

# Political Geography Pre-Conference 2007

(In conjunction with the Developing Areas Specialty Group)

## SUMMARY SCHEDULE

Sunday, April 15, 2007

8pm – ??? Meet-and-Greet @ Henry's Publick House (bar in Hotel Durant)

Monday, April 16, 2007

9:00am – 10:00am Opening Speaker (Anthony Bebbington)  
10:00am – 10:15am Break  
10:15am – 11:45am Session 1 (Electoral Geography)  
11:45am – 12:30pm Lunch  
12:30pm – 2:00pm Session 2 (Politics and Geographies of Development Theory)  
2:00pm – 2:15pm Break  
2:15pm – 3:45pm Session 3 (Territory and the State)  
3:45pm – 4:00pm Break  
4:00pm – 5:30pm Session 4 (Religion and/or Identity)

Tuesday, April 17, 2007

8:30am – 10:00am Session 5 (Geopolitics)  
10:00am – 12:00pm Head to San Francisco for Tuesday sessions

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**Monday, April 15, 2007**

**10:15am – 11:45am**

**Session 1 (Electoral Geography)**

Chair: Jacquie Housel (SUNY - Buffalo)

Kenneth C. Martis  
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### **The First Election Map**

Abstract: The development of the science and art of map making by the middle of the Nineteenth Century led to the rise of “statistical” cartography and thematic maps. Perfect matches for thematic maps were geographically defined election districts and voting data. Election district boundary maps emerged as early as the 1790s in the United States and the famous gerrymander rendering first appeared in March 1812. However, what was the first ever real election map? One candidate is Léon Montigny's *Les élections parisiennes de mai et juin 1869, application de la géométrie à la statistique* [The Paris elections of May and June 1869, application of geometry and statistics]. Although no date appears on the map it seems to have been produced circa 1870/early 1870s. In the same decade in the United States the first government Census Atlas was published providing the techniques, inspiration and data for the production of maps in privately published atlases. By the 1880s intricate statistical maps of U.S. presidential election results by counties were beginning to be published in various “citizens” atlases. Illustrations of early election maps and discussion of early thematic political maps are part of a larger project being prepared for the History of Cartography book series.

Ryan Daley  
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**Red State or Blue State: A geographical perspective on the 2004 elections and partisan change in Colorado**

Abstract: In 2004, Colorado voters favored the Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush but elected two first term Democrats to Congress, Ken Salazar and John Salazar. Both seats were vacated by multi-term Republican incumbents. Additionally, the Democratic presidential candidate had a significantly stronger showing over 2000: the Democrat's share of votes rose from 42.39 percent in 2000 to 47.02 percent in 2004. These facts suggest that partisan change in favor of the Democrats may be underway in Colorado, a state popularly portrayed as a "red state" during that election year. This paper investigates partisan swing in favor of the Democrats since the previous presidential and senate elections in Colorado. Using both quantitative and qualitative analyses, I hope to uncover the prevailing socio-economic contexts in which the Democrats are gaining votes and to understand why this swing is happening in Colorado. Perhaps more importantly, this paper investigates where the largest swings have been and why they have occurred in those places.

Michael Collyer  
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**Emigrant voting and political change**

Abstract: Literature on migration and development has typically focused on the economic impact of migrants' remittances on their countries of origin. Political development is a much more controversial issue, given the common image of emigrant involvement in contentious political movements linked with ongoing internal conflicts around the world. This paper is based on a global survey of emigrant voting systems which reveals that political involvement of emigrants through official political channels is actually very widespread indeed. This data illustrates the significant development in the spatialisation of states' authority and creates the possibility that emigrants may promote political change through non-contentious means. The paper uses a number of case studies to investigate the extent to which this may be the case. (co-author: Zana Vahti, Doctoral Candidate, Free University of Brussels, Belgium)

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**Comments and measurements on the patterns and processes of poverty, spatial segregation, and its relationship with voting results in Mexico City**

Abstract: While numerous Mexican studies on poverty emphasize the importance of place and location variables for its definition and measurement, few studies actually examine its spatial patterns and processes. Also the empirical relationship of spatial segregation with electoral results is suspected yet now clearly known. In this paper I calculate the levels of spatial clustering of poverty and test the contagious diffusion hypothesis for the case of Mexico City. I also examine the relationship between spatial segregation and electoral results. I find that (1) between 1995 and 2000 the levels of spatial clustering of poverty remained almost the same, (2) people residing in poor areas of the city increased, (3) poverty did not diffuse in a contagious fashion, and (4) poverty and electoral behavior have a strong spatial match.

