Appendix 1: Mental structures of space and cognitive mapping

Many definitions emerge from the literature as to what is a cognitive map. The most basic definition of a cognitive map offered by Kaplan (1973) is an internal representation used to understand and have knowledge of a particular environment. Cognitive maps are based on our ability to collect, organize, store, recall and manipulate information about spatial environments (Downs and Shea, 1977). The information we maintain on particular areas of space creates a sense of order for when those spatial environments require utilization.

Cognitive maps consist of representations of both geographical location and symbolic meanings. Cognitive mapping is the relationship between the knowledge of a spatial environment with geometric patterns and landscapes in addition to the symbolic images and properties of an environment (Kitchin, 1994; Portugali, 2004). Knowledge of spatial environments is a way of navigating through areas of locations ranging from specific places such as shopping centres or our neighbourhoods to larger scale areas such as cities or countries. A lot of spatial problems are solved with the use of heuristics. Wayfinding uses grid systems, postal codes, and items in the landscape are all ways that individuals successfully plot their route of navigation through spatial environments.

Cognitive maps are constructed from knowledge gained about spatial environments. While some knowledge is gained through the personal experience within the environments through the collection of visual information (Orleans, 1973), cognitive maps are also constructed with indirect experience through the collection of information from maps, books, media and vicarious experience (Portugali, 2004).

Researchers such as Kitchin (1994) and Portugali (2004) point out that a cognitive map, while it does have its route in geographic location, is a metaphorical map, one used to keep inventory of a large space and as such, cannot properly explore using one form of cognitive analysis. Along with a metaphorical understanding, cognitive maps are also negotiated with time; generally, in any moment of time will a holder of a cognitive map have that same understanding and knowledge of a particular spatial environment as in another moment in time (Downs and Stea, 1977). As such, it is imperative to treat cognitive maps as an abstract idea that is difficult to nail down and to apply to a large space over any period of time.

Even with the limitation, however, there is an importance in studying the creation, use, and manipulation of cognitive maps. As Downs and Stea (1977) outline, cognitive maps represent individual perceptions of space and is the basis for everyday spatial behaviour. The two key functions of cognitive mapping is to situate our knowledge of where to find key people and places in our daily routine as well as to assist in the navigation of travel within any given space using knowledge of distance, routes, temporal difficulties, and safety.

The creation of order is also a function of cognitive mapping. Kaplan (1973) explains that the individual maintains survival with knowledge; asking specifically where one is, what is likely to happen next, whether it is bad or good, and some possible course of action (pg. 65). Cognitive mapping is thus a mechanism of creating order for one's self within a larger structural framework. This is specifically accomplished through the use of categorization. By creating categories of attributes in the spatial environment, understanding and navigating successfully through that environment is easily planned.

The body of research on cognitive mapping is theoretically multidisciplinary as well as applicable to multidisciplinary empirical research (Downs and Stea, 1973; Kitchin, 1994). As Hart and Moore (1973) note, cognitive mapping literature comes heavily from the fields of behavioural geography, urban planning, and developmental psychology. However, very little is found in the fields of cultural studies and sociology. Though theoretical and empirical use of cognitive mapping is deficient in sociological research, some of the following existing research on the subject has strong sociological implications.

Majority of the research evolves around variations of differences in cognitive mapping and spatial behaviour based on demographic (such as age and gender), social, and development and personality variables. Mental maps are personal and subjective (Harvey, 2001:224) and vary by our ability to 'imagine our activity spatially' (de Blig, 2005:40). Focusing on age differences in mapping, Moffat and Resnick (2002) found that 'age-related decrements in cognitive mapping may contribute to age differences in spatial navigations… older participants focused on proximal object cues to guide place navigation while disregarding potentially useful information provided by more distal geometric room cues'. Moreover, location and social status shapes our cognitive map which in turn becomes functional to these factors; it is often that research will only poll the views of the middle-class to represent the larger population though areas seen as disorganized indeed has order (Orleans, 1973).

While the definitional and theoretical discussions of cognitive mapping in the literature often refers to the symbolic representations and meanings of the spatial environment in addition to the geographical components, very few illustrate the interplay between two. Portugali (2004) looks at how the "Mediterranean" is used in reference to a geographical location, cultural traits and images. This exemplifies the two aspects of cognitive maps: the physical-geographic aspect and the category-like aspect that refers to the symbolic properties. He also notes that "there is a wide gap between the Mediterranean and the image of the Mediterranean – the cognitive map of the Mediterranean is systematically distorted" (*ibid.:*17). This type of cognitive mapping research explores the many meanings and abstracts of a specific environment, something that is potentially beneficial for the social sciences though not easy found in the literature.

