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Of scales, networks and assemblages: the League of Nations apparatus and the scalar sovereignty of the Government of India

Stephen Legg

Whilst greatly valuing recent critiques of the vertical imaginary and reified ontology of scale theory, and of the unfettered flows of network theory, this paper argues against a human geography without scale. Rather, four propositions from the theoretical literature are used to provide a tool-kit to analyse the practical negotiation of scalar politics, namely that: scales should be considered as effects, not frames or structures, of practice; networks must be considered in all their complexity and heterogeneity; networks can be interpreted as assemblages, the more re-territorialising and re-scaling of which can be analysed as apparatuses; and that state apparatuses work to create the impression that scales are ahistorical, hierarchical and possess exclusive relationships. These propositions are used to explore a period of history when the scalar constitution of the world was under intense debate. The interwar era saw the imperial scale clash with that of the international, both as ideological worldviews, and as a series of interacting institutions. The assemblages of internationalism and imperialism were embodied by apparatuses such as the League of Nations and the colonial Government of India respectively. Attempts by the League to encourage the abolition of tolerated brothels in an attempt to reduce the trafficking of women and children led to intense debates between the 1920s and 1930s over what constituted the legitimate domains of the international and the 'domestic'. These explicitly scalar debates were the product of League networks that threatened the scalar sovereignty of the Raj, most directly through the travelling Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East in 1931.

key words India colonialism scale League of Nations networks assemblage

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Introduction

In the 1930s the League of Nations and the Government of India were engaged in an explicitly scalar debate that attempted to define the legitimate remits of the League's covenanted duties concerning trafficking of women and children. The British argued that there was a clearly definable domain of the 'international' to which the League should be confined, whereas the League insisted that there was no such domain, and that the 'international' was constituted by nothing other than networks which incorporated the 'domestic'. This debate has stark parallels with the contemporary scale debate, in which proponents of 'flat ontologies' are positioned against those who argue for the continued relevance of scale, however defined. Just as the 1930s controversy provides evidence both for the power of imperialist and internationalist networks and the continued importance of scalar hierarchies, this paper will suggest that scales are effects of networked practices. This does, however,

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entail definitions of scale that are greatly changed since the beginning of critical scalar analysis 25 years ago, and which are articulated with specific regard to the sexual geographies of the subject matter here considered.

Taylor's (1982) establishment of a materialist framework for political geography is widely acknowledged as the foundational text for a re-invigorated analysis of scale (see Marston *et al.* 2005, 417). Whilst the legacy of this structuralist study of the world-economy has been much commented upon, there are two aspects of his intervention which have garnered less attention. The first is the shift from Wallerstein's (1974) horizontal divisions of the world into core/semi-periphery/periphery to a vertical division of the world into the three tiers of global/national/urban (Taylor 1982, 24). The second legacy is the delimitation of the realm of 'experience' at the scale of the urban, occluding smaller scales where alternative experiences may have come into view.

Both of these tendencies have been pronounced in academic research more broadly and are currently exciting fervent debate. Firstly, whilst not suggesting a return to Wallerstein's world-view, debates around the 'new imperial history' are considering whether an emphasis on imperial networks (see Lester 2001 2006; Hall 2002), or the 'webs' of empire, sufficiently acknowledge the hierarchies of race, class, religion and gender they traversed (Ballantyne and Burton 2005, 3), prompting Burton (2007) to call for a fuller consideration of method and scale in studies of world history.

Secondly, feminist authors have called for a consideration not only of the gendered division of space, but also of scale. Marston (2000), for instance, has argued for a consideration of the home as a scale of consumption, as well as the reproduction of labour, while Blunt (2005) has examined the different ways in which notions of motherland and fatherland are performed in spaces of domicile and diaspora (also see Duncan and Lambert 2004, on the mobile and gendered nature of 'home'). Comparable moves have also been made in studies of sexuality. For instance, the relations between sexuality and nationalism has been examined (Mosse 1997), as have the scales of the closet (Brown 2000). The prostitute has perhaps attracted most interest in this sense, transgressing as s/he does the scales of the intimate, 'red light' districts, regions and states of tolerance, and global flows relating to sex tourism or trafficking (Barry 1995, 75).

At the intersection of these research interests stand a series of studies exploring the experience and regulation of colonial prostitution (Ballhatchet 1980; Levine 2003; Howell forthcoming). Such studies must contemplate not only the multi-scalar nature of the prostitute as a body, concept or fantasy, but also as a problem, which caused regulations to be circulated and experimented with across the globe (Howell 2000). Of particular interest has been the brothel, which acted as the location for sex between two bodies, as a local space of regulation and infamy, as a barometer of national morality, and as an international destination for men and women alike (for instance, see Tambe 2006; Levine 2000). These studies have tended to focus, however, on the nineteenth century, with imperialism as the conditioning framework, whereas this paper will examine the years between the two worlds wars in which imperialism encountered the emergent phenomena of internationalism and trafficking. Whilst the de-territorialising networks established through these debates have been well studied, the role of scale remains less clear.

This paper will argue that it is essential that we retain a human geography with scale (contra Marston *et al.* 2005), but that scale be critically considered as a narrative device, a measure of distance and a technique of governmentalities (from the personal to the international), rather than a plane at which structural processes operate (Gibson-Graham 1996). A review of the literature on scales, networks, assemblages and apparatuses will work towards four major methodological propositions, which will be used to analyse the empirical data in the rest of the paper. The propositions, in brief, are that:

1 Scales should be considered as effects, not frames or structures, of practice.
2 Networks must be considered in all their complexity and heterogeneity.
3 Networks can be interpreted as assemblages, the more re-territorialising and re-scaling of which can be analysed as apparatuses.
4 State apparatuses work to create the impression that scales are ahistorical, hierarchical and possess exclusive relationships.

Drawing upon the theoretical review, a discussion of international jurisprudence and imperial expansion will frame a consideration of the alleged 'spatial chaos' (Schmitt 1950 [2003], 257) of the League of Nations. This will anticipate the investigation in the second part of this paper, which will provide a

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relief to much of the ahistorical scale literature by exploring the clash between the League and the colonial Government of India over the issue of trafficking in women and children.

Networks, scales, assemblages and apparatuses

Human geographies with scale

There have been growing calls within historical research for increased attention to be paid to the interrelations between the different scales at which supposedly 'global' processes operate. Such calls have questioned the 'idea of place' (Driver and Samuel 1995; also see Massey 2005), the validity of metropole/periphery distinctions within new imperial histories (Lester 2006), the relationship between 'social history and spatial scope' (Stearns 2006), or between fragments and wholes (Putnam 2006), and the 'disconnection, segmentation, and segregation' of the world's 'hierarchically ranked spaces' (Driver 2007, 321). Such calls can be situated within a broader unease regarding the spread of the network metaphor within research on world history, and social studies more generally.

From its academic origins in disciplines such as social network analysis and anthropology (Knox *et al.* 2006), the metaphor has been taken up in studies of 'networked society' (Castells 1996), technical networks, business organisation and actor networks. One of the chief theorists of the latter (Latour 1999) has already distanced himself from the rigidity of the 'networks' that no longer criss-cross the divides of the non/human, power/knowledge, structure/complexity, the real/narrated/collective (as advocated in Latour 1993, 3–5). Various other critics have also commented on the failure to analyse power within network analyses, which can fail to: distinguish between networks as forms of analysis and forms of government (Dicken *et al.* 2001); to comment upon their articulation alongside power hierarchies (Henry *et al.* 2004); to study relations rather than comparisons, or to move away from technological determinism (Smith R G 2003); to examine contestation within networked relationships (McFarlane 2006); or to appreciate the complexities of power relationships, in terms of type, pattern, degree and connectivity (Rocheleau and Roth 2007).

