Nonkilling Geography

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"…there is no need for wars or violence…
There are no problems that cannot be solved around a table…"

Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, 1989.

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An Introduction to
Nonkilling Geographies
Opening New Spaces

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In April 4, 1967, one year to the day of his assassination, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. publically denounced the war in Vietnam. It was imperative, morally and spiritually, to speak out. According to King (1986a; 231), "A time comes when silence is betrayal." King explained that throughout his public work within the Civil Rights movement, he began to view the on-going war in Vietnam as commensurate with the entrenched poverty and racism that permeated the United States. In other words, the massive killing of Vietnamese by American forces occupied the same moral plane as the discrimination, exploitation, and oppression of African-Americans in the U.S. Moreover, King realized that to remain silent on the war was to betray his core values. Specifically, it would be immoral to attempt to build his Beloved Community at home while ignoring the plight of Vietnamese abroad (Inwood, 2009).

During his sermon, King powerfully linked the growth of militarism, materialism, and racism through time and space. In so doing, he implicated wider social, religious, and academic institutions in American society as being complicit in the death and destruction that is meted out every day in the name of the American Empire. The promotion of empire, in other words, does carry a cost; most often measured in the lives of oppressed peoples of color that have the misfortune of living in those spaces deemed of strategic economic or military value by American politicians. King's imploring of his audience to make the connection between Vietnam and the American Civil Rights movement was an attempt to connect the direct, physical violence—the killing—with the institutional and structural violence that was to foundational to the economic and political systems of the United States.

Nearly a half-century later, in the shadow of innumerable interventions across the global, in the shadow of genocides and famines, in the shadow of rampant gun violence in the United States, King's call to 'break the silence' looms over us in uncomfortable ways. It is again time to break the silence.

Stated differently, as educators—but more immediately as citizens of the world—we have a responsibility to act to end the violence that permeates our culture and our institutions in ways that do not just end conflict, but also lay the foundations for a positive peace and a nonkilling society to take root. At this moment, within the United States, when a war culture so dominates geopolitical discourse, to *not* do something is an ultraconservative response that maintains a status quo that more often than not impacts the marginalized and most vulnerable in our society most directly. To know that poverty exists, and do nothing; to know that infants and children are starving, and do nothing; to know that women are being raped and killed through organized mass violence, and do nothing, is to participate in a culture of impunity (Tyner, 2009). As Susan Opotow (1990: 3) explains, "Although harm that results from unconcern … may not involve malevolent intent, [this] can nevertheless result in exploitation, disruption of crucial services, suffering, the destruction of communities, and death." As long as killing—and here we refer quite explicitly to the direct, physical violence of taking life—remains an organizing principle of our modern society, we can neither deny or ignore our responsibility to address the interrelationships of war, violence, and inequality and to help our students and colleagues understand the linkages between these seemingly intractable problems.

Glenn Paige, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Hawai'i and the founder and Chair of the Governing Council of the Center for Global Nonkilling (formerly Center for Global Nonviolence), provides a working definition of a nonkilling society. According to Paige (2002: 1), such a society is "a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change."

This is a tall order—but certainly a laudable goal. There are some, of course, who will decry this as utopian thinking; that violence, but especially killing, is a natural part of humanity; that geopolitics requires violence. How else, it is asked, are we to stop this century's hitlers, stalins, or pol pots? Of course, we could counter with the question of what types of society permit the emergence of these brutal rulers? Is there not space to promote a more just society—to eliminate the structural and institutional inequalities that lead to violence?

Glenn Paige (2002: 161) maintains that a nonkilling (and more broadly, nonviolent) society is possible—but any effort to promote such as society must be global. In other words, *geography* must figure prominently in such an effort. Indeed, as outlined by Paige (2002: 74-75), a beginning point in the promotion of a nonkilling society is to concentrate on the various zones—or spaces—of a nonkilling society; attention, both scholarly and politically, must be directed toward those spaces in which violence is (re)produced, maintained, justified, and legitimated. At a most immediate, proximate level, we must direct attention to the 'space of killing': the space where actual violence takes place—the space of the murderer, for example, or the rapist. These personal spaces are produced through social relations and interactions; these are the spaces where men and women *act*. However, these spaces are themselves coded by dominant and embodied conceptions of 'race', sex, gender, and so on—the 'spaces of socialization'. Here is where people learn to kill, directly by training or vicariously by observation. These are the spaces in which violence is learned—and learned to be accepted. More broadly, we are confronted with the 'spaces of cultural conditioning'. It is within these spaces that we observe how religion, for example, and other ideologies have provided reasons and justifications for violence more broadly and killing more specifically. We see here also the salience of media, education, and other institutions. Lastly, we need to direct attention to those 'spaces of structural reinforcement': the economic and political practices that permeate society, such as the promotion of capitalism and attendant colonial and neo-colonial practices. In total, we must direct attention as to how structural and institutional violence likewise provides the context for direct, personal violence and, ultimately, killing.

These spaces are not exclusive, but instead operate in tandem, producing a militarized society that both condones and in fact promotes violence and killing as justifiable solutions. This is seen most clearly, but by no means solely, in the emergence of 'war culture'. Thus, as an initial testing of the waters, of a preliminary sketch of the spaces of violence, we provide a brief narrative of war culture and militarism.

War Culture, Militarism and Death

Many societies throughout history have exhibited some form of militarism (Vagts, 1959). However, a fundamental shift occurred between the late eighteenth- and early twentieth-centuries (Gat, 2006; Creveld, 2008). During this period there evolved an expanded role of civilian participation in

military preparation. Indeed what is distinctive about the advent of milita-
rism during this era is the changing character of military-industrial relations.

The rise of militarism of Western societies throughout the late 19th and
early 20th centuries dramatically altered the conduct of warfare in two sig-
nificant ways. First, modern war has become directed primarily against civil-
ians (Pilisuk, 2008; Slim, 2008; Tanaka and Young, 2009). Throughout the
twentieth century, civilians in general (and children in particular) have com-
prised an ever increasing proportion of the direct and indirect causalities of
war and other major armed conflicts (Carlton-Ford et al., 2000). During the
First World War civilian casualties comprised between 5 and 19 percent of
all war deaths; by the Second World War this figure jumped to approxi-
mately 50 percent (Carlton-Ford et al., 2000; Bartrop, 2002). If one looks
at all the armed conflict that occurred during the late twentieth and early
twenty-first century at least 80 percent of the approximately 20 million
people killed and 60 million wounded in declared wars, civil war and other
conflicts have been civilians (Slim, 2008). Of these casualties, three out of
every five have been children (Carlton-Ford et al., 2000: 401). Hugo Slim
(2008: 3) concludes that "It is obvious from the massive violence against ci-
vilian populations around the world and throughout history that most war-
ring parties do not see civilians as humanitarian agencies might like them to.
Either they do not find civilians particularly innocent or they decide that in-
nocent or not, killing them is useful, necessary, or inevitable in their wars."

Second, the advent of industrial capitalism as the dominant mode of
production has altered the growth of the military-industrial complex. Quite
simply, the industrial revolution radically affected the way wars are waged,
as well as how wars are planned (Horne, 2002). Hossein-Zadeh (2006) ex-
plains that the arms industries of past empires were not subject to capitalist
market imperatives. Those 'industries' that produced military weaponry up
to the 18th and 19th centuries were, for the most part, owned and operated
by imperial governments. Armaments and munitions were not produced by
market-driven corporations but instead arms production was dictated by
immediate war requirements. This all changed with the advent of the indus-
trial revolution and the concept of total war. Under this newer form of
capitalism—horrifically played out during the First World War—the nature
of arms production, and perhaps most importantly war itself, underwent a
profound transformation.

These new forms of accumulation and production introduced concepts that
had previously not been part of the human consciousness: mass mobilization,
mass political movements, mass media, mass education, and a far more chilling

notion emerged: *mass death* (Bartrop, 2002: 519). The killing fields of Ypres, Verdun and Flanders turned war death into a grizzly and heretofore unparalleled horror. The combined death toll of the First World War amounted to nearly 10 million individuals and when coupled with other casualties (disease, malnutrition etc.) the figure surpasses 32 million—so if you calculated war death as a kind of macabre production quota, the 'Great War' was able to turn out 5,600 deaths for each day of the war's duration (Bartrop, 2002: 520).

Among the many factors that contributed to such a devastatingly high death toll was the growth of a military-industrial-academic complex (Vagts, 1959; Downing, 1992; Epkenhans, 2003; Barnes, 2008). As the war bogged down into trench warfare, new or recent innovations were utilized in vain and grotesque attempts to break the stalemate: machine guns, chemical/biological weapons, armored vehicles and aircraft. Governments on both sides of the war increasingly turned to civilian scientists and engineers to provide technical assistance to military action which subsequently reinforces and reproduces the conditions necessary for a killing society (Johnson, 1994). As Alfred Vagts (1959: 463) explains, the rise of the military-industrial-academic complex "led to an intensification of the horrors of warfare." Thus, by the 1940's civilians "not only had anticipated war more eagerly than the professionals, but played a principle part in making combat, when it came, more absolute, more terrible than was the current military wont or habit" (Vagts, 1959: 463).

The most obvious consequence of this shift in conducting war is that civilian populations pay the price for the industrial design, production and use of modern weapons. The advent of more sophisticated landmines and aerial munitions, for example, has contributed to more devastating practices of indiscriminate warfare strategies. The wide-spread military practice of 'strategic bombing' is a case in point. Although originating with dropping bombs from hot-air balloons in the late eighteenth-century, aerial bombing campaigns 'came of age' in the First World War. By war's end, both Germany and the Allied powers were engaged in indiscriminate bombing, killing or injuring several thousand civilians (Tanaka, 2009: 2). From there the practice only intensified, marked by the horrific use of carpet bombing in both World War Two and the Vietnam War.

Yet the increase and acceptance of civilian deaths is only a symptom of the larger consequences of the shift in the production and execution of war. One cannot separate the debilitating consequence of twentieth century warfare from a 'war culture' which legitimizes the death of innocents by discursively constructing them as 'collateral damage' and accepts violence, intolerance and

inequality as a natural part of the human condition. As Chris Hedges (2002: 3) writes, "war forms its own culture." Indeed, a 'mythology' of war emerges, particular during times of conflict. Hedges (2002: 21) explains that in mythic war we imbue events with meanings they do not have. We see defeats as signposts on the road to ultimate victory. We demonize the enemy so that our opponent is no longer human. We view ourselves, our people, as the embodiment of absolute goodness. Our enemies invert our view of the world to justify their own cruelty. In most mythic wars this is the case. Each side reduces the other to objects—eventually in the form of corpses.

Militarism and the promotion of a war culture directly contributes to attitudes of moral exclusion which legitimates violence at multiple scales—from the death of civilians in war zones to domestic violence (Gilligan, 1996; Boal et al., 2005; Kellner, 2008; Tyner, 2009). Dr. King realized this when he wrote an essay titled "A Testament of Hope" that in fighting the War in Vietnam U.S. society was "perpetuating racism [and] tolerating almost forty million poor during an overflowing material abundance […] our moral values and our spiritual confidence sink, even as our material wealth ascends" (King, 1986b: 315). By legitimating violence we not only accept civilian deaths, we also accept geographic divisions which none-too-subtly reinforce an "us or them" binary that has a deleterious effect at all scales of society.

Susan Opotow (2001: 156) explains that militarism and war culture relies on a framework of exclusionary justice. For example, she argues that *moral inclusion* "in the scope of justice means applying considerations of fairness, allocating resources, and making sacrifices to foster another's well being", while *moral exclusion* "rationalizes and excuses harm inflicted on those outside the scope of justice. Excluding 'others' from the scope of justice means viewing them as unworthy of fairness, resources, or sacrifice, and seeing them as expendable, undeserving, exploitable, or irrelevant." This logic was perhaps made most famous by President George W. Bush's pronouncement in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terror attacks that you are "either with us or against us" (President Bush November 6, 2001).[1] By discursively packaging the world into two camps President Bush not only legitimated any subsequent military actions against those who "oppose us", but also consigned to the sidelines those civilians and innocents who have been caught in the crossfire. War culture and militarism thus treat innocents as 'collateral damage,' their deaths an unfortunate consequence of war. This creates a situation in which the death and injury suffered by civilians caught

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[1] As quoted on CNN: <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/11/06/gen.attack.on.terror/>.

in war zones is discursively and materially excluded from consideration. Ironically, this has led Barry Sanders (2009) to conclude that in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, human beings no longer die. He explains (p. 3) that Nazis did not see humans when they looked at Jews, but rather vermin and cockroaches. They saw a multitude of pests in desperate need of wholesale extermination…. [and] in the more recent past, we read of entire villages of Vietnamese 'pacified'; Tutsis and Serbs 'ethnically cleansed'; men, women, and the youngest of children in Darfur and Chad 'lost to religious strife.' Sanders (p. 3) is left wondering how we arrived "at a state of affairs so catastrophic that fathers, sons, husbands, wives, daughters, lovers, and friends … could have collapsed so conclusively into images, pixels, ciphers, ghosts, gross numbers, into the palatable euphemisms of death?"

The binary division of the world, a hallmark of war culture and militarism, also promotes a broader acceptance of violence because it hides the gruesome realities of modern armed conflict. Chris Hedges (2002: 83) explains, "We do not smell the rotting flesh, hear the cries of agony, or see before us blood and entrails seeping out of bodies." The designer of a landmine or a machine gun does not always (if ever) witness the effects of his or her labor, neither does the chemist who discovers a more lethal poisonous gas, or the engineer who designs a more effective delivery system. Most of the U.S. population, *including the vast majority of our students,* are not adequately aware of the daily realities of U.S. military interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and myriad other war zones. Because of the discursive and physical distance war culture creates—the geographic separation of militarism from actual warfare—the deadly consequences are often ignored; as has been observed countless times, "War is always more popular with those who don't experience it" (Kurlansky, 2006: 141).

The Path Ahead

In this introductory chapter, we provide neither conclusions nor directions. Rather, we provide a starting point. We maintain that a nonkilling *and* nonviolent society is possible. Such an endeavor, however, requires work and dedication. We also maintain that Geography must be front and center in such a pursuit. Geography, in particular, can (and has) contributed significantly to our understanding of the various 'spaces' of killing. However, to date, there has been no overarching, singular focus promoted by Geographers toward nonkilling. This present volume constitutes the first, direct engagement by a panel of Geographers to think through the idea of a 'nonk-

illing' society. Contributors were asked to think broadly, to expand our intellectual—and moral—horizon to question killing and nonkilling, violence and nonviolence. And in the pages that follow, readers will experience a vast array of ideas, an unfolding of a larger intellectual quest that has the singular goal of contributing toward a nonkilling and nonviolent world.

As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. so eloquently remarked: *Now is the time to break the silence*. This book serves as a clarion call: to provoke discussion, to begin a dialogue, to speak out. Because there are too many in the world who cannot.

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Chapter One

Toward a Nonkilling Geography
Deconstructing the Spatial Logic of Killing

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In 2001 three researchers associated with the Center for Disease Control and the World Health Organization published an inherently geographic paper entitled "Epidemiology of violent deaths in the world." Noting that the extent of global violence had never been described, Avid Reza, James Mercy, and Etienne Krug set out to document the patterns of violence-related mortality (including suicide, war, and homicide). Restricting their study to just one year (1990), they detailed an estimated 1.8 million violence-related deaths worldwide (35.3 per 100,000). Among their various findings, Reza, Merchy, and Krug (2001: 107) found that there were an estimated 211,000 and 291,000 war-related deaths among females and males, respectively, and that the war-related death rates for females in the world was highest for 0-4 year olds.

The statistical data provided by Reza and his colleagues conform with other studies on war-related killings, namely the increasing proportion of "civilians" being killed in war. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century civilians in general (and children in particular) have comprised an ever increasing proportion of both direct and indirect casualties of war. During the First World War, for example, civilian casualties comprised between 5 and 19 percent of all war deaths; during the Second World War, this figure jumped to approximately 50 percent. Now into the twenty-first century, at least 80 percent of the approximately 20 million people killed and 60 million people wounded have been civilians.

Unfortunately, the presentation of so many "abstract" numbers risks obfuscating our understanding of violence more than it reveals. What, for example, accounts for these deaths? Why has it become easier for people to kill other people at ever larger scales? To consider these questions, however, requires one to move beyond our normal comfort zones; it forces us, as researchers and teachers, to engage with violence and killing at a level to which we usually are not accustomed. And yet, as Dave Grossman (1996: xxxiv) explains, "Only on the basis of understanding this ultimate, destructive aspect of human behavior can we hope to influence it in such a way as to ensure the

survival of our civilization." Glenn Paige (2007: 72) forwards a similar proposition, noting that a nonkilling paradigm for society requires, paradoxically, a need to understand killing. The salience, Paige writes, derives from the observation that "where killing is assumed to be inevitable and acceptable for personal and collective purposes, there is less urgency to understand and to remove the causes of lethality." Consequently, as Paige concludes, "we need to understand processes of cause and effect, however complex and interdependent. Every case of killing demands causal explanation. We need to know who kills whom, how, where, when, why and with what antecedents, contextual conditions, individual and social meanings, and consequences."