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**Monday, April 15, 2007**

**12:30pm – 2:00pm**

**Session 2 (Politics and Geographies of Development Theory)**

Chair: Rohit Negi (Ohio State University)

James Sidaway

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**Enclaved space: a new metageography of development?**

Abstract: Notwithstanding crisis and critique, development remains an enduring frame within which much social and economic transformation is interpreted and envisaged. In the context of arguments about the need for a nuanced spatial vantage point on development, this paper asks what this means in the context of new developmental conjunctures and constellations? In particular, it argues that a new configuration of and structure of development is increasingly evident: one in which intensified processes and patterns of uneven development are expressed in enclaves. The paper makes this case with reference to examples drawn from Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Gulf.

Holly Worthen, Brenda Baletti and Adrian Wilson

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**Critical Development Theory and the Politics of Scale**

Abstract: Taking as a point of departure recent geographic debates surrounding the politics of scale in human geography, this paper explores the theorization of scale in critical development theory and practice. Despite a history of complex debates about scale among critical geographers - who have attempted to theorize scale as relational, and as socially constructed and reproduced - we contend that many critical development scholars continue to perpetuate a hierarchical, disempowering notion of scale - for example, by emphasizing the global-local dichotomy, or by idealizing the local. We argue that, while critical development theory has made significant progress toward problematizing mainstream understandings of development, many critical development theorists have failed to recognize the ways in which a hierarchical concept of scale has been naturalized within development discourse, and the ways in which 'scalar thought' interacts with and reinforces hierarchical relationships in development theory and practice. While some geographers have recently called for a complete methodological rejection of scale, we argue that a theoretical engagement with scalar discourses is important for critical development theory, in order to adequately theorize the complex interplay between the discursive construction of scale and the material practices of development. However, we believe that frameworks for utilizing scale in critiques of development must be expanded, thus allowing us to understand the complexity and contextuality of scalar relationships. We examine recent innovations in development theory - especially research conducted within the modernity/coloniality framework - to examine how this could be done.

Demian Hommel

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**Geographies of Disaster, Development, and Security: examining the struggle over Thailand's Andaman Coast**

Abstract: Land tenure and its impact on longer-term human security are at the forefront of issues in post-tsunami reconstruction on Thailand's west coast. Conflict over re-development clearly illuminates the struggle between political, economic, and social power and invites a critical inquiry:

How are competing interests attempting to shape the redevelopment and recovery of Thailand's Andaman Coast? What challenges emerged for local communities in Thailand after the tsunami and how have these been addressed and, in some cases, overcome? What are the barriers to resolution of land conflicts and how can a better understanding of the geographies of conflict contribute to an awareness of issues of development more broadly? My research focuses on the ways privatization is facilitated and challenged by local communities in post-tsunami Thailand. My claim is that we can better understand the relationship between local communities and transnational forces associated with globalization as these forces are facilitated by and collide with agencies and actors in specific locales.

Jeff Ueland  
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**The spatial aspects of regulation and state devolution in Florida's mangrove space**

Abstract: Mangrove forests occupy ecologically key habitats in many coastal, tropical and sub-tropical places around the world. These areas are commonly under threat as they are often converted to aquaculture ponds, taken for firewood, and cleared to be developed for high end housing and luxury resort areas. In Florida, the mangrove preservation act (MPA) was passed in 1996 and serves as a vehicle to regulate and protect this ecological and economically important resource. One of the main facets of this legislation is that it gives local jurisdictions (counties and cities) authority to govern and regulate their own mangrove areas. This legislative allowance for restructuring or "divvying up" of this interconnected and complex system has served as a form of state devolution by which the geographic distribution of this habitat is altered in non-uniform ways across space due to different management strategies, quality of enforcement, and resources available to protect these areas. This paper examines the spatial structure of mangrove habitat in Florida and utilizes qualitative approaches to better understand individual regulator, enforcement, and citizen opinion about the management of this important resource. Additionally it examines the case study of Naples to contextualize the contested nature of this legislation and its spatial manifestations. Through this process we hope to gain a better understanding how the MPA has changed the distribution of mangrove habitat in Florida over the last decade.

