

*Chair: Benjamin Schrager, Utsunomiya University*

**From Rural Development to Island Development: The Connective Aesthetics of 通 Tong in China's Domestic Cun Cun Tong (CCT) and Transnational Belt and Road Initiative (BRI),**  
Kaiqing Su (Political Science Department, University of Hawaii at Mānoa)

As connectivity continues to characterize geopolitics despite the trends of deglobalization, China's geopolitical role is better understood as a "connection-maker" that shapes global orders by facilitating certain relationships while obstructing others. This paper highlights the connective aesthetics of "通 tong" and its evolvement overtime to describe China's recent developmental projects, first within the country, then exported overseas. I suggest that tong demonstrates an form of relationality that is different from capitalistic and militaristic expansion through building nodal networks; rather, tong emphasizes a state of being open, unimpeded, and in constant flow, seeking to re-connect instead of expanding new connections. I begin by tracing the pictographic and etymological origin of the character 通, as well as its conceptual significance in Chinese philosophy. Looking at the "村村通 Cun Cun Tong" (CCT) developmental campaign in rural China starting from the late 1990s, I use critical discourse analysis of government websites and news stories to trace how tong is used in this domestic initiative aiming to "connect every village." Comparing the usage of tong in CCT and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) proposed in 2013, I point out the consistencies between China's domestic rural projects and transnational development. Specifically, with infrastructure projects implemented in the Pacific, discourses of tong draw analogy between rural development and island development, reflecting how China perceives Pacific Island countries as backwards, in poverty, and lacking tong. By attuning to the specific relationality facilitated by tong, this paper describe a distinct mode of connectivity to theorize the philosophical and discursive foundation of China's development and world-making aesthetics.

**Comprehensive and Comparative Analysis of Sea-based Regionalism, Shintaro Hamanaka**  
(IDE-JETRO)

Existing literature on regionalism (regional cooperation) seems to have a fatal geographical "sample bias". It is often the case that a continent is divided, and each part is called as a "region" with a directional prefix, such as South Asia, Central Asia and West Africa. This is a first substantial attempt to comprehensively analyze sea-based regionalism. Assumption here is that seas connect people and economic and political entities. This research classifies and compares a large number of sea-based regionalism projects to identify their distinct characteristics. In addition, using case of sea-based regionalism, this study critically re-examines the plausibility of existing theories of regionalism, which draw insights from land-based regionalism. Study of sea-based regionalism may reveal our implicit assumption regarding regionalism. First, this study compares Ocean-based regionalism worldwide: Regional cooperation in the Pacific, the Atlantic (possibly North Atlantic and South Atlantic) and the Indian Ocean. We then compare regional cooperation in various marginal seas: Sea of Okhotsk, Sea of Japan, Yellow Sea, East China Sea, South China Sea, Guld of Siam, Andaman Sea, The Bengal, Arabian Sea, among others.

**Scaling the stack: region and state in digital platform infrastructure,** Dylan Brady  
(Department of Geography, National University of Singapore)

This paper seeks to conceptualize the “stack” within, rather than outside of, the state, and as a regional, rather than global phenomenon. The “Stack,” an assemblage of interdependent and integrated digital platform infrastructures, was hypothesized as a new type of global sovereign power (Bratton 2015). Yet recent years have made quite clear that there is no singular “Stack” on track to global hegemony: rather a complex patchwork of stacks, largely organized at the state or regional scale, reproduces or extends existing geopolitical structures as often as they circumvent them. Would-be global digital hegemonies based in the US or China have become increasingly entangled in domestic politics and inter-state rivalries, dispelling dreams of seamless global networks. Between and beyond these two ‘great power’ stacks, smaller states are building stacks at a multitude of national and regional scales. This paper makes a historical-analytical argument: first, it argues that digital platforms have always been more state-centric in scope and origin than is often presumed: China’s hands-on approach to digital governance merely makes obvious state-tech relations the Californian Ideology sought to conceal. Second, looking in particular at the distribution of digital payment apps in Southeast Asia, the paper argues that the interpenetration of stacks and states appears to be growing. This suggests that the increasing role of stacks in everyday economic and social life is likely to reinscribe the power of (some) states rather than undercut or constrain state sovereignty as such.

