

3. The Social Geography of Crime and Deviance: Reading Structure and the ‘Other’ in Maps

The map is, in effect, a homogenization and reification of the rich diversity of spatial itineraries and spatial stories. It ‘eliminates little by little’ all traces of ‘the practices that produced it’. (Harvey, 1989: 253)

What can be observed on any map reveals a partial truth about the social world; what is also concealed in maps builds toward a fuller grasp of social life. Maps employed in the social sciences that represent social harm, deviance, and crime, are - like any other map - constructed to exaggerate the important features of a story. However, it is possible for the same maps to assist in creating other - unintended - stories about social life. Maps reveal, explicitly and implicitly, the structural forces in society that shape everyday life. They expose class structures and depict the economically disadvantaged as well as the financially privileged. Maps are the disclosures of social structures, the confessors of spatial exclusion, and the expositors of the ‘other’.

Having established the need to develop a critical cartographic criminology in Chapter 2, this chapter explores the cartographic possibilities that exist in a social geography of crime and deviance. It starts by reviewing social geography to build a working knowledge of a spatial sociology that focuses on aspects of social structures, spatial expressions of capitalism, and associative forms of segregation. Lessons from social geography are integrated with criminology to yield a field of study interested in the spatial research of the ‘other’, deprivation, and exclusion as it relates to crime and deviance. While, as one can fiercely argue, all criminology is social, this approach to exploring cartographic practices in a ‘social geography of crime’ is not limited to one particular perspective.

This chapter intends to give a taste of how cartography with the help of social geography can further expand criminology’s awareness of the value and magnitude of maps. A brief review of relevant social geography literature and two case studies of social geographies of crime and deviance are explored to offer perspectives that assist the future construction of a critical cartographic criminology. The conclusion of this chapter will then reassess and summarise the overall contributions a social geography of crime and deviance that lends to a critical cartography criminology and thus the purpose of this thesis.

3.1 Shaping a Social Geography of crime and deviance

A 'geography' of crime will always carry its particular hallmarks of an interest in spatial structures, in environmental association, and in the special qualities of place, but any tendency which might have existed for spatial chauvinism is now far less evident than it might have been in the past. (Herbert, 1989: 1)

This section begins by examining the basic precepts of social geography. The social geography literature in the discipline of human geography is immense. Yet despite this mass of work no one single definition of social geography exists. Generally speaking, it can be described as the geography of spatial sociology. However, at other times it is defined as dealing with the distribution of social phenomenon. Attempting to describe every definition and description of what social geography *is* and what social geography *does* would be challenging and strenuous. Further, it would be unnecessary. While this chapter proposes a social geography of crime and deviance, it need only be concerned with the conceptual framing and principles for a cartographic critique. As such, for this thesis, social geography is conceptually accepted as confronting the spatial aspects of social structures and the spatial distributions of social elements. In sum, this adds a key element to what a critical cartographic criminology *looks like* and can (and will) inform "best practices" in its study.

This is not to suggest that the social geography literature is not of value to criminology. Instead, it acknowledges that geographers have meticulously traced its history and progression. Scholars in the field explain that social geography is formed from historical antecedents of the significant correlation between social relationships and space (Jones and Eyles, 1977). Philo and Soderstrom (2004: 108) argue that earlier research in social geography was preoccupied with environmental determinants and the 'mappable' distribution of material social phenomenon. However, current social geography is 'preoccupied with unequal structuring, lived experiences and the agency-structure intersections bound up in a much wider range of social phenomena' that are much more aware of 'the hidden world of ordinary people' (*ibid.*: 124).

Social geography encompasses many areas of spatial interest applicable to the study of crime and deviance. If social geography intends to investigate societies within the spaces they occupy, then it necessarily seeks to study the interrelationships between the social and the spatial. It emphasises social groups and the in/equitable distribution of resources. It wishes to explain established patterns by questioning the processes which

create them. At the heart of these social processes, as argued prominently by David Harvey (1989), are the unequal geographies of capitalist cities. His attention to marginalised and excluded social groups, such as those who live in inner-city poverty, demands social geographers to pursue a research agenda that might be summarised as the geography of exclusion and oppression. Part of this call includes re-evaluating conceptual perceptions of how lines on maps are drawn and the implicit meaning behind every mark. For example, boundary lines are:

...seen as the edges of the areas to be dealt with and not as important features in their own right. Pieces of territory may be moved around, but attention is riveted on the content of the parcels and not on the exact location of the lines that determine their size; yet anyone who has lived alongside a boundary will know that major differences can exist on the two sides of the line, and the line itself can be a strong factor in the movements and life-styles of the people (Burghardt, 1996:228).

The immaterial aspects of the social world and how these are communicated through maps should not be taken for granted. Thus, social geography offers insights into how to read maps according to struggles amongst social groups and territorial descriptions of where they are and are not located. It raises questions about how maps come to represent prejudices that might otherwise seem intangible.

Additionally, social geography recognises a ‘humanistic geography’, which seeks to discover an individual’s sense of place in the world. Spearheaded by David Ley and drawing inspiration from phenomenology¹, this approach attempts to augment “objective” facts with subjective experiences through shared structures of meaning as negotiated by social groups within social spaces. One example of Ley’s effort to forge a more ‘humanistic’ approach to social geography is the formation of research that attempts to illustrate that neighbourhood or street gangs exist in specific locations or ‘turfs’ (1998, as cited in Philo and Soderstrom, 2004:131-133). Gang members’ plural subjectivities of their social space communicate a different message from non-members of that gang.

This cultivation of social geography, a montage of spatial sociology and social theory, is more aware than ever before of the textures that form the fabric of social life. Merging the more traditional attention paid to social structure, spatial divisions, and social relations with a ‘humanistic geographic’ approach that incorporates webs of

¹ Phenomenology is further discussed in Chapter 5.

meaning² establishes a social geography well equipped to confront spaces of crime and deviance. With this approach and initiative in mind, a social geography of crime and deviance begins to take shape. Such an approach has immediate implications for criminology, not least as a corrective to the type of dehumanised crime mapping that was discussed in the previous chapter.

In shaping a social geography of crime and deviance, an understanding of ‘sense of space’ must exist, as Shields (1991:59-60) argues, where webs of space and a ‘system of space’ are illustrated with its many characteristics and fluctuating boundaries. Establish spaces are appropriate for specific activities. The discernment of demarcated spaces conducive to deviant activities is often limited to traditional images or views of crime. Critical observers of ‘geographies of crime’ (Lowman, 1986; Young, 1998) remark that stereotypes of crime and criminals, along with the criminal justice reactions to these traditional images, inevitably restrict the types of crime studied. Even with various survey methods of measuring crime, ‘geographies of crime’ consistently leans towards investigating the spatial occurrences of property and street-level crime. This narrow scope of study predictably yields similar maps and depictions of criminal space. Relatively rare in the literature (Lowman, 1986) are maps or geographies of offences such as tax evasion, child abuse, or environmental injustice. Thus, the vast amount of criminological literature investigating the social environment for clues about why crime occurs (and offering potential solutions) remains one dimensional. With guidance from social geography, then it might be possible to develop a more rounded approach to the spatial analysis of crime that challenges the established body of criminological knowledge that has developed under the rubric ‘environmental criminology’.

Criminology as a discipline grew considerably in a relatively short span of time. As argued in the previous chapter, scientific criminology hallmarked its birth as a discipline of study in the nineteenth century. The interest in deviant spaces fuelled its creation and continues to contribute to its development. The spatial distribution of crime – often referred to as ‘environmental criminology’ - remains significant in the literature and greatly influences policing and policy practices. Criminologists investigating spaces of crime, overwhelmingly work under the same traditional perspectives of crime. Kate

² The ‘humanistic geography’ approach to space through the use of semiotics, interpretation, and more qualitative methodologies of research blurs lines between social geography and cultural geography. The ‘cultural turn’ experienced across the board in the social sciences at large often fuse the social with the cultural. However, for the purpose of this chapter, the employment of interpretive meanings and the experiential are for the further exploration of how social structures are mapped. It merely seeks to ‘humanise’ social divisions and segregations to expose the harm done.

Painter clearly articulates this attitude with two very simply stated sentences:

Conventional criminology informs us that crime is predominantly an urban and male problem. From Henry Mayhew to Patricia Mayhew, cartographic criminology has contoured the spatial distribution of crime and located it as a problem of large towns and cities (1992: 134).

This mantra of orthodox criminology, while ‘tried and true’ to some extent, is rarely challenged and usually accepted as common-sense. This chapter builds out from such narrow assumptions to question the wider, more complex issues about social structure(s) that often go unchallenged within mainstream environmental criminology.

Environmental determinism proposes that residing or inhabiting specific environments shapes particular behaviours, activities, or tendencies. The early Chicago School investigations of the city produced research which implied a deterministic perspective through their application of ecological principles to a human society. Despite the fact their research on the city greatly contributed to social geography, geographers take issue with some of the conclusions seldom challenged in criminology. Jones and Eyles (1977: 8-9) assessment of the Chicago School disputes that the city is built by economic forces alone and show that some areas reflect the social values which people attach to certain areas. Studies of perception in geography substantiate the claim that many varied views of the world and of place exist. David Harvey’s extensive research of the social geography of industrialisation does not reject the idea that ecological explanations are a core driver of the social order of the city. Instead, Harvey argues that the social structure of growing Western cities confronted the challenge of dealing with large, diverse populations whose members all sought to secure a place in the spatial order. The growth of industrialised cities, however, congealed conceptions of the ‘other’ based on regional, national, religious, or personal identity. Even with acceptance of ‘the other’ pervading established Western society, they had ‘a specific *place* in a spatial order that was ethnocentrically conceived to have homogeneous and absolute qualities’ (1989:252). Though some of the literature in social geography questions the validity of environmental determinism, it delves further than criminology in understanding the root of its structural formation and social implications. The distribution of crime over city space is affected by economic forces to some degree, creating pockets of impoverished neighbourhoods that have been the focus of documented criminological research from as far back as the nineteenth century. Moreover, it is without much dispute that these pockets of poverty have been the site of many officially recorded acts of crime.

Nonetheless, appreciating the social structures of values and identity offers deeper insight as to why these areas have been carved out on a map and marked as sites of crime.

Abundant in criminological literature on spaces of crime are areas of the inner-city poor, public housing complexes, or areas otherwise known as 'ghettos'. Despite the fact that there is much written on ghettos and crime, there is a general confusion of 'cause and effect' that speaks to concepts of environmental determinism and the 'other'. Ghetto residents in Western cities, sometimes referred to as the 'urban underclass', are stereotypically perceived to be criminal, or criminally inclined. This presents an interesting perspective for a social geography of crime. Young (1998) extensively reviews the formation of the underclass and related arguments about their criminal involvement. He posits that crime is often mistakenly seen as a failure of socialisation, burdening social structures with the responsibility of criminal activity and removing agency from individuals. Instead, Young invokes some of the arguments in social geography, contending that crime amongst these populations is about subverting the boundaries of their 'place' in the spatial order. Young maintains that crime embraces capitalist societal norms and structures, which eventually 'revolves around the notion of citizenship' (1998: 290). His contention is ideologically akin to Harvey's (1989) argument of the 'other' and its foundation in identity. Materialism creates the object of criminal activity although immaterial goals are ultimately the motivator.

Although these strands of thought may obfuscate the spatial investigation and cartographic representation of crime, they are pieces of a larger appreciation of what social geography and criminology attempts to discover. There are conceptual parallels in social geography and some areas of criminology, although sadly the links are rarely established. If a better connection between criminology and social geography is to be established the research needs to address and transcend the material aspects of crime to examine its immaterial components. Criminology seems to be more attentive to the material motivations in crime. Social geography can assist in forming stronger immaterial perspectives of spaces of crime.

Deviance is an equal opportunity venture though not in similar ways across the social structure. While it is understood that the lower strata of society may commit crime or acts of deviance for material gain, this is neither a uniquely lower class transgression nor the only explanation for criminality. Fewer opportunities for the poor to increase economic capital can explain decisions to engage in robbery or theft. Equivalents of robbery and theft amongst higher-class echelons, such as embezzlement and fraud, are

criminally acquisitive and potentially mean higher losses for victims. The material aspects of crime, be it robbery or insider trading, do not require extensive elaboration in regards to motivation. Greed, to some extent, is an accepted motivation for these types of acts. Katz (1988: 316) states that particular acts of criminal thievery or 'materially acquisitive crimes' are inherently situated according to economic and social circumstances. He sites examples such as lawyers and 'frequent-flyer' executives being more likely to engage in acts of embezzlements than robbery, unlike their unemployed counterparts. In short, crimes for material gain are not necessarily confined to just one section of society, but are found throughout the social hierarchy. This is a very important point to consider when reading maps of material crime that predominantly feature the crimes of the economically deprived. Lowman (1986) similarly contends that maps of tax evasion would look very different from maps of lower strata street theft. Different positions within the social structure do not determine the likelihood of engaging in materially acquisitive crimes. They do however correlate to differences in how these crimes are enacted.

Critically questioning motivations and interpretations of criminal actions requires paying attention to the inequalities of property, life-chances and positions within the social order. Taylor compels criminology to develop a 'better and more sophisticated explanation of the specific relationship between the explosive development of market society and the problem of the social order itself' (1999: 7). While critical criminologists attempt to address these issues, their attack on materialism is perhaps erroneous and curtailed. Pulling from the many dimensions of social, political, and cultural dynamics of individuals discontented with their situation demands further consideration than has been previously proposed; especially if these behaviours are to be segregated and mapped for the purpose of control and punishment.

The immaterial components of crime play a more pivotal role in differentiating crimes according to offenders' location in the spatial order and social structure, their consequences, and how they are perceived. The spatial/environmental criminology literature focuses overwhelmingly on poorer residents and lower strata crime. Again, rarely are more affluent residential areas and associative higher strata crime called into question; simply put, we seem to question why individuals are so poor and living in poverty rather than why other individuals are so wealthy and living in mansions. This is certainly an ideological by-product of capitalism which values material growth and achievement while seldom questioning the rise to the top. The gaze on poor residential

areas as sites of crime, and foci of environmental determinism, is mostly indiscriminate. Shields (1991:60-62) explains that the social geography concept of 'place-images', meanings associated with real places regardless of their character in reality, forms a 'place-myth' which ingrain collective understandings of place. Part of the rationale behind this creation of space mythology is to produce a strong understanding of the geography of any given area - neighbourhood, city, or country - by demonstrating differences between places instead of identifying their similarities. This exemplifies Harvey's (1989) and Young's (1998) arguments of the 'other' and their placement in segregated space. Social geographers Wright and Ellis (2006) claim that the exaggerated difference often made between residential spatial groups heightens the categorisations of the 'other', further polarising families and communities and leading to social anxiety and fear. Deviance and transgression go beyond materialistic acquirement according to how they are socially constructed. Subversive affronts to the social structure take centre stage in the analysis of damage caused to society by the realities of crime. Resistance to the social hierarchy captures the primary interpretation of offending, as articulated through style and symbols (Cohen, 2002[1972]). Resistance comes in many forms and serves as an iconoclastic movement in favour of change. Labelling, segregating, categorising and plotting individuals by a capricious system that serves few but rejects the majority. Terms such as 'underclass' or similar expressions of social pariahs are negative labels applied to human beings stigmatised into a status that deems them less viable and competent than their fellow societal members (Gans, 1990; Goffman, 1963; Katz, 1988). It is not a stretch to appreciate the resentment that could be generated from such egregious disregard for fellow citizens.

Challenging conventional criminology's sense of space and the traditional stereotypes about criminally categorised neighbourhoods reaches beyond commonplace knowledge to arrive at deeper understandings of the social structure and spatial order. Part of this effort requires alternative readings and perspectives of social space. Factoring in concepts of the 'other' and its spatial relationship opens gateways for further investigation of the cartographic representations of space and the boundaries drawn to divide people. The static crime maps generated to illustrate a specific pattern of crime inadvertently communicate so much more than intended. The visual rhetoric of crime maps requires interpretation to determine what is there and what is not. This interpretation is a keystone for developing a critical cartographic criminology – with it, we walk away knowing that maps need to be interpreted carefully, for what is there and

what is there, the intended and the unintended; outlining an important practice when studying maps in criminology.

In what follows, two case studies are offered to demonstrate social geography's reading of space and its cartographic representations of spatial order and social structure. For this exercise, this chapter reviews maps provided by ethnographic studies about deviance and the 'other' (see Case Study 1) as well as contemporary maps of registered sex offenders (see Case Study 2). These two case studies, though different in their methods and theoretical conceptualisations, demonstrate how cartographic representations convey spatial order and social structure beyond their intended function. These two case studies have also been selected because they are conveniently available to the general public. This is extraordinarily important since it signifies a visual rhetoric created and maintained by 'specialists' in the field for the average map-reader. Very often the types of maps discussed below elicit a good deal of attention and interest from local citizens helping to disseminate latent social knowledge. Each suggests its own interpretive reading though, in the end, both offer key lessons for the future development of a critical cartographic criminology.

3.2 Case Study 1 - Spaces of the 'Other': examples from urban ethnographies of 'slums'

This first case study reviews maps utilised in popular ethnographic studies about deviance and social 'others'. Maps feature broadly in each of the literary works they are derived from and are set up to help inform and guide when reading the ethnographic narratives. For the purpose of this thesis, each map will be reviewed and then accompanied by a discussion on what the map *does*. Understanding the roles these maps play – unintended or not – in the ethnographies will help up build on our investigation of what a critical cartographic criminology looks like and steps toward best practices.

Like American criminology (cf. Chapter 2: Towards a Cartographic Criminology?), social geography is indebted to the early Chicago school sociologists for shaping the study of social relations through spatial patterns. Their presence in standard social geography textbooks is overwhelming, delivering lessons on the discovered spatial regularities of social phenomena through the use of numerical data and statistics-based mapping (Philo and Soderstrom, 2004: 122-123). The early urban ethnographies of both

the Chicago sociologists and the later Neo-Chicagoan school present narratives of the ‘other’, exclusion, and spatial division. They captivated audiences, both then and now, with narratives of those living ‘on the other side of the tracks’³. The grander narrative is largely about social structure, an account of society’s division in economy, ethnicity, and ideology as demarcated in the urban environment. Accompanying each of the accounts are maps, sometimes illustrated and other times written into the text as verbal depictions⁴. These maps contribute, in no small way, to the vigour of the ethnographer’s ability to produce a coherent account of the segregated geographies of the city. They help the ethnographers tell a story about the structural differences in society. The maps are constructed with official statistics, careful first-hand observation, or with the assistance from their research subjects. They demonstrated where in the urban space ‘others’ are located and explain the spatial realities to those outside that (often closed) social system. Moreover, these maps illustrated stories (whether real or perceived) from the perspective of the privileged elites, defining ‘others’, for ‘us’ about ‘them’.

Central to this position is the nature of space and the conception of the ‘other’. Space is a dimension requiring ordering and organisation to reflect the multiplicity, hierarchy, and accomplishments of the human race. Maps, as a mode of communicating space, articulate a geographic identity that includes distinctive national and local characteristics. Elemental to this construction are the locations of the ‘others’, marked by their geographic segregation. Intrinsicly communicated then is the diverse geographic identity and diversity through interpretative processes of mapping both the dominant ideology and the mapping of the ‘other’ or oppressed ideology within their particular (urban) localities. As such, the particular mapping methods of interpretation and representation for the ‘other’ and oppressed populations by the dominant convention are just as vital as the conclusions they yield.

Early Chicago urban ethnographies continue to influence scholarly understanding of spaces many that many social scientists rarely experience first hand. Ethnographies blend objective realities of the research site with the subjective experiences of the inhabitants and the researcher. Sometimes these experiential descriptions are offered on their own; other times they are presented in tandem with social statistics. It is not enough to demonstrate suffering with statistics; presenting a statistic for those living under the poverty line fails to articulate the experiences of hunger, threats of having the electricity

³ This idiom refers to the poorer areas of a city. Incidentally, in Chicago this term was literally true, as very often working class areas were physically separated by train tracks.

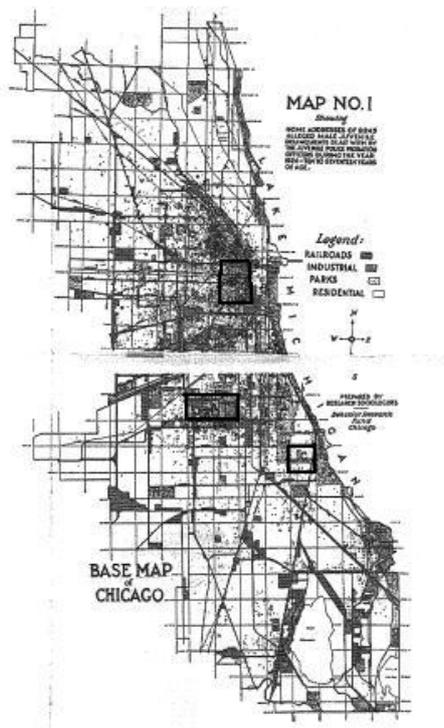
⁴ Verbal depictions are mental maps created from literary sources of spatial descriptions.

and water shut off, or wearing clothes to threads. Deeper appreciations for the experiential allot ethnographies as a ‘humanistic geography’ that shares common interests in social structures and meaning. Every word, every statistic, and every map included in the ethnographic write-up contributes to the truth and meaning of the ethnography. If the statistics support objective social facts and the verbal description expresses the humanistic-side of the research, then what role do the maps play? Are they there to support the objective claims about the environment, demography, or residential density? Alternatively, are they there to articulate the experiential realities of the field by illustrating the space as another window through which to gaze at the other side? The maps fulfil objective and subjective roles regardless of whether the map communicates issues about deviance, economics, or race. This ethnographic heritage developed research exploring social phenomenology, along with enumerations of transgression, as they occur in time and space (Atkins and Housley, 2003). Ethnographic explorations of everyday life provide expressions of symbolic actions and meanings in human life (Geertz, 1973). Resulting in a lasting inheritance for urban geography and interactionist sociology⁵, the ethnographic legacy graced only the outer periphery of criminology even though there is much to offer.

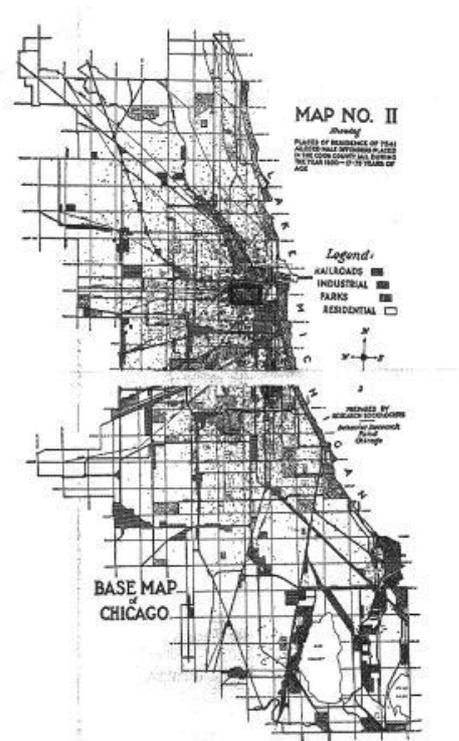
With a number of ethnographies to choose from, the following examples have been chosen for their prestige, popularity, and geographical focus. Since social geography and criminology attribute their humble beginnings to early Chicago School research, it seemed only right to review Shaw’s (1966[1930]) influential ethnography, *The Jack Roller*. Shaw’s retelling of Stanley’s life of delinquency and his behavioural problem is remarkable. Of particular interest here, however, is the third chapter in which Shaw offers a detailed description of Stanley’s social and cultural background that largely covers the geographical areas of Stanley’s past. To accompany his description, Shaw includes two maps with a total of four areas highlighted (three areas on Map 3-1 and one area on Map 3-2). These pin-maps illustrate the residential addresses of delinquents and criminals from official arrest records. Shaw describes each of the areas by its encompassing streets, its residential desirability, its moral standards, and the concentrations of delinquency and crime. By offering both maps, Shaw is able to substantiate some of the claims of specific community delinquency made in his narrative given the maps illustrate a concentration of known delinquents and criminals residing in areas noted for deviant behaviour (except Area C on Map 3-1 which Shaw describes as an average neighbourhood with relatively

⁵ Interactionist sociology is further explored in Chapter 5.

few delinquency problems). The maps also help shape the vicarious experiences of what these other areas are like when compared to an average neighbourhood. Even though many criminals engaged in crimes outside of their immediate neighbourhood, often travelling to more well-to-do areas for their illicit activities, the text persists in linking the environmental aspects of the areas to the nature of its residents. Shaw comments that the ‘greatest concentration of cases of poverty, family disintegration, bad housing, and juvenile delinquency’ occurs in the marked areas (*ibid.*, 38). This sets the scene for the rest of the book, providing a window from which to gaze at areas most would not want to visit while drawing strong causal relationships between poverty and delinquency.



Map 3 – 1: Shaw’s Map No.1 from *Jack Roller*. This is a pin-map showing the home addresses of 9243 alleged male juvenile delinquents (ages 10-17) in 1926. The three areas highlighted with a black border locate the areas Stanley resided. Shaw describes in some detail the social conditions and delinquency in each area. The smaller area located furthest south is Area C, described as an average neighbourhood. Source: Shaw 1966: map inlet between pages 34-35



Map 3 – 2: Shaw’s Map No.2 from *Jack Roller*. This is a pin-map showing the home addresses of 7541 alleged male offenders (ages 15-75) in 1920. The area highlighted with a black border indicates a concentration of crime in a rooming-house district. Source: Shaw 1966: map inlet between pages 34-35; more information provided on page 38

The two above maps do not paint a complete picture on their own. In fact, without the narration that accompanies these maps, one may perceive them as simply providing general zoning cues (i.e. the location of railroads, industry, etc.). When accompanying

Shaw's narration, maps that locate and mark areas of poverty and delinquency with thick black borders facilitates in the cognitive construction of "bad places". It reveals where these "bad places" are located in the larger cityscape; providing geographical positioning of neighbourhoods that will automatically be related back to deviance, delinquency, and danger. With the stroke a few thick, black lines, the author is able to instil in the imagination of his audience the undesirable neighbourhoods in Chicago.

The Jack Roller provides a fascinating account of a type of delinquent activity happening in the 'bad' parts of town. It upholds many of the research philosophies and ideological principles of the cityscape for which the Chicago School is most known, mainly the creation of a social ecology and its inference of environmental determinism. Our analysis of the map and social space, however, should not end here. It is, as Philo and Soderstrom (2004:122-123) argue, a pity that geographers only '[retain] from the Chicago sociologists... the simplistic concept that the social life of the city [is] regulated by principles of ecology'. Assuming all the principles are correct, an economically-deprived environment contributes to delinquent and criminal inclinations. These are not considered the average neighbourhoods but the places that rest in the social and geographical cracks and crevices of the city. They are on the periphery of urban spaces that remain separated from the average neighbourhoods. This echoes Thrasher's (1927) conceptualisation of gangs as 'interstitial', placed in the crevices of the social structure and in the cracks of the city space. Cappetti (1993:56) asserts that 'the conceptualizations of gangland as 'foreign', 'in between', and essentially unreal space accomplished the overall task of exiling social and cultural 'other' by physically and spatially locating it outside of Chicago, the city, civilization'. Shaw's areas are no different. Their indication on the maps is meant to locate the problems of the city and of its residents and to identify areas laden with social problems beyond moral frailty.

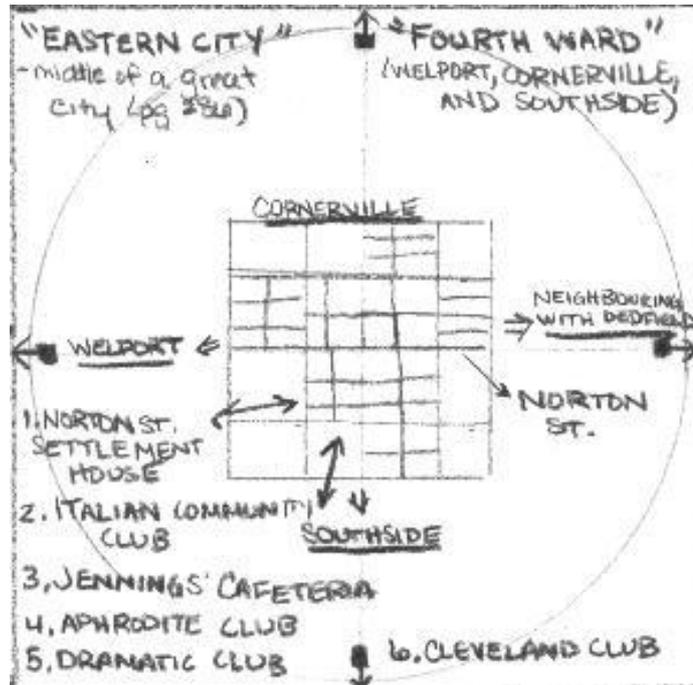
As is demonstrated in early oral-ethnographic research and illustrated in latter 20th century environmental design initiatives, appearance biases exist when trying to pinpoint centres of crime and deviance. As Gerald Suttles (1968) indicated, most individuals do not rely on official statistics to regulate and influence their judgment as to which spaces to avoid. Instead, cues in the environment, word of mouth, and personal heuristics guide most individuals through various locations. Mental images facilitate the search for those spaces riddled with economic deprivation and transgression regardless of statistical fact. This argument is rarely acknowledged. William Foote Whyte admits that his search for a slum was based on his mental image of a slum. He divulged his method of shopping for a

slum as such:

I made my choice on very unscientific grounds: Cornerville best fitted my picture of what a slum district should look like. Somehow I had developed a picture of run-down three- to five-story buildings crowded in together. The dilapidated wooden frame buildings of some other parts of the city did not look quite genuine to me. To be sure, Cornerville did have one characteristic that recommended it on a little more objective basis. It had more people per acre living in it than any other section of the city. If a slum meant overcrowding, this was certainly it. (1981: 283)

Perceptions of the places where crime and transgression is found shape a perceived reality of these places and assist in making inferences of those that live there.

However, unlike Shaw and other canonised ethnographers, Whyte prevented stigma amongst the community and its residence by anonymising geographical settings. In *Street Corner Society*, White (1981 [1943]) provides few clues as to the actual location of the neighbourhood he researched. Throughout the book, however, Whyte supplies enough description to create a mental map of the neighbourhood without disclosing information that may reveal its location (see Map 3-3). He explains that *Cornerville* is located in the 'middle of a great city' (1981: 286) which he refers to as *Eastern City*. The *Fourth Ward* included *Welpport*, *Southside*, and *Cornerville*. *Cornerville* neighbours an area called *Dedfield*. Whyte describes the neighbourhood as easy to navigate, mentioning a variety of important sites pertinent to the daily social lives of Doc and the other men in the community. His account of living in the community, the 'slum' he sought out, is a rich narrative of individuals and social life, complete with a mental map that depicts the neighbourhood with all of its problems and peculiarities without needing the details of absolute city, neighbourhood, or building locations. Forty years later in his revised edition of the book, Whyte included in Appendix A14 - *Cornerville Revisited* - the city and geography of *Cornerville*. However, knowing the city and the exact geographical location by no means enhanced my understanding or appreciation of Whyte's work. This suggests that the maps prove useful only if there is an inclination to fact-check the claims about a research area or to accomplish a better tourist gaze of a space perceived as different.



Map 3 – 3: Blurred Cognitive Map constructed from Whyte’s obscure description of Cornerville. Throughout *Street Corner Society*, Whyte offers street names as boundaries of sort, key locations from his fielding, and other small clues to assist in the creation of a neighbourhood mental map without giving away the location of his study. In ‘Appendix A: 14. Cornerville Revisited’, Whyte reveals the actual city (Eastern City – Boston) and the location of ‘Cornerville’. Source: Hanson (2009), Unpublished

One important take-away from Whyte’s important decision to omit an actual map located his study (and subjects) is that he was able to provide his readers’ with a mental map that informs them of spatial knowledge needed. By not drawing thick, black lines around the neighbourhood on an urban/city map, he made an ethical decision to spare the residents the stigmatising and alienating relationship readers may draw between seeing that location and haphazardly deciding it is a “bad place”. A map was not necessary and would not have contributed any great knowledge to what was presented. What this is doing is presenting a critical question in the construction of a cartographic criminology – *will mapping the space contribute any great knowledge to the study?* Just because one can map, does not mean that a map is needed or would benefit the research.

Whyte thought it was for the best that his ‘slum’ remain confidential, referred to with fictitious names and pseudonyms of its characters. Illustrative maps revealing the specific location probably would have impacted the neighbourhood in some way. After

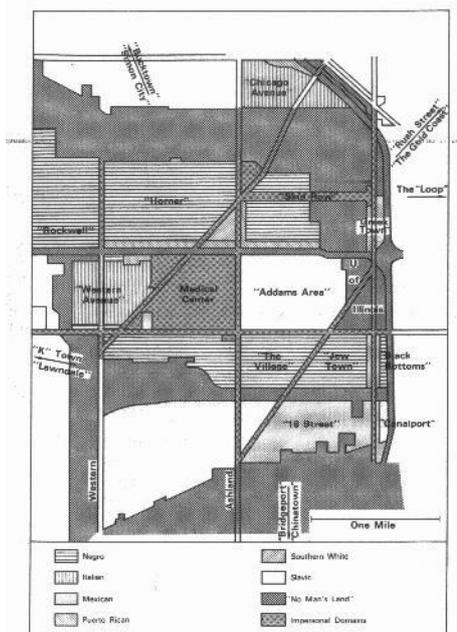
all, “slum”, “ghetto” and other such derogatory labels⁶ help to create (what are perceived to be) urban no-man-lands. These areas are not always regionally unique. They are spaces of confusion and chaos, seemingly pocketed islands of residential spaces often plagued with overcrowding, poverty and dependence. They are areas that abide vices such as drunkenness, prostitution, debauchery, and crime. Crime in these spaces is real and danger is highly perceived, blatant and palpable amongst those middle-class persons close enough to look upon it. All of these descriptions represent places so inhumane that there is almost no reason for anyone of worth to be there (Liebow, 1963; Suttles, 1968; Whyte, 1981). The problem with this picture, as Whyte (1981: xv) insists, is that there are no human beings in it. While these areas attracted the attention and imagination of those studying those very areas concerning society, they were attempting to ‘breathe a special kind of life – human nature’ into an otherwise inhuman, alienating space (Matza, 1969: 109).

Conversely, part of humanising the tainted landscape is to acknowledge that it is the location that some people call home. These areas belong to someone and people must, in turn, belong to the area (Suttles, 1968). Too often inaccurate associations are made between the people who inhabit an area and the supposed features of that area. This association feeds into the belief that areas are 'dangerous' because 'dangerous people' may live there, or conversely that people are 'dangerous' because they are from a 'dangerous place'. It is within these communities that a different social order and hierarchical organisation becomes apparent. It is usually, however, marked as being quite interstitial or peripheral.

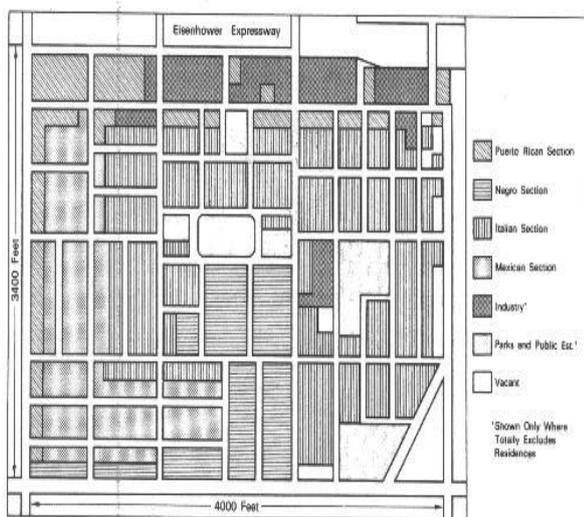
Suttles (1968) explores the ordered segmentation of the Addams area in Chicago through ethnic solidarity and territorial claims. The maps illustrated in his ethnographic study of neighbourhood structure divulge real and absolute geographies of the Addams area as a residential location distinct in urban space (see Map 3-4) where many individuals from various ethnicities cohabit (see Map 3-5). These maps do not explicitly present experiential information. Rather, they provide illustrations of urban location and generalised ethnic composition of the community. Suttles also produced a map of land use and community features (see Map 3-6) to demonstrate geographical characteristics of the Addams area. This map offers key information on how the community is ethnically divided by these features. However, this division of ethnic space

⁶ Gans (1990) emphasised the unusual power behind such moralistic terms. They serve as acceptable vernaculars of ‘undeserving poor’, except they hide racist attitudes and obscure harmful policies implemented in the area.

implicitly demonstrates how the area is organised and controlled. As Suttles states, ‘[a]n essential condition to the provincialism of the Addams area is some control over land usage and population movements. This control, however, need not extend over vast areas because of the segmental structure of the neighbourhood’ (1968: 224). Thus, the land features in addition to the ethnic territorial boundaries, create microcosms of space that regulate themselves according to homogenous populations. As long as the ethnic boundaries remain, order is easily found in the space. Or, perhaps more succinctly, Suttles’ maps communicate the metaphor of order through its concise demarcation of space by ethnicity and territorial land use.

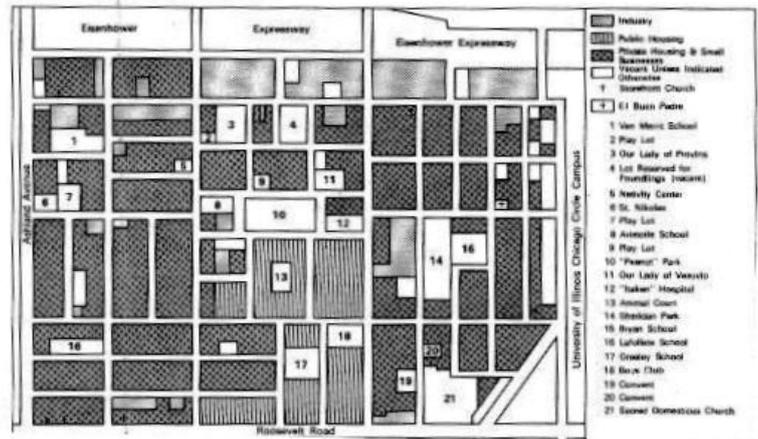


Map 3 – 4: Neighbourhoods Adjacent to the Addams Area (“Taylor Street”). This map illustrates the general location of the Addams area in Chicago. This map not only provides geographical features such as streets and landmark locations, but it also shades in areas according to ethnic dominance in particular areas along with slang names associated with each. (Suttles, 1968: 14)



Map 3 – 5: Ethnic Sections as Defined by Local Residents. This map depicts the breakdown of the community by offering an ethnic layout. Suttles further analyses the ethnic territorial boundaries in Peanut and Sheridan public parks on pages 57 and 114 respectively. (Suttles, 1968: 17)

Map 3 – 6: Significant Features within the Addams Area. Similar to Map 3-5, this map offers the same ‘view’ of the geographical location except he shades and labels the blocks according to their community use and function. (Suttles, 1968:19)



For Suttles, mapping the area of his research served a very specific function and that was to help *humanise* those who reside in these areas. These maps are used in a very responsible way to help contribute to the knowledge imparted to its readers help tell some of their stories by indicating the ethnic and racial distributions that are a part of their day-to-day lives. They are meticulously labelled and focused in such as way as to hold the focus and attention of the reader to a specific factor to be extrapolated. Here we can appreciate the strategic use of maps to help inform spatial knowledge, keeping the focus perfunctory to the research narrated.

Whyte and Suttles describe these areas as separate from mainstream life and on the outer most fringe of society, interactively and metaphorically. Those individuals who live on the outside are also notably separated from those who live on the inside (see also Becker, 1963; Matza, 1969). Always juxtaposed to a mainstream social core, these areas are viewed as potential spaces where anything could happen outside of agreed social law and organisation. Mental maps develop for these peripheral areas, with cognitive consideration of cultural and moral ideologies of the dominant perspective of a place incapable of living up to the conventional standards of social expectation (Suttles, 1968). The marginalisation of these places is not due to their inability to socially organise themselves in a coherent way. Rather, their alienation results from their inability and failure to engage with the structure of the society around it (Whyte, 1981:273).

Even with sympathetic curiosity, individuals residing in these spaces are sub-culturally different and worthy of scrutiny. The lens of social science investigation looks towards them for interesting new research because they are seen as social ‘others’. They are spectacles examined for potential differences in cultural and moral rule. The stark differences between the white middle-class and the impoverished masses are emphasised rather than the social similarities of the inhabitants. Liebow (1963: 230) contends that the

white middle class holds the power to assist in the correction of a sub-society seen as dysfunctional. While the intention is genuine in the desire to breathe new life into an apparently exhausted community, to what end will salvation lead to a better life for those residents? Particularly evident is the cruel process of ‘weeding out’ those who deserve better from those who do not; those who are granted positive status by measurement of their perceived ability to adapt to middle-class standards.

There are those, for example, who say that what we want to do is eliminate poverty from our national life, but these same people throw their hands up in horror when it is suggested that a guaranteed annual wage would go a long way toward doing just that. Others are more concerned with life styles than with poverty per se. They would use the poverty program to give money, advice, and enrichment programs to those among the poor who are willing to adopt (what are presumed to be peculiarly) middle-class styles of behaviour, and thereby reduce crime, child neglect, etc. Still others would use the poverty program as a carrot-and-stick device to sort out the deserving and nondeserving poor, giving handouts to one group, making war on the other. (Liebow, 1963: 227)

Symbolically understanding both the similarities and the disparities between differences in communities means appreciating different gauges of tolerance. Again, it must be appreciated that even though a place may look broken it does not mean that it is broken (Duneier, 2000:315).

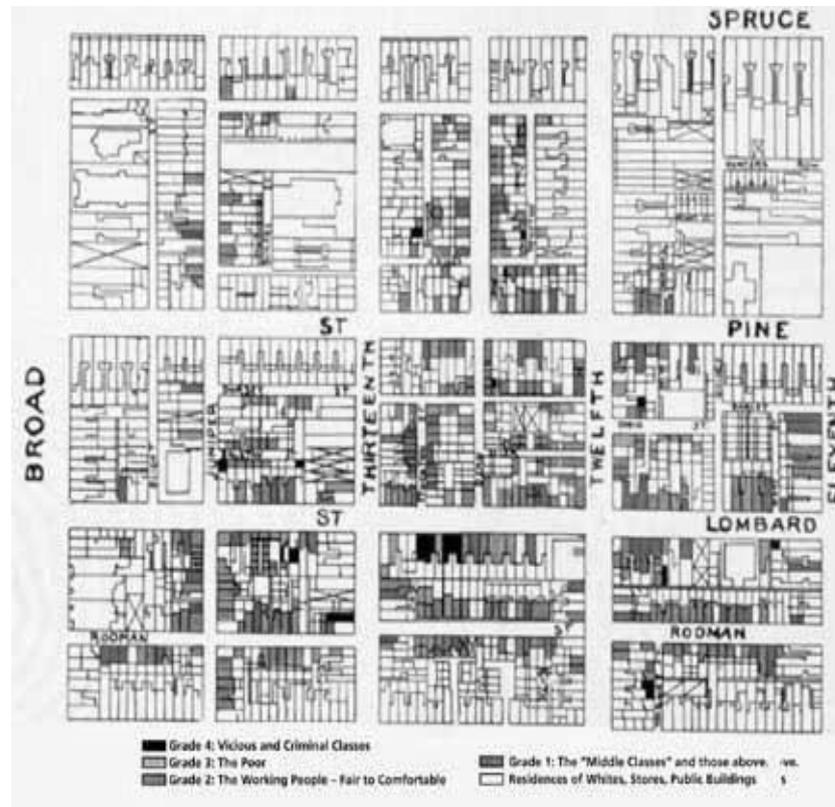
However, Whyte’s (1981) and Suttles’ (1968) ethnographies are also about race and ethnicity. Though not overtly or rigorously pursued as a factor in the spatial segregation and alienation of the social structure, it is a factor nonetheless worth discussing in terms of cartographic representation. Whyte reported on the representations of an Italian ‘slum’, emphasising factors such as population density and building dilapidation that constitute it as a slum. Suttles likewise focused on factors such as public housing and areas of industry in ethnically segmented territories. Neither greatly explored the marginality of their research population in terms of racial and ethnic prejudice and inequality. Suttles’ maps especially display an immediate visual representation of ethnic-others in relationship to an area riddled with social ills and deviance. There are no honest discussions about the absence of Caucasian Americans in this area of Chicago nearly a century after the first major wave of immigration into the city. The ease with which Suttles’ map situates ethnic territories reinforces the idea that ethnicity is easily delineated and situated in space. Suttles informs his readers that the map of ethnic sections was constructed with the assistance of local residents, though he never mentioned how the categories were produced or if they were substantiated. The birds-eye view of the map also communicates an image of coherence amongst ethnic lines, as if each homogenous segment was automatically unified. Furthermore, Suttles illustrative ethnic maps along with Whyte’s spatial descriptions of an Italian

neighbourhood bolster beliefs and assumptions that immigrants are linked with urban social problems. The delineation of ethnic or racial other, such as immigrants, and social problems contribute to a 'moral geography' (Winlow, 2006) that communicates its claims through the maps they produce.

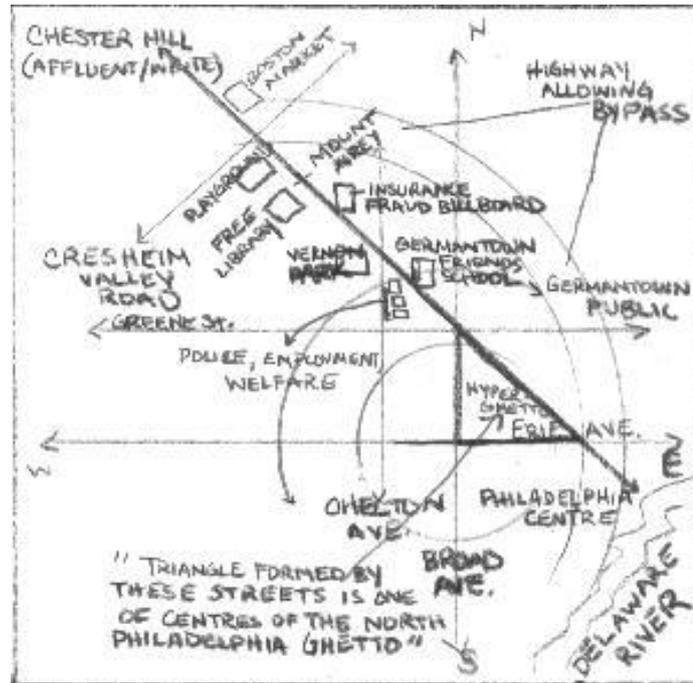
Contemporary urban ethnographies in the United States still focus on ethnic immigration, particularly Muslim and Hispanic populations, and the social problems they experience. However, black Americans continue to experience significant geographic separation in America. Morrill and Donaldson eloquently stated in their essay more than 30 years ago, '[a] distinction of colour need not, in theory, be of such overwhelming concern, but the realities of history and of human prejudice and behaviour have made it so' (1975:15). They rightly contend that the history of Black-American geographic movement post-Reconstruction and their concentrated settlement in urban ghettos realistically transpired due to 'deep-seated fears and prejudices' along with political, economic, and social inequality (*ibid.*: 35). Confronting maps of racial segregation begins with confronting the history that created the spatial separation. Two very important maps in criminology do just that.

W.E.B. DuBois' (1899) *Philadelphia Negro* premiered as the first American ethnography of its kind (Hanson, 2010) to critically assess 'the problem of black people' in urban space. DuBois researched the inner-city black ghetto of Philadelphia in the hope of discovering why that area and its population experienced elevated levels of social problems and criminal activity. His work reflects the inspiration he drew from English proto-ethnographer, Charles Booth (cf. Chapter 2), especially noticeable in his map of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward (see Map 3-7). To make sense of the community problems, DuBois first decided to make sense of the place by ordering the space according to arbitrary guidelines. Like Booth, DuBois explored the residential space to detail and categorise his observation on a grid map of the neighbourhood. He devised a colour-shade system to highlight his economic assessment from house to house, including a category stressing the location of those individuals he considered 'vicious or criminal'. This economic and moral assessment of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward serves to locate, in absolute terms, the area DuBois investigated to report his general observations from the field. Though on one hand, this economic and morally descriptive map reveals a neighbourhood inundated with poverty, on the other it allows for a fair representation of residents by illustrating that a relative few are observed as 'vicious or criminal'. Moreover, his maps accompanied large bodies of text attempting to communicate the

experience of hardship, prejudice, and inequality. With his unique blend of methods, DuBois' map is another example of an objective reality situated through subjective experience.



Map 3 – 7: DuBois' Map of Philadelphia's Seventh Ward, c. 1899. Borrowing from Booth's mapping template in London, DuBois provides a residential grid categorising the households according to a moral and economic assessments.



Map 3 – 8: Constructed Mental Map of Germantown Avenue. A mental map constructed from Anderson’s description of the 8.5 mile journey down Germantown Avenue (pgs 15-34), including some of the specific locations mentioned in his account. Source: Hanson (2009), Unpublished

Conceptually akin to DuBois’ *Philadelphia Negro* is Anderson’s *Code of the Street*. Written nearly a century after DuBois’ publication, Anderson (1999) explored an inner-city Black-American neighbourhood in Philadelphia to discover the root of social problems afflicting the community. Unlike DuBois, however, Anderson decided to omit illustrative maps of the Germantown area. Instead, he invests his entire opening chapter on the description of the area and its vicinity in north Philadelphia. His detailed description beginning with the white, affluent area of Chester Hill, down Germantown Avenue into the centre of Philadelphia, creates a vivid mental map of his research area (see Map 3-8). Even though the mental map may not perfectly mirror the actual geographical space, it is enough to appreciate the spatial situation of Germantown within the larger city, the areas it borders, and the gritty descriptions as to why many may opt to travel from downtown Philadelphia to Chester Hill via the highway instead of the direct route down Germantown Avenue. By providing a mental map describing the area and its vicinity, he creates a setting for his ethnographic revelations as an interstitial place, one laying in a crevice just outside the city centre. He calls the triangular area a ‘hyper ghetto’, a place of concentrated ghetto poverty that is isolated from mainstream America. His description of this area ends with the highway, built to allow travellers to by-pass this

area and ignore its residents and their problems. One can only speculate that his omission of an actual illustrative map of the area is a metaphor for omitting the highway as a by-pass. Perhaps taking his reader along with him down Germantown Avenue allows for an entrance into the world Anderson wish disclose. As such, a map would allow for a symbolic by-pass of this journey, ignoring the rich description of this poor ghetto area.

This brief description of some of the key maps presented in a few core criminological ethnographies as a response to the ‘other’, spatial segregation, and social problems in the urban American landscape serves to highlight a number of key issues. Firstly, spaces of deviance and social problems are mapped in many different ways. The five ethnographic authors examined in this chapter differ in their cartographic presentation of the spaces they investigate, each illustrating how presentations of visual and verbally described maps offer different dynamics to the narratives. Shaw chose to include full city maps of Chicago, pinpointing the residential locations of officially recorded delinquents and criminals to emphasis the environments that moulded Stanley. His accompanying spatial descriptions of these areas, the spaces of those living in squalor and moral destitution, stigmatises all residing there. His narrative imparts an influential guide to distinguish the ‘bad’ neighbourhoods from the ‘normal’ neighbourhoods, complete with a map with these select spaces bordered to remove any doubt about their location. Whyte chose a different approach in communicating the geography of his neighbourhood to deflect any stigma attachment to his place of study. Without a map and an absolute description to disclose the location of his study, he preserved a humanising approach in his narrative and his research subjects. The blurred mental map he produced helps the reader construct enough information to emphasis the importance of the various structures of the Italian neighbourhood. Suttles, on the other hand, offers several detailed maps of the location of the “Addams Area” and the sections within the neighbourhood based on ethnic boundaries. His maps do not inherently express moral judgments about the area. Rather, they reinforce the importance of group governance based on territorial pride and protection. The human qualities he contributes to his ethnographic narrative include neighbourhood input on the ethnic borders of the area as well as the lived activities and experiences that occur there, such as where local children play and socialise. DuBois’ residential grid of the Seventh Ward in Philadelphia provides a mixed reading of moral assessment. Although his maps go as far as to literally blacken the buildings that house the ‘vicious and criminal classes’, they also reveal a neighbourhood mostly inhabited by individuals of various economic backgrounds trying

to live an honest life. A single map communicates a neighbourhood laden with social problems even if the majority of its residents are law abiding. Finally, Anderson's descriptive verbal map of Germantown enlightens the reader about a desperate area most would rather avoid. He humanises its residents by not allowing a simple by-pass of the area confronting various social problems.

This case study demonstrates how maps have the ability to stigmatise and humanise by using five examples of mapping 'others' in segregated communities. It is not a matter of exposing the absolute maps (like Suttles and DuBois) or ambiguous mental maps (like Whyte and Anderson) of the investigated areas. Instead, it is a way to effectively cultivate a knowledge about who these 'others' are, where they are located, and an interpretation of their daily realities. The maps embed themselves in the collective mental map of social problems and spatial segregation. It demonstrates that cognitive maps and moral proclivity influence the communication of the geographical 'other'. When communicating information about others with maps, given the potential of creating dehumanising and adverse perspectives, responsible and ethical decision-making is a "best practice" in the formation of a critical cartographic criminology.

Finally, this section begins to address the various disparities in the social structure of power relations. Ethnographies explored here emphasise the 'other' through their intention of studying these spaces. It fulfils a curiosity about neighbourhoods. It reveals its residents living different lifestyles and potentially experiencing different problems than the ethnographers and its audience. Narratives about 'them' reinforce their difference. Maps of 'their' neighbourhoods and spaces illustrate their geographical dissimilarity, acting as a sort of window to gaze upon a reality different from the white middle-class. Whether created through statistical facts or experiential descriptions, the ethnographic maps of the 'other' express a segregated estrangement in society.

3.3 Case Study 2 - Mapping sex offenders: Locating potential danger in American neighbourhoods

Barbaric punishments like sex offender zoning restrictions are driven by fear, not pragmatism (Bagley 2008:1392).

This second case study reviews maps created with government ran websites that

track residential locations of registered sex offenders and offers detailed information about their prior convictions. For the purpose of this thesis, using these maps as a case study builds on the role of *intentionality* and *consequence* in the spatial structuring of our society. Similar to maps reviewed in the first case study in this chapter, these maps also carry the potential of communicating inaccurate perceptions of space and people when it is not accompanied with appropriate context.

Surprisingly little criminological literature investigates the geographies and mapping of registered sexual offenders and predators. This omission is two-fold. First, maps of sexual offenders' residence in the United States are perhaps the most accessible crime-related maps available to the everyday citizen. Second, maps of sexual offenders provide a very different narrative about the relationship or links between space and crime than what is typically offered. These maps challenge conventional knowledge of spatial links of crime while complimenting a growing body of geographically-informed criminology.

Legislative acts, such as Megan's Law and Dru's Law⁷, were implemented with the intention of preventing future occurrences of sexual assaults and violence. Consequently, the United States Department of Justice now requires the registering of convicted sexual offenders and predators upon their release from state incarceration or diversion programmes. According to the Dru Sjodin National Sex Offender Public Website (NSOPW), anyone is permitted to map 'the presence or location of offenders who, in most cases, have been convicted of sexually violent offences against adults and children and certain sexual contact with other crimes against victims who are minors'. These acts of legislation arose out of very tragic events with the hope that an informed public awareness of previously convicted and released sexual offenders will diminish future tragedies. However, very little academic research is available to support these attempts to map sex offenders.

While the U.S. Department of Justice regulates national guidelines, each state

⁷ The 1994 Jacob Wetterling Act was the first to require each State to register sex offenders with minors as victims. In 1996, President Clinton signed into legislation Megan's Law which addresses sex offenders as well as sexual molesters. This act not only required the continued registration of sex offenders with the state but also to publicly disclose information regarding the location of known sex offenders. In 2006, President Bush signed "Dru's Law" which hosted a national registry of sexual offenders to allow public access to information about sex offenders throughout the country. There are other legislative contributions but Megan's Law and Dru's Law are the significant cases leading to contemporary sexual offender mapping.

operates individual websites and registries of sexual offenders⁸. How the information is presented in map- or table-form is left to the discretion of the State's law enforcement agency. The offender information offered by each state will vary in regards to additional spatial locations, such as their place of employment or their attendance in school. Some States even offer the vehicle information for registered offenders. In addition to the information provided to the public, state legislation determines the regulations and conditions in which convicted and released sexual offenders must abide. For example, individual States restrict the proximity of offender residences to areas where children assemble, including schools, playgrounds, or day care centres.

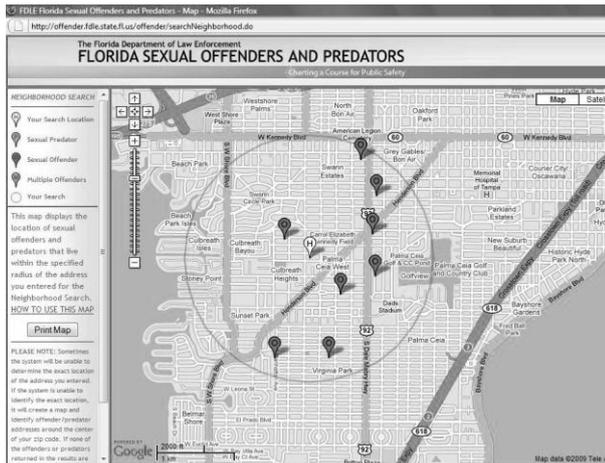
For the sake of brevity, this example focuses primarily on the State of Florida. Florida is chosen for several reasons. First, Florida was the first State in the nation to list their sexual offender registry on the internet. (In accordance to the 1997 Florida Public Safety Information Act (PSIA), the Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) is required by law to provide sexual offender information online). Second, Florida is known for especially restrictive laws governing sexual offenders⁹. Finally, Florida is selected due to recent news stories causing public outrage over residential locations of sexual offenders.

Identifying sex offenders in Florida is a relatively straight forward process on the Florida Department of Law Enforcement website. The maps are created by an automated cartographic system, as developed by the FDLE, which plots sex offenders' location in relation to a specific radius of any entered street address. The map provides information on where sex offenders live; if there are multiple sex offenders living at a particular address; the sex offender status as either offender or predator; their convicted offence; and specific information to confirm identity (such as height, weight, scars, and tattoos). The FDLE compiles this information based on received reports from the Florida Department of Corrections, the Florida Department of Highway Safety and Motor Vehicles, and law enforcement officials.

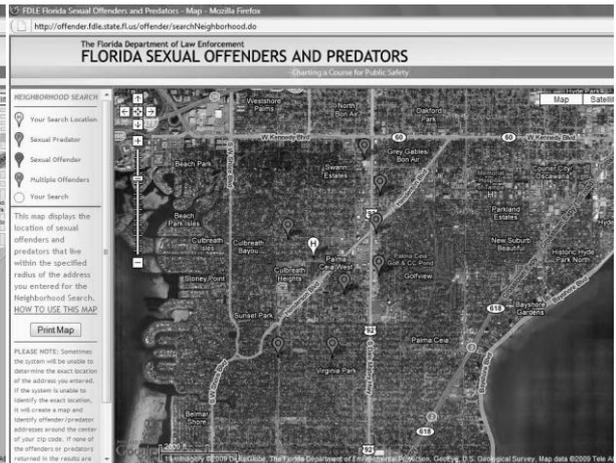
⁸ Other websites offer mapping services as well. For example, MapSexOffenders.com is a privately owned and operated website which believes that 'the sex offender registries are difficult to find and use'. Not only do they mention in their statement of purpose that each sex offender is not only mapped to where you can 'view the offender, address, and other information' but also 'the map also links to the state registry for additional information such as the vehicles offenders drive and their convictions.' Finally, they note that '[p]arents concerned about their neighbourhood or those who are moving can use this free service to make sure they are in a safe neighborhood.'

⁹ There are several states and cities noted for their harsh regulations. Dyersville in Iowa, for example, completely prohibits sexual offenders from living anywhere within city limits. However, the entire state of Florida features some of the strictest laws for sexual offenders. For example, some of the beach communities, for which Florida is known, prohibit sexual offenders from renting or buying property within 2500 feet from the beach.

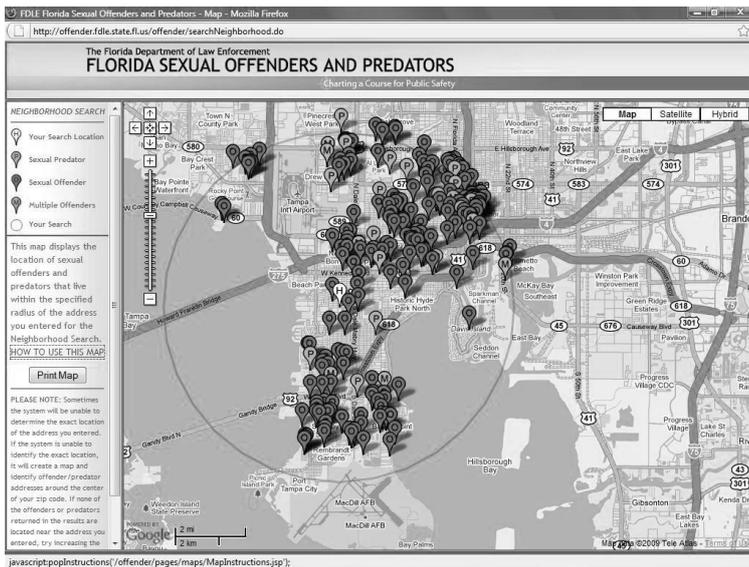
The automated maps clearly provide and mark the sex offenders' residences, depending on the radius of the zone requested and desired visual perspective. For example, Map 3-9 through Map 3-12 depicts residences of sex offenders, where 'H' marks the residential address used for the example. This residential address provides a fantastic point of investigation since the house is located in an older, prominent residential zone in Tampa, Florida, that is near many schools and churches, with four notable schools within one mile. Map 3-9 shows a grid-map of the one-mile radius zone from the selected home location. Within this zone, a relatively low number of sex offenders reside, with their place of residence clearly marked on the map. Map 3-10 illustrates the same mapping guidelines, except it also provides a satellite view of the area, giving the option of zooming in close enough to virtually view the actual place of residence. Taking a broader view of sex offender residency, Map 3-11 illustrates sex offenders' residency within a five-mile radius of the same residence address. In this smaller-scale grid map, the clustering of sexual offenders' residency becomes even more apparent. Further, there is a clustering of areas that house multiple offenders in a single household (including those housing sexual predators). The distribution of their residence is not equitable across the city space. This is for a variety of reasons, as will be explored below. Finally, Map 3-12 demonstrates how the interactive automated map provides more detailed information about registered sexual offenders. By clicking on any of the markers on the map, a pop-up window appears with a photograph of the sexual offender/predator, their status as offender or predator, and their street address. Further clicking on their name opens another window providing general public information such as conviction details and physical traits.



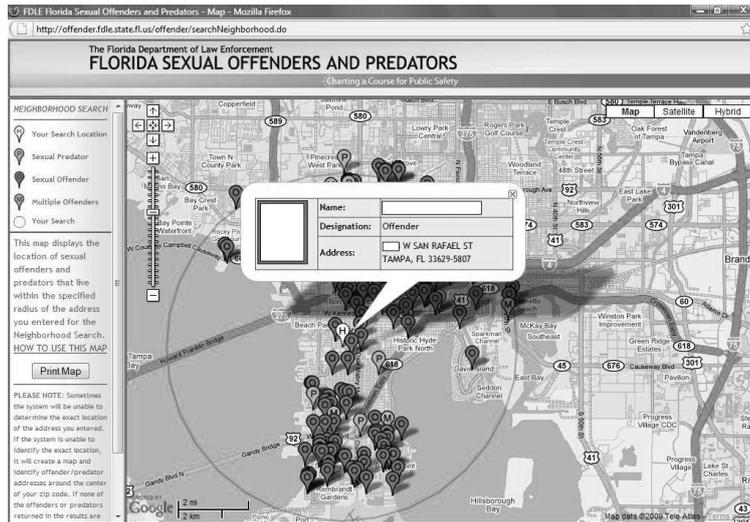
Map 3 - 9: Grid Map of registered Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators within a mile radius of a home address. This view provides the location of all registered within the immediate vicinity. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>



Map 3 - 10: Satellite Image of registered Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators within a mile radius of a home address. Offers the same information provided in Map 3-9 except while viewing this map, it is possible to zoom in on the individual residences to view a satellite image of the registered sex offender's residence. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>

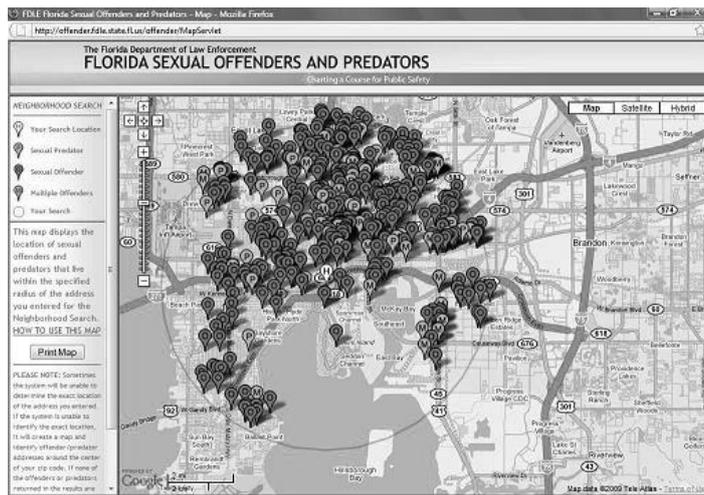


Map 3 - 11: Grid Map of registered Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators within a 5 mile radius of a home address. This view provides the location of all registered in greater central Tampa area. By viewing a smaller scale map of registered sexual offenders and predators, one can observe the general distribution of their residences across the central part of the city. This view, for example, demonstrates how more registered sexual offenders live along the major highways in the segregated areas of the city. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>

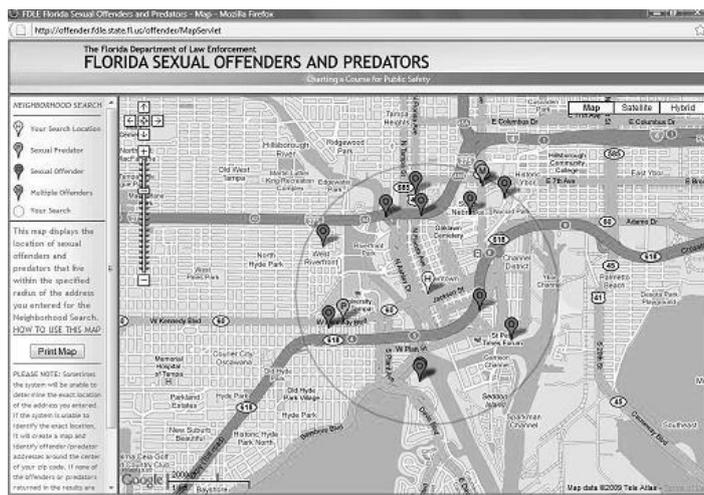


Map 3 - 12: Interactive View of Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators. This view allows for further details on the registered offenders within the area, complete with a photograph, a name, a residential address, and offence classification. Clicking on the name opens a new webpage that provides the entire arrest record including date of the event, the age if the victim was a minor, the sexual act committed, and the time served. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>

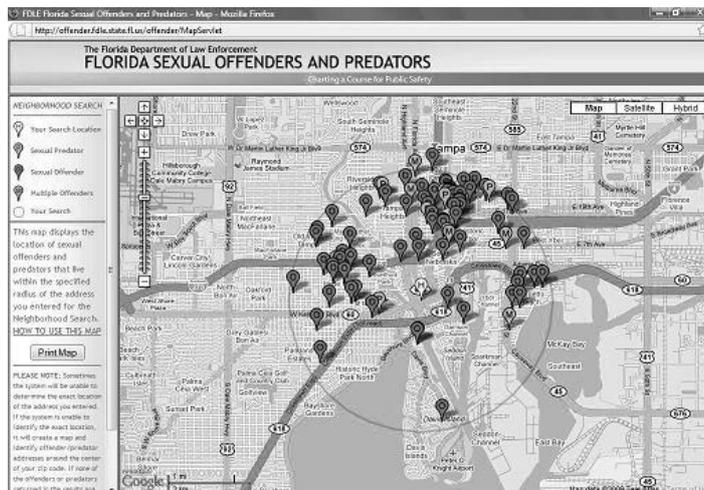
The next collection of maps provides the same information except the ‘home’ address entered is the Tampa Police Department Headquarters in Downtown Tampa. Although there are a few overlapping sections, especially in the smaller scaled map, these maps reveal a different view of the distribution of sex offenders. Map 3-13 illustrates a map comparable to Map 3-12, offering a general view of the residential locations of registered sexual offenders. However, it is not until a larger-scaled map is configured that a new pattern emerges for the distribution of sexual offenders in the immediate vicinity of Downtown Tampa (see Map 3-14). In this general view, most of the tagged sex offenders in this area are located (pinned) alongside Interstate-275 and the cross-town expressway. Further investigation of information provided on the digital map uncovers the fact that these offenders are homeless and living under the bridges in the city. A slightly smaller scale map of the same location (see Map 3-15) depicts more registered offenders living as transients or in the poorer areas alongside the interstate and expressway. By constructing a series of maps using two distinct locations, (a residential location in a middle class neighbourhood and a downtown commercial/industrial zone), a heuristic or mental map of the general areas where sexual offenders and predators reside begins to form. Not only are these maps detailed enough to inform the public of specific residences of potential danger, they also outline the general areas of the city in which sex offenders congregate as a result of homelessness.



Map 3 – 13: Grid Map of registered Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators within a 5 mile radius of the Downtown Tampa Police Department. This map, similar to Map 3-12, offers a smaller scale view of the sexual offenders residing in and around the Downtown Tampa area. Though not easily inferred, larger clusters of pinned registered offenders are residing in area along major highways and interstates. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>



Map 3 – 14: Grid Map of registered Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators within a one mile radius of the Downtown Tampa Police Department. A larger scale map of the Downtown Tampa area reveals a clearer image of sexual offenders residing alongside the interstate. Upon further investigation it is discovered that some of these individuals are not actually housed but sleeping rough under the bridges. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>



Map 3 – 15: Grid Map of registered Florida Sexual Offenders and Predators within a 2 mile radius of the Downtown Tampa Police Department. A slightly larger scale map than Map 3-14, this view also clear shows sexual offenders residences clustered in poorer areas along the interstate. More of the tagged offenders in this map view are living as transients under bridges or around abandoned commercial or industrial areas. Source: FDLE Website, <http://offender.fdle.state.fl.us>

Quickly and easily created, requiring only internet access and a street address¹⁰, these maps of sex offenders residential location are probably the most accessible and

¹⁰ The FDLE website also gives the option of mapping a sex offender by name alone. However, the vast amount of interest in mapping sexual offenders is for community or neighbourhood awareness.

interactive ‘crime’ maps available to the general public. However, this data comes at a cost.

Laypersons constructing these maps are visually determining the degree of safety and security in their own neighbourhoods (or other places of some significance to the user). There are two tales being told on the same side of the coin. On one hand, users can pinpoint the residential locations of registered sex offenders in relations to a particular significant addressed (such as their home). With each point, they can explore further in this interactive program the nature of the offender by reading conviction details and deciding the level of danger that individual poses. On the other hand, the spaces/streets/blocks without pins indicating residency of a registered sex offender can create a false sense of security. Just because a pin is not on the map, it does not mean a sex offender does not reside in that area. The absence of this type of context to accompany the map is irresponsible. Clutters of pins do not equate to spaces one should fear just as the absence of pins do not equate to safe spaces.

The creation of the various legislation and the messages displayed on the websites suggests that the function of these maps, as provided by governmental institutions for the general public, is to promote public awareness and child safety. Essentially, the function of these automated maps is purely informative, serving to reveal to the public the residential locations of sex offenders and predators. It is a social process of acknowledging these individuals as potential dangers to child welfare, regardless of their conviction or their likelihood of recidivism, and to map the potential risk of child endangerment. Indeed, according to the FDLE online policy, the maps are purely informative and not proposed for neighbourhood risk assessment:

The placement of information about an offender in this database is not intended to indicate that any judgment has been made about the level of risk a particular offender may present to others. This information is made available to assist interested persons in forming their own risk assessments based on the offender’s personal circumstances and conviction history.

However, if we step back from this language of risk and resource management, these maps are also latent warnings about our justice system. Public exposure and denial of anonymity is never granted to these types of offenders. It shows that completing sentenced prison time or rehabilitative programmes are not the end of repaying their societal debt. Regardless of their individual circumstances, their ‘label’ and spatial

location will always be tracked by criminal justice officials and the public at large.

Given the punitive nature of residential regulations for sexual offenders and the uncomplicated accessibility of sex offender maps, it is astonishing that there are relatively few studies that investigate the geographies of released sexual offenders. It is also amazing that little empirical research assists in the policy development and implication of managing these individuals. The legislation that regulates and restricts residential and employment placement of sex offenders are based on advocacy responses to very tragic occurrences. As such, this body of legislation is formed primarily from fear not fact, for retribution not treatment. The mapping of sexual offenders and the regulations that ground them to specific locations illustrates certain injustices embedded within the social structure. Unlike the Chicago School research which suggests a certain degree of environmental determinism, these maps demonstrate how legislation displaces individuals into particular neighbourhoods, purposely marking them for social exclusion and hardship.

Few scholarly studies attempt to explore spatial patterns of sexual offending, such as rape. One early investigation of rape patterns reported a higher frequency of rape occurring in more rural and isolated sections than in densely populated areas (Svalastoga, 1962). Other scholars attempted to create geographical profiles of rape, particular serial rape. In their geographical investigations of a serial rapist, Warren et al (1998) suggests a buffer zone of sexual offending where the spaces of the attack will fall into some pattern based on the offender(s)'s anchor locations, such as his residence or place of employment. Using predictive patterns based on the geography of the recorded sexual offences, they drew circles (with a relatively large radius) to indicate where the offender might reside based on predicted travel patterns. Although their offender did fall within their predicted spaces, their results yielded little statistical significance when processed through geographic predictive pattern equations. Similar conclusions were reached in Stangeland's (2005) search for a serial rapist using theories of geographic profiling. Drawing on environmental and geographical theories of crime, Stangeland plotted the first twenty attacks of a serial rape on a map from which prediction lines are drawn. These circles suggest that the offender's 'awareness space' (spaces he is familiar with) and 'activity space' (anchors or places of employment or leisure) are located within these drawn circles. Such an activity, as the author notes, is relatively fruitless in the apprehension of the sexual offender since it encompasses roughly 100,000 inhabitants and thus is not precise enough to identify specific perpetrators (*ibid.*: 468). Stangeland

also cites mobility and transportation as a hindrance in narrowing in on a parameter of offending. If serial rapists exemplify sexual predators in their methodical commission of attacks, then some of the literature investigating their spatial patterns can not account for any geographical zoning of their offences.

With little quality research available on geographies of sexual attacks, policy development for the treatment and management of convicted sexual offenders comes into question, searching for conceptual basis for implemented decisions. Most policies based on the management of sexual offenders are promoted for the protection of children and applied to all offenders, regardless of crime severity or age of their victim. Absurd and seemingly uninformed research is emerging about new programmes to protect young children from being victims of sexual crime. For example, Nelson and Baldwin propose community neighbourhood mapping (CNM), 'as a tool and strategy for neighbourhoods to protect their children and young people from sexual crimes.' This concept 'sees the connections between people and environment and is based on values of social inclusion' (2002:215). However, nowhere in this proposal does their conceptual plan address sexual assaults of minors by family members or members of the community. Their proposed initiative completely ignores the fact that not all sexual assaults are committed by complete strangers. In fact, literature available on sexual assaults suggests otherwise. Tekle-Johnson (2009) proposes that fewer than 10 percent of child sex abuse cases are stranger-related, with the remaining 90 percent of this abuse committed by family members and acquaintances of children that often goes undetected or reported. Policies that strive for the isolation and geographical marginality of convicted sexual offenders are banishing a small percentage of the perpetrators, leaving a larger percentage of offenders within spaces believed to be marginally safer from sexual attacks.

Regardless of research findings, strict restrictions and buffer zones for sex-offender residency are becoming harsher in the United States. Maps of sex-offender residency may look very different in several years as more released sex offenders are regulated by new restrictions pushing them further away from spaces where children congregate. This banishment from "safe zones" and "areas of decency" leaves few options for sex offenders in terms of residential possibilities. Social conflict is increasing in rural neighbourhoods that increasingly have to deal with strangers characterised as 'shady characters, sex offenders, people out of prison... the undesirables' entering their community (Clope, 1996:441). These harsh buffer zone measures may in fact be counterproductive. Assuming the rationale behind keeping sexual offenders away from

areas where children congregate is to minimize the potential risk of recidivism, this practice has little support. Levenson and Cotter (2002) published their review of recidivism factors for sex-offenders, focusing primarily on research published by Colorado's Department of Public Safety and Minnesota's Department of Corrections. They suggest that residence location is not a factor in recidivism and that, at times, re-offending sex offenders will travel outside of their communities to seek a victim without being recognised. Bagley supports this finding by suggesting that:

Sex offender zoning schemes fail to protect children because dangerous offenders are permitted in restricted areas for all purposes other than residence and employment, yet parents believe their children are in a zone of safety. The zone of safety fails to account for convicted offenders experiencing increased stress and never-convicted family and friends who molest. Children are still exposed to both these risks, even within restricted areas, and may be less protected because parents believe their kids are safe (2008: 1391).

When academic research conflicts with policy restrictions, it becomes difficult to know how these legislative regulations were determined. Further complicating the housing problems faced by registered sex offenders are the informal regulations that shape their geographic location. In addition to following the restrictions applied to them by the State, they negotiate their locations based on proximity to where they are able to find employment and landlords willing to rent to registered sex offenders. Many of the locations marked as a multiple offender residence (M) are apartment complexes that accept convicted sex offenders as tenants. This tolerance also contributes to some of the clumping of sex offenders on these maps. One Florida businessman, for example, recently made news due to the controversy he caused by running a "Habitat for Sex Offenders" website that advertised a sex offender friendly house-hunting service (HousingforSexOffenders.com). His endeavour, however, has been met with a mix of criticism and rage by those living near the properties he rents exclusively to registered sex offenders (Rodriguez, 2009). Even with resistance, this type of landlord housing model creates enclaves of sex-offender residency.

Another residential reality of sex offenders is their inability to find a place of residency, forcing them to reside in motels or live as transients near and around highways and bridges (Zarrella and Oppman, 2007). On the FDLE website, there were over a hundred sex offenders (some predators) listed as either 'transient' or 'absconded'. This reality is depicted in Map 3-14 and Map 3-15, illustrating the last known locations of transient sex offenders in Downtown Tampa. Levenson and Cotter (2005) argue that public safety may be jeopardised with the strict regulations and inability to obtain

suitable employment and residence.

However, concerns have been raised that such mandates might exacerbate the shortage of housing options for sex offenders and force them to move to rural areas where they would be increasingly isolated with few employment and treatment options.... In some urban areas, offenders might be forced to cluster in high-crime neighbourhoods. Such restrictions can lead to homelessness and transience, which interfere with effective tracking, monitoring and close probationary supervision' (*ibid.*: 169).

They conclude by arguing that such social stressors can lead to re-offending.

The geographies of registered sexual offenders ultimately become a forced spatial order; offenders are sent to pre-determined, demarcated residential locations. They are forced into inner-city crevices already troubled with high levels of officially recorded street crimes, or they are displaced to more rural areas outside of the city. These restrictions do not reflect research on sexual offending. Instead, these restrictions reflect societal fears and thus may ultimately be counterproductive to the fundamental goal of preventing re-offending. Without words, automated maps accessible to the general public revealing the locations of known sexual offenders fuel fears of potential endangerment on one hand and create false impressions of safe areas on another.

This case study demonstrates how maps have the power to influence how a community views their safety more than any written document or statistic chart offering the same information. The ease of visually communicating residential locations of registered sex offenders may result in creating unnecessary fear in a neighbourhood housing prior offenders or create a false sense of security in neighbourhoods without a known registered sex offender residing there. A critical cartographic criminology should consider the ways in which maps will be used and the potential consequences they yield.

3.4 Contributions towards a Cartographic Criminology

Maps expose a diversity of realities and hierarchies extant in society. It is through their construction that a sense of spatial segregation and geographical 'other' forms in a visual message that potentially becomes more influential than words. If criminology aspires to appreciate the full dynamic of the social world presented in a map, it needs to begin questioning the mapmaking process and subsequent interpretive results. Maps are, after all, powerful illustrations that latently communicate more than is possibly intended. A social geography of criminology offers a way to further explore the spatial realities of crime. After all, crime is *social* in one way or another and learning to notice the benefits of cartographic critiques in maps takes the discipline to new levels.

This chapter provided a simple review of a social geography literature that aids in

criminology's pursuit of mapping social phenomena. By no means is the merging of the social geography and criminology literatures novel or exceptional. Instead, this integration between the two disciplinary literatures supplements some of the more recognised spatial perspectives in crime mapping. The conventional crime mapping literature prefers a simplistic view of reality over a more intricate view. Certainly by integrating additional literature from geography and cartography, criminology can shape a fuller understanding of deviance and the 'other' as depicted in maps. One way this is achieved is through deeper analysis of the geographical and social boundaries segregating people. In this way, the map becomes a story in and of itself, heightening spatial understanding of the social world.

Given the vast potential for extending a social geography of crime and deviance, an examination of two different areas in the field demonstrate how a social geography conceptually assists in cartographic critiques. The number of cartographic critiques possible stretches to the limits of criminological research. The two case studies investigated demonstrate the numerous possibilities in map interpretation and critique. Nothing presented here suggests that these assessments are the only achievable ones. Indeed, there are endless interpretations and assessments to make when reading a map.

The ethnographic mapping of 'others' offers a window into the dark recesses of the urban environment. In a way, this case study provides narratives that present a place alien to mainstream communities. It speaks of difference, socially and geographically. This discussion of difference perpetuates the marked differentiation. Sometimes it is done with a humanising goal in mind, explaining that there is order where one might think otherwise. They are narratives about 'others' and the mapping of 'others' creates the boundaries and borders of their existence.

The residential mapping of registered sexual offenders and predators presents 'others' as a warning of dangerous households amongst 'us'. Dangerous individuals may lurk in any neighbourhood. They could live anywhere and be a threat to family safety. Even though, as the literature suggests, released and registered sexual offenders only constitute a small fraction of offenders. Further, their residential address may not matter in assessing recidivism. Instead, mapping their homes is one way to appease a public searching for safety against nameless criminals. The maps illustrate where they are, indicating areas of possible child endangerment. Even if policy forces registered offenders to reside in areas away from 'normal' neighbourhoods, it still poses a threat to the safety of a community when automated maps indicate the known residents of an

offender. Ultimately, these maps demonstrate that penal incarceration or diversion programmes are not enough punishment for these offenders and they are never finished paying their dues to society.

These case studies exemplify how social structures are written into the messages of maps. They focus specifically on the structuring, socially and geographically, of 'others'. The structures of the others – be it poor, ethnic minorities, or individuals of various backgrounds guilty of criminal activity – are mapped to show where they are located. The map is the window to welcome witness to life outside of the conventional white middle-classes. Certainly this is a cynical view of the map. But cynicism does not discount the fact that the maps, at times, humanises the communities or individuals we wish to discover or explore. But it is without a doubt that the gaze is unidirectional. The maps are about 'them'. They are about 'their' locations. They are about 'their' differences. It is not written to satisfy any curiosity 'they' have about 'themselves'. Rather, it is all constructed for 'us', those fortunate enough to not have the focused dominant gaze of the 'other'. They assist in producing knowledge about a social 'other'. Finally, these maps inherently hold the power to reveal the realities of 'others'.

An overwhelming amount of cartographic interpretations are available for any maps viewed with a social geography framework. A cartographic criminology needs to appreciate the multitude of interpretations a map offers. It needs to understand that the creator of the map plays a grand role in how life is viewed, and how the dominant perspective on a social 'other' creates a border differentiating the two. Regardless of how a map is presented, visually or cognitively constructed, it influences the mental maps we all carry around about space. Without ever travelling to Philadelphia or Chicago, reading ethnographies and viewing their maps situates a powerful mental map. All maps produce consequences and shapes images of place.