

Political Geography
Specialty Group



2016 PGSG
PRECONFERENCE

ABSTRACTS

San Francisco

March 28, 2016 (Monday)

Security solutions for development problems—Merida Initiative effects in the Northern Triangle Heather Agnew, Geography, UCLA, heatheragnew@ucla.edu

In the summer of 2014, a wave of migration into the US from Central America made national headlines. Newly arrived migrant women, children, and unaccompanied minors from the Northern Triangle region (Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala) recounted experiences of oppressive gang violence fueled by the reterritorialization of drug trafficking operations in the region. I understand this wave of migration and spike in gang violence as outcomes of the internationalization of US drug control policies implemented in Mexico and Central America. In 2008, the Merida Initiative/ Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI) established four main goals (or “pillars”)—disrupt organized criminal groups, institutionalize rule of law and human rights reforms, create a 21st century border, and build strong and resilient communities. Migration trends and the escalation of violence overall in the Northern Triangle demonstrate the extent to which these policies are failing. What is concerning is the lack of cooperation between law enforcement agencies, NGOs and relief groups in achieving the fourth pillar—building strong and resilient communities. Recent studies on the narco-economy focused on understanding the impact of the drug trade in patterns of everyday life emphasize structural inequalities and under-employment as factors that create conditions for a robust drug trade in identified drug war spaces. The solutions posed by the US do not directly address these factors. I use WikiLeaks documents and cables to reveal the ways in which US agencies discuss amongst one another their perceptions of the obstacles and limitations they face in achieving stated policy goals, and how they rationalize their continued involvement in the Northern Triangle and use of these strategies. It is clear that the US fails to recognize drug trafficking as a development problem. As a result, violence and instability in the Northern Triangle persists, and these policies continue to produce negative, dangerous returns for residents.

Borders, Territory and State: breaking free from a tautology

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The text will rapidly come back to the origins of border thinking, understood as a self-justification for the existence territorial state (part 1: Borders, Historicizing a legacy). It will then onto probing the solidity of those classifications, which we have so much essentialized that it has become almost impossible to deconstruct them (part 2: Questioning nationalist methodologies). Discarding those "zombie categories" (Beck 2003[2000]), we will proceed to showing our border regimes are every day more individualised, according to what can be called a "borderities" perspective (Part 3: Building-up alternative frameworks).

The grave of the fathers: Political and sacred geographies in Kyrgyzstan

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In recent years, many scholars, responding to what has been interpreted as the "reemergence" of religion after decades of retreat in the face of modernization and secularization, have devoted increasing attention to the role of religion in the public sphere. One of most crucial areas of inquiry in this literature has been the seemingly fraught relationship between religion, politics, and identity: where does religion "fit" in a world primarily composed of secular nation-states? One drawback of this approach, however, is that it conceives of political geographies as being fundamentally alienated from religious geographies, effectively reproducing the customary division between the "sacred" and the "profane." Following recent developments in the geography of religion, and drawing upon fieldwork conducted in Kyrgyzstan in 2014, this paper argues that geographies of the state and of the sacred cannot be so easily disentangled: the territorial logic of the nation-state inevitably exerts a powerful influence on the religious imaginary, while religion in turn constitutes a crucial site for the formation of national identity and the legitimation of state power. This dynamic points to the ongoing importance of the nation-state in shaping identity during an era of continuing globalization, as well as the need for further attention devoted to the centrality of religion in the realm of political geography.

After the exchange: Citizenship, sovereignty, and belonging in the former Bangladesh-India border enclaves Md Azmeary Ferdoush, Geography, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, ferdoush@hawaii.edu

After almost seventy years of uncertainty, Bangladesh and India exchanged their border enclaves in July 2015. Drawing on historical texts and field research in the border enclaves, this paper analyzes the events leading up to the exchange and examines the experiences of the former enclave dwellers as they settle into the territorial and citizenship regimes of their new states. The first part of the paper traces the history of the enclave formation and explains why the exchange remained elusive for decades after partition. The second part delves into post-exchange issues of choosing a citizenship, settling out of and settling in a state, and the anticipated problems of the exchange. In doing so, the paper argues that not ideology or sense of belonging rather 'subsistence strategy' played the major role in choosing citizenship. The decision to exchange the enclaves and the complexities of the post-exchange experiences provide a unique theoretical window into how states practice sovereignty in the new territories. This paper argues that not Agamben's (1998) theory of sovereignty rather 'aleatory sovereignty' proposed by Dunn and Cons (2014) is the best theoretical framework to understand how sovereignty works in sensitive spaces like borders and enclaves.

Diplomacy, critical geopolitics and the making of collective European foreign policy in

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The study of diplomacy is relatively new to the discipline of geography. Moreover, the study of diplomacy of non-state actors is a relatively recent research topic, also for scholars in political science and international relations. This paper proposes a critical geopolitical approach to the study of diplomacy, emphasising the interplay of 4 couples of aspects for critical geopolitical analysis: historical/spatial, local/international, political/economic, representational/material. Diplomacy is thus understood through such a critical geopolitical lens, primarily as socially constructed and shaped by the interplay of these aspects. This requires a methodology that goes beyond distant, textual analysis of foreign policy documents, to also include not only interviews but ethnographic research methods. ¶ Empirically, this research employs such a critical geopolitical approach in the context of the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in Kenya between 2010 and 2014, the first four years of existence of the EU's newly minted collective diplomatic service. The EEAS is inherently heterogenous, comprising individuals and diplomatic cultures from a large variety of national and political backgrounds. The conduct of collective EU external relations therefore varies significantly in each specific spatio-temporal context within which it is situated. This paper shows how the specific spatio-temporal context of the Kenyan presidential elections of 2013 significantly changed the emergence collective EU diplomacy, emphasising the value of a critical geopolitical approach to the study of diplomacy.

Singapore: The “global city” in a globalizing Arctic

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Since gaining observer status in the Arctic Council in 2013, Singapore has expanded its commercial, diplomatic, and scientific efforts in the Arctic. As a city-state lying on the equator, the country's Arctic ambitions may seem far-fetched. But put in the context of Singapore's limited regional market and its stakes in shipping, logistics, and providing technology and services for the offshore oil and gas sector, the tropical island's Arctic activities make more sense. In this paper, using information gained from fieldwork and policy analysis, I first elucidate the drivers of Singapore's Arctic interests, many of which stem from the government's encouragement of the global expansion of the country's technology and knowledge exports. Second, I posit that Singapore, as a self-proclaimed “Global City,” is an exemplar of two phenomena that are reshaping the Arctic from afar: globalization and urbanization. Increasing flows of technology, services, and knowledge to the North in exchange for commodities that fuel the growth of Southern cities are reshaping the borders of the Arctic as an economic region and forcing reconsideration of the identities and locations of both Arctic stakeholders and agents of change. Although territorial sovereignty is still relevant in the globalizing Arctic, as the case of Singapore suggests, non-Arctic states that strategically position themselves to benefit from globalization and direct cross-border flows stand to exercise disproportionate influence in the region.