**Driving Digital Geopolitics: Digital Economies in the 21st Century,** Tom Narins (Department of Geography and Planning, University at Albany)

The global spread in the demand for and use of digital technologies is undeniable. Clear linkages exist connecting a country’s internet connectivity to its economic development. Through the implementation of specific advanced digital technologies (e.g. Artificial Intelligence, Cloud Computing, Smart Cities, etc.) governments, companies, and individuals have found avenues for economic growth and interconnectivity that, as recently as a few decades ago, were not possible. This paper explores the role that this group of advanced technologies plays in terms of creating a new global hierarchy of states within the worldwide political system. Increasingly this new global hierarchy is being shaped by those countries that develop and control the standards for these technologies. The political tensions associated with how and where countries fit into this new hierarchy are captured by the terms “digital geopolitics” – which focuses on the global political impacts of the manufacture, sale, and use of advanced digital technologies.

**9:15-10:45    Session II: Refugees, sovereignty, temporariness**

*Chair: Lisa Ann Richey, Copenhagen Business School*

**U.S. Island Imperialism and the Compacts of Free Association: More Associated than Free,** Meagan Harden (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

When the United States-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands initiated future political status negotiations in 1969, island leaders from the Caroline and Marshall Islands envisioned a long-awaited transition out of foreign occupation. Yet, more than fifty years later, the now-independent states of Palau, the Marshall Islands, and the Federated States of

Micronesia remain tethered to the United States under the Compact of Free Association, a unique international agreement that grants the United States exceptional authority over the countries' land, sea, and air space until at least 2044. This presentation traces the political maneuvering of the United States, alongside Australia, Great Britain, and New Zealand, that led to the formulation of free association as a political status short of independence. While free association was publicly represented as a temporary transitional phase leading to eventual independence, archival research reveals the United States' attempt to make free association a permanent dependent status modeled after the unincorporated territory of Puerto Rico. This presentation considers free association's emergence as part of an archipelagic American imperialism that binds islands to the United States under the racialized rhetoric of eventual sovereignty.

**When Bodies Become Borders**, Constance MacIntosh (Schulich School of Law, Dalhousie University, Canada/ Visiting Scholar, William S. Richardson School of Law UH Manoa)

Borders have historically been imagined by many as lines that can be drawn on maps. This notion has become progressively less true or accurate through the operation of international agreements and some domestic legislation. This paper explores how the American and Canadian borders have extended into the territory of the adjacent country and beyond, through geographic extensions, administrative processes, and significantly through the bodies of those who pass the border in search of asylum. Emphasis will be placed upon the Safe Third Country Agreement between the United States and Canada amplifies the extension of borders, along with the Five Eyes Agreement, with a particular focus on the bodies of asylum seekers.

**Recognizing Misrecognition of Humanitarian Bureaucracy in the Rohingya Refugee Camp in Bangladesh**, Morsaline Mojid (Department of Sociology, University of Hawai'i at Manoa)

Bureaucracy produces ambivalent perceptions in camp spaces. On the one hand, bureaucracy creates a facade of streamlining humanitarian intervention through different processes and practices. On the other, bureaucratic processes become one punitive method of state's violence. Drawing on ethnographic research in the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh, I demonstrate how refugees are required to maintain a series of protocols in the camps if they want to work, go outside of the camp, marry, or even give birth. While these protocols function as effective surveillance mechanisms between the humanitarian caregiving processes and care receiving subjects, they can hardly be recognized as such. It is because these bureaucratic processes often put up a pretense of care and protection as they come sugarcoated with humanitarian principles. In Bordieusian fashion, I understand this as a misrecognition of bureaucratic violence precisely because it is curated in a manner that one cannot perceive it as such (violence) (1987). To explain this dual dimension of bureaucracy, i.e., the pretense of care and hidden violence, I expand the concept of humanitarian bureaucracy. With this, I shed light on how bureaucratic acts in the camps operate with a doxastic assumption of humanitarian benevolence which simultaneously produce an authority to govern the camps through and through.

