

5. The Cultural Geography of Crime Tourism: Psychogeographies and Spectacles of Transgression

Previous chapters in this thesis rightly argued, in the words of Pinder (2007: 459), that ‘one of the reasons for making a map is in response to feeling ‘uncomfortable in an uncomfortable world’’. The brief history of cartography as outlined in the first chapter illustrated that maps of the ‘world’ were intended to reduce and make knowable the *terrae incognita*, the unknown spaces of ‘civilisation’. Likewise, chapter two contended that the use of maps within criminology can largely be understood as an attempt to reveal and understand the geographies of crime and deviance for the specific purposes of controlling unruly space. The two preceding chapters (3 and 4) utilized social and political geographies to show how (crime) maps have presented the ‘other’, or struggles between ‘us’ and ‘them’, whether between states or citizens. This chapter continues the goal of this thesis in terms of developing a cartographic criminology. More specifically, it explores the cartographic possibilities that exist in a cultural geography of crime tourism. It integrates literatures from cultural geography, symbolic interaction, and cultural criminology to create a narrative that focuses on aspects of criminal and transgressive events that attract popular attention and intrigue, the ways these events are mapped, and how these maps are used to continue the promotion of their pop-cultural fascination. Lessons from these integrated literatures are applied to concepts of crime tourism and the spectacle of transgression.

This chapter discusses the pluralities of maps and demonstrate how they provide the opportunity to (re)create thrill in a mundane world. Integrating cultural criminology and its alternative construction and mapping of deviant spaces, with the literature on new cultural geography, this chapter pushes beyond traditional criminological sights of cartography. The case studies for this chapter explores maps of ‘crime tourism’, such as historical city walks of murder as well as grassroots efforts mapping popular community graffiti, exemplifies how maps construct or elicit thrills as part and parcel to cultural narratives of crime and deviance.

5.1 Integrating ‘Cultural’ literatures

Because these cultural spaces are meaningful, because they matter so much in the public construction of identity, perception, and community – because they are worth fighting for – they emerge as essential zones of conflict and control. (Ferrell 2001:14)

While defining ‘culture’ and ‘cultural space’ poses problems confronted by multiple disciplines in a variety of ways, this Ferrell quote nonetheless addresses the importance of exploring this topic. It is precisely through this mandate that several literatures are needed to fully investigate the roles of meaning and representation in space in order to build a cohesive cartographic criminology. This chapter is interested in focusing on the ways culture is communicated and represented in maps. Just as with the maps examined in chapters 3 and 4, all maps offer narratives on social, political and cultural contexts. Specifically, this chapter reviews and integrates research from (1) ‘new’ cultural geography, (2) symbolic interactionism, and (3) cultural criminology.

5.1a. A ‘New’ Cultural Geography

Cultural geography is a branch of human geography that emerged from the Berkeley School of Geography around the same time the Chicago School created their legacy in urban sociology. First introduced by Carl Sauer, cultural geography is concerned with the interaction between culture and the environment from which it emerged, focusing on the impact of different cultural groups on the natural environment. Here, ‘cultural’ is equated to custom and practices in physical form and as an expression of meaning, identity, lifestyle, and representation. It is based on the premise that movements in cultural groups usually result in a change of the natural environment. Influenced by anthropology, Sauer also aligned cultural geography to various forms of field research and approaches, arguing that doing cultural geography meant engaging in action research and developing the skill and art of interpretation (see Dowling, 2005, Valentine, 2001).

Since its onset, cultural geography has experienced its own evolution and contextual shifts. As argued by Mathewson (1996), Sauer proposed that the cultural

landscape was the result of cultural groups transforming the landscape. The downfall for cultural geography at its commencement was due to the downplaying of culture as a dynamic aspect of human geography and, instead, promoted 'dominate naturalist and positivist epistemologies' (Claval and Entrikin, 2004: 25). However, as part of the wider 'cultural turn' from the 1970s onwards, cultural geography has experienced something of a resurgence. The 'new cultural geography'¹ returns a cultural concern to geography through traditional and new approaches to investigating cultural products and norms and their variation across relations to spaces and places. Swartz (1992: 438) defines 'culture' as the contexts, webs of meaning, or the material products of social activity. The 'new cultural geography' and cultural landscape is often attributed to Denis Cosgrove and colleagues (1987:95) who provide the agenda for the re-emergence of cultural geography. They write,

if we were to define this 'new' cultural geography it would be contemporary as well as historical (but always contextual and theoretically informed); social as well as spatial (but not confined exclusively to narrowly-defined landscape issues); urban as well as rural; and interested in the contingent nature of culture, in dominant ideologies and in forms of resistance to them. It would, moreover, assert the centrality of culture in human affairs. Culture is not a residual category, the surface variation left unaccounted for by more powerful economic analyses; it is the very medium through which social change is experienced, contested and constituted (ibid).

Along with this new momentum in cultural geography, increasing attention was paid to the process of knowing cultural space and the process of which they were mapped.

For 'new' cultural geography, the significance placed on reflections of identities, meanings, and representations presupposes maps as stories that are told and not necessarily as tools to be used. Cultural geography emphasis of maps might be centred on the process of mapping that is created and enacted through subjective performance. As demonstrated in prior chapters, this problematised prior emphasis on the map as a product, often depicted as objective tools or discourses of the powerful (Perkins, 2003: 345). Maps as stories that present utopian visions or dystopian dreams defy past criminological engagements with maps as panoptic gazes and shatter the dyadic opposition of bird's eye view and ground level view. Instead, maps witnessed through a cultural geography lens create visions and representations for alternative realities that might exist in a single place. However, maps as stories still portray specific phenomenological meanings, such as community, economy, and dangerousness. The visual communication of a map's story, told during the process of its creation, provides

¹ The birth of Sauer's Cultural Geography was predominately a North American preoccupation even in spite of its origins in French and German geography. The renewed concern with cultural geography, the so-called 'new cultural geography' is a more international product (Claval and Entrikin, 2004:39), although others (see Mathewson, 1996) suggest it is a largely British phenomenon.

knowledge, assurance, and comfort to an occasionally unknown world.

Maps create comfort, and sometimes discomfort, through their communication of personal experience, imagination, and memory (Lowenthal, 1975: 118). A map is essentially created through the corroboration of brute fact and mental perceptions. There are the unvarnished facts of the landscape that constitutes a map's base² but all knowledge weaved within a map is subjective and drawn from first-hand experiences, interpretations and bias. Perceptions inferred on a map are fleeting and generalised, prone to prejudice, error, and change. Nonetheless, even maps presenting statistical regularities report on the state of a culture (Hacking, 1990: 131). Maps ensure the existence of struggle and estrangement between individuals. Underneath the story-telling process of mapmaking is the cultural influence of space and humankind's interaction with it. The picture of reality is personalised with custom and imagination, linked from daily experience in the everyday world. Maps denoting narratives or images of crime are closely bound up with representations of the criminal image. Cultural geography contends that maps are stories created through their creation process and can articulate diverse experiences and the complexities of life. For example, if prior use of crime maps assisted in the apprehension of offender through studying patterns or were used to strengthen crime control initiatives, they can also perhaps assist in understanding socio-cultural phenomena.

Cultural geography informs mapmaking processes and interpretive results to assist in the cartographic understanding of everyday cultural life. The relationship between culture as maps of meaning and maps as cultural interpretations is grounded in larger contexts of symbolic interaction and the social production of meaning. Most importantly, it gives way to the '*plurality of cultures*', where culture is represented as contested social constructions (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987: 99-110, see also Jackson, 1989). Culture here is time and space specific, and both formal and informal (popular) (Wright, 1947, as cited in Cosgrove, 2007: 204). Geographic understanding of culture promotes interpretive positions and a focus on symbolism³. Alison Young (1996: 59) explains that space is significant because it is historically constructed and defined. Young uniquely envisions space at two layers, the *urbs* and the *civitas*. *Urbs* describe the layout or general plan of the city, what has previously been called the 'brute' or 'unvarnished

² These are locations of physical realities that do not rely on perception, such as trees, streets, and buildings.

³ 'This interest in culture is not to be taken as an endorsement of the focus on symbolism and hermeneutics that is currently so fashionable in anthropology. I share Southall's concern about a lessening of attention to the real events of political activity, and I agree that the realities of social life are sometimes ignored in favour of interpretive exercises whose significance and verity is sometimes difficult to assess' (Southall, 1989, as cited in Swartz, 1992:435-6).

facts' (Lowenthal, 1975). The *civitas* refers to the emotions and the ethical layers of the city, what essentially constitutes a community. While this differentiation of the city has been addressed many times throughout this thesis, Young provides a language for the layer of space one can culturally investigate. While Sauer and the original concepts of cultural geography might have been more interested in the *urbs* of city development and the actual impact human activity had on the natural environment, the 'new cultural geography' focuses more specifically on the *civitas* and its impact on the foundations of society/culture.

The more *civitas*-focused new cultural geography is thus more apposite to this thesis. There have been many discussions and debates on the manipulation and mapping of the physical environment in criminology (cf. Chapter 2: Toward a cartographic criminology?). However, criminology falls short of acknowledging and examining the *civitas* of city spaces. The *civitas* can be approached in several ways. Clavel and Entrikin (2004: 32) argue that cultural geography acknowledged the existence of mental structures as a new dimension of the cultural approach. Mental structures of space and place, as communicated through cognitive maps (see Appendix 1: Mental Structures of Space and Cognitive Mapping), have made a significant contribution to geography's study of culture and its impact on spatial behaviour and perceptions. Cosgrove and Jackson (1987) promote the work of Stuart Hall and his thesis of culture in society. The appropriation of material objects and the cultural landscape is steeped in symbolic meaning with values attached. This approach to discovering and mapping the *civitas* could be done through calling upon the rich literatures of symbolic interaction. Finally there are the initiatives put forth by cultural criminologists in their work on crime and cultural space.

Spearheaded by Ferrell (1999; 2001) and Hayward (2004a), cultural criminology attempts to utilise similar principles put forth from new cultural geography to examine contested public meaning in public space, public construction of identity and community, and the meaningful nature of cultural spaces. Although not mutually exclusive, these three principles require further explanation and consideration before demonstrating how their assessments can be used in creating a stronger cartographic criminology. Next, this chapter will explore symbolic interaction literature before reviewing cultural criminology's contribution.

5.1b Symbolic Interaction

Symbolic interaction is simply the study of how cultural symbols, languages, and realities are represented and interpreted. Meanings are social products defined by activities and behaviours that arise in the interaction between people (Blumer, 1969), often negotiated according to expressions one intends and others interpretation of those expressions (Goffman, 1975). With a rich ethnographic background, interactionist sociology explores how the practical and everyday occurrences of life become common sense knowledge. This approach to investigating the everyday rests on a cyclical premise. Individuals act towards things on the basis of personal meaning; their interaction with others derives and develops meaning; and these meanings are then interpreted to guide an individual to act. Garfinkel's (1967) contention that society accords attention to the extraordinary events of life, those that are strange or estranged to the usual, becomes reason for such a heightened public interest in deviance and transgression. He further notes that 'as Alfred Schutz pointed out, a 'special motivation' is required to make them problematic' (*ibid.*: 37). The interactionist literature is explored here to help provoke a critical stance on how meanings and interpretations of transgressive behaviours in space contribute to crime mapping. While criminal definitions themselves are constructed and represented as problematic to society, the attention paid to law breaking is not always because they are beyond the typical everyday. The reflections of these representations are mapped and the task here, using this approach, is to question how and why this is done.

In 1932, William Isaac Thomas provided a fundamental thesis of interaction studies. His 'definition of the situation' formulation suggested that meaning is created through the process of interpretation. The 'definition of the situation' is the negotiated agreement on exchanged information to enable the social actors to act according to prescribed social protocol. Thus a successful encounter is one where a desired response is elicited from the interaction (Goffman, 1975). However, his contribution only served as part of the development of the interactionist tradition. Canonised interactionist literature cites the importance of Thomas' contribution to the formation of the symbolic function

and its consequences. Nevertheless, his Chicago colleague George Herbert Mead⁴ made a bigger impact on the field with his work on symbolism and its relevance to the process of social order and meaning (Atkins and Housley, 2003).