Teaching political geography with digital games

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Popular culture continues to be an object of scholarly scrutiny as well as an aid in the teaching of Political Geography. While films often serve as an exemplary media in the lecture and seminar setting (see Dodds 2008), other media receive less attention. In this paper I want to turn to the importance of digital games and their pedagogical potential. Drawing on Williams et al.'s (2013) call to consider innovative and creative teaching practices within Political Geography, this paper provides a critical reflection on using digital games in teaching. I will reflect empirically on the introduction of an 'interactive seminar' in my own teaching where students played on a number of online digital games which reflected lecture material on the contemporary geographies of violence, including topics on; drones, popular representations of the 'war on terror', and the everyday geographies of securitisation. The chosen games presented alternative approaches to understanding these topics and aimed to encourage students to critically consider the ways digital games shape, but also contest geopolitical sensibilities. The paper will outline the practicalities; together with a critical reflection on the pedagogical significance of introducing digital games into the teaching of Political Geography.

Towards a general theory - Territorial disputes, scaling borders and what's an Asian border, anyway? Edward Boyle, Center for Asia Pacific Future Studies, Kyushu University, tedkboyle@gmail.com

Border Studies is a field attempting to extend its reach. Generally understood to have originated in, and still be centred on, North America and Europe, recent years have seen the desire and necessity of applying its insights further afield become increasingly common. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given its preponderant demographic, and increasingly economic, weight, attention has focused, patchily and unevenly, on Asia. However, with Asian states continuing to be defined in such seemingly contradictory terms as non-Westphalian and Westphalian, or colonial and post-colonial, is there any value in attempting to reach a consensus on what exactly border studies within Asia might look like?

On the basis of work done on India's northeast, while making reference to territorial disputes at opposite ends of Asia, this paper shall offer a first, and very early, attempt at setting out why there may be value in considering a specifically Asian border studies within this globalizing world, and why the time now would be ripe for the further development of such a notion. Such a claim serves notice that globalization has reconfigured rather than reduced the significance of the state, with notions of an Asian border to study being intimately related to the most recent manifestation of material globalization, China's much-heralded OBOR policy, seeking to girdle the world in a network of state-sanctioned flows.

Yet amid the constant invocations of economic policies developed by both regional and national authorities that hold out the promise of an ever-expanding flow of wealth overwhelming barriers in the region, programs for upgrading infrastructure in order to make this vision a reality still stumble in marking out the state's extent. This paper will attempt to argue that it is perhaps in the increasing salience of this contrasting logic that we may find value in the notion of studying specifically Asian borders.

A fresh look at the territorial foundations of the neoliberal rationality

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This paper intends to enlarge the common vision of what has been called “neoliberalism”. For this, its European origins will be recalled in order to highlight why this geopolitical rationality based on the promotion of free trade and fair economic competition remains so widespread in contemporary policies. ¶ According to an increasing number of interpretations, “neoliberalism” is an approximate concept, unable to firmly describe contemporary geopolitical systems. If one considers “neoliberalism” as an apology of “laissez-faire” or minarchism, few political situations may reasonably appear to correspond to this framework. However, the term “neoliberalism” has two main meanings: one coined in France at the end of the 1930's by thinkers who proclaimed themselves to be neoliberals, and another one mobilised in Latin America during the 1970's and the 1980's to denounce Chicagoan monetarist reforms. While the second meaning has become a malleable and elusive label used by most antiimperialist and alterglobalist activists, I will argue in this paper that the primitive use of the term “neoliberalism” provides a fruitful reading grid to understand the intellectual regime in which many political leaders currently think and justify their action. ¶ As the early neoliberal thinkers are the only ones who ever theorized so precisely this way of thinking, “neoliberalism” seems the least bad term to designate what has become a standard worldview, based on an injunction to comply with rules and stresses imputed to economic globalization. While most politicians and experts have proclaimed the necessity to conform to international economic competition without referring to any political doctrine, the use of the Foucauldian perspective on early neoliberalism allows us to denaturalise this rationality and to replace it within the various streams of liberal internationalism (free-trade pacifism, (neo)functionalism, Kantian cosmopolitanism, social liberalism). Neoliberalism appears then as what W. Röpke and A. Giddens have called a “third way” between “laissez-faire” and “dirigisme”, libertarianism and collectivism. ¶ Different from oligopolistic and deregulated capitalism, this “third way” promotes the implementation of a multilevel regime, embedded in a decentralised and transnational market society based on the free circulation of goods, funds and people. In the neoliberal rationality, space should be similar to a fluid environment in which free trade can produce mutual benefits between interconnected territories (states, regions, cities). This reusing of the classic doctrine of comparative advantage is associated to the idea of a strong public supervision: local and national public authorities are actually expected to respect the discipline of a fair and open economic competition. Thus, they are supposed to accept the internal consequences of the spatial mutations of the external economic system, even if this involves a permanent restructuring of local productive forces. In all circumstances, territories have to stay open to market flows and to mobilise their own strengths in order to stay competitive. ¶ With the notable exception of the French economist Jacques Rueff, these political norms have never been claimed “neoliberal” by those who implemented them. Everything went as if it were perfectly obvious that free trade and economic competition should be constitutive of any economic policy. Neoliberal rationality, then, was built as an implicit set of norms, never assumed as a political doctrine by those who promoted it. This lack of affirmation spurred the depoliticisation of neoliberal values and facilitated a gathering around what appeared as consensual and technocratic norms. This explains why neoliberalism, far from being reducible to the right-libertarianism, was able to influence and to convince many social-liberal leaders within social democrat parties. In Europe, the initial role of the German ordoliberals in the establishment of the neoliberal framework is quite well-known. On the contrary, the contribution

of French center-left socialists is somewhat misapprehended. In any case, what Rawi Abdelal called the “consensus of Paris” found an important part of its supports among the French center-left high officials or political leaders. Several intergovernmental organizations, whose aims are consistent with the neoliberal ideals, were consolidated by commitments of various French left free traders: the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the European Payments Union, the European Commission within the European Economic Community, the International Money Fund, among others. This durable support of the French left in favor of an integration of national and subnational territories within a global market economy reveals the extent of the neoliberal rationality. It also highlights that a strong injunction to submit territories to extroversion and to economic competitiveness is not necessarily linked to the promotion of a global weakening of public authorities or to the rejection of other political values such as social solidarity.

The de facto caliphate: Mapping “Islamic State” territorial control in the Middle East and beyond Evan Centanni, Political Geography Now, evan@polgeonow.com

As its name suggests, the so-called “Islamic State” organization (formerly ISIS/ISIL, hereafter IS) stands out from similar armed groups in that it seeks de facto territorial sovereignty – via the creation of a modern “caliphate” in defiance of the existing international system – as a primary objective of its operations. Despite the international community’s overwhelming rejection of the group as illegitimate, IS has nevertheless achieved considerable success in seizing territory from Syria and Iraq, where it has begun to form what might be characterized as a technically credible de facto state. Moreover, the growing reputation of IS among Salafi-jihadist groups as a successful – or at least promising – state-builder has increasingly attracted the loyalty of like-minded organizations operating in other regions. Through these affiliates, the IS movement now maintains territorial control within the boundaries of about half a dozen different UN member states. Having spent several years creating professional maps of territorial control in conflict zones for Political Geography Now (www.polgeonow.com), I present here a cartographic overview of global territorial control by IS and its affiliates up to the present day.