Some research on cognitive mapping has yielded functional application for its readers. The French company, L'Aurore, illustrated areas of Manhattan that were considered dangerous either at night alone or during the day and night (as cited in Downs and Stea, 1977). This one account highlights the necessity of individuals travelling within given spaces to be knowledgeable of areas that are safe to walk. This same mapping function of dangerous spaces is also seen in David Ley's (1972) doctoral research when he requested residents of inner-city Philadelphia to map the locations of dangerous places (as cited in Downs and Stea, 1977). Both accounts illustrate that the use of mapping dangerous spatial environments give cues to the symbolic danger these places possess as well as the necessity for the dissemination of that knowledge amongst urbanites and tourist alike.

The functions of cognitive maps are also seen for spatial environments in literary sources as well. Caesar (2000) looks at stories of women's travel and the representation of sexual assault of the solitary woman's experience as a worldwide traveller. She argues that a cognitive map is created from these books, not for immediate urban areas, but rather for an "impossible and unrepresentable global totality" (*ibid.:*530) that offers advice on safe cultural practices (how to dress, speak, where to venture safely) for different areas. Moreover, women's travel today attests to the power of the representational space (*ibid.:*543). Even in fictitious stories, Rice (2003) suggests that we need to create cognitive maps of environments in order to make sense of the experience of the character we are attempting to relate to.

While much of the research of cognitive mapping alludes to the fact that this is truly a multidisciplinary concept, with most of its roots in development psychology and geography, very little discussion is seen in the sociological arena. Orleans offers an explanation of why this is the case, citing that:

> "…research offers few clues as to why different residents in various areas of the city have such different conceptions of it. The sociological research is replete with case studies which, in combination, provide clues. However, because urban sociologists have stressed the disorganization of city life rather than the various dimensions of its functional integration, the evidence has never been systematically amassed to account for phenomena of this type (1973: 120-121).

With the many ethnographies and empirical studies referring to the importance of place, perceptions, and behaviours, the component of mapping these spatial environments with the attempt to contextualize how individuals view and navigate their ways through their spaces has been ignored.

Another hypothesis as to the why sociology has ignored this literature is extended by Downs and Shea (1997) asserting that research in this form of social science is more interested in the narratives of people and organizations concerning spatial in terms of location and tend to ignore the spatial aspects. However, they continue, there is an awareness within society to understand "status distinctions between various areas" and as such, we "dichotomize areas according to whether are on the right side of tracks or not." The literature on cognitive mapping lends many cues to the sociological framework of study in understanding how classifications of people and places are situated in spatial environments and why certain boundaries, mostly invisible, are created.

Invisible boundaries were lightly explored by Portugali (2004) and are what he called "fuzzy boundaries." The boundaries dividing cultural areas, various status neighbourhoods, or where one dangerous area ends and a safe area begins are not always clear like the boundaries of a city or country, but rather are negotiated and generally understood by those inhabiting the area. In order to say someone is on the wrong or right side of the tracks, one would need to know where these proverbial boundaries are since there are no clear maps available to give the absolute parameters.

In the fields of geography and social science, the leading method of mapping comes from computer interface systems, such as GIS, to plot and explore spatial environments. Kitchin (1994) contends that GIS and cognitive mapping strive for the same cause, to map the geographic environment in order to process understandings of data that is plotted and later used to explore more complex questions of behaviour and space. GIS is celebrated for

having the ability to relate many complex views of any given location, creating more solid boundaries based on the parameters set for the program. However, as Kitchin explains, GIS is not always user-friendly and often lends to the misrepresentation of space. He proposes that GIS can be altered slightly to accompany overlays of cognitive maps in order to build multidimensional knowledge of space. GIS helps make sense of complex cognitive maps and cognitive maps, in turn, can add another component to the structural maps being created.

While ignored in majority of the literature on cognitive mapping, Downs and Stea (1977) touch upon the use of 'heuristics' as a method or strategy of spatial problem solving. Heuristics are learned "rules of thumb"; plans that are developed when needing to add, manage and confirm problems encountered in the spatial environment. Seen as a type of "folk geography", 'heuristics can be transferred from one city to another sharing some common structural characteristics. We form a frame of reference via environmental learning, a template that acts very much like a psychological "set," predisposing us to attack new environmental learning situations in certain ways' (*ibid.:*228). Much like the "fuzzy boundaries", heuristics are often known though rarely explored as to how they came about and the functions of their use.

Mental constructs of cognitive mapping benefits further understanding of how spatial environments influence spatial problem solving and behaviours. Cognitive maps are used to explore how spatial environments are created and contextualized for individuals as well as how that knowledge is negotiated and represented in their activities. The cognitive representation of space is individually influenced with personal and collective meanings. This in turn reflects back on a spatial environment with individuals and groups inferring meanings to locations. The sociological importance of understanding how individuals gather knowledge and create cognitive maps on the dangerous spaces within their city, and how in turn these areas are subsequently seen and treated as being dangerous or criminal.

Appendix 2: Alternative representations in crime mapping

> In 1613, the poet George Wither had scoffingly suggested that those who wanted to be taken for 'brave gallant men', to gain the esteem of the 'Common People' and win themselves 'an everlasting name', should take to the seas as pirates, or else, as robbers…
> (Spraggs 2001, 8)

This appendix offers an alternative history on spaces and maps of transgression and control not often found in mainstream criminology. By providing alternative representations of crime mapping, this appendix serves as a base template for new theorizations in criminology that challenges its contemporaries. Although Chapter 2 begins the history of 'crime mapping' with Guerry and Quetelet, alternative histories can find literature on spatial distributions of crime prior to the nineteenth century, using sea piracy and outlawry as examples, to demonstrate how spatial understandings of thievery and violence existed prior to urbanisation. Accounts of banditry are elicited to entice criminological imagination to recognize a spatial perception of pre-modern figures associated with thievery and violence. Ultimately, this appendix serves as a fun exercise in (re)imagining alternative crime maps and by no means submitted as a complete and polished work.

Following the blood trail of the Jolly Roger

While pirates are not typically discussed in criminology, being more of an antiquated phenomenon and a commercialized cultural symbol[1] than a current criminal issue[2], it is a unique place to begin investigating the use of maps and navigation in crime and control. Pirate history reveals a narration of state and consumer power along with examples of pre-modern global trafficking, international terrorism and dominant rule. This section demonstrates how international waters became contested space between nation states, fighting for control over consumerist goods traveling in water passages between

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[1] Today, 'Pirates of the Caribbean' and the skull-and-crossbones sign are heavily commercialized and popular culture symbols. With the release of the 'Pirates of the Caribbean' films, the popular image of the Jolly Roger has been stripped of its association to an anti-social/anti-establishment motif; losing its 'edge' and now becoming a kitsch symbol (Associated Press May 18, 2007).

[2] This exposition was written in the summer of 2007. During this time, sea piracy was not making mainstream news. In the past few years, mainstream criminology may have turned its gaze towards contemporary sea piracy. Regardless, this was not a topic prolific in conventional criminology.

countries. If the contested space of waters were the battlegrounds of power, then the constructed maps across waterways became the tools for conquest.

According to Wilczunski (2006), sea piracy maintains a long history of global criminality with early accounts dating back to 1350BC with the discovery of a clay tablet that narrates attacks of ships in North Africa. It was not until 140BC that the word 'pirate'[3] (*peirato*) was used to describe nautical attacks on ships and maritime cities. Piracy during the peak of the Roman era remained unchecked by the senate due to the benefits piracy offered the aristocracy. A great deal of the slave trade came from pirate forces during this time, with tens of thousands of slaves required for the estates and extravagant markets. Pre-modern accounts of pirates stretch beyond the Mediterranean and into the North Sea and the water passages around the eastern Asian sea borders. The Vikings emerged as the most notorious of medieval sea thieves, with the first noted raid taking place in 793AD and remaining a dominant force in the North Sea until the 11th Century. The 13th and 14th centuries marked the notable emergence and continual increase in piracy along the Chinese and Korean coasts (Wilcznski, 2006).

Most literature available on piracy stems from the early Western European empires' expansion to the new world across the Atlantic Ocean between the 14th and the 19th century. The travels west marked a new age to come with tales of individuals such as Sir Francis Drake setting sail for Panama in 1572 (Hampden 1972). The golden age of piracy ended in the eighteenth century with the capture and trial of the two most notorious pirates of the West Indies - Edward "Blackbeard" Teach and Bartholomew Roberts (Black, 1990; Defoe, [1724] 1972). Captain Bartholomew Roberts, by the end of his reign as the most successful pirate leader, was said to have stolen almost 400 vessels between 1719 and 1722. While the golden age of piracy ended with the trials and execution of Teach and Roberts, the operations of Barbary pirates were not suppressed until 1830.

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[3]   While there were several names given to those engaging in piracy (all represent the same behaviour and action), there were slight differences in each meaning. Piracy, and thus the general term of pirate, was the practice of attacking ships as well as maritime cities for profit. A pirate would sometimes be referred to as a freebooter or filibuster (Black, 1990). Corsairs were Mediterranean pirates while buccaneers became the common label for West Indies pirates and privateers during the 17th Century. While the geographic location did play a role in the titles of those engaging in piracy, a clear distinction was needed between the legitimacy of a pirate and a privateer. Privateers were legitimate actors of piracy during times of war and conflict between competing nations, authorized to plunder the vessels of enemy nations and granted clemency by their governments. The globally competing countries found contracting pirates served as a source to weaken the shipping and trade markets of rival governments, avoiding the trouble of creating and maintaining naval auxiliaries (Gilbert, 2006; Wilczynski, 2006). Though governmental authority was easy enough to establish in determining the legitimacy of pirating or privateering, some legitimate merchants during times of grievance would turn to freebooting to supplement the ship's income (Loades, 2000).

