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Alphabetical Order:

Iran and the Security of the Gulf Cooperation Council States

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The Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the greatest and most powerful countries, not only in the Arabian Gulf but in the entire Middle East region. However, the Iranian regime, which came to power as a result of the 1979 revolution that resulted in overthrowing the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, has been the biggest source of threat to the stability of the Middle East since the revolution until this day. It has ambitions to dominate the neighboring Arab countries, especially Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Bahrain.

Iran has bad relationships with countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which includes Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain. The main objective of this paper is to shed light on the deteriorating political relations between the Iranian regime on one hand and the GCC on the other, especially Saudi Arabia which is witnessing more challenges as a result of Iran's determination to develop its nuclear program. Another important objective of this paper is to identify the Iranian role in the creation of the hotbeds of conflict in addition to its responsibility for some of the region's problems. It also aims to answer the question; why does Iran insist on developing its controversial nuclear program?

The means of war: Counterinsurgency and logistics in the humanitarian present

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Building on the emerging literature that critically explores the ways in which capitalist and military supply chains are being secured in this post-9/11 world, this paper shows how, from the Cold war onwards, logistics has increasingly become a matter of concern for development and humanitarian professionals supporting counterinsurgency operations in conflict zones. While there is important work on the spatial interconnections between development, humanitarianism, and security, it has not yet engaged with these "in-between" spaces of logistics work which, crucially, supply aid compounds and field agents with the (non)humans, capital, and commodities they require to win over insurgent "hearts and minds".

In this presentation, I will track this growing intimacy between development, humanitarian, and logistics professionals in an under-studied moment of civilian counterinsurgency warfare: USAID's involvement in America's covert efforts to resist the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Here, I will be guided by the following research questions: How are

complex logistics systems established and maintained under conditions of counterinsurgency warfare? What new spaces of circulation are produced through this entanglement of development, humanitarian, and logistics work? Are these spaces productive or destructive of life? How have these logistics practices reshaped the ways in which development and humanitarianism is practiced in contemporary conflict zones? Over the course of this presentation, I will generate additional insights into the ways in which the business of supplying “armed social work” produces “volatile and violent spaces in which – and through which – the geo-political and the geo-economic are still locked in a deadly embrace”.

The Land of Storms and the region „where the country’s heart beats”: Discursive and material (re)productions of centre-periphery relations in Hungary

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Processes of peripheralisation have been studied from political-economic (Smith & Timár 2010, Nagy & al 2012) and discursive (Avraham & First 2006, Eriksson 2010) angles alike. There is a growing awareness that the two need to be studied together (Browning & Joenniemi 2004). I aim to show how socio-material and discursive processes are co-constituting centre-periphery relations on the example of Hungary, on the sub- and the supra-national level. Within Hungary focus is on Békés county, often regarded as a peripheral region, and on Central Hungary. Centre-periphery relations are found to be reproduced through material (financial, infrastructural, administrative-structural) and non-material practices alike. The latter include as wide fields as literature, film, travel magazines, media images, arts, maps, and public attitudes. On the supra-national level, as a physical space Hungary’s (self-)perception is ambivalent; sometimes portrayed to be located in the centre and sometimes at the margins of Europe or the EU. When Europe is understood as an idea Hungary’s belonging is at least as ambivalent, not least more recently. In political discourse the country and Central and Eastern Europe are often portrayed as backward or lagging, by external and internal actors alike. The latter have used their ‘peripheral’ status in developing a ‘claim culture’ for EU sources etc. At a commemoration of the fall of the Berlin Wall a Hungarian minister maintained that a Social Iron Curtain is still dividing Europe. This is to some extent supported by an indeed remaining wealth gap between Europe’s East and West, but the picture is of course much more fragmented. Yet such discourses serve to co-constitute peripherality together with socio-economic practices and realities.

Drawing Borders to Dispossess and Placing Dakota People in the Present: Alternative Territorialities in *Mni Sota Makoce*

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Nineteenth century boundary-making practices, like negotiating treaties, surveying and mapping, were complicit in marginalizing and dispossessing Dakota people from their ancestral homeland in *Mni Sota Makoce* (land where the skies are reflected in the waters). This paper will briefly outline the implications of drawing the boundaries of Minnesota as an explicit action of territoriality to dispossess the first inhabitants of the region. But the primary focus will be to place Dakota people in the present by drawing on contemporary Dakota voices to understand their relationships with land and territory. For Dakota people land is the source of everything,

and it cannot be bounded and categorized by western regimes to create capitalist spaces of enclosed property. By drawing on Dakota language phrases like *Mitakuye Owasin* (all my relatives) used by Dakota people in interviews to describe relationships with land, this paper will outline alternative approaches to understanding ideas of Dakota territoriality in *Mni Sota Makoce*.

Nature and Nation in the Lanzhou's Yellow River Scenic Corridor

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This paper uses a semiotic approach to landscape to examine how different visions of nature are deployed to edify Chinese national identity through a case study of a string of urban parks along the Yellow River in Lanzhou, China. The Yellow River has long been associated with Chinese national identity, and in the late 1990s the city of Lanzhou began efforts to return this waterfront to 'nature'. Creating these parks has revealed a series of tensions. Lanzhou is a peripheral city in a relatively arid region of China, and the parks have attempted to place Lanzhou as distinctly Chinese in two distinct ways. First, by introducing architectures and garden designs reminiscent of garden styles of humid Eastern China, and which are quite foreign to the arid environments of Northwest China, the parks have attempted to identify Lanzhou as classically Chinese. At the same time, linking the city with the Yellow River has been a trope used to link Lanzhou with a river that is used as a symbol of national identity in China. This study presents a case study of how the production of nature is deployed in edifying national identities.