Mead (1962), a pragmatist and social psychologist, fathered the development of meaning as it arises within the relationship between gestures and significant symbols. This development of meaning is manipulated and matured during the many phases of social acts, with communication and language forming to deliver and accept the consequences of every interaction. Furthermore, Mead (1962: 68) initiated the concept of reflective principles by proposing that we see 'ourselves as others see us' and we address 'ourselves as others address us'. Mead's notion of individuals picking up the dialects of one's self and the reflective principles of acting toward one's self as he might act towards others, as Blumer (1969: 80) presupposed, becomes the 'central mechanism with which the human being faces and deals with his world'. As such, it becomes necessary and important to question how individuals theorise and approach the many interactions and symbols that challenge their own sense of self.

It is the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz (1964) that lent impetus to the interactionist progress. In conjunction with Mead, Schutz agreed that daily life provided opportunities to acquire the skills and wisdom necessary for efficient and conventional social interactions. He put forth the task of challenging the common sense and taken for granted assumptions of others actions. Complacency of everyday knowledge forged through common definitions and expectations fail to critique why and how norms are developed in society. As such, the direct and indirect defiance to the moral order and social continuity instigates a questioning and often a defence of moral and social practices. The attainment of common knowledge, however, is done through the exploration and interpretation of daily transactions with the world. Investigating the social practices does not produce completely objective knowledge since it is tainted by individual epistemology. In other words, human examination of social norms and knowledge are learnt through daily social transactions where convention is the ultimate goal for social assimilation. But these norms and knowledge are not pure truths and do not often derive from defying social continuity and order. It is the task of phenomenology

⁴ As Atkins and Housley (2003: 6) warn, however, that initial influence and connections between Meadian philosophy and Chicago sociology were not made from the beginning. Intellectual promotion of studying the association between interactionism, social structure and marginalisation correctly credits Mead's early efforts of the tradition. Mead's influence was not quite direct and clear. Instead, they argue for the intellectual impetus of Georg Simmel in the development of Chicago sociology and interactionism. Simmel's claim to the metropolis and urban growth in the epoch of modernity is palpable when exploring the Chicago sociological tradition. Though his influence is undeniable in the establishment of interactionism, his greatest efforts focused on how individuals interact with the urban space itself.

and the advisability of Schutz to cease the measurement of truth in knowledge in favour of how it is manifested.

Phenomenology encouraged interactionist work on meaning and interpretative analysis. Since the goal is not to assess the degree of correctness and rectitude of knowledge, shifting focus to the process of interaction and interpretation seems the obvious course for identifying its formation. Finding how conventional knowledge is formed is most easily discovered on the margins of society. In this respect, searching for what deviates from convention is to propel inquiry as to why the marginalised are different than the convention and the ways in which they are perceived to pose a threat to common society. An early tradition of interactionist study of deviance most notably formed to question and force reflection upon mainstream thought and performance (Downes and Rock, 1982). The result of such studies demonstrated the inclination of the masses to blame individuals for their own marginalisation from society instead of accommodating to alternative social beliefs.

Interactionism weds this philosophy of methodology and phenomenology to supply a lexicon in which the symbolic action can be expressed. Pulling together the bits and pieces of the tradition, Ervin Goffman (1975) continued the work started by Simmel and other affiliates of Chicago sociology. According to Goffman (1975), to survive the jungle of *mélange* relations within the social environment requires the awareness of implicit conventions that govern situations. If a social agent is unaware of convention or challenges convention, this deviation from the norm yields potential offence. Appearance and manner negotiate the expectation of one's status and the anticipated position they will have in an oncoming situation. Expectations in the form of conventional social performances become institutionalised facades. These facades, what Goffman (1975: 37) referred to as a 'social front', become 'a 'collective representation' and a fact in their own right' in that they retain meaning and social function. His contribution to interactionism maintains that the expected convention in everyday life and the presentation of one's self is based on the collective accord of appropriate behaviours. The collective accord, however, are inspired by the basic establishments of society. While Goffman (1975: 232-233) acknowledged establishment can be considered with a 'technical', 'political', and 'structural' lens, it is the 'cultural' consideration of

establishment where moral values influence societal norms.⁵ This significant emphasis of culture on behaviours, appearances, and traditions necessitates study of its influence on how meaning is expressed and interpreted.

Clifford Geertz (1973: 12) reflects on Goffman's assertion when he wrote, '[c]ulture is public because meaning is'. Culture emerged as the hot topic for symbolic sociology during the 1960s and 1970s. Though its inception as a fundamental aspect of society surfaced before this precept, it developed as a crucial facet to interactionism. Just as social structure represents status and position of how social agents act towards one another, culture derives from symbolic cues in what people do (Blumer, 1969). Culture embodies structures of meaning which shape social experience. As such, Geertz argued that the interpretive search for meaning in events is how empirical access is gained and not by abstracted trends and patterns derived from experimental science for law formation. Taking this argument into account, it is fair to infer that social events and culture itself could be misunderstood if it is determined via patterns and statistics alone. The interpretive search for meaning is not one with a distinct conclusion but one which has no single ontology.

The very general recounting of interactionism compounded with the philosophical consideration of meaning, representation and culture, colludes to the construction and communication of crime mapping. Accepting the facets of interactionism to be rhetoric, representation and the lived experience presupposes that its tenets creates how transgressive spaces are discovered and communicated through coalesced rhetoric and representation. If crime is a product of offence instigated by challenging dominant structural convention or generated from lived cultural experience, then its spatial discourse becomes a product of the same construction. Indeed, concepts such as 'crime' and 'deviance' 'have no ontological reality' and are 'social constructions that are selectively applied' disproportionately by 'control apparatuses' in society (Beirne, 2002: 381). Not wishing to detour from the relationship between interactionism and crime mapping, the inherent assumption of crime as a socially constructed concept is important. Morrison (1995: 169) said it best when he asserted, '[c]rimes do not have an ontological necessity but a construction that changes across time and place.' As such, criminal spaces

⁵ 'An establishment may be viewed 'technically' (efficiency and inefficiency as an intentionally organized system of activity for the achievement of a predefined goal), 'politically' (actions demanded of participants, kinds of deprivations and indulgences can be ordered for the command, and the kinds of social controls which guide command), 'structurally' (status divisions, social relations), and 'culturally' (moral values which influence customs, appearance, manners, normative restrictions on means).' (Goffman, 1975: 232-233)

as well as transgressive behaviours ought to be understood through the interpretive search for meaning alongside emerging social patterns and trends.

It is possible to develop the thesis that conventional crime mapping illustrates how we crave a simplistic view of reality over a more intricate one. Certainly, an interpretative approach shapes the mapping of deviance, convention, and the 'other'. However, visual communications of spatial deviance are socially constructed and ideologically biased (Kimball, 2006). Accepting Morrison's (1995) assertion of crime as constructed in addition to maps as constructed, recognizing how they are produced is necessary step in appreciating deviant spaces. If a Median attitude is applied to deviant phenomena by suggesting certain actions are deviant because some see it as so, it must question societal established order. Instituted as laws and customs, social order regulates the population's behaviours, with sanctions primed to take action on those who perform in unexpected or unacceptable ways. Conventional ideas set the parameters of acceptability and the product of ideas not within those parameters is defined as deviance, regardless of whether the phenomena are common or not. As such, it is important to establish how these deviant phenomena along with their recognised spaces are thus established and constructed.

Social construction, as first outlined by Berger and Luckmann (1966), presents an objective and subjective reality assembled through interactions with others. Human conduct and behaviour is socially controlled by its institutionalisation according to its temporal and geographic structure. Objective realities are built on relative brute facts while subjective realities are founded on institutional facts that are, at times, founded on objective realities and the general social attitudes towards them. Constructions of maps, applying arguments made by Searle (1995), contain these brute facts and institutional facts⁶, where consensual arguments have collective intentionality. For example, spatial features such as distance, roads, and houses are physical realities that do not depend on perception to denote their authenticity. Mapped demographic and transgressive features, on the other hand, depend on rules implemented on perceived ideologies and representations. These social facts are based on the foundations of accepted opinion. Places of poverty, for example, are dependent on household incomes, which are

⁶ Searle (1995) distinguishes social facts as those statements subjectively determined. Institutional facts are social facts that are institutionalised within society's structure. This very brief overview on the premise of social construction, however, will emphasis Berger and Luckmann's (1966) assertion that constructed conduct and perceptions are enforceable through institutionalised means. This is not to suggest that the differences between social facts and institutional facts as put forth by Searle do not have their differences. Rather, for the purpose of mapping crime, it is presumed that social facts are at some point realised through their institutionalisation.

measurable objective facts. However, the social construction of 'poverty' is not absolute across all temporal and geographic lines and is ontologically subjective.

The contestation and social conflict in crime mapping lies in the differing representations and perceived realities of crime and its space. Individuals and groups from varying backgrounds and epistemologies discover and perceive social reality in sundry ways (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Recalling the critique offered in the first chapter of this thesis, maps are social constructions and have power to influence social knowledge (Wood, 1992). Revisiting David Harvey's (1989) contention that the dominant ideology constructs maps according to their perception of social reality, it is undeniable that the institutionalisations of social facts are no different. Structural institutions teach acceptable, conventional behaviour as well as the sanctions expected if defied. Except for the odd occasion, these set behaviours and sanctions are determined by the governance of dominant ideologies that are often biased towards oppressed groups and written to exclude their deviation from custom. The criminal justice process as well as its mapping does not often consider how governance in society determines subjective social facts. What is not considered, moreover, is the disparity that exists in governance and the practices used to produce crime maps.

5.1c Cultural Criminology

Cultural criminology is a movement within criminology gaining momentum in Great Britain, Europe and the United States. Its appeal perhaps lies in the energetic response to the increasingly mundane and measurable quantitative world of late-modern mainstream criminology (see Ferrell, 2004; Young, 2004). Cultural criminology attempts to breathe life back into the study of crime and crime control by considering the often ignored 'aspects of human predicaments' (Wender, 2004:51) and 'rehumanising the process of criminological inquiry' (Ferrell, 2004:296). It is an approach that allows critical thought to meet creative constructs in understanding the relationships between crime and transgression, criminal control agencies, and representation and constructions of both (Ferrell 1999; Hayward and Young, 2004). Representations of crime take a front seat in the critical pursuit of understanding the ways knowledge and authority are constructed. Cultural criminology confronts the structures of power and control (Ferrell et al., 2004), promoting the creation of counter-claims in the constructions of crime, emphasising the interactions between the two.

Cultural criminology combines theoretical aspects of symbolic interactionism, focusing more on the 'symbolic' (Ferrell, 1999), and draws on the social constructionist perspective above and beyond that of media representation. Drawing on the works of scholars such as Clifford Geertz (1973), David Matza (1969), and David Downes and Paul Rock (1982), and following the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Hayward and Young, 2004), cultural criminology proposes that an examination of contemporary life and culture is vital for the reinterpretation of criminal behaviour in criminological inquiry (Hayward 2004a). Yet cultural criminology is, as Jock Young (2004:13) notes, distinctly late modern: 'It is in late modernity that such creativity and reflexivity becomes all the more apparent'. The goal is to emphasise the importance behind meaning and representation in crime and to understand it as a pursuit of the escape from the banalities of life (Ferrell, 1999; Hayward, 2004a). It is for these reasons cultural criminology promotes a methodological approach (outlined later in the chapter) that backs away from the staunch positivism of much orthodox criminology in favour of interpretative, ethnographic approaches (see Ferrell and Hamm, 1998).

Filling in the gaps left by conventional criminology is a daunting task to say the least. Cultural criminology supplements the subtle and glaring holes in the discipline while overwriting the texts on how to incite a sociological imagination when approaching transgressions in society. The following enlightens the many dimensions cultural criminology contributes to theoretic perspectives of crime. As Ferrell and Sanders (1995: 17) contend, '[b]ending or breaking the boundaries of criminology to construct a cultural criminology in this sense does not undermine contemporary criminology as much as it expands and enlivens it'. Cultural criminology thus makes sense of transgressive acts that may be construed as senseless. It reveals the meanings of crime. It exposes the criminalisation of everything unguarded by the powerful ideology of the social structure. It addresses how cultural expressions are criminalised and, in turn, expands the imaginative and alternative ways a cartographic criminology can think about crime and its mapping.