The violent aggression and exploits of pirates embodied a form of terrorism. Extreme hostility developing between sailors of opposing countries, with support from their respective states, sparked battles without declarations of war. The discovery of land across the Atlantic created competition for expansion of empires amongst Western European governments. They employed and encouraged sea merchants and pirate fleets to plunder the ships of competing nations that hindered their imperial ambitions (Loades, 2000). As Gilbert (2006) argues, the employment of pirates by national governments to sabotage and pillage the merchant ships of the countries' enemies aided in the growth and destruction of wealth and empire. The symbolic importance in claiming small colonies in the Caribbean from the Spanish, thus increasing national wealth[4] with the help of hired pirates and privateers, created a legitimate backdrop to the piracy practice.

Though pirates performed a great service to their nation states by interfering with opposing nations' ambitions, pirates were socially constructed as treacherous and brutal. Imperialists, however encouraging of the violent exploits of piracy, were never granted the same hideous construction of being uncivilized. As Teorey (2003) argues, pirates often maintained an egalitarian social order on board their vessels that adhered to ideal English principles of democracy. Contrary were the behaviours and desires of the imperialists who exploited the resources of dominated territory and the people found there, who were often kept and sold as slaves. Selfish greed and cruelty followed English imperialism but were never called out as unjust. This, again, does not tell a new story about the construction between the conceptual villainous pirate and well-intending government. Chomsky best illustrates this power struggle and construction as he writes:

> St. Augustine tells the story of a pirate captured by Alexander the Great, who asked him "how he dares molest the sea." "How dare you molest the whole world!" the pirate replied: "Because I do it with a little ship only, I am called a thief: you, doing it with a great navy, are called an Emperor." (2002: vii)

Blurs between behaviours, concepts of good and evil, and ultimate justice contaminated the contested space of the oceans in plotting crime and control.

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[4] This was carried out by means of thievery.

England's earliest naval fleet in fact depended on privateers' call to duty, to serve king and country, when a war was to be waged[5]. During this time, England's primary focus was on Europe and India, allocating their modest naval force to preserve their ventures. Imperial naval and merchant fleets later developed their efforts in the West Indies sometime in the latter eighteenth century. They, however, relied on pirates and privateers to disrupt the trade and provide nautical information on the region (Teorey, 2003).

Eventually, peace treaties to end sea piracy were developed in 1697 between England, France, and Spain. One outcome was the excessive amount of mariner labour no longer funded from their respective governments, creating a class of sailors enlisting in outlaw piracy for economic benefits and for the freedom the high seas provided.

Regardless of state supported or individual initiative piracy, transatlantic maps proved to be as powerful a tool to a pirate captain as a swift ship, destructive cannons, arduous skilled labourers and a vicious reputation. Maps served to help merchant ships find safer passages across the Atlantic to avoid falling victim to piracy. Hampden (1972) asserts that maps and charts during this period[6] assisted in easier navigation of trading passages, helping ships avoid routes used by competing countries and the hostilities of freebooters. The pirate, merchant and privateer all benefited from knowledge of mathematics and geography. Each type of actor developed personal maps and geographical journal descriptions during their travels to document the nautical spaces they successfully navigated. As Hampden (1972:16) notes,

> …there were no means of measuring longitude, and, once out of sign of known land, ship's position had to be estimated by more or less inspired guess-work, based on the navigator's experience. Maps and charts were often lacking or inadequate, but these, too, steadily improved as explorers added their quotas of knowledge.

Cartographers were responsible for assisting geographic expansion, to merchants and nation-states alike. Their knowledge of uncharted territory did not necessarily come from travelling to the different reaches of the earth. However, their maps were created by prior geographic knowledge, the tracked movements of the stars and noted accounts of those apt in sailing the new and under-charted expanses. Defoe ([1724] 1972:7) argued that

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[5] We see this as early as 1243 when King Henry III licensed three private merchant ships to wage war on France. Also, this practice was used in both the Caribbean and Africa – these areas were hubs of merchant shipping that were at the edges of control by the Royal Navy. As a result, many of the Governors of Caribbean colonies welcomed the military protection that pirates and privateers could offer that the Royal Navy could not. By the 1720s and 1730s, the reach of the British Empire and various efforts to bring the pirates under control were pushing many pirates to other bases of operation in the Indian and Pacific Oceans (Gilbert, 2006).

[6] Then commonly referred to as sea-cards.

the inadequacy of maps and charts for merchants and fleets were due to the ignorance in their creation. He writes,

> It must be observed, that our speculative Mathematicians and Geographers, who are, no doubt, Men of the greatest Learning, seldom travel farther than their Closets for their Knowledge, &c. are therefore unqualify'd to give us a good Description of Countries: It is for this Reason that all our Maps and Atlasses are so monstrously faulty, for this Gentlemen are obliged to take their Accounts from the Reports of illiterate Men.