Towards apparatuses of liberation and solidarity in the islands of East Asia

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The islands on the periphery of East Asia have reemerged as contemporary objects of nationalist and imperial desire. Whether it is isolated pinnacles like the Senkaku/Diaoyu or Dokdo/Takeshima Islands, the reefs and cays of the Spratlys, or larger militarized islands like Okinawa and Jeju, the islands of the western Pacific are a current focus of multiple military powers. The construction of the region as a militarized borderland of bristling navies, air forces, and ground troops, however, is being contested from within the region in a number of ways. Local political elections, protests, and networks of solidarity from within these islands have been reformulating the political geography of the region. This presentation will focus on the contentious politics on the oceanic margin of East Asia through the lens of Foucault's dispositifs of governance. Specifically, using examples from Okinawa, Jeju, and Guam this presentation will analyze the way acts of protest and solidarity can be conceptualized not just as isolated instances of 'resistance' to power, but as spatially-expansive, and potentially transformative, apparatuses of power in their own right.

Transnational militarism: Everyday diplomacies of interoperability in NATO

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In this paper I draw from assemblage theory and the literature on the new materialism to consider the diplomatic processes through which interoperability and standardization are produced within NATO. Interoperability and standardization refer to processes that enable militaries of various states to operate together in common missions. Interoperability has been a stated goal of NATO since its founding in the wake of World War 2, and its concerns range across a range of

dispersed geographies, from war materiel, to everyday procedures, to bureaucratic structures. This paper draws on archival research in the National Archives of the UK and the NATO Archives, as well as on interviews with military and civilian staff engaged in the everyday diplomacy that works towards interoperability. The paper examines the situatedness of power in this assemblage, both in terms of the everyday negotiation of standards and in terms of the political effects of interoperability on the political subjects it helps compose.

From raki to ayran: Regulating the place and practice of drinking in Turkey

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Despite religious proscriptions and practices, the flow of alcohol has never been impeded wholly in either Ottoman or republican Turkey. Rather, alcohol's enduring place in Anatolian history is replete with examples of regulated consumption—and some futile schemes to compel prohibition. In recent years, a discourse of “prohibition” returned amid contemporary regulatory initiatives and in ways that reify the country's secular-Islamist divides. Integral to permutations in such policies' implementation, there have even arisen schemes of socio-spatial control that entailed regimes of zoning and separation for alcohol trade and consumption. Accounting for present narratives of regulationism and prohibitionism from a vantage acknowledging the republic's past, this article maps today's dynamic and ongoing shifts in Turkey's regulatory and discursive engagements regarding the place and practice of drinking.

Mulberry Harbours, D-Day and the Creation of the ‘Anglo-American’ Orbit: Towards the idea of Geopolitical Constructs

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The Mulberry Harbours were massive artificial constructs dragged across the English Channel in the immediate wake of the Allied invasion forces of D-Day, June 6, 1944. They were designed to ensure the continuous supply of personnel and materiel that would support the military advance towards Germany. The story of the making of the harbors is used to illustrate the concept of Geopolitical Constructs; the multi-scalar creation of geopolitical subjects, government bureaucracy, place-specific economic activity, and regions defined by a particular geopolitical agenda. The historical legacy of these constructs in the creation of what became a long-lasting ‘Anglo-American Orbit’ of geopolitics is discussed. The concept of Geopolitical Constructs is proposed in order to re-instate “big picture” or global geopolitical narratives in to political geography, but in a non-deterministic fashion.

Contiguity, Political Community, and the Problem of Minority Representation

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This paper examines the relationship between contiguous election districts and minority under-representation in first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral systems, such as those used in Canada and the United States. In such systems, national, ethnic, and racial minorities are chronically under-represented because they rarely form local majorities or pluralities. In the United States, legal requirements facilitate the creation of non-white majority districts, but this approach is

constrained by Constitutional limitations on the use of racial identity, as well as by the geographic distribution of minorities. Canada has not typically sought to create minority-majority districts deliberately, relying primarily on geographic concentration to define “communities of interest.” Although alternative systems such as proportional representation can address the problem of minority under-representation, there is often considerable resistance to such reforms.

We examine the use of non-contiguous districts as a way to boost minority representation while maintaining a conventional FPTP system. Using the Federal Parliament in Canada as an example, we show that non-contiguous districts can substantially improve the representation of Canada’s national minorities: Francophones outside Quebec, Anglophones in Quebec, and Aboriginals. Adopting non-contiguous districting could produce significant political and social dividends without requiring major changes to districting practices. Doing so, however, requires a careful re-examination of the idea of contiguity and its assumed role in defining political communities.

Hegemonic Turning Points: Vietnam, Iraq and the All-Volunteer Force

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The use of a volunteer military in the U.S. problematizes a fundamental power relationship between its elites, civil society, and population. The All-Volunteer Force (AVF) was designed to alleviate civil discontent emerging from the Vietnam War. The AVF system placed tremendous strains on military personnel during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and poses conceptual questions about the nature of service and citizenship in the light of declining global hegemony. I show that the systematic exclusion of elites from service simultaneously curbs popular resistance to extraterritorial wars and encouraging the overuse of consenting soldiers. I conceptualize the decision to implement the ‘stop-loss’ policy during the Iraq conflict as a new, yet predictable watermark of an increasingly neoliberal hegemony that contradicts accepted goals within civil-military affairs. This policy signifies a structure with few limits on the exploitation of volunteers while sustaining the state’s hunger for international conflict to protect global hegemony.