Challenges and resilience: Gendered performances of Syrian women refugees in Jordan

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The Syrian Revolution is a multidimensional crisis with immense human suffering. Approximately 400,000 casualties have been documented, and an estimated 10 million Syrians have been forcibly displaced. These numbers, as grim as they are, indicate only some of the effects of the revolution. Such statistics tend to gloss over the human, personal side of conflict. Drawing from work in feminist geopolitics that focuses our attention away from traditional masculinist discourses of public displays of power, casualty statistics, war room strategies, or securing national borders, my work focuses on lesser-told experiences of female Syrian refugees. I conducted 51 in-depth interviews with Syrian women in Jordan in 2014 and 2015 in order to better understand how they are coping during this time of crisis. In this paper, I present my findings on the ways in which displacement has affected gendered performances for these women. Many of the women I interviewed have engaged in diverse economic activities (i.e. the creation and sale of various handicrafts and foodstuffs, sewing, teaching, and trauma counseling). Through their work, many of these women are reshaping their gendered performances within the household. Many of these women expressed a strong sense of pride and

confidence in their new roles, but they also face immense challenges. Thus, in this paper I discuss their challenges and their resilience with the intentions of humanizing both these women and Syrian refugees more broadly.

Solidarity in (anti-)politics: Chinese investment and the developmental state in Namibia

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China's economic struggles and concomitant declines in commodity prices have had severe economic implications for many African states in recent months. This does not, however, mean that China's political influence on the continent is necessarily waning. In many African countries, increasing Chinese state-based investment in recent years has been accompanied by strengthened roles for African states, particularly in natural resource extraction. In Namibia, home to China's largest investment in Africa to date, this shift has included the creation of over a dozen new state-owned enterprises and the inauguration of a uranium mining partnership between the Namibian and Chinese governments. In this paper, I analyze how Namibian political figures are divergently engaging with the Chinese developmental state model in ongoing debates over the Namibian state's role in facilitating development, particularly in the natural resources sector. Specifically, I evaluate how a variety of Namibian political figures are employing the language of developmental solidarity to further political causes both opposed to and supportive of the positions of the ruling party. Bridging the literatures on resource-state and development-state relations with the recent body of work on China in Africa, I use this empirical evidence to outline a research agenda exploring the role of Chinese involvement in the shift toward renewed developmental statism in Africa.

The role of "safe places" in post-conflict contested space

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In areas of contention in post-conflict space, the role of establishing "safe places" can be transformative for future development within a divided community. Much of Northern Ireland remains divided as it continues to emerge from a prolonged struggle that was particularly contentious during the period of violence known as "the Troubles". This conflict resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and, in many parts of cities such as Belfast, residential segregation and the construction of "peace walls" that separate the two ethno-national communities (i.e. "Catholic" and "Protestant"). While residential segregation is particularly problematic in certain areas of Belfast, Trust 174 is a notable exception in the divided northwestern part of the city. Trust 174 is a non-denominational community center that is dedicated to providing an inclusive, safe environment for all visitors/clients and has received recognition from the British crown for creating a "safe" and "neutral" place in an otherwise divided area. Using Trust 174 as a case study, this paper explores the role of "safe places" focusing specifically on if these places can assist in altering participants' attitudes overtime and facilitate the development of political skills that extend into public space.

Bureaucratic affect: Assembling a common foreign and security policy

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In this paper I consider the role of relational space in which the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy emerges. The affective dimension of this space is foregrounded, especially how both technologies and face-to-face encounters work to bring about consensus. After this, the temporalities and rhythms of foreign policy formation in London and Brussels are introduced to enable a discussion of the ways in which they are brought into synchronicity (or not) as crises emerge. I conclude by noting how affects, procedures, and materials are deployed in a knowing fashion by actors both in Brussels and in national capitals to make some outcomes more likely than others.

Candidates, constituencies, and party organizations: Minority political participation in the 2015 Canadian federal election

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The population of Canada has become rapidly more diverse in the last 20 years. Between 1996 and 2011, the proportion of the population classified as “visible minority” (essentially neither white nor Aboriginal), rose from a little over 11% to 19%. Canada’s governing institutions have not necessarily reflected this new diversity, however. To evaluate this issue, I focus on the selection of candidates in the 2015 Federal election to see how the number of visible minorities, Aboriginals, and women candidates correspond to the proportion of these groups in the population. In particular, I examine the influence of the demographic composition of constituencies, local party organizations (Electoral District Associations or EDAs), and party leadership on candidate diversity. Do parties tend to nominate visible minorities when constituencies reach a particular threshold of minority population? Prior research on the nomination of women candidates suggests that the composition of EDA leadership committees is key, but it remains to be seen if this effect holds true for other groups. Some subpopulations of visible minorities (black, South Asian, East Asian, etc.) are also likely to be better represented in different political parties.

Extensive urbanization as political strategy

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This talk explores several ways that urbanization works as a political strategy. As concrete presences, cities help solidify territorial claims in areas of contested sovereignty. Cities also reconfigure the daily patterns of their residents, and can work to enroll populations into national programs of production, consumption, and ideology. Of increasing importance is how extensive urbanism - the spread of urban traits to areas conventionally deemed “rural” - is drawing lands and populations of seemingly remote regions into national systems. Yet rapid urbanization can also lead to economic and ethnic discontent. This paper illustrates China’s efforts to extend urbanism to and beyond its frontiers. I look at examples in southern China, China’s Eurasian frontiers, and examples of Chinese-driven urban development in Tibet and Africa to explore the practices and tentative outcomes of such urbanization.

Governing the virtual: the politics and aesthetics of disaster resilience and recovery in post-Superstorm Sandy New York City Kevin Grove, Department of Global and Sociocultural Studies, Florida International University, kgrove@fiu.edu

Disaster management has long recognized so-called emergent organizations, ephemeral collectives that spring up in the aftermath of a disaster to provide aid and recovery assistance to people not reached by state agencies. However, while these have traditionally been seen as anomalous, the rise of resilience thinking has problematized such autonomous groups in new ways. A case in point is the Occupy Sandy movement that emerged in New York City in the wake of 2012's Superstorm Sandy. Occupy Sandy's success at mobilizing social networking media attracted the attention of traditional relief organizations, such as the Red Cross, and the US Department of Homeland Security. In this paper, I analyze the emergent state rationality on autonomous self-help movements as part of the recent turn to resilience thinking in disaster management. Examining how the state attempts to visualize, understand, and control emergent social organizations offers a new window on the aesthetics and biopolitics of disaster resilience: state-led disaster resilience involves a series of spacings and timings that emergent organizations undermine. Emergent organizations are thus always potentially political, for they return reconstruction to its virtual, evental structure in which new forms of subjectivity may be produced through collective struggle against vulnerability and insecurity.

