

**POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY SPECIALTY GROUP  
AAG PRECONFERENCE**

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5-7 March 2006  
Music Room  
2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Levis Center  
University of Illinois  
Urbana, Illinois

Organizers:  
Andrew Wood, [amwood@ou.edu](mailto:amwood@ou.edu)  
David Wilson, [dwilson2@express.cites.uiuc.edu](mailto:dwilson2@express.cites.uiuc.edu)

**SUNDAY, March 5  
6pm  
Opening Reception**

Iron Post, Race Street, Urbana  
Food and live music

**MONDAY, March 6  
9 – 10.30  
Electoral Politics  
Chair: Jason Dittmer**

Ken Martis, *Critical Election Theory: Political Science versus Geography?*  
Fred Shelley, Adrienne Proffer, Kimberly Zerr and Clark Archer, *Red and Blue Reversal: Comparing the Geography of the 1896 and 2004 U.S. Presidential Elections*  
Ryan Daley, *Red State or Blue State: Electoral Behavior and Identity in Colorado*  
Fiona Davidson, *Red Clydeside No More: the End of Labour Hegemony in Glasgow?*

**11 – 12.30**  
**Borders and Territory**

Chair: Mark Corson

Takashi Yamazaki, *Borders, territories, and movements in postwar Okinawa, Japan*

Anton Gosar and Safet Nurkovic, *Bosnia's Borders*

Betty Smith, *Cities in the Urban Region of the Tri Border Area of South America*

**2 – 3.30**  
**The politics of regulation**

Chair: Fred Shelley

Rex Honey, *Closing the Newspaper Loophole*

Barney Warf, *Political Economy of the U.S. Biotechnology Industry*

Rebecca Theobald, *“Every word well thought-out”: Realities of Academic Freedom for Foreign-Born Geography Faculty*

**4 – 5.30**  
**Geopolitics**

Chair: Shannon O’Lear

Colin Flint, *Citizensoldiers and Soldiercitizens: Hegemony and Militarism in the United States of America*

Jean Lavigne, *Taming the Steppes: US Foreign Policy and the Domestication of Mongolia*

Veit Bachmann, *German Development Policies – Part of its Grand Strategy as a Civilian Power?*

Jason Dittmer, *Comic Books, the Status Quo, and the Tyranny of the Serial*

**TUESDAY, March 7**  
**9 – 10.30**  
**Nationalism and identity**  
Chair: Darren Purcell

Nadia Abu-Zhara, *Community-integrated GIS and the "dilemmas" of counter-mapping: The case of Palestine*

Mike Collyer, *Determinants of Political Transnationalism: The example of the Maghreb*

John O'Loughlin, *Population and Ethnic Change in the North Caucasus of Russia; Another Consequence of the Chechen Wars, 1994-1996 and 1999-*

Rob Whiting, *Defining a Nation by Placing a Statue: Exploring the Relationship between the Statue of Ban Jelacic and the Croatian National Project*

**11 – 12.30**  
**Urban Politics**  
Chair: Carl Dahlman

Kevin Ward, *Globalizing urban circuits of expertise, ideas and knowledge*

David Scott, *Combining local area renewal with local democratic renewal*

Gordon MacLeod and Joe Painter, *Gated Communities and the Urban Political Realm*

Nick Phelps, *Anatomy of a sprawl: Urban Sprawl in South Hampshire*

## **Critical Election Theory: Political Science versus Geography?**

Kenneth C. Martis, Geography Program, West Virginia University

For over fifty years researchers have examined United States presidential elections and have put forward theories of electoral change and cycles. Critical elections are ones in which the electorate goes through a significant partisan realignment. A political era or system is a period of time with electorate stability and similar voting patterns until the next critical election. In some instances the critical election dates and length of political eras put forward by political scientists and historians differs from the dates and eras of the geographical pattern of elections. In the groundbreaking work *Section and Party*, Clark Archer and Peter Taylor examine and critique critical elections and eras on a state level. In the construction of the forthcoming *Historical Atlas of United States Presidential Elections* a geographical data set has been assembled to not only produce election maps, but also with the ability to analyze the spatial aspects of presidential elections on the county level. The geographic patterns of county level presidential voting calls into question some critical elections and eras put forth in the current literature. Additional research is proposed, for both presidential elections on the county level and congressional elections on the district level, to exam these phenomena further.