The Iron Barley Bowl: The Politics of Seeking Chinese Government Posts

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The Communist Party of China (CPC) has continued to maintain its political monopoly in part by moving China towards a market economy and promoting a consumer lifestyle. Decades of economic growth have resulted in a booming Chinese middle class. Some scholars have argued that increased private affluence has bolstered the legitimacy of the Communist Party among China’s citizens. This paper explores this notion as it plays out among Tibetans in China’s western Xining City. I argue that rather than economic prosperity resulting in increased government legitimacy in the eyes of Xining’s Tibetans, many feel that they must obtain government posts in order to secure both a dependable salary and the bank loans that will allow them and their family to housing, automobiles, and other markers of the middle class. Thus anxieties about obtaining an “iron rice bowl” drive Tibetans towards government work. As a result, local and national authorities succeed not only in materially improving the livelihoods of their subjects, but in producing docile subjectivities. By creating greater dependence upon it and tolerance of it, the CPC can then attempt to claim legitimacy for itself.

Power and action: Environmental Governance and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve

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Despite a preoccupation with conflict and political power in Lebanon few directly address how power is exercised or not exercised empirically on the ground. This paper address the ability of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve to curb, limit and suppress illegal sport hunting in areas adjacent to the reserve through anti-hunting campaigns. The paper is based on months of interviews and participant observation in areas adjacent to the reserve in Lebanon where I interviewed biosphere personnel, police, politicians, Shouf residents and hunters. In particular, this paper adopts a Foucauldian governmentality lens to interpret the field data which demonstrate that despite what appears to be a robust capacity to stop hunting, a diffusion of power allows hunters to pursue their sport with little to no sanction.

Borders and Boundaries, Nodes and Networks, Systems and Assemblages: Past and Present Perspectives on the Political Organization of Space and Place

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This presentation offers a broad overview of evolving popular and scholarly assumptions regarding the political organization of global space. Until relatively recently, we conceived of the modern world as a colorful mosaic of states, each possessing its own territory demarcated by clearly defined borders and boundaries. This view has gradually receded and now it is increasingly common to think about the world in terms of nodes and networks, systems and assemblages. Interestingly, these shifting perspectives and assumptions of the political organization of the modern world paralleled a similar reconceptualization of how polities in pre-modern eras were structured and functioned, perhaps suggesting that we are merely projecting our common understanding of the present back onto the past. This presentation travels back to ancient Sumer and its notoriously quarrelsome city-states as a first step in examining the political organization of space and place in the ancient world on its own terms.

Breaker of Barriers? Syria's Borders in the Shadow of Sykes-Picot

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In the last year, the so-called “Islamic State in Iraq and Sham” has transformed the Syrian Civil War, effecting serious confrontations in Iraq and Lebanon, dismantling security regimes along the Iraq-Syria border, and encouraging the mass exodus of ethno-religious communities across the region. This paper explores how local interests articulate with ISIS’s transnational movement, looking at their activities in two border communities in Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon. More specifically, it explores just what Geography’s ongoing “relational turn” in theory contributes to understanding the current crisis in Syria. Tempting as it is to trace its roots directly to medieval Islamic political philosophy, the advance of ISIS is more a product of what Ó Tuathail (2000) calls a “postmodern geopolitical condition”: on the one hand, it draws on discourses from early Islam to imagine an Islamic polity or caliphate in contemporary Syria and Iraq; on the other, it employs these inconsistently and to achieve novel goals via novel methods. How has this group come to transform the map of the contemporary Middle East? How does its universalizing rhetoric translate into concrete political practice in specific places? In light of recent fieldwork in Jordan, this paper explores these questions by way of ethnographic and critical geopolitics traditions. More than just a battle of narratives and political philosophies,

even the transnational activities of ISIS must be rooted in the political history of spaces concretely shaped by the borders of 1920.

Construction as Commemoration: Memorializing Violence through West Bank Settlement Construction

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On 12 June 2014 three Israeli teenagers were kidnapped and killed while hitchhiking home in the West Bank, an incident culminating in a 50 day war in Gaza with over 2,200 casualties—and three new Israeli settlement outposts. This paper explores how Israeli settlers come to terms with violence and tragedy and how they shape settlement landscape. Local discourse accompanying the establishment of these settlements explicitly links violence against Israeli settlers with settlement foundation: the regional council circulated an article titled “Three boys – three settlements,” and settlers asked: “*When are the Arabs going to learn that every time they kill a Jew, a new settlement will be built?*” Far from being a novel occurrence, the political climate following the murder of an Israeli settler is “right” for the settlement movement to act while the IDF and Israeli government wouldn’t dare oppose them. As attitudes toward violence are closely aligned with cultural values, this paper explores the symbolic and political act of responding to violence against settlers with settlement expansion—memorializing fallen Israelis and communicating that violent opposition will only expedite the Judaization of the West Bank—the result being the continued ritualization of conflict dynamics and the generation of intractability.

