiality of the sugar cane plant
- Coding and striation of land by local state to protect cane land from conversion not sufficient to capture required additional land from competing assemblages
- Failure to enrol the state and its resources in new assemblages to replace the Moreton sugar assemblage

Long-term viability of the Moreton Mill sugar assemblage constrained by the materiality, arrangement and adaptability of its components, but ultimately defined by interaction with other assemblages, local and global:

- Geographical location and competition from other local assemblages
- Reconfiguration of the global sugar assemblage and fluctuations in the world market price for raw sugar
- The recoding of Moreton Mill within the corporate assemblage of its owners
- The practice of the (neoliberal) state in smoothing and striating space with intended and unintended consequences





Gort
County Galway
'Rio on Shannon'

Population 2,644 (2011) Over 40% of population in 2008 was Brazilian

Ballyhaunis
County Mayo
'Ireland's most diverse town'

Population 2,312 (2011)
43 nationalities recorded in 2011
census
48% born outside Ireland



- International migration as deterritorialization
- Migration involves the assembling of components and connectors to facilitate movement across space
- Migrants are enrolled as components in place-assemblages with material roles (e.g. as labour) and expressive roles
- Migrants introduce additional components into place-assemblages with material and expressive roles

 In Ballyhaunis: Mosque, Islamic burial ground, halal shops, cricket club, Polish shops and products, Polish language school, books in Polish, Urdu etc in local library, 'exotic' plants in community garden





 In Gort: Brazilian food shop and hairdressers, money transfer office, internet café, Brazilian Pentecostal churches, Brazilian football teams in local league, bilingual signage, Brazilian flags during soccer world cup

Migrants contribute to the reterritorialization of the place-assemblages

- Reconfiguration of social relations, networks and structures
- New geographies (residential patterns, spaces of integration, spaces of segregation)
- New hybrid spaces and artefacts

Migrants contribute to the re-coding of place-assemblages and their components

- Place identity
- Codes of social interaction
- Religious codes
- Language of everyday life



- Immigration is facilitated by the State as smoothing machine
- State differentially codes different migrants
 - EU/non-EU
 - Legal/illegal
 - Asylum seekers and refugees
- Differential coding striates the migrants' bodies and their spatial and social mobility
 - Access to employment
 - Access to education and public services
 - Ability to participate in community life
 - Access to spaces within the town

- Old Convent reception centre in Ballyhaunis established 1999 for processing of asylum seekers
- Privately-run facility under contract to Irish government



- Around 200 residents at any time
- Capture into arborescent assemblage of the State of a rhizomic line of flight
- Coding of residents as asylum seekers
- Spatial mobility striated by compelled residence at Old Convent centre
- Exclusion from labour market differentiates asylum seekers from other immigrants
- Social participation constrained by finance (€12 weekly allowance)
 and temporal uncertainty

Lines of flight from State coding and territorialisation

- Breaching of visa conditions by Brazilian migrants in Gort
 - Participation in informal economy
 - Overstaying visa
- Deviation from script for integration and coding of Irish citizenship
 - Non-participation in integration activities
 - Assertion of cultural codings in tension with codings of the Irish state

- Re-territorialisation of Irish state assemblages under conditions of austerity
- Cuts to funding for integration initiatives and additional support for schools
 - Deterritorialization of components from integration assemblages
- Spatial reorganisation of police and immigration services
 - Removal of dedicated immigration officer from Gort Gardai (police) station
 - Relocated in different town 25km away
 - Changed attitude towards community relations and particularly to 'illegal' immigrants

Conclusions

- Assemblage thinking highlights the micro-politics of globalization, emphasizing contingency, heterogeneity and contestation
- Globalization involves processes of (re-)assembling through interactions of global, national and local assemblages (as nouns)
- Places are reconstituted in globalization through interaction with translocal assemblages, introduction or withdrawal of components and processes of reterritorialization and recoding
- Distributed agency points to the involvement of multiple actants, including the state
- The state both facilitates and responds to globalization
- The arborescent territorialisation and coding practices of the state circumscribe the conditions of interaction between place-assemblages and translocal assemblages



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www.globalruralproject.wordpress.com