Cultural criminology draws from sociology and cultural studies to inspire its criminological principles. Conventional criminology, time and time again, has reluctantly constrained its vision to popular beliefs about the social order. It has simplified the acts of crime to the lowest common denominators of material gain, substance misuse, and biological inferiority. Environments of crime are explained within parameters of low self-control, economic disparity, or simple opportunity. These bland descriptions and explanatory factors fall short of reaching something real about human nature.. By

invoking the sociological imagination that Mills (1959) encouraged, cultural criminology throws scientific caution to the wind and challenges the taboos that curtail much mainstream research into crime and deviance. Levin (1980: 24) endorsed the principle of 'question everything', to loosen unnecessary constraints on morality and ethics when addressing the lived experience, and to avoid taboos that close the mind. But above all, he suggests, 'conform your belief and behaviour to the evidence'. Cultural criminology does just this.

Cultural criminology acknowledges boundaries of deviance, the lines between order and disorder that appear in everyday life. Ferrell (2001) mandates a necessity for the use of cultural analysis when investigating the social structure of deviance and control. Public spaces are often cleansed of those groups perceived to be threatening to conventional society and its norms. They require the regulation of law enforcement to prevent uneasiness amongst civil society. Order becomes the goal of functional society and those who subvert it (directly or indirectly) are targets for scrutiny, exclusion, or sanction. Messages of crime as functional in society serve to demonstrate acceptable and expected behaviour along with the potential consequences of deviation. These messages are delivered through various mass communications and cultural repertoires (see Tunnell, 1995).

Regardless of the messages of acceptable behaviours and threats of punishment when violating social norms, deviance and transgression live on. Static theories as to why crime perpetuates in the face of heftier regulations, informal sanctions and harsher punishments often fails to situate both meaning and social circumstance within the deviant or transgressive act. Relying on theories of crime ignore the significant impact of life circumstances and short term events (both which are greatly intertwined with the interaction of the everyday). Instead, it regurgitates rational views of behaviour that searches for simple factors responsible for its onset. For instance, attributing crime to dimensions of substance abuse and involvement in a retreatist subculture (Delisi, 2005) tells part of the story but does not seek further inquiry as to why and how these dimensions develop. Short term events, developmental changes, and life circumstances are more meaningful explanations of transgression. Transgression derives and manifests within the social structure and the interaction of daily events. The background factors set the stage for how the everyday is played out. Confronting the many challenges of the everyday carries with it an emotional dynamic that is not always rational or logical in its inception. Feelings of boredom, resentment and frustration produce energy and tension requiring appeasement (see Ferrell, 2004; Young, 2003). This loose energy needs

direction as it stands in opposition to the mainstream conditions that produce it.

Releasing the energy produced by the agitations and tediousness of the lived experience produce entries to crime through a culmination of transgression or resistance.

Crimes of transgression or resistance both make a mockery of the social order, stoking the fire of disorder that allows for the release from the boundaries of conventional society. Presdee (2000: 18-19) notes, however, that '[t]ransgressive crime stands separately from resistant crime in that transgression is an act that breaks through boundaries in order to shock and stand outside of the existing rules, regulations and rhythms of the social world. To resist is both to challenge yet change from within the existing boundaries'. The emphasis placed on the transitional crossing between boundaries of social conformity and deviation is where cultural criminology focuses. It understands and appreciates the social and cultural conditions of its subject of study, toeing the boundary between order and disorder with its subject. Subversive behaviours intending to undermine the social order, either through crimes of transgression or resistance, manifest through deviant movements and cultural themes. The space in which it occurs becomes significant in how it is defined and reacted to by social agents of control.

Not all transgression of the mundane and frustrating events of daily life results in criminal activity. The search for excitement, pleasure and danger as an emotional release and entry into disorder, promote voluntary risk-taking that becomes a sought thrill. In what Lyng (1990) refers to as 'edge-work', voluntary risk-taking activities that create a burst of adrenalin and excitement, the line between order and disorder blurs. At times, these activities become commercialised events that are regulated and safeguarded, allowing the adrenalin to flow if the subject can cover the cost on the price tag. Bungee jumping, skydiving, and the various daring sports associated with the X-Games provide suitable spatial settings for individuals to engage in a thrill or merely serve as a voyeur to the spectacle. However, these forms of voluntary risk-taking only answer the needs of those with the means. Those without the monetary allowance or those snubbing the commercial factor of controlled risk taking, engage in their own methods of pleasure and excitement that flirts with those social agents employed to maintain order. On one hand, it demonstrates differences between the subjects of study that engage in commercial thrills versus those who create their own through law breaking. On the other hand, choosing to engage in law breaking activities, even with the means to seek thrills through legitimate activities, adds an additional element of excitement when the potential of punishment can itself be thrilling.

Traditional criminology views social sanctions and punishment as a deterrent for crime. Cultural criminology, however, acknowledges that sometimes potential punishment may instead stimulate it. The early research put forth by Thomas (1923: 223) contended that '[t]he whole criminal procedure is based on punishment and yet we do not even know that punishment deters from crime. Or rather, we know that it sometimes deters and sometimes stimulates to further crime, but we do not know the conditions under which it acts in the one way or the other'. Studies of transgression suggest that perceived risk of punishment enhances carnivalesque-riots and transgressive actions (see Bakhtin, 1968, Jenks, 2003, and Presdee, 2000). Crime is to be apprehended and punished. Conceivably there is pleasure and excitement through this cat and mouse chase between law enforcers and law breakers. Though punishment represents the efforts of institutions to maintain order, change and reform can come in spite of it. Control and punishment are not absolutes in the process of social order maintenance, making them subject to cultural analysis.

In its theoretic precepts, cultural criminology provides strategies to critically assess and ameliorate the weaknesses of contemporary crime mapping practices. It is theoretically geared to offer resistance to orthodox crime mapping, invoking the sociological imagination to innovatively transform the treatment of space and its representations. Cultural criminology considers institutional and cultural factors in the commission of criminal offending, leaving behind blueprints to apply to space. This strategy addresses the weakness of prior crime mapping practices to consider both the multidimensional interpretations of space and the role it plays in offending, victimisation, and responses to transgressive elements. Further, it offers a critical stance in how the governance of Western capitalist societies centres its control in the urban jungles, where the capitalist heart beats the loudest.

Cultural criminology theoretically holds the key to the promise of it serving as a corrective to the various weaknesses of mapping spaces of deviance and crime. It is equipped to address the incongruities and limitations orthodox crime mapping presents and expands the work an interactionist approach offers. All of the needed puzzle pieces are present. What is to be determined is how cultural criminology methodologically solves the puzzle of deviant and criminal spaces and how it is deciphered.

While cultural criminology is still growing as a sub-discipline, it has covered a variety of concepts and it is cultural criminological literature on space that is of primary interest to this doctoral research. For cultural criminologists, space is viewed on two levels; the first is that top-down abstract space, mapped on a grid and overlaid with

demographic information, quantitative data, and numeric figures. The second view of space comes from the ground, the alternative reading to the abstract, littered with images, culture and social life. The first perspective is the dominant view of space in mainstream criminology, cold and abstract and no longer resembling human life, it became the popular method of viewing space after positivism stomped out the richness of ethnographic field research. As Kane (2004:310) states, '[t]he very map to which the culture area ascribes is now dotted with communication hardware on continents that are cabled together fiber optically. Such techno-cartographic interpellations have forever altered the cultural landscape of crime.'

Drawing on the works of Raban (1974) and Michael de Certeau (1984), Keith Hayward's (2004) *City Limits* developed cultural criminology's theoretical position on crime and space. Agreeing with Hayward's perspective, positivist methodologies have abstracted space and have made crime a mere 'mappable' event, overlooking the richness of the cultural interactions occurring within the same space. The abstracted 'bird's eye' view of space in addition to cultural underlife creates a dual analysis of urban space. Reducing crime to 'mappable' events has resulted in a society that attempts to employ rationalized forms of control, using technology such as CCTV to police troubled areas, void of any understanding of the cultural representations underlining these acts of deviance and transgression. Hayward also argues that the mapping of criminal events has created a criminology that ignores the offender in favour of the relationship between criminal activities and the environment.

Cultural criminology's consistent promotion of ethnography as a basic mode of investigation leaves little direction and discussion for *how* various practices embedded in ethnographic research advance knowledge of space and transgression. Walking is one underlying practice subtly encouraged in cultural criminology though not as effortlessly assumed under the umbrella of ethnography. Dissecting peripatetic practices and their benefits illustrate how ethnography is truly a cluster of practices on the road to knowing about social life and how it can shape the perception of space.

Walking is genuinely the most taken-for-granted tool in ethnographic research. Walking as a research method offers researchers an experience similar to those living the everyday reality of the streets travelled, extracting knowledge of an area and perceptions of the space. With every step, new thoughts and feelings are educed. This practice in turn promotes an innovative method of developing a street phenomenology, offering analysis of interaction and experience within space. Cultural criminology aims to create methodological bridges between disciplines in order to best appreciate the dynamics of

space, transgressions, emotions and risk. Successful evaluation of the everyday social experience involves first-hand involvement as well as the ability to extricate. As Katz and Csordas (2003) contend, a phenomenological sensibility ought to accompany ethnography. They explain that phenomenology for sociological ethnography means,

the study, through various participant observation-like methods, of the structures of the life-world, meaning the forms, structures or features that people take as objectively existing in the world as they shape their conduct upon the presumption of their prior, independent existence. Phenomenology is a natural perspective for ethnographic research that would probe beneath the locally warranted definitions of a local culture to grasp the active foundations of its everyday reconstruction (2003: 284-285).

Indeed, the heritage of interactionism enables speech amongst those ignored by governing institutions, the construction of actions shaped in time and space, and the transcendent meaning of place. What better way to discover the phenomenology of social life on the streets than walking them.

Kusenbach's (2003) acknowledges the importance of walking in the ethnographic exploration of everyday life. She argues that ethnographic practices usually divide into segments of observation and interviewing. Instead of this basic segmenting in ethnography, Kusenbach (2003: 463-464) promotes a type of 'go-along' method, requiring informants and researcher to walk the relevant areas together. This type of peripatetic practice offers a greater opportunity for researchers to derive actions, behaviours, and interpretations from their informants. It provides a natural setting for informants to offer narratives and memories of biographies and experiences as they occur in the familiar environment. Finally, the go-along technique engages research respondents in their own environment where their everyday activities take place; allowing for observation of spatial practices while accessing their experiences and interpretations at the same time. Additionally, it aims to capture the stream of perceptions, emotions and interpretations that respondents may not share in a typical interviewing scenario.

The 'go-along' or 'walk-along' approach assists the criminological perspective by reintroducing the most fundamental features of human predicaments in the problems of crime and control, and understanding how emotional responses shape the perception of space. By utilising more ground-level approaches in our 'knowing' about spaces of crime and risk, we gain greater academic understanding about how rigour the perceptions of spaces are formed. Ferrell (2004) promotes active engagement with the streets - not from the seat of a car or the armchair of the office - but by walking the streets. The practice of walking in space helps create new maps of precarious places, illustrating emotional

reactions to space (especially fear as it relates to victimisation), weakening disciplinary authority, and producing greater knowledge and awareness of space (Kane, 2004). It also promotes research that investigates border crossing rituals and how crime relates to diverse agendas, cultures and histories. All of these benefits produce different ways of understanding and representing truth and authority.