Rethinking political geography through aesthetics

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Over the last decade or more, political geographers have often engaged with what might be called aesthetic matters under such rubrics as visibility, popular culture, embodiment, affect and emotion. Questions of aesthetics have also been raised in post-structuralist critical geopolitics’ turn towards representation and in marxist analyses of geopolitics, for example in terms of a concern with spectacle. In this paper, I suggest that it is timely for political geographers to reconsider aesthetics in light of a number of developments, including: the consolidation of ‘aesthetic IR’; a burgeoning literature in political aesthetics; growing interest in how artists and art works engage with geopolitical and political geographic problematics; and geography’s ongoing engagement with art more generally. Reviewing these developments, I consider how political geography might be reconceptualised in aesthetic terms and how such a reconceptualisation might be furthered via the question of aesthetics in art.

The Question of Israel and the Geopolitics of Solidarity

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There is a geopolitics to solidarity both because acts of solidarity take place in a field animated by geopolitics and because those acts in themselves have geopolitical consequences. The state of Israel argues that the hostility between itself and its Arab neighbours is based on consistent antisemitism. There is no doubt that Israel’s policy towards Palestinians and towards Islamic states produces in turn a hostility towards the state of Israel on the part of some Arabs and Muslims, nor is there any doubt that in certain places and contexts this hostility is expressed towards Jewish people living outside Israel who find themselves held hostage to Israel’s foreign

policy. From this, Israel asserts the need for reciprocal solidarity between the state of Israel and Jewish people in the diaspora. Acts of solidarity with the Palestinian people, likewise solicited, are intended to de-legitimise Israel as a Jewish state. At the very least it seeks to bring Israel to account for war crimes and for defiance of UN resolutions. This isolation of Israel is intended to have severe geopolitical consequences.

We entrepreneurial academics: Creating spatial hierarchies and interpreting diasporic academics' motives to work at Gulf Arab institutes of higher education

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Abstract: The global landscape of higher education has been in rapid flux, especially in the Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), where planners have promoted the development of new international partnerships and foreign branch campuses. Many of these projects are explicitly said to bring liberal norms and values to classroom spaces in the Gulf. However, the role of the educators associated with such globalizing university projects is little understood, and it is not clear that diasporic academics can act as straightforward conveyors of liberal mores in the Gulf, as is frequently assumed or implied. Drawing from one-on-one interviews (n = 20) conducted in Fall 2014, I ask how Western-educated scholars narrate their motives for working in higher education in the Gulf. Finding them to be 'normal' entrepreneurial subjects, I ask why their decisions to take up work in the region are so often stigmatized by their friends and colleagues in their home countries. In answering this question, I challenge normative constructions of liberalism as opposed to illiberalism, and show how this binary is both sustained and enabled by statist thinking – and ultimately entrenches hierarchies of space and moral geographies in these new sites of encounter within Gulf institutions of higher education.

Badges, Batman, and Baseball Cards: Or, How Sheriff's Offices Conceptualize Immigration Enforcement in the Nuevo South

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The dramatic growth of immigration enforcement in the United States has been made possible, in part, by the dispersion of enforcement authority to a variety of local law enforcement agencies, most notably through the 287(g) and Secure Communities programs. As a result, sheriffs have become a cornerstone of this new regime of U.S. immigration enforcement. By virtue of their broad jurisdictional authority, regulation of court spaces, and control over country jails where most immigration status checks take place, sheriff's offices function as a legal hinge between federal immigration enforcement priorities and local policing practices. But how do sheriffs conceptualize this newfound immigration enforcement authority with respect to their specific jurisdictional context? To answer this question, I build on ongoing research into the site specificity of immigration enforcement (Coleman and Kocher 2011) by analyzing the ways that sheriffs conceptualize their authority and prioritize immigration enforcement as one of many policing demands. This presentation draws on interviews with sheriffs and is supported by ethnographic and media analysis of the political intersection of sheriffing and immigration enforcement in Georgia. The material shared in this presentation touches on folklores of white supremacy in the U.S. south, the colonial legacy of the sheriff as a local sovereign, and a popularly elected sheriff who dresses like a superhero and drives a tank. This research advances geographers' understanding of regimes of immigrant control by offering a rare insight into the colorful, anachronistic and yet very powerful office of the U.S. county sheriff.

Converging and Diverging Narratives: The Role of Identity, Self-determination, and Economic Development in the New Caledonian Independence Debate

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According to the Noumea agreement signed in 1998, beginning in May 2014 New Caledonia will be entering the last stage of power devolution from France. This process will culminate in three referendums to determine whether New Caledonia becomes an independent or French associated state. Although small and geographically isolated, New Caledonia's political transformation has global ramifications for policy makers and sub-state groups struggling to resolve issues of political participation, recognition, and self-determination. The transition of power and contemporaneous political development of New Caledonia combined with its diverse population provides an ideal setting for identifying and analyzing the discourses that shape contemporary political claims for and against independence. Using a critical geopolitical approach and discourse analysis I examine the competing narratives presented by politicians, academics, and the media on the effects of independence. These narratives are framed by national and ethnic identities, economic dependence and competition, and differing views of self-determination.