However, networks do help us consider both relatedness and *distance* (Knox *et al.* 2006, 134); network analysis must have 'a point; it must be enacted as a stopping place' (Strathern 1996, 523). As such, more attention must be paid to notions of distance, proximity, hierarchies, connectedness, outsideness and surfaces to enrich our geographical understanding of networks (Latour 1997). It is within the negotiation between networks and distance, as well as power, that the concept of scale may prove most useful.

It is well beyond the capacity of this paper to provide a comprehensive summary of the scale literature, within and beyond geography (see Herod and Wright 2002; Howitt 2003; Sheppard and McMaster 2004). But the contemporary debate must be situated against a rich and diverse background of Marxist analyses of the production of scale by capitalist equalisation/differentiation and territorial organisation; that is, as a process, not a fixed hierarchy of cartographic scales (Smith 1984 2004). Politics of scale thus emerge as frameworked activities, from capital accumulation and state regulation to identity formation and campaigns for social justice, both within an area and between scales (Brenner 2001, 600). Such investigations have gone beyond a specifically Marxist methodology to examine electoral politics, student movements, activism, and social reproduction and consumption (Marston 2000). Various methodological experiments with scale have sought to explain the dynamism and evolution of scale by welding their analysis to that of 'tangled hierarchies and dispersed interscalar networks' (Brenner 2001, 605), explicitly linking the 'vertical' positioning of scales alongside 'horizontal' socio-spatial processes (also see Bulkeley 2005).

Marston *et al.* (2005) have taken exception to what they see as the intrinsic verticality of the scalar imaginary, a problem which remains unsolved after the addition of horizontal networks to the equation, or the thinking of scale alongside other socio-territorial formations. Scale is posed as inseparable from vertical assumptions about size or level, which map onto binaries of micro/macro, agency/structure or local/global. As an alternative they recommend 'flat ontologies' that take the 'site' as the foci around which the systematic flows and orders of the world are constricted or normativised. Such sites would be formed by their material and emergent relations, not by externally imposed classifications and orders (also see Jones III *et al.* 2007; Marston *et al.* 2007; Woodward *et al.* 2007).

The paper has sparked a lively debate, eliciting criticisms of underplaying the sophistication with which hierarchies have been analysed as multiple,

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overlapping and resisted against from within (Mahon 2006), and with which scales have been analysed as non-static (Inkpen *et al.* 2007). Moore's (2008) substantial review convincingly argues that Marston *et al.* enfolded the practical workings of scale into their analytical critique, and thus blinded themselves to the workings-out of scalar practices. Some commentators have defended the utility of a vertical analysis of scale (Leitner and Miller 2007), which seems to miss the most useful part of Marston *et al.*'s critique, while others accept the need to focus on the site, but as part of an experiential approach to scale (Masuda and Crooks 2007).

It seems to me that Marston *et al.*'s criticism of the vertical/horizontal epistemology informing the scale debate is of crucial importance in undermining the belief in scales as planes at which processes (regional, global etc.) operate, as is their stance against unfettered network flows. Their abandonment of scale, however, hints at a utopianism that wishes away the effects of scalar arguments and practices on the materialities to which the authors are committed. It also seems that in abandoning scale as 'level' they have also jettisoned notions of scale as 'size' or 'relation' (Howitt 1998, cited in Marston 2000, 220; Howitt 2002). Yet, despite their provocative title, a human geography totally without scale is not what the authors advocate at all. In responding to Gerry Kearns' comments about the powerful effects of named hierarchies, Marston *et al.* (2005, 420) admitted the need to 'expose and denaturalise scale's discursive power', acknowledged the existence of scale as an epistemological ordering frame, and encouraged us to be 'more attentive to the concrete operations of the scalar epistemology'. This distinction between ontology and epistemology has been dismissed as specious, creating the impression of a world which works one way, but in which people can act as if it did not (Smith 2005b 2007). The unequal distribution of power relations in the world make a human geography without scale both idealist and unrepresentative of the lived and historically specific hierarchies which scalar rhetoric and technologies create, both epistemologically and ontologically. This is not to insist that processes operate at scalar levels, or that there are higher or lower scalar planes. Rather, it is to acknowledge both the vital nature of scale as a narrative for describing the world (Jonas 2006), and the impact of scale on practices of government, capitalism, patriarchalism and numerous other forms of power relation.

Such an approach is compatible with conceptualisations of scale in other theoretical domains, concerning (at the very least) revised actor network theory (ANT), assemblages and governmentalities. In responding to Marston *et al.* (2005), Collinge (2006) recommended ANT as a tradition that had challenged the existence of macro-structures or nested scales and which posed an alternative to flat ontologies (also see Murdoch 1998; Thrift 1995; Smith R G 2003). 'Scale' in ANT is used to refer to bigger or smaller networks, not levels, spheres or layers.

This commitment to a reformed type of scalar analysis was confirmed in Latour's (2005) *Reassembling the Social*, which attempted to break down the 'global', redistribute the 'local', and show how these two 'scales' were connected. The not particularly novel observation that macro is not wider or larger than the micro but more connected (see Barth 1978) was complemented by the acknowledgement that hierarchies exist between sites. These are hierarchies of near or far, not high or low, and travelling between them involves paying the full cost of relation, connection and displacement (Latour 2005, 176). This does not mean that scale pre-exists social relations: 'scale is what actors achieve by *scaling*, *spacing*, and *contextualising* each other through the transportation in some specific vehicles of some specific traces' (Latour 2005, 183–4). It is thus the performance of scale, and the payment for the establishment of continuous, costly, two-way relations between places which wish to dominate others, that should be examined (Latour 2005, 192; or how micro become macro actors, as examined in Latour and Callon 1981).

Responding to Collinge's suggested utilisation of Latour, Jones *et al.* again confirm the necessity of analysing scale, which is: 'so normativized and centralized as to make it impossible to think space without it' (2007, 271). But they dismiss Latour's politics as 'lamely bourgeois'. Without accepting the nature of this criticism, it is useful to think of Latour's notion of scale alongside other theories with more accessible routes into rethinking globalisation, policy and politics, and which admit the selective, blocked and partial spread of networks (Allen 2003, 134).

Assemblages, apparatuses and scalar effects

One such route is through the notion of 'assemblages', although the word itself fails to communicate the multiple meanings of the phrase '*agencement*', as

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originally used by Gilles Deleuze (see Phillips J 2006). Whilst the contributors to ANT drew upon Deleuze's work, the original concept of assemblages still provokes what Marcus and Saka call a 'nervous condition for analytic reason' (2006, 102). This nervous analysis, whilst committed to a network ontology (Erikson 2005), forces the researcher to conceptually move from structures to relationships, from temporal stability to uncertain periods of *emergence* and *heterogeneous* multiplicities, resisting the siren call of final or stable states, which are the foundations of classical social theory (Marcus and Saka 2006, 106). Emergent and heterogeneous assemblages would obviously have to be studied with a specific approach to scale, although there are misleading signposts within the Deleuzian literature in this regard.

Patton (2000, 42–4; referring to Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 33) argued that assemblages can be divided into those that are extensive, or macro-political, and those that are intensive, or micro-political. The former are numerical multiplicities and are characterised by, for instance, clashes over sex, nation or class, while the latter are qualitative and are characterised by clashes over affinities such as sexual orientation or belonging. This seems to posit two scalar planes on which different multiplicities play out relations of different natures, recreating the sort of binary that post-structuralist theory more broadly has sought to deconstruct.