## **Red and Blue Reversal: Comparing the Geography of the 1896 and 2004 U.S. Presidential Elections**

Fred M. Shelley, Adrienne M. Proffer and Kimberly J. Zerr, University of Oklahoma, J. Clark Archer, University of Nebraska—Lincoln

The 1896 U.S. presidential election, in which Republican William McKinley defeated Democrat William Jennings Bryan, was one of the most important Presidential elections in U.S. history. Bryan attempted to forge a coalition of farmers and industrial workers against McKinley, who was associated with capital and large industrial corporations. The country was sharply polarized, with the Northeast solidly for McKinley and much of the South and West supporting Bryan. In 2004, Republican George W. Bush defeated Democrat John Kerry. The 2004 election was also highly polarized. The conservative, corporate-oriented Bush won the South and the West but lost the Northeast to the more liberal, labor-oriented Kerry. Forty-five states participated in both elections. Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Alaska, and Hawaii had not been admitted to the Union. Of the other 45 states, 38 shifted from Republican red in 1896 to Democratic blue in 2004 or vice versa. Most places that supported McKinley in 1896 supported Kerry in 2004, and most places that supported Bryan in 1896 supported Bush in 2004. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the political and geographic dimensions of these shifts through mapping and statistical analysis of state- and county-level election returns from the Presidential elections of 1896 and 2004. We identify and map general trends, examine exceptions to the general pattern, and analyze why the two parties have reversed their geographies during the intervening century.

## **Red State or Blue State: Electoral Behavior and Identity in Colorado**

Ryan Daley, University of California - Los Angeles; [rdaley@ucla.edu](mailto:rdaley@ucla.edu)

The labels “red state” and “blue state” have become the hallmark of national politics during the two most recent American presidential elections. The media, politicians, and activists use a political rhetoric – they even speak in terms of “red state behavior” and “blue state behavior” – suggesting that state specific electoral and ideological identities are homogeneous reflections of their red or blue designations. Proponents of this dichotomy have used such labels to construct an ideological territoriality – insomuch as the red and blue regions must be defended at all costs against encroachment by the other color – around the idea of a red vs. blue American citizenry. What this paper presupposes is that such territorially specific constructions of ideological difference can only be understood by examining specific local interests as reflected in electoral choices. Using the 2004 elections in Colorado, this paper attempts to deconstruct the notion that citizens are overtly red or blue in their political interests or electoral behavior. Analysis of Colorado’s election of two new democrats to Congress and the elevation of democrats to the majority in the state legislature while voting in favor of the republican presidential candidate shows how Colorado’s electorate has created their own ideological territoriality around interests specific to Coloradoans. The purpose of this paper is to show that these interests are neither red nor blue, yet reflect a worldview and a conception of local economics and politics that are uniquely Coloradoan.

## **Red Clydeside No More: the End of Labour Hegemony in Glasgow?**

Fiona M Davidson, University of Arkansas; [fdavidso@uark.edu](mailto:fdavidso@uark.edu)

While the myth of “Red Clydeside” as a hotbed of revolutionary fervour was dispelled decades ago, the Labour party has achieved an impressive string of electoral victories at both the parliamentary constituency level and in city council elections over the past 30 years. This paper examines the historical basis of Labour’s successes in the city and looks ahead to the changes that will come as local council elections in Scotland change to a Single Transferable Vote system for the 2007 local council elections.

An examination of ward level data in city council elections from 1974 to the present as well as evidence of strategic voting from the Scottish parliamentary elections suggests that once the single member districts of the current ward system are removed Labour’s ability to control a large majority of council seats on a small majority (occasionally a plurality) of the popular vote will end. Glasgow was one of the last major metropolitan areas in Britain to become a Labour stronghold and as a result of the new voting system being introduced in Scotland, and the strength of non-UK parties (particularly the SNP and SSP) it is possible that it may be one of the first in which that hegemony crumbles.