Geographies of 'non-lethal weapons': revolutionary technologies and everyday spaces of political violence Samuel Henkin, Department of Geography and Atmospheric Science, University of Kansas, shenkin@ku.edu

In 2010, at least 90 people died and more than 2,000 were injured during political protests in Thailand as a result of unnecessary and or excessive use of lethal force by Thai security forces. In the last five years, Thai security forces underwent 'non-lethal weapons' training, deploying non-lethal munitions, human electro-muscular incapacitation devices, oleoresin capsicum spray (OC spray), and bodily control techniques. This essay theoretically explores the political and geographical consequences of 'non-lethal weapons' (NLWs) in everyday life while empirically engaging urban civil policing in Bangkok, Thailand. Increasingly, state apparatuses of security are employing techniques of engaging civil unrest with the use of NLWs. The burgeoning array of sophisticated technologies that are being rapidly developed is discursively framed as simultaneously serving as a means to reduce lethality and "collateral damage" as well as a means to incapacitate civil society through a militarization of the everyday. The everyday is continually (re)constituted in relation to social-militarized terrains of state control in which political violence can be employed. In the State's attempt to reduce the chaotic, disorderly and continually changing social reality the disembodiment of non/lethality is expressed. In examining the embodiment of NLWs we recognize the reinvention of subjects as literal sites of political violence and domination. Thus, we can critically engage the State in employing weapons that 'make life' in lieu of weapons that 'take life'.

Social media and practical geopolitical discourse: Ramzan Kadyrov's use of Instagram

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This paper argues that social media is increasingly used by political leaders as a mechanism for communicating practical geopolitical discourses. Distinct from traditional venues such as state of the nation speeches, social media serves as a platform for more informal communication between political leaders and constituents. In making this argument, I analyze a subset of the more than

6,000 posts to Instagram made by the head of the Chechen republic, Ramzan Kadyrov. Kadyrov's presence on social media has grown consistently over the past four years; today, he has more than 1.2 million followers on Instagram. Moreover, Kadyrov has consistently used Instagram to establish his bonafides as a capable leader loyal to Putin's government. Of particular interests are Kadyrov's social media posts following the assassination of Russian opposition politician Boris Nemtsov in February 2015. In concluding the paper, I make a preliminary case for restructuring O Tuathail's framework for a critical geopolitics in order to account for new media and the potentially oppositional or confirmatory deployment of such media in generating geopolitical narratives.

Suburban occupation: Constructing 'home' in West Bank settlements

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There are currently an estimated half million Israeli Jews living in the occupied West Bank, in something like 100 authorized settlements and another 100 unrecognized settlement outposts. While these communities are located in an area under military occupation and are surrounded by indigenous Palestinians fighting for their self-determination, residents give a surprising answer for why they have chosen to live here: it is a good, safe place to raise a family. At the same time, these residents experience frequent violence at the hands of local Palestinians, and seem to accept that terror attacks against settler families are inevitable. In order to address this apparent contradiction, in this paper I distinguish between four discourses, or conceptual frameworks, that settlers use to make sense of themselves and their lifestyle in this dangerous place: Torah/Return, Pioneering/frontier spirit, Quality-of-life, and (Jewish) community and identity. Through these discourses settlers are constructing a sense of "home" in the occupied West Bank that seems to endure through the generations.

Blue zones of exception: Imperial governmentality and geopolitics in large-scale marine

Protected Areas Kyle Kajihiro, Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, kkajihir@hawaii.edu

Recent ecosystem-scale marine protected areas (MPAs) created by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Pacific and Indian Oceans have been heralded by some as important achievements in coral reef conservation. But these initiatives also entail the enclosure and securitization of strategic archipelagos and vast ocean areas in furtherance of geopolitical and geoeconomic aims. Examining the politics of four U.S. MPAs in the Pacific Ocean and the U.K. Chagos MPA in the Indian Ocean, I argue that these new MPAs enact imperial governmentality in three ways: (1) as a geopolitical (re)territorialization of islands and oceans as spaces of sovereign power; (2) as a biopolitical ordering and governing of ecosystems and human populations; and (3) as spaces of exception where territory and people are marked by legal and political ambiguity, exclusions, and partial and deferred rights. These cases highlight the political shapeshifting that characterize Ann Laura Stoler's concept of imperial formations.

Anxious integration: Developing Sri Lanka's post-war frontier

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This paper studies contentious forms of territorialisation and spatial dynamics that have been part of state formation processes in the northeastern Dry Zone in post-war Sri Lanka. Historically a peripheral scrubland, the Dry Zone can be defined as a frontier: a sparsely populated area, or

zone, that appears to be of marginal utility, but where sovereign power seeks to control. From early attempts to civilise the jungle up to postcivil war development projects, this region has continually been subject to competing ethno-political projects and military intervention. Focusing on institutionalized settlement schemes within the Dry Zone that are part of wider development projects, I draw on ethnographic data to explore how the integration of Sri Lanka's northeast frontier into state controlled territory, can be used to inform and challenge our understanding of the complex and violent strategies that legitimise state formation in the margins. Field work in these highly militarised settlements reveals deep-rooted issues of exclusion and erasure of competing alternative narratives. The paper will examine the state's use of coercive and divisive strategies in order to maintain and legitimise control in the Dry Zone. It will also demonstrate that the process of state formation in this interstitial zone has created the conditions for the (re)emergence of nationalist discourses and politics. Through interrogating how state formation is imagined and realised in the contested political space of the northeastern Dry Zone, the paper engages with the changing relationship between state, territory and nation in postcolonial Sri Lanka.

Un-trap the map: Mapping Syrian border stories

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United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees calls the ongoing Syrian conflict “the biggest humanitarian emergency of our era.” Since 2011, over 4 million individuals have fled across borders throughout the region and further abroad into the Europe Union. Western media has documented Syrian border crossings and stories through riveting journalism, interviews, photography, and maps. While the written and photographic reporting of Syrian border stories uses captivating imagery and testimonials to depict the realities of borders, the maps remain territorially trapped with static, homogenous, black line symbols. In this paper, I argue that Western mapping practices inaccurately portray border stories and the geopolitical issues related to borders. I offer an alternative mapping solution that expands the use of conventional cartographic language to better reflect the realities of borders—both traditional and non-traditional. I apply my technique to Syrian border stories collected in 2015. One such story includes, Amal—a Syrian husband, father, and physician that encounters various borders in various ways. As such, a thin black line on a map does not accurately symbolize his borders. It is in this context that I negotiate the symbolization of borders and rethink ‘the line’ as a means to un-trap the map.

The geopolitics of fear in the U.S. deportation regime

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In this paper, I draw upon theoretical debates around fear and anxiety, hospitality, and ethics to analyze the legal and political uses of fear within the U.S. deportation regime. According to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), all refugees (including asylum-seekers) must demonstrate “a well-founded fear of persecution.” In 2013, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the Department of Justice (DOJ) used this standard to approve 25,199 asylum applicants from around the world and deny many tens of thousands more. From 2014 until today, this standard was used to pre-emptively screen and deport unaccompanied youth, mothers with children, and men who were fleeing an upsurge of violence in Central America. In

2016 those asylum applicants who were allowed into the U.S. on a provisional basis but were ultimately denied asylum status (by failing to meet this standard) have become priority targets for deportation in an ongoing series of raids by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). In light of these events, how might geographers think about the geopolitics of fear? I suggest that what animates the “fear” criterion of asylum law is much more than an empirical hurdle to gaining lawful status in the U.S. Rather, the objective and subjective fear requirements compel asylum applicants to narrate their stories in ways that ultimately serve to justify their own geopolitical exclusion while simultaneously reinforcing the juridical superiority of the U.S. over sending countries. Ultimately I invite us to consider not only how migrants’ fears are narrated as a form of geopolitical knowledge, but, more critically, what does the U.S.’ pathological fear of migrants tell us about the colonial present? This paper draws upon primary and secondary research on the U.S. immigration control apparatus, including fieldwork on the immigration courts, immigrant detention centers, local law enforcement agencies, and immigrant rights organizations.