Fortunately, assemblage-based analytics more generally are deconstructionist in exactly this vein. This is more clearly communicated in the well-known work of Deleuze on processes of re-, and de-, territorialisation which constitute assemblages themselves (see Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Lenco 2007, 12). These lines of ordering and lines of flight, whether of thought, material or consciousness, are the driving mechanism within assemblages that necessarily cross scalar categories of size. As Erikson put it, central to the approach of Deleuze (and Foucault)

> was the need to investigate the ontological conditions of the relationships of macrolevel structures and microlevel movements and flows, either in terms of history or desire. (2005, 603)

However, even here, there is a resistant attachment to structural epistemology, which is often combined with the previously mentioned scalar binaries within assemblage theory. Two recent examples can illustrate these dangers.

Sassen (2006) traces a complex path from medieval to global assemblages, following Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in defining assemblages as contingent ensembles of practices and objects that are organised along axes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation. Whilst she speaks of examining how the 'national' is constructed by microprocesses, of how the 'international' is constituted by micro-organisations, and how networked conceptions of space must acknowledge social thickness and specificity (2006, 382), she often reverts to a scalar ontology of reified processes and small effects. Thus, her concern is said to lie with 'deep structural shifts underlying surface continuities and deep structural continuities underlying surface discontinuities' (12), she speaks of globalisation processes becoming localised in national or subnational settings (3), and of the dynamics of multinational organisations being 'deeper' and more radical than the institutions themselves (420).

This tendency is even more pronounced in the work of DeLanda (2006), whose *New Philosophy of Society*, based on assemblage theory, relies on some very old and very nested hierarchies of scale. The chapters take the reader 'up one scale at a time' in an 'upward movement' through the world (2006, 6) and claims that assemblages can link micro and macro levels of social reality (17). Despite DeLanda's attempts to recast these categories as degrees of networked extension, not geographical area, the negotiation of scale and assemblage theory has been much more nimbly negotiated by Collier and Ong (2005). They argued that to analyse a macro phenomenon like globalisation requires an examination of neither grand statements, localities, nor social categories but of the phenomena that have the distinctive capacity for de/recontextualisation, abstractability and movement across diverse situations and spheres of life. Crucially, they acknowledge that these assemblages code contexts and objects in terms that are amenable to control and valuation, but that are also limited by specific administrative apparatuses or value regimes (Collier and Ong 2005, 11). The connections inherent to assemblages embed mobile bodies, actors and passions from distant scales of mobilisation within what are named as local scales: 'In such a vision, history and politics are inflected with the *consequential materiality* of milieu, of nonhuman entities and artifacts' (Moore 2005, 24). Yet, as with an untrammelled network approach, Moore warns that an assemblage approach can occlude the power relations, historical

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sedimentations and forceful effects which are articulated when scalar categories are put into practice.

This occlusion is less likely if the Deleuzian term *agencement*, or 'assemblage', is read alongside the Foucauldian term *dispositif*, or 'apparatus'. This notion is more closely aligned to political or power relations, being defined as a concrete assemblage of diverse elements with a particular purpose, specific targets and controlling strategies (see Rabinow and Rose 2003). While apparatuses facilitate placement and stability, and thus may be thought a more constraining concept than assemblages (Barry 2001, 218, n38), the security they seek is also always in the process of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, not an achieved state of political closure (Patton 2000, 42–4). Examining apparatuses involves cutting across distinctions of thought, practice and materiality, and focusing on networks of tactics and strategies, not some structurally hidden level of scalar causation (Legg 2007, 9).

The interconnections between assemblages and apparatuses have been widely noted. Assemblages can be thought of as the instability from which apparatuses emerge (Rabinow 2003, 56; cited in Marcus and Saka 2006). Deleuze himself considered apparatuses to be components of assemblages (Erikson 2005, 604), being more tilted towards relations of power than desire, viewing apparatuses as a stratified dimension of an assemblage (Patton 2000, 73). As such, this paper will refer to 'apparatuses' as the re-territorialising forces within assemblages, that is, as the normalising and governmentalising elements of networks (Murdoch 2006, 93). But, if one argues that territorialisation goes beyond simply establishing borders to dictating legitimate sovereignty within scales attributed to those borders, we can also consider assemblages to simultaneously be engaged in processes of re-, and de-, scaling of space through complex geographical governmentalities.

Foucault (1978 [2001], 219) placed apparatuses of security at the centre of studies of governmentality, and Isin (2007) has argued that institutions like states, leagues and federations should be considered as *assemblages* kept together by the practices of scalar *apparatuses*. The impression is created that these scales are exclusive (non-overlapping), hierarchical (nested and tiered) and ahistorical (akin to what Ferguson and Gupta 2002 [2005], refer to as 'vertical encompassment'). The aim of the critical scholar is, thus, to reveal the historically specific experiences, effects and affects of scale and the different forms of capital through which they are produced (Isin 2007, 218, who explicitly rejects Marston *et al's* 'human geography without scale'). Scale is thus posited both as an 'apparatus of capture' and as a by-product of spatial governmentalities manifested in street signs, postal organisations, bureaucracies etc. (also see Collinge 2006, 249; Sassen 2006, 76). Whilst agreeing with Isin's approach, this paper will argue that assemblages can also be used to refer to phenomena such as imperialism, internationalism and trafficking, which were actualised and striated by the scalar apparatuses of the Government of India and the League of Nations.

Vitally, Isin acknowledged that these scalar apparatuses of capture are as much about period and place specific sovereignties as they are about government. Beginning with the sixteenth to seventeenth century consolidation of European state territory, scalar apparatuses have had to configure and administer the sovereignty of colonial settlements, blocs such as Europe, and the international leagues and federations of the twentieth century. In contrast, Foucault's neglect of the impact of international colonisation, trade and world order of European governmentalities is well documented (Cooper 2004; Dean 2004; Legg 2007). Yet he had an ongoing, if indirect, fascination with scalar politics. His earlier work on the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1972) provoked important debates on the autonomy of discourse from material and practice, which articulated concerns about the idea of discourse operating at a scale somehow removed from the everyday and the individual. His work on disciplining bodies and governing national populations always sought to emphasise the scaling-out of discipline to broader scales (Hannah 1997) and the scaling-in of government onto individual conduct of conduct (Foucault 1986a 1986b), as connected to broader governmentalities (Legg 2005, 145; Brown and Knopp 2006). His governmentality research explored the emergence of population, economy and society as scales with supposedly self-regulating processes, as identified/created by demography, political-economy and sociology. This led to specific methodological statements on scale (the 'other face of governmentality'; Foucault 1978–79 [2008], 16), when Foucault reflected on his *Birth of Biopolitics* lectures of 1978–79:

> What I wanted to do – and this was what was at stake in the analysis – was to see the extent to which we

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> could accept that the analysis of micro-powers, or of procedures of governmentality, is not confined by definition to a precise domain determined by a sector of the scale, but should be considered simply as a point of view, a method of decipherment which may be valid for the whole scale, whatever its size. In other words, the analysis of micro-powers is not a question of scale, and it is not a question of a sector, it is a question of point of view. (Foucault 1978–79 [2008], 186)

Foucault's interest in scale was always enframed within his approach to space as networks within an emerging epoch of simultaneity and juxtaposition, as studied through relational perspectives (see Smith R G 2003, 26; Foucault 1981–82 [2005], 252 'if we understand by governmentality a strategic field of power relations in their mobility, transformability, and reversibility'). Current research is attempting to link these approaches to power relations to 'global governmentalities' (Larner and Walters 2004; also see Perry and Maurer 2003; Ferguson and Gupta 2002 [2005]), as examined below.