## **Borders, territories, and movements in postwar Okinawa, Japan**

Takashi Yamazaki, Osaka City University, Japan

This paper examines the socio-spatial development of political mobilization in postwar Okinawa in relation to the shifts in its borders and territories. Okinawa (Okinawa Prefecture in Japan) is a group of islands located on the southern fringe of the Japanese territory. Due to its location between regional/global powers such as China, Japan, the former Soviet Union, and the U.S., Okinawan society has been under the strong influence of external states. It used to be an independent state called Ryukyu Kingdom (1429-1879) but finally annexed to Japan in 1879. As a result of the Asia-Pacific War, Okinawa was governed by the U.S. military forces from 1945 to 1972 when it reverted to Japan. Even after the reversion, the strong U.S. military presence in the islands remained intact and has caused continuing movements against the U.S. and Japan. During the postwar period Okinawa's borders and territories were reshaped, which made the construction of Okinawan political subjectivity (ethnic, regional, or national identity) highly complex. Drawing on the statistical and textual data regarding Okinawan collective action and voting from 1949 to 2000, this paper illustrates the geo-historical relationship between border/territorial shifts and political mobilization. It will be clarified that Okinawans mobilized various aspects of their identity according to the geopolitical contexts in which they had been 'forcibly' situated.

## **Bosnia's Borders**

Anton Gosar, University of Primorska and Safet Nurković, University of Sarajevo

Ten years after the Dayton Peace Accords administrative borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) are still in making and restructuring. Six layers of borders exist; most of them have several disputed parts. The international boundary of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a consensual border of the state and the neighboring countries. The Badinter commission's conclusion that the second level of administrative borders (republic borders) within former Yugoslavia should become international borders is accepted as an international arbitration in this regard. In neither parliaments of BiH neighboring countries ratification of the border delimitation has been put into process. The Croato – BiH border was on the table of both countries deliberations. Agreements of some sort have been reached. The Kostajnica case and the Neum/Ploče agreement have come to existence due to a strong international pressure. The Serb-Montenegrin – BiH border is not on the negotiating table yet, despite problems the (now) international border has produced, in particular in the Lim and Drina valley. The problem of the BiH border in the Adriatic Sea will be further elaborated.

Two internal borders of BiH are the result of the international crisis resolutions. The inter-entity border (IEBL) is produced in Dayton (1995) and is a unique cultural division, resulting in a two-state semi-autonomy. The border of the Brčko district is a result of long-lasting deliberations and the final arbitrary resolution by an international body in 2002. On the third internal level of borders the borders of the cantons come to foreground. They, as well, are the results of several options produced to end the war (1992 – 1995). In the paper the problem of the disintegration, which such internal divisions produce, is going to be discussed.

## **Cities in the Urban Region of the Tri Border Area of South America**

Betty E. Smith, Eastern Illinois University

The Tri Border Area (TBA) of South America is where the countries of Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay share common political boundaries. With a total estimated population of more than 700,000, the urbanized TBA contains three distinct cities: Ciudad del Este, Paraguay; Foz do Iguacu, Brazil and the much smaller Puerto Iguazú, Argentina. The formal and informal sectors in the area are economically interdependent and experiencing spatial impacts from global restructuring. Porous borders contribute to a mix of legal and illegal economic activities, some of which are carried out by transnational criminal organizations. With annual sales reaching approximately \$12 billion, Ciudad del Este is considered globally to be third in cash transactions after Hong Kong and Miami.

This research examines the major internal and international migratory trends that have created the ethnically diverse TBA. Inhabitants are largely of mixed Spanish, Guaraní and Portuguese descent. Most individuals in Ciudad del Este speak both Spanish and Guaraní. People of Foz do Iguacu mostly speak Portuguese and in Puerto Iguazú the Spanish language predominates. The TBA is inhabited by descendents of German, Italian, French, and Japanese immigrants, Chinese and Korean communities, and an estimated 30,000 ethnic Arabs and Muslims, mostly of Palestinian and Lebanese descent. The paper describes the development of contemporary ethnic and transnational communities in the TBA through a review of the literature, government documents, news reports and census data.