While this approach assists in constructing a story that is not a romanticised vision of space, it does venture into narrative constructions of victimisation. This in turn assists in reconstructing the culture lived, which is, as Katz and Csordas' (2003) argue, is never the culture represented. Walking with respondents offers the emotional narrative of an interview with the benefit of experiencing the space. Being in the space assists in the emotional understandings of the respondents lived experiences. Jenks and Neves (2000) argue that the historic figure of the *flâneur* and other early ethnographers walked the urban environment, sharing interests in those urban groups with alternative lifestyles, including criminals. Like these early figures, contemporary researchers walking around the urban landscape can reveal zonal boundaries, such as 'no-go' areas and 'bad parts of town', and acquire new sets of spatial meanings. They can gain a balanced relation between experience and cultural symbolism, experience, knowledge and spatiality (*ibid*: 11). Further, they may find enlightenment in how the terrain is limited and possessed zonally, being off-limits to some according to gender, ethnicity, and class.

Maps of walking routes, mental or material, self-created or produced for general consumption, are of considerable importance to this chapter. Two case studies are offered to demonstrate how cultural geographies, symbolic interaction, and cultural criminology become familiar with space and its cartographic representations. For this exercise, this chapter reviews crime tourism maps (Case Study 5) as well as grassroots maps of graffiti (Case Study 6). Each example suggests its own interpretive reading, though in the end, both offer key lessons for the development of cartographic criminology.

5.2 Case Study 5 - Cultural transformations of place and their maps: the spectacle of crime tours

This case study examines maps intended to provide a journey through time with the spaces visited. Without relying on a guide being present, the maps are tasked with helping transport its readers to a time when danger loomed around the corner. Maps in this case study are playing a role in a type of storytelling meant to provide thrills through spectacle. They are elevated above being communicators of paths to being communicator

of excitement and spectacle. These maps are theatrical and are functional in that storytelling process. Critical cartographic criminology benefits from examining these types of maps since they thrill and delight readers with tales of spaces about criminality and criminal inhabitancy. They are maps created in modern times of historical occurrences of significance – ones that are meant to horrify us in delightful ways (unlike the maps presented in Case Study 4).

Unlike other geographical approaches, psychogeographies emerged from the French avant-garde art movement during the post-war period as a response to the rise of the consumer society. Guy Debord (1967) became the force behind the movement as the self-appointed leader of the *Internationale Situationniste* (Situationist International), positing that images dominate modern life, creating a spectacle of human relations mediated by images, to promote consumerism and control the activities and consciousness of individuals (Barnard, 2004). As a result, cities have ‘psychogeographical contours, with constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones’ (Bassett, 2004:401), creating specific effects of the geographical environment on the emotions and behaviours of individuals (Knabb, 1981). In sum, the spectacle stifles rich experiences and expressions of human life. The Situationist International responded to this contention by creating the concept of a psychogeography as a form of therapy from the commodified fetishism of the city in order to excite senses and emotions of human life, requiring new maps of the city capable of representing states of consciousness and feeling (Bassett, 2004).

This alternative approach in reading and viewing city and country spaces involved diverse forms of ethnography, practices of walking, and related aesthetic strategies. As Bassett explains, unlike the leisurely and pleasurable stroll of the nineteenth century *flâneur*, a psychogeographer engages in the *dérive* which allows movement in space to be done with a ‘critical attitude towards the hegemonic scope of modernity’ which is designed to ‘reveal some deeper reality to the city and urban life’ (2004:401). The *dérive* requires that one avoid the urban spectacles and adapt to a sense of a classless marginality in order to ‘explore spaces in new ways’. Through this practice, the technique of *détournement* allows for ‘existing aesthetic elements’ be rearranged in ‘new forms of expression’ (Barnard 2004: 121). The expression of emotions and behaviours elicited in this process can be recorded or demonstrated through the use of prose, poems, photographic images (Barnard 2004; Ulmer et al. 2003), or maps.

Psychogeography calls for new maps of cities to define space and environments according to needs and emotions and not consumer functions. Steve Pile’s (2006) book

Real Cities: Modernity, Space and the Phantasmagorias of City Life is an exemplary response to this call, investigating the dream-like and ghost-like experiences of the city, drawing from imaginary and emotional aspects of the urban environment. Pile argues that these *phantasmagorias*, changing encounters combined with bizarre images, are experienced and produced in city life, which contribute to the politics of real cities and ways we can improve city life. He argues, '[i]n this urbanised space, we can no longer expect to find one answer, or one dream, as if it pointed to only one meaning. Instead, these psychogeographic experiments convey a sense of the multiplicity of cities, that overlap, pass by one another – that cross, get crossed and get cross' (*ibid.*: 15).

Cultural criminology concedes to division between normalcy and transcendence into deviance structured in the everyday order of life. The conventional structure commands obedience and deference to the laws of society. It defines the norms, taboos and the connection of the two to determine when behaviour is expected/accepted, and when sanctions through control mechanisms require implementation. Even when the descent to transgression occurs, meaningful accounts of deviance are produced to safeguard functional society from distrust or interference (Matza, 1969). Only so much transgressive behaviour is expected through the lived experience although it is pushed to remain concealed, to be suppressed so as to not taint conventional structures. These invitations to the edge where excitement and danger reside are purposeful in so far as to rationally construct such deviations as part and parcel to reaffirm conventional social order, placing individuals back into their appropriate roles.

However not all transcendence into deviance remains controlled and familiar. Emotional responses to situations lead to estranged behaviours and events. The desire to break free from the confines of everyday regulations is a response to a lack of sensual human needs. At this nexus of alien (and at times alienating) territory where emotions over rationale reign supreme, a concept of dangerousness emerges that demands identification and definition. These territories are situated in historical and political economic conditions that, according to O'Malley and Mugford (1994), suggest a phenomenology of pleasure and desire. Individual necessity and collective coherence relies on emotionality over rationality to guide the pursuit [of what?] into such deviant transcendence. Similarly, Ferrell and Hamm (1998) correctly identify the important element of popular culture as the apparatus and mitigation through which desire and danger manifests.

Likewise, Alison Young (1996) proposes that we can experience the 'edge', the social fringes, vicariously through mediated sources, such as novels and voyeurism.

Alex Warwick (2006) demonstrates this proposal with her fascination of Jack the Ripper tours in Whitechapel, London. These various mediated sources explore and deliver the history and feelings of suspense, thrill, and danger. The spaces explored, fictitious or real, provide emotional fancies of crime. London represents a core city containing within its districts spaces that excite and confound the imagination. Every year, tourists visit Baker Street where the fictitious Sherlock Holmes decoded and thwarted the attempts of great criminal enterprises. Many great novels embrace the history and landscape of London as the perfect setting for intrigue and murder.

However, not all tales of London's criminal underbelly are matters of fiction or fancy. London has housed its share of criminal legends. Countless books and articles on this topic reveal a long history of criminal activity. The places and locations of fascinating, violent criminal actions become ingrained in the collective memory of the city. The place merely marks the spot but it is by reconstructing the space that a type of cultural geography of crime forms⁷.

Chris Jenks (2003) offers the most lucid argument for criminology's involvement with psychogeographies and the criminal culture. Jenks develops what he terms a 'minatorial geography', arguing that 'within any social world high and low orders have an antagonistic relation' where 'the possibility of one depends upon the necessity of the other' (*ibid.* 173). Here, he describes the symbolic transition of place; the social framework of space transformed by cultural mnemonics, a place of fear and intimidation transformed into a place of fascination and intrigue. London's East End illustrates Jenks case:

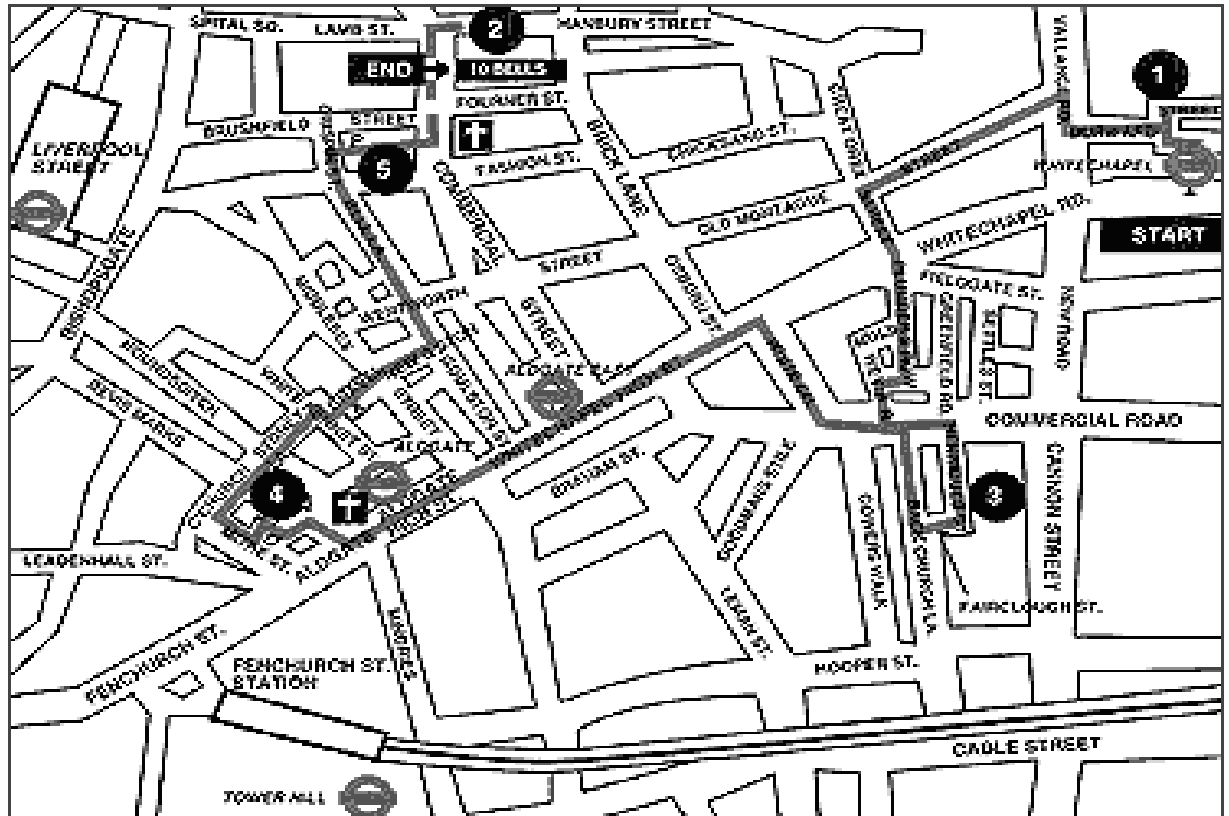
At the outset the East End was a territory without a map; it slowly evolved into a precise cartography but the territory disappeared. Now it stands in a twilight world between 'urban place' and 'museum space', which can only mean one thing. It is a realm where many of the living constantly pay homage to the dead. Where visitors, newcomers and the dangerously curious simulate and assimilate the memories and myths that are inscribed in the names of the streets and pubs that are in turn the only indicators of a cultural coherence (*ibid.* 124).

Jenks specifically refers to the legend of the Kray Twins' criminal dominance and organised crime empire at its height during the 1950s and 1960s. However, the cultural transformation of space, from fear to fascination, is more remarkable when discussing Jack the Ripper.