**Ghost Citizens: The Making of Stateless Persons**, Jamie Liew (Faculty of Law, University of Ottawa and Fulbright Visiting Scholar, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, College of Social Sciences)

Using a comparative analysis of Canada and Malaysia, this paper presents findings from a case law survey on how persons are made to be foreign and citizens of other states without legal proof and sometimes solely on speculation on the person's race or presumed country of origin. In tracing the historical vestiges of identity, race and citizenship categorization of British colonies, contemporary citizenship law has maintained colonial legal ideas of local, foreign, indigenous and citizen. Pointing to face, place and race, this paper looks at how law reproduces the ways in which identity is part of narratives of nation building.

### **11:00-12:00 Session III: Electoral & education**

*Chair: Sasha Davis, Keene State College*

**“Shifty” Constituencies: Assessing Electoral Constituency Boundary Changes in the 2023 Canadian Redistricting Process,** Benjamin Forest (Department of Geography, McGill University)

The authority to adjust the boundaries of federal electoral constituencies is vested in independent boundary commissions for each province in Canada. Typically, commissions create three sets of boundaries. After proposing an initial design, they make revisions following public hearings. Members of Parliament offer comments on the intermediate maps, and commissions may then make further adjustments to produce the final set of boundaries. In this preliminary study, I evaluate the extent of boundary modifications between the existing and final districts, and during the 2023 redistricting process itself. Constituencies with the greatest changes may reflect regions with highly dynamic populations or with the greatest partisan contestation. Changes after the first stage of the process may indicate conflicts between the top-down perspective of the commissioners and the bottom-up view of constituency residents. Changes during the second phase can help identify conflicts between the non-partisan commissions and partisan interests of sitting representatives.

**Field Experiences in Electoral Geography,** Rebecca Theobald (Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Colorado - Colorado Springs)

Geography education programs often highlight experiences in the field – sometimes defined by tramping about in difficult-to-reach places or investigating communities of plants or people over time. Increasing limitations due to cost, time, and access often prevent students from experiencing field research. Moving theory from the classroom to the real world offers students practice in observing human and natural phenomena. Online-only courses also present particular challenges for students to learn about a place beyond what others have provided as a description. Using electoral redistricting as a framework in a multi-faceted activity, students employ open-source digital tools to research a location’s details regarding population, redistricting criteria, and community characteristics, as well as explore online mapping platforms. This project allows students to have a stronger understanding of the challenges facing people who are drawing the lines to create geographic districts, while introducing them to a variety of interactive actions that impact fair representation defined geographically. It also exposes them to different online mapping tools designed for a specific purpose, encouraging students who are familiar with GIS to undertake comparison about platform usability and robustness, and allowing students who

are relatively new to GIS to become familiar with (what are supposed to be) accessible programs. While electoral redistricting as a community activity is specific to the United States, in part because most other countries using geographic electoral districts draw their lines using professional nonpartisan entities, it demonstrates the value of engaging students in looking deeply at their communities.

**Making space for geography: Teaching against the territorial trap in political science and international relations, Jamey Essex (Department of Political Science, University of Windsor)**

Political science and international relations have long been relatively conservative disciplines, dominated by a handful of mainstream theoretical traditions, positivist research approaches, and often narrow perspectives on the state and territoriality. While this has shifted somewhat over the last few decades with the emergence of more critical theories of political agency and organization, new research foci and challenges, and greater attention to non-state actors, overcoming the persistent territorial trap and associated methodological nationalism also requires rethinking how the disciplines are taught. I argue here that geographic concepts incorporated at the assignment, course, and program level allow political science and IR students and pedagogy to break from and move beyond the territorial trap, and therefore to grapple more effectively with the challenges of an interdependent world. I draw on examples from my own courses and experience in program advising and administration at the University of Windsor to identify what has worked and what has not in my own attempts over two decades to incorporate geographic ideas into political science and IR curricula. I conclude by considering how trends at the university level and in the political and administrative management of the university as an institution constitutes both a limiting factor and an opportunity for rethinking disciplinary boundaries and pedagogical approaches.