Map-Making for Palestinian State-Making

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Maps have long been used as tools to dispossess the colonized, establish sovereign control over territories, and engineer states. Cartographic representations not only serve as national logos that encourage commitment to a nation-state, but also inform scientific knowledge and practices that are crucial for state-building. Since the Oslo Accords in 1993, Palestinians have been committed to building a state under their sovereign control. Since surveying and mapping are critical for national and spatial planning, various governmental and non-governmental Palestinian institutions have surveyed and mapped the land in order to create scientific know-how, and to thereby also strengthen their hand in final status negotiations with Israel. However, the lack of cartographic standardization, the inability of any one governing institution to enforce its political mandate, as well as Palestinians' lack of territorial sovereignty and control, impede the construction of generally agreed upon cartographic knowledge of the Palestinian Territories. This paper draws on the sociology of knowledge, Science Studies, critical cartography, and critical geopolitics to present a contextual understanding of the various social, institutional, and political factors that inform Palestinian map-making practices. In-depth interviewing, ethnography, and collaborative action research provide the methodological tools to do so. This conceptual and empirical framework helps to critique the traditional invisibility of the Palestinian perspective and its rendering through the eyes of Western colonizers, administrators, and experts by addressing issues that are of relevance to Palestinian stakeholders in the midst of their state- and nation-building project.

The Power of Individuals: Falun Gong Follower's Geopolitical Practices and Their Challenge to the Chinese Communist Party

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This paper adopts Foucault's notion of 'care of self' to explicate some of the relations between religious ideology and bodily practices in the case of the Falun Gong (FLG). These practices, however, are not only individual and personal but also collective and missionary. In this extension from the individual to the world, FLG religious practice attempts a geopolitical reordering that multiplies the points of confrontation between themselves and the Chinese communist state. I base my arguments upon the results of qualitative field research about Falun Gong (FLG) followers in Taipei, Hong Kong and Dublin (2012-14). The FLG is a spiritual group which was banned by the Chinese Communist Party in 1999. The geopolitical dimension of their work has antagonised the Chinese state. In this presentation, I discuss the geopolitical textual and embodied practices of the FLG by discussing FLG scriptures before and after the CCP's repression in 1999, and through an analysis of 'telling-truth-saving-life' actions by FLG followers, which is considered part of their individual cultivation practices.

Relative and absolute contextual explanations for Kenyan election violence: The incumbency incentive and regional demographic composition

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How do collective ethnic community experiences with formal governmental institutions shape deadly electoral conflict? In this article, I argue that systematic exclusion from Kenyan politics at both national and sub-national scales may have paradoxical dampening effects on individual and group-level motivations for supporting political violence. I develop a theory of incumbency incentives for conflict based on an ethnic community's intimate knowledge of the institutional pathways that allow co-ethnic populations to benefit materially from patronage networks. Those who have held executive office in Kenya have had this experience while populations without legacies of leadership have not. This model of incentives for violence has foundations in relative understandings of social context as they are defined by membership in some class, party, organization, or other social body. I also present empirical evidence that a key characteristic of absolute, locational, or territorial context operates alongside community-level relative contexts to increase the risk of election violence in subnational regions of the country. The most influential quality of subnational territorial context – the strongest compositional effect – is the degree to which ethnic community group size ratios reach half of a given area's population. I test the observable implications of several specific theoretical propositions using archival settlement scheme, census, survey, and hospital records data in addition to qualitative fieldwork.

Fired Up: Wildland Firefighter Safety Policy in Perspective

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Fire seasons are becoming more intense as a result of climate change, anachronistic fire suppression policies, and development in wildland-urban interface areas. The once obscure profession of wildland firefighting has been increasingly publicized as the fire environment becomes more dangerous to first responders. Portrayals of wildland fire suppression often succeed in identifying the overt risks and hazards associated with these efforts, yet little is presented in the mainstream media about the larger institutional shortcomings that leave

firefighters vulnerable; namely the lack of Emergency Medical Technicians as a standard part of Federal fire crews. Though Federal fire safety policy has evolved substantially over the last two decades in response to several tragedy fires, many of these actions only address incremental rather than systemic problems. Through a detailed policy analysis, barriers to the implementation of a medic position on fire crews will be identified, such as multi-scalar jurisdictional concerns and mismatched safety policies between and within Federal land management agencies. This will be accomplished through a quantitative geographic analysis of union participation, as well as through interviews with firefighters. Streamlining Federal fire safety policy will be needed to accommodate the medic position. Before we can ask firefighters to engage in more dangerous work environments, we should provide them with the resources they need to reduce their vulnerability.

Film and the Politics of Resistance

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Popular film as a reflection of society is often understood to be in the context of cultural values or an abstracted reflection of reality. Less directly identified, however, are how such cultural productions serve as inspiration for real life political actions. This paper reviews particular ways that fictional film gets used to convey legitimacy and claim a space of protest. Drawing on popular entertainment themes is an effective means of communicating the essence of a political argument because it serves as cultural shorthand for reaching a larger audience. By tapping into a widespread virtual legitimacy in which major film producers have done most of the groundwork developing empathy for fictional characters and circumstances, local and peripheral political issues are scaled up to achieve a broader and more receptive audience than would otherwise be possible. Developing connections between the reel and the real in such instances, fictional stories are made relevant to the politics of resistance and entertainment audiences are targeted as sources of public support.

Fantasies of the nation: Desiring Turkey in Azerbaijan

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Turkey is a major referent for national identification in Azerbaijan in both an affirmative and a critical sense. On the one hand, many Azerbaijanis consider Turkey a close ally, brother country and gateway to Europe, but on the other hand they are keen to distinguish themselves from Turkey, emphasizing their independence and moral superiority. Thus, Turkey, and the idea of Turkishness, are constitutive elements of Azerbaijani nationalism. This paper examines the reasons for and the mechanisms of this Turkish affection a majority of people seem to share. Drawing on open interview material and field observations collected between 2012 and 2014 in the cities of Baku, Ganja, Sheki and the Absheron peninsula, the paper illustrates how people relate to Turkishness and the paradoxical role it plays in constituting Azerbaijani Selves. Drawing on conceptual resources from psychoanalysis, it shows that people in Azerbaijan desire Turkishness as part of a fantasy of an elusive Azerbaijani identity that remains, however, constantly lacking.