Fired up: The geography of federal wildland firefighter safety in perspective

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The wildland fire environment in the U.S. is becoming increasingly complex due to a century of fire suppression policies, development in wildland-urban interface areas, and an expected increase in fire activity due to climate change. As more attention is focused on wildfire management, the role of U.S. federal wildland firefighters is quickly changing. Unlike most structure fire departments, federal wildland firefighters do not have a standardized “medic” position on crews and are provided very little medical training, leaving them particularly vulnerable when responding to remote incidents. While there has been more focus on safety issues following several recent tragedy fires, there is still much more to be learned about firefighter safety. This research explores injury rates at various scales, particularly smaller incidents (Types 4-5), prescribed fires, and daily project work where planning for medical emergencies is more difficult. A detailed policy analysis using a “Science and Technology Studies” (STS) framework will attempt to uncover how firefighter safety knowledge is produced and operationalized. As a former Forest Service firefighter, I intend to investigate major safety issues faced by firefighters with the goal of producing research that will increase the availability of medical training and resources to these individuals.

What/travels? Mapping the global influence of Israel’s homeland security industry

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The influence of Israel’s homeland security is understood to be global in scope. Israeli security experts and trainers have advised a wide range of governments, militaries, and police forces around the world, supplying them with specialized technologies, tactics and expertise. Scholars and activists have increasingly argued that these interactions are “Palestinizing” (or “Israelizing”) conditions beyond Israel/Palestine. Yet what does it mean, exactly, for practices of warfare and control developed and refined in Israel/Israel to travel elsewhere? And how do we go about mapping claims about global influence empirically, particularly when the agencies involved in these exchanges are typically governed by intense secrecy? In this paper I wrestle with these questions, drawing on fieldwork following the work of Israeli security contractors and police trainers working in Mumbai, following the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks. I show that

Israeli homeland security experts faced a host of unforeseen practical and business challenges of working in India, which has constrained the scope of their activities. Nevertheless, the interactions of Israeli security experts and the Mumbai police have important exclusionary repercussions to consider. Following these reflections, I argue for an understanding of policy transfer that goes beyond a literalist frame, arguing that “following policies” (Peck and Theodore 2012) empirically gives critical insights into re-considering what global ‘influence’ actually means.

Germany’s “welcome policy” in the European migration crisis: Controversies and (geo-)political representations Annika Mattissek, Geographie, University of Freiburg, annika.mattissek@geographie.uni-freiburg.de & Paul Reuber, Institut für Geographie, University of Muenster, p.reuber@uni-muenster.de

In the last years the number of migrants arriving in Europe have increased sharply. During summer 2015 the situation has escalated and chaotic scenes along migration routes have raised controversial debates within the EU on quotas for taking in asylum seekers and on whether all migrants need to be given the opportunity to apply for asylum or whether they should be strongly discouraged from coming to Europe in the first place.

In this situation, Germany has taken a unique path with the decision of Chancellor Merkel to accept refugees stranded in Hungary and Austria, despite the Dublin regulation according to which refugees are by default required to apply for asylum in the first EU member state entered. The decision resulted in skyrocketing numbers of refugees arriving in Germany which have been met by intense media coverage and public debates on the impact of this in-migration, with arguments oscillating between those promoting a general welcome culture and others stressing potential horrific effects for the German society.

In our paper we analyze the rationalities and geopolitical constructions shaping the “refugee-discourse”. Using examples from German print media we argue that two aspects are particularly powerful in influencing political decisions and practices concerning the handling of migrants: the construction of “Us” and “Them” alongside national and cultural identities (e.g. norms and values considered as non-negotiable) and biopolitical debates addressing the impact on the German population (e.g. effects on demographic change, classifications of refugees according to their performance on German labour markets).

Domestic lawfare and the Geopolitics of ‘stand your ground’

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The recent high-profile murders of Trayvon Martin and Renisha McBride, among others, have brought ‘Stand Your Ground’ laws under critical scrutiny. These laws geographically and categorically expand existing configurations of Castle Doctrine: the right to use (lethal) force without duty to retreat when a person’s life, family, or property are threatened. Historically limited to the domestic sphere of the home, today’s Stand Your Ground laws extend this right on the premise that, “All persons have a fundamental right to stand their ground and defend themselves from attack with proportionate force in everyplace they have a lawful right to be and are conducting themselves in a lawful manner.” What does this expansion mean in a national context in which Black and Brown bodies are always and already marked as dangerous and out of place and, indeed, where Castle Doctrine has rarely protected people of color who have historically defended their homes from vigilante violence? In this paper, I draw upon theories of

lawfare—the use of law as a weapon of war (Weizman 2007)—and ongoing policy research to trace the origins and proliferation of contemporary Stand Your Ground as a calculative technology of state-sanctioned violence and articulation of home (individual household) and Homeland Security that is conditioned by the whiteness of property (Haris 1993) and whiteness of police (Singh 2014).

The hidden geographies of labor activism at overseas U.S. military bases

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Since 2001 the U.S. military has increasingly come to rely upon massive U.S. corporations like Kellogg, Brown & Root (KBR), Fluor and DynCorp to provide logistics support for military operations in the Middle East and Afghanistan. They in turn farm out the bulk of duties to subcontracting firms that hail from the Middle East. These companies have employed hundreds of thousands of laborers from around the world, with subcontractors recruiting predominately from South and Southeast Asia. Subcontractors have been implicated in labor abuses ranging from deceptive recruiting and trafficking, to operating squalid and inadequate “mancamps” for workers on bases, to wage theft. ¶ Existing accounts of this phenomenon portray a foreign workforce that is helpless in the face of exploitative subcontracting companies and a generally indifferent military leadership. Despite the risks, however, workers have engaging in a variety of forms of labor activism, including protests, strikes and strategic jumping among different firms. This paper examines the hidden geographies of labor activism at military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, drawing on interviews with dozens of former and current workers from the Philippines. I describe the different factors that facilitate and inhibit labor activism in these unique spaces, including the spatial layout of bases, nationality, the type of work one does, the composition of the workforce within companies and bases, and worker-military relations.

Feigned benevolence: Revisiting U.S. foreign policy in ‘distant’ lands

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As the bipolar geopolitical world order came to halt with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a new geopolitical terrain has emerged to shape US foreign policy. Rather than having the primary aim of curtailing Soviet influence (the Truman and Reagan doctrines), mosaic foreign policy prescriptions ranging from global humanitarianism to global war on terror have emerged. While geopolitical goals are often seemingly divergent in their aims, the theme of benevolence has been the prevalent and unifying signifier justifying US post-Cold War policy. To explore the theme of benevolence, the paper examines three different ‘vignettes’ that have been represented in film: the U.S. intervention in Somalia (Black Hawk Down), the resettlement of Sudanese refugees in Texas (The Good Lie) and the Global on Terror (American Sniper) – all of which convey an underlying sense of benevolence to US foreign policy while offering a glimpse of events that took place in ‘distant’ lands.