To extract conclusions from the foregoing discussion, which move from the general scale and network debate towards forms of analysis more specific to analysing the material below, the propositions are that:

1 Scales should not be considered as pre-existing frames of action, or planes at which certain processes can operate, but as the effects of different networking practices.
2 Networks must be considered in all their heterogeneity; as hybrid, hierarchical, contested, complex and geographically varied multiplicities.
3 Such networks can usefully be considered as assemblages, with both de-territorialising and de-scaling, and re-territorialising and re-scaling, tendencies. When the latter are dominant, these assemblages can be referred to as apparatuses.
4 Apparatuses work to create the impression that scales are ahistorical, hierarchical and possess exclusive relationships.

Internationalist and trafficking assemblages

This move towards studying scales that are global in terms of distance necessarily involves an engagement with political economy and transnational capital flows but also, to move towards this paper's focus on the League of Nations, entails a dialogue with studies of international jurisprudence. Multiscalar analysis encourages us to abandon 'methodological nationalism' (Mahon 2006, 453), but we must remain aware that sovereignty amounts to the supreme authority within a territory (Philpott 1997; also see Mansfield 2005, for a defence of the national as a scale of analysis). Europe's colonial expansion radically extended the length of its networks of domination, augmenting provincial and national scales with more distant peripheries of influence. This forced novel experiments with sovereignty, as territories were acknowledged but the sovereignty of the people within them was not (Strang 1996; Anghie 2004). International law was premised on the scalar extension of European power and the simultaneous erection of hierarchies and scalar barriers that denied the subjectivity of those in colonial states of exception to European jurisprudence (Grovogui 1996, 44; Agamben 2005). This uneven legal development (Smith 1984) stretched from the carving up of South America, through to the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, to the post-Versailles distribution of the League of Nations' mandated territories.

The world after the First World War saw the emergence of a new enthusiasm for internationalism, the emergent phenomenon marked by increasingly dense diplomatic encounters, the growth of international institutions and international law, and the re-negotiation of state sovereignty (Navari 2000, 1–2; Sylvest 2007). In addition to shifts in practice, internationalism was also a utopian aspiration that anticipated a more benign form of cooperation between cohabitating (rather than competing) states.

It was this new, post-1919 world order that the German philosopher and National Socialist Carl Schmitt railed against (Balakrishnan 2000). Whilst now well read in geography through the work of Agamben (1998 2005), Schmitt's historically specific commentaries provide some fascinating insights into the geopolitical moment with which this paper is concerned, even if they must be read with critical awareness of his negative stance against constitutional democracy. He advocated the political decisionism of a supreme, if emergency, authority over the discussions and homogeneity of liberal democracies (Schmitt 1922 [2005]; Kelly 2003). But he also condemned the collapse of a global European legal order, which had been supplanted by the USA's informal economic imperialism, i.e. America's absent presence, and the 'spatial chaos' of the League of Nations (Schmitt 1950 [2003]). His later work was not simply the extension of decisionism to a world

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scale (Aradau 2007; Dean 2004), but an examination of the complex distribution and production of world order in the *nomos* (spatial unity) of the globe. Schmitt's writings crackle with fury at the League's submission to American domination of Europe and South America, though this was a mourning for imperial influence (Balakrishnan 2000, 238), not an ethical and political stance against it (as in Smith 2005a, on the global Monroe doctrine). Schmitt rounded more fully on the League's failure to provide an encompassing and enforced world apparatus, lacking the membership of Germany (apart from 1926–1933), the USSR (except 1934–1939) and the USA, and with little said about the non-European world:

> Given this lack of decision with respect to the basic question of spatial order, the League was unable to develop an internally consistent and unifying principle of the territorial *status quo*. (Schmitt 1950 [2003], 244)

Schmitt has, of course, been joined by endless critics of the League, which has been condemned for not possessing a coherent enough apparatus to enforce its idealistic vision of perpetual world peace (Heuser 1997; see Pederson 2008, for a comprehensive review of literature on the League). Smith (2005a, 54) has argued that the League was designed to enable the spread of American economic imperialism, facilitated by a stable geography of modernity which the League would supposedly police (Smith N 2003, 143, 74). The League was also imbricated with imperialism in other ways. Britain had not only its own vote but heavily influenced those of India, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (Grovogui 1996, 123), just as the USA influenced the votes of some South American members. Also, Germany and Turkey's colonial territories were mandated to existing colonial powers for development and protection. These territories were, however, exploited in terms of economy and geopolitical strategy by their supposed protectors (Anghie 2004, 156; Pederson 2008).

Yet it would be a mistake to portray the League as nothing but a handmaiden to formal and informal imperialisms. The creation of the mandates was in itself a blow to colonial powers who had hoped to carve up the territories between themselves, while Woodrow Wilson's emphasis on self-determination gave inspiration to anti-colonial nationalists (Manela 2007). The League also reported on the neglect of basic welfare standards by its member states, and these reports were often revealing, and packed with politically sensitive material, in colonial territories. As such, one has to extend the sphere in which the League's achievements are judged from that of political peace to what were deemed to be international duties of a 'technical order' (health, transport, communications, economy and finance, and social questions), in which the League is deemed to have had more of a positive impact.[1] In these areas it contributed to a relatively versatile internationalist assemblage of institutions, reports, discussions and commissions which could circumvent the scalar sovereign boundaries of its more reluctant member states, while the formal apparatus of the League could often challenge them head on.

Verma (1968, 182) addressed the 'less spectacular but real successes' of the social welfare work of the League in India (also see Ram and Sharma 1932), as confirmed more generally by Walters (1952), Smith (1976) and Miller (1992). The social questions section of the League addressed obscene publications and child welfare, but was dominated by its work on the prevention of 'traffic in women and children' (TWC). As with the League's work on epidemiology, the Government of India obstructed the activities of the TWC Committee in India. This was, in part, because the TWC Committee shared the broader interest of the League in detailed analysis of governmentalities, regarding: territory (resources and economic development); population (health, mortality, hygiene); and government (reform of native political institutions) (Anghie 2004, 189). As such, while Schmitt was correct in arguing that the League had failed to create a new geo-juridical apparatus, he was wrong to insist that this heralded 'spatial chaos'. Rather, the League worked through exposing failures, encouraging reform, and contributing to internationalist assemblages that could circulate through extra-judicial means. As such, one can view the League more effectively as an apparatus that attempted to conduct the international conduct of its member states across their scalar apparatuses of sovereignty. The issue of TWC constitutes a 'little line of mutation' (Collier and Ong 2005, 15), a minor history within the apparatus of the League and the broader internationalist assemblage of the interwar years.

Trafficking and the League of Nations apparatus

Article 23c of the League of Nations' Covenant specifically charged it with supervising the

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execution of agreements with regard to trafficking in women and children (Metzger 2007). This charge brought with it the legacy of the *fin de siècle* hysteria over the 'white slave trade' (see Bland 1985 1995; Davenport-Hines 1991; Weeks 1989 [1981]). This was an explicitly sexual form of deterritorialisation that was itself part of an emergent assemblage around the fear of trafficking, and the scalar transgressions made available in an ever more globalised world. This assemblage stressed the *hybridity* of networks, including not only the movement of women and children, but also fears, rumours, insecurities, novels, newspaper articles and orientalist fantasies of imperial vulnerability.