Shards and Splinters: Power and Space viewed from Doha, Qatar

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The Persian Gulf State of Qatar has been projecting power through a series of spectacles, investments, and interventions. Our article relates Qatar's visibility and presence to the micro processes of power and accumulation in the Qatari capital city of Doha, where over 80 percent of the population live. We do this through a focus on subaltern circuits of migrant workers who form the urban majority. Their lives and labors provide a window on relationships between different stages of power and accumulation: Doha's skyline and the work and labor that sustain it. Based on street-level ethnography in Doha, we focus on two themes: the first is velocity and hierarchy; the second concerns punctuated lives, characterized by globalization through segregation. We conclude with reflections on how these narratives demand and enable sharpened critical and postcolonial lenses on urban modernity.

Writing Political Geography for the General Public.

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Academic geographers have not done a particularly good job of conveying the importance of geography to the general public. As a result, there is little widespread appreciation of how geography can contribute to confronting many of the major challenges of our time. In this rather unconventional conference presentation, I will read from a preliminary draft of a section of a book I am writing that addresses this state of affairs. The section of the book I will share is aimed at drawing attention to the ways in which bringing a geographical perspective to bear on geopolitical matters can offer insights of importance to the policy-making process and can facilitate wider understanding of the changing geopolitical landscape. The substantive points I make will likely be familiar to most political geographers, but I hope to generate comment on the approach I am taking and, more generally, to encourage consideration of how some of the work of political geographers can be more effectively packaged for broad consumption.

In the Soviet shadow: Soviet Hegemony and Mongolia's Quest for Communist Utopia

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Post-Soviet studies has become a burgeoning field since the Soviet Union dissolved in early nineties. Many scholars have contributed to the growing scholarship examining the role of the Soviet Union played in many societies which were directly and indirectly controlled by Soviet politics. Within this scholarship, however, very limited work has focused on the coloniality of the Soviet policies. Theoretically, the article aims to broaden the understanding of Soviet politics as a form of colonialism and to deploy the same conceptual tools used in post-colonial critiques that have been typically reserved for critiquing European control of "distant" lands-both in temporal and spatial dimensions. Examining the Soviet politics in Mongolia closely, the article argues for conceptualizing the Soviet policies across the vast Soviet-sphere with the post-colonial theoretical framework. Conceptually, the article juxtaposes the post-colonial treatment of the Soviet politics with high-modernism. Under Soviet direction and control Mongolia was profoundly transformed from an impoverished pastoral society at the beginning of the twentieth century to a highly-ordered and structured society after seven decades. This social, spatial,

administrative transformation was more vivid and radical than in many former Soviet-sphere countries, especially those countries that had long been settled and urbanized.

Governance in Russia's Arctic Natural Resource Centers: Extending Norilsk's Migration Restrictions

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Norilsk is one of Russia's largest Arctic cities, a company town with a population of about 175,000. It hosts the main production facilities of Norilsk Nickel Mining and Metallurgical Company (MMC), one of the country's premiere natural resource corporations. In the post-Soviet period, the city and Norilsk Nickel have attempted to reduce the city's population and associated municipal costs by limiting the number of foreigners and the economically unproductive. This paper examines Norilsk's most recent effort to achieve economic sustainability by reducing its large population. Municipal and corporate leaders intervened in recently concluded federal legislation that legally defined the administrative borders of Russia's Arctic region.

Norilsk sought to toughen in-migration restrictions along the border of the new Arctic territory, to reduce in-migration into the region, and the city itself. Norilsk's rhetorical strategy linked its own development plans to national priorities declared in federal Arctic strategy documents, as well as longstanding popular national narratives. Both consider uncontrolled population mobility and weak borders threats to regional geopolitical and economic security. The case of Norilsk suggests new ways natural resource cities and companies shape the political affairs of Russia's Arctic. These players increasingly leverage their economic strength to influence the region's political and economic development. Norilsk's intervention in policy areas normally decided by the central state (i.e, setting external borders and migration policy) both challenges and reinforces the federal role in setting national security narratives and Arctic development plans. The city's rhetorical strategies entrench and intertwine themes of geopolitical security and economic development in regional policy framings.

Science and Technology Studies and Political Geography: Theory and Applications

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How can science and technology studies (STS) be useful in approaching key questions of political geography? This paper addresses a number of sites of intersectionality between the two disciplines and suggests that viewing the production of technoscientific knowledge as embedded sociopolitical processes provides a robust tool for doing political geography. The scope of work in STS is expansive, with many inroads to topics in political geography, including state building, surveillance, energy sources and production, economics, communication technology, postcolonialism, cartography, governance and biopolitics, environmental issues, and urban development. Though some political geographers have incorporated STS or elements thereof into their work, we consider here some potential pathways by which political geography as a whole could fruitfully engage with STS theory. This paper serves as an introduction to STS, its central themes, its usefulness for political geographers, and new avenues of research it opens up within political geography.