A great deal of knowledge solicited for the benefits of cartographers to progress in their work came from pirate journals. These journals often included detailed maps and descriptions of geographic features, trade winds, and Spanish strongholds (Teorey, 2003). Piracy's contribution to cartography is not often considered though it did contribute to cartographic success.

However, attributes of success from notable privateers and explorers marked an era of successful navigation for the British Empire. The publication of Britain's first world atlas in 1627, The Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World, made John Speed an influential man during the growth of merchant sailing and piracy threat (Cachina, 2006). It was John Dee[7], however, that assured Britain represented an unfaltering maritime control (Hampden, 1972). The Dutch and Flemish contribution (Cachina, 2006) to the creation of maps both in Europe and in the West Indies arguably exceeds their European counterparts[8]. The frequent circulation of Gerardus Mercator maps amongst the Portueguese, Spanish, and English is credited to the successful navigation of figures such as English privateer, Sir Francis Drake (Hampden, 1972).

While the Dutch perhaps were not known for being infamous pirates, their contribution to the pirating legacy exists in their publication of cartographic knowledge. The Blaeu publications, founded by Willem Jansz Blaeu (1571-1638) and later succeeded by son Joan (1596-1673), established an unsurpassed reputation for mapmakers in cartographic history. Herman Moll, a notable Dutch mapmaker who later settled in England in 1678, created maps of the trade winds of the West Indies, further aiding exploration across the Atlantic. It was, however, Pierre Mortier in the late 17th century that advanced Dutch trade by creating the most current maps available in Holland.

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[7] As a Renaissance man, Dee found status amongst sea captains, merchants, and Queen Victoria as a prodigal mathematician, geographer and cartographer. The late sixteenth century maps he produced, often modeled from his Dutch counterpart, Mercator, are credited with British success in exploration and expansion for the Empire. While Dee did not explore the globe to create the maps he produced, his navigational skills in cartography developed with the use of a compass, the astrolabe, and the quarter-staff (Hampden, 1972: 16).
[8] Advancements in cartographic knowledge came during the era of European overseas exploration – many original cartographic creations are exhibited in museums and libraries worldwide (Thompson, 2007).

Though the legacy of the Dutch cartographic family is not bested, the French created their own mound of success in the map-making heritage. Along with Mercator, French cartographic bibliographer Abraham Orelius (1528-1598) became a commercially successful European map-maker when he created the first uniform format atlas that necessitated four reprints by 1570 (Cachina, 2006; Hampden, 1972). Nearly two centuries later in 1757, Paris saw the release of Gilles Robert and Didier Robert de Vaugondy's Atlas Universel, contributing to the many great achievements of the French Enlightenment (Pedley, 1979). As the influential father and son team, the de Vaugondy's not only served the French in the circulation of an influential atlas but also served as globe makers to King Louis XIV.

The development of cartographic knowledge and publications aided, to some extent, in the control and apprehension of pirates. However, it also contributed to successful plundering. A spatiality of thievery and hostility on the high seas was established and successful avoidance of victimization (as a merchant) or successful plundering (as a pirate) was determined by the ability to navigate within these spaces. The convergence between well-armed merchants (often with mercenary escorts) making way between their country and the new colonies, pirates wishing to plunder the material goods merchants transported, and the contracted privateers hired to both guard their country's interest as well as demolish competing countries expansion created a proverbial hotbed of potential violence and plundering[9]. As such, understanding varieties of routes between the old and the new lands, along with exceptional navigational skills, were of the utmost importance. Maps and the compass became as imperative as the very sails on the ship, making the merchants, the pirates, and the privateers all skilled and artful in their sailing of the high seas.

Piracy in the West Indies continued unchecked by international control until the early to mid-18th century when a peace treaty between Western European countries was established to end piracy. Acts of piracy were no longer favourable to the developing Caribbean colonies with each producing their own wealth (Black, 1990; Gilbert, 2006). The benefits piracy provided to the Western-European governments during this time of expansion waned and the need to create international laws to control piracy arose. While

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[9] Pennell (1994) also includes the element of opportunity, applying a basic routine activities approach. In his research on Moroccan piracy, he argues that 16th century piracy was a 'combination of broadly environmental factors some inhabitants of the Mediterranean shores into sea-raiding. Their poverty provided them motivation; the maritime geography of the region gave them their opportunity, and influenced their tactics and their choice of targets. Patterns of political control and rivalry encouraged their raiding' (*ibid,* 273). The routine activities approach is addressed in Chapter 2, originally applied to street offending.

governments no longer desired the employment of pirates, the attraction of the profession did not fade. Gilbert (2006) argues the attraction of piracy, as both a means of freedom from oppression as well as a means for social mobility[10]. He states:

> History is not driven by the deeds of great men, but by the social and economic forces that lead the lowest and most oppressed class of workers to revolt against dictatorial merchant captains and seek the relative freedom of outlaw piracy.