The paranoia that white women and girls were being shipped throughout Europe and beyond led to the first International Congress for the Suppression of White Slavery in London (1899). This combination of officials, voluntary organisations and missionaries was repeated in 1902 and 1910 at the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade in Paris, at which governments agreed to punish traffickers if the victim was aged younger than 20, even if they gave consent, and to punish trafficking by force or fraud regardless of age.

The League of Nations de-racialised the debate through adopting the terminology of 'Traffic in Women and Children' (TWC) in 1921 and established an Advisory Committee to collect information and offer advice on governmental policy (Gorman 2008). The TWC Committee picked up this legacy and organised its own convention in 1921, which forced India to re-negotiate its stance regarding the age of consent for Indian females. However, in 1924 the League expressed frustration that relatively few states had adopted the convention and joined the proposed network of sexual regulation.[2] While, in line with Schmitt's denunciations, the League lacked the authority to force its member states to adopt its recommendations (also see Dunbabin 1993), it did have other avenues within its apparatus to conduct change.

Enquiries by the League soon proved that the TWC assemblage was as much founded on myth as fact and that both public opinion and the League apparatus were much in need of empirical evidence. Following recommendations made in 1923, a travelling enquiry into TWC was established, which was explicitly limited to the examination of 'international' aspects of the trafficking question. The two-year long investigation, focusing on Europe and north, central and south America, resulted in a 1927 report that claimed to have proven the existence of global trafficking networks.[3]

The League moved, in a 1933 convention, to banish the age limit on trafficking girls and women, making the act itself illegal. The consequences of this shift were significant. Whilst 'trafficking' itself was international and thus within the sphere of League of Nations influence, the imperative to act on traffickers now clearly lay with governments that had not adopted an abolitionist policy (i.e. that still tolerated or licensed brothels). The *maison tolérée* had long been acknowledged as an essential node in trafficking networks but the 1933 convention effectively undermined the concept of the licensed house, which was, it was presumed, dependent on trafficked girls. As Metzger (2007, 69) has commented, this innovation threatened to impinge on national sovereignty and local jurisdiction in ways that certain states would find highly provocative, and which made the brothel a truly international site.

The League's 1927 report on TWC in Europe and America made explicit reference to the role of brothels, licensed houses and registered prostitutes in trafficking and legitimated these references in explicitly scalar terminology. Traditional arguments about brothels being sites of depravity were deployed, while the arguments about them being necessary for public health or public order were debunked. With great dexterity the report then went on to unpick the arguments for the existence of a separate scale of 'international' trafficking in favour of networks that linked brothels in different countries and continents. In its conclusion it stated that licensed houses incentivised national and international traffic by creating demand:

> In view of the connection which the Commission has found to exist between licensed houses and traffic in women, the question of the retention or abolition of these houses has acquired an international as well as a national character.[4]

This was a concise summary of sentiments expressed throughout the report. In stressing the importance of the shift in public opinion and the importance of voluntary organisations in stimulating this shift, the report stated that:

> The international movement developed actually out of the national examination of certain social evils connected with prostitution. It is important to remember this because it illustrates the difficulty which exists in separating internal conditions from international traffic.[5]

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Moving on from specific comments on the brothel or humanitarian organisations, when summing up the 'character of the traffic' the report provided its strongest refutation of the scalar delimitation of League activities:

> It has been found difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the international question entirely from various forms of commercialised vice where there is no transportation to a foreign country . . . International traffic has been found to be largely a compound of all the features of supply and demand discoverable in national traffic, with certain additional features arising from the fact that the persons engaged in the traffic must pass national barriers, gain greater control over the women who are exploited, cater for men of foreign race, and find markets lucrative enough to cover the added cost of transportation. We came to the conclusion that we could not make an adequate study of international traffic without paying considerable attention to internal conditions and, generally, to the national aspect of commercialised prostitution, as it exists in various forms in different countries.[6]

While the following years saw the spread of abolitionist principles throughout the west, the League had expressed its concern at the lack of understanding regarding the 'east'.[7] As such, the early 1930s saw the extension of a further travelling commission to Asia, where it would meet with opposition in various forms from the Government of India who deployed scalar, as much as territorial arguments, against an overly intrusive League. These operations of the League highlight the degree to which scale was an effect of definitions, here within international law, that were open to negotiation. The networks by which the League spread its influence have been shown to constitute a complex of reports, arguments, mobile commissions and concepts. The League can be considered an apparatus, through the way in which it attempted to re-territorialise the imperial world into an international order, but this also involved de-territorialising and de-scaling imperial sovereignty. However, in line with the fourth theoretical proposition of the paper, the League found itself confronted with the scalar apparatuses of capture of the Government of India, which were both well established and executed with great political acumen.

The Government of India's scalar apparatus

Collier and Ong (2005, 11) argued that global assemblages can be limited by technical infrastructures, value regimes or administrative apparatuses. Whilst the League's network was limited by the time–space compressive technologies of the period, in India it was also faced with both cultural and bureaucratic barriers to the extension of its own investigate apparatus. The Government of India articulated two scalar defences against League claims that its international covenant necessarily involved domestic processes, geographies and thus investigations. The first, and longer standing, defence appealed to the inherent Otherness of India. The second entailed specific statements about the scale at which the League could operate in terms of state-based sovereignty. The former arguments assumed a scale at which divisions could be made, and essentialist stereotypes deployed, across the globe (Said 1978; Inden 1990). With regards to issues of sexuality, the Indian Government mobilised discourses of tradition (see Jordan 2003, on devadasi or 'caste' prostitutes) and tropicality. The latter were used to argue that Indian girls reached puberty earlier, were more sexually mature, and thus should have certain exemptions from trafficking regulations regarding age of consent (see Levine 2007; Phillips R 2006). Such arguments were under attack from scientific and social reformers in the twentieth century, however, and were gradually dropped. Yet a new scalar defence was erected against the League that did not make divisions *across* a scale, the Manichean global, but sought to erect divisions *between* (and thus to create the impression of) scales, namely, the 'domestic' (national) and the international.

The Government of India had erected robust apparatuses of capture (Isin 2007) to secure its sovereignty over the cities and colonial state of the subcontinent. The organic evolution of East India Company (1600–1858) rule had failed to create the impression of a superior tier of government; the image was rather one of a state mired in the networks of its territorial expansion and too dependent on native trade and military coalitions. The latter was certainly held to blame for the Uprising of 1857, which resulted in the dissolution of Company rule and the creation of the Government of India in 1858. Ironically, the invention of the Raj fortified the impression of *ahistoricity* of the state, which took on the performances and rituals of a transcendent and traditional government that cherry-picked its allegories and authority from Mughal, Hindu, British and Roman history (Cohn 1983).

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This process established clear hierarchies, at the centre of which sat the monarch. Next came the British Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy, his Council and Commander-in-Chief, then a complex Warrant of Precedence listing 61 tiers within the Indian Civil Service. Within this hierarchy were the heads of the various provinces into which the subcontinent was divided, with staff allocated to ever smaller scales of administration and territory (for residential allocations on the urban scale, see Legg 2007, chapter 2). By 1901 India was divided into nine provinces, which were themselves apportioned into divisions, districts and *tahsils* (Gilmour 2005, 20, 89). Municipal Committees were gradually established that would feed in opinions from urban *mohalla panchayats* (community councils). Despite the technical authority of London, it was clear that the people of India would maintain an *exclusive* relationship of authority with the colonial state. All three of these scalar principles of hierarchy, ahistoricity and exclusiveness would be challenged by the emergence of the internationalist assemblage and the League apparatus within the domestic sphere of India.