Reterritorializing the core: Geographies of police militarization in the US

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In late 2014, the militarization of U.S. police departments was on public display as military-style equipment, vehicles, and tactics were used to confront protesters following a spate of killings of unarmed citizens by police in diverse settings. The militarized responses included the deployment of snipers atop armored vehicles and the use of military body armor, flash grenades, and rubber bullets against protesters. While the public discussion of these events emphasized the racial dimensions of the killings, the militarized response was a stark visual realization of a long standing Department of Defense program called 1033 that transfers surplus military equipment to local police forces at no cost. We trace the history of this program and its associated geographies with the aim of providing a theoretical framework to guide further investigation. By considering the shifting legal rationales for the program and its recent spatialities, we argue for a multi-scalar understanding that situates the militarization of local police forces within the hegemonic aims of US foreign policy and the larger processes of the world economy. We argue that doing so opens new research possibilities by considering events like the police response to the protests as local expressions of a larger and systematic process.

Practicing Globalisation: Passengers' Spatial Praxis in International Airports

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In this paper, I investigate the role of spatial praxis in Henri Lefebvre's thinking about the production of space in the context of globalisation. With airports transporting the equivalent of half the world's population each year, I take international aviation as the site of my investigation. Specifically, my paper reflects on my participation in the trials of Heathrow Airport's Terminal 2 before its opening in June 2014. A common means of testing new airport facilities, terminal trials invite volunteers from the public to test the operation of new terminals. Akin to a theatre performance, the volunteers' movements during a trial are supported by props, such as false passports and artificial luggage. They are directed through a script containing the identity of the passenger they are to embody and that passenger's itinerary on their way through the terminal. Reviewing the trials in detail, my paper investigates what they can tell us - and perhaps more importantly what they do *not* tell us - about passengers' journeys through international airports. I illustrate how these journeys of individuals help us understand and critique the large scale economic, social and political processes we conventionally know as globalisation.

The Frontier Economy of Eastern Shan State, Myanmar

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In *The Art of Not Being Governed*, James C. Scott argued that for centuries the mountains in southeastern Asia were inhabited by people who deliberately avoided state control. Since the late nineteenth century, the region has undergone rapid political and economic changes which made states better able to control people living in the mountains. The state increased its ability to manage movement of goods and people across borders. However, most of the borders in the region pass through mountainous areas and create frontiers because mountains prevent easy access to other areas within states. This paper will observe how accessibility, the administrative

capacity of the state, and proximity to borders have made eastern Shan State a frontier region. Historically, this area included principalities that paid tribute to more powerful plains kingdoms. Today, Myanmar is not strong enough to control all of its territory. Eastern Shan State is not located only in the mountains, but its borders with Thailand and China allowed it to develop an economy based on local cross-border trade. The borders impede Myanmar's ability to manage this frontier region, and this lack of control enables local populations to organize and fund further resistance to state control.

Blood Borders and a Better Middle East and North Africa?

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Recently, a number of European and North American observers of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have brought attention to nation-state boundaries of the region. US Army Colonel Ralph Peters, the most prominent of these observers, argues that MENA boundaries are problematic because they do not reflect the ethnic, racial, and religious make-up of the region. He maintains that until nation-state boundaries are redrawn to reflect this make-up, borders will be drivers of conflict. Peters sees the region as a "sectarian mosaic" in which ethnic, racial, and religious groups inhabit clearly bounded territories. His understanding of social organization shares conceptual similarities with how the MENA region was represented in colonial-era ethnographic research. This anthropological knowledge formed the basis of colonial governance systems in the region. These systems have been given a number of terms by scholars, including 'define and rule'. Terms like these suggest that colonial ethnographic research was concerned with shoehorning fluid divisions of social organization into colonially dictated categories. My goal is to link examinations of define and rule strategies with geopolitical critiques of ethnic, racial and religious conflict. I do this by examining key texts and maps that suggest boundary changes in the MENA region will prevent conflict.

Challenging Citizenship in Xinjiang: Coercion and Consent of Cultural Hegemony in Uyghur Society

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The current literature on citizenship emphasizes the importance of looking beyond modes of formal membership in a nation-state to include relational processes of social and cultural belonging. In taking a Gramscian approach to understanding power as a collaboration of cultural hegemony in civil society and domination in political society, I examine the struggle over citizenship in Urumchi, China as a contested site of territorial claims and cultural practices. Drawing on ethnographic data from preliminary fieldwork in Urumchi, I examine the visible state efforts to maintain political control and establish cultural hegemony alongside the highly variegated experiences of Han and Uyghur residents to perpetuate, accept, and resist these modes of control and influence. The data reveal ethnic, class, and spatial dimensions of social inequality that emphasize contested forms of citizenship in Urumchi. The friction over cultural life, including modes of dress and appearance, language, and food, accounts for a significant site of struggle by the state and people over power and control of urban space. This paper contributes to a fuller understanding of the politics and culture of citizenship in China to inquire into the locally specific forms of struggle over territory.

Regionalizing Refugee Governance in the Asia-Pacific: Australia's region building and securitization response to asylum seekers

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This paper examines the regional integration of asylum governance, asking how the Australian government has imagined, justified, and actualized 'the region' as an object of government capable of, even necessary to, "solving the asylum seeker problem." The paper analyzes how Australia has historically and currently hegemonically mobilized 'the region' as a discourse and practice of deterring, detaining, and repatriating asylum seekers, inducing regional building through an assemblage of strategies to keep asylum seekers "stateless by geographic design." Regionalization emerges as a spatial practice to segregate often racialized 'boat people' from 'genuine' refugees, and as a refugee burden sharing geography characterized by Australia leveraging development assistance to secure extraterritorial detention and resettlement agreements.