**11:00-12:00 Session IV: Power & conflict**

*Chair: Md Azmeary Ferdoush, University of Eastern Finland*

**Placing peace, Adam Moore (Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles)**

This presentation presents a framework for analyzing peacebuilding projects and processes through a relational perspective on place. With the ‘spatial turn’ in peace and conflict studies, place and other spatial concepts are increasingly engaged by the field. Drawing on relational theorizations of place from geography I develop a three-part relational framework for studying peace and conflict processes, mobilizing the concepts of place, narrative, and encounter. This relational perspective reverses the usual orientation of research arguing that just as places are produced through relations so too are people, institutions, etc. constituted by their relations with places, relations that can extend beyond a particular place in question itself. Put simply, places make relations. They gather together people, things, and narratives into a variety of relational configurations. And as places change, they also reshape existing relations in the world. Though primarily a theoretical argument, I illustrate these claims through a brief account of the infamous ‘Arizona’ black market in postwar Bosnia.

**Adapting to Power: Under a U.S. Military Base's Shadow in a Small Turkish Village,** Mehmet Eroglu (Department of Geography, Environment, and Spatial Sciences, Michigan State University) and Kyle T. Evered

The Incirlik Air Base, a U.S. military facility established near the village of Incirlik in southern Turkey in the 1950s, has exerted a profound and multifaceted influence on the lives of the local community. This study, drawing on accounts from Incirlik residents and other primary sources, explores how the people of Incirlik have adapted to the presence of the air base and the influx of U.S. military personnel and their families. We show that the local populace has strategically modified its built environment and social landscape to capitalize on the economic opportunities presented by their new American neighbors. This economic adaptation is evident in the proliferation of new businesses, including restaurants, bars, and souvenir shops, as well as a range of services tailored to the needs of the base's inhabitants, such as babysitting, taxi operations, and housekeeping. Furthermore, Incirlik residents have found themselves significantly impacted by and thus have become deeply engaged with broader global and regional issues, including U.S. foreign policy, the geopolitical landscape of the Middle East, Turkey's NATO commitments, and international energy geographies. Drawing on insights from critical geopolitics scholarship, we conclude that these transformations have led to the construction of a dynamic and adaptable identity among Incirlik residents, enabling them to adeptly navigate and rationalize their unique geopolitical context. Through this analysis, our study of the ongoing Incirlik experience contributes to the wider discussion on place-based identity formation while also offering insights into the governance of foreign military bases amid shifting global dynamics.

**Rebel Governance and in the Wake of Disasters,** Tobias Ide (Murdoch University Perth/ Hiroshima University)

The frequency and intensity of disasters like droughts, floods, and storms is on the rise, among other reasons due to climate change. At the same time, the number of armed conflicts worldwide is on a historical high. Disaster and armed conflict zones will intersect more frequently in the future, particularly because conflict-ridden countries are more vulnerable to disasters. This poses significant challenges to disaster risk reduction (DRR) in conflict zones and to conflict management in the aftermath of disasters. However, as of yet, only limited evidence is available on how non-state armed actors react to disasters in areas where they are active. I address this knowledge gap by analysing rebel groups' governance and military reactions to large-scale disasters. To do so, the paper employs a similar system-different outcomes research design, comparing the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist. Evidence comes from a comprehensive literature review as well as interviews with former combatants in both countries. I find that rebel groups perceive post-disaster relief operations as significant opportunities to gain influence, reputation, and in some cases even resources. In line with their strategic interests, they are less engaged in preventive and preparatory activities. At the same time, rebels need to navigate complex post-disaster environments and the associated logistical and military problems.



*Chair: Reece Jones, (Department of Geography and Environment, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)*

**Panelists:**

**Kahiokalamekawena’ula Elkington**, PhD Student (Department of Geography and Environment, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

**Aurora Kagawa-Viviani**, Assistant Professor, (Department of Geography and Environment, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

**Kawēlauokealoha Wright**, Assistant Professor (Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

<b>3:00-4:30      Session V: Urban, local, neighborhoods</b>
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*Chair: Tobias Ide, Murdoch University*

**States of Compulsion: Reassessing ‘State-led’ Neighborhood Change in Hong Kong**, Kylie Yuet Ning Poon (Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles) and Ben Alan Gerlofs