While the commission of enquiry into prostitution in America and Europe had successfully probed into national affairs, the extension of a commission into the East presented the Advisory Committee into TWC with a new range of problems regarding the delimitation of its capacities. From the very beginning of the negotiations regarding the commission, the Government of India clung onto the scalar arguments that were being slowly dismantled at Geneva. This line of argument was passed along the hierarchical networks of Empire, having been telegraphed from the centre by the Secretary of State for India in London to the peripheral top-tier, the Viceroy in Simla, on the 19 May 1927.[8] It was made clear that the British government would have no problem with the extension of the commission so long as it remained interested in the 'international traffic' alone.

However, the imperial network was not without its own internal contestation. The Government of India was often contemptuous of the League of Nations and less keen than London on granting the emissaries of its apparatus access to the inner workings of the Raj. An internal note in the Home Department from 4 December 1928 threw doubt on whether the commission would be allowed into India at all, stressing that the central government had never been keen on the visit but agreed not to oppose it on the understanding that the Committee would be guided by local governments. The Committee's plans did, however, come to fruition with the support of the Rockefeller-funded American Bureau of Social Hygiene. The travelling party of investigators had planned to visit India in autumn 1930 but the advent of Gandhi's civil disobedience movement earlier in the year forced the postponement of the touring party.[9] With the cessation of civil disobedience in 1931 the central government wrote to those provincial administrations that would be hosting the commission. It informed the governments of the measures it had secured to, effectively, delimit the investigations to the 'international aspect of the question'.

An Indian police officer was co-opted to accompany the Committee, whilst an official government representative was appointed to advise the touring party in the cities that it visited (Rangoon, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Bombay and Karachi, see Figure 1), although no expenditure of public funds was to be expected. The Government obviously only viewed certain places in India as being relevant to a study of an international phenomenon. The commission had requested permission to visit places between the major port towns and the capital, but a letter from the Home Department on 7 May 1931 clearly stated that: 'The enquiry relates specifically to the international aspect of the problem, and for that reason formal examination of witnesses etc. at other places would be unnecessary and undesirable.'[10] The letter from CW Gwynne of the Home Department on 11 June 1931 to the relevant provincial governments continued that:

> It has also been agreed that if the investigators should find it necessary to refer to the social, economic, legislative or administrative aspects of the question, which, while national in character may affect the international traffic, they should keep the authorities concerned in close touch with their proceedings and ascertain their opinions regarding them and that secret enquiries should not be made without full consultation with the local Governments interested and with their concurrence.[11]

While the response of the Government of India can, in part, be explained by its anxiety over the political stability of the country at the time, it must also be viewed as a reaction to a perceived challenge to its scalar sovereignty. The *ahistorical* nature of the Raj was challenged by the emergence of a new scale of government that was more widely dispersed and inclusive than the British Empire;

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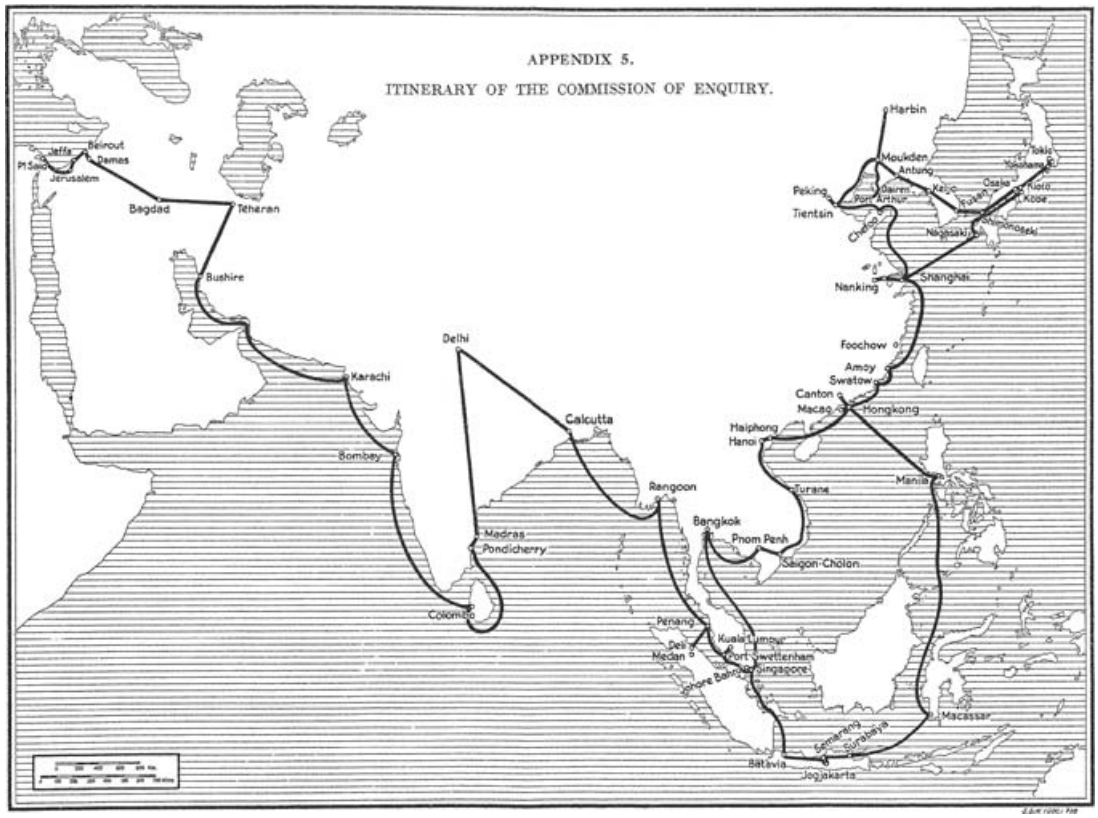

Figure 1 Itinerary of the commission of enquiry

Source: League of Nations (1932, Publications of the League of Nations, Geneva) *Commission of enquiry into traffic in women and children in the east: report to the council*, Appendix 5. Reproduced with permission of the League of Nations Archive, UNOG Library, Geneva, Switzerland

the League was envisaged as a new and higher scale of organisation. This had the temporal effect of suggesting that the imperial age was cyclical rather than linear, and that a new age of peace and self-determination might be dawning. This process disrupted the imperial *hierarchy*, with Geneva now situated 'above' London. Even more galling, the TWC commission was funded by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene, itself a product of Rockefeller Foundation funding and research which originated in New York. Rockefeller had already influenced the nature of the apparatus tackling international trafficking through the influential publication of Abraham Flexner's (1914) *Prostitution in Europe*, and the Foundation personified the 'absent presence' of America in the League. All these developments threatened the *exclusive* relationship between the Indian population and the colonial state. The people now had a higher authority to which, in theory, they could appeal. While this scalar geographical imagination was a potential threat to imperial geopolitics, the colonial government expertly utilised the scalar imaginary to suggest that the League was *confined* to the international scale, not networked into the lower scalar hierarchies over which the Raj claimed exclusive sovereignty.