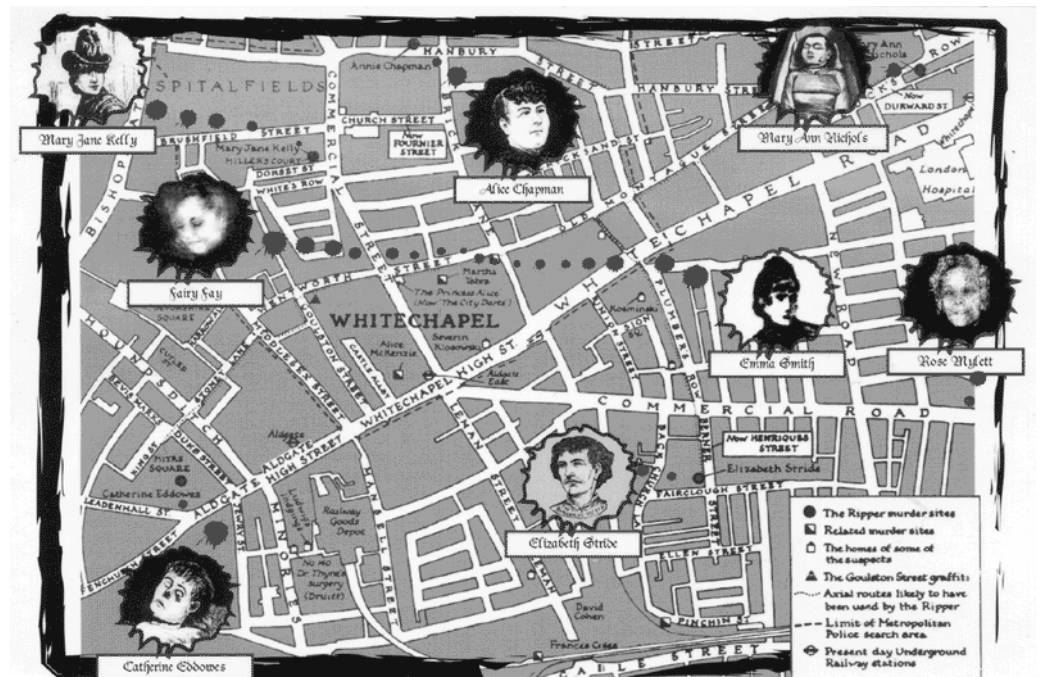
⁷On a personal note, it is bewildering to see a group of eager tourists standing around a seemingly random patch of pavement, essentially an unloading dock for the adjacent building, looking disgusted and horrified. While there is nothing apparently horrific about the sight, smell, or sounds of the area – a spatial construction of meaning causes appal. A tour guide, tour audio, or tour map serves as a medium in the delivery of spatial reconstruction; transforming a common-day place into a horrifying crime scene of old. The unloading dock of today is also the same location where a body of one of Jack the Ripper's victims was found mutilated and left for display.

The East End has an abundance of ‘crime’ tours but none as popular as the many Jack the Ripper tours available. Whitechapel hosts various personally guided group tours, audio tours, and self-guided walking tours for visitors fascinated by the macabre. Jack the Ripper tours guide visitors through streets of Whitechapel to the locations vital to his legacy, most prominently to the sites where his victims were found slain. Horror Tours (2007) boast that their guides ‘liven up the trip by doing some spooky but harmless fun’. The Talking Tours (2009) guided audio tour is narrated by an ‘international Ripper expert’ to provide an authenticity to heighten the grandeur of the sites visited. However, maps are necessary tools for these tours. The tourist maps for these walks provide certain realism to the narrative. The mysterious Ripper and his victims exist in another time long past, but the geography of these horrors remain. Therefore, the map of these locations throughout Whitechapel can ground the entire experience in two ways.

First, and most practically, the tour map allows visitors to track these vital sites by signposting important present-day locations. For example, in Map 5.1, the Talking Tours’ map provides a simple view of the neighbourhood with clearly labelled streets and near-by tube-stop locations. The important stops on the tour are pinned and numbered for visitors to follow ‘in the footsteps of Jack the Ripper’. The map is basic and informative without further dramatisations. Alternatively, the tour map can strengthen and escalate the horror of the experience using macabre imagery and symbols, as illustrated in Map 5.2. The Horror Tours’ Jack the Ripper map also provides a clear representation of Whitechapel and the streets leading to the points of interest. However, the map does not emphasis present-day tube-stop locations. It does not simply indicate the stops on the tour with numbers but with gruesome illustrations of the various victims. This map communicates the speculated routes taken by the Ripper and the search limits of the Metropolitan police at the time. Other related murder sites are also denoted on the map. The London Horror Tours write that their Ripper tour transports visitors to another time, stating that ‘as you walk down cobble stone roads and dark alleyways, 19th century London materialises’. One’s psychogeography transforms through the experience their tour provides, starting with their map. Visitors are no longer walking in the present-day spaces of Whitechapel; they are visiting the dark and grizzly spots of nineteenth-century murder and violence.



Map 5.1 The Talking Tour Company: Jack the Ripper Tour. ‘In the footsteps of Jack the Ripper.’ The Talking Tour Company: London Walking Tours for your iPod or CD Player. Source: http://www.talking-tours.co.uk/jack_the_ripper.htm

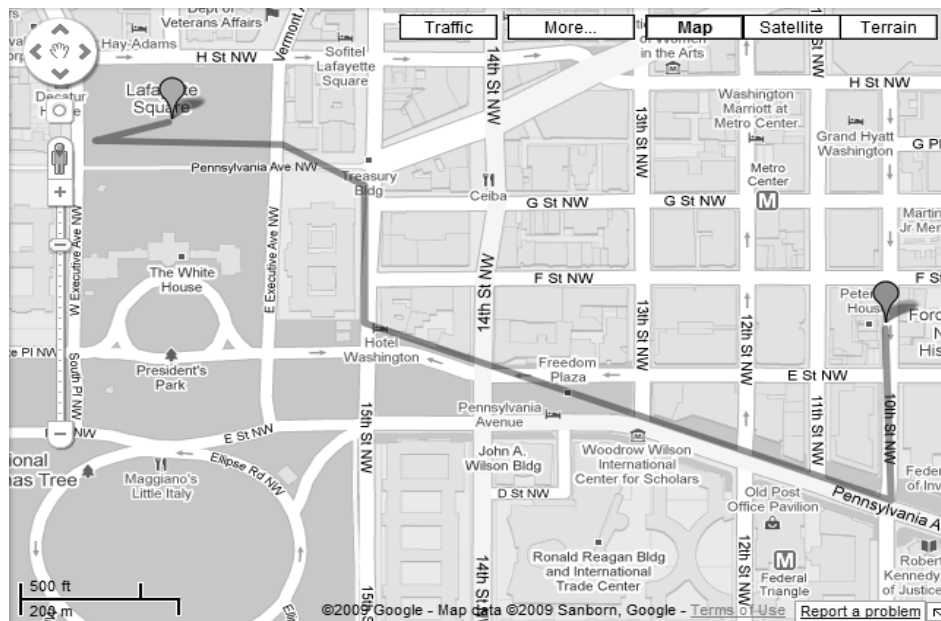


Map 5.2 London Horror Tours Present the Jack the Ripper Walking Tour. Source: http://www.londonhorrortours.co.uk/graphics/map_feb_2007large.gif

Tour dramatics, such as costumed characters and lively narratives, undeniably contribute to the dynamic experience of reliving the historic horrors of crime and

violence that are so culturally exciting. However, the maps provided for such tours set the scene for these experiences. The first Jack the Ripper tour map (5.1) is not terribly ominous, unlike the second map (5.2) which intends to create a feeling of trepidation and terror; providing the danger, thrill, and excitement of crime (Warwick, 2006). Moreover, it exemplifies a story-telling aspect that can be built into a map. If the provided tour map fails to set the scene for the horrors the tour intends to reveal, then a sense of thrill and excitement is lost from the start.

Map 5.3 is the tour map provided by a company guiding Lincoln Assassination walking tours in Washington, D.C. (<http://www.dcbyfoot.com/lincoln.asp>). The tour description pledges a ‘journey back in time with your guide to learn about the three-pronged attack designed to decapitate the U.S. Government’, possibly executed with the character performances encountered during the tour. However, their provided tour map fails to excite this possibility. A Google map of the tour provides the general route taken but misses the opportunity to create the initial thrill of the actual steps ‘leading up to Booth’s mad crime’ (*ibid.*).



Map 5.3 D.C. By Foot – Lincoln Assassination. A Lincoln Assassination walking tour that starts in front of Andrew Jackson statue and ends at Ford's Theatre. Source: <http://www.dcbyfoot.com/lincoln.asp>

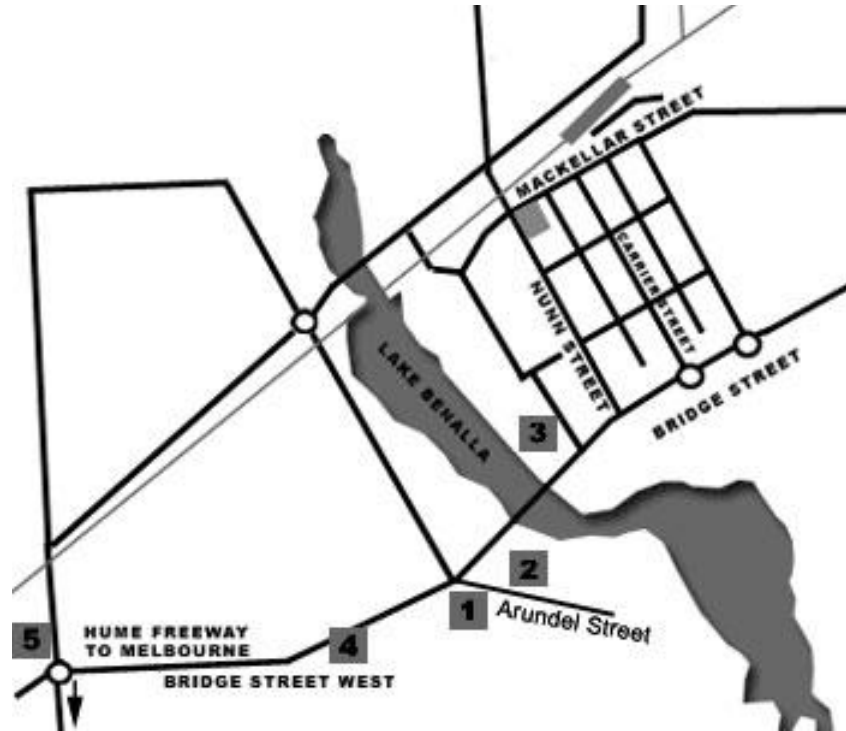
Maps that accompany these sorts of walking tours rely on a transcendence described in psychgeographies. They are snapshots of history intended to reveal some deeper reality that is no longer apparent on the surface. Walking tour maps communicate the general layout of the city that is then imbued with a story-telling layer of past criminal transgressions. de Certeau (1998: 118-120) addresses the use of maps in tours, contending that the maps must stand on their own for when a guide is not present to

narrate the experiences. Tour maps, essentially, are not just about the geographical foot journey but rather an order of events that takes them through time, as a sort of history played out through their walking experience.

Maps too are mediated sources from which we can vicariously experience the 'edge' and social fringes (as discussed earlier in this chapter: Young, 1996). Though some walking tour maps take the opportunity to more effectively create a sense of thrill (such as Map 5-2) while others do not offer any thrill in its artistic embellishments, all of these walking tour maps ultimately provide a transitional crossing from present-day safety to past-years dangers. They are safe methods by which one can experience the 'edge' without having to leave the realm of order.