Regional versus functional bureaus and the privileging of the state in the U.S. foreign policy establishment, Anna W. Moore, Department of Geography, University of Oregon, amoore5@uoregon.edu

The way a global institution is structured internally can tell us a lot about how its leaders make sense of and order the world around them. Indeed, an analysis of the U.S. Department of State’s internal bureaucratic organization yields significant insight into how policymakers craft foreign

policy and manage diplomatic developments across space and scale. This paper centers on the 'bureau' within the organizational structure of the Department, and in particular the divide between powerful regional bureaus and comparably weaker functional bureaus. I argue the longtime reliance on regional bureaus to design policy and messaging has perpetuated state-scale analysis and programming and hampered the ability of issues-driven functional bureaus to think creatively about managing the complex issues of the day. In an era in which traditional diplomatic practitioners must increasingly understand events at both pan-regional and sub-national scales, it is worth asking why the functional bureaus, the experts on refugee flows, drug trafficking, and environmental stewardship to name a few, are not leading the U.S. diplomatic response to a range of issues. Against that backdrop, the first half of the paper examines the Department's organizational scheme against conceptual framings of the 'regional problem' within our discipline. Then, I draw on informal auto-ethnographic data as well as interviews with high-ranking Department officials and archival research to problematize the historic privileging of the regional bureau against contemporary efforts at building broad, issue-driven platforms. The final section of the paper proposes a series of steps and 'right-sizing' measures towards empowering functional bureaus and encouraging a Department culture that seeks more innovative and cross-cutting responses to diplomatic developments.

The Gothic geopolitics of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*: Vampires of the Orient in the *Jus Publicum Europaeum*, Katherine Alexandra Newman, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, kanewman@uvic.ca

Written in the late Victorian era, a period in which the most serious threats to European stability were associated with the Eastern Question, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* reflects the popular geopolitical discourses circulating at the time. As well as a concern with the races on the frontiers of Europe and the spectre of reverse colonization (Arata, 1990) and decline within its privileged centres, the novel is also preoccupied with the territory being introduced to the European order. ¶ Carl Schmitt (2003) argues that the interstate system of the *jus publicum Europaeum*, which existed from the 16th to 20th century, gave rise to the modern system of international law. The spatial order on which it was based had fostered balance within Europe; however, Schmitt identifies the period of 1890-1918 with the final dissolution of this Eurocentric global order. While the Eastern Question threatened the European balance of power, the expansion and rebordering of Europe posed a greater danger to European identity and the internal coherence of its spatial order. ¶ While *Dracula* has been understood in terms of the cultural construction of Eastern Europe (Dittmer, 2002), any reading that deals with the spectre of the East must first engage with the construct that is Europe. Based on a comprehensive analysis of nineteenth-century travel writings and articles from the British periodical press, and drawing on the work of Carl Schmitt, this paper argues that *Dracula* not only illustrates the perceived cultural threats of the frontier, but also reveals horror at the threatened erasure of the borders that determine Europe.

Frontiers but not borderlands; Exploring northern Luzon and Mindoro, the Philippines
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In border studies, borders are perceived predominantly as spaces in proximity to and influenced by international boundaries. In these spaces, or borderlands, research on interactions among

cultural and ethnic groups when present is aimed on discovery and analysis of the relationships between societies in these spaces and the central government. However, the proximity of the international boundaries inevitably affects how these societies are positioned in the global economy and within states. Such research involves multiple scales of analysis and practice, and it is affected by the sharp changes of the political landscape on both sides of international boundaries. In addition, historical and contemporary analysis of political-economic interactions among societies within places, governments, and the world economy are important to political geography even in places that are not affected directly by international borders. This is particularly true in island states, many of which share no land boundaries with other states. ¶ In this paper, we examine these relationships using two examples from the Philippines. We present case studies from the largest island of Luzon, whose inland valleys are highly isolated from and culturally distinct from Manila and other large population centers on the coast. Our other example is from the smaller island of Mindoro, where a distinction between the coastal region and the mountains of the interior has developed over hundreds of years. We illustrate that the absence of international borders affects and can reduce the impact of the state in their peripheries but also reinforce a sense of isolation and distinctiveness in these areas. The examples provide a complementary approach to understanding international borders elsewhere, by emphasizing relationships between societies and their states internally.

Writing environmental geopolitics

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This presentation outlines progress on my book project, *Environmental Geopolitics: A critical assessment of environmental risk and security*, under contract with Rowman & Littlefield. My aim is to demonstrate how a critical geopolitics approach can be applied to an analysis of dominant discourses about “the environment” with the objective of promoting transformative thinking. My focus is on constructions linking environmental features to security and to risk, and I look at four topics that are frequent in public and scholarly discussions about the environment: migration and the environment, climate change and security, resource conflict and slow violence, and science and policy as responses to environmental risk and security. The method of the book centers on an analysis of dominant, mostly Western discourses linking these environmental themes to risk or security. I will discuss how discourses on these themes are stabilized, and how they legitimize certain forms of knowledge and authority. The discourses I will look at include not only textual narratives, but also discourses in the form of materiality, embodiment, and practice. My intention with this project is to demonstrate that discourses about human-environment relationships are not abstract ideas but are intertwined with tangible realities in particular places and spatialities.

Straight outta storage: Banal militarism and the 1033 program

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In 2015, the Obama administration issued new guidelines on the transfer of surplus military equipment to local law enforcement agencies. These guidelines limited the long-standing ability of police to acquire equipment through the Department of Defense’s 1033 program. This paper explores these recent policy shifts through the lens of banal militarism, or the everyday practices in which the military, its values, and actions are normalized and elevated within society. Although the 1033 program has drawn significant critique since the aggressive police response to

the Ferguson protests in 2014, the recent policy actions have narrowly focused on limiting access to visibly provocative military equipment, such as grenade launchers or armored vehicles. An analysis of the program shows that since the end of the Iraq war the dominant usage has involved the acquisition of mundane items that have little to do with the use of force, such as office furniture, computers, or air conditioners. The new policies which emphasize the extreme rather than the routine have served to depoliticize the dominant usage of the program and mask the pervasive links between the military, foreign wars, and domestic policing. However, considering the geography of the program's usage also reveals that there are significant regional variations in these linkages and that any further policy efforts that attempt to disrupt the program may be expected to encounter significantly more resistance within particular regional settings.

Political geographies of the warhorse: The case of Finland

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This presentation challenges the relative isolation of political geographers from the study of animals, starting from Kersty Hobson's 2007 argument that "animals should and could be considered political subjects" much more broadly than is being done today. The theoretical relevance of animals in political geography is demonstrated by discussing the horse in World War II Finland in light of three themes: (1) calculable territory and biopolitics, (2) the political ecology of war, and (3) agency, affect, and the body. The case study expands understanding of animal subjectivity and the relational, co-evolving, and hybrid nature of agency in political geography and geopolitics. A view from political geography and Finland adds to, and challenges, some interpretations of the warhorse in military history and animal studies. The discussion is based on a triangulation of diverse data: recollections and memoirs of veterinary personnel and other contemporaries, historical accounts and photographs, and statistics. The findings are applicable in other places and times, and attractive in the classroom, where interdisciplinary novelties typically generate a keen response.