The League of Nations' Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East

The tour order above, as given to the provincial governments, was written in the hope that imperial authority was to be dutifully accepted by the League of Nations. But these scalar delimitations

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were, in fact, *contested* within the League apparatuses' internal networks. The League's memorandums on trafficking in women and children certainly seemed acquiescent enough. A circular from December 1929 regarding the commission to the east noted that various governments had stressed the international nature of any such enquiry, whilst special note was made of the Government of India's insistence that suitable changes from the previous commission would be made to the body of experts, the investigators and the method of investigation.[12]

However, the private notes of Sir Henry Wheeler, the British representative to the League on the TWC Committee, reveal a different picture. In September 1930 Wheeler sent a report to London regarding the meetings in Geneva that had confirmed the final details of the commission to the east. He reported disharmony on only two major points. The first was suggested by the American, Mr Bascom Johnson, who had worked on the previous commission into TWC and insisted on the value of secret enquiries, although this suggestion was not widely supported. The second suggestion came from the three women on the Committee: Mrs Abbot, from America; Mlle Malthe, from Denmark; and Mme Dr Baumer, from Germany. During the meeting on 21 August 1930, the latter questioned the possibility of confining the investigation to international aspects, stressing that the European and American enquiry had not done so. Others referred to Indian 'evils', such as devadasi girls, as urgently calling for remedy. As Wheeler summarised:

> The general line of argument was that the problem was one; national traffic led to international traffic and the same type of persons were concerned with both: national conditions which conduced to prostitution could not be excluded from consideration.[13]

The Chairman, however, referred to the conditions and stipulations clearly stated by various states before agreeing to the Committee, while M. Bourgois repeated the agreements made at previous conferences that the remit of the TWC enquiry was solely international. In response, attention was drawn to the impossibility of separating local customs from the investigation, but the Chairman pointed out the risks and expense of investigations in the interior. Wheeler added his support during the meeting to this point, pointing out that child marriage and the prohibition of widow remarriage in India were social customs conducive to prostitution but definitely outside the scope of the enquiry. This perspective prevailed, but obviously to the displeasure of various members of the group.

As against the Indian government's attempts to minimise the extent of any travelling commissions' enquiries, there was a groundswell of support for the League and its efforts against TWC in India, demonstrating both the complexity and geographical richness of the internationalist assemblage. The TWC commission had been directly invited to India by the Calcutta and Madras Vigilance Associations in 1928.[14] The All India Women's Conference, one of the leading women's reform groups (Basu and Ray 1990), passed resolutions against brothels and in favour of educating girls against TWC which were fed to local organisations who then later targeted local governments.[15] For instance, on 4 December 1934 the head of the Delhi Women's Constituent Conference of the AIWC passed on a resolution to the Deputy Commissioner condemning the abduction of women, trafficking and child marriage.[16] The Delhi Administration was urged to take action but also to send, in reply, a copy of the League's report into TWC in the East.

The British government was obviously aware of the support for a more intensive investigation from both the lengthier networks of the League as orchestrated at Geneva and the shorter networks of local organisations in India. As such it took every measure to vet and censor the report before it was issued, highlighting the power relations at play within the networks of international governmentality. The Committee had visited India between November 1931 and January 1932, being accompanied by a police officer and a local authority on the subject of prostitution. Between 5 and 10 December 1932, Sir Henry Wheeler attended a meeting in Geneva at which a draft report was discussed.[17] He then sent a confidential summary of the report for information to the India Office in London, which forwarded the report to New Delhi for comment. The recommendations of the report were said to amount to three main pleas: for international cooperation against trafficking; for collaboration between governments and non-official organisations; and, lastly, for the abolition of licensed or recognised brothels. Wheeler acknowledged that there was little to complain about and that the report was relatively uncritical, but he did point out the amendments he had made to deflect undue attention from what were viewed as domestic and social conditions in India.

Firstly, a commentary on Indian social conditions and devadasi girls was removed, which he thought

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would have offended public sensibilities, following the recent controversial publication of Katherine Mayo's (1927) *Mother India* (see Sinha 2006). On his second point of dissent Wheeler had to admit defeat. The Committee insisted on mentioning what they deemed to be the police registration of white prostitutes in Calcutta (see Tambe 2005). The Government of India denied that this constituted 'registration', just as it denied the ongoing but unofficial establishment of military brothels, which voluntary organisations were still campaigning against into the 1940s (see Ballhatchet 1980; Levine 1996; Shephard 1948), and the municipal powers that allowed for the clearance of brothels from certain streets, that indirectly recognised them in those streets that were exempt.

The final TWC report was issued on 10 December 1932. With specific regard to India it concluded that very few women left India to work as prostitutes elsewhere. While there was some movement to the country from Europe, and the Middle and Far East, this trafficking was not said to be of a particularly large number.[18] The 530-page report was divided into two parts, the first of which presented the findings of the enquiry from the 'international' perspective, analysing the racial groups of victims of trafficking and making the recommendations outlined by Wheeler above; the second part studied the (provincial) laws and (local) conditions relating to international traffic in the countries visited. The Indian section of this part of the report, although leading to the conclusion that there was little international trafficking in India, contained substantial information on the conditions in each of the towns visited. Details were given of the type and number of brothels, the ratio of 'native' to European prostitutes, the number of 'pimps' and prosecutions, and the preventative measures in place. These reports allowed the commission not only to highlight the Calcutta system of pseudo-registration, but also the widespread existence of brothels that, whilst not registered or licensed, were certainly tolerated and sometimes segregated into one part of the city.

Whilst this information certainly allowed a full investigation of international trafficking, the Committee also managed to acquire a great deal of 'national' and 'local' information. The report was quite forthright about these investigations and, to some extent, reiterated its concerns with the scalar epistemology that had informed the restrictions imposed on the travelling Committee's movements. Whilst setting out the report's 'objects of enquiry' the confinement of the study to international aspects of the problem was noted, as was the decision by the previous enquiry that certain internal conditions could not be left out of consideration. As such, the report quoted from the League of Nations Council approved statement that was the outcome of the September 1930 meeting in which the female members' opposition to a solely 'international' investigation had been opposed. It had stated that the enquiry be limited to the 'international aspect of the question', but that this could barely be separated from 'national' traffic. As such, investigation of social, economic, legislative or administrative aspects of traffic which were national could be conducted, with the permission of the local authorities.[19]

As in previous investigations, the brothel was the pivot on which issues of sovereignty and authority hinged. It was the nodal point that so clearly, to the investigators, strung together global networks of traffickers and undid assertions that there were dissociable scalar levels of the international–national–local. The report clearly stated that immediate action against traffickers should consist of removing their markets, the surest of which were the licensed or recognised brothel. Summarising the contentious scalar politics of this claim, the report stated that:

> While it is recognised that, in general, the existence of licensed brothels is a matter of internal social conditions which does not come within the competence of the enquiry, at the same time it is the Commission's duty to consider the bearing of this system on international traffic in the East. The observation of the Commission has shown that the existence of licensed or recognised brothels in an Eastern country is a determining factor in making that country a place of destination for international traffic, and that immediately recognition is withdrawn from brothels the amount of incoming traffic shows a marked decrease.[20]

Evidence collected during the tour confirmed that locations in the east that had abolished tolerated brothels had experienced a decline in trafficking, confirming the questionnaire-based enquiries of the League in 1927. The brothel was defined as: an end point for trafficked women; a 'storing depot' for women in transit whose ultimate site of disposal had not been fully decided; and not only a place of satisfaction for the demand for prostitutes, but an instrumental site in stimulating demand. The report thereby embedded within its more 'international' recommendations on trans-state

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correspondence and intra-state cooperation of governmental and non-governmental organisations a distinctly 'national' and 'local' recommendation against the 'chain of brothels which are at the disposal of the trafficker'.