This paper aims to provide a critical reassessment of the role of the state in processes of neighborhood change and land use transformation in Hong Kong, based on mixed-methods research conducted in the rapidly changing Sai Ying Pun neighborhood in 2021 and drawing on companion research conducted in several other parts of the city. We argue that common narratives of ‘state-led’ processes of neighborhood change (usually labeled gentrification) often overstate, oversimplify, or unduly assume the influence of state agencies, especially the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) and other ‘usual suspects’, reifying such agencies and obscuring the complex ways that state actions entice, enable, and enhance the actions and agendas of other actors, especially private capital. By elaborating the implications of several specific forms of state action, including especially a 2010 amendment to Hong Kong’s “Land (Compulsory Sale for Redevelopment) Ordinance” and the geography of major URA projects, we instead demonstrate that the state in Hong Kong plays many different roles in facilitating neighborhood transformation across the city, creating an uneven geography of state intervention dependent on locally-specific factors such as the particularities of architecture, housing types, and residential density in different urban areas as well as existing configurations of policy, legislation, and infrastructure. As we further demonstrate through examples, these many articulations of the state are of strategic value to a variety of elite interests, from property developers to wealthy residents and international consumers, whose distinct and competing agendas could hardly be so well served by a less dynamic state.

**Urban Village as Commoning and De-Commoning: A Study of Nantou Village Redevelopment in Shenzhen, China**, Jia Ling (Department of Building and Real Estate, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

This study examines the redevelopment of Nantou Urban Village, an ancient town in Shenzhen, China with a rich 1700-year history. Through ethnographic research including observation, interviews, and discourse analysis, I explore how heritage-based urban villages are being repositioned by the government as resources for cultural enhancement, aesthetic regulation and governance. Drawing on Rancière's theory of the politics of aesthetics, the research analyzes the antagonistic consensus/dissensus employed on one hand by the government and knowledge experts as the “police” constructing a new redevelopment regime, and on the other hand by resident activists and grassroots artists representing “those who have no part” seeking to maintain their sensibilities. The distribution of the sensible is reflected spatially as the police order assigns “proper” people to the sensible spaces and authorizes expert knowledge. However, dissent emerges through artistic works challenging common sensibilities, residents rejecting the given space partitions and staging politics in the marginal space. I analyze relationships between these actors and explore the porous boundary between the political and policing spheres. This study offers fresh insights into urban village governance in China by examining Nantou’s redevelopment process, which emerges from divergent sensibilities among government, experts, and residents. It analyzes the agonistic relationships between these groups and argues the regime of aesthetics is changeable, with social groups occupying blurred positions between the police and political realms. New coalitions form among parties pursuing self-interest across the porous boundary. This shifting partitioning may fragment unity, contributing to understanding blurred boundaries between consensus and dissent.

**Housing, Working, and Networking with Neighborhoods: Constructing Autonomy and Reconstructing Community by DIY Activists,** Kyoko Tominaga (College of Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University)

This study explores how activists create the place-based social movement by creating the local community in which they work and live together in DIY (Do-It-Yourself) architecture. Recently, scholars have shown increasing interest in the creation of community through the recreation and construction of social movement architecture. Previous research has focused on autonomous spaces such as social centres, squats and communal housing. In this process, activists rebuild and renovate the architecture themselves and it is an important process in creating their autonomy and solidarity. This study examines DIY spaces run by amateur architectural activists as both workplaces and community housing in urban areas. The study uses interview data from two activist-run small business offices and community housing in Japan. Japanese activists run worker co-operatives to work with not only activists but also minorities, and to resist high housing costs through vibrant DIY architecture. They emphasise the importance of networking and building reciprocity with neighbours in their community. While previous research has argued that place-based autonomy activists aim to resist urban gentrification, globalisation and neoliberalism, in this research activists seek to create an inclusive community for minorities through their DIY movements and they focus on reciprocity and inclusiveness in community building processes. This study suggests political and social implications of the autonomy movement that have not been explored in previous studies by examining the DIY communities of activists in Japan.



**Heirloom “Agu” pigs in Okinawa as companion breeds negotiating pressures,** Benjamin Schrager (Utsunomiya University, School of Agriculture) and Sayaka Sakuma (Center for Promotion of Social Co-creation, Utsunomiya University)

Regional cuisine and taste are often celebrated as cultural while its political dimensions are swallowed whole. Okinawa has a rich culture of rearing and eating pigs that emerged during the independent Ryukyu Kingdom. However, the Japanese colonial gaze often judged Okinawans harshly as savage for their affinity with swine. Further, they dismissed the Okinawan small, black-lard type breed as inefficient. What they overlooked was that these pigs were central to the cultural practices as well as the island’s food systems. Our presentation draws on archival research and interviews on swine husbandry and the role of heirloom pigs in Okinawa. We develop the concept of companion breeds to emphasize the unique role of Okinawa’s heirloom pigs as it evolved over time from a facet of traditional rural life to being feature in prominent pork brands and becoming a symbol of distinctive Okinawan culture.