The paper shows how since the 1970s securitization has manifested policy harmonization, border and ocean militarization, morphing asylum mobilities and temporalities while conflating asylum seeking with people smuggling and economic migration. It traces how externalizations have shifted sovereignty regimes and territoriality, creating new geographies of mobility, detention, resettlement, and places such as "regional resettlement countries" and "regional processing countries" in response to influxes of 'spontaneous boat arrivals.' Refugee scholar Matthew Gibney refers to such arrangements as "engineered regionalism," and this paper historicizes Australia's "engineered regionalism" in the Asia-Pacific.

#Stacktivism: The political work of a technological imaginary

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Engineers typically use the metaphor of 'the stack' to refer to interdependent technological and protocological layers. The LAMP stack, for example, consists of the Linux OS, Apache, MySQL and PHP/Perl/Python. Together these technologies comprise the standard server architecture on which much of the internet runs. Recently the metaphor has been adopted and abstracted by disjointed artists, activists and digital media scholars across Europe. It has become a way to imagine and articulate political engagement with infrastructure more generally. Benjamin Bratton (2014) envisages the 'black stack' as an imminent, computational reordering of life. He sees governance as being articulated less through law and regulation, than through a calculus of risk, instruments of debt management and structures of standardisation and financialisation—all bound up into one of the layers of the 'black stack' which he calls 'the cloud'. In response, Tiziana Terranova (2014) has proposed a 'red stack', as a new *nomos* for post-capitalist commons. She suggests that virtual money, social networks and bio-hypermedia might constitute a way for the radical left to think about an alternative 'infrastructure of autonomisation'. Drawing on these two theorists, various artistic interventions, as well as the efforts of the London activist project #stacktivism, I will explore the potential geographies of this technological imaginary. While still an immature concept, I argue that the stack may offer a way to negotiate tensions between the nested geopolitical power of nation states and the topological spatialities of network infrastructure.

Redacted in the Interest of Public Security: a Statistical Methodology for Analysing Document Redactions and the Case of Frontex in the Central Mediterranean Sea, 2006-2014

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Bigo (2002) warned that the framing of human migration as a security problem would empower professionals to create and manage its threats. The exercise of this exceptional type of authority, in turn, allows and thrives on secrecy, since security professionals determine who needs to know about these threats and on what basis. The results of recent freedom of information requests to Frontex, the EU's coordinating border agency, on its joint operations in the Central Mediterranean Sea exemplify this phenomenon. Although fulfilling its obligations under European Union law, Frontex used the 'Public Security' exception to redact hundreds of pages of information (Frontex 2015). Given the frequency of this issue with state authorities in critical border studies, how can we analyse redactions in a way which still reveals valuable insight into the everyday production of security?

I develop a methodology to catalog, store, and conduct statistical analysis on redacted material. I find at least 189 unique redactions (88% of which are made in the interest of public security) covering 303 pages of material out of the 586 pages given by Frontex in 20 related documents, and identify the typical subjects they remove through textual and comparative analysis. Based on the method of electronic preservation, I am also able to locate important metadata, such as the mode of preservation, the time of preservation, and even the number of unique redactors. Finally, and based on the structure of the documents, I demonstrate how inconsistencies in redaction techniques can be used to reconstruct missing text.

Afforestation and the Production of Political Charisma on the Korean Peninsula: Divided Visions, United Vista

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Myths of national construction and their connected topographies are often deeply embedded within political narrative. The Korean peninsula may be unlike other political terrains due to the rupture between North and South Korea since the conclusion of the Second World War. Nevertheless, both nations have produced politically-charged national, political and narrative mythologies rooted in their physical terrains.

Following Denis Cosgrove's recognition of landscape as vital to the construction of symbolic national/political space and Heonik Kwon's reconfiguration of Weberian and Geertzian conceptions of political authority and practice in the space of North Korea, locating a theatrical or charismatic political form, this paper examines the production of political authority during developmental events and projects on the Korean Peninsula. In particular the paper investigates events of the 'Saemaul' movement in South Korea, which was both enacted by and connected to President Park Chung-hee. At the same time, Kim Il Sung and North Korea, , manifested a charismatic political urgency on its own landscape through the 'Ch'ollima' movement.

Comparing these events, this paper seeks to examine the co-production of both political charisma and charismatic landscape during the Saemaul and Ch'ollima campaigns. Critically and particularly this paper examines the use of afforestation and forestry management events either side of the DMZ, juxtaposing these productions and their representations within the opposed states and revealing processes through which the politicisation of physical landscape functions to both divide and unite the Korean peninsula.

The Right to Someone Else's City: trans-border representation in development planning in Foz do Iguacu, Brazil

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This paper analyzes urban development planning in the tri-border region between Foz do Iguacu, Brazil, Ciudad del Este, Paraguay, and Puerto Iguazú, Argentina, relative to two dominant lines of theory in political geography: Henri Lefebvre's right to the city and Giorgio Agamben's border as a space of exception. Using qualitative interview data collected between August and October 2014 this paper explores the priorities and concerns of stakeholders in Foz do Iguacu development projects related to regional economic growth. Borderlands are often envisioned as distant, disconnected spaces where central governing forces are simultaneously absent and ubiquitous. When dense urban populations are present along international boundaries a marginalized place is infused with issues of marginalized individuals resulting from socioeconomic disparity. In border contexts the right to participation in urban political decisions becomes multi-scalar and innately more complex. This paper seeks to establish how internationally-integrated development projects in multi-national border regions reflect barriers to trans-border cooperation yet also display opportunity for using planning efforts as bridges between cultures, economies, and political entities.