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**Monday, April 15, 2007**

**2:15pm – 3:45pm**

**Session 3 (Territory and State)**

Chair: Andy Wood (University of Kentucky)

Takashi Yamazaki  
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**The exercise of territoriality for the governance of Okinawa: 'off limits' enforcements disclosed in the USCAR documents**

Abstract: Drawing on the concept of 'territoriality' (Sack 1986) and the author's previous works on postwar Okinawa (Yamazaki 2003, 2004, 2006), this paper examines how the U.S. military governance in Okinawa (1945-1972) exercised territoriality and what influence it had on Okinawan society as well as the governance itself. Territoriality in this paper refers specifically to 'off limits' policies. The United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) applied them to Okinawan restaurants, drinking bars, and hotels that violated sanitary regulations and the areas where such establishments were located. While the policies were carried out mainly to counter the spread of

uncontrolled prostitution and venereal diseases among U.S. military personnel, repeated punishments against Okinawan business owners contributed not only to disciplining Okinawans so that they could have a better sense of sanitation and business morals, but also to (re)producing pro-U.S. Okinawan sub-groups who depended on economic spill-over effects from U.S. bases. This paper shows that the off-limits policies were powerful territorial measures to implement public sanitary programs in favor of U.S. military forces, but that they fundamentally functioned as spatial technologies to control Okinawa.

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### **The Buckingham Palace Conference of July 1914 and the priming of Ireland's partition**

Abstract: The Buckingham Palace Conference was a novel but abortive political experiment aimed at resolving the tightening deadlock over the terms of Ireland's partition that would accompany the enactment of the third Home Rule Bill. Although it met for only four days in July 1914, the origins of the Conference's composition and its eventual agenda offer significant insights into its ultimate collapse as well as its wider political legacy. With the participation of all the main British and Irish political players of the time, the Conference attempted to address the spatial and temporal dimensions of partition but dissent over the geography of partition ensured that the status of partition was not explored at all. The Conference set important precedents in not only seriously countenancing partition but also in ensuring that all consequent partition proposals were predominantly considered on a county basis. This paper will investigate all these aspects with reference to the preliminary correspondence, statistics, and cartography.

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### **The role of the state in urban livability**

Abstract: Discourses of urban livability frequently refer to a normative vision of the scale, walkability, and amenities offered to residents of urban spaces. New urbanism, as a development philosophy and practice, has codified urban livability and includes an emphasis on spaces for community or public engagement. This public space often takes the form of central squares or parks around which residential, retail, and office spaces are constructed. These public spaces provide an allusion to the existence of the state, in their suggestion of a public sphere that could ideally challenge (and reify) the state. However, new urbanist developments, as private development enterprises, can have complicated relationships with the state apparatus. The local state can be seen as an obstacle, in its zoning and planning requirements, and as a resource through which developments can leverage tax breaks. More abstractly, the representation of the state in new urbanist developments through the configuration of public spaces and institutions suggests that the state holds a complicated, symbolic role in the degree to which (new) urban space is "livable." Through an analysis of two new urbanist developments in Atlanta, I explore the complex relationship between notions of urban livability and the state.

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**Monday, April 15, 2007**

**4:00pm – 5:30pm**

**Session 4 (Identities and Power)**

Chair: Rebecca Theobald (University of Colorado, Boulder)

Reece Jones

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**Searching for the greatest Bengali: The BBC and shifting identities in South Asia**

Abstract: Drawing on debates generated by the BBC Bengali Language Service's naming of the greatest Bengali of all time, this paper investigates the shifting boundaries between group identity categories in our 'globalizing' world. First the controversy over the meaning of the term Bengali, which emerged in contemporary Bangladesh and India in response to the BBC's list, is investigated. Then writings and speeches of several of the individuals who were honored as the greatest Bengalis are analyzed in order to draw out the multiple ways they approached their own Bengali identities. In the conclusion, it is argued that rather than imagining the end of place-based identity categories through the process of globalization, it is more useful to conceptualize shifting categories that continue to incorporate a place-based aspect, but in hybrid and contradictory ways.