Via this 'minor history' of TWC, specific examples have been given of the ways in which the League challenged the Government of India's scalar apparatus. Challenging the state's ability to dictate the nature of its *hierarchies*, the League connected India's 'international' port cities into a broader network of trading cities. The *exclusive* relationship of these cities to the state was, thus, compromised, as they were causally tied into the international traffic in women and children which the League was covenanted to investigate and regulate. This disrupted the supposedly *ahistorical* nature of the state's authority, which was now thrown into question by the emergent possibility of a new tier of international government.

Conclusions

The interwar years saw the League of Nations attempt to construct an apparatus of surveillance, conventions, laws and agreements, to track and subsume an assemblage of traffickers, rumours, pimps, fears, brothels, infidelities, women and children. It faced challenges not just from assumed networks of the traffickers but also from some League members, who sought to limit the scalar extent of the League's powers. As became woefully obvious in its peace-keeping missions, the League apparatus' diplomatic powers of persuasion and suggestion were often inadequate when compared to the tasks that it faced. In the realm of 'social questions', however, the League has been acknowledged to have had some success.

In reviewing the outcomes of the enquiry into TWC in the east, Metzger (2007, 72–3) has shown that while the enquiry was criticised for its overdependence on official sources, it did lead to clampdowns on brothels in Hong Kong, Siam and Syria. There were similar effects in India, although their routes back to the causal event of the report are often circuitous. The most direct result of the report was the Bandoeng (Java) 1937 meeting of coordinating authorities for trafficking regulation in the east (see Figure 2 for a representation of the imagined 'East'), fulfilling the first of its three recommendations with regard to coordinating TWC authorities. The meeting also included representatives of new women's organisations in India and of other charities (the report's second recommendation).

The influence of the League report's third recommendation on the abolition of tolerated brothels is more difficult to trace. Attempts to reinterpret the 1921 Convention such that it would apply to internal trafficking in India were as forcefully rejected in the 1930s as they had been at the time.[21] However, the propaganda and reports issued by the League fed into social reformist and legislative work in India, most notably informing the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Acts, which spread from province to province from 1923 into the 1940s. The League was often cited during the debating of these bills, representing the state of opinion in the 'civilised world'.[22] While there was no state-backed, All-India legislation, the central government lent its implicit support to such acts, which enabled it to claim a higher level of activity in the annual reports on TWC it had to submit to the League.

It is through this wider realm that the effects of the League apparatus must be sought, just as Allen (2003, 144) argued that networks of authority must be examined alongside successive combinations of seduction, indirect manipulation and inducement. The League successfully championed a significant shift in the way that trafficking, brothels and prostitution were being envisaged through drawing on, and contributing to, broader themes in the international assemblage regarding the social, technical and biopolitical concerns of modern government. This is not to underplay the success with which the Government of India deployed scalar 'apparatuses of capture', both rhetorically and materially through, for instance, spatially delimiting which cities would be considered international, and what conversations would be deemed international once the League commission arrived in them.

Returning to the methodological propositions posed within this paper, it has been shown that scale was fought over as a technique of international governmentalities and functioned through its effects on political practice, not as a material tier or level. The networks which constitute both assemblages and apparatuses have been explored in various dimensions of their heterogeneity, illustrating: the blurring of the contours of the real/narrated/collective (trafficking); hierarchies within networks (between London and New Delhi/Simla); contestation within networks (between imperial core and colonial periphery over the degree of League activity, and within the League

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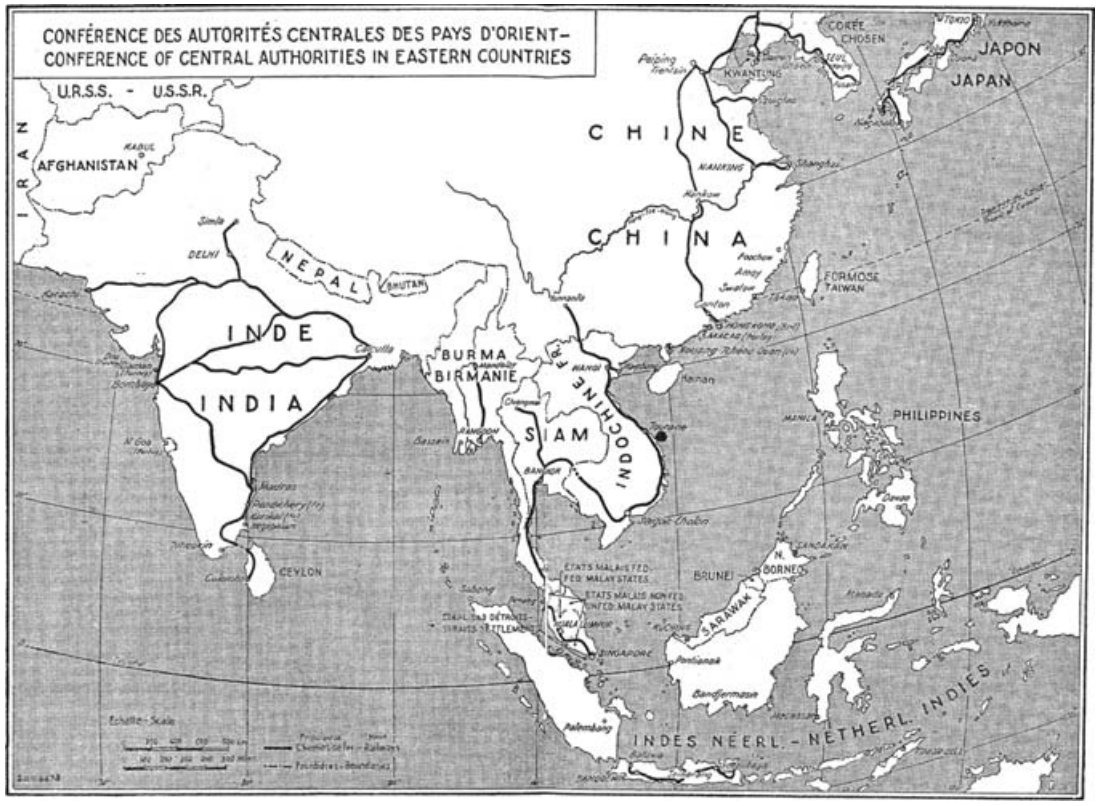

Figure 2 Geographical participant arena for the conference of central authorities in eastern countries.
Note: The scale bars show 800 kilometers and 500 miles; thick lines show principal railways and broken lines show national boundaries.
Source: League of Nations (1938, Publications of the League of Nations, Geneva) *The work of the Bandoeng conference*.
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over India's claims to exceptional status); that the internationalist assemblage was one of geographical complexity (of both international institutions and local campaigning groups); and the mediation and censoring of networks by intense power relations (the British vetting of League reports).

Both internationalism and trafficking have been addressed as complex assemblages, de-territorialising and de-scaling geopolitical and sexual spaces. The League apparatus, whilst still internationalist, re-territorialised the post-1919 nomos into a series of new hierarchies, and re-scaled the imperial order to recognise a new, covenanted network. The Government of India worked to fortify its scalar apparatuses of capture by confining the League to its own scale of the international, in order to maintain its ahistorical, hierarchical and exclusive sovereignty. Whilst in some respects successful, the League worked in tandem with an internationalist assemblage that could overcome the stratifications and institutional conventions within which it had to formally operate. Such negotiations forcefully impress upon us the importance of a human geography with scale, as examined here through the flat but hierarchical spaces being negotiated at the intersection of the international and the imperial.

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Notes

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2 Report of the Delegates of India 1924, p. 44.
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