**3:00-4:30      Session VI: Territory, borders, places**

*Chair: Rebecca Theobald, University of Colorado - Colorado Springs*

**Chronopolitics and categories: When temporary becomes permanent,** Md Azmeary Ferdoush (Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland)

In this paper, I problematize the concept of “temporary” used by the current sovereign state system in relation to its treatment of the people-on-the-move. Through a lens of time and politics, I examine the cases of Finland and Bangladesh in treating protection seekers residing within their territorial boundaries. As such, I investigate how numerous categories of protection seekers e.g., “refugees,” “asylum seekers,” “Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals” and “temporary protection” experience time. Drawing on auto-photography, daily-journal, and interviews with different categories of protection seekers, I shed light on how chronopolitics shapes and are shaped by an arbitrary categorical division of protection seekers. The paper argues that labelling a situation as temporary provides a logic that allows some actions to remain suspended because for them to be delivered a state of permanence is necessary. Thus, “temporary” enables a state of affairs where (certain) actions can remain suspended with no indication of how long they will remain as such which is often used as a lethal tool against the “less preferred” categories of protection seekers. Therefore, the “temporary” takes a paradoxical form without a definite timeframe; it becomes permanently temporary.

**Ethno-Nationalism's Impact on the Settlement of Interstate Territorial Disputes,** Alec Murphy (Department of Geography, University of Oregon) and Cy Abbott, Department of Geography, University of Oregon

The norms that developed along with the modern state system ensure that most border conflicts are driven by historical territorial grievances (it was once ours, but it has been wrongfully taken away). Yet some territorial grievances framed in historical terms have proven to be more intractable than others. A comparative analysis of the Ecuador-Peru territorial dispute, which settled in the late 1990s, and that between Greece and Turkey, which remains volatile, suggests that territorial conflict resolution is particularly difficult in the face of territorial imaginaries

rooted in long-stranding, deep-seated ethno-nationalist conceptions. Such conceptions resonate with a core principle that emerged along with the modern state system: the nation-state ideal as originally understood (that states should embody distinct ethno-national communities). Those seeking insight into territorial conflict could productively pay more attention to the role played by the kind of foundational, enduring, ethno-national territorial imaginaries that are demonstrably at play in many of the world's most intractable territorial conflicts today.

**A networked analysis of informal bordering in the EU border regime,** John Nightingale  
(Geography and Environment, University of Hawai'i at Manoa)

The enforcement of the EU's border has developed into a complex system of architecture, legal processes and bordering practices that have resulted in the widespread mistreatment and abuse of migrants. Scholars highlight a wide array of informal or everyday modes of bordering, typically exploring isolated case studies and the associated mechanisms that perpetuate said practices (see Davies, Isakjee and Dhesi, 2017; Rozakou, 2017; Scheel and Gutekunst, 2019). However, the systemic nature of informal bordering practices suggests that they are a manifestation of a larger set of relational and structural conditions. Therefore, the project aims to conceptualize the relational dynamic of actors within the networked border to understand how informal modes of bordering occur. To address the research gap, the project poses the question, "How does the networked border regime facilitate informal bordering?". Through a multi-sited ethnography at seven key sites of informal bordering in Greece, supplemented with additional in-depth interviews, I will produce a social network map of the constellation of actors enrolled in the informal border regime and the associated influences between actors to reveal how informal modes of bordering occur. The empirically grounded methodology will indicate new patterns of accountability, presented in a highly tangible format, posing a novel and substantial critique of the systemic inhumane practices of the EU border regime.