Shannon O'Lear

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**Geography of Genocide: Preliminary Thoughts**

Abstract: This semester we are co-teaching an exploratory course titled, "Geography of Genocide" as part of an effort to assess how the discipline of Geography can contribute to a better understanding of genocide. This presentation offers a summary of conceptual themes and topics addressed in the course including definitional questions, prediction and assessment studies of genocide, and critical geopolitical questions relevant to genocide events. Political geography themes such as borders, identity, and power relationships are fundamental to understanding how events of genocide emerge, continue and end in particular places as well as ripple effects of these events across space and time. (co-author: Steve Egbert, University of Kansas)

Kyle Evered

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**Political Ecologies of Poppy Production in Turkey: Past and Present Geopolitics of a Controversial Crop**

Abstract: Based on work with archival and government documents and contemporary fieldwork, this paper examines the varied ecologies and geopolitics of poppy, or opium, production in Turkey through time. Integrated thoroughly in centuries-long global geographies of opium production and trade, Turkey was confronted by significant pressure from the United States in the 1970s to eradicate its involvements in both. Since that time, the crop has re-emerged as a government-controlled enterprise that benefits both the state and legally-authorized producers found in local villages. As an initial survey in an ongoing research project on major themes in these historic and contemporary geographies of poppy production and trade in Turkey, this study thus examines contemporary ironies of how the crop re-emerged as a successful legal commodity at local levels while simultaneously confronting the state at national and global scales as Turkey finds itself to be one of several key

transit states for the illegal trafficking of opium/heroin that is produced beyond its borders (esp. in Afghanistan).

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**Tuesday, April 16, 2007**

**8:30am – 10:00am Session 5 (Geopolitics)**

Chair: Veit Bachmann (University of Plymouth)

Alan Ingram

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**HIV/AIDS, security and salvation in the colonial present**

Abstract: Much recent work in human geography has of necessity focused on the violent and coercive geopolitics of the US-led war on terror. In this paper I suggest that attention also needs to be paid to the ways in which the colonial present operates through ideas of salvation and development. I support this through an analysis of the US President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the largest single AIDS relief programme in existence. The analysis is framed in terms of a review of theoretical perspectives on links between global AIDS relief and development/security. I argue that more historicized and gender-sensitive approaches are required to apprehend the significance of connections between HIV/AIDS, development and security and to repoliticize a key component of global HIV/AIDS relief. The paper in turn suggests how this focus can contribute to ongoing debates within critical geopolitics and development geography.

Klaus Dodds

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**Counter-factual geopolitics: President Al Gore, September 11th and the Global War on Terror**

Abstract: In this paper, a counter-factual geopolitics is addressed with specific reference to the US presidential election of November 2000. What difference would it have made if President Al Gore had been confirmed as holder of that office rather than George W Bush? Would we have had a very different kind of response to September 11th for example? By focusing on some of the speeches and remarks given by Al Gore, we consider how a different strategy might have emerged following that momentous event. It is contended, however, that despite what the anti-Bush critics might have wished for, the geopolitical and spatial consequences of a Gore administration might have differed only on tactics and strategies rather than fundamental principles. By way of conclusion, the paper considers how counter-factualism might contribute to the further development of critical geopolitical scholarship.

Tristan Sturm

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**Re-mapping the Apocalypse after the Cold War**

Abstract: Religion is a powerful political force in shaping not just peoples' perceptions of the world, but also as a motivator in the world. Political geographers should concern themselves with such issues beyond passing comments. This paper explores a particular eschatological view that tens-of-millions of evangelical Christians share in the United States, commonly referred to as "premillennial

dispensationalism.” Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a shift in geopolitical emphasis from Russia to the Middle East, consistent with American foreign policy. Where the biblical toponyms “Magog” and “Gog” were to refer to “Russia,” prophecy expounders like Hal Lindsey, Tim LaHaye, John F. Walvoord, and Charles Dyer have now re-territorialized these “power blocs” to fit the Middle East: Iraq, Iran, Egypt, and Afghanistan. This paper explores these and other changing biblical geopolitics. Understanding the dynamics of world politics requires we look at not just its changing academic and governmental geopolitical maps, but also its cultural renderings.

Jason Dittmer

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### **The Geographical Pivot of (the End of) History**

Abstract: This paper will introduce the series of books known as the *Left Behind* series, a bestselling narrative of the Endtimes as interpreted by the authors, Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins. These books enact a particular kind of geographic imaginary, which is rooted in an emphasis on the particular over the universal. Further, several places on the Earth’s surface are elevated in geopolitical importance because of the prophetic value associated with them. Conversely, attempts to construct global identities are thwarted by associations with evil and the Antichrist. This paper will focus on *Left Behind* fans’ interpretations of news events from March 2006 until January 2007 and how they use or modify evangelical geopolitical knowledge and visions to make sense of the world.