Indeed it has been said that piracy was the way forward as an escape from dominant oppression. When Captain Bartholomew Roberts found solace in his piracy role, he claimed:

> In an honest service, there is thin commons, low wages, and hard labour; in this [piracy], plenty and satiety, pleasure and ease, liberty and power; and who would not balance creditor on this side, when all the hazard that is run for it, at worst, is only a sour look or two at choking (Black, 1990: 61).

These accounts vindicate the desires of men to seek a greater quality of life unavailable to them within the walls of guarded society. In the end, piracy offered status, wealth, and perhaps most importantly, a sense of freedom.

Before this time, very little was actually done to end pirate reigns. Defoe contended that government fleets deployed to control piracy for safer merchant passage knew of the spatial motions of pirates during the different seasons of the year. However, rarely would fleets take effect to detain pirate crews when they were the most vulnerable.

> I must observe another Thing, that the Pyrates generally shift their Rovings, according to the Season of the Year; in the Summer they cruise mostly along the Coast of the Continent of America, but the Winters there, being a little too cold for them, they follow the Sun, and go towards the Islands, at the approach of cold Weather. Every Man who has used the West-India Trade, knows this to be true; therefore, since we are so well acquainted with all their Motions, I cannot see why our Men of War under a proper Regulation, may not go to the Southward, instead of lying up all the Winter useless…([1724] 1972: 6).

While this spatialised nautical experience of transgression may not be a part of modern criminological discourse due to perceived irrelevance, the mechanisms of control were applied after it became problematic to, or rather no longer served, the state. This demonstrates the relevance of power structures in the construction of crime and control. Further, it exhibits the exploitation of vulnerable peoples by wealthy and empowered

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[10] At the time, piracy offered an opportunity to move from the lowest ranks of society to the potential of great economic wealth and status. We are reminded that figures such as Captain Henry Morgan and William Kidd started from humble beginnings as low class 'seadogs' to become high ranking men of stature.

institutions. Affluent populations have greatly contributed to the long history of piracy, global human trafficking and slavery (Tysome, 2007). This history of trafficking and the slave trade may prove advantageous in current studies of slavery and human rights.

Piracy is primarily an antiquated criminal act. Nonetheless, piracy still plagues some water passages in contemporary society. While the notion of a criminal 'hotspot' often belongs to the urban domain[11], the ICC International Maritime Bureau reports continuing acts of global piracy. There were 205 reported piracy incidences in 2005 and 174 in 2006, where areas such as Bangladesh and Nigeria reign as piracy 'hotspots' (ICC-IMB website, 2007). Accounts of piracy on the eastern shores of South America are attributed to the absences of state control agents (Wilczynski, 2006). On the other hand, current pirates operating in Southeast Asia under the protection of the Chinese government are arguably as dangerous today as they were in ancient times (Gilbert, 2006). In some regards, pirates still represent a contemporary symbol of power and dominance[12], though heavy commercialization of Caribbean pirates has divested its dangerous, cultural image.

The rural social banditry of outlaws and highwaymen

While pirates enjoyed the freedom of their exploits on the waters, outlaws and highwaymen engaged in similar acts of thievery with threats of hostility on land. Rediker (1987:269) notes the similarities between the freebooters in the water to those on land:

> Pirates constructed that world in defiant contradistinction to the ways of the world they left behind, in particular to its salient figures of power, the merchant captain and the royal official, and to the system of authority those figures represented and enforced. When with pirates were tired in Boston in 1718, merchant captain Thomas Checkley told of the capture of his ship by pirates who "pretended," he said, "to be Robbin* Hoods Men." Eric Hobsbawm has defined social banditry as a "universal and virtually unchanging phenomenon," an "endemic peasant protest against oppression and poverty: a cry for vengeance on the rich and the oppressors." Its goal is "a traditional world in which men are justly dealt with, not a new and perfect world"; Hobsbawm calls its advocates "revolutionary traditionalist." Pirates, of course, were not peasants, but they fit Hobsbawm's formulation in every other respect. Of special importance was their "Cry for vengeance. (* Author's spelling)

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[11] As discussed in Chapter 2: Towards a cartographic criminology?.

[12] For example: For a century now (since 1911), the city of Tampa, Florida, in the United States has promoted one the nation's largest 'pirate' festival every February. The invasion of 'pirates' from *Ye Mystic Krewe of Gasparilla* draws large crowds annually as the pirates demand the key to the city from the mayor. Not only does this mark the symbolic power pirates pull, but that the 'pirates' from *Ye Mystic Krewe of Gasparilla* comprise of the white, male elite from the area – with membership fees to join Krewes who participate in the celebration being typically out of reach by middle and lower class families (Kerstein, 2001).

Tales of noble outlaws and their criminal exploits perhaps inspired pirates of the West Indies. The history of outlaws and highwaymen solidify the salient points made in the power and control issues of pirates. The power behind socially constructing bandits, at times exposing issues of class, influenced the perceived threat of spaces that were prevalently targeted for robbery. The spatial environment and geography of social banditry reveals a clear knowledge of the profitable roads to target and the best routes of escape from capture. This history consequently foreshadows the movement of crime from rural spaces to the growing urbanization of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This serves as a precursor for the demonisation of urbanisation, leaving the countryside feeling more secure.

Accounts of outlaws and highwaymen speckle British and American history[13]. In the United Kingdom, Hallsworth (2005) notes the importance of the transgressions of British bandits of the 14th through the 18th centuries and the spatial operations in which they engaged in their criminalities. He contends that those engaging in theft on the outskirts of the patrolled villages and towns of feudal society were early models of contemporary urban street criminals. And, analogous to today, successful robberies featured offenders carrying weapons and victims who were under the impression that resistance would be met with violence. However, unlike today, the outlaws of the middle ages and the highwaymen of just a couple of centuries ago are afforded status as folk heroes in written history. The deeds of the outlaw Robin Hood are legendary in many western societies and the exploits of Dick Turpin embody all dimensions of English highwaymen (Spraggs, 2001). These British criminalities are immortalised in popular literature and history, with the geography of their offending made popular by the reverence paid to their legend.

Both outlaws and highwaymen were not necessarily drawn from the impoverished classes. They often included both members of the gentry and ex-soldiers with no alternative means of employment. Spraggs (2001) chronicles the historic cases of gentlemen robbers from the 16th through the 18th centuries, suggesting the young gentlemen robbers were often gentile men of good families who lived beyond their means. As such, they lacked the resources required to indulge in the splendours of a decadent lifestyle. On the other hand, the ex-soldiers no longer needed in battle and peddlers taking to banditry both depended on what they could plunder. Living outside of the cities and isolated from their kin, bands of

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[13] As with pirates, the names or slang terms used to describe the social bandits vary according to time and geographical location.

bandits would often form support networks to assure protection from apprehension and agreed upon delineated precincts for their robberies.

In the United States, the history of social banditry riddled the Western Plains and newly developed regions in the latter part of the 19th century. New settlements were commonly "theatres of lawlessness and crime" (Rister, 1933: 537) until developing mechanisms of protection and community assimilation. American banditry only existed for a fragment of the time as England's accounts, though were heavily constructed on the English ballads of 'Robin Hood'. As Steckmesser (1966) argues, American outlaws were often depicted as having dignified and gallant characteristics often associated with the legends of Robin Hood, though more fierce and intimidating. These similarities congeal the perspective of social bandits, both British (Hallsworth, 2005; Spraggs, 2001) and American (Steckmesser, 1966), as folk heroes who must live outside of the law in order to serve a higher cause of justice.

Tales of American outlawry presents a 'man of the people' who fights for justice against the oppressive forces of established economic and civil systems (Roberts, 1981). His fights and performances of resistance, euphemisms for robbing and stealing, are recited as actions that correct the wrongs of the rich by giving stolen commodities to the poor. The stories of outlaws such as 'Billy the Kid'[14] and Jesse James suggest popularity amongst the common citizen as they only stole from banks or railroads that boasted wealth. Further, they often aided vulnerable populations with the spoils of their exploits. Railroad Bill received notoriety by representing black resistance to white authority and oppressive conditions for blacks in the 1890s rural south. While the honest citizen may not have wanted to encounter an outlaw gang on their journeys between towns, the perception of harm from bandits seemed relatively minimal compared to the threats from the authoritative forces of government and corporations.

Understanding the geography of where outlaws and highwaymen operated became important for travellers and traders moving from one town to another. Often groups would travel together as a means of protection and security[15]. Historical records note clear associations between certain routes and the highwaymen who operated in those spaces.

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[14] Born Henry McCarty, 'Billy the Kid's' popularity and moniker came after his death. Billy's exploits (factual and invented) and his death received national publicity in addition to a short description printed in The London Times (Mullin & Welch, 1973).

[15] Chaucer (1951) chronicles this in his illustrious book, *The Canterbury Tales*. This 14th century book is a collection of tales told amongst the travellers' pilgrimage to Canterbury Cathedral, making their way together with hopes of deterring attacks from bandits.

Indeed, perhaps the mental maps of early society helped shaped how pre-modern space was imagined and formed. Harvey (2001:236) argues that the literature on mental maps and 'cartographic consciousness' may link geography with cultural and literary theory. He writes,

> The traces of a new cartographic consciousness are writ large in poetry (for example Shakespeare and the so-called 'metaphysical poets' deploy cartographic imagery to great effect) as well as in literature (even before Danial Defoe and other made cartographic exploration central to their narrative structures). The effect of reading such literature is to see ourselves in a different positionality, within a different map of the world (Harvey, 2001:235-236).

In England, the most commonly robbed roads were those that led to and from or were in close proximity to London. Merchants and wealthy travellers transporting valuable goods between cities and some of the countryside around the capital were suitable targets for highway robbers. As Spraggs (2001) contends, Shooter Hill had the reputation of being the most dangerous place for robberies in all of Kent because it was the main highroad between London and continental Europe.

The roads conducive to robbery were also decided by the bandit's geography of escape. Their ability to vanish within a dense forest on foot was no doubt a major factor in Robin Hood and his men's decision for which roads to patrol. When horses became more plentiful, and a target of theft no doubt, the robber's mobility greatened and allowed him to cross large territories for speedier escapes. The principal roads in and out of urban environments eventually proved to be the most profitable for robbing wealthy travelers and merchants as well as providing the robber a quick getaway to the city to hide amongst the anonymous crowds.

In America, particular roads were not targeted so much as regional space in the vastness of the growing country. The undeveloped Great Plains sprouted isolated and border communities which were prime targets for social bandits from 1845 to 1885 (Rister, 1933). Rural towns became targets of robbery more so than the roads. Unlike England's villages at the time, these developing communities lacked control officials to protect their borders. As such, the roads themselves were of less threat from victimisation. Customarily, outlaw gangs often worked regional territories that were protected from other bandits invading – something observed in modern gang activity. However, the geography of robbery was not always stationary. As Roberts (1981) explains, train robbery became a common phenomenon where trains were illegally boarded with bandits removing goods

from passengers. Loot was tossed along the tracks as the train moved and later retrieved after the completion of the robbery.

As the American frontier developed, more and more outlaws relocated their misdeeds to Texas. Nineteenth century Texas provided sufficient targets for bandits to victimize. More importantly, it offered the best geography for efficient escape when law enforcers pursued outlaws. Countless outlaws found refuge in Indian Territory or would cross to the south side of the Red River in the Rio Grande to evade control agents on their track. The use of border crossing to escape punishment by removing control agents' authority over jurisdiction became quite common. However, many outlaws found it neither necessary nor desirable to hide out in their safe retreats across borders. Instead, their time was often spent in the saloons and dives of unmonitored towns.

English highway robbery declined immensely by the 18th century with the last recorded incident in 1831 (Hallsworth, 2005; Spraggs, 2001). Beginning in the 14th century through the end of the 15th century, the monarchy deployed small groups of justices to each of England's regions to investigate and punish offences of social banditry. While highway robbery continued for hundreds of years following, the likelihood of meeting a robber in forests or wild places was perceived less likely than the encounters of robbers within the urban environment. It was shortly after this time that anxiety piqued over crime, reemphasizing the need to focus on its growth.

In America, the Western frontier created the perfect conducive environment for outlawry. The lack of established government and authority coupled with the general unruliness of the terrain fostered banditry to go unchecked. New towns, such as Abilene and Dodge City, emerged from this chaos and were known for their moral depravity and general sin. As communities formed stronger cohesions, the majority of law-abiding residents banded together to regulate a social order complementary to the consensual interest. Residents acting alone or coupled with town sheriffs formed vigilance committees to force out outlaws from towns and force them into remote places. The criminal element moved from the towns into the remote rural territories outside of established law.

Remnants of social banditry continue to permeate contemporary crime and culture. With rural crime still problematic today, mainstream criminology continues to ignore spaces of crime in the countryside. Mirroring the impact of pirates in contemporary culture, the commercialisation of social banditry is a profitable market. While there are many films

on legendary social banditry, outlawry tourism is also a lucrative venture in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States[16].

[16] Examples in Crime Tourism are briefly mentioned here and explored further in Chapter 5: The Cultural Geography of Crime Tourism: Psychogeographies and Spectacles of Transgression. In Victoria, Australia, the Ned Kelly Trail (2007) highlights stops in varying towns and locations once inhabited or traveled by Ned Kelly and his gang. Contour Walking Holidays (2007) offers guided walking tours through the Southern Highlands of Scotland where Rob Roy MacGregor and his clansmen were active outlaws. One can tour the outlaw trail into Sherwood Forest in Nottingham and see areas once occupied by Robin Hood (BBC 2007). Finally, in South-central New Mexico, the *See America* organization (2007) offers a self-guided 'Billy the Kid' driving tour, covering 84 miles of scenic byways with suggested itinerary and points of interest along the trail. One London outlaw walking tour advertises the intension to change the perspective of the space, for the traveler to "Discover a London you never knew existed. Explore the Magical Geography and Mythography of the City" (Wyrd Walks 2007). Chapter 6 further explores and discusses the psychogeographies of city and rural spaces.