## **Closing the Newspaper Loophole**

Rex Honey, University of Iowa

Though federal law restricts who may legally possess firearms, newspaper classified advertisements remain a legal way to sell guns in the United States so that those otherwise ineligible to do so may in fact purchase guns. Iowans for the Prevention of Gun Violence conducted a national study of newspaper policies with regard to the sale of guns, then embarked on a campaign to convince those papers continuing to accept classified ads for the sale of guns to change their policies. This paper reports the findings, first in terms of the geography of the "newspaper loophole," then the geography of the success of closing the loophole.

## **Political Economy of the U.S. Biotechnology Industry**

Barney Warf, Dept. of Geography, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306; bwarf@coss.fsu.edu

This paper examines the political economy of the biotechnology industry, which, while small, offers great potential for growth. It opens with an overview of the dynamics of the industry nationally, including its major locational clusters, emphasizing the forces that generate agglomerative districts, the dynamics of regional competitiveness, innovation, and technological spin-offs. Attention is paid to the role of tacit, unstandardized knowledge and informal linkages, knowledge spillovers, and positive external economies of scale. Second, it examines the critical roles played by national regulatory programs and state government subsidies and educational programs. Finally, it explores the specifics of the proposed Palm Beach County Biotechnology Research Park in Florida, using it to address the question of the competitive viability of newer centers in light of competition from older, established ones.

## **“Every word well thought-out”: Realities of Academic Freedom for Foreign-Born Geography Faculty**

Rebecca Theobald, University of Colorado at Boulder

Foreign-born geography faculty teaching in American institutions of higher education have periodically exercised self-censorship when they contemplate teaching controversial subject matter, especially in lower-division courses. While discussions about academic freedom have abounded over several centuries, each generation incorporates the original objective of allowing “truth” to be spoken but then frames it with specific parameters and perceptions of threats to its existence, depending in part on the cultural and political context in which the institution operates. An editorial discussing academic freedom and globalization in *Higher Education Policy* states that “Academic Freedom is, in effect, spatially defined.” This paper explores one aspect of that statement by examining American views of academic freedom in contrast with concepts in other countries, at both the individual and the institutional scale, with particular attention to the experiences of non-native professors in the United States. The extent of academic freedom in countries across the globe is compared with various indices, including the United Nations’ Human Development Index and the Freedom House “Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties”. In the United States, issues of academic freedom have been detailed in court cases, faculty senates, academic novels, and the popular media. The American understanding of academic freedom appears to diverge from ideas in other parts of the world, not so much in how academic freedom is defined, but more in what the reciprocal obligations are for those endowed with the privilege and responsibility to espouse “truth”. Implications for faculty and institutions are discussed.

## **Citizensoldiers and Soldiercitizens: Hegemony and Militarism in the United States of America**

Colin Flint, Department of Geography, University of Illinois; flint@uiuc.edu

This paper explores the construction of the morality of the soldier overseas, using the Korean War as an example. For the United States, the particular political geography of the hegemonic enterprise (violating the territorial sovereignty of other countries in the name of ‘peace’, when peace had been understood as freedom from territorial invasion) makes constructing geopolitical actions as moral a challenge. Specifically, after the Korean War concerns in the military and amongst political commentators regarding the behavior of US prisoners of war created a sense that “society as a whole” had failed to prepare young American men for combat in the Cold War. Subsequent military training manuals explore the identification of the “type” of citizen soldier required to fight the Cold War. Following this lead, the extent to which the ‘needs’ identified by the military were reflected in educational and religious arenas of socialization are explored through document analysis. The paper explores how the United States sense of hegemonic mission required the militarization of the whole society: Ironically, sprouting a militarism that has been the ‘other’ of the US hegemonic project. As a result, the United States has constructed soldiercitizens as well as citizen soldiers.

## **Taming the Steppes: US Foreign Policy and the Domestication of Mongolia**

Jean Lavigne, Department of Geography, Gustavus Adolphus College;  
jlavigne@gustavus.edu

In 1926, Mongolia became the second country in the world to embrace a Soviet-influenced government ruled by the Communist Party. Cut off from the West by Cold War barriers for the next 65 years, Mongolia's already isolated population became even further marginalized. As an emerging independent nation in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Mongolia is virgin territory in a number of ways: more than half of its population is still nomadic; most of the country lacks electricity, plumbing, and paved roads; and, at least until 2005, not a single American franchise operated within the country. At the same time, Mongolia is a vast country with some of the world's largest copper deposits and exciting, virtually untapped potential for other valuable resources. In response to this situation, the US has developed a fascinating set of strategies designed to shape this virgin territory into an ideal partner for US business and strategic interests. Consequently, looking more closely at Mongolia affords political geographers a chance to examine the goals and consequences of the neoliberal paradigm on a relatively uncluttered stage.

## **German Development Policies – Part of its Grand Strategy as a Civilian Power?**

Veit Bachmann, Department of Geography, Texas A&M University;  
[veitb@tamu.edu](mailto:veitb@tamu.edu)

After World War II and throughout the Cold War, Germany became a classical example of a civilian power. This refers to a particular foreign policy identity based on multilateralism, supranational integration, the rule of international law and institutions, free trade, and the rejection of the use of force as a means of international politics. It was possible for Germany to adopt this role concept because the United States provided a liberal, capitalist world order and military protection, which allowed Germany to rebuild its economy and nation. The civilian power concept proved so successful for Germany, that it eventually became a grand strategy. As such it has a significant impact on the conception of German development policies. After the reunification in 1990 German development politics underwent two major changes. First, in 1991 five criteria were set to guide the priority ranking of partner countries for German development cooperation. Second, when the center-left government under Gerhard Schröder came to power in 1998, development politics were upgraded from development aid to 'global structural politics' and became focused on certain countries and certain sectors.

This paper shows how Germany developed into a civilian power during the Cold War and maintained this identity after reunification. Furthermore, it describes the conception and implementation of German development cooperation. Finally, it discusses how development policies follow the role concept of a civilian power.

## **Comic Books, the Status Quo, and the Tyranny of the Serial**

Dr. Jason Dittmer, Department of Geology and Geography, Georgia Southern University

This paper seeks to theorize the impact of the comic book medium on geopolitical worldviews and attitudes. Evidence of the use of comic books to promote specific discourses by geopolitical actors is presented, and the conventions that govern the limits of comic book narration are outlined. Among the conventions of production discussed are the role of ‘continuity’ as a structuring force and the serial nature of most comic books. The impact of these conventions is viewed through an examination of *Watchmen* and *Captain America* comic books. Both series revolve around issues of political legitimacy and the structuring of geopolitical space, but do so in different ways. Finally, a theorization of the limits to comic book discourse is outlined, and its ultimately conservative political outcome is described as endemic to the genre.

## **Community-integrated GIS and the "dilemmas" of counter-mapping: The case of Palestine**

Nadia Abu-Zahra, University of Oxford; [nadia.abu-zahra@sant.ox.ac.uk](mailto:nadia.abu-zahra@sant.ox.ac.uk)

"Counter-mapping" involves the use of maps to contest dominant power structures. Following on the work of Hodgson and Schroeder (2002), this presentation identifies and labels three dilemmas of using counter-mapping and community-integrated geographic information systems (CiGIS), and links them to a Palestinian case study. The first dilemma, observed to date in US, Latin American, and Tanzanian contexts, is that adopting the dominant discourse can lead to a framing of the problem (and potential solutions) in terms quite different from those used by the people supposedly represented. In addition, adopting the dominant discourse can also restructure notions of community. The Palestinian case graphically and concretely illustrates discursive changes and community restructuring related to CiGIS initiatives. It also illustrates the third dilemma, which is that alliances built to pursue a CiGIS initiative can alter the message and alienate the original participants. In the Palestinian case, refugees ironically work with the settlers that have taken their land, in order to prevent more land from being taken. While these three dilemmas neither negate nor promote CiGIS as a viable strategy for disempowered groups, they do highlight the precautions that, if taken, have the potential to enhance CiGIS activities.

## **Determinants of Political Transnationalism: The example of the Maghreb**

Michael Collyer, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK;  
[M.Collyer@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:M.Collyer@sussex.ac.uk)

Given the potential benefits that can be derived from emigrants, governments of sending countries have developed a variety of ways of mobilising non-resident nationals and institutionalising their attachments to their country of origin. This deliberate creation of diaspora takes a number of forms, including political involvement. It is increasingly common for non-resident nationals to participate in national elections, through a variety of different systems. Most of these voting systems pose no challenge to accepted practices of territoriality, since individuals vote as if they were resident in their country of origin. For a growing minority of countries, emigrants are granted their own circumscription and directly elect their own representation. These relatively new systems of political incorporation do suggest forms of reterritorialisation around diaspora groups. Sociological investigations of migrant voting in Latin America have suggested that these systems derive from particular forms of home countries' incorporation into the world economy, creating dependence on migrant remittances. This pattern does not follow in the Maghreb. Analysis of the history of non-resident voting systems in the Maghreb suggests broader links to developing notions of a 'geopolitics of diaspora' that include a range of other symbolic and material relationships.

## **Population and Ethnic Change in the North Caucasus of Russia; Another Consequence of the Chechen Wars, 1994-1996 and 1999-**

John O'Loughlin, University of Colorado at Boulder; [johno@colorado.edu](mailto:johno@colorado.edu)

Census data from the 2002 Russian census and yearly counts from local authorities make it clear that a major rearrangement of the ethnic distributions in the North Caucasus region of Russia has taken place over the past 15 years. Three major trends are evident from detailed rayon (county-level) mapping of the changes; a) refugees from Chechnya now form a majority of the population of many rayoni on the immediate borderlands of the republic; b) ethnic Russians have left (or been forced out) of most of the rayoni of the ethnic republics (North Ossetia, Karardino-Balkaria, karachevo-Cherkessia, Dagestan and Ingushetia) and more recently, from the eastern (Muslim) rayoni of Stavropol krai; and c) differential ethnic population growth and migration is changing the long-established and carefully-balanced ethnic mix of all the republics, but especially the largest one, Dagestan. It is in Dagestan that the future of the region will be decided as the struggle for resources and control of local power entities is played out against a background of the overspill of the Chechen war, increased pauperization, conflicts between Sufism and Wahhabism, and ethnic-based "Chicago-style" political logrolling.

## **Defining a Nation by Placing a Statue: Exploring the Relationship between the Statue of Ban Jelacic and the Croatian National Project**

Robert Whiting, Department of Geography, UIUC

This paper explores the relationship between the specific memorialization of an individual and the process of defining a nation. My thesis is that by memorializing Ban Jelacic in a specific way, in a specific place, the leaders of the Croatian National Project were attempting to permanently establish a very specific image of Croatia in the consciousness of the population. By carefully selecting the form and place of the Ban Jelacic statue the leaders of the Croatian National Project transformed an historically anomalous event (a self governing, unified Croatia with Zagreb as its capital) into a perceived “natural” political order. The placement of this statue also created a link between local and national scales that transformed Ban Jelacic Square into a theater of national politics.

## **Globalizing urban circuits of expertise, ideas and knowledge**

Kevin Ward, Geography, School of Environment and Development,  
University of Manchester; [k.g.ward@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:k.g.ward@manchester.ac.uk)

This paper sets out an approach for examining the spatial imaginations and the wider political-economic contexts in which they are rooted of those who gather, produce and distribute urban expertise, ideas and knowledge. That is those who make, authenticate and legitimise ‘policy’. It draws on Thrift’s (1998) argument that in recent years we have witnessed the emergence of a ‘cultural circuit of capital’, which links those who gather information -- firms, research analysts, market researchers and the media – those who produce knowledge – academia, in the form of business schools, management consultants, management gurus, think tanks – and the means through which knowledge is distributed – including seminars, books, tapes, and trade magazines. The growth in a particular model of downtown revitalization, specifically but not exclusively in North America, the UK and other countries in which English is spoken and in which there is a colonial residual – Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa – is argued to constitute the emergence of a trans-national redevelopment industry, made up of ‘idea brokers’ (Smith 1991) of one type or another and constitutive of circuits, of differing spatial reach. Using the example of Business Improvement Districts, the paper makes the case for this approach, which is sensitive both to relational thinking and to the places in and through which transfer occurs.