Although geographers have made substantial contributions to the study of violence (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1997; Koskela; Pain, 2000; Gregory; Pred 2007; Tyner, 2009), missing from these studies has been an explicit engagement with *killing* as a form of violence within a context of war or genocide. Although widely studied by military theoreticians, military historians, and military psychologists, the actual killing of people has not been explicitly addressed by geographers. This lacunae, I argue, constitutes a serious deficiency in our understanding of violence and warfare. However, this disciplinary gap also provides a remarkable opportunity to contribute to the on going efforts to develop nonkilling curricula and, by extension, a nonkilling society.

In this chapter I argue that *geography* is foundational to the human behavior of killing. Indeed, I conclude that there exists a *spatial logic* to both the practice of killing and the justification for killing. Consequently, any prospect for the construction of a nonkilling society must be predicated on overcoming these geographies. Before proceeding, however, it is necessary to define what I mean by "geography."

Geography and a Geographic Perspective

For many readers, geography both as a term and a concept is unproblematic. Geography, it is understood, refers to the topography or morphology of a place. Geography entails the physical features (e.g., mountains, rivers, and oceans) of the earth's surface. Consequently, studies incorporating "geography" must necessarily focus on the interrelations between human activities and the natural environment.

Such a narrow (but seemingly obvious) understanding of geography permeates both academia and the public. Remarkably, for those who identified themselves as Geographers, the subject matter is considerably more difficult. Indeed, since its inception as an academic discipline, there has been little consensus as

to what geography is and what Geographers do. In part, the "continual contest over the definitions of geography … is due to the way in which different scholars conceptualize and rework the content and focus of the subject" (Hubbard et al., 2002: 12). This has important implications when one questions how Geography can contribute to the promotion of a nonkilling society.

For the purposes of this chapter, I concentrate on one thread of Geography, one aspect of a greater fabric that weaves together an understanding of the earth and its inhabitants. Here, I consider the basic concept of "space" and how this concept illuminates our understanding of killing specifically, and violence more generally.

Since Geography's inception as a discipline in the early twentieth-century within the Anglo-American university setting, space has often been treated in absolute terms. Emphasis was placed on the uniqueness of spaces and regions; conceptually, space was based on fixed entities: on the arrangement of discernable objects anchored in an unchanging and undifferentiated space.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, this conception of space (within the discipline of Geography) was gradually transformed. The focus on the uniqueness of phenomena distributed across space was re-directed as geographers increasingly concentrated on the "spaces" between objects. Geography, it was argued, needed to direct attention to the spatial arrangements of phenomena; spatial relations were of importance, rather than objects per se. Consequently, a series of core geographic themes that were based on *relative* concepts of space began to emerge. Geography as a discipline began to emphasize distance, pattern, position, and location as the basic concepts of the field. As Ron Abler (1971: 73) and his colleagues write, the "shift to a relative spatial context … is probably the most fundamental change in the history of geography."

Hyperbole not withstanding, the move away from absolute understandings of space did facilitate a remarkable *theoretical* and *philosophical* shift in the discipline of Geography, and that shift continues. Contemporary geographers wrestle with many competing understandings and interpretations of space and its associated concepts of distance, pattern, position, and location.

Although this abstract conception of space remains dominant in many geographic centers of learning, another, more *relational* understanding has been forwarded. Rather than conceiving of space as an inert backdrop, a stage on which humans (for example) operate according to abstract physical laws, space is now increasingly understood as an actor in its own right. Space, in effect, is thought to be *produced*; likewise, space also is thought to *produce*. As Doreen Massey (1994: 254) writes, "Space is constituted through social relations and material social practices."

A relational conception of space directs attention to how space is constituted and given meaning through human interactions—including violence. To this end, Ed Soja (1989) has introduced the term "spatiality" in reference to socially-produced space. Rob Shields (1997: 186-87) follows with a further justification for a conception of space as relational. "If one still bridles," he argues, "at the idea of a social 'production' or cultural 'making' of 'spaces' then perhaps one might refer to the remaking of empirical space by social groups." This remaking of space, he explains, "takes place almost invisibly" because "the social categories in which space is conceived and perceived structure the most elementary aspects of our interaction with our physical context and setting."

In the following sections I consider killing as human behavior. I do so, however, through a dual usage of space. First, I consider the *act* of killing with reference to relative conceptions of both space and distance. Second, I emphasize that the *legitimation* and *justification* for killing—the meanings behind the actions—may be understood within the context of a relational (and moral) space. Lastly, I should note that in this chapter my emphasis is primarily on the conduct of killing within contexts of war, mass violence, and genocide. Although parallels may be found with other practices of killing (e.g., homicide), immediate concern is to question the prevalence and continuance of more large-scale practices and processes of killing.

Killing as Human Behavior

Humans are unique in their ability to kill members of their own species—often on a scale that borders on the unimaginable. Throughout the 20th century, approximately 230 million people died in wars and other forms of mass conflict. As Milton Leitenberg (2006) concludes, these deaths resulted from *human decisions*. During the First World War, for example, an estimated 13 to 15 million people died because of political decisions that led Germany, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary and other European states into war. The Second World War, likewise, contributed to the death of between 65 and 75 million people. Embedded within this latter figure are the estimated 6 million Jews who perished in the Holocaust.

What accounts for humanity's ability to engage in such large-scale violence? What allows (or impels) humans to kill one another? There are many existent models, theories, and frameworks that seek to account for this violence. Notable are the works of Kuper (1981), Staub (1989), Chalk and Jonassohn (1990), Gilligan (1997), Hinton (2005), Chirot and McCauley (2006), Kiernan (2007), and Shaw (2007). Common to all approaches, however, is a

recognition that killing—ranging from homicide to genocide—is not an irrational act from the standpoint of the perpetrator. Indeed, as James Gilligan (1997: 9) concludes, "even the most apparently 'insane' violence has a rational meaning to the person who commits it, and to prevent this violence, we need to learn to understand what that meaning is."

It is imperative, moreover, to affirm that the killing of humans by other humans is neither natural nor inherent. Although genetic evolution may have contributed to a propensity to engage in violence, including killing, this does not imply that humans are natural-born killers. Indeed, as Daniel Chirot and Clark McCauley (2006: 51) write, "all but those most habituated to extreme brutality or a small number who seem to lack normal emotional reactions to bloody violence, have to overcome a sense of horror when they engage in or witness slaughter firsthand." In fact, numerous studies on the psychology of combat-related killing have demonstrated, within a variety of geographic and historical settings, that humans are exceptionally reticent to kill. Soldiers may not flee, but they also may not kill in the heat of combat. Studies from the American Civil War onward have indicated that most soldiers do not fire at all (Marshall, 1978; Dyer, 1985; Grossman, 1996). Dave Grossman (1996: 28), for example, concludes that "There is ample evidence of the resistance to killing and that it appears to have existed at least since the black-powder era. This lack of enthusiasm for killing the enemy causes many soldiers to posture, submit, or flee, rather than fight; it represents a powerful psychological force on the battlefield; and it is a force that is discernible throughout the history [of warfare]."

Soldiers—and people in general—do not readily kill; why not? According to Grossman (1996: 31), "Looking another human being in the eye, making an independent decision to kill him, and watching as he dies due to your action combine to form the single most basic, important, primal, and potentially traumatic occurrence of war." Grossman (p. 5) elaborates that a significant misunderstanding of the psychology of the battlefield is a misapplication of the fight-or-flight model of human behavior. It is commonly assumed that when confronted with a threatening situation, people will either fight (and possibly kill another person) or flee the situation. However, the reality of combat is decidedly more complex. Within a potentially threatening or violent situation, the first decision may be to flee, but it may also be to posture: to appear more powerful to the opponent. Such posturing serves to intimidate the enemy, and indeed might result in the enemy fleeing the battlefield.

Studies have also found that soldiers across cultures may either *not* fire their weapons in combat, or may deliberately shoot above the enemy.

Grossman (1996: 39) concludes that "There can be no doubt that this resistance to killing one's fellow man is there and that it exists as a result of powerful combination of instinctive, rational, environmental, hereditary, cultural, and social factors."

Not surprisingly, military officials have sought to transform these inhibitions to the taking of life. From studies of combat behavior, and military training programs, some tentative conclusions on the actual practice of killing may be identified. And from these conclusions, we may better develop educational programs to reduce the prevalence of killing within society.

Killing and the Distance-Decay Effect

So how do humans kill other humans, or: What is the spatial logic of killing? To answer this question, we must consider more directly the relation between geography and human behavior. Dave Grossman (1996) identifies that a qualitative distinction exists between killing people in a bombing raid as opposed to killing with a grenade, rifle, or knife. The difference, he argues, is *distance*.

Geographers have long understood the importance of distance. In 1955, for example, J.W. Watson defined geography as "a discipline in distance." His comments, however, originated during a time when geographers were re-conceptualizing both "space" and "distance" as foundational concepts. Reflecting a more *relative* understanding of space, geographers argued that relative distance is defined by distances along several dimensions. Previously, distance was understood from the standpoint of absolute space; the measure of distance was unchanging (i.e., measured solely in miles or kilometers). With a relative conception of space, however, distance was understood to vary based on other factors, such as time, costs, and barriers to interaction.

The shift toward a relative understanding of space was significant in that it directed geographers to the proposition that the "spaces in which people live are much more psychological than absolute" (Abler et al., 1971: 75). This led to Waldo Tobler's pronouncement of the "first law of geography: everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things." Tobler's law, in fact, directs attention to the concept of *distance-decay*, whereby activities or processes between two locations are presumed to decrease in their intensity (or interaction) with increasing distance. According to Peter Haggett (2001: 399), as a general rule, "the degree of spatial interaction (flows between regions) is inversely related to distance; that is, near regions interact more intensely than distant regions."

The concept of "distance-decay" has a surprisingly important role to play in our understanding of killing as human behavior. Grossman (1996) for example identifies that physical distance is crucial in understanding the behavior of killing. As the distance between perpetrator and victim increases, it becomes easier and less traumatic to kill. Grossman (1996: 107) notes that at "maximum range"—a range at which the killer is unable to perceive his individual victims without using some form of mechanical assistance (e.g., binoculars, radar, remote camera)—the act of killing is remarkably simple. Indeed, Grossman (p. 108) has not identified one instance of individuals who have refused to kill the enemy under these circumstances.

As the range decreases, however, killing becomes more difficult. Grossman (1996: 109) notes that at "long range" (e.g., sniper weapons, tank fire) there begins to appear some disturbance at the act of killing. At mid-range, a distance at which the soldier can see and engage the enemy with rifle fire though unable to perceive the extent of the wounds inflicted or the sounds and facial expressions of the victim, there is an increased emotional toll. Grossman (p. 111) explains that killing at this range is often described as reflexive or automatic, and that the soldier experiences a range of emotions, from an initial feeling of euphoria or elation, followed by a period of guilt and remorse.

Killing becomes increasingly difficult at close range. Here lies "the undeniable certainty of responsibility on the part of the killer" (Grossman, 1996: 114). Indeed, Grossman (p. 118) concludes that at "close range the resistance to killing an opponent is tremendous. When one looks an opponent in the eye, and knows that he is young or old, scared or angry, it is not possible to deny that the individual about to be killed is much like oneself." As will be discussed later, appeals to justice and legitimacy must increase as the physical distance of killing decreases.

In short, Grossman (1996) develops a distance-decay model of violence. A geographic spectrum of killing exists, and we may assert that the resistance to killing increases with spatial proximity. At one end of the spectrum is the use of aerial bombers, inter-continental missiles, and drones. Here, people kill from thousands of miles away. At the other end is the use of knives and other weapons designed for hand-to-hand combat. Such intense and personal killing is decidedly more traumatic.[1]

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[1] Significantly, military practices (but especially beginning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries) have been to extend the range of kill. This was most pronounced with the advent of the large-scale carpet bombing campaigns of the Second World War and the development of inter-continental ballistic missiles and pilotless drones. With each technological advance, killing has become easier.

This "geography of killing" has important implications for our broader understanding of killing as human behavior, particularly as it relates to the killing by "ordinary" citizens in the context of genocide and mass violence. Soldiers, we may argue, are trained to kill and thus "better" equipped to overcome humanity's resistance to killing. But what about the rest of us? What of the nonsoldiers who participate in massacres and other forms of direct violence? This question has been addressed in a number of genocidal contexts (Browning, 1992; Hinton, 2005; Semelin, 2007).

Whether one considers the Holocaust or the genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda, Darfur and elsewhere, one cannot escape the fact that many (if not most) killings were conducted by "ordinary" people. Indeed, as Christopher Browning (1992: xvii) writes in his seminal work *Ordinary Men*, "the Holocaust took place because at the most basic level individual human beings killed other human beings in large numbers over an extended period to time." Such sustained killings throughout the Holocaust and other settings by "ordinary" people, to be sure, were the result of many factors: a broader context in which killings were permitted and sanctioned by state authorities; an organizational structure that facilitated killing; and the availability of weapons.

At an individual level, however, other more psychological components must be considered. As Chirot and McCauley (2006: 53) explain, "Most humans have a sense of fairness that governs relations with others." Consequently, physical distance—while important—must be tempered with an additional component. Distance is not simply spatial; it also entails a social component. This in fact ties into our earlier discussion on the concept of space, for *spatial* relations are also *social* relations. And as Taylor (2009: 44) writes, "No perpetrator acts, no victim suffers, in total isolation, even though they may kill, or die, alone." The human act of killing must be viewed as a socio-spatial relation.

Killing and the Spaces of Moral Exclusion

Why do "ordinary" people kill and even engage in mass killing?

"People who kill in spite of the inhibitions and penalties that confront them," Daly and Wilson (1988: 12) write, "are people [who are] moved by strong passions." These passions may be (and frequently are) intensely personal; but they also may be exceptionally social and political. A person's passion to kill may arise ironically, paradoxically, from a broader "desire to build a world without conflict or enemies" (Semelin, 2007: 33). In other words, the moral justification to kill another may be predicated on the belief that such violence will, ultimately, prevent violence. As Gilligan (1997: 12) notes, "the

attempt to achieve and maintain justice, or to undo or prevent injustice, is the one and only universal *cause* of violence" (emphasis added).

All human societies moralize and thus share basic categories such as obligatory, permitted, or forbidden actions (Taylor, 2009: 37). To this end, Susan Opotow (2001) suggests that norms, moral rules, and concerns about rights and fairness govern our conduct toward other people. However, not every person or group is necessarily included within the scope of justice. Rather, she explains that "Inclusion in the scope of justice means applying considerations of fairness, allocating resources, and making sacrifices to foster another's well-being." Conversely, moral exclusion "rationalizes and excuses harm inflicted on those outside the scope of justice. Excluding others from the scope of justice means viewing them as unworthy of fairness, resources, or sacrifice, and seeing them as expendable, undeserving, exploitable, or irrelevant" (Opotow, 2001: 156). In short, moral exclusion works against the reticence of taking another person's life. To morally exclude another human is to pave the way to kill that person.

Earlier, I noted that Geographers have increasingly focused their attention on *relational* understandings of space. This is captured in David Delaney's idea of *geographies of experience*. He writes, "Our lives are, in a sense, made of time. But we are also physical, corporeal, mobile beings. We inhabit a material, spatial world. We move through it. We change it. It changes us. Each of us is weaving a singular path through the world. The paths that we make, the conditions under which we make them, and the experiences that those paths open up or close off are part of what makes us who we are" (1998: 4).

Delaney prefigures a discussion on the meanings and uses of space, questions that are never removed from considerations of power. Who, or which group, is granted or denied access to certain spaces? What activities are deemed appropriate, or not? And who has the authority, the ability, to define (and enforce) those spaces? It becomes clear, therefore, that the process leading to social inclusion or exclusion has a geographic component.

The construction of community and the bounding of social groups are part of the same problem as the separation of self and other (Sibley, 1995: 45). According to Young (1990: 43), a social group is a collective of persons differentiated from at least one another group by cultural forms, practices, or way of life. More precisely, groups are expressions of social (and therefore, *spatial*) relations; groups only exist in relation to other groups. However, as Young (p. 53) elaborates, many groups find themselves socially (and spatially) marginalized. Indeed, a "whole category of people may be ex-

pelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination."

The geographic component of moral exclusion is identified as the *extent* of moral exclusion. This refers to the scope of collective inclusion or exclusion and is seen, for example, in socio-spatial practices that marginalize both people and groups of people. This is particularly prevalent in "us-them" thinking and the promotion of nationalist rhetoric. According to social psychologists, the process of 'us-them' thinking originates with social categorizations. These mental constructs (e.g., man/woman, black/white, citizen/alien) are cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order our social environment (Waller, 2002: 239). Indeed Waller (2002: 239-240) suggests that the use of social categorizations in assigning people to populations has four salient effects: assumed similarity, out-group homogeneity, accentuation, and in-group bias. Not surprisingly, these effects are explicitly geographic. First, people who identify themselves as part of an in-group tend to perceive other in-group members as more similar than out-group members. Second, people perceive members of out-groups as all alike; generalizations, moreover, are often based on one or two members. Third, perceived differences between in-groups and out-groups tend to be accentuated, or exaggerated. Finally, the mere act of dividing people into groups inevitably sets up a bias in group members in favor of the in-group and against the out-group. These four effects, moreover, are spatially manifest, as in practices of segregation and community policing. The establishment of Jim Crow in the United States and apartheid in South Africa are prime examples. So too are the examples of Jewish concentration camps in the Second World War and the strategic hamlets developed by American forces during the Vietnam War. In all cases, a perceived "Other" is spatially excluded from the larger society (Tyner, 2009).

Underlying these four effects is also a process Kathleen Taylor (2009: 9) defines as the "essence trap." According to Taylor, this "involves the *imagining* that everyone has a core character, the essence of who they are" (emphasis added). Significantly, these essences are frequently portrayed as natural and invariable. The Tutsis in Rwanda, for example, were perceived as alien Others.

The process of social (and spatial) categorization, however, does not proceed based on natural divisions of humanity. Indeed, social categories do not simply *include* groups; rather, the relational process of categorization *produces* groups. Consequently, there is an immediate spatiality to the processes of social categorization. As Waller (2002: 239) writes, "Not only do social categorizations systemize our social world; they also create and *define our place in it*" (emphasis added). Social categorizations, in effect,

produce geographies (Tyner, 2009: 37). This is why it is so important to acknowledge Marc Pilisuk's (2008: 30) argument that people "are distinguished as a species by their capacity to kill large numbers of their own kind as well as by their symbolic *representations of reality*" (emphasis added).

Social reality is structured through language. It is language about events rather than the events themselves that people experience. Likewise, it is often "languages" about other peoples (i.e., stereotypes) and places that are experienced, rather than those people and places per se. Another way of approaching "language" however is from that standpoint of knowledge. Knowledge about people and places, we can say, entails *geographical knowledges*.

What is meant by geographical knowledge, and how can this concept contribute to our understanding of killing? In common usage, geographical knowledge consists of that information used to explain, describe, and/or interpret the distributions and characteristics of peoples and places. Alternatively, however, geographical knowledge may encompass a normative dimension in that is prescribes *where* people are to be located. According to Derek Gregory (2004: 803), imaginative geographies involve a politics of space. He asks, "Who claims the power to represent: to imagine geography like this rather than that?"

There exists an underlying *geographical imagination* to killing. As Semelin (2007: 9) explains, humanity's ability to kill one another is "mainly born out of a mental process, a way of seeing some 'Other' being, of stigmatizing him [sic], debasing him, and obliterating him before actually killing him." In other words, our imagination empowers us "to see beyond the actual to the possible" (Smith, 2007: 101). This includes the ability to envision a world *without* others, a world "purified" of unwanted or undesirable others. Marc Pilisuk (2008: 31) extends the argument, noting that the "evolved tendency for humans to use presentational symbols to categorize ourselves into nations, religions, and other symbolic groups serves both to fortify a positive self-image and to find purpose and meaning in existence" However, this "tendency to identify with one group over another sets the stage for group comparisons and rivalries" (Pilisuk, 2008: 31). This tendency, this ability to envision and to imagine alternative geographies may also pave the way to justify killing.

One common approach to justify the exclusion (and killing) of others is to dehumanize the other. Simply put, dehumanization is a composite psychological mechanism that permits people to regard others as unworthy of being considered human (Pilisuk, 2008: 34). Through practices of dehumanization, isolated groups are stigmatized as alien. Waller (2002: 245) explains that dehumanization facilitates the practice of exclusion, discrimination, oppression, and, ultimately, violence. Once dehumanized, Waller explains,

one's body "possesses no meaning. It is a waste, and its removal is a matter of sanitation. There is no moral or emphatic context through which the perpetrator can relate to the victim." Hence, the practice of dehumanization serves to increase the psychological and relational distance between the killer and the victim. Such a dehumanization practice is readily seen in the rhetoric and propaganda genocides and mass killings, including the Holocaust. Waller (2002: 246) explains: "In the Holocaust … the Nazis redefined Jews as 'bacilli,' 'parasites,' 'vermin,' 'demons,' 'syphilis,' 'cancer,' 'excrement,' 'filth,' 'tuberculosis,' and 'plague.' In the camps, male inmates were never to be called 'men' but *Haftlinge* (prisoners), and when they ate the verb used to describe it was *fressen*, the word for animals eating. Statisticians and public health authorities frequently would list corpses not as *corpses* but as *Figuren* (figures or pieces), mere things … Similarly, in a memo of June 5, 1942, labeled 'Secret Reich Business,' victims in gas vans at Chelmno are variously referred to as 'the load,' 'number of pieces,' and the 'merchandise.'"

Dehumanization constitutes a justification system within one's beliefs that destroying an inherent evil is not the same as killing a human being. People whose ordinary reality contains sharp inhibitions against inflicting violence may switch into an alternative reality that permits killing and even genocide (Pilisuk, 2008: 35). When we now reconsider the spatial logic of killing, we are confronted with the relational, or *moral*, distance of human interaction. As the physical distance between perpetrator and victim increases, it becomes easier to maintain the fiction, the imagination, that the enemy is somehow less than human.

To restate the argument thus far: To overcome the reticence of killing, especially at close physical range, it becomes more imperative (from the standpoint of the perpetrator) to increase the moral distance between killer and victim. A moral distance, according to Grossman (1996: 164), involves legitimizing oneself and one's cause, which on the one hand involves the determination and condemnation of the enemy's guilt. On the other hand, moral distance likewise provides an affirmation of the legality and legitimacy of one's own cause (Grossman, 1996: 164). The Other *may* be recognized as human, but exists outside the realm of moral inclusion. The death of the Other becomes legitimate and justified. In short, the killing of the Other is *rationalized.*

The psychology of rationalization that underlies the way in which reluctance to kill is overcome goes by the name of "dissonance theory," whereupon dissonance refers to an unpleasant arousal that comes from seeing ourselves as having chosen to do something that is wrong (Chirot and McCauley, 2006: 54). Consequently, to engage in killing requires one to ra-

tionalize one's beliefs about the action: to distance oneself from either the act or the victim. Studies, moreover, have found that such rationalization may become easier as killing becomes more repetitive. Chirot and McCauley (2006: 56) write of a psychology that reinforces desensitization and routinization of killing:

> Each additional killing makes the next one easier because each killing leads to changes in beliefs and values that justify the preceding one: I have been ordered to do this; those being killed are doing something wrong; they stand in my way; they deserve it; they are a threat to my own people; they are not quite human; they are polluting. Desensitization and routinization of killing thus occur in two ways. There is reduced emotional impact of originally disturbing stimuli associated with death, and there is increased cognitive and moral rationalization of the act.

Moral distance also contributes to one's moral engagement in exclusionary practices and also killing—whether as active participant or bystander. Engagement, in this sense, refers to a person's responsibility for, and response to, exclusionary and other violent practices. Opotow (2001: 158) suggests that engagement may range from unawareness to ignoring, allowing, facilitating, executing, or devising moral exclusion. Consequently, questions of engagement relate directly to the notion of impunity, with this latter term referring to the exemption from accountability, penalty, punishment, or legal sanctions for a crime.

Similar to the distance-decay effect of killing, there is also a spatial logic to the concepts of moral engagement and impunity. As Joseph Nevins (2005: 11-13) explains, geographic proximity, power, and distance must be accounted for in discussions of violence. He argues that social (moral) distance and geographic distance combine to make the plight of others more peripheral and, by extension, less relevant. The killings in Darfur, we say to ourselves, is unfortunate; but it is *their* problem. Likewise, the "indifference by the international community to earlier massacres of Tutsi by Hutu" in Rwanda offered "encouragement to the … elites that the Hutu could commit genocide [in 1994] and get away with it" (Smith, 1999: 4).

Lastly, we should note that while an understanding of impunity often focuses attention on the alleged perpetrators of violence, more broadly, though, we should speak of a "culture of impunity." This occurs when impunity is institutionalized and widespread, when torture, crimes against humanity, and mass murder are overtly or tacitly condoned and unpunished as a result of amnesties, pardons, indifferences, or simply "looking the other way"

(Opotow, 2001: 150). It is a culture of impunity that sanctions war as a viable political strategy. It is a culture of impunity that enables states in the abstract, but global citizens more specifically, from acting to prevent mass violence.

Barry Sanders (2009: 3) laments that "In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, human beings do not die." He explains that the "Nazis did not see humans when they looked at Jews, but rather vermin and cockroaches. They saw a multitude of pests in desperate need of wholesale extermination. Following that same tradition, in the more recent past, we read of entire villages of Vietnamese "pacified;" Tutsis and Serbs "ethnically cleansed;" men, women, and the youngest of children in Darfur and Chad 'lost to religious strife." All too often and all too easily, the geographical imaginations of politicians, military planners, and others seeking power and riches have been spurred to justify and legitimate mass violence. Howard Zinn (2005: 15) writes that "The most powerful weapon of governments in raising armies is the weapon of propaganda, of ideology. They must persuade young people, and their families that though they may die, though they may lose arms or legs, or become blind, that it is done for the common good, for a noble cause, for democracy, for liberty, for God, for the country." Needed are alternative imaginations, visions that instead reveal a global humanity—visions that eschew warfare, violence, and killing as acceptable political tools.

Conclusions

"The structure of society," Glenn Paige (2007: 2) writes, "does not depend upon lethality." He explains that there "are no social relationships that require actual or threatened killing to sustain or change them. No relationships of dominance or exclusion—boundaries, forms of government, property, gender, race, ethnicity, class, or systems of spiritual or secular belief—require killing to support or challenge them." James Gilligan (1997: 21) likewise maintains that "it is really quite clear that we can prevent violence, and it is also clear how we can do so, if we want to." According to Paige (2007: 71), the "assumed attainability of a nonkilling society implies a disciplinary shift to nonkilling creativity."

What does this shift imply for the discipline of Geography? And how might a re-oriented Geography contribute to a nonkilling society? First and foremost is recognition that innumerable geographies underlie the actual human behavior of killing. While humans are exceptionally violent, they are not necessarily prone to violence. In other words, killing is not a natural or inherent trait of humans; humans in fact exhibit a strong abhorrence to killing and must be socialized to engage in these acts. Indeed, humans must

provide a rationale for their actions. As James Gilligan (1997: 11) explains, "all violence is an attempt to achieve justice." All violence must be legitimated, either to oneself or to the group.

"Given the right circumstances," Chirot and McCauley (2006: 57) argue, "it is not too difficult to turn a significant proportion of humans into mass murderers." Simply put, the "disgust one may feel, the identification with the victims, the sense of unfairness can all be overcome and have routinely been overcome with training and experience" (Chirot; McCauley, 2006: 57). The ability to overcome antipathy toward killing and violence, however, provides the opportunity to promote a nonkilling society.

A fundamental aspect of killing as human behavior involves the identification (or identity formation) of human difference. At both the communal and individual level, an awareness of group boundaries serves to socially and spatially marginalize and exclude others. This awareness, this geographic imagining, also provides a psychological justification and rationalization of killing.

Geography is an important contributor both to the act of killing and to the justification for killing. Consequently, geography must be considered in the construction of alternative frameworks for a nonkilling society.

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Chapter Two

Geography as Enabler of a Killing World
Learning from Robert McNamara's Lessons

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The academic discipline of geography was established with the goal of facilitating killing, either directly or nondirectly. The role of the discipline in informing and supporting the related projects of imperialism, state-making, and efficiency on the battle-field has been well documented and needs not be revisited here (see Mamadouh, 2005). The connections between academic geography and the military remain. In the US the interconnection between geographic information technologies, such as satellite based remote sensing and geographic information systems (GIS) have also been documented and critiqued. Though the tone of the vast majority of the work conducted by human geographers is critical of organized violence and aims to expose the practices and discourses of power and its military expression (Mamadouh, 2005; Megoran, 2008; 2010), the connection between academic training, business interests, and the military runs deep. Hence, it is important to develop and maintain the debate as to how geography can inform an understanding of the world that is based on nonviolence as an underlying foundational social principle.

There are many ways to go about such an undertaking. My particular angle is to build upon an on-going research interest in just war theory (Walzer 2000). My previous research has discussed how the principles of just war theory have been manipulated to justify war when, according to the principles of just war theory, no such justification exists (Flint and Falah 2004). In other words, I have identified how the basic principles of just war theory have been mobilized in geopolitical discourse to legitimize unjust wars. In this essay I will explore how such misusage is made possible by the common-sense understandings of geography that pervade popular geopolitical imaginations. Geographic conceptualizations of place, regions, scale, and territory (as commonly understood and mobilized in the realm of popu-

lar geopolitical imaginations) provide the organizing principles behind just war theory and, hence, the way it is readily misused.

I explore this theme through an examination of the movie *The Fog of War*, the award winning film centered upon an interview with Robert McNamara. The interview is mostly concerned with McNamara's role of U.S. Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam War. Though the movie touches upon McNamara's childhood, his time at college, and his short leadership of the Ford Motor Company it is the discussion of the Vietnam War that dominates the movie. In a quirky, almost homey, style McNamara provides eleven lessons that he has learnt in his diverse careers, including his participation in the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War. The movie is a compelling mixture of interrogation of McNamara's role in the escalation and prosecution of the Vietnam War, and a self-reflection upon his role that is primarily defensive but has enough fissures that the self-doubt and self-recriminations are exposed and make for uncomfortable, and even sympathetic viewing. The haunting soundtrack and clever use of footage of the war makes for a powerful movie experience.

But what is the end result? In a way the movie appears to serve McNamara well. Though he is put under the spotlight and asked to discuss some of the most problematic of his Vietnam War decisions he manages to emanate a sense of avuncular can-do pragmatism. On the other hand, a sense of the horror and futility of war is unavoidable, as is the sense of mismanagement and arrogance within the Johnson administration's prosecution of the war. For this essay I would like to focus upon a particular message from the movie: the acceptance of war as a part of global politics that is best managed as efficiently as possible. Though McNamara extols the virtues of cross-cultural understanding the basic take-home message remains: war happens.

I will use the lessons as defined by McNamara to explore our understanding of just war and the way they rely upon core geographic principles. The brief conclusion lays out a partial and tentative agenda for reframing these concepts in a way that might facilitate a nonkilling world.

Just war theory has a long tradition of philosophical discussion and remains a vibrant topic of intellectual debate (Orend, 2000; Temes, 2003). In my previous work I have focused on just causes of war (rather than just practices of war or just peace (Orend, 2000)). I build upon the core premises of just war theory, as defined by Michael Walzer (2000). According to Walzer, and these basic ideas are widely accepted, it is just and moral to fight a war in the wake of invasion, if invasion is imminent and cannot be avoided through political means, or to prevent gross human rights viola-

tions. It is also moral and just to join a war to assist in these circumstances. As I have pointed out in previous work (Flint, 2008; Flint and Falah, 2004), these precepts are based upon a territorial view of the world, one that is neatly compartmentalized into exclusive sovereign nation-states. This view is maintained even when the basis and practice of war is the projection of military might far from one's own borders, as the U.S. did in the Korean War (Flint, 2008) and the 2003 invasion of Iraq (Flint and Falah, 2004). The crucial point in these arguments is that a skillful manipulation of the axioms of just war theory allows for the justification and acceptance of wars, even when the circumstances clearly violate the essence of the theory.

I think this ready violation is possible, and actually quite easy, because of the popular understanding of political geography. This idea will be explored through a discussion of the "lessons" offered to us by Robert McNamara.

Lesson 1 "Empathize with your enemy." The essence of this lesson, told through a selective remembrance of the Cuban Missile Crisis, is to put yourself in the shoes of another. The geographic basis of this perspective is geographic differentiation and competitive clash of interests across global space. In other words, we look at the world from our own particular places and those places are a source of difference.

Lesson 2 "Rationality will not save us." The title of this lesson is misleading. The message is that actors are irrational, and that the pathway to nuclear escalation is feasible and likely. Even when the politicians and military planners of the Cold war new that escalation would lead to the destruction of their countries, if not the whole world, they still made steps that could ultimately end in all-out nuclear war. The geographic basis of this argument is that empathy is a weak tool, and that the reflex towards national security can readily lead to the paradoxical call for disastrous aggression. In other words, when empathy is based upon a segregated and differentiated world, the mindset of national security is the trump card.

Lesson 3 "There is something beyond one's self." Perhaps here we have the pathway beyond the exclusive and divisive territorialized view of the world. Alas, no. The sense of "beyond" here is not a spiritual or humane connection with mankind, but a definition of public service built around the pursuit of science and mathematical knowledge for the maximization of profit (with the Ford Motor Company) and then, as this lesson blends into the next, efficiency in the pursuit of war. Science is the tool for greater understanding and public service is constrained within the geographical extent of the nation-state; public is national and not global.

Lesson 4 "Maximize efficiency." The basis for this homily is McNamara's involvement in World War II and the application of new computer technology to maximize the impact of strategic bombing at a minimum loss of airplanes and crew. In a commentary that resonates strongly with Arendt's "banality of evil" premise, McNamara is able to marshal mathematics into the service of killing because his geographic version of public service is based upon a geographic definition of public that is nationally based and a militarized view of service. Service is killing in the name of national defense.

Lesson 5 "Proportionality in war." McNamara's reflections on the systematic destruction of Japanese cities through the calculated use of incendiary bombs and with the knowledge that women and children would be the primary victims offers the most telling insight into the ability of humanity to self-justify killing of its own species. McNamara acknowledges that the military action was immoral, and worthy of prosecution for war crimes. As he says, such a trial was only avoided through victory and hence the ability to control the post-war political environment.

Lesson 6 "Get the data." A backdrop of White House conversations on troop build-up in Vietnam is the foundation for another tale about the search for knowledge to aid war. President Johnson is heard saying "nobody really knows what is out there" and hence the need to define, objectify, classify, and model. Knowing becomes the key to exercise efficient killing. Geography has a long tradition of claiming to know the world, and it rests upon the practices of imperialism. But it has always been knowing for a purpose, the ability to exploit and control, and usually, at some stage, killing has been a part of the process.

Lesson 7 "Belief and seeing are both often wrong." After extolling the virtues of data and knowing there follows a confession that knowing is problematic. The confusion over the Gulf of Tomkin incident in which contradictory reports of attacks on US navy ships by North Vietnamese forces were used to wage unlimited warfare is the starting point of this lesson. But the lesson sounds expands in scope to an acknowledgment by McNamara that he, and the US military and foreign policy establishment, "did not know North Vietnam well enough." The conversation moves to a lack of understanding of Vietnamese history and the misreading of North Vietnamese fears and intentions: The bottom line was that they were fighting in the name of anti-colonialism rather than to diffuse Communist ideology. The important implication here, following from the previous lessons, is that a certain form of knowing is necessary to enable mass killing, and that knowing is constrained and defined by a national view of the world and the stricture of knowing to meet national history, assumptions, and goals.

Lesson 8 "Be prepared to examine your reasoning." This lesson marks a greater concentration by McNamara on his post-war reflections. Easily seen as being a self-serving attempt to cleanse himself from the guilty association with the Vietnam War, he talks of the need to always learn and reflect. Though the sentiment is laudable, the framework remains the same: a view of how "we" can learn more about "them." Of all the lessons, this one has the most potential and can be seen as a necessary pathway to a nonkilling world, but it also illustrates the barriers that are raised through our under-standing of political geography. A meeting of the minds is a tussle between national perspectives that are ingrained through formal and informal educa-tion that is nationalistic and compartmentalized. History and the future are seen purely as a matter of national trajectories.

Lesson 9 "In order to do good you may have to engage in evil." The scene for this lesson revolves around the self-immolation of Quaker Nor-man Morrison in front of the Pentagon to protest the Vietnam war. Morri-son was with his one year old daughter but did not let her be engulfed in the flames that would have killed her. This dramatic act clearly had a lasting and profound impact upon McNamara. But nonetheless the essence of just war theory can still be mobilized: It is legitimate to enact mass killing in the name of good. Two intersecting points are raised here. First, the Clausewitzian idea that war necessarily escalates must be considered. The Western way of war (Black, 2010) rests upon this belief that massive attack that is likely to raise the stakes in a process of response and counter-response is likely to be the outcome of a military response that is legiti-mized through the logic of just war theory. In other words, a just military response is likely to violate morality. Second, a sense of universal morality is readily trumped by nationally based security imperatives. The "good" of the defense of the nation is given greater weight or imperative than the "evil" of violating morals that, apparently, apply to all human beings.

For this to be the case two geographies are necessary: a differentiation of the globe into regions that must be secured and the human life within protected, and those regions which are threatening and in which human life is not worthy of protection. The Western logic of war will almost inevitably drift into a "total war" in which civilians are targeted or put at extreme risk. Such killing is made possible by dehumanizing the victims or making them invisible (Gregory, 2004). Such differentiation is made possible and deemed necessary through the construction of the primacy of national identity as the foundational political geographic entity of human existence.

Lesson 11 "You can't change human nature."[1] Well, that about says it all: despite the homilies, the self-reflection, and the appeal to cross-cultural understanding the take home message is that human beings are hard-wired to kill each other. So what are the implications for the other lessons? I suppose we should become more efficient, collect more data, and be ready to commit acts of evil in the name of good. Just war theory rules, in other words, and given the inherent killing tendencies of human beings we can be expected to engage in continuous military action. Hence the power of a national based political geographic organization of the world and the ready ability for just war theory to legitimate organized violence trumps any sense of cross-cultural cooperation. In other words, the need to "examine our reasoning" (lesson eight) is very limited and will be subsumed within the pressures to know and to securitize under the auspices of nationalism.

The lessons that McNamara offers in the Fog of War fall squarely within the logic of just war theory. The notion that organized killing is a necessity and a moral act in certain circumstances is reinforced. A critical engagement with the lessons illuminates the ready ability of just war theory to be mobilized in political rhetoric to legitimize most acts of war. This is not to challenge the philosophy and morals of the theory itself, but is a caution as to how the logic can be readily misused to frame acts of war as moral. The critical engagement with McNamara's lessons and their implicit usage of just war theory is intended to illustrate the necessary role that common understandings of geography play in facilitating the construction of a world view in which mass killing is a taken-for-granted element of society. What, exactly, are these concepts and why do they facilitate such a violent view of the world?

Four key geographic concepts will be discussed: Place, Scale, Region, and Territory.

Place has long been a central component of academic geography. It is seen as a product of human activity that creates the settings for everyday life: the places where we live. The most recent, and theoretically compelling, theorizations of place emphasize their historic dynamism and the openness and connectivity to other parts of the world (Massey, 1993). However, places are often the geographic setting for the construction of in-groups and out-groups, or definitions of us and them (Cresswell, 1996). Such constructions of who "belongs" in particular places and who is "transgressing" places through an unexpected presence is the foundation for the popular compartmentalization of the world into the familiar and the unfa-

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[1] Lesson 10 is only tangentially relevant to this essay.

miliar. Place is also the defined as the geographic setting within which people feel secure, both in a material and spiritual sense (Tuan, 1977). Hence, security is a place-based notion that requires definition of in-groups and out-groups and their perceived right to be there. This is the essence of just war theory, the immorality of invasion and the morality of the use of violence to resist and prevent such invasion.

The commonly held concept of geographic scale reinforces these ideas and translates them into the concept of national security. The functional organization of politics into nested spaces means that places are seen within states. The security of a place demands the security of the state. Such a view translates into popular considerations of collective identity. National identity overpowers attachment to particular places. Hence, the commonly held notions of belonging and threats from transgression that are held from places are readily translated into ideas of security and invasion that underpin just war theory.

If we further consider scales as a nested hierarchy then belonging, security, transgression, and resistance to invasion are easily exported to popular understandings of regions. The result is an Orientalist division of the world into areas of us/them that are reinforced and legitimized by scholarly authority: Samuel Huntington's (1993) Clash of Civilizations thesis is the most powerful example. As Said (1979) described, such divisions not only rest on socially constructed notions of difference but also a sense that the "we" of the in-group is culturally superior to the constructed Other. Moreover, such a hierarchy of cultures is readily mobilized to legitimate formal and informal colonialism and organized violence (Gregory, 2004). Place, nation, and region are all premised on understandings of territory and territorialization, or the social construction of territory to include and exclude particular groups (Sack, 1983). Some such understandings of territory, even within academia, rely upon biological determinism to argue that human beings have an inherent need to occupy and defend a patch of territory. Such an argument is readily, and far too easily, made to profess that human beings fighting in the name of the nation is an unavoidable state of affairs—begging the question why most countries do not fight other countries most of the time. Nonetheless, territorialization is all too readily seen as a biological tendency rather than a socially constructed struggle over resources and in-group defense that has come to be associated with indivisible socio-geographical entities of neighborhood, place, and country.

I must stress that up to this point I have been talking about how popular, or implicit, understandings of the geographic concepts of place, region, scale, and territory that have been mobilized to justify killing. For over a century

academic geographers have been thinking of ways to discuss and use geography in a way that promotes cross-cultural understanding and peace. From the early work of Kropotkin (1885) to the current calls by Megoran (2010) for a new political geography of peace there has been recognition that geography has a history of ready mobilization for purposes of war. There is also a growing trend towards a peace activist mode of geography (Koopman, n.d.).

Perhaps more importantly for this specific essay is the movement towards reconceptualizing key components of geography in a manner that ameliorate, or even explicitly attempt to preclude, the potentially conflict ridden interpretation and attitudes I have outlined above. Doreen Massey's (1993) progressive sense of place was a landmark recognition of the potentially negative ways that place could be mobilized to promote politics of exclusion. The progressive sense of place recognizes that places are almost always open to the influx of new people and ideas. Hence places are constantly changing through the nature of their connections to other places; openness is seen as a positive engine of change. This idea of place is a healthier, and more realistic, understanding of places than one that is mobilized to justify fears of invasion that underpin just war theory.

Scale has also been reconceptualized away from the idea of discrete and nested scales to a greater emphasis upon lateral connections (Marston et al., 2005). This new approach allows for an integration of networks and scales to create contexts of multiple spatialities (Leitner et al., 2008). As with new understandings of place, emphasizing horizontal linkages between places provides an emphasis upon porosity, connectivity, and inter-dependence that is a counterpoint to the prominence of exclusivity in previous understandings.

New academic understandings of place and scale provide the framework to thin of the world as made up of inter-connected, dynamic, and open settings. In turn, such an approach highlights demographic flux and interaction rather than static and clearly defined in-groups. This new approach poses questions about belonging and fixed notions of territory that undermine the strict notions of territory and invasion that undergird just war theory and its ready misuse by policymakers.

However, reconceptualizations of place and scale are not enough on their own. Such changes must be considered within understandings of society that are not restricted to delineated territorial entities. Mainstream social science has readily fallen into the "territorial trap" (Agnew and Corbridge, 1995) of equating society with the nation-state. Economic, political, and social processes are commonly seen, both in popular understandings and many social sciences approaches, as being geographically defined by the extent of a state;

i.e. the French economy or Nigerian politics. Such an "error of developmentalism" (Flint and Taylor, 2007) fails to identify the scope of social processes in terms of historical social systems (Wallerstein, 1983). States are a political entity within the broader capitalist world-economy and hence economic and political processes are identified in terms of global north-south interactions.

Rather than following the precepts of just war theory to see society in a small-scale territorial sense. A view of society as a geographically broad and temporally long historical system illustrates the state-society nexus as a social construction, though admittedly a powerful one. Such a view challenges the axioms of belonging and invasion that just war theory depends upon. In their place is a redefinition of society and the space-time scope of social processes. We come to understand everyday human experience within historical geographic structures that connect human beings across large ideas of time and space. In that case what is transgression? What is otherness? And what is "security"? And if these questions are asked strongly and persistently the ready usage of just war theory by policy-makers to justify the initiation and prosecution of wars will become increasingly problematic. That would be a significant step towards a nonkilling world and a very different curriculum to the one offered by Robert Mcnamara.

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Chapter Three

Killing for Liberalism

How the U.S. Department of Peace is Antithetical to a Nonkilling Geography

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Introduction

This chapter seeks to situate the development of nonkilling geographies within the earliest contradictions that constitute the relationship between liberalism and peace within the United States. We argue that liberalism provides a poor foundation for peace by pointing out the ways in which the essentialization of liberal political-economic and cultural values—private property, free trade, territorial expansion, utilitarian rationality, and ethnocentricity—by early writers on peace has erased the violence experienced by those people and places excluded from these "universal" discourses. One of our main points will be that the realization of nonkilling geographies must move beyond the couching of peace discourse within liberal political economy, and instead move towards a dialectical engagement with difference that allows for a redefinition of terms such as freedom, liberty, and rights that have historically formed the backbone of peace discourse in the U.S. Too often the language of liberal values has been used as a cover for empire, from the "civilizing" missions of the colonial period to the more recent efforts to spread "freedom" to places such as Iraq. The chapter takes a look at early efforts to establish a Peace Office within the U.S. government and concludes by raising the question of how we might productively build on (or break with) this history.

Looking through the lens of Benjamin Rush's historically important articulation of a U.S. Peace Office in 1790 helps to contextualize how the dominant liberal views of private property, culture, and territory are inconsistent with a nonkilling geography. Rush's outline of a U.S. Peace Office is historically significant because it is the first discursive nod of its kind to peace in early U.S. history in any kind of formalized way through the U.S Government. This discussion is important, as we will argue later, because of the contradictory relationship between the rhetoric of liberalism and peace

and the realities of private property and violence that have been justified by that same rhetoric. As one of the "founding fathers" of U.S. political economy via his signature on the U.S. Declaration of Independence and other writings, Rush has an important role to play in any discussion of nonkilling geography. While Rush's thoughts and writing are central to this chapter, we also think ideas from two of Rush's intellectual interlockers, Thomas Paine, Alexander Hamilton and Immanuel Kant, also provide important context as we try to illustrate and expose the early contradictions within the bedrock of nonkilling geographies.

The United States Peace Office Seen Within a Bundle of Contradiction

In a short essay, Benjamin Rush (1790), one of the signers of the United States Declaration of Independence, laid out a cursory plan for the creation of a 'Peace-Office' within the U.S. government charged with "promoting and preserving perpetual peace in our country" (p. 106). Rush, a physician and a devout Christian, sought to instill a "veneration for human life" (p. 107) through the promotion of liberal political ideas and Christian moral teachings, for as he saw it, "the principles of republicanism and Christianity are no less friendly to universal and perpetual peace, than they are to universal and equal liberty" (p. 106). Specifically, Rush prescribed that the Peace Office provide "an American edition of the Bible" to every family as well as maintain an educational system based in part on the "doctrines of a religion of some kind: the Christian religion should be preferred to all others; for it belongs to this religion exclusively to teach us not only to cultivate peace with men, but to forgive, nay more—to love our very enemies" (p. 106). The Peace Office would also condemn the practice of capital punishment as well as the maintenance of militias, which Rush felt "generate idleness and vice, and thereby produce the wars they are said to prevent" (p. 107).

A significant portion of Rush's essay on the establishment of a Peace Office deals with developing an aesthetic of peace that would be counterposed to the violence of war. Above the entrance to said Office, Rush envisioned scripture, alongside depictions of lions and lambs, snakes and infants, and perhaps more tellingly, pictures of "An Indian boiling his venison in the same pot with a citizen of Kentucky" and "a St. Domingo planter, a man of color, and a native of Africa, legislating together in the same colonial assembly" (p. 108) among other pairings of contemporary foes. These images of reconciliation would be in stark contrast to the aesthetic of the War Office,

described by Rush as "a widow and orphan making office". In the War office that Rush describes, he says:

> In the lobby of this office let there be painted representations of all the common military instruments of death, also human skulls, broken bones, unburied and putrifying dead bodies, hospitals crouded with sick and wounded Soldiers, villagers on fire, mothers in besieged towns eating the flesh of their children, ships sinking in the ocean, rivers dyed with blood, and extensive plains without a tree or fence, or any other object, but the ruins of deserted farm houses [sic].

He concludes the essay after this description by saying, "Above this group of woeful figures—let the following words be inserted, in red characters to represent human blood: "National Glory" (p. 109).

The graphic nature of Rush's description does not seem particularly out of line for a Christian doctor attempting to articulate the violence and carnage associated with war. What is telling however is the ways in which, at the end of the passage, private property relations via the "fence" and "deserted farm houses" are discussed in the same breath as putrifying [sic] dead bodies and "mothers in besieged towns eating the flesh of their children". While this allusion might at first slip through with little scrutiny, it subtly naturalizes private property and associates "empty space" with the absence of life. While it may seem benign, Rush is not aware of his own ethnocentric subjectivity; in other essays he mentions the usefulness of servants to the accumulation of wealth, but class relations are otherwise deemed unimportant to matters of war and peace. Despite the relatively progressive sentiments pitched within the notion of a U.S. Office of Peace, we argue that the liberal contradictions inherent to Rush's initial thoughts are antithetical to a nonkilling geography.

In other essays, Rush argues that peace followed "naturally" from the political implementation of Enlightenment values—the figure of the rationally motivated property owner, willing to mix "his" (male) labor with nature and secure in his rights in the marketplace, was Rush's universal symbol of civilization. Yet as numerous scholars have noted, liberalism is constantly confronted with the slippage between claims to universal values and their location within particular historical, geographical, and cultural contexts (see Harvey, 2009; Mehta, 1999; Ong, 2006; Smith, 2005). Rush, for example, in describing the ideal emigrant to America in a letter to a friend in Britain, celebrates the possibilities stemming from immigration to the "free and extensive territories of the United States" (1790: 123): "Here there is room enough for *every human talent* [emphasis added] and virtue to expand and flourish. This is so invariably

true, that I believe there is not an instance to be found, of an industrious, frugal prudent European, with sober manners, who has not been successful in business, in this country" (p. 117). The limits to the "invariable truth" of this universal subjectivity are revealed in the very next sentence, however: "As a further inducement to Europeans to transport themselves across the Ocean, I am obliged to mention a fact that does little honour to the native American; and that is, in all competitions for business, where success depends upon industry, the European is generally preferred" (id.).

For Rush, the "preferred" European subject is transhistorical and transcultural, thus rendering the Native American persona non grata and worthy of, at best, paternalism, and at worst, removal. Thus, Rush reveals the ways in which, at its core, liberalism as a foundation for peace has always devalued that which it excludes—women, racial minorities, difference in general. It is the inclusion of the excluded, often through violence, that makes liberalism anathema to peace. These are not trivial facts of history. That the extermination of Native Americans (to take but one example) was typically justified by the same supposedly universal principles of "republicanism", liberty, and Christianity that Rush saw as crucial to peace continues to confound both political philosophy and peaceful praxis. Could the "Indian and the citizen of Kentucky" really boil their venison together if the Indian was not Christian nor interested in private property? While Rush's early efforts to establish a Peace Office deserve appreciation, history has shown that the cultural underpinnings of his thought are also central to the violence wrought by Manifest Destiny and frontier settlement.

Just as Rush saw the Enlightenment values of liberal democracy as foundational to the establishment of the U.S. Office of Peace, so too did one of Rush's closest friends and colleagues – Thomas Paine. Paine more explicitly emphasized the essentially peaceful effect that free trade and commerce produced. Late in the pages of Paine's *Rights of Man*—a document that helped provide moral justification for the French Revolution—Paine wrote (2007 [1776]: 215):

> In all my publications, where the matter would admit, I have been an advocate for commerce, because I am a friend to its effects. It is a pacific system, operating to cordailise mankind [sic], by rendering nations, as well as individuals, useful to each other. As the mere theoretical reformation, I have never preached it up. The most effectual process is that of improving the condition of man [sic] by means of his interest; and it is on this ground that I take my stand. If commerce were permitted to act to the universal extent it is capable, it would extirpate the system of war, and produce a revolution in the uncivilized state of governments. The invention of com-

> merce has arisen since those governments began, and is the greatest ap-
> proach towards universal civilisation that has yet been made by means not
> immediately flowing from moral principles.

Here we see the utopian vision of the rational, self-interested actor sewn into the very fabric of U.S. national identity in the Revolutionary period, planting the seeds of commerce and free trade that would precede contemporary forms of global capitalism. One could characterize the project of 'development' as resting on these same principles that Paine describes—that capitalism is a mechanism by which peace and prosperity are naturally secured. The collapsing of peace—a fundamentally political project—into economics is one of the hallmarks of (neo)liberal capitalism that persists up through today.

It is important to take a step back from Rush and Paine specifically, and consider their thoughts within a more robust historical context of the broader "founding" of the U.S. as a nation to better understand how their thoughts are antithetical to a nonkilling geography. As Zinn (2003: 151-152) recounts "after the Revolutionary War, the new Constitution of the United States was drafted by fifty-five men who were mostly wealthy slave owners, lawyers, merchants, bondholders, and men of property. Their guiding philosophy was that of Alexander Hamilton… [who wrote]: 'All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well-born, the other the mass of people… Give therefore to the first class a distinct permanent share in the government." As Zinn continues to recount, the Constitution legitimated a government upon which the rich could count on to protect their private property interests; this was one of the central reasons they came together as signers in the first place, that is their own self interest as opposed to the interests of "the masses". It is indeed telling that phrase "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which was in the Declaration of Independence, was removed when the Constitution was drafted and adopted, and a different phrase was included which was "life, liberty, or property", and ultimately became the part of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. How would the Peace Office, were it ever established, have reconciled the relations of class, race, gender, and cultural difference with the goals of peace? This problem remains vexing today.

While Rush and Paine's discussions about the connections between peace, property and free trade are essential for understanding the evolution of explicitly U.S. liberal democracy and political economy, they cannot be understood independent of the ideas related to "perpetual peace" as first laid out by Immanuel Kant. Kant has been referred to as the 'philosopher of

peace' (see Cortright, 2008) because of his writing of *Perpetual Peace* in 1795 and the ramifications it had for thinkers of nonkilling geographies. In the text, Kant lays out in detail the ways in which democracy and liberalism come together in synergistic ways to create peace. Central to Kant's perpetual peace was his insistence on grounding it in the "moral imperative", that is, the notion that one should treat others as they would like to be treated. Beyond a staunch moral foundation, three other components were fundamental to Kant's liberal theory of peace, including (1) democratic governance; (2) a federation of nations, and; (3) the "cosmopolitan law" of mutual respect and interdependence (Kant, 1795).

The stark contrast between the Kant and Rush's philosophical foundations for peace is interesting and important to draw out. While there are similarities in their tone, clearly the cosmopolitan moral ethic central to Kant is lacking in the ways in which Paine and Rush treat (or, rather, do not treat) identity and difference as related to liberal values such as private property. The utilitarian economic actor of Paine and Rush is, as Amartya Sen argues, impoverished from a moral and ethical standpoint (1987). The territorial expansion inherent to the accumulation of private property through commerce and free trade (see Harvey, 1982) could only ever be a *technical* means to engineering peace, and as such the social relations of capitalism are largely devoid of ethical considerations. The maximization of self-interest, both at the scale of the individual and the nation, is concerned only with getting what one wants while eschewing larger questions of "how one should live". That such "natural" behavior produces the best of all possible worlds is only too easily refuted by both history (Polanyi, 1957) and present circumstances (see Harvey, 2010; Zizek, 2011). The utilitarian actor of (neo)liberal political economy is a powerful historical figure, yet we argue that this figure is anathema to democratic peace and social welfare. Democratic governance, surely integral to peace, does not spring forth from the social relations of liberal capitalism but rather must be produced through continuous ethical and reflexive political engagement.

It is worthwhile to consider how the theoretical foundations for peace, starting at the end of the 1700s with the writings of Rush, Paine and Kant and play out regarding the geopolitical tensions at the beginning of the 21st Century as they relate to the prospect of a nonkilling geography. The seeds of liberal thought first proposed in these early writings on peace have unfortunately also fueled the violent territorial expansion of U.S. Empire. This point is made clearly by Smith (2005: 43) when he says "In philosophical terms, then, the slippage between narrow national self-interest and claims to represent global good and right [via Kant's cosmopolitanism] emanate not simply from the

Enlightenment but from the ways in which Enlightenment universalist ambition was put to work in the context of a specific national experiment." As Smith (2005: 30) also notes, the draping of the Stars and Stripes across a statue of Sadaam Hussein is symbolic of the immanent contradictions of liberalism.

The spread of supposedly universal values across the globe—the project of civilizing the uncivilized—situates imperialism, territorial expansion, and the erasure of difference at the heart of the liberal project. In the present period, however, the more overtly racialized, gendered, and ethnocentric expressions of liberalism have morphed into an almost near undetectable sense of right that masks the clear wrong, from a moral Kantian perspective, that occurs through the continued territorial expansion of the US empire at the behest, or at least willingness, of the citizenry. As Smith (2005: 28-29) says:

> Liberalism in the latter part of the twentieth century was broadly seen to be progressive, on the right side of history. Liberals opposed the cold war and imperialism, were against racism, reviled oppression, and saw themselves as marking progress beyond a stodgy, heartless out of date conservatism; they supported social welfare for the poor, feminism and civil rights, self-rule for colonial peoples, environmental politics, even—within limits—unions. They supported liberties and social equality, opposed corporate capital when it overstepped its bounds, and generally believed in government regulations against the predations of a capitalist market when it threatened to run amuck. Above all else, liberalism was pitted against a conservatism that seemed to defend the rights of the established class, race, and gender power.

Toward a Nonkilling Geography

In July of 2001, Ohio Representative Dennis Kucinich re-introduced U.S. Department of Peace legislation to Congress. Kucinich has been persistent in his vigilance to keep the legislation within public discourse despite the fact that it has never been passed. While the Department of Peace has never been institutionalized, support for it has ebbed and flowed, even receiving upwards of seventy cosponsors. The fact that Dennis Kucinich has followed Benjamin Rush's lead, as have at least nine other elected members of Congress during the twentieth century, by putting forth legislation to create something akin the a U.S. Office of Peace is important. It symbolizes at least some modicum of opposition to constant warfare as the *status quo*. It is also very important that Benjamin Rush, as a "founding father", has been invoked in contemporary U.S. politics by groups attempting to revitalize some version of his vision. However, we argue that the liberal foundations of the United States, and the

historical myths that consecrate these foundations, are a major stumbling block to peace given the ways in which the violence of private property, commerce, free trade, cultural hegemony and territorial expansion are masked within the always partial discourse of (universal) liberty, rights, and equality. Given these critiques of liberalism, which are articulated in great detail by a host of scholars (see Chakrabarty, 2000; Mehta, 1999 among others) how do we begin to think about the possibilities of nonkilling geographies? Can we strategically utilize Rush's "A Plan of a Peace-Office for the United States" and Paine's "Common Sense" in ways that disentangle the nonkilling parts from the parts that ultimately, as history has shown, prove to incite killing? Is this possible? Harvey poses this dilemma succinctly:

> We can either reject the whole Enlightenment project, along with all of Bush's rhetoric about freedom and liberty, as a sordid and hypocritical justification for imperial rule and global domination or accept the basic thrust of what the Enlightenment (and its U.S. off-shoot) was about, with the clear understanding that that particular stab at enlightenment was not enlightened enough (2009: 35).

Harvey insists that a dialectical understanding of anthropology, geography, and ecology can begin to reconcile the failures of liberal democracy spread at the barrel of a gun. The implications of the question of what to do with Rush and Paine, then, are profound, and quite obviously extend beyond the realm of social and political theory. At the current juncture, it would seem impossible to even talk of nonkilling geographies in such an atrocious and horrible era of violence. The over 100,000 total estimated killed in Iraq since the invasion in 2003 by the influential Iraq Body Count web site punctuates the material difficulties of lofty discussion of peace, especially given the false pretenses that drove the invasion. However, it is precisely because of the near inability to believe that a nonkilling geography is possible that necessitates the crafting of connections, critiques, ideas that can restore a desire by citizens of violent countries the world over to reclaim their democracies and insist on more peaceful futures. As Gillan, Pickerill and Webster (2008: 17) suggest in the post-911 era "the anti-war movement endeavors to reclaim the vocabulary of democracy from those who would use it to justify military involvement. For instance, the most prevalent anti-war slogan of 2003—"Not in our name"—was translated directly across the globe, representing a democratic insistence that one would not consent to military action in Iraq." (also see Epstein, 1991 and Kleidman, 1993.) These discursive strategies seem rather important to

making nonkilling geography possible, yet they need to go further in engaging the bounded nature of some of the core America principles. If freedom and democracy at home are rolled out to explain the necessity of drone attacks, then clearly that notion of freedom is geographically bounded, a zero-sum definition of freedom. As we see it, the discursive terrain provided by liberal thought must either be done away with completely or filled in through serious engagement with geographical and anthropological knowledge. Can there be a geographical linking together, solidarity across and against empire that does not seek to homogenize or erase local particulars? We do not claim that these are new questions, only that working through them remains vital to a post-liberal project for peace.

Citizens unable to rest in the comfort provided by the harsh brutality of liberal territorial politics often dissent and in so doing offer historical-geographical disjuncture in time and space that allow us to recall that there were of course other options at X time, in Y place and there will be other decisions with options that do not prioritize territorial expansion over human lives in the name of human lives. It is the passivity and submissiveness inherent in liberalism that allows, even facilitates, such mass killings in the name of democracy to occur, that necessitates the need for citizens to define their politics symbolically and materially themselves lest blood spilled in their name, through the votes of their democratically elected officials, be on their hands.

Ensuring a peaceful, nonkilling, global geopolitics requires great effort. There is too much at stake and too many powerful people who will use violence to justify their own self-serving ends. This history of liberal political philosophy as embedded within U.S. history tells a story of territorialization steeped in twin evils of violence and passivity. If the U.S. is to play a role in promoting a peaceful, nonkilling society locally, as inherent in the ideals of Benjamin Rush's ideas about establishing a US Office of Peace, the citizens who constitute the sovereign rule of the US polity, must engage directly to prefigure the society they wish to constitute.

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Chapter Four

The Territories of "Civility" and Killing in Brazil
The Case of the States of Exception and Death in Recife

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Space, Territory and The Philosophy of Nonkilling

Speaking of geographical territory one is reported to one of its facets: a delimitation of space focusing at a form of social living; an intentional way of socially organized people living together with objects and symbolic and material things, or as emphasizes Santos (1996), the "used territory." It is the ballast of the modern world, the world, as highlighted by Sabato (1993), of the indissoluble marriage of money and reason, that is, the world of goods; of market guided by the "invisible hand" in search of its eternal (but unenforceable) balance. For this, the territory henceforth would have to be monitored by a nation endowed with a political organization, crystallizing it as mediation provided with limits/boundaries, since nations began to merge by the use of force, or otherwise, in larger spatial scales symbolically unified in signs and symbols such as anthems, flags, armies, currencies, unified language, etc. This new pattern of territorial scale began to be "sold" by the Western European world as a redemption to backwardness and a promise of a welfare state, civility, material and spiritual progress, under the lights of the Enlightenment/Positivist empire of technological advance, science and information.

But, as the unstable dynamics of capitalist culture, the national spaces metamorphose: empires fall whilst others flourish; countries are fragmented, are born and wither away, as all territorial scales are under the yoke, oppression, of a global division of labor, at first from the liberal state, and later, from the Fordist/Keynesian productive regime, that is to say, from the regulatory and corporative state; and now from a neoliberalism dominated by the insensitivity of the market to the demands for more and better jobs, and a state which is indifferent to the cries of the helpless, since it is committed to the "market-state" (Obbitt, Reuters, 03/10/2007); to the policies of deregulation and the protection of finances and global investments.

In face of the aforementioned changes in infra and superstructure, we could say that, geographically, we left the micro-spaces of City-States to the macro spaces of States having multiple cities, forming what Raffestin (1993) calls knots, connected by large visible and invisible networks (roads, air routes, communication/ informational routes) which form weavings, with the backing of the social and spatial division of labor, at the very heart of global capital dynamics. With its many complexities of power and possession, class division and segregation, we experience in the current historical period what Bauman (2001) defines as liquid or software world, where capitalism no longer seems to need unskilled work, relegating human beings to the condition of "wasted lives" (Bauman, 2004), turning them into "garbage," no longer recyclable, as structural unemployment, either in the rich North or the poor South, looms as a ruthless and tangible reality in the face of the rise of the technical-scientific-informational era (Santos, 1996) and the over-valuation of "scientific manpower" (Kurz, 1992). Within this context Tyner (2009) states that "the relational conception of space directs attention to how space is constituted and meaning through human Given Interactions—including violence."

Considering the above, we can partly understand the increase in the "underground economies" of all kinds trafficking (guns, drugs, people, etc.), bringing in its wake rampant crime. It is also in this context of deep competition and competitiveness that thrives a structure of "market town" in which their intra-urban morphologies are characterized by self-segregation, well expressed in large gated communities, apartment buildings and homes monitored by cameras and private armed guards 24 hours a day; "real prisons outside prison" (Sá, 2005). Aware of the importance of the geography of nonkilling, Tyner (2009) asserts that "concentrate on thread of Geography, one aspect of a greater fabric that weaves together the understanding of the Earth and Its Inhabitants. Here, I consider the basic concept of 'space' and how this concept illuminates our understanding of killing specifically, and violence and more generally."

In this circumstance, despite the quantitative economic growth, the culture of fear and death seems to reign, either in Brazil or elsewhere. Hence, being relevant the assertion of Paige (2009), when he warns that immoderate human ambitions in the Modern period, have led to "a great bloodshed, material deprivation and psychological trauma that reverberate through generations." In spite of human hopes, in the past two centuries, having been condensed in the motto of the French Revolution of liberty, equality and fraternity, "killing for freedom has been the legacy of the American Revolution. Killing in the name of equality has been the legacy of Russian and Chinese revolutions. Killing in the name of peace has been the legacy of two centuries of

wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions." For the author, from this context we should learn a lesson "that true freedom, equality and fraternity of peace can not be achieved without a fundamental uprooting of the legacy of lethality. The mountains of massacred people, that have been sacrificed for good and evil, claim that we learn the lesson." It is a difficult task, we believe, but not an impossible one, since as pointed out by Castoriadis (1993), in a world enthralled by the charms of the "newfangled" trinkets of marketing, including the so-called intelligent weapons, designed only to achieve the target, everything has been said about their harmful effects, but everything needs to be said again, since "postmodern" humankind can not stick to the essentials.

We understand that it is in this context that Paige (2009) launches "challenges to solve problems such as killing, democide, genocide and disarmament; lethality for economic reasons; atrocities against human rights, ecological biocide and situations where one finds disagreement and division, both destructive, rather than cooperation in diversity", choosing education and training in the basics of political science as trumps for the proliferation of active citizens committed to the "cultivation of creativity and skills to solve problems through nonkilling." This is more than urgent, because in Brazil, and particularly in Recife, the nonkilling philosophy urgently needs to be widespread and it would include the construction of a more socially egalitarian territory.

Brazil, Recife, State of Pernambuco: The Fragmented Territories of Violence and Fear

"Gaza Strip," the name was assigned to a rather violent street in the Baixada Fluminense, State of Rio de Janeiro; "unsafe roads," the warning is printed in Brazilian road atlases; "nobody's land," "popular" designation to "stateless" territories. It is not uncommon to come across conversations of people of all social classes who use these expressions to designate geographic areas now gripped by growing violence, which induce a huge fear. Statistical data reinforce this view. According to the newspaper *Folha de Sao Paulo*, April 04, 2009, then commemorating the 25th anniversary of Datafolha (its statistical data branch), unlike its first edition, where fear of unemployment occupied the top concerns of São Paulo citizens, today the fear of violence has taken the lead by far. In the graphs 01 and 02 listed below, concerning the territory of the capital city of Pernambuco State (Recife), we have a very representative picture of some phenomena that encourage the psychosphere (Santos, 1996) of fear: violent and intentional lethal crimes. The numbers are still staggering in Pernambuco, although in the last two years there has been an incipient reduction, something already healthy.

Graph 1. Number of deaths*, aggression, and intentionally
lethal violent crime** from 1996 to November 2009
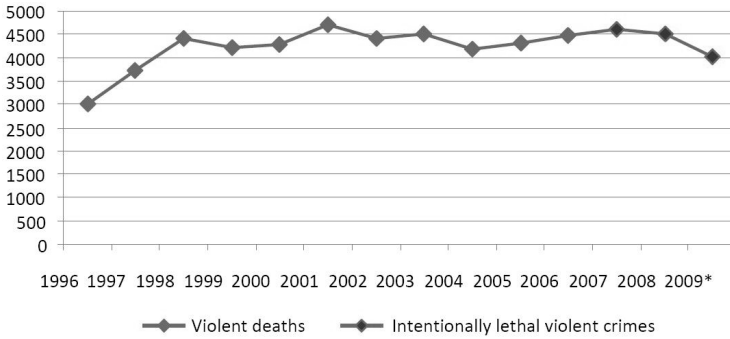
Source: SIM/DATASUS/MS (*1996 to 2005); SDS - Infopol (** 2007 to 2009).

Graph 2. Monthly number of victims of intentionally
lethal violent crimes in Recife from 2008 to November 2009
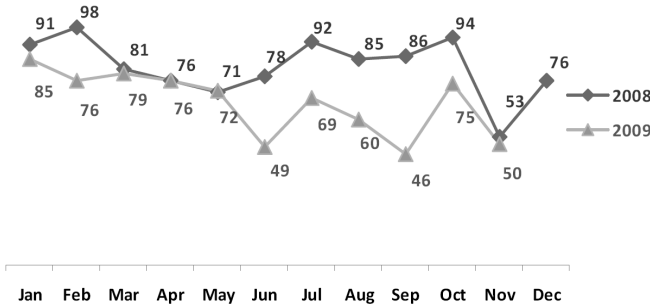
Source: SIM/DATASUS/MS (*1996 to 2005); SDS-ENFOPOL (** 2007 and 2009).

In surveys of other states and capitals, the same scenario repeats itself, a fact well exploited by the media, indeed a much profitable theme for the culture of the spectacle that has firm foundations on the "hyper-realism" of the tragedies. However, paralleling the rise of such territories of incivility and intolerance, another persistent headline is the rapid and "robust" growth of Brazil's economy, given the immense expansion of global economy, which is towed by a network society based on technical-scientific-informational artifacts.

Dealing with aspects of Brazilian economy, the *Jornal do Comércio*, one of the leading newspapers of Pernambuco, on September 20, 2010, highlighted:

> The government re-estimated to 7.2% the growth in the GDP in 2010. The new estimate was taken as a parameter for the assessment report on expenditures and revenues of the Union Budget for the fourth quarter of the year, issued today by the Ministry of Planning to the Congress. The submission of the report is a determination of the Fiscal Responsibility Law (LRF). In the last report, in the third quarter, GDP growth was estimated at 6.5%.
>
> The government forecast is now approaching the estimate of financial analysts. Focus survey released today by the Central Bank (BC) presents an average projection of GDP growth of 7.47% in 2010. In the report, the government reduced from 5.2% to 5.1% its projection for the Consumer Price Index (IPCA) accumulated in 2010. The Focus Bulletin released today by the Ministry of Planning also raises the average projection of the Selic (basic interest rate of the economy) in 2010 to 9.81%. In the third quarter report, the average Selic projection was of 9.60%. As for the average exchange rate, this year's projection fell to $ 1.78, whereas in the previous report the value was $ 1.80.

In view of the established economic/geographical scenario, it seems evident, as many authors have been pointing out, that an extremely massive economic, as well as technical/scientific growth is delineating itself, at the same time, selective in the degree of income concentration, i.e. devoid of a sense of human development and civilization, as well as of moral and ethical values of social inclusion. This fact is well expressed in numbers— approximately 50,000 deaths annually in Brazil by murder, one of the highest rates in the world; a truly camouflaged civil war.

In the country, the absolute number of intentional violent lethal crimes increased 1% from 2004 to 2005, rising from 54,696 to 55,312, comparable to the numbers of a war. These figures are composed by the aggregation of murder, bodily injury followed by death and unsolved robberies followed by death. Murders account for 74% of violent intentional crimes. The State of Pernambuco appears in 2nd place in the ranking of states with the highest rates of "intentional violent lethal crimes," with 58.2 occurrences for every 100,000 inhabitants in 2005, almost twice the national average. In absolute numbers there were 4,757 deaths in 2004 and 4898 in 2005. Taking the United States as an example, according to an article of *The New York Times*, reproduced in UOL, for the first time in U.S. history, more than one in every hundred adult Americans is in prison. Across the country, the prison population grew by 25,000 in the last year (2007), reaching almost 1.6 million. In Brazil, it is this picture of barbarism that leads to "fear" expressed in generalized "civil quartering." Households have become true "prisons outside prison," providing a solid framework for the urban morphology of fear and death, which is the basis for public and private

industry of surveillance and security, that has become a trivialized "social phenomenon." This paper focuses on this new geographical scenario.

According to Bauman (2004):

> only a collateral output of economic progress, the production of human waste has all the hallmarks of an impersonal and purely technical theme. The main actors in this drama are "terms of trade," "market demand," "competitive pressures" standards of "productivity" and "efficiency," covering all or explicitly denying any connection with intentions, wills, decisions and actions of real people, with their names and addresses.

And, it is in this territorial melting pot of an increasingly fragmented social world, that thrives, as asserts the aforementioned author, the dynamics of the underground economy of trafficking, either to supply the hedonistic pleasures of an aimless elite, lacking a social-historical-human life project, or to sooth the growing desperation of the unemployed or underemployed human waste, unrecyclable garbage, disposable beings in the context of the new scientific-technical-informational economy. But like any economy, it involves power, rules and commands.

Dealing with the strength of official and "parallel" economies of drug trafficking, Raffestin (1993) emphasizes that the constitutive elements of these are: "the actors—or the set of their intentions, that is, their goals—their strategy to reach their purposes, the mediators of the relationship, the various codes used and the spatial and temporal components of the relationship." Thus, it is worth emphasizing that power consolidates itself at work, legal or not; work as informed energy. Therefore, work appropriation

> means to destroy it or, more accurately, submit it to a dichotomy and separate energy from information at the level of work, delivering the first social rupture ... organizations can more easily control the flows of energy and information. Performing the nonequivalence is equivalent to appropriate the work in many ways.

We believe, then, that the core of the new geography of a fragmented contemporary world, is the super work ownership, to the extent that the technical-scientific-informational medium becomes increasingly prominent. Thus, the major "official" or "criminal" organizations, as syntagmatic actors, actors who are increasingly able to conduct programs, manipulating energy into information, alienate people and territories; scan spaces and beings in a context of alienation like never in history, since the same "channel, block, control, or domesticate" social forces.

Territorial Fragmentation in Recife under the yoke of the State of Exception

The settings listed above are very significant because they express at once the interplay of organizations in space and time. They channelize the taking of certain lines of function, whether in the concrete geographic space or in the abstract social space. They act upon the disjunctions in order to isolate and master. They have everything or try to have everything under the eye, creating a space of visibility with the power to see without being seen. Thus, domesticating means to enclose within a network, a mesh in which all constituting parts are under the sight. Thus, organizations seeking to value and devalue human and physical resources create, in a timely manner, a whole system of limits, that is "conventional, but since the time it was thought, put in place and functioning, it is no longer arbitrary, because it facilitates the framing of a social project, which is the same of the society" (Raffestin, 1993). Therefore, if the project of the new culture of official and parallel capitalism is the social and territorial fragmentation, as well cites Bauman (2008b), in the context of a life for consumption, "turning people into commodities" and vice versa, it is more than relevant to approach the dynamics of crime in Recife and its corollary of misery and poverty, factors that induce the mapping of the dynamics of the unofficial economies. Taking the example of the production and consumption of crack and other illicit drugs in Recife or in Brazil, where we can devise the limits of the advance of these devastating drugs in the framework of the "social" project of suppliers and demanders that, should we like it or not, is also a project a society in which, only within the past three years over 140,000 people have been killed, with Recife being one of the most violent cities and now having the consumption and sale of crack and its territorial disputes, as a major contributor to the design of this new geography, in which the law and the norm seems to be as flexible as the bases of the "underground economy" of drug trafficking. Given the above consideration, we believe it is relevant to add the following:

> What happened and is still happening under our eyes is the "legally void" space of the state of exception (in which the law exists in figure—that is, etymologically, in fiction—its dissolution, in which therefore whatever the sovereign thought necessary could happen indeed) that burst from the boundaries of its temporal spaces, and spreading out of them, now tends everywhere to coincide with the normal order in which everything becomes possible again (Agamben, 2004).

Not by chance there is a claim all over the world's regarding the growing proliferation of what we might call a geography of violence and fear, a geogra-

phy of public and private prisons within and outside prisons (Sá, 2005, 2007), of a bandit world of the nonwork, informal work, under-work, "narco-work," or "cyber-work" of the "cognotariate" (BIFO, 2009) and even of death.

Therefore, we should once again make a historical digression based on Agambem (2004). This author, accepting a suggestion of Nancy, calls "band":

> band (the old German term which designates both exclusion from the community regarding the command and the insignia of the sovereign) to this power (in the proper sense of Aristotle's *Dýnamis*, which is also always *Dýnamis me enrgeîn*, power does not surpass act) of law to remain in its own privation, of applying itself by disapplying. The primary relationship of law to life is not the application, but the abandonment. The unsurpassed power of *nómos*, its original force of law, is that it keeps life in its band by abandoning it.

These propositions are extremely fruitful for understanding the crossroads of the maze in which the "modern" man finds himself within the inclusion/exclusion dialectics. When Bauman (2008a) speaks of human waste, human garbage, disposable, backed by the action of semio-capital boosted by info-highways and the work of an informational cognitariat (BIFO, 2009), an included exclusion maker, but also prone to be marginal, he is referring to a potential being, that may refer solely to an act under the yoke of an exclusionary law as it applies itself by being disapplied. In the liquid world of fluid modernity (Bauman, 2004), of increasingly "flexible" laws, no one is an outlaw, but the primary relationship of law to life, is not the application, but the abandonment. The law remains, I repeat, keeping "life in its band by abandoning it." It is how we can understand, in present history, so many barely lived lives and even the nonright to life. This life is the exception of abandonment like the exclusion from the community, but at the same time commanded by the insignia of the sovereign world of a power predicated on software, by techno-informational economies commanded by an omniscient and omnipresent "nobody," via stock exchanges and other modern speculative insignias (Castoriadis, 2002).

Human killing commonplace in Brazil, namely the "right" to nonlife would represent the *homo sacer* as the original picture

> of life imprisoned inside the sovereign band, retaining the memory of the original exclusion which constitutes the political dimension... Sovereign is the sphere in which one can kill without committing homicide and without celebrating a sacrifice, and sacred, that is, expendable and unfit to sacrifice, it is the life that was captured within this sphere ... That which is captured in the

> sovereign band is an expendable and unfit to sacrifice human life: *homo sacer*. If we call bare life or sacred life to this life which is the primary content of sovereign power, we still have an early response to Benjamin's question about the 'origin of the dogma of the sacredness of life'. Sacred, i.e. expendable and unfit to sacrifice, refers originally to life in the sovereign band, thus the production of bare life is in this regard, the original loan of sovereignty (Agamben, 2004).

Seeking a rapprochement of these assertions with the present time and, in particular, emphasizing the territorialities of violence in the metropolitan area of Recife, in a recent article (Sá, 2007), we emphasize the similarity of the condition of *homo sacer* with that of the local "alma sebosa" (lit. greasy soul) which is touted in the vocabulary of the poor inhabitants of this urban space, when referring to the death of "bandits." These "set aside," abandoned by the sovereign power, devoid of any value in the field of divine or secular order, are killed and "dumped" on a daily humiliation in abandoned areas. For the collective conscious and unconscious, their deaths are not crimes or sacrifices, after all, deprived of their human meaning, their extermination are not punishable as crimes (usually the killers are hooded, in "paramilitary" inclement fashion). As for the divine, these are renegade offerings, stranded greasy souls, already born with the stigma of bad and irrecoverable, nonhumans who do not even deserve the status of a bare life virtually nonexpendable. It is not uncommon to hear the voice of "community" at the death of a dangerous bandit: it is a relief, should have died a long time ago, never has been a child of God, but a real demon plaguing the community.

Geographically, the territories of *homo sacer*, in Recife, are well defined: the imprisonment of the victims, in general, occurs in both central and peripheral miserable spaces, territories of human waste that live on robbery, kidnapping, drug trafficking etc. Whereas those who are said to be the scrap of the waste, i.e. those who are not even suited to the "narco-work," or "robbery-work" (usually when a "bandit" meets another he asks whether the other is working, i.e., robbing, stealing, mugging), as "incompetent" to obey the rules of the gangs they are "dumped" and tortured in these same neighborhoods wasteland: Muribeca garbage dump, Dois Irmãos woods, sugarcane fields of Ipojuca, etc. In short, they are born, almost live (bare life), and die in the social and territorial peripheries. Not coincidentally Amgaben (2005) states: "Today what we have before our eyes is indeed a life exposed to unprecedented violence, more precisely in its most profane and banal forms." The territories of "Cracolândias" (lit. Cracklands), and other marginal activities in Recife are, indeed, the territories of lives exposed to unprece-

dented violence, territories of exception. Therefore Tyner (2009) assertive is extremely pertinent: "this 'geograhy of killing' has important Implications for Our Broader understanding of killing in the human behavior, it Relates to Particularly the killing by 'ordinary' Citizens in the context of genocide and mass violence. Soldiers, We May argue, are trained to kill and thus 'better' equipped to Overcome humanity's resistance to killing. But what about the rest of us? What of the nonsoldiers who participates in massacres and other forms of direct violence? This question has Been Addressed in the number of genocidal contexts (Browning, 1992; Hinton, 2005; Semelin, 2007)

For a Nonexceptional and Nonkilling Territory

To Design and develop a research, seeking out the causes that structure a social-spatial phenomenon is not an easy task, as in any area of human knowledge, because it involves many variables: spatial, economic, historical, social and anthropological. This happens because, in seeking to understand the new phenomenon of morphological changes within cities related to fear, death and violence in the territories of Recife, or rather the Metropolitan Region of Recife, we can not relegate the historical conflicts of "territorial invasion" by the marginalized population of this city, fruit of the eternal struggle of urban and rural landowners oligarchs always prone to partake in real estate speculation as part of their patrimonial culture. We can not understand these new phenomena, without considering the radical political and economic changes in the economy, when it moved from a Fordist/Keynesian mode, dominated by mass serial production, but endowed with a regulatory state of the discrepancies between capital and labor, for a "new economy of capitalism" based on flexible production, social relations and consumption, based on a different ideology, now rooted in competition, competitiveness and unreasonable individualism.

In this context, we cannot forget the following dialectics: the state seems to be partly indifferent to the cries of a more harmonious and solidarity social world, and on the other hand, the market is increasingly insensitive to the demands for more and better employment. As a result of this new crossroads of a maze with no exit, we witness a world that grows economically, that progresses materially, but can not bring together the men who make it, providing it with ever growing solidarity in science, technique and information. Rather there is an increase the marginalization, exclusion and segregation of social agents that directly and indirectly, engage in the so-called post-modern economy. When we speak of exclusion, we refer to what Ferreira (1999) alludes: "the act by

which someone is deprived or excluded from certain duties." Already in dealing with segregation, which does not exclude, but complement exclusion, we deal with a "policy that aims at separating and/or isolating within a society racial, social and religious minorities, through all kinds of discrimination." Considering the context of our study, we can infer that the bandit communities are endowed with a population excluded by a perverse socio-economic structure, which induces the majority to underemployment, structural unemployment, the underworld of drugs and crime and to encroach themselves in bits of land taken by force from the 'global barons' or from the state. In other words, exclusion leads to segregation, which is the geographical face of exclusion. These are the geographic landmarks of those who exert different economic functions. Thus, exclusion, say, backed by the dynamics of capitalism with its eternal class division, fits into the parameters of sociological analysis, essential to the socio-geographic understanding of segregation, since it insulates not only minorities but majorities of workers "wasted lives" with little or no economic function in separate and isolated territories, territories of exception, of "human waste."

Due to the growing radicalism of a society that is closed in ghettos, intentionally or not, based on the growing flows of goods and information, we can distinguish three levels of self-segregation: the macro intentional self-segregation of the large buildings of the "barons" of global economy, the macro unintentional segregation of the excluded from that economy; the meso-self-segregation of large condominiums and middle sized gated communities, and the micro-segregation of single-family homes in all corners of the cities. In the four segregation scales, the nation-state seems to evade from its commitments with the citizens. Therefore, despite the variation in the number of homes with elaborate security devices, in an attempt to escape from death, and considering geography, history and culture, in virtually every community in Recife, there is a process of self-segregation, including the "poor communities," since in the morphologies of the shanties one finds walls covered with sharp blades, guard-rails, as well as wire fences, which highlights the isolation of certain families within the poorest areas. This is evidence that, as we supposed, there is, even in the building of a slum (or deprived community), a process of mimicry in relation to the territories of the middle and upper classes which seek in self-segregation security against the fear of "what is on the other side of the wall." So, once again, Bauman (2008a) is right when he stresses:

> having swept the world of humans, the fear becomes able to boost and intensify itself. It acquires its own momentum and development logics, needing little care and little or no additional stimulus to spread and

grow—untutored. In the words of David L. Altheide, it is not the fear of danger that is the most crucial, but that in which this fear can be transformed, what it can become ... Social life changes, when people live behind walls, hire armed guards, driving bullet-proof vehicles ... walk with sticks and revolvers and take martial arts classes. The problem is that these activities reaffirm and help produce a sense of disorder that is perpetuated by these actions (...) Fear encourages us to take defensive action, and this provides proximity, tangibility and credibility to threats, genuine or supposed, from which it presumably emanates.

That is, the danger lies in the stubble of fear, in what it can become in more vicious fashion, that is, the imprisonment of human beings fearing violent death. The geography of an urban area is then ruled by high walls and guarded by technology, information-science and private guards, always creating a defensive spirit, a society in which the proximity, tangibility and credibility, which should be based on dialogue with the other and tolerance among strangers, is replaced by "threats, genuine or supposed that it presumably emanates."

Furthermore as some data from our surveys alert us, most of the "slum dwellers" feel safe in their "communities," communities that share the fact of being poor, marginalized, where the urban morphologies are derelict, with narrow streets and alleys and often no sanitation, there is almost a natural identity, a communion in various demands (Sá, 2011), which leads us to condone Cornell (1998), when he stresses: "All the dwellings assembled result in something more than a simple conjunction of houses. Each resting place has a social character of its own, no matter how short its time of use." And that peculiar social character lives in some sense of solidarity among neighbors, in the resistance of these places in face of the overwhelming capitalist world, with regard to real estate speculation that relegates the poor to stay always on the social and territorial margins of the city, under the aegis of a State of Exception.

Therefore, by questioning the various socio-spatial factors that lead to death, fear and violence in the fragmented territories of the space of the city of Recife, we are rejecting the naturalization of death and its consequences, as it warns Paige (2009), "questioning the assumption of nonkilling and its implications through what might be called 'deadly discipline' of political science—among others [why not of Political Geography]—is indeed very relevant." In the development and applicability of this, the author favors the combination of elements such as awareness, knowledge, ability, song, leadership, institutions, resources and skills of citizenship. Yet for the cited author, "this knowledge is necessary to help identify alternatives and transforming actions to be implemented in areas of converging mortality:

neurobiological, structural, cultural zone, and socialization and kill zone."

With this in mind we are basing our conferences and scientific research, including this article. In 2007, when we designed the 1st International Symposium on the *Geographies of Violence and Fear: a geography without prisons, public or private*, we emphasized: the onslaught of the modern world foisted in humans the misleading label of Homo *sapiens*, *faber* and *economicus*; man-machine, as pointed out by Sabato (1993). However, as asserted in Morin (2002), for Plato the human psyche has always been a field of struggle "between the rational spirit (*ourselves*), affectivity (*thumos*) and impulsivity (*epithumia*)". As for Freud, the rational being was vulnerable to "the violence of the impulsive id and the domination of the authoritarian superego [where was the *id*, the *Ego* must arise]." In this sense, *Homo sapiens*, *faber*, economicus is also *killer*. Hence the "killing frenzy" explodes in many different ways: intolerance and extermination of another being with religious, ethnic, nationalist, and today, above all, class-based arguments, rooted on the global economy constructed on the totalitarian culture of possessing at any cost; ino longer on the ethics of hard work, but on the speculative "everybody for himself." So, as warns us Morin (2002), in all parts,

> where *homo* intends to be *sapiens*, where the *homo faber* and *homo economicus* reign, barbarism is ready to resurface ... Psychoanalysts are not tired of show latent madness under the so-called normal behavior. Olivenstein know that in every civilization there is a *homo paranoid*, or a megalomaniac, suspicious, interpreting in a delusional way, perceiving without evidence a conjunction against him. The human madness appears when the imagination is regarded as real, when the subjective is considered objective, when rationality is considered rationalization and when all that is connected ... The Greeks diagnosed the human disposition as *hubris*, a term meaning excessive insanity.

Although it is apparently a "tangential" subject to geography, we realize how much these psychoanalytic assumptions are tied to the territoriality of fear and death in Brazil, because while the globalist *homo economicus* rises, *homo faber* descends together with *Homo sapiens*. In the fight amongst the rational "us," affectivity (*thumus*) and impulsivity (*epithumia*), the latter has won; the selfish hedonist impulsivity of the "postmodern" being, based on having and wanting everything here and now. Thus, *homo paranoid* arises vigorously, competitive in an environment with a shortage of possibilities (the scene of the post-crisis U.S. and Europe is a good example), supported by the productivist logic of global rationality, having global economy as an

unabated destination (*telos*). Our current madness lies, then in this individ-
ual and collective imagination of total realization by the market, as a quick and
indestructible reality, when in fact it is not, as historical reason is dynamic;
within this false subjectivity of social inclusion and excessive flow of creative
and innovative potential of "free" consumer citizens, however, "incarcerated"
in an objective/historical rationality of a capitalism of subtle and perverse ties
(deregulation, outsourcing, flexible working, temporary structural unem-
ployment). All these conflicts have led to many dementias, including in Brazil,
the great criminal, murderous insanity, the trivialization of death.

Therefore, we find it still relevant to stress another assertion of Morin
(2002), according to whom

> culture and society and prohibit the destructive drives of *hubris* [our un-
> bridled insanity], not only through punishment of the law, but also intro-
> ducing from childhood in the minds of individuals, norms and interdictions.
> Moreover, aggression is inhibited by rules of courtesy, which are rites of
> pacification, greetings, salutations, anodyne words. However, an aggres-
> sive attitude or a humiliation awaken our aggressiveness. Frequently, frus-
> trated love can turn into hatred. An avalanche of hate and desire can break
> controls and regulations (...) Contempt and rejection are legitimized by
> pushing the despised to subhuman condition. Hatred is believed to be ra-
> tional, justified by the idea of punishment, elimination of a wrongdoer; the
> joy of applying suffering, torture and killing is exacerbated. While in the
> animal world killing solely aims at satiating hunger or self-preservation, the
> murderous violence among men bears no apparent necessity: 'stupidity' or
> 'inhumanity' are specifically human traits.

Finishing our text, these assertions are more than relevant in order to
guide us to some paths out of the crossroads of the Brazilian socio-spatial
maze (Especially in Recife) of fear of death. In this space, the *hubris*, the
murderous insanity grows sharply in all spheres of society, as organized
crime in true "Parallel States." This has been intensifying because the de-
structive impulses brought from childhood in the minds of individuals are
not curbed by education (the poor quality of elementary and secondary
education in Brazil is notorious), nor punished by the official powers, be-
cause let's face it, in our culture, the culture of the bans, punishment laws
have always been, for many social groups, very flexible. The terror planted
by hired killers, "paramilitary" in association with impunity is the most suit-
able example of what we previously called a "state of exception" where the
law applies by disapplying itself. The aggressiveness of all kinds also intensi-
fies, because there are no rules of courtesy anymore. It is not uncommon

to read in newspapers about students who attack their teachers, children who assault their parents and vice versa, "authorities" who attack their subordinates, moneyed people who attack and humiliate the poor. In short, there is a total contempt for pacification rites, such as greetings and compliments. Due to these shortcomings of civilization, denied, in part, by public and private education and the national socio-economic gaps, an avalanche of mutual contempt and hatred is permeating the Brazilian people. Hence, the trivialization of death, making the hated believe that he should reciprocate in the form of further punishment, torture and death. Finally, as I have been repeating, the problem of violence in Recife and in Brazil is multifaceted, reflects a spatial mixture of the manor house/slave quarters, condominium/slum, selective points and networks to the meeting of old and new fragmented tribes. However, despite all this lived and exposed geography demonstrates its mistakes, we are reluctant to change it, because alongside the rational and "efficient" force of the global market, we pretend to ignore the role that the National Government should still have alongside with all its institutions, In particular, education, health, legal, political and security, all these social mediations capable of imprinting on the conscience of individuals a new *Paideia*, a new education where ethics and civility reign.

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Chapter Five

The New Military Urbanism

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Introduction

As our planet urbanizes more rapidly than ever before, a new and insidious militarism is permeating the fabric of cities and urban life. Fuelled by, and perpetuating, the extreme inequalities that have mushroomed as neoliberal globalisation has extended across the world, this new military urbanism is a constellation of ideas, techniques and norms of security and military doctrine. These are linked intimately into the militarized and neocolonial predation of distant resources necessary to sustain richer and western cities and urban lifestyles. They fuse seamlessly with popular cultural worlds centred on militarized electronic entertainment, automobility, and urban lifestyles organised through new technologies that have military origins. And they relate closely to a proliferation of nonstate insurgencies which appropriate the very architectures and circulations of cities as the means to launch their violence (see Graham, 2009a).

In a world where full state-vs.-state wars are increasingly rare—for now —instead we are seeing a proliferation of violent struggles between state political violence and all manner of nonstate insurgents, networks and fighters. Warfare and political violence is now often organised across transnational scales whilst at the same time telescoping through the streets, spaces, infrastructures and symbols of a rapidly urbanising world. The practice and imagination of state and nonstate political violence, as well as ideas of security, are thus inscribing themselves into the most intimate sites, spaces and symbols of the planet's blossoming urban areas (Graham, 2006). Indeed, war and organised political violence increasingly operate *through* the basic architectures and infrastructures of cities—the very same structures and systems that continually enable globalised urban life to operate. Perhaps unexpectedly, the most basic and banal of urban experiences, infrastructures or artifacts now are becoming fully inscribed into contemporary discussions surrounding geopolitics or international security. In the new military doctrine of 'low intensity con-

flict', 'assymetric war', 'fourth generation war', or 'military operations other than war', the prosaic and everyday sites, circulations and spaces of the city become the main 'battlespace' both at home and aboard.

As a collective, this new military urbanism operates by reworking the architectures, experiences and cultures of cities in both the global North and global South. Sometimes, such changes are manifest overtly in the repackaging of cities into archipelagoes of fortified enclaves and the reorganization of militaries into urban counterinsurgency forces. More often, they emerge more covertly in the normalization of military techniques and paradigms as means to address civilian and social issues. Centred on the US-Israeli axis of military colonialism and high-tech securitisation, this new wave of militarization works by folding all social and political problems—or at least their symptoms—into 'security' issues requiring 'hard' military solutions (Graham, 2003).

The very breadth and power of the new military urbanism is such that, arguably, it is not since medieval times that ideas, techniques and imaginations of political violence and 'security' have centred so heavily on trying to (re)organize the basic architectures and experiences of urban life. Rather than castles, city walls and siege warfare, however, the new military urbanism combines walls, fences and barriers with biometric scanning. It adds killer robots and cyborg insects to the revitalising sciences of urban fortification and 'control architecture'. And it blurs globe-straddling attempts to track people, information, money and trade to a proliferation of more or less militarized or securitized camps, bases, security zones and enclaves. Many of these, however—far from being split-off from the world—are linked together through the very circulations and infrastructures that make neoliberal globalization possible.

Laced together with their own systems of connection and circulation, such enclaves and camps range across a wide spectrum. They encompass proliferating gated communities, offshore finance enclaves, and cruise ships for the überwealthy, as well as war prisons, torture and rendition camps and military bases. They include export processing zones, refugee camps, logistics cities and the rapidly securitised financial cores of global cities. And they range from airport and port complexes, through 'bubble-like' tourist enclaves, to fenced-off event spaces for political summits or mega-sporting events or walled ethnic enclaves imposed by colonial powers. Georgio Agamben, the Italian Philosopher, now even suggests that enclave-like camps are such a dominant architectural manifestation of power in today's world that they are more important than the more open terrain of cities (see Agamben, 2005). In such a context it is necessary to outline the new military urbanism's four key foundations.

Foucault's Boomerang: Colonies Come Home

> War has […] re-invaded human society in a more complex, more extensive, more concealed, and more subtle manner (Liang and Wang Xiangsui, 2002: 2).

First, as the circuits of the new military urbanism blur legal separations between the 'homeland' cities and those on colonial frontiers, so both sets of cities become subject to similar logics of reorganisation and (attempted) securitisation. Colonial logics and geographies thus increasingly erupt within both domestic cities and those on colonial frontiers. Historian Lorenzo Veracini has diagnosed a dramatic contemporary resurgence in the importation of typically colonial tropes and techniques into the management and development of cities in the metropolitan cores of Europe and North America. Such a process, he argues, is once again working to gradually unravel "classic and long lasting distinction between an outer face and an inner face of the colonial condition" (Veracini, 2005).

It is important to stress, then, that the resurgence of explicitly colonial strategies and techniques amongst nation states such as the US, UK and Israel in the contemporary period (see Gregory, 2005) involves not just the deployment of the techniques of the new military urbanism in foreign warzones but their diffusion and imitation through the securitization of western urban life. As in the 19th century, when European colonial nations imported fingerprinting, panoptic prisons and Haussmannian boulevard building through neighbourhoods of insurrection to domestic cities after first experimenting with them on colonised frontiers, colonial techniques today operate through what Michel Foucault termed colonial 'boomerang effects.' "It should never be forgotten," Foucault wrote:

> that while colonization, with its techniques and its political and juridical weapons, obviously transported European models to other continents, it also had a considerable boomerang effect on the mechanisms of power in the West, and on the apparatuses, institutions, and techniques of power. A whole series of colonial models was brought back to the West, and the result was that the West could practice something resembling colonization, or an internal colonialism, on itself. (2003: 103)

In the contemporary period, the military urbanism is marked by—and indeed, constituted through—a myriad of increasingly startling Foucauldian boomerang effects. For example, Israeli drones designed to vertically subjugate and target Palestinians are now routinely deployed by police forces in

North America, Europe and East Asia. Private operators of US 'supermax' prisons are heavily involved in running the global archipelago organizing incarceration and torture that has bourgeoned since the start of the 'war on terror.' Private military corporations heavily colonise 'reconstruction' contracts in both Iraq and New Orleans. Israeli expertise in population control is regularly sought by those planning security operations for major summits and sporting events. And 'shoot to kill' policies developed to confront risks of suicide bombing in Tel Aviv and Haifa have been adopted by police forces in Western cities (a process which directly led to the state killing of Jean Charles De Menezes by London anti-terrorist police on 22nd July 2005).

Meanwhile, aggressive and militarized policing against public demonstrations and social mobilisations in London, Toronto, Paris or New York now utilize the same 'nonlethal weapons' as Israel's army in Gaza or Jenin. Constructions of 'security zones' around the strategic financial cores of London and New York echo the techniques used in Baghdad's Green zone. And many of the techniques used to fortify enclaves in Baghdad or the west Bank are being sold around the world as leading-edge and 'combat-proven' 'security solutions' by corporate coalitions linking Israeli, US and other companies and states.

Crucially, such boomerang effects linking security and military doctrine in the cities of the West with those on colonial peripheries is backed up by the cultural geographies which underpin the political right and far-right, along with hawkish commentators within western militaries themselves. These tend to deem cities *per se* to be intrinsically problematic spaces—the main sites concentrating acts of subversion, resistance, mobilization, dissent and protest challenging national security states.

Bastions of ethno-nationalist politics, the burgeoning movements of the far right, often heavily represented within policing and state militaries, tend to see rural or exurban areas as the authentic and pure spaces of white nationalism linked to Christian traditions. Examples here range from US Christian Fundamentalists, through the British National Party to Austria's Freedom Party, the French National Front and Italy's Forza Italia. The fast-growing and sprawling cosmopolitan neighbourhoods of the West's cities, meanwhile, are often cast by such groups in the same Orientalist terms as the mega-cities of the global south, as places radically external to the vulnerable nation— threatening or enemy territories every bit as foreign as Baghdad or Gaza.

Paradoxically, the imaginations of geography which underpin the new military urbanism tend to treat colonial frontiers and western 'homelands' as fundamentally separate domains—clashes of civilizations in Samuel Huntington's (1998) incendiary proposition—even as the security, military and intelligence

doctrine addressing both increasingly fuses. Such imaginations of geography work to deny the ways in which the cities in both domains are increasingly linked by migration and investment flows to constitute each other.

In rendering *all* mixed-up cities as problematic spaces beyond the rural or exurban heartlands of authentic national communities, telling movements in representations of cities occur between colonial peripheries and capitalist heartlands. The construction of sectarian enclaves modeled on Israeli practice by US forces in Baghdad from 2003, for example, was widely described by US security personnel as the development of US-style 'gated communities' in the country. In the aftermath of the devastation of New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina in late 2005, meanwhile, US Army Officers talked of the need to "take back" the City from Iraqi-style "insurgents."

As ever, then, the imaginations of urban life in colonized zones interacts powerfully with that in the cities of the colonisers. Indeed, the projection of colonial tropes and security exemplars into postcolonial metropoles in capitalist heartlands is fuelled by a new 'inner city Orientalism.' (Howell and Andrew Shryock, 2003). This relies on the widespread depiction amongst rightist security or military commentators of immigrant districts within the West's cities as 'backward' zones threatening the body politic of the western city and nation. In France, for example, postwar state planning worked to conceptualized the mass, peripheral housing projects of the banlieues as 'near peripheral' reservations attached to, but distant from, the country's metropolitan centres (Kipfer and Goonewardena, 2007). Bitter memories of the Algerian and other anti-colonial wars saturate the French far-right's discourse about waning 'white' power and the 'insecurity' caused by the banlieues—a process that has led to a dramatic mobilization of state security forces in and around the main immigrant housing complexes.

Discussing the shift from external to internal colonization in France, Kristin Ross points to the way in which France now "distances itself from its (former) colonies, both within and without." This functions, she continues, through a "great cordoning off of the immigrants, their removal to the suburbs in a massive reworking of the social boundaries of Paris and other French cities" (Ross, 1996: 12). The 2005 riots were only the latest in a long line of reactions towards the increasing militarization and securitisation of this form of internal colonization and enforced peripherality within what Mustafa Dikeç has called the 'badlands' of the contemporary French Republic (Dikeç, 2007).

Indeed, such is the contemporary right's conflation of terrorism and migration that simple acts of migration are now often being deemed to be little more than acts of warfare. This discursive shift has been termed the

'weaponization' of migration (Cato, 2008)—the shift away from emphases on moral obligations to offer hospitality to refugees toward criminalizing or dehumanizing migrants' bodies as weapons against purportedly homogenous and ethno-nationalist bases of national power.

Here the latest debates about 'assymetric,' 'irregular' or 'low intensity war,' where nothing can be defined outside of boundless and never-ending definitions of political violence, blur uncomfortably into the growing clamour of demonisation by right and far-right commentators of the West's diasporic and increasingly cosmopolitan cities. Samuel Huntington, taking his 'clash of civilisations' thesis further, now argues that the very fabric of US power and national identity is under threat not just because of global Islamist terrorism but because nonwhite and especially Latino groups are colonizing, and dominating, US metropolitan areas (Huntington, 2005).

Adopting such Manichean imaginations of the world, US military theorist William Lind has argued that prosaic acts of immigration from the Global south to the North's cities must now be understood as act of warfare. "In Fourth Generation war," Lind (2004) writes, "invasion by immigration can be at least as dangerous as invasion by a state army." Under what he calls the "poisonous ideology of multiculturalism," Lind argues that migrants within western nations can now launch "a homegrown variety of Fourth Generation war, which is by far the most dangerous kind."

Given the two-way movement of the exemplars of the new military urbanism between western cities and those on colonial frontiers, fuelled by the instinctive anti-urbanism of national security states, it is no surprise that cities in both domains are starting to display startling similarities as well as their more obvious differences. In both, hard, military-style borders, fences and checkpoints around defended enclaves and 'security zones,' superimposed on the wider and more open city, are proliferating. Jersey-barrier blast walls, identity checkpoints, computerized CCTV, biometric surveillance and military-styles of access control protect archipelagos of fortified enclaves from an outside deemed unruly, impoverished, or dangerous. In the former case, these encompass green zones, war prisons, ethnic and sectarian neighbourhoods and military bases; in the latter they are growing around strategic financial districts, embassy zones, tourist spaces, airport and port complexes, sport event spaces, gated communities and export processing zones.

Surveillant Economy

> What used to be one among several decisive measures of public administration until the first half of the twentieth century [security], now becomes the sole criterion of political legitimation (Agamben, 200: 2).

Second, the new military urbanism is sustained by a complex, transnational, but poorly understood political economy. However, the colonization of urban thinking and practice by militarised ideas of 'security' does not have a single source. In fact, it emanates from a complex range of sources. These encompass sprawling, transnational industrial complexes fusing military and security companies with technology, surveillance and entertainment ones; a wide range of consultants and industries who sell 'security' solutions as silver bullets to complex social problems; and a complex mass of security and military thinkers who now argue that war and political violence centres overwhelmingly on the everyday spaces and circuits of urban life cities.

As vague and all-encompassing ideas about 'security' creep to infect virtually all aspects of public policy and social life, so these emerging industrial-security complexes work together on the highly lucrative challenges of perpetually targeting everyday activities, spaces and behaviours in cities and the circulations which link them together. The proliferation of wars sustaining permanent mobilization and preemptive, ubiquitous surveillance within and beyond territorial borders means that the imperative of 'security' now "imposes itself of the basic principle of state activity" (Agamben, 2002: 2).

Amidst global economic collapse, markets for 'security' services and technologies, which overlay military-style systems of command, control and targeting over the everyday spaces and systems of civilian life, are booming like never before. It is no accident that security-industrial complexes blossom in parallel with the diffusion of market fundamentalist notions of organising social, economic and political life. The hyper-inequalities and urban militarisation and securitisation sustained by neoliberalisation are mutually reinforcing. In a discussion of the US state's response to the Katrina disaster, Henry Giroux (2006, 172) points out that the normalization of market fundamentalism in US culture has made it much more "difficult to translate private woes into social issues and collective action or to insist on a language of the public good." He argues that "the evisceration of all notions of sociality" in this case has led to "a sense of total abandonment, resulting in fear, anxiety, and insecurity over one's future" (ibid.).

"International expenditure on homeland security now surpasses established enterprises like movie-making and the music industry in annual revenues" (Economic Times, 2007). The Homeland Security Research Corp. (2007) point out that "the worldwide "total defense" outlay (military, intelligence community, and Homeland Security/Homeland Defense) is forecasted to grow by approximately 50%, from $1,400 billion in 2006 to $2,054 billion by 2015" (ibid.). By 2005, US defense expenditure alone had reached $420 billion a year—comparable to the rest of the world combined. Over a quarter of this was devoted to purchasing services from a rapidly expanding market of private military corporations. By 2010, such mercenary groups are in line to receive a staggering $202 billion from the US state alone (Schreier and Marina Caparini, *2005)*.

Meanwhile, worldwide 'Homeland Security' spending outlay is forecasted to grow by nearly 100%, from $231 billion in 2006 to $518 billion by 2015. "Where the homeland security outlay was 12% of the world's total defence outlay in 2003, it is expected to become 25% of the total defence outlay by 2015" (Homeland Security Research Corp, 2007). Even more meteoric growth is expected in some of the key sectors of the new control technologies. Global markets in biometric technology, for example, are expected to increase from the small base of $1.5 billion in 2005 to $5.7 billion by 2010.

Crucially, the same constellations of 'security' companies are often involved in selling, establishing and operating the techniques and practices of the new military urbanism in both war-zone and 'homeland' cities. Often, as with the EU's new security policies, states or supranational blocks are bringing in high-tech and militarized means of tracking illegal immigrants not because they are necessarily the best means of addressing their security concerns but because such policies might help stimulate their defense, security or technology companies to compete in booming global markets for security technology. Moreover, Israeli experience in locking-down its cities whilst turning the Occupied territories into permanent, urban prison camps, is proving especially influential as a source of 'combat proven' exemplars to be imitated around the world. The new high-tech border fence between the United States and Mexico, for example, is being built by a consortium linking Boeing to the Israeli company Elbit who's radar and targeting technologies have been honed in the permanent lock-down of Palestinian urban life into highly militarized enclaves. It is also startling how much US counterinsurgency strategies in Iraq have explicitly been based on efforts to effectively scale-up Israeli treatment of the Palestinians during the second Intifada.

The political economies sustaining the new military urbanism inevitably centre on cities as the main production centres of neoliberal capitalism as well as the main arenas and markets for rolling out new security 'solutions.' The world's major financial centres, in particular, orchestrate global processes of militarisation and securitisation. They house the headquarters of global security, technology and military corporations, provide the locations for the world's biggest technological corporate universities, which dominate research and development in new security technologies and support the global network of financial institutions which so often work to violently erase or appropriate cities and resources in colonized lands in the name of neoliberal economics and 'free trade'.

The network of so-called 'global cities' through which neoliberal capitalism is orchestrated—London, New York, Paris, Frankfurt, and so on—thus helps to directly produce new logics of aggressive colonial acquisition and dispossession by multinational capital working closely with state militaries and private military operators.

With the easing of state monopolies on violence, and the proliferation of acquisitive private military and mercenary corporations, so the brutal 'Urbicide' violence and dispossession that so often helps bolster the parasitic aspects of western city economies, and feeds contemporary corporate capitalism, is more apparent than ever (Kipfer and Goonewardena, 2007). In a world increasingly haunted by the spectre of imminent resource exhaustion, the new military urbanism is also linked intimately with the neocolonial exploitation of distant resources to try and sustain richer cities and urban lifestyles. New York and London provides the financial and corporate power through which Iraqi oil reserves have been reappropriated by Western oil companies since the 2003 invasion. Neo-colonial land-grabs to grow biofuels for cars or future food for increasingly precarious urban populations of the rich North in the poor countries of the Global South are also organised through global commodity markets centred on the world's major financial cities. Finally, the rapid global growth in markets for high-tech security is itself providing a major boost to global financial cities in times of global economic meltdown.

Urban Achilles

> If you want to destroy someone nowadays, you go after their infrastructure (Agre, 2001: 1).

Penultimately, the new military urbanism rests on the way that the everyday architectures and infrastructures of cities—the structures and mecha-

nisms that support modern urban life—are now being appropriated by state militaries and nonstate fighters as primary means of waging war and amplifying political violence (see Graham, 2009 b). The very conditions of the modern, globalised city—its reliance on dense webs of infrastructure, its density and anonymity, its dependence on imported water, food and energy —thus create the possibilities of violence against it, and *through* it. Urban everyday life everywhere is thus stalked by the threat of interruption: the blackout, the gridlock, the severed connection, the technical malfunction, the inhibited flow, the network unavailable sign.

The potential for catastrophic violence against cities and urban life has changed in parallel with the shift of urban life towards ever-greater reliance on modern infrastructures. The result of this is that the everyday infrastructures of urban life—highways, metro trains, computer networks, water and sanitation systems, electricity grids, airliners—may be easily assaulted and turned into agents either of instantaneous terror, debilitating disruption, even demodernisation. Increasingly, then, in high-tech societies dominated by socially abstract interconnections and circulations, both high-tech warfare and terrorism "targets the means of life, not combatants" (Hinkson, 2005, 145). As John Robb (2007) puts it, "most of the networks that we rely on for city life—communications, electricity, transportation, water— are extremely vulnerable to intentional disruptions. In practice, this means that a very small number of attacks on the critical hubs of an [infrastructure] network can collapse the entire network."

Many recent examples demonstrate how nonstate actors now gain much of their power by appropriating the technical infrastructure necessary to sustain modern, globalised urban life in order to project, and massively amplify, the power of their political violence. Insurgents use the city's infrastructure to attack New York, London, Madrid or Mumbai. Insurgents disrupt electricity networks, oil pipelines, or mobile phone systems in Iraq, Nigeria and elsewhere. Somali pirates systematically hijacking global shipping routes have even been shown to be using 'spies' in London's shipping brokers to provide intelligence for their attacks. In doing so, such actors can get by with the most basic of weapons, transforming airliners, metro trains, cars, mobile phones, electricity and communications grids, or small boats, into deadly devices.

However, such threats of 'infrastructural terrorism,' while very real and important, pale beside the much less visible efforts of state militaries to target the essential infrastructure that makes modern urban life possible. The US and Israeli forces, for example, have long worked to systematically to 'demodernise' entire urban societies through the destruction of the life-

support and infrastructure systems of Gaza, the West Bank, the Lebanon, or Iraq since 1991 (Graham, 2005). States have thus replaced total war against cities with the systematic destruction of water and electricity systems with weapons—such as bombs which rain down millions of graphite spools to short-circuit electricity stations—designed especially for this task.

Ostensibly means of bringing unbearable political pressure on adversary regimes, such purportedly 'humanitarian' modes of war end up killing the sick, the ill and the old almost as effectively as carpet bombing, but beyond the capricious gaze of the media. Such wars on public health are engineered through the deliberate generation of public health crises in highly urbanized societies where no infrastructural alternatives to modern water, sewerage, power, medical and food supplies exist.

The devastating Israeli siege of Gaza since Hamas were elected there in 2006 is another powerful example here. This has transformed a dense urban corridor, with 1.5 million people squeezed into as area the size of the Isle of Wight, into a vast prison camp. Within this the weak, the old, the young and sick die invisibly in startling numbers beyond the capricious gaze of the mainstream media. Everyone else is forced to live something approaching what Georgio Agamben (1998) has called 'bare life'—a biological existence which can be sacrificed at any time by a colonial power which maintains the right to kill with impunity but has withdrawn all moral, political or human responsibilities from the population.

Increasingly, such formal 'infrastructural war,' based on the severing of the lines of supply, which continually work to bring modern urban life into its very existence, as a means of political coercion, blurs seamlessly into economic competition and energy geopolitics. Putin's resurgent Russia, for example, these days gains much of its strategic power not through formal military deployments but by its continued threats to switch off the energy supplies of Europe's cities at a stroke.

The systematic demodernisation of highly urbanized societies through air power is justified by 'air power theory' which exists as the dark shadow of long-discredited modernization theory. This suggests that societal 'progress' can be reversed, pushing societies 'back' towards increasingly primitive states. Thomas Friedman, for example, deployed such arguments as NATO cranked up its bombing campaign against Serbia in 1999. Picking up a variety of historic dates that could be the *future* destiny of Serbian society, post bombing, Friedman urged that all of the movements and mobilities sustaining urban life Serbian cities should be brought to a grinding halt. "It should be lights out in Belgrade," he said. "Every power grid, water pipe, bridge, road and war-

related factory has to be targeted [...]. We will set your country back by pulverizing you. You want 1950? We can do 1950. You want 1389? We can do that, too!" (cited in Skoric, 2004). In Friedman's scenario, the precise reversal of time that the adversary society is to be bombed 'back' through is presumably a matter merely of the correct weapon and target selection.

The politics of seeing the bombing of infrastructure as a form of reversed modernization plays a much wider discursive role. It also does much to sustain and bolster the long-standing depiction of countries deemed 'less developed,' along some putatively linear line of modernization, as pathologically backward, intrinsically barbarian, unmodern, even savage. Aerial bombing aimed at demodernisation thus works to reinforce Orientalist imaginations which relegate "the 'savage,' colonized target population to an 'other' time and space." (Deer, 2006: 3). Indeed, Nils Gilman (2003: 199) has argued that, "as long as modernization was conceived as a unitary and unidirectional process of economic expansion," it would be possible to explain backwardness and insurgency "only in terms of deviance and pathology."

At its heart, then, the systematic demodernisation of whole societies in the name of 'fighting terror' involves a darkly ironic and self-fulfilling prophecy. As Derek Gregory (2003) has argued, drawing on Georgio Agamben's (1988) ideas, the demodernisation of entire Middle Eastern cities and societies, through both the Israeli wars against Lebanon and the Palestinians, and the US 'war on terror', are both fuelled by similar 'Orientalist' discourses. These revivify long-standing tropes and work by 'casting out' ordinary civilians and their cities—whether they be Kabul, Baghdad, or Nablus—"so that they are placed beyond the privileges and protections of the law so that their lives (and deaths) [are] rendered of no account." (2003: 311). Here, then, beyond the increasingly fortified homeland, "sovereignty works by *abandoning* subjects, reducing them to bare life." (Diken and Laustsen, 2002: 1, original emphasis).

Virtual Citizen-Soldiers

> All efforts to render politics aesthetic culminate in one thing—war. (Benjamin, 1999: 241)

Finally, the new military urbanism gains much of its power and legitimacy by fusing seamlessly with militarized veins of popular, urban, and material culture. Very often, for example, military ideas of tracking, surveillance and targeting do not require completely new systems. Instead, they simply appropriate the systems of high-tech consumption that have been laid out within and through cities to sustain the latest means of digitally or-

ganised travel and consumption. Thus, as in central London, congestion-charging zones thus quickly morph into 'security' zones. Internet interactions and transactions provide the basis for 'data mining' to root out supposedly threatening behaviours. Dