

4. The Political Geography of State Crime and Violence: Reviewing Genocide and Resistance

Document the power of the map by tracing out the genealogy of power discourses, that is, how maps are strategies and relations of power-knowledge. These discourses establish the environment in which we as human beings act; sometimes opening up new possibilities and sometimes abridging them in what Foucault called the 'disciplining' of a population. As Harley observes: those who raise questions about how maps act as a power-knowledge in society...are not merely trying to rewrite history. They are also alerting us to the present. (Crampton, 2001: 243)

Maps are tools of power. Cartography owes much of its history and conceptual development to the State. If the State is understood as the governing force over any territory with a society, then the geography of the region, its borders, and the preservation of control and order is central to its survival. Territorial conflicts continue to be the largest proponent for advancements in mapping. Drawing lines defining the boundary of sovereign rule reinforce the law and order within the lines and also the limits of its protection defining the territory. Inherently these boundaries also represent the collective values of its residents who share common religions and cultures. Maps may also communicate knowledge of the political order and organisation.

This chapter explores cartographic possibilities utilising a political geography of state crime and violence. Since maps are powerful tools that aid in the development, preservation, and growth of the State, an analysis of the political messages within the map allows for a greater understanding of the roles that maps can play in governance. Criminology of the State is not as well developed as other literatures in the discipline. Critical criminologists, such as Richard Quinney (2000), argue that the state maintains order by being a coercive and repressive force. Analysing maps of state crime and political violence strongly provides support for this theory. Under the umbrella of the "Criminology of the State" are crimes of government and crimes of control. This chapter seeks to explore how maps can be used to depict both of these areas of interest, adding to what a critical cartographic criminology looks like.

An appraisal of the political geography literature will establish a template from which criminology can expand its knowledge of the spatial aspects of state crime and violence. To be clear, no map can ever touch the emotional repercussions of crime and violence. Maps cannot convey the true horrors of the aggressions and inhumanities suffered by society. A map can, however, expose the atrocities committed by the State and its agents. By focusing on the power of maps, this chapter offers another perspective of how criminology of the State can benefit from cartographic contributions.

Additionally, it contributes to the “best practices” for a critical cartographic criminology by exploring the ways State and political power are represented with maps.

4.1 A Political Geography of mapping State crime and violence

Much of the history of the last half millennium can be written as an account of the energy and violence required to ensure that the monopolistic claims of states be respected. Whether through appeals to the nation, the flag, or the national interest, states continue to deploy immense resources on an everyday basis to ensure that this monopoly is maintained. (R.B.J. Walker, 1990, as cited in Muir, 1997:66)

Political geography explores the spatial analysis of the State and the globe as it is linked with wider economics, culture, and social contexts. By and large it is the study of political power as exercised through the partitioning and control of space. Cartography has played an essential role in the history of political and economic power. Maps implicitly communicate and emphasise political and social order through symbols and signs that organise space, conveying shared collective values of a society (Jacob, 1996: 194-195). The political geography of the State investigates the historical formations of sovereignty, territorial ownership, and apparatuses of governance and control. Global political geography examines power struggles between sovereign nations through border conflict, nationalism, imperialism, colonial conquests, and war. Each of these areas contains broader constructs of power and governance, struggle and resistance. Power structures and control are also embedded in maps which are often equated as apparatuses of the State and of social control (Alexander, 2007). The geographical literature on the State and on global conflict is considered along with the larger theme of power.

Attempting to specifically define the State in a way that includes all connotations and intentions from centuries of Political geography literature and research is not viable. The State, it seems, has become a general idiom for a collective rule over established territory. This collective rule may be any type of governmental structure: theocracy, democracy, fascism, monarchy, dictatorship, or socialism – responsible for the functions and protection of its territory. The State commands a loyalty from its populace to the established political and social order. It works under the classification of national interest and, at times, resorts to small shows of violence to maintain its monopoly of power and control (Muir, 1997: 166). Importantly, the state is not always one of totalitarianism or unity. Southhall’s (1956) theory of the ‘Segmentary State’ posed that the State is ‘a society divided against itself, vertically in terms of class divisions, and horizontally by the limitations of both the divisions within the dominant class and of the state machinery

to implement that class's control' (as quoted in Mikesell, 1992:178). The modern state is based on capitalism, land ownership, and secular bureaucratic administrations. A natural penchant for competition, expansion, and knowledge is present in this established regime and therefore becomes the collective rule.

Political geography's theories of the State are well-developed and extensive. However, it is their engagement with maps and mapping projects that demonstrates the growth of state apparatus and control that remains of importance to this thesis. At a rudimentary level, maps document the boundaries and limits of the states geographical territory and thus the limit of its control. Maps encapsulate the many internal liabilities of the State such as its economic activity, administration, and its defence. Maps serve state interests by communicating relevant regional traits to central view and relegating those considered insignificant to oblivion (Kivelson, 1999: 84). Externally, maps relay the territorial boundaries of the States when its boundaries geographically shift to redefine the scope of the State's power (Camilleri and Falk, 1992: 238). Imperialism redefines the geographical boundaries of a state to encompass new territories that are assumed under the State's social, cultural, and economic contexts as well as its protection. Colonies created through imperial expansion are usually just new lines drawn on a map without much consideration for the people and the land they bound (Muir, 1997: 198). Maps are essential tools for the State in defining their territories, organising their internal political and economic order, and for contemplating external developments of national expansion while considering their obligations of protection from invasion.

Political geographers appreciate the value of the spatial ordering and control the state facilitates in the internal governance and promotion of its territory. However, a large part of state progress and control develops from international violence and conflict. The borders of a State's territory geographically, socially, and culturally define its subjects as those residing within its limits. Certainly the maps of a State's territory also become maps of military preoccupation with its gaze focused on their borders and those of its rivals and neighbours. Empire expansion and ultimately war have made advances in mapping imperative. Robinson (1979:97) argues that the periods of war have led to the greatest initiatives in cartographic advancements. Emphasis on mapmaking for international conflict and in waging wars contributed to the greater formation of political geography during the war, interwar and early post-war years (Chisholm, 1971:25-26; see also Taylor and Van der Wuste, 2004:90). Ultimately maps were needed to illustrate geographical features as well as features of the political order, such as power distributions as well as economic risks and opportunities for violence and peace.

Territorial borders and boundaries are central to literature both on the political geography of the State and global political geography. Wood (2000) extensively argued for the symbolic importance of border regions and international boundaries drawn on maps. Specifically, he argued that cartographically advanced tools (i.e. GIS) could assist in implementing positive political negotiations during times of bilateral disputes. Wood's implicit claim that borders and boundaries as drawn on maps were steeped with multiple meanings and symbolisms. State boundaries often have at least two interpretations of their meaning, depending on which side one sits. Boundaries influence economic and political networks, cultural flows, and environmental protection. Most important, perhaps, is that boundary lines and border disputes negotiate more than just physio-geographical location and results in expansion of culture, religion, and control of natural resources in acquired space. Usually, boundaries fought for are done so because of what the land has to offer to the states at war.

Inherent in political geography's study of state and global negotiations and conflict of space is dominance and power. Part of the map's power in constructing power-discourses comes from its ability to define and denote spaces according to the State's dominate position. The drawn positions of borders and boundaries are but one way States symbolise their control. Abandoning irrelevant regions of lawlessness and poverty due to state neglect is another way (Wood, 2000:74). Denoting regions as *terrae incognitae* to repudiate civilised, sovereign rule of the geographical territory is but one more (Cosgrove 2007:204). Yet, there are competing narratives, power-discourses, literatures, and maps. Even within a single State, a totalitarian view of a map is a myth. Many maps can be created to represent the varying perspectives of a single event and a single map can relay multiple narratives. The suggestion here is that a singular totalitarian view to map is not available for representation (Jameson, 1983:39). Political geography also acknowledges, on the other hand, that maps can represent spaces of resistance and the individual positionality within dislocated circuits (Crampton, 2001:236).

As in all other areas, political geography has problems that beset cartography. Unlike the other areas in geography, Political geography has less of an ambivalent attitude towards maps and cartography. There is a heightened awareness of the information provided by maps for military strategies and state governance. Maps, especially state-sponsored maps, are vehicles through which power and control can be maintained or enforced. Harvey (2001:112) noted that one abuse of cartography is that geographical information is presented 'in such a way as to prey upon fears and feed hostility'. Accidental and intended abuses of cartography, cartographic deception, or

cartographic distortion are a common problem in cartography (Monmonier, 1991). The misuse of maps has a very long history in political geography, primarily during periods of war, when parties of power use maps to pursue their objectives (de Blij, 2005:35). Map abstractions confound reality, often leaving potential for human suffering (Muehrcke, 1996:228) in the name of propaganda.