Disassembling citizenship: Negative performativity and legal revocation

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By the beginning of 2015, an estimated 3,400 Western citizens had left their home countries to fight for Islamic State, in effect facilitating an increase in citizenship revocations. This removal of citizenship is both pre-emptively and post-emptively enacted by states seeking to deter and punish individuals suspected of aiding Islamic State. While most states have revocation laws, there appears to be a broadening of the application of these laws and new measures on revocation to address a perceived threat by targeted populations to state security. Building upon works of critical feminist and gender studies on negative performativity, citizenship, and legal studies, we examine cases of states reacting to citizens joining ISIS removing citizenship from dual, naturalized, and birthright citizens. These laws are reactions to negative performativity of citizenship and in effect elicit a secondary negative response through the removal of citizenship and deny the positive performance of citizenship. We look at manifestations of this state practice in three common law legal systems: Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Through these case studies we aim to uncover the recent expansive use of state violence to protect and tailor citizenries in their securitized interests.

Migration, globalization, health: Global inequalities as new forms of political borders. The case of the province of Almería, Betty Rouland, Institut für Humangeographie, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Main, bettyrouland@hotmail.fr

This research aims at analyzing contemporary logics, dynamics and impacts of globalization in the province of Almeria (Andalusia, Spain). The region has become globalized following the recent development of intensive greenhouse agriculture and a transformation of the tertiary sector (services, tourism). Special consideration is given to two key issues: international migrants as "actors in context" of globalization and health as "indicator" revealing inequalities. Located at the southern "gates" of Europe, the province has become a migratory intersection attracting heterogeneous kinds of migration ((il)legal labour migration, migration of pensioners, etc.). The analysis is based on a comparative study of the conditions of living of the four main migrant groups settled in the province (Moroccan, Romanian, British, and West African). It examines the links between the place of residence in the province, the place of origin and the transit phase. The methodological centerpiece is a qualitative survey (n=464 migrants) and a participatory research in collaboration with the Red Cross to access unofficial populations. The fine-scaled typology of the places of residence of migrants as well as of the migratory and health contexts shows how the (hyper)differentiation of local places in Almeria is intrinsically linked to the origin of the individuals. Politico-administrative boundaries thereby mobilize, move and reorganize: the local socio-economic disparities are a mirror of global inequalities. As such, the province offers a heuristic space for studying processes of multiscale geographic differentiation of the contemporary world. In light of these sociospatial and sanitary challenges, the province can be approached as a model of a glocal region.

Parces or do-gooders? Whose steps towards peace?

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Colombia's Legion del Afecto has been highlighted as an important youth-based peacebuilding initiative for both urban and rural regions in Colombia. Our ongoing ethnographic work with the Legion has provided us an important opportunity to assess the micro-politics behind youth-based and government-backed peace programming in Colombia. In particular, as we trace the short history of the Legion (2003-present) we encounter complex tradeoffs that don't always map neatly onto critiques of liberal peacebuilding (or peacebuilding in neoliberal contexts). Echoing Sarah Koopman's distinction between "helpers and compañeros" in her assessment of non-violence solidarity work (2008), we imagine a challenging tension between two different models of youth peacebuilding – the do-gooders and the parces – which imply quite different micro-political and macro-political outcomes with respect to peace. We conclude by highlighting popular geography – via a project called El Atlas – as an alternative way that our active research has sought to make youth peacework possible in Colombia.

Green tape, red tape: The rise and fall of environmental law, policy, and management

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Environmental and natural resource law, policy and management contribute fundamentally to culture-environment relationships, to formal legal and political attributes of governance, and to the applied arts of planning, science and engineering. An enormous industry for geographers and other scientists and planners was created, almost incidentally, for example, with the passage of

the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. A wise man knows not to build his house on sand, and a wise geographer knows not to build beneath an avalanche chute. NEPA obeys the wisdom of the ages. ¶ But government agencies codify regulations to employ lawyers and geographers. Environmental management is constrained further by administrative law and complex regulatory frameworks. Thus, environmental law and management are highly normative, practical and impractical. ¶ Laws, regulations, and enforcement may lead to common sense compliance, and cooperative or collaborative arrangements between private and public professionals, for example, where shippers, firefighters and emergency responders welcome accurate hazardous materials placards. Project planners and engineers may maintain long term relationships with their professional colleagues in government, who evaluate their projects, so long as public agencies are unbiased or are willing to cooperate. Professionals may develop irreconcilable, parallel plans or designs with full knowledge that courts or politicians will make controversial decisions. Conflicts may revolve around government arrogance, partisanship or overreach. Often, conflicts are embedded in fundamental scientific, disciplinary or legal perspectives, or simply the failure of regulators to understand the regulated. Thus, regulations, bureaucracy, and political polarization become the realities behind the green and red tape.

On *narco-coyotaje*: Illicit regimes and their impacts on the U.S.-Mexico border

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Many have debated whether or not human smugglers, known as coyotes, are involved with drug trafficking organizations. Scholars have largely rejected so-called “narcocoyotaje,” however; we hope to problematize this narrative by adding a new theoretical layer to the discussion. Namely, we explore the ways in which different criminal activities produce hierarchies and control illicit activities within the clandestine geography of the U.S. Mexico Border. These “illicit regimes” operate against the State, creating a hierarchy that dominates other illicit activities in order to maximize profit, avoid detection and consolidate power. While other studies have explored the relationships between the State and illicit practices this article takes the relationship between two illicit industries as its object of study. Doing so will help us move past the simply binary question about whether or not coyotes are involved with drug cartels, and allows us to understand what is being produced by this relationship, and its consequences for everyone involved.

Becoming beautiful: Universal geography and the coming anarchy

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Let us become beautiful ourselves, and let our life be beautiful! - Élisée Reclus

Anarchism is a beautiful enabler. As a political praxis it allows us to embrace our capacity for living now and doing for ourselves in this moment what we would otherwise leave to authority. Strength is to be found not in what is dreamed possible but as an illumination of the powerful beauty we collectively represent. Anarchism insists upon the development of new relationships with our world and, crucially, with each other. Recognizing such connection implies a relational geography as an aesthetic realization that we all matter, that we are all part of the beauty of immanence. Within this recognition of our capacity for the beautiful comes the seed of something new, nourished by the possibilities of our desire for a better world. A relational geography is consequently a way to try to make sense of a world that is infinitely complex and in an ever-changing process of becoming. Geography’s recent reengagement with anarchism brings

us closer to the possibility of shaking off the chains that fetter us to statist, capitalist, racist, sexist, and imperialist ideas by maintaining that our greatest resource is our bonds to one another. In anarchist geographer Élisée Reclus's notion of 'universal geography' we see an early iteration of such a politics of possibility, which looks to connection, or relationality, as its impetus. For Reclus, all people should share the Earth as siblings by expanding our circle of empathy and reorganizing the landscapes of power through strengthened bonds of solidarity. So rather than simply always becoming, for anarchists, geography is about becoming beautiful.