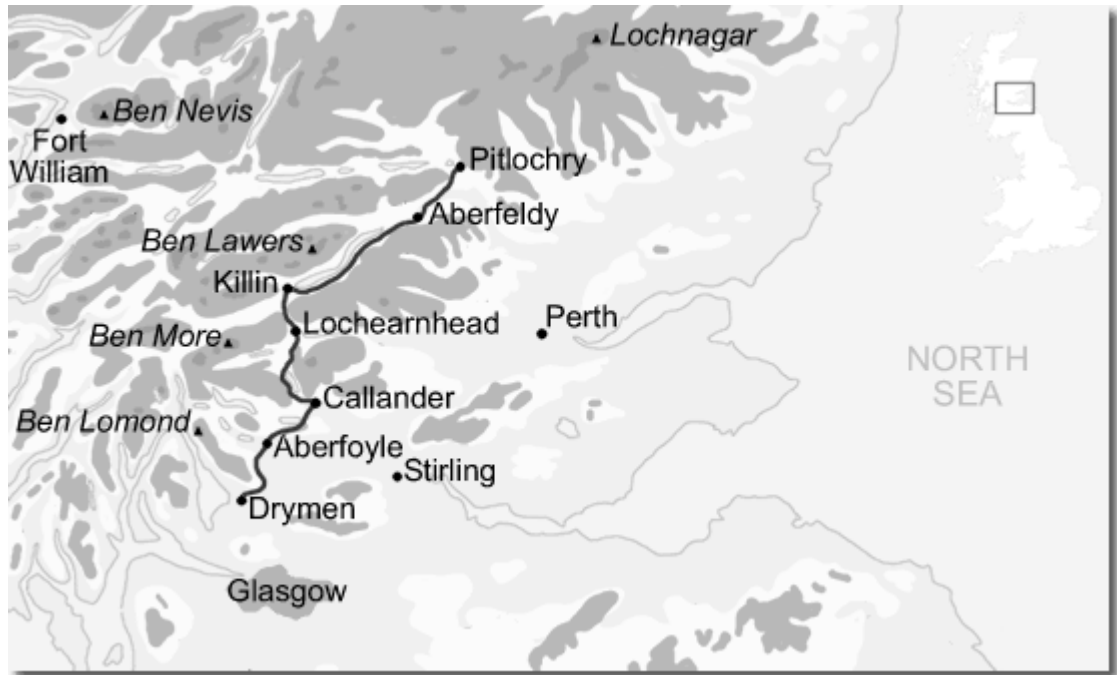
Trails of outlaws also make for fascinating crime tourism. Different from walking crime tours, such as Jack the Ripper and Lincoln's Assassination, outlaw trails typically reside outside of the urban space and involve travelling over large swaths of land. As a result, these tours usually require a combination of driving and walking. Another key difference is the sense of 'freedom' that exists along these trails. Escaping the boundaries of city centres and embarking on a journey that mirrors outlaws of old may instil a sense of freedom in exploring the open space. Let's consider the most infamous outlaws from four countries; the outlaw trails of Ned Kelly in Australia, Rob Roy in Scotland, Billy the Kid in the United States, and Robin Hood in England.

The Ned Kelly, Rob Roy, and Billy the Kid tour maps and guides all have format in common. Complementing each other, the map and the tour guide lists, in order, the cities or towns to visit and notes the points of interest in each location. Outlaw trail maps do not convey the same sort of narrative flow or direct routes required to retell stories of criminal transgressions. For example, the Jack the Ripper tour specifically guides visitors from one location to the next in the unfolding of a sinister tale. Instead, outlaw tours require tourists to openly explore locations and specific sites that are part and parcel of a larger narrative of outlawry. In Victoria, Australia, the Ned Kelly Trail (2007) highlights stops in varying towns and locations once inhabited or travelled by Ned Kelly and his gang (see Map 5-4). The map depicts points of interest in the town of Benalla that played vital roles in the life of Ned Kelly.



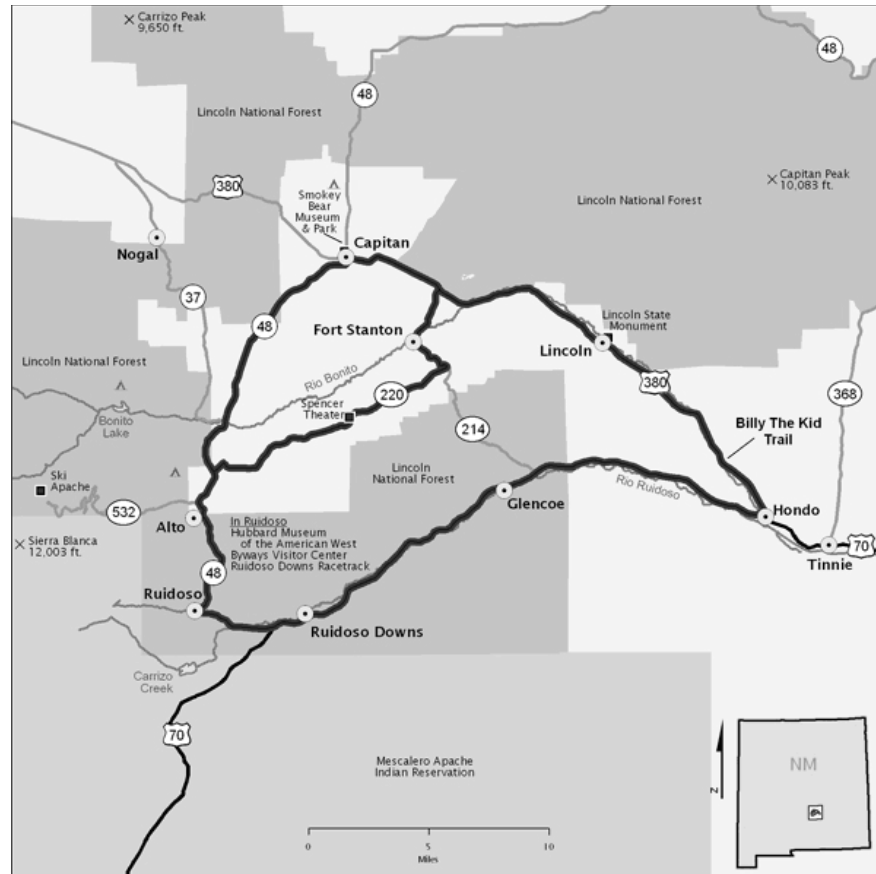
Map 5.4 Ned Kelly Trail. A tourist map of one of the many cities that pay homage to Ned Kelly. This map notes five points of interests and their locations: (1) The Bootmakers Shop, (2) The Court House and Ned Kelly's Cell, (3) Costume and Pioneer Museum and Tourist Information, (4) The Old Police Barracks, and (5) The road to Benalla Cemetery. Source: <http://www.thekellytrail.com/nedkelly/towns/town/benalla/1>

Similar to the Ned Kelly tour is the Rob Roy tour in Scotland. Offered by Contour Walking Holidays (2007), the Rob Roy MacGregor walking tour ushers tourists across the scenic 'Rob Roy Way', starting from Drymen to Pitlochry (see Map 5-5). The tour recounts tales of Rob Roy and his clansmen across the Southern Highlands. Unlike the Ned Kelly tour, however, this tour does not provide established points of interest along the trail. Instead, this tour relies on the guides to serve as story tellers to recite the tales of Rob Roy's adventures as well as the various ruins, roads, and bridges left from historic battles and feuds.

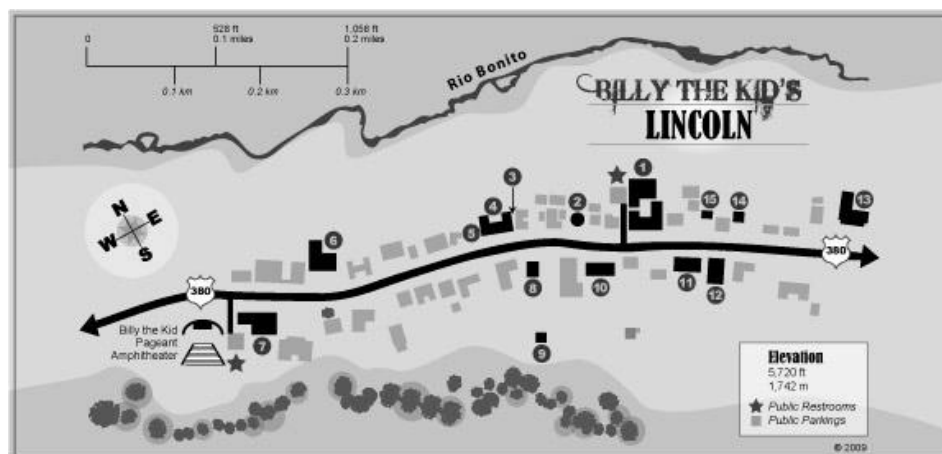


Map 5-5 Rob Roy Walking Tour. Contour Walking Holidays (2007) offers guided walking tours through the Southern Highlands of Scotland where Rob Roy MacGregor and his clansmen were active outlaws. Source: <http://www.contours.co.uk/walking-holidays/rob-roy.php>

In the United States, Billy the Kid is arguably the most notorious bandit and the one that invites the most intrigue to visitors to New Mexico. Paying homage to the legendary outlaw, New Mexico has built a respectable tourist attraction on the historical trails and haunts of Billy the Kid. The *See America* organization (2007) offers a self-guided ‘Billy the Kid’ driving tour, covering 84 miles of scenic byways with suggested itinerary and points of interest along the trail (see Map 5-6). ‘Travel the Billy the Kid Trail and catch a glimpse into history. Step foot in the places that the infamous outlaw Billy the Kid once visited. Experience first-hand the exciting places along this byway.’ This driving/walking tour provides: a start and finish point, direction from previous place to the next, distance travelled, approximate travelling time between points, and a suggested time allowance for each site. The State of New Mexico offers other self-guided tours and maps for tourists to utilise in their exploration of historical locations once graced by Billy the Kid. The Billy the Kid Lincoln map (Map 5-7) offers a self-guided walking tour of key sites of historical importance. The interactive online maps allow curious users to click on the various thumbnails to learn more about the significance of each location.



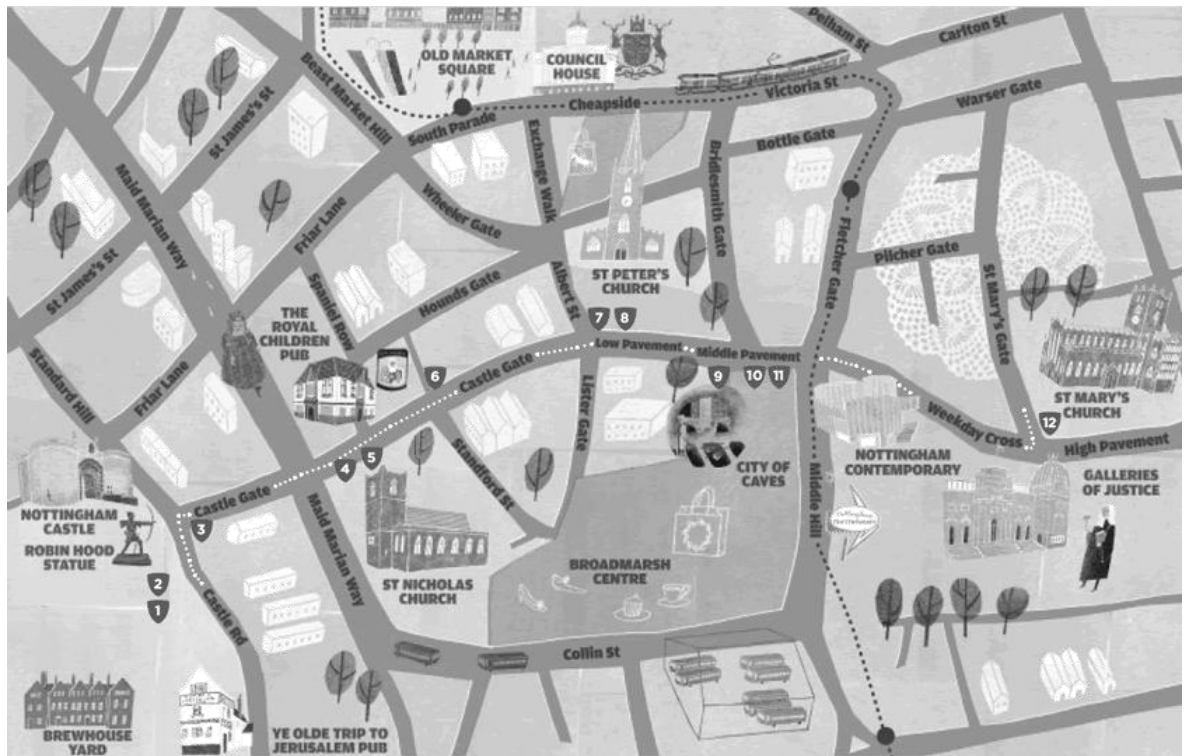
Map 5-6. Self-guided 'Billy the Kid' driving tour. Driving map covering 84 miles of scenic byways with suggested itinerary and points of interest along the trail. This driving/walking tour provides: a start and finish point, direction from one place to the next, distance, approximate travelling time, and a suggested time allowance for each site. Source: <http://www.byways.org/explore/byways/2062/itinerary/67060>



Map 5-7 Billy the Kid's Lincoln Map. This is a walking tour of 16 points of interest in the historic village of Lincoln, involving the Kid, his role in the 1878 Lincoln County War, and those of several other Lincoln characters. Source: http://www.newmexico.org/billythekid/bilypages/tours_maps.php

Tourists are invited to explore the outlaw trail into Sherwood Forest in Nottingham, England and visit areas once occupied by Robin Hood (see Map 5-8). Much

more like the walking tours of Jack the Ripper than the driving tours of other social bandits, the outlaw self-guided walking tour of Robin Hood through Sherwood Forest provides key sites of interest to the history of this legendary figure. The aesthetics of this map portrays a tour that does not instil the same sense of dread perceived in the embellishments of the Jack the Ripper tour map (Map 5-2). Instead, it conveys a light-hearted depiction of the Robin Hood Trail, bestowing upon visitors a more optimistic view of the outlaw's former haunts.