Propaganda mapping has played a significant role in attracting, promoting, and influencing opinions of governance and domination in times of power struggles. What counts as propaganda maps, however, is not very clear. Critical cartographers, such as Pickles (1992) and Perkins (2004), contend that maps communicate multiple messages and texts in a subjective way. Throughout this thesis and in the cartographic literature at large, it is vehemently argued that maps are not purely objective. Maps are essentially communicators of power and ideology, with various texts written into the illustration. The difference between maps in general and propaganda maps specifically is the exploitation of the symbolic power of the map to produce enticing fiction. Accordingly, this is done by violating 'the prestige of science' (Speier, 1941; as cited in Cosgrove, 2007:205) to present a 'supposed neutrality of geographical knowledge' to transmit 'doctrines of racial, cultural, sexual, or national superiority' (Harvey, 2001: 231-232).

The problem with developing a political geography of state crime and violence is the substantial task of deconstructing the entire ideological structure of the discipline. Understanding crime and the justice system goes beyond the criminal act and the movement of the offender in the system. It also involves intimate analyses of social norms, deviance, and the power-relations that propel this system into effect. The complexity of studying crime and deviance is simplified with words, charts, statistics, and maps. If indeed the State and the global interactions between states do share a complex reality, then deconstructing and analysing the full potential is ambitious. Nonetheless, investigating the cartographic representations of state crime and violence is not beyond the scope or the reach of scholarly rigour. Required only is the resolve of criminology to confront alternative images of crime and deviance. Even though criminology has provided alternative methods of social inquiry, it continues to bind itself to traditional images of crime (Lowman, 1986) and away from unconventional crimes. Under this umbrella, amongst others, are crimes of the State, in what Morrison (2006:2) refers to as a 'supporting role for civilised space'¹, a territorial imagination that excludes from view the uncivilised'.

¹ Morrison (2006:19) defines civilised space as the 'representation of inhabitable space, an ordered territory'.

Civilised spaces, however, are built upon violence inherent in the system and co-exist with routine violence of the everyday. Violent crime is pervasive in contemporary society, a grand failure of past centuries' attempts at reaching a peaceful utopia. Sure, most criminologists focus on the violence prevailing on the street as defined by gang warfare, violent crimes of passion and domestic violence. With the exception of a notable few, the scholars tracing the sources and causes of the violence in our society are absent. The State is perhaps the most violent institution, creating equivalently violent organisations in the process.² Arguably, by its very definition, the State holds a monopoly on violence. It is there to control, to punish, and to liberate. Its creation of the criminal justice system was founded on violence, such as state-sponsored killings and use of force to restrain and imprison. The larger structures of society's core oppress those vulnerable to injustices such as minorities, women, and the poor. Violence is used to meet violence, denying future solutions to stop the core issues causing the violence – injustice and human suffering (Quinney, 1991). One does not have to look far from home to find incidents of injustice and human suffering. They are present domestically as well as internationally. Therefore, the State is a core source for violence.

The tenets of political geography posit two distinct spatial levels of analysis, the State and the global/international nation-states³. Both levels of spatial analysis are available for mapping of state crime and violence. Crimes of the state, according to Quinney (2000), fall into three categories. The first category is crimes of economic domination which includes price-fixing and environmental pollution. The second category is crimes of the government that involve political corruption and assassination, usually under the pretext of national security. Finally, the third category is crimes of control, encompassing any acts of violence by the State against its citizens such as police brutality and state-sponsored killings. The second and third categories Quinney poses address everyday acts of political violence. Everyday acts of political violence, such as police brutality, are commissioned in spaces that can be meaningfully mapped to offer various texts which further cartographic possibilities in criminology.

Crimes of the State, as related to international or global affairs, often demonstrate violence against other nations and sovereignties. Though it is within the expectations of States to protect their boundaries when threatened by transgressions or invasions by other nations, it nonetheless remains a constructed reality of social events as defined by those

² The state prevents a great deal of violence, also.

³ Newman (2005) also argues for a political geography of the 'local' government. However, the distinction between the state and the local has not been made in many other sources. Though there may be various levels or a hierarchy of governance for any location, this thesis acknowledges that the overall state governs the ideologies of place at a macro-level and is focusing on that overarching approach instead of the local at micro-level. This absorption of the local by the state does not change the analysis offered in this thesis.

in power. When residing in Western society, the story of international crime is often constructed in such a way that the fault remains with the national 'other' as the transgressor. Creations of state-sponsored maps usually demonstrate but one side of the story and often under the pretence of impartiality. This includes military maps which often tell a reserved truth. For example, official military maps of bomb coordinates that killed US troops are often factual but they are presented in the absence of bomb coordinates of opposition troops and civilians killed by US bombs (Koch, 2006:9). Often it is not the accuracy of the facts presented on the map that are contested rather the incomplete and misleading narrative presented. Crampton (2004b) argues that GIS contributes to the unproblematic questioning of space, re-emphasising mapping as an aspect of geographic governance. Not exclusive to mapping alone, criminology also continues to ignore alternative discourses of state violence in the global community. Morrison (2006: 54-56) illustrates the omission of egregious violent actions by governments against susceptible peoples, such as genocide and ethnic cleansing. Excluding violence perpetrated by the state and representing a one-sided representation of global transgression is a massive limitation in developing a cartographic criminology of state crime and violence.

Two case studies are offered to demonstrate Political Geographies' guidance of reading space and its cartographic representations of state crime and violence. For this exercise, this chapter reviews maps of police violence (Case Study 3) as well as maps of global state-sponsored violence (Case Study 4). These two case studies are explicitly different in their methods and theoretical conceptualisations to demonstrate how cartographic representations convey state crime and violence beyond the State's grand narrative. Each suggests its own interpretive reading though, in the end, both offer key lessons to a developing critical cartographic criminology and creating parameters for "best practices" in this approach.

4.2 Case Study 3 - State Violence against Citizens: making a case with police brutality

While the geography of crime continues gaining attention in national and international academic forums, some types of offences are mostly ignored in the analysis of spatial dynamics of crime, law enforcement misconduct chief among the omissions. (Lopez and Thomas, 2004:374)

This first case study reviews maps of police brutality and violence against citizens. The maps reviewed here are from scholarly and activist created maps seeking to expose the abuses of the State through their law enforcement agents. For the purpose of this thesis, each map will be reviewed and then accompanied by a discussion on what the

map *does*. Demonstrating how mapping is a communicator of power builds on our investigation of what a critical cartographic criminology looks like and steps toward best practices.

State violence against citizens is not an anomaly in today's society. The coercive force by state agents against the populace under their jurisdiction, through law and repression, is a conventional practice dignified under the pretext of maintaining social control and order. Violence has become an acceptable means of policing along with non-violent measures such as surveillance that often violate our civilian liberties. 'The problem with our knowledge about violence by police', as Sherman (1980:9) reports 'is not so much producing it as disseminating it'. Maps are commonly used to report crimes of citizens against other citizens and social institutions (cf. Chapter 2). Likewise, maps can be used to publicise exercises of violence by state agents and agencies against the citizens they are sworn to protect.

Police and other law enforcement agents represent the State and, as such, their monopoly of violence to maintain order. Their monopoly of violence is a right granted to them by governments and one which often goes unpunished and unanalysed. Canonised social theorists, such as Weber and Foucault, have extensively written on the power of the State to legitimately apply force, coercion, and violence against populations in specific territories. For Weber, police power derives from law and administrative rule. For Foucault, police power lies in their ability to use technologies to monitor and collect information as a source of control (Herbert, 1996: 56-57). Contemporary scholars, however, exhibit a tendency to shy away from studying state coercion as an explanation for social order; often taking for granted that conformity is based on consent rather than accommodation to state laws (Jacobs and O'Brien, 1998: 837-838). Noticeable is the increased power of the police to threaten or use force against other citizens, not only by their capabilities of exerting non-punishable force but also in their privileges of carrying firearms or other weapons of enforcement. Manning (1980: 144) notes that police 'alone carry weapons at the pleasure of the state' while other citizens often risk negative consequences for 'exercising their constitutionally guaranteed gun-bearing privileges'⁴.

Along with their state-approved use of force and violence, police power is fundamentally territorial. Police and law enforcement agents successfully secure law and order by effectively controlling space (Cooper et al., 2004; Crawford and Burns, 2008; Herbert, 1996, 1997). Their ability to exercise authority over the spaces they monitor defines the spaces and how the laws are enforced. Sometimes it also justifies the use of

⁴ Though this is specific to the United States, where gun ownership is protected under the second amendment, this power is present in the United Kingdom where rights to firearms are reserved to those employed by the Home Office.

violence in particular areas if they are perceived as more threatening than other locations. Physical and cognitive boundaries are formulated and guarded by these state agents as a means of enforcing the state's legal and moral order over the targeted populations. Not all places are treated with the same rules of enforcement and exercises of force. Since 'order' and 'violence' are subject to situational circumstances and varying evaluations, space often serves as a guideline for appropriately measured boundaries.

Violence, coercive and physical, continues to be means of maintaining the social order of subjects by the State. Police violence, however, has become a paradox of sorts. Police are expected to concentrate their efforts on the reduction of crime in society, imploring them to meet violence with violence when necessary. However, citizens lament at the violent use of force, understanding that one form of safety is jeopardised to attain another (Cooper et al., 2004: 1116). In another regard, police may abuse their position of power by falsifying threats of violence to justify their own (Sherman, 1980). Force, coercion, and violence have permeated policing. As a result, determining an appropriate use of force becomes exceedingly difficult.

Police violence is not equally applied to the public. Typically, victims of police violence are the poor and at risk populations. Jacobs and O'Brien (1998) maintain that police violence, particularly police use of lethal force, is used in racially unequal jurisdictions. They often associate the 'underclass' as the common targets for enhanced law enforcement violence and coercion, arguing that:

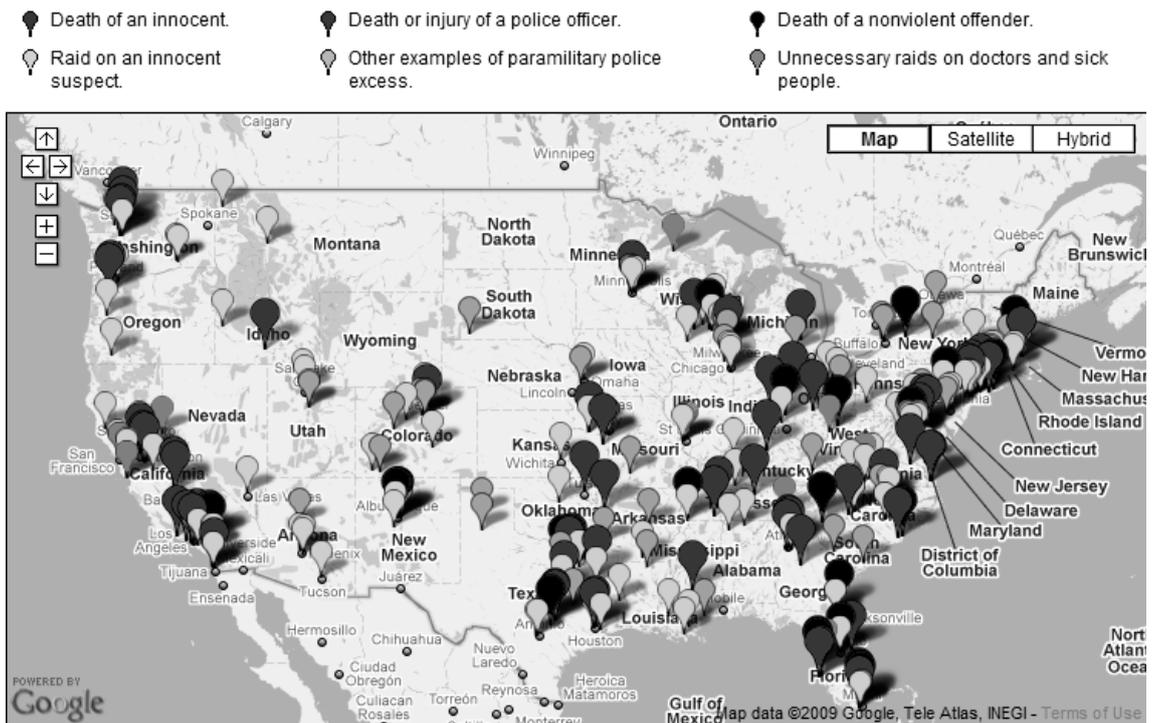
political explanations suggest that police killings will be most common in economically stratified cities with larger percentages of minorities because dominant groups have much to lose from threats to public order by a racial or economic underclass (*ibid.*: 839).

This perspective of police violence reinforces common patterns of state agencies serving the interests of the privileged instead of the interests of every citizen equally. But indeed if minorities and the poor are the typical victims of police violence, it is not astonishing that there are minimal public objections especially when 'the police kill people at a rate that ranges from six to thirty times that at which they are shot' (Manning, 1980: 136).

Perhaps Sherman (1980) is correct in that disseminating evidence of police violence is far more difficult than producing it. After all, maps of criminal events are highly circulated and publicised. Finding maps of extreme incidences of police violence, however, requires far more investigating. One may speculate that the limited implication of maps of police violence or brutality is due to a lack of evidence or a conspiracy by the State to conceal the details of these events. However, it seems more likely that its marginalisation is due to the 'blind eye' the public turns to state-sanctioned violence when its victims are members of an economic and racial underclass.

Regardless of the reasons for this deficiency, many cases of grassroots and independent mapping initiatives have flourished over the past decade exposing incidences of police violence and brutality in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. Heightened sensitivity to the occurrences of police violence and brutality is manifesting throughout the internet where ideas and subaltern narratives reach audiences previously not achievable. Coalitions of activists wishing to promote social movements or social change have used the internet to disseminate information for the exposure and rallying of their cause. ‘Veterans for Peace’, for example, organises demonstrations on 22nd October across the United States for the ‘National Day against Police Brutality’. This national day of protest exposes the widespread use of police brutality against citizens to raise awareness of this abuse. Rallying attention is the initial step in disseminating information. Stories and statistics normally follow, providing to the public evidence of police violence. Maps, however, are quickly becoming another facet of evidence presented.

Several social initiatives have created maps illustrating the spaces of police violence and brutality. In what he terms ‘An Epidemic of “Isolated Incidents”’, Balko (2006) developed an interactive map of failed police raids where mistaken residencies (or ‘wrong door’ errors) lead to wrongful injury or even death. Balko’s map (Map 4-1) was created to counter police defences which oft claim that these incidences are ‘isolated and rare’. The map serves as a textual counter-narrative to the claims of the State when mistakes are acknowledged. Each marker on the map represents an incident when police brutality was used in a ‘botched’ raid. Each case lists a location, incident descriptions, and the injuries caused. Balko also provided a criteria function to allow users to view incidences by type of abuse and incidents by year. One can also sort the information by state to see the various cases presented by the city or the state which may not be apparent in the general national view since markers overlap each other. Balko’s impressive determination to maintain and update the map each year is a testament to the ongoing problem of unjust police violence and the growing strength of its counter insurgency. This initiative speaks to a larger cause. By employing the same practices used in disseminating information about ‘criminal’ others (cf. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3), Balko offers an alternative view of violent spaces, as perpetrated by state agents.

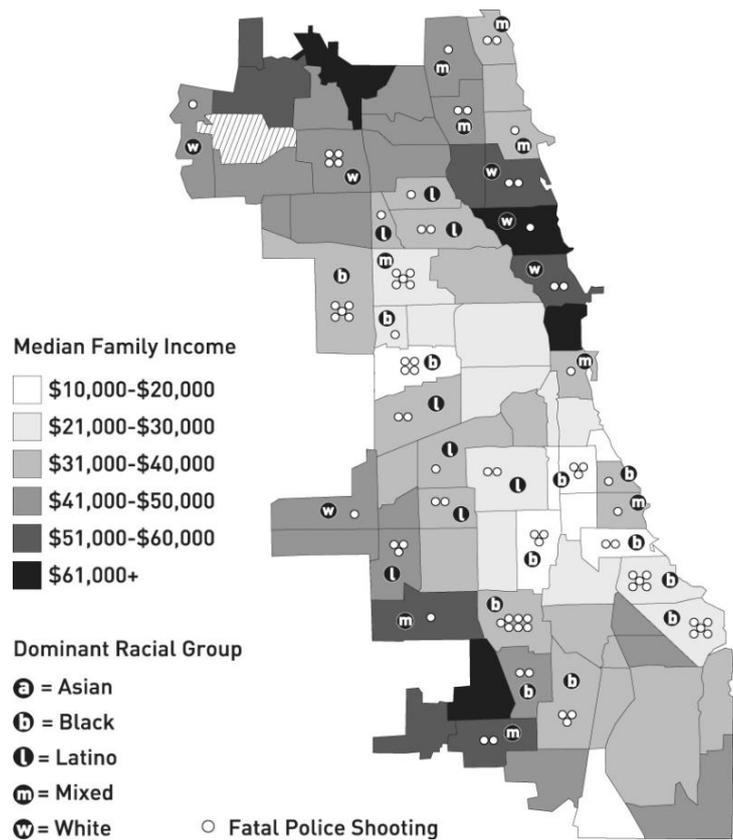


Map 4-1: 'Botched Paramilitary Police Raids: An Epidemic of 'Isolated Incidents'', an interactive map of botched SWAT and paramilitary police raids. Source: "Overkill: The Rise of Paramilitary Police Raids," Balko, Richard (2006), available online at <http://www.cato.org/raidmap>

Balko's map is powerful in inverting traditional notions of State control over citizens by exposing the abuse of state agents in the violence enacted upon the citizens they are sworn to protect and serve. Revealing the types of violent abuses and their geographical locations is an effective way of calling out and shaming the State. All too often abuses taken by the State are swept under the rug. By pinpointing the types of violent abuse that occurs by law enforcement agents, citizens can witness the extent of these abuses. Although mapping incidences does not change the atrocious events, they do begin to balance trust dynamics between the State and its citizens. To this end, mapping crimes of the State demonstrates a type of power over institutions that are generally in control.

Balko is not alone in this venture. Lowenstein (2007) offers a city map of Chicago (Map 4-2) demonstrating the numbers of fatal police shootings broken down by neighbourhoods, noting the economic and racial demographics. As argued earlier in this section, the 'police violence' literature suggests that there are more cases of police violence within racial and lower socio-economic communities. Unsurprisingly,

Lowenstein's article is featured in *ColorLines*, the 'national newsmagazine on race and politics' as a response to major news stories reporting on surges of fatal shootings in 2006. In his article, he argues that very few perpetrators of unmerited police abuse were prosecuted, reporting roughly less than two in one-thousand. The State's sanction of police violence arguably contributes to a growing cycle of citizen distrust in the communities most affected, that has increased tensions between citizens and law enforcement. With his map, Lowenstein provides an alternative narrative about urban space, contributing to a fuller truth of social demise in violent spaces.



Map 4-2: Incidences of Fatal Police Shootings in Chicago. The points indicate general locations of fatal police shootings to simply illustrate the economic and racial disparities in their locations. Source: Lowenstein (2007), available online at <http://www.colorlines.com/article.php?ID=253&p=1>

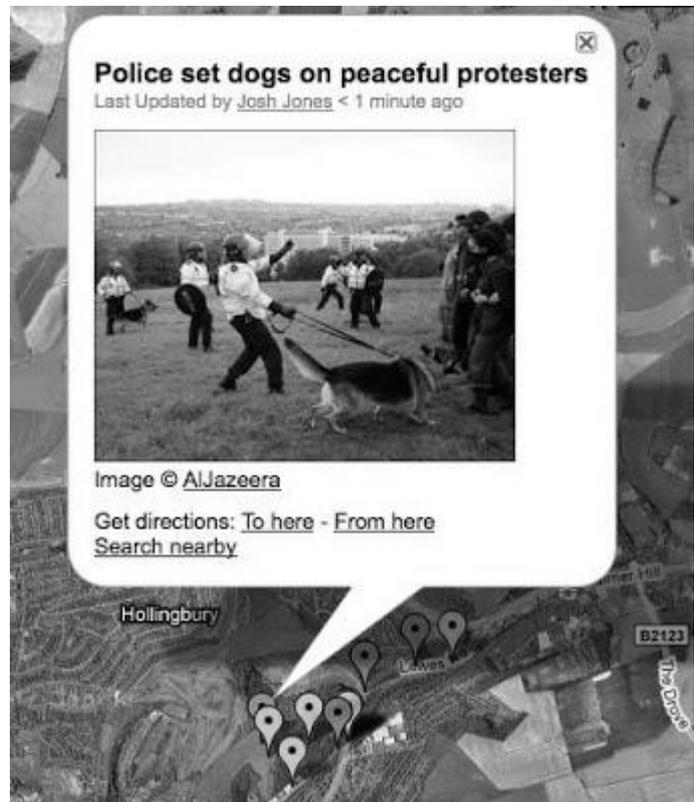
As with Balko's map, Lowenstein's map communicates State abuse and illustrates how power and control does not just reside with state institutions. By exposing the income and racial disparities of police violence through mapped incidences, citizens can begin holding law enforcement responsible for their actions. Single instances may not be enough to create social outrage but visually confirming the relationship between social disparities and State sanctioned violence is a powerful communicator.

Maps of police violence, brutalities and fatal shootings are not the only maps demonstrating violent transgressions commissioned by the police. Many maps of protest initiatives are later underwritten as texts of police violence. Herbert (1996: 569) presents research that suggests creations of state power are often related to displays of resistance by subjugated populations. Just as with 'botched' police raids and inequitable use of police force, police violence is reported in response to, what begins as, peaceful protest. These demonstrations of violence are not necessarily isolated and rare like other forms of state-sanctioned violence. Kritzer's (1977) study on violent outbreaks during protest

demonstrations propose that the fuse sparking violence begins at the level of interaction. Attempting to find a justified root for the outbreak of violence becomes exceedingly difficult and potentially misleading when only one side of the story is presented. However, various forms of documentation and media emerge to present the side of protesters, used to substantiate the claims of the protesters who sometimes become the sufferers of police violence⁵.

In a world where advance technology is available to the masses, more social activists and conscientious protesters are developing interactive maps that provide event experiences through photographs, videos, and participant commentaries. Three cases in the past several years demonstrate these innovative moves to create multimedia cartographic representations of peaceful protests turned violent. In the case of a Brighton Anti-Arms Protest in 2008, protest participants created an interactive map (Map 4-3) to assist in narrating the events of the protest and the violent outbreaks with police. Their map included links to photographs, videos and eye-witness accounts to report the events. Some of these narrations included arrests of non-violent protesters, police dogs attacking students, and a disabled student being denied medical attention.

Creating multimedia-linked maps to communicate protest information – prior to, during, and following the events – is not just a grassroots initiative. One major British news agency, The Guardian, created an interactive London Protest map (Map 4-4) for the G20 Summit in the spring of 2009⁶. Their interactive map was continually updated

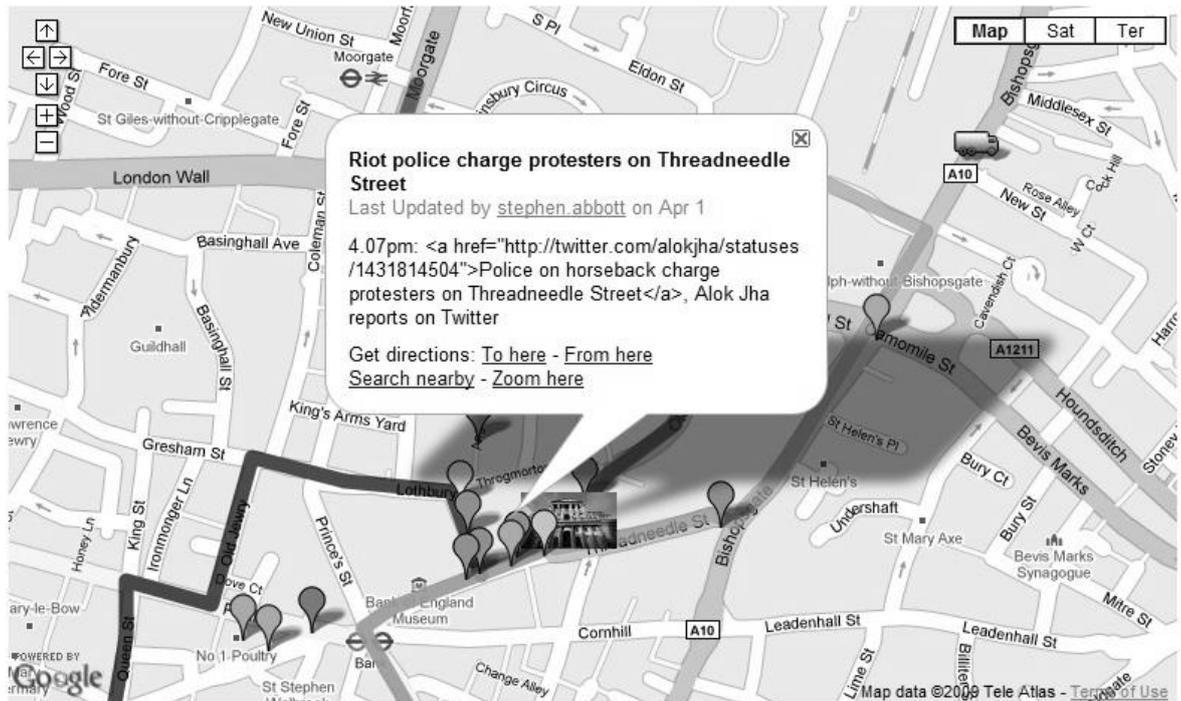


Map 4-3: Illustrations of Police Violence at a Protest. An interactive map relaying the series of events taking place at the Brighton Anti-Arms Protest on 4 December 2008. Source: www.photographywithoutborders.org

⁵ Though it is a one-sided presentation of events, the victims of police violence rarely witness justice in the case of police wrong-doing as previously argued.

⁶ The protest aimed to express social anger about the economic crisis, climate change and war on terror to the world leaders who gathered in London.

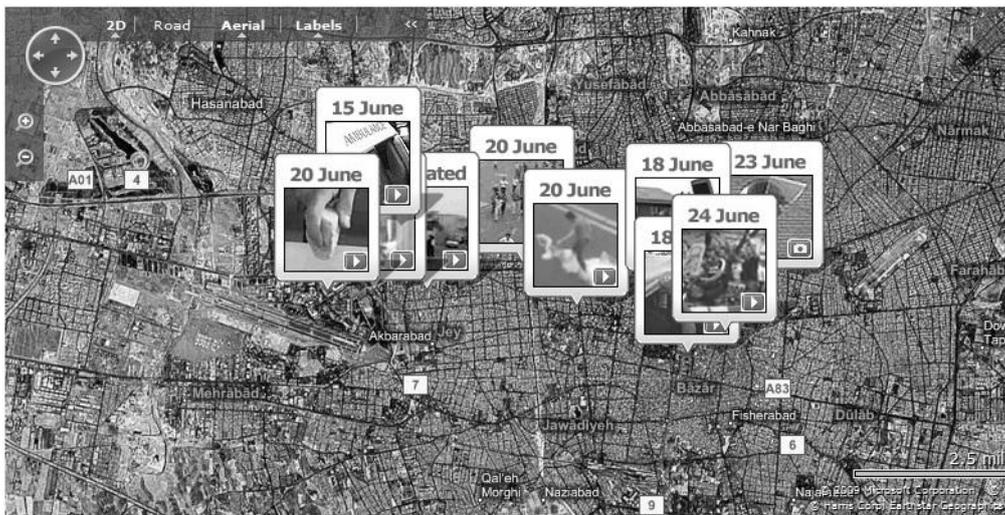
throughout the duration of the G20 Summit and protests. The comprehensive map included updates from liveblogs of eyewitness accounts, photographs, audio recordings, and videos. The interactive cartographic representations of events from ‘the street’ present a dynamic view of collective experiences. It animatedly created a counter-narrative of citizen desires, addressed towards the leaders of the Global state.



Map 4-4: Interactive Map of the G20 Summit in London. The developments from the G20 summit and protests in London, 1 April 2009. Source: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2009/apr/01/g20-summit-london-protest-map>

Protest is a form of resistance against the State, where ‘taking to the streets’ means subverting the order and repression applied by the State, to change the dynamics of space and to exercise the power of a collective force against the State and its agents. The protests in Terhran, following the disputed presidential poll that kept Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in power, shook the nation of Iran. Only limited coverage of the protest was offered by the news media that faced heavy restrictions on their reporting due to restrictions enforced by the Iranian government. Instead, experiences of the protest were largely communicated by citizens using online social networks. Part of this process also yielded an interactive map that was created and disseminated by the BBC in the United Kingdom (Map 4-5 and Map 4-6). The plotted map contained links to photographs and videos taken by the people on the streets during the protests, using their mobile phones and other digital recorders. Even in a country facing repressive restrictions on the dispersion of knowledge and collective experience, a map offered a voice to the

disenfranchised by illustrating the events of their protest in the space and the violent interactions that ensued.



Map 4-5: Small Scale Interactive Map of the Tehran Protests. June 2009. Source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8117054.stm



Map 4-6: Zoomed-In Image of the Map of the Tehran Protests. Gives a clearer image of spatial location or events and thumbnail views of the videos corresponding to each place. June 2009. Source: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8117054.stm

Maps 4-3 through 4-6 provide a median for multiple narratives (through text, video, and photos pinned to a map) that communicates to the world the egregious and abusive acts of violence state agents are perpetuating on citizens. It allows for many voices to collectively share their experiences; to report the abuses of law enforcement that are often suffered silently and in private. In turn, these maps take away the loneliness one may feel as a victim of state violence and gives them a channel to tell their stories. A critical cartographic criminology is informed by stories and representations and having a thematic map that empower state victims to come forward with their similar and collective tales is a positive use of mapping.

Reviewing maps of violence as perpetrated by state agents, specifically law enforcement agents against fellow citizens, presents a diverse text to a cartographic criminology. The mapping initiatives by independent activists and news media demonstrate subversive resistance to state power, creating alternative political

geographies of space. It provides a different picture of social violence than the conventional criminological maps. These maps are distinct because they are constructed from independent voices uniting in a collective effort, either through the sharing of personal or observed experiences, or through unity in protest that may potentially incite police violence.

Multi-media maps with links of photographs, eye-witness statements, audio, and video provide a more comprehensive picture of events that transcends the ability of traditional map as snapshots static in time and space. However, like traditional maps, they are still created to reproduce a reality with hopes that it influences others in the promotion of political or social change. Maps representing the use of politicised space, either by state agents or citizen challenging the State, provide an opportunity to analyse spatial power structures in action.

Most importantly, perhaps, is the ability to produce resistance against the State through cartographic representation – a key proponent of a critical cartographic criminology. Acts of resistance challenges the agents and tools of social control with the aim of balancing the power structure beyond inequality. As such, resistance to surveillance emerges with counter-surveillance operations, used to reflect the power of the gaze back onto the watchers. As Mann et al (2003) contend, there are ways to challenge and problematise the increasing confines of the ‘electronic Panopticon’ by empowering individuals to create a type of inverse Panopticon with “sousveillance”⁷. “Sousveillance” challenges control systems, by watching the watchers, recording, photographing, and, as demonstrated in this section, mapping the control (and punitive) mechanisms pervasive in our society. These initiatives are taken to create a power balance between the State and the populace. Organised or chance videos that capture the incivilities or law-breaking actions of some law enforcement agents, such as the Rodney King beating and similar cases of police brutality, are examples of “sousveillance” in action. Linking that video along with other videos of police violence on to a map of the city of Los Angeles influences a new spatial awareness to citizens.

4.3. Case Study 4 - Crimes against humanity, genocide, and mapping the politics of indifference

...there is nothing intelligent to say about a massacre. Everybody is supposed to be dead, to never say anything or want anything ever again. (Kurt Vonnegut, 2000, Slaughterhouse-Five)

⁷ As Mann et al (2003:332) explain, ‘sousveillance’ is constructed from the French words ‘*sous*’ (below) and ‘*veiller*’ (to watch).

History is amoral: events occurred. But memory is moral; what we consciously remember is what our conscience remembers. If one no longer has land but has memory of land, then one can make a map. (Anne Michaels, 1998, *Fugitive Pieces*)

Continuing with the theme of violence perpetuated by State institutions, this second case study reviews maps that expose crimes against humanity. The agenda for some of the maps examined in this case study may not have been to expose State violence, unlike the ones examined the first case study on police brutality. Instead, these maps may have been created for other purposes that later came to represent the violent horrors groups of individuals endured. This case study contributes to the purpose of this thesis by demonstrating how temporal and cultural shifts can redefine map interpretations.

Violence exhibited by the State is most startling when no accurate calculation exists for the harm done in terms of lives lost, lives ruined, and property pillaged. Even with such reckless death and wanton destruction, violence perpetrated by or with the support of nation-states remains sidelined in conventional criminology.⁸ Many cynical explanations for this eclipse are possible, especially since much of criminological research focuses on the tragedies of urban homicide. Joseph Stalin is famously quoted as saying, ‘A single death is a tragedy; a million deaths is a statistic’. Albeit trite, this attitude explains criminology’s detached response to mass murder committed by nation-states. This area of research deserves more attention in orthodox criminology. Moreover, studying maps as sources of criminological knowledge to define, to inform, and to commemorate events of global horrors can enlighten the criminology of the State as well as a cartographic criminology. After all, maps have been imperative throughout military history and global affairs and therefore should be utilised as a necessary vehicle to the understanding global violence.

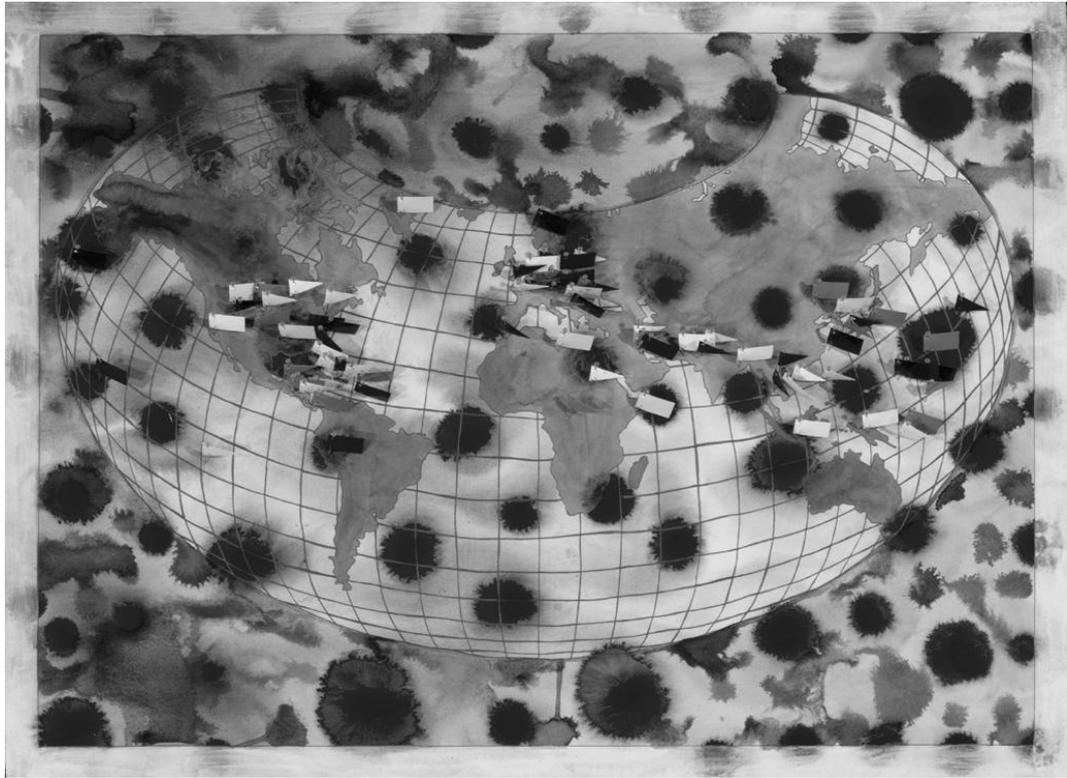
To clearly define the varying and horrific crimes against humanity, primarily war crimes, such as genocide and ethnic cleansing is daunting. Applying terms such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, holocaust, or war crimes require greater attention to be paid to the transgressors of such heinous acts against vulnerable or exposed populations. Stories of abuse, deportation, concentration camps, rape, wanton destruction, and mass murders alert other governments to consider intervention and take responsibility for the protection of humankind. The definitions of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide are too closely related (Dahlman, 2005: 181-182). War crimes are defined by the Geneva Convention as the violations of protections provided to civilians during times of war and the failure to provide the minimal protection to combatants under certain circumstances, such as prisoners of war (POWs). Crimes against humanity has been

⁸ For further reading, parallels can be drawn with Wilkinson’s (2005) critique of sociological lack of engagement with the problems of suffering.

defined in several different ways, under different international texts, though they all address actions of mass murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, torture, and rape. Crimes against humanity require lower standards than genocide, mainly those perpetrators of crimes against humanity conducted widespread and systematic acts against any identifiable group for whatever purpose. The difference between this and genocide is the burden of proving ‘intent’, showing an intentional campaign launched by the State, targeted because of their membership in an identifiable group.

The difficulties in attempting to define atrocious acts of violence, destruction and mass murder indicate a certain power of maps to define the situation. The power to define acts of state-sponsored violence also defines the ‘incident’ on a map. What is mapped and what is not mapped is probably more telling than anything else. The cover of Slavick’s (2007) book, *Bomb After Bomb: A Violent Cartography*, artistically illustrates a global map of sites the United States have bombed from 1998 till 2005 (see Map 4-7). Slavick artistically invokes the horrors of violence inflicted upon the global community from the United States. In her overall project, ‘*World Map, Protesting Cartography*’, Slavick accompanies each bombed site with a pin linking viewers to additional information about the varying subjects of military operations and violent campaigns. The United States government validates their transgressions against other nations and places as necessary for national and international security and therefore does not consider their actions as crimes against humanity.

The author of this map comments on the artistic intention: “*I make them beautiful to seduce the viewer so that she will take a closer look, read the accompanying information that explains the horror beneath the surface. I wish for the viewer to be captured by the colors and lost in the patterns—as one would be if viewing an Impressionist painting—and then have the optical pleasure interrupted by the very real dots, or bombs, that make up the drawing*” (Slavick 2007: cited from website)., what this illustrate maps succeeds in accomplishing is creating a fanciful image for series of horrific actions carried out by a single country. Events are reported on this map but it is with the elements used on this map that captures viewers’ attention to attempt to convey the United States’ use of bombs to enforce global power and control. From this, a critical cartographic criminology can learn the importance of mapping elements (colours, dimensions, artistic inspirations) has on the ability capture and shock readers, thereby enhancing the effective communication of the truths it wishes to disseminate.



Map 4-7: Protesting Cartography or Places the United States has Bombed 1998 – 2005. Artistic interpretation of US bombings, with pins marking each bombed site. Source: Slavick (2007); also available online at <http://www.unc.edu/~eoslavic/projects/bombsites/index.html>

Sometimes violence and crimes against humanity are not as obvious as a bomb exploding. The mid- to late-twentieth century has proven to be bloodied with various accounts of genocide and ethnic cleansing. Incidences including the holocaust in the 1940s, the Rwandan genocides in the 1990s and the most recent accusation of genocide in Darfur, are not always quickly acknowledged or acted upon though are eventually constructed as such. The violent aggressions leading to mass murder and group displacements made by global powers are sometimes ignored, denied, or omitted as criminal. Rarely is the label of genocide, ethnic cleansing, or crimes against humanity placed on the displacement, impoverishment, and removal of the indigenous people of the United States (Native Americans), Australia (Aborigines), and even the apartheid in South Africa. An assumption of religious and cultural entitlement (like the Israeli's claim to the land they fight for with the Palestinians) or a denial of locals rights to the land is the driving force empowering them with the justification to remove and ghettoize the indigenous people (Ruether, 2005). The power to define social situations and reactions to violent transgressions rests with the dominant nation-states. Morrison (2006: 92) articulately explains it as 'one of the privileges of power to define the terms in which social reality is discussed...that there are no official international criminal statistics that creates maps, pictures and lists of government-sponsored killings'. The dominate nation-

states in the international community maintain the power to delineate definitions of crimes against humanity accordingly. This self-empowerment not only gives them the ability to decide when their own actions are not crimes against humanity but also when they can choose to ignore atrocities that are happening elsewhere on the globe. This creates a politics of indifference that does not value all populations the same way – or at least not enough to provide a united global security and protection alliance.

There is no real criminology discipline that focuses on international conflicts. Fortunately, there are scholars in the discipline critically evaluating the absence of documentation of inhumane crimes in the global society. Morrison (2006; 54-58) convincingly argues that criminology fails to cover crimes of the nation-state, including genocide. He exposes criminology's denial of 'subaltern' discourses and the exclusion of global violence from general crime rates. Crimes against humanity are not rare or isolated incidents, often yielding higher rates of various social harms. In fact, the number of recorded murders committed during episodes of crimes against humanity far surpasses annual normative homicide rates (even in countries with the highest rates).

Each state controls, directly and indirectly, mapping initiatives and the images of actions and transgressions mapped. Those dominating the global community are also unsurprisingly the ones in a permanent position of control. The five permanent seats on the Security Council – United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China – represent the countries that legitimately possess nuclear weapons (see Map 4-8). More than half of the earth is in a nuclear free zone with 99 per cent of all nuclear weapons existing in the northern hemisphere. This demonstrates an unequal distribution of power, since nothing can be more threatening and symbolic of power than nuclear arms. Maps that are produced from the nation-states submission of data documenting the travesties and crimes against humanity are limited and therefore only a partial cartographic representation. Hence, the events that are mapped are done so to support the agenda of the State, humanitarian organisation or the news media that has provided the funding and data for the project.



Map 4-8: Countries with Nuclear Weapons. According to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) from 1970, United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France and China, are the only countries allowed to have nuclear weapons. Israel, India, and Pakistan are in possession of nuclear weapons but have not signed the NPT. Source: (http://nobelprize.org/educational_games/peace/nuclear_weapons/readmore.html)

Maps of crimes against humanity and other forms of global violence committed by nation-states occasionally emerge though their intended use may be questionable. These maps are often fortified with images and other media links, similar to the technology associated with the police brutality maps reviewed. The data provided with maps of crises supplements a human connection the map may not relate. Pictures, videos, and testimonies linked with geographic locations depicted on interactive maps confirm a certain horror that remains in place. The Humanitarian Information Unit at the U.S. State Department established a mapping initiative in the summer of 2009 depicting the atrocities in Darfur (see Map 4-9 and 4-10; Crisis in Darfur, 2009). The initiative identifies the thousands of villages that were damaged and destroyed during the years of this continual conflict. Details of the villages' ruin and photographs to compare damages before and after attacked, via satellite images and on-ground photographers, situate the suffering in the space on their appropriate place on the map. The interactive map does an excellent job informing the basic atrocities suffered by the sedentary Sudanese people at the hands of the state-sponsored Janjaweds. The United Nations Security Council called for a peacekeeping force, though their presence in Sudan was strongly objected by the government and ill-equipped to address the crimes against humanity commissioned there. The International Criminal Court filed charges and issued an arrest warrant for the Sudanese President al-Bashir. Regardless of these steps to subside the evident horrors suffered by the more vulnerable sedentary populace, the international community does very little to end the violence. In many respects, this creates a paradox of global power; the power to illustrate the atrocities of the suffering, and the power to deny assistance through a politics of indifference. The maps themselves, with all of their interactive

features that creates a reality to the experiences, are essentially political maps of indifference.



Map 4-9: Mapping initiatives, crisis in Darfur. Each flame on the satellite map marks where a township was either pillaged (orange) or completely destroyed (red). Source: <http://www.ushmm.org/maps/projects/darfur/>



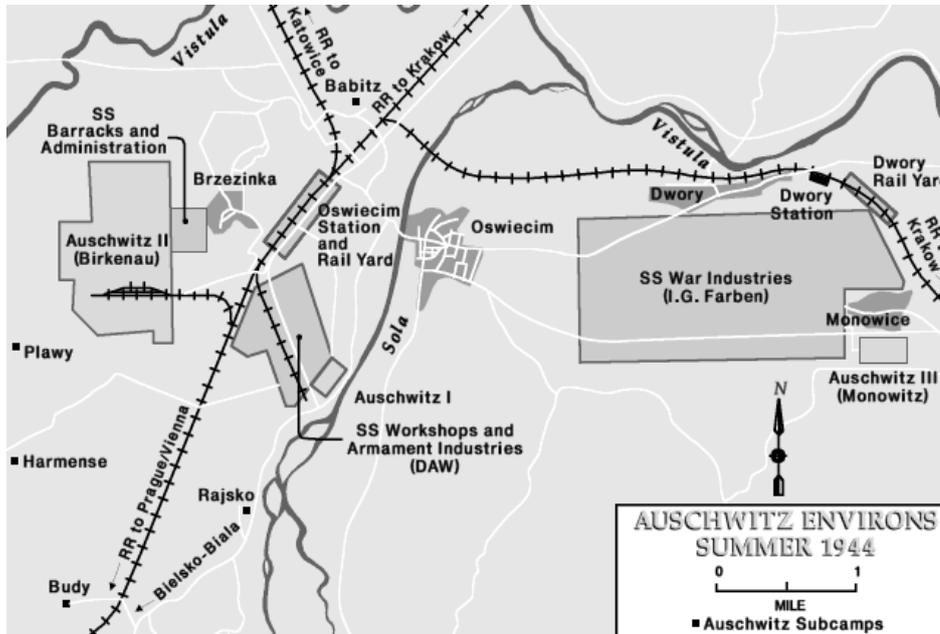
Map 4-10: Mapping initiatives, crisis in Darfur. Like Map 4-9, this map illustrates a closer look at a township destroyed by the violence in Darfur. Each of the flames represented on the map provides a link to information and photographs of the township ruined. Source: <http://www.ushmm.org/maps/projects/darfur/>

Maps illustrating the crisis in Darfur provide two perspectives. First, it allows the reader to witness the extent of the violence experienced through pillaging or complete destruction. With each colour-coded flame representing the damage of loss of a village, the sheer number of flames illustrated on the map visually confirms that this crisis is not isolated to one or two villages but a number of villages and their inhabitants. Second, the interactive feature that provides photographs of destruction provides its audience the

severity of violence the towns are experience. Through witnessing how widespread the problem is (quantity of flames on maps) and how devastating the damage (visual confirmation of destruction), the crisis in Darfar is effectively communicated with these maps.

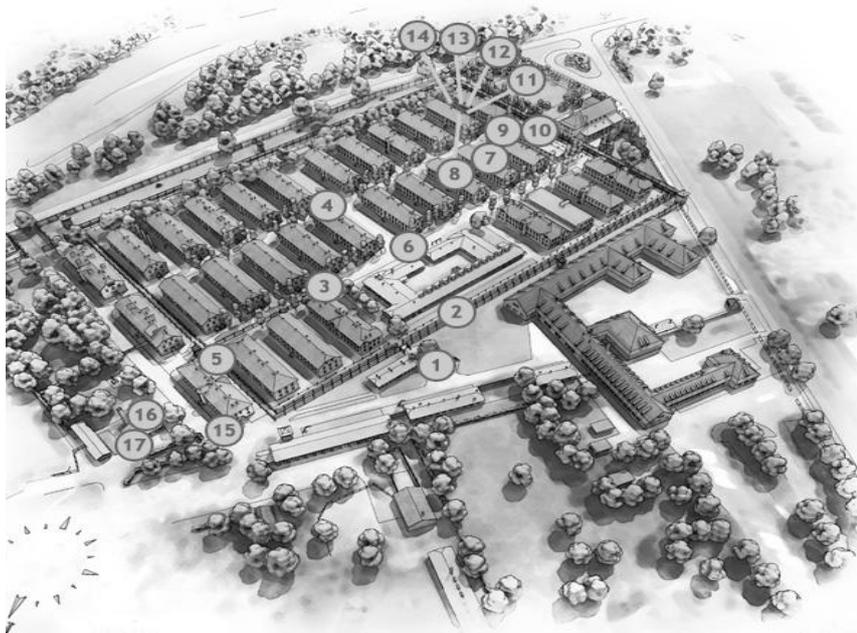
Maps of inhumane crimes against disadvantaged populations by nation-states are not entirely without emotions. Though maps themselves cannot communicate appropriate emotions alone, the collective memory⁹ of the events that constituted its creation grants its feeling. Mostly the collective memory recalls brutal and despairing historical events, unfolding in space over specific locations. The locations become a source of information that taps into the horrid past of war crimes. Perhaps the maps of the Auschwitz concentration complex best elicit emotional dismay due to the symbolic nature of which the map tells of Europe's history (Map 4-11). General knowledge about the genocides of World War II familiarises readers to the sufferings at Auschwitz. More than one million Jews, Poles, and POWs were killed on this large compound in modern day Poland. The map of the Auschwitz environs (Map 4-11) offers a full picture of the three Auschwitz camps, along with transportation train tracks. Maps 4-12 and 4-13 provide a closer view of two of the three camps made notorious by its vile history. Both maps present images of ordered buildings on a green field trimmed with trees. The map's legend is what provides the horror, marking the building sites with words like 'gate of death', 'wall of death', gas chamber, and crematorium. These maps represent the inhumanity, the shame of the era when years of mass murder continued with little interruption. But even more startling is that Maps 4-12 and 4-13 are interactive tourist maps of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum. The map is communicator of genocide and crimes against humanity. It is also part of a spectacle. The expansions of maps to demonstrate violence perpetrated by the nation-state have, in turn, become spectacle to serve the tourist industry (cf. Chapter 5 on Cultural Geography).

⁹ This would include the collective memory of those directly involved as well as the collective memory of Western audiences.



Map 4-11: The Auschwitz Complex, Summer of 1944. The map features the locations of the three Auschwitz camps and the sub-camps as well as the rail tracks as key transportation to and from the complex.

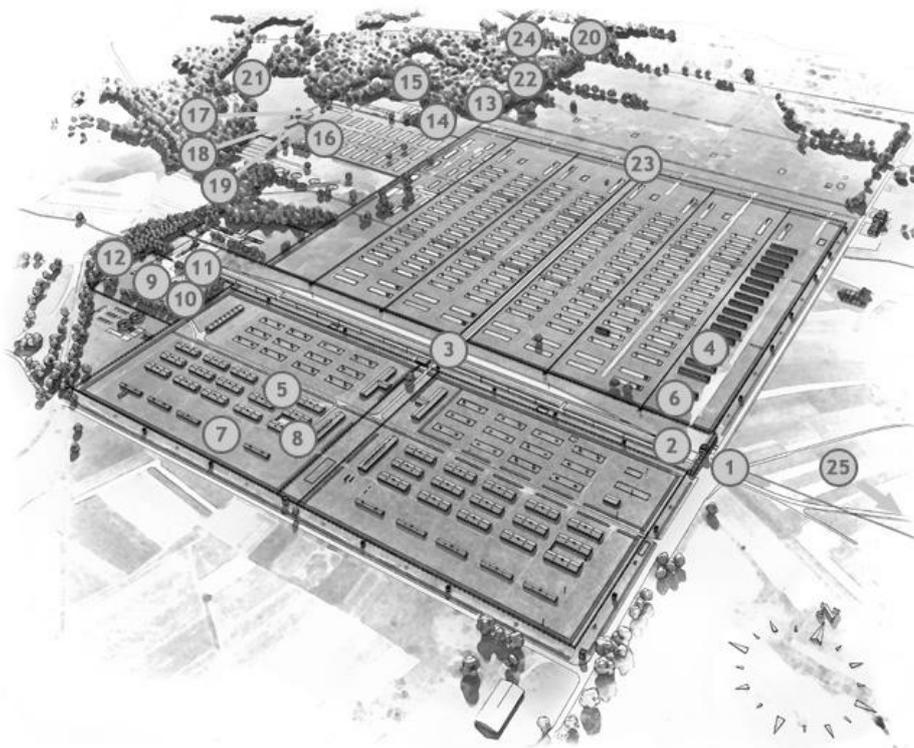
Source: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; <http://www.us-hmm.org/lcmedia/viewer/wlc/map.php?RefId=AUC42030>



Map 4-12: Auschwitz I. Tourist map for Auschwitz I, indicating 'places of interest' on site. The map's illustration presents a place that appears pleasant and calm. Source: <http://en.auschwitz.org.pl>

Legend:

1. The "Arbeit Macht Frei" gate	10. Blocks 10 and 11(aerial view)
2. Exit from the camp	11. Cells in the basement of block 11
3. Auschwitz I — entrance way	12. Block 11 — standing cells
4. The roll-call square (part 1)	13. The cell of Edek Galiński
5. Electrified fence	14. The cell of father Maksymilian Kolbe
6. The roll-call square (part 2)	15. Crematorium I
7. Krankebau (the waiting room to the gas*)	16. The gas chamber in crematorium I
8. Block 11	17. Crematorium I (inside)
9. The entrance to the "Wall of Death" yard	



Map 4-13: Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Tourist map for Auschwitz II, indicating ‘places of interest’ on site. Like the tourist map of Auschwitz I, the map’s illustration presents a place that appears pleasant and calm. It is only after reading the descriptions in the legend that some of the horrors make themselves more apparent. Source: <http://en.auschwitz.org.pl>

Legend:

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. The “Gate of death” (part I) | 10. Crematorium II (inside) | 19. The sauna (part III) |
| 2. The “Gate of death” (part II) | 11. Crematorium II (general view) | 20. Bunker I — “the little red house” |
| 3. The unloading ramp | 12. The last moments | 21. Bunker II — “the litthe white house” |
| 4. Wooden living hut | 13. Little wood (crematoria) | 22. Burning pits |
| 5. Brick living hut | 14. Pond with ashes | 23. So-called Mexico |
| 6. Latrine at Men’s Camp | 15. Crematorium V | 24. Cementry of Russian POWs |
| 7. Latrine at Women’s Camp | 16. “Kanada” and the sauna | 25. Altejudenrampe — the old unloading ramp |
| 8. The penal company | 17. The sauna (part I) | |
| 9. Crematorium II (model) | 18. The sauna (part II) | |

Let’s consider the above three maps for another moment. What is so striking about these maps is that they present ordered information about the spaces, through transportation lines and neatly illustrated buildings, but they truly represent a very horrific event in history. The agenda for the map outlining transportation lines was likely not meant as a representation of extraordinary cruelty and violence; time has transformed the meanings and reads of the map. The two tourist maps of Auschwitz depict relatively pleasing and calm environments as they are now; however, what it represents is anything but. Instead, these maps agenda for these maps is that of spectacle for tourists. The importance of these maps when building a critical cartographic criminology is that a

map's agenda is suspended in the time is created. It is a snapshot and the intentions the map is to communicate are not permanent. Collective memory helps decide how a map is read and interpreted. When investigating the uses and offering critical critiques of maps, time and memories will always have a role in how a map is read.

Maps of nation-state violence, whether it is war crimes or crimes against humanity, provide a spatial perspective of the violence and the collective memory that remains. There are social truths that prevail in maps but the landscape alone does not efficiently provide a narrative of the brutality against human life. The way of showing the brutalities are with narratives of the damage done across the space. Collective memories and accounts are communicated through interactive approaches that offer pictures and first-hand accounts. They are illustrated with the symbols and signs denoted by a legend serving a grander narrative. The deaths resultant of the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki is crystallised with collective memory but made real through the lasting cartographic representations of the spatial damage it left behind. Dr. Hanada's medical map of damage caused by the Nagasaki atomic bomb (Map 4-14) solidifies the destruction left to the physical environment. A greater appreciation of the negative repercussions done by the American government is achieved by illustrating the damage and destruction to the physical environment in Nagasaki.



Map 4-14: Map of Physical Damages Caused by the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb. Map of Damage – Scientific Data of the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Disaster, as developed by Dr. Eisuke Hanada at the Atomic Bomb Disease Institute. Source: <http://www-sdc.med.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/n50/start-E.html>

Collective memory is a powerful influencer on how maps are interpreted (as argued for the Holocaust maps) but maps can also help inform those memories. Dr Hanada’s map informs our knowledge of the United States dropping an atomic bomb on Nagasaki by showing the lasting and very damaging after effects. Events occur at a particular time but their effects can continue for years. The time a bomb drops and the exact point of impact resonate outward over space and time. Space continues to transform over time and maps are a way to help track that transformation.

Maps of various crimes against humanity and the atrocious violence of nation-states expose the horrors of power. These horrors do not occur in just the ‘uncivilised’ world. These horrors extend to the ‘civilised’ Western world, which are equally guilty of inflicting atrocities for their own self-promotion and growth. Reviewed here are not the maps of colonialism, imperialism, expansion, and displacements of the European nations

in other territories they have occupied. These maps would undoubtedly reveal even more state-sponsored violence not categorised as crimes against humanity. The maps expose, in turn, the indifference of nations. This indifference refers to the complacency from which the mapped acts occurred, with idle care for the victims of each infliction. Though conflict and struggle doubtlessly occurred alongside resistance movements to end each reign of violence, the vicious acts were perpetrated and funded by a larger power structure. Though the maps are created to commemorate each atrocious event, exposing the horrors of power, the spaces are sometimes mapped to service the State. Perhaps the best example for the interpretive read of a map is the nineteenth century mapping of the ‘Trail of Tears’, used to track the exodus of the Native people from the developing South-Eastern United States (Map 4-15). The 1830 congressional passing of the Indian Removal Act, signed by President Andrew Jackson, deprived the Cherokee people of their land in favour of relocating them to newly demarcated Indian Territory West of the Mississippi more than a thousand miles away (US Department of the Interior, 2008). *Nunna dual Isunyi*, ‘the tears where they cried’ in Cherokee, forced tens of thousands of Cherokees to leave their land to head West and follow a trail where an estimated eight thousand Native Americans died. As such, the trail of tears also became a trail of death. The map honours a collective memory of suffering on the part of peoples unrightfully removed from their land; it illustrates the long and difficult routes they followed to reach a territory that was never ultimately theirs. Although amends have been made to right the wrongs to the Native Americans in the past¹⁰, the map memorialises the indifference of a nation that removed peoples for colonial interests and greed.

¹⁰Most notably the Federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act passed in 1990, designed to return cultural objects and human remains to the descendants of the Indian tribes (US Department of the Interior, 2008).



Map 4-15: Mapping the Trail of Tears. Illustrates routes of emigration by land and by water; from their original territory in modern day Georgia and Alabama, to Indian Territory in modern day Oklahoma. The trail they followed was mapped for them to maintain an orderly exodus of the native people at the will of the new colonial rule. Source: http://www.cherokeemuseum.org/html/collections_tot.html

Egregious violence against members of a targeted group by nation-states, either directly or indirectly by supporting or protecting violent organisation, is a heavily ignored offence in criminology. The tourist maps¹¹, commemoration maps, or artistically embellished maps that highlight these offences provide an account of the misdeeds of governmental power. What's important to note is that the various maps presented here are, like all maps, nonetheless present multiple narratives. In one way, it illustrates the horrific victimisation suffered by vulnerable peoples. In another way, it reveals that the 'dangerous classes' often presented in orthodox criminological maps are not the transgressors of the greatest atrocities of supposed civilised societies. Furthermore, it demonstrates the potential of maps to expose the politics of indifference by nation-states against marginalised populations. Dangerous actions are not always committed by the feared unknown 'others'; sometimes they are perpetrated by the government structures that are in place. It is not the dangerous *terrae incognitae* territories on the maps that are treacherous but the charted territories of civilised space. The extraordinary violence comes from the centre, from the State that is developed and supported. These maps embody the States' power and, at times, their ultra violent capabilities.

¹¹ Such as some necro-tourist maps or maps that leisurely guides tourists to various tombs, graves, and cemeteries as a form of entertainment or for pleasure. This type of tourism (and maps) are often related to crime tourism, further explored and discussed in Chapter 5: The Cultural Geography of Crime Tourism: Psychogeographies and Spectacles of Transgression.

4. 4 Contributions to a Cartographic Criminology

This chapter explored cartographic possibilities utilising a political geography of state crime and violence. It has argued that maps are tools of power that communicate knowledge of the political order and organisation. The initiative here was to investigate ways maps communicate a political geography of state violence. This was accomplished mostly by reviewing maps that expose the atrocities committed by the State and its agents. There are many ways to construct a political geography of State power and dominance of the global nation-states. However, the two case studies were provided to review cartographic representations of state-sponsored crime and violence. Future perspectives for a cartographic criminology, using a political geography of state crime and violence, need to focus on propaganda maps that were not thoroughly explored in this chapter (cf. Chapter 6 for further discussion). Furthermore, additional research is needed on persuasive cartography that successfully emits desired messages and reactions.

A political geography of state crime and violence contributes to the development of a cartographic criminology by offering a rhizomic demonstration of map-use. As this chapter demonstrates, maps do not always impose a pure monolithic view from ‘above’ but are rather capable of communicating various narratives with visually-inscribed rhetoric. Citizens can map the State’s transgressions just as the State can map citizens’ transgressions. Maps do not have to be complex to effectively communicate messages of power, dominance, and transgression. However, the availability of user-friendly technology permits the masses to cartographically represent violence as inflicted by the State and its agents. Interactive maps in particular allow for an extensive experience in the representation of spatial realities, with additional media such as photographs and videos contributing to the dynamics of the analysis. In the end, a critical cartographic criminology understands that maps are tools of power but who uses them and to what ends is available to anyone. Anyone has the power to map.