## **Combining local area renewal with local democratic renewal**

David Scott, Department of Geography University of Durham;  
d.j.scott@durham.ac.uk

As the national state apparatus in the UK has undergone various transformations and spatial restructurings, there are important questions about what this means for how local socio-economic disadvantage can be addressed. Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) are a recent attempt in the UK to improve the institutional capacity of local governance, and represent one of the primary means by which the government aims to tackle socio-spatial inequalities. One of the key modes of operation by which it is intended they do this is 'public' or 'community' participation. Using empirical findings, this paper will critically assess the contribution and impact this makes. In doing so it is necessary to consider the specific nature and character of the democratic and participatory practices involved. The paper will therefore explore how efforts to bring about local democratic renewal are interrelated with area-based policies for tackling socio-spatial inequalities, and how each has an impact on the other. This has implications for the ways in which 'local' problems are recognised and diagnosed, and the ways in which certain policy objectives, modes of implementation, justifications, and rationales of success are emerging. The findings suggest that the practices of participation occurring are problematically linked to a notion of community capacity-building and community engagement, and that this acts to reconfigure the way that area 'regeneration' and 'social exclusion' policies are constructed.

## **Gated Communities and the Urban Political Realm**

Gordon MacLeod and Joe Painter, Centre for the Study of Cities and Regions & Department of Geography, University of Durham;  
[Gordon.MacLeod@durham.ac.uk](mailto:Gordon.MacLeod@durham.ac.uk), [J.M.Painter@durham.ac.uk](mailto:J.M.Painter@durham.ac.uk)

One of the most striking characteristics of the urban process over the last couple of decades has been the mushrooming of gated communities. While they are most prevalent in the USA, Latin America, Asia and South Africa, such gated housing enclaves are also increasingly punctuating the urban landscapes of Europe. In addition to privatizing what would ordinarily be *public* space, however, the creation of such ‘communities’ has pushed many *Homeowners Associations* to privatize civic responsibilities like police protection and services like street maintenance, recreation, and entertainment (McKenzie 2003): the net effect of which often leads to a form of political ‘secession’. Thus, aside from their more obvious impact on the environmental and aesthetic character of the urban landscape, the diffusion of gated communities raises fundamental questions about the future character of urban politics, modes of neighbourhood governance, the regulation of land-use, public space, and, not least, citizenship. This paper draws on preliminary research conducted by the authors and offers some remarks about the impact that gated communities are having upon the urban political realm.

## **Anatomy of a Sprawl: Urban Sprawl in South Hampshire**

N.A. Phelps, School of Geography, university of Southampton, Highfield, Southampton SO17 1BJ; [n.a.phelps@soton.ac.uk](mailto:n.a.phelps@soton.ac.uk)

Urban sprawl is a familiar and by now well-documented feature of the American landscape. The debate over urban sprawl has crystallised several important issues in urban politics and planning. There are important questions regarding the constellation of actors and interests that have promoted urban sprawl. There are further questions regarding political tensions within these constellations over growth versus conservation, growth versus social welfare and secession versus incorporation. Partially related to these concerns is a set of barely addressed questions regarding the economic basis of urban sprawl. This paper outlines a proposed research agenda centred on these concerns but exploring instead a UK case study of South Hampshire. South Hampshire – a 20 mile corridor that stretches between the cities of Portsmouth and Southampton and beyond to Chichester and Winchester – has become increasingly urbanised over the past 50 years. Moreover, in light of recent national, regional and local developments the area stands to be further urbanised as a centre for economic growth within the South East region of England.