Map 5-8 The Robin Hood Trail. Along the trail are twelve panels telling Robin Hood stories. Source: <http://www.nottinghamcity.gov.uk/static/therhtrail/Guide.pdf>

Collectively, these crime tourism maps all communicate spaces of murder, banditry, and sites relevant to the transgressions of notorious criminals. On the surface, the intention is uniformly the same – to guide tourists through modern day streets and roads for the purpose of telling stories of crimes of old. Without the context of complementary tour guides narrating the tales, some of these maps (particularly maps 5-1, 5-3, 5-4, 5-5, and 5-6) fail to convey any sense of their purpose or intention. The visual narratives of these maps are muted and unexciting, although it is the promise of *what* they represent that creates thrill. Other crime tourism maps (particularly maps 5-2 and 5-8) use artistic embellishments to enhance a visual narrative told by their map.

This case study addresses the ways maps can communicate psychogeographies and cultural constructions of space. Maps guiding tourists through modern-day paths

have the potential to alter their vision of the streets they are navigating, tapping into psychogeographies of spaces made famous by past criminal events. Sightseers in Whitechapel may not have any particular thoughts or feelings about a lane they are walking down, until they see a map that informs them of the gruesome sight of one of the Ripper's victims seen in that same lane many years ago, thrusting them into a new psychological state of dread, fear, fascination, or excitement. However, the map needs to be read in context in order to fulfil a comprehensive understanding of its intention. Regardless of their simplicity or their adornment, these maps promote a cultural fascination with crime and transgression. Crime tourism is a growing industry profiting from society's fascination of historical crime scenes⁸, allowing us to enter spaces of past danger and excitement without the flirtation of looking over the edge.

5.3 Case Study 6 - Mapping painted transgression: street art as city attraction

This case study looks at maps created through grassroots efforts to track the graffiti art of Banksey. As with case study 5, these maps are meant to provide delight for those who journey to the locations where Banksey's art can be viewed. The journey itself is not of importance to the maps in this case study; rather the final destination and evolution of what happens to the artwork located there is the purpose of the map. Although graffiti is a criminal activity (vandalism), these are not intended as 'crime maps' and the specified locations not interpreted as dangerous spaces. Just as these maps are used by some for delight, they can be used by others for control in the tracking of criminal vandalism. From this case study, a critical cartographic criminology is informed by how readership can vary through the messages communicated on a map.

As discussed in Chapter one, maps have the potential to offer more than one message whether it is intended or not. Reiterating Young's (1996) argument stated earlier in this chapter, space is significant because it is historically constructed and defined. Tapping into the *civitas*, the emotional and ethical layers of the city, is a general theme in cultural geography. However, mapped *civitas* may not always convey the feelings of all viewers. This section uses grassroot maps to track the presence of graffiti, focusing

⁸ It is worth noting the recent innovation in crime tours in the Los Angeles area. While most crime tours in L.A. focus on the bloody tales of Hollywood, such as the Black Dahlia tour, the new crime tour in town guides tourist through spaces of present criminal activity. L.A. Gang Tours offer tourists a safe way (though all guests are required to sign a release form) to 'experience areas forbidden until now' (www.lagangtours.com). Visitors are driven down streets in crime-ridden areas, told stories about gang violence and are invited to pose for pictures with gang members. This is an intriguing commercial enterprise that invites 'outsiders' to view gang culture first-hand.

entirely on sightings of Banksy's street art, to exemplify how some people culturally embrace visual transgressions while others may seek to punish their presence.

To be clear, this section is not meant to argue the varying definitions of graffiti, tags, and street art. Rather, it acknowledges a shift in the social construction of unsolicited, illicit painting of city walls and buildings. Graffiti often signifies tags and unattractive paintings that may be seen as anti-social, gang-related, and destructive (cf. Chapter 2). Street art, on the other hand, is used to denote more aesthetically pleasing painted visuals based on artistic ability. In the end, regardless of general feelings of unwelcome or community, these types of painted expressions remain illegal in many areas. The key difference, perhaps, is the socially constructed transformation of some types of graffiti from being a sign of transgression to something that has the potential of being both socially acceptable and popular.

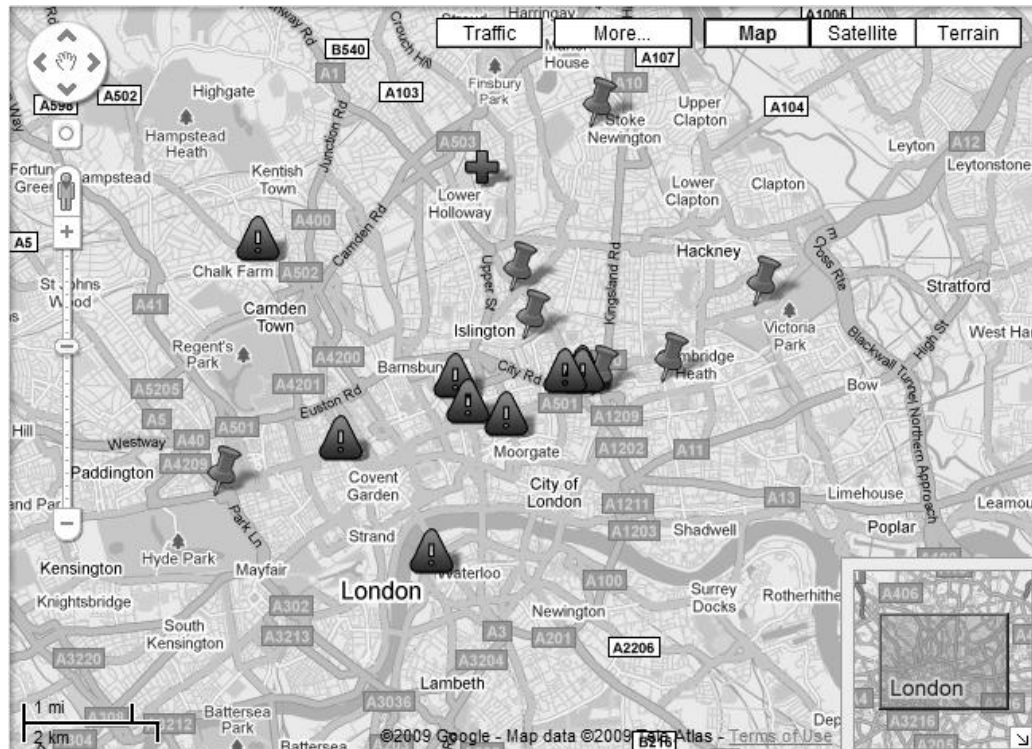
Regardless of what form graffiti takes, its spaces and maps offer a fascinating narrative about order, deviance, and spectacle. Recalling the cultural criminology literature discussed earlier in this chapter, crimes of transgression make a mockery of the social order by 'breaking through boundaries in order to shock and stand outside of the existing rules' (Presdee, 2000:18-19). Subversive behaviours intending to undermine the social order manifest through deviant movements and cultural themes. The space in which it occurs becomes significant in how it is defined and reacted to by social agents of control. Therefore, maps locating the spaces of graffiti concurrently signify places of subversive disorder and sites of culturally embraced deviant behaviour.

Arguably the most captivating focus of a growing graffiti mapping movement is the street art of Banksy. Banksy is an unrevealed, secretive 'guerrilla artist' who has created art-work in urban settings around the world. His 'work' often depicts 'social and political subversive messages' that 'eschew the establishment he satirises' (Pryor, 2007). His popularity continues to grow, every passing year develops an even larger fan base intrigued by his unknown identity, his subversive artistic messages and representations, and the locations he conducts business. His star-power has yielded a variety of books, such as one compiled by Martin Bull, which documents 65 locations of Banksy's paintings. His book offers three guided walks through various areas of London, noting specific locations and postcodes, where spectators can view Banksy originals⁹.

Unofficial published books mapping sightings of Banksy graffiti is worth mentioning but is not as striking as the more grassroots initiatives to interactively map his graffiti across multiple cities around the world. Searching for locations of Banksy's

⁹ Although it warns that the graffiti at specific locations may no longer be there or partially removed by the council.

work on the internet yields countless maps created by citizens around the world. Many of these maps offers interactive features opened to the larger virtual community to make notes on sightings or to even add their own. Although the majority of the maps are simplistic in nature, made effortlessly with Google maps, the power of the maps comes from the care and attention the collective audience contributes into keeping these maps as informative as possible. Map 5-9 displays Banksy locations in London from the website, artofthestate.co.uk. Each symbol on this map indicates a current or past location of a



Map 5-9. Banksy Locations in London. The pin indicates the presence of a Banksy original and the exclamation indicates that it has been removed. This map is helpful to those who are limited on time but would like to see his art work. Source: artofthestate.co.uk

Banksy sighting. By clicking on the symbols, information appears about the graffiti that has been added either by the author or from the internet community at large. The information offered includes a description of the art work, the location, dates of first sighting, alterations, and for some, eventual removal. Here are several examples from the website: (artofthestate.co.uk)

- Banksy Yellow Lines Flower Painter: Located on the side of a working mans club at the corner of Pollard Row and Pollard Street. 01/07/2008 Some tagging added, face of painter obscured a bit. Yellow lines connecting road and wall removed. 04/05/2009 More tagging, including one directly over the face of the painter.
- Banksy Cash Machine Grab: Located near the junction of Farringdon Road and Rosebery Avenue. Originally this machine was dispensing tenners with Diana's face instead of the

Queen. Update Feb '08 – New defaced in part. 14/02/2008 Reported as boarded over. 16/04/2008 Reported as removed.

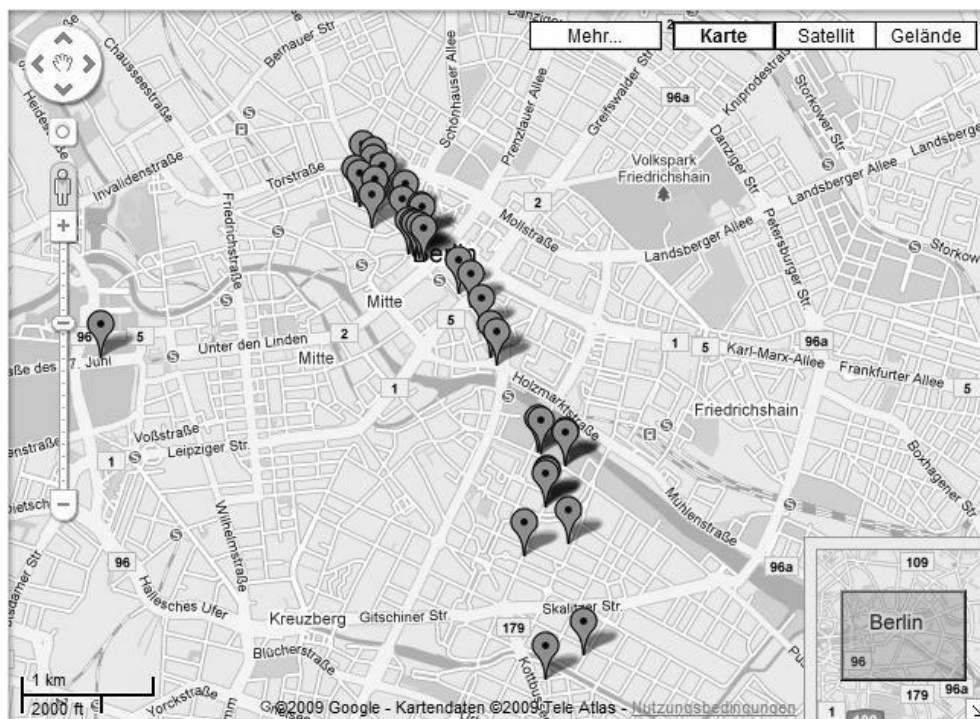
- Banksy Gallery Attendant: Located in Martineau Road opposite a pub – Islington Council have been caught touching up this piece after it was vandalised. Unlikely to say 'Arse' in the frame when you visit. 14/02/2008 Reported as painted over. 27/04/2008 Reported as having a thick white stripe through the attendant but 'still may be worth snapping'
- Banksy Thug For Life: In a car park on the Clerkenwell Road between Saffron Hill and Onslow Street. Caption now reads 'Old Skool' 21/01/2008 – Now covered over with hoarding by someone keen to protect their soon to be on Ebay piece of wall. 29/02/2008 Completely removed
- Banksy Graffiti Painter: Located on the side of a restaurant at the entrance to Shafton Road. The large blue member has since been altered by the council! The piece is still there though.



Map 5-10. London Banksy: In Banksy's Footsteps. Another independent initiative to provide the location of original Banksy for viewing pleasure. Source: <http://tomsteel.wordpress.com/2007/11/14/in-banksy%E2%80%99s-footsteps%E2%80%A6>

Websites like stateofheart.co.uk are not in isolation and appear to be following a general template on how other independent initiatives are creating their own maps of Banksy sightings. Map 5-10 offers another map, reporting on a few similar and separate sightings. On this independent blog, the author requests that others write to him if they have any updates to include on his map of London Banksy. Other examples of this sort of

enthusiast initiative are shown in Map 5-11 and Map 5-12. Map 5-11 denotes known locations in Berlin of Banksy graffiti created during the summers of 2003 and 2004. The Australian city of Melbourne prides itself on its street art culture, promoting it as a free tourist attraction that ‘will connect you with an adventure into the city’s living soul’ (map description). Part of their promotion features a map (see Map 5-12) of Banksy’s contribution to the culture they embrace. Nothing about these maps or the data collection process is overly advanced or technologically savvy. Nonetheless, like others, it is a very powerful communication tool that relies on a community that shares the same passion for the topic to keep this map as current and informative as possible.



Map 5-11. Berlin Banksy, 2003-2004. Known locations of Banksy originals in Berlin created during the summers of 2003 and 2004. Source: Original author is unknown, this is a saved map located in the Google maps database. Last known link:
<http://maps.google.com/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&oe=UTF8&msa=0&msid=106822068550297786583.00000113218f915735378#bmb=1>



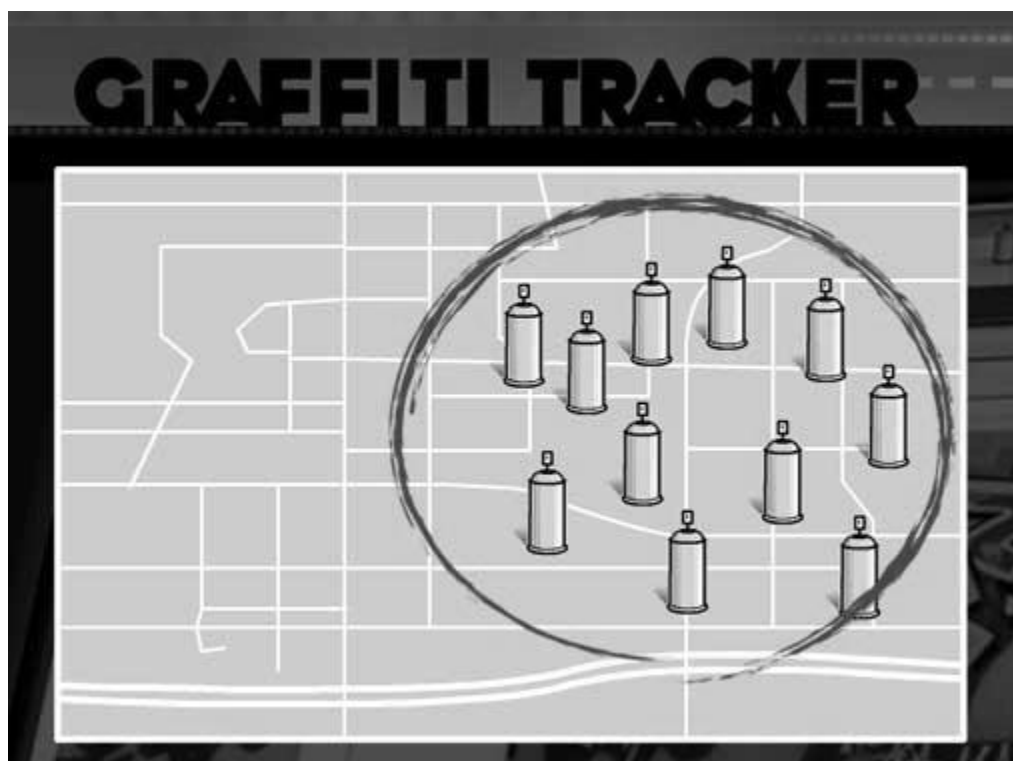
Map 5-12. Melbourne Banksy. Free Melbourne Street Art Culture with map marking places to go if one would like to see a Banksy original. Source: <http://travelgeneration.com/blog/2008/10/free-melbourne-street-art-culture/>

These and other maps of Banksy graffiti, or similar types of graffiti, are maps of spectacle and attraction. In a sense, they present geographical knowledge of artistic intrigue; an alternative view of criminal activity that does not signal places of danger but instead outdoor art galleries of personal expressions. Nonetheless, regardless of whether they are maps intended to organise artistic landscapes, they are still maps of deviant and criminal activity. Possibly not intended to alert city or council attention of graffiti locations, some of these maps report on when the graffiti is covered or painted over by government entities (such as Map 5-9 when reporting if council's have acted on the criminal defacement of property). In spite of social constructions of these paintings as street art or tag, the removal of graffiti is costly to the governments and businesses that do not appreciate the vandalism of property¹⁰.

As a result, graffiti is a crime that many seek to quash. One company in the US makes it a point to map graffiti art and track the artist and expenditures to cover up their graffiti. Graffiti tracker is a web-based programme designed to track and analysis patterns of graffiti. Photos are stored of each offence and analysed to determine if it is gang-related or merely a tagger. It simplifies the process for municipalities to stay informed of the 'most active vandals' and the 'damage they are accountable for'

¹⁰ In his article, Page (2005) provided the following projected costs of restoring the damage done by vandals in various U.S. cities. 'In the United States the annual cost of graffiti abatement programs is estimated between \$10 and \$12 billion... In New York City alone, the average cost of removing graffiti increased from \$300,000 to \$10 million between 1993 and 2003. The City of Las Vegas has three full-time employees who remove graffiti by painting over it or blasting it off with a power sprayer. In 10 years prior to 2002, Operation Clean Sweep in Los Angeles, a long-term beautification program designed to promote community participation in neighborhood improvement projects, removed 162 million square feet of graffiti.'

(graffititrackers.com). A photograph is taken of the graffiti, information is entered in a database, and with use of a global positioning system, maps are produced to assist analysis and to track patterns of offending. On their website, they offer a very basic, superficial visual to demonstrate their service. The visual depicts a simulated street map with canisters of spray paint representing locations of graffiti, all encompassed by a circle, possibly signifying a graffiti 'hot spot' (Map 5-13). This map is fascinating in that it mirrors the others reviewed in this section for tracking Banksy for the purposes of leisure and pleasure. Their superficial example map conveys an entirely different purpose; one of tracking the vandalism of graffiti artists, not for the purpose of spectacle but for the intention of apprehending and punishing the "artist".



Map 5-13. Graffiti Tracker. A generic map visual used on their website to demonstrate how graffiti is mapped. Source: <http://www.graffititracker.net/index.html>

Interviews with Tim Kephart, the president of Graffiti Tracker, offer further explanation of the intention behind his company's software. 'By mapping a suspect's graffiti, we can demonstrate a nexus between the geographic location of the graffiti and the location of the offender's residence' Kephart, 2005; as cited in Page, 2005). Admittedly Page's (2005) article focuses heavily on gang-related graffiti and mapping the vandalism in an effort to crack down on gang-related violence and activity. Certainly 'street artists', such as Banksy, who paint aesthetically pleasing graffiti, like the ones highlighted on the maps evaluated in this section, do not fit under the umbrella of gang-

related insignia and pose no threat of violence or street warfare. However, Kephart aptly acknowledges, 'Just because you have the talent and the ability to make it look really awesome, doesn't mean it's legal when you do it on someone else's property without their permission' (Kephart, as cited in Serjeant, 2007). For those who are in the business of apprehending and bringing to justice graffiti vandals, the well-intended maps of Banksy's art work become tools of capture and punishment.

Mapping locations of graffiti may be intended for spectacle and delight or for tracking patterns of offending for punishment. These examples illustrate the argument outlined in chapter one that maps potentially offer more than one message. The differences in message amounts to a battle of social constructions of graffiti - as artistic expressions that enhance the delight of urban psychogeographies or as criminal vandalism, in turn signify property damage. The separate messages of these maps are based inherently on cultural representations and context. A single map illustrating the locations of a Banksy original can incite thrill, excitement, dread or can alternatively alert the attention of authorities wishing to bring a vandal to justice. In the end, it is based on cultural readings of phenomena mapped.

5.4 Contributions towards a Cartographic Criminology

Maps are inherently cultural representations. To re-quote Harley (1990:10), 'every map is cultural because it manifests intellectual processes defined as artistic or scientific and they work to produce a distinctive type of knowledge.' The type of knowledge produced from maps may not yield a singular message. Therefore, maps have pluralities that generate various readings of space. In sum, maps are simultaneously visual artefacts that locate places as well as guides for engaging in space (Pinder, 2007: 459).

This chapter provides a sweeping review of cultural geography, interactionism, and cultural criminology, all of which are central to understanding the cultural traces inherent in all maps. By wedding various literatures together to demonstrate common themes useful to a cartographic criminology, we begin seeing vicissitudes in the ways we can map crime and deviance. Perhaps more significantly, we can begin to appreciate how contexts of maps, especially the context of the creator and the context of the intended audience, play a vital role in how we read maps. This chapter explores two case studies, crime tourism maps as well as grassroots maps of graffiti. The intention based on the

context of the authors and the audience produces one sort of interpretative meaning although the message of the map may be lost when placed in the context of different audiences. Exploring maps of ‘crime tourism’, such as historical city walks of murder and grassroots efforts to map graffiti, exemplify how maps construct or elicit thrills as part and parcel of cultural narratives of crime and deviance. However, these maps also exemplify how different audiences, not privy to the context, may view the map in different ways.

In general, a cultural geography of crime tourism contributes to the development of a cartographic criminology by developing knowledge on the pluralities of maps and the genuine importance of cultural context. Crime tourism maps of historical crimes and legendary social bandits, intend to guide tourists through modern day streets and roads for the purpose of recreating historical crime stories. It is *what* the visual narratives of these maps represent that creates excitement. These maps invoke a psychogeography within the visitors that they guide through the cityscape. Context is significant when reading these maps to assure tourists are given the full experience of the attraction. Crime tourism maps of graffiti guide curious city guests to places of spectacle and delight. They also assist criminal justice enforcement by tracking patterns of offending. Regardless of their intention, the pluralities of maps are based inherently on cultural representations and context. A single map illustrating the locations of a Banksy original simultaneously notifies an interested public where they can visually experience street art and alerts law enforcement agents of a criminal enterprise.

This chapter along with the prior two chapters have argue for a geographically-informed criminology, engaging with various criminological maps (popular or marginalised) as a method of exploration in the development of a cartographic criminology. Chapter 6, the final chapter of this thesis, summarises and reviews key arguments made throughout this thesis, outlines the best practices towards a critical cartographic criminology, and offers a brief discussion on the future direction of this new ‘movement’ in Criminology.