Conflict, floods, and refugees: Examining the relationship between layers of crises and disaster recovery in Serbia, Ruth Trumble, Department of Geography, University of Wisconsin-Madison, rtrumble@wisc.edu

The May 2014 floods in southeastern Europe were the worst in the recorded history of the region. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia withstood the greatest damage. Physical and institutional structures such as explosive remnants of war (ERW) from previous conflicts, lack of flood preparation, and inconsistent communication exacerbated the damage in towns across the region. Today, flood recovery continues in Serbia as the country experiences an influx of thousands of refugees trying to cross into the European Union. Each crisis, political or environmental, increases the demand for experts of crisis recovery and prevention. However, actors such as the state, NGOs, and local residents produce different kinds of expertise that are applied in various ways. How these myriad versions of expertise are implemented in turn shapes the recovery process. Therefore, legacies of political and environmental crises, such as conflicts in the 1990s and unprecedented floods, threaten the ways in which both communities and the state recover from new crises that emerge. This paper revolves around the floods of May 2014 in Serbia and observes how the layering of crises produces multiple versions of expertise, which are interwoven into the flood recovery process.

Techno-rationality and border fortification

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This paper proposes that bordering mechanisms do their work through geographic displacement, the production of one-dimensionality and techno-rationalism. These latter two terms are drawn from Herbert Marcuse's writings which sought to understand the dissolution of critical rationality and the stifling of revolutionary subjectivity in advanced industrial capitalism. To illustrate, I trace the logics deployed within a security regime on Mexico's southern border with Guatemala. Escalated border enforcement stemming from flows of undocumented Central American youth traveling to the US-Mexico border has drawn international attention to the area. In response to these challenges and under pressure from the United States, Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto launched the Programa Frontera Sur (Southern Border Program) in July of 2014. The program seeks to regularize border movement, improve border infrastructure and security, ameliorate worker permissions, protect migrants, combat criminal groups and improve interagency collaboration. These policies and practices represent a mode of organizing and perpetuating spatial relationships promulgating boundaries of thought and action devoid of few real challenges.

Sin, souls, and smuggling: Border security *qua* pastoral power in Australia and the IOM's anti-people smuggling campaign in Indonesia, Josh Watkins, Geography Graduate Group, University of California, Davis, jrwwatkins@ucdavis.edu

This paper examines an Australian Government funded people smuggling deterrence campaign implemented in Indonesia by the IOM. The campaign was designed to convince fishing communities that transporting irregular migrants was a sin. The campaign used a variety of practices to identify individuals believed at risk of aiding irregular migrants and subjugating them through a pastoral power constructing certain kinds of mobility as impiety. Pastoral power targets the religious beliefs of individuals - souls - for direction, and this campaign mobilized Muslim, Christian, and Buddhist religious figures, institutions, and artifacts to shape perceptions about the piousness of aiding migrants, the righteousness of borders, and the sinfulness of facilitating unauthorized border crossings.

The campaign reflects the variety of forms transnational governance and geopolitics as everyday practice can take. While much securitization scholarship is beneficially unpacking the spatialities and temporalities of border externalization, this paper explores the 'remote control' of non-citizen subjectivities – how extraterritorial state and border-making performances operate through programs intended to change how people think. In this case, religious institutions, governments, international organizations, and private firms collaborated to use religious instruction to convince fishing communities not to aid irregular migrants. The means by which this was facilitated, the messages disseminated, how and to whom, are documented and analyzed.

The birth of crisis: Migration by boat, policy discourse and border enforcement in the Mediterranean Sea, 1986-2006, Keegan Williams, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University & Weatherhead Center of International Affairs at Harvard University, Harvard University, keeganwilliams@fas.harvard.edu

19 April 2015: a boat carrying up to 850 people sinks half-way between the Libyan coast and Lampedusa, Italy. Social media explodes and cries crisis, prompting an emergency meeting of European Union leaders. Their response is clear: dramatically increase funding for border policing and surveillance, and create Operation EUNAVFOR Med to systematically “identify, capture and dispose of vessels and enabling assets used or suspected of being used by migrant smugglers or traffickers.” This was neither the first nor last in a continuing series of “crises” involving migration by boat. ¶ Authorities and media alike herald search and rescue as the right response to losses at sea. The narrative of crisis, however, fails to scrutinise the origin or use of search and rescue, thereby obscuring its true costs. This paper explores the birth and evolution of the “external maritime border” from 1986 to 2006 using 204 European Union policy documents. It documents the creation of a coordinated maritime interdiction network using search and rescue under the auspices of a proto-EU border guard. The design of this institutional framework was to intercept people moving by boat as far away from the Union as possible. “Crisis” became a discursive tool of policymakers to securitise and remove liberal checks on border enforcement, thereby subjecting migrants to Foucault’s (2010) police state (Mountz 2010). At the same time, the external border that vaguely delimited their location continued to push outward, thereby expanding and reproducing crisis. These outcomes persist to this present, as shown by the 19 April 2015 Incident and EUNAVFOR Med.

Equus and Revolution: Horses and the political animal geographies of North Korea

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Analysis focused on North Korean politics and political narrative has tended to follow the conceptions and assertions of its most frequently articulated political ideology, Juché that ‘man is the master of all things.’ This is of course perhaps less understandable given the recent historical context of Pyongyang’s systemic political failure when measured in terms of human development. Recent narratives sourced from expatriated North Koreans have sought to uncover previously untold stories of famine, oppression and human degradation and to further delegitimise its politics and ideology. This political vision however categorically excludes the use and experience of an entire element of North Korea’s population subject to its politics, and whose narratives and ideological interaction have never been subject to academic research, that of its non-human inhabitants. ¶ Accordingly and following the work of Animal Geographers such as Julie Urbaniak and Chris Philo and Political Anthropologist Heonik Kwon, this paper considers for the first time the place of animals and animal geographies within North Korean politics and ideology. This paper will analyse the political semiotics undertaken by Pyongyang’s incorporation of ancient equine myth, such as Chollima, the flying horse, capable of travelling 1000 ‘Ri’ per day (392 Kilometres), into its political structures and accompanying claims to revolutionary speed and utopian potential. More specifically the paper will investigate the place of horses within North Korea’s politics and culture and whether it is possible to recount, recover or reconstruct the narratives of particular political animals such as the white horse on which Kim Il-sung was photographed during the early days of his reign. Finally it will consider the impact of Pyongyang’s post 1992 period of political and environmental crisis on both the nation’s animals and political representations of them in contemporary North Korea.

Stadium relocation and urban political economy in Cobb County, Georgia, U.S.A.

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In this paper, I explore the political and socio-spatial dynamics affecting the relocation of venue for the Atlanta Braves baseball franchise in Cobb County, Georgia. Past geographic scholarship on sports arenas has demonstrated the tense and tenuous nature of stadium construction, especially for megaevents and high profile professional franchises (Bale 2002, Pillay and Bass 2008). Planners, politicians, and investors often pitch sports stadiums as economic catalysts for broader development within an urban region (Chapin 2004, Santo 2005). The relocation of franchises between cities, states, or even countries is a common area of analysis in sports geography and related subdisciplines (Foster and Hyatt 2007). The intra-urban movement of professional sports facilities has also been an important topic in this body of literature (Newsome and Comer 2000). The case study of the Atlanta Braves provides insight toward urban political identity as seen through the tension between low-income inner city neighborhoods and the wealthy suburbs where the team plans to relocate their stadium. When analyzed in the context of 21st century urban settlement patterns, the Braves stadium situation contributes to a broader discussion on the future of US cities and their socioeconomic structures.

updated: 3/17/16