**The intersection of Indigenous sovereignty and U.S.-Mexico border security,** Kenneth Madsen  
(Department of Geography, The Ohio State University at Newark)

As national demands for security came to override the concerns of border communities more decisively in recent decades, local input in areas such as land use, the environment, and civil rights has been concomitantly diminished. Under the George W. Bush Administration in the U.S. this trend culminated in congressional authorization for and Department of Homeland Security (DHS) execution of legal waivers to push through the construction of new border barriers. Ultimately, DHS voluntarily complied with many components of the waived laws. By exercising Indigenous sovereignty, however, the Tohono O'odham Nation of southern Arizona pushed to require full compliance with laws that had been dismissed. In the Trump era, additional and upgraded border barriers bypassed the Tohono O'odham Nation, but construction took place on nearby traditional territory, illustrating the enduring if tentative role of Indigenous sovereignty in this context. As a cross-border group, the Tohono O'odham are concerned about both the dramatic increase of external policing on their lands and the erosion of contact with tribal members in Mexico, which from an Indigenous perspective is increasingly difficult to traverse and manage.

*Chair: Kenneth Madson, The Ohio State University at Newark*

**Eco-socio-political framework: Analyzing farmer-grazier conflict in Central Nigeria,** Cletus Famous Nwankwo (Department of Geography, University of Leicester; Department of Geography, University of Nigeria)

Existing studies of farmer-herder conflicts have paid little attention to the moral economy and critical geopolitics dimensions. This paper fills these gaps and proposes a novel eco-socio-political framework that comprehensively integrates perspectives from political ecology, political economy, moral economy, and critical geopolitics to explain the farmer-grazier conflict in Central Nigeria. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and grounded theory, it argues that changes in the moral economy, influenced by the neoliberal agenda within the larger political economy structure, are at the core of the conflict, exacerbated by territoriality and identity construction. It argues that the monetization of resource access driven by the neoliberal agenda of the Nigerian state is a fundamental cause of the conflict, challenging the predominant explanations. The conflict arising from this process exacerbates existing tensions related to identity and territoriality, rooted in colonial and post-colonial territorialization practices. Therefore, understanding larger political-economic processes and changes in everyday moral economies is crucial in managing the conflict and addressing the exclusion of pastoralists. Among other contributions, it offers theoretical insights into the intersection of political ecology and critical geopolitics in explaining resource-related conflicts. It argues that incorporating these perspectives contributes to the emerging field of geopolitical ecology, which seeks to bridge critical geopolitics and political ecology. This approach to geopolitical ecologies takes moralities seriously and offers a deeper understanding of the complex determinants shaping lived realities foregrounding resource conflicts.

**Pursuing a tenuous triple bottom-line: irrigation as adaptation for dairy farmers in Los Lagos, Chile's changing climate,** Cassidy A. Tawse-Garcia (Department of Geography & Environmental Studies, University of New Mexico) and Raquel Valdez, Rebecca Gustine, Erin E. Tracy, Will Larsen, Daniel Auerbach, Magdalena Pertuzé, Ria Mukerji, Alexander Fremier, Ben Warner, Jan Boll

In this case study of dairy farming in the Los Lagos region of southern Chile, we explore on-farm irrigation development as a potential adaptation to changing rainfall patterns due to climate change. Framed as necessary by some water managers and farmers, we interrogate the claim by focusing on a case study of a farmer pursuing a “triple bottom line” to dairy farming. This approach includes advancing social, environmental, and economic well-being simultaneously. Through a multidisciplinary lens, we provide perspective into opportunities, barriers, and tradeoffs that are inherent in adaptation strategies that are measured across a triple bottom line. We move beyond rhetoric to reframe the concept as a process that seeks a tenuous balance among varied goals, but that must be undertaken to achieve success in adaptation. We find that while admirable in scope, the priorities of community well-being, economic security, and ecological protections may be in conflict, when power is not held with the community. While adaptation is needed to address changing climate and water availability, ecosystems and

the services they provide often given less priority in order to maintain economic growth and stability

**Green transition's necropolitics. Inequalities, climate extractivism, and carbon classes,** Philippe Le Billon (Department of Geography, University of British Columbia) and Raphael Deberdt

This article theorizes the processes of colonization, wealth accumulation, and inequalities creation that the current paradigm of a resource-hungry green transition enacts on the most vulnerable populations. We suggest that the extractivist logics and related technical fixes are leading to a “climate necropolitics.” In this, the socio-economic system is increasingly defined by classes’ carbon exposure and consumption. Through the ‘green growth’ of late capitalism, we theorize the advent of four carbon-defined classes. Bounded by the access to climate tech capital and consumption of low-carbon products, these include the ultra-carbonized, decarbonized, still-carbonized and uncarbonized classes – with the first two acting as dominant classes and necropolitical agents sustained by the remaining lower classes. Inspired by Marxist scholars, we suggest that the current status quo is untenable and will result in class warfare during which coalitions between classes could reorient the ‘make live and let die’ of the current green transition paradigm.

#### **4:45-5:45      Session VIII: Ruins, relics, disasters**

*Chair: Adam Moore, University of California, Los Angeles*

**Relational Politics & Settler Obligation to Give Back on Indigenous Lands / With Indigenous Peoples,** Brian Noble, (Visiting Scholar, Anthropology, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa)

The question of settler decolonization demands, at minimum, a resolute commitment to give back – including ceding back colonial takings such as stolen land (landback), political authority, proceeds of resource takings, ecocultural-intellectual space, and more, including redress and compensation for the violence of colonial actions regarding residential schools and the ongoing terror and trauma around missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls and 2s people. However, a pernicious aspect of settler coloniality remains the presumption of settler priority (sovereign displacement, dispossession), rather than mutuality between peoples. In this paper, I will discuss how settler humility, while a necessary first and moral step toward living honourably on lands of Indigenous peoples, stops short of the kind of responsible, responsive, relational mutuality and reciprocity that animates many Indigenous peoples’ political being, and ecosociality – captured, for example in the active verb for Aloha ‘Āina expressed by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi people. In addition to inter-personal relationality, Inter-Peoples relationality can be critical for thinking about moves toward honourable, anti-colonial political resolution, toward living together sustainably, justly. The paper asks: What might be the animating sources compelling one’s sense of obligation to give back — shared concerns, demand to avoid planetary calamity, practices of mutual respect, shame, the will to make better worlds — I will review several cases of the enacting of mutual care and obligation from settler-Indigenous interactions I have

encountered, as a white settler and decolonial scholar, in that part of Turtle Island known as Canada, and with that speak to further moves that could enhance decolonizing outcomes in relations between Indigenous and Settler peoples.

**Abandon Spaceports**, Chase Womack (Department of Geography, Environment, And Sustainability, University of North Carolina at Greensboro)

In an age where another space launch occurs every other day from the active Spaceports in America, New Zealand, Kazakhstan, and France whatever happened to the ones that did not reach lift-off. This paper delves into the history of spaceports that were abandoned during the 1st and 2nd eras of space exploration from the European desires in Africa and Australia to the cold Russian outposts on the Steppes and Siberia. This paper asks these questions, How have former spaceports and related sites devolved and been transformed since being abandoned? How do these relics of the past present a possible future for spaceports? What lessons should be learned by the commercial companies who seek to build their space facilities as they enter this new season of opportunity? In other words, as humanity reaches into this second space race, one that is participated by both legacy space powers and new upstarts from Private companies like SpaceX, Rocket Labs, and others alongside new space powers like India, PRC China, UAE, and others. Welcome to the next great game where the winner will decide what the rules of the game are for the colonization, commercialization, and democratization of outer space.

**Leaking lethality: Surviving ‘friendly states’ in the Pacific**, Sasha Davis (Keene State College)

The Pacific region is beset by a number of intractable environmental and social challenges which are brought about not so much by the malevolence of enemies, but by the careless actions of political actors claiming to be influential friends – or even ‘part of the family’. What kinds of political action are called for when everyone – from China, to the US, to Australia, to Japan, to Taiwan – wants to be your ‘friend’, but won’t address existential problems they themselves are perpetuating? In this presentation I will examine this political dynamic through the lens of ‘leaking lethality.’ I deploy this term to analyze the slow processes of social and environmental ruin in the Pacific that arise not from the malice of belligerents, but from processes that ‘leak’ from projects intended to bolster the political power, economic development, and energy security of others. This ‘leaking’ includes the radiation that seeps into the sea from nuclear reactors and weapons testing sites, the warming glacial melt running into the ever-higher waters of the Pacific, as well as the violence and contamination from militarization that don’t affect enemies, but instead diffuse into civilian communities around installations from Futenma to Red Hill. In this presentation I will assess some of these processes of leaking lethality as well as examine efforts to develop regional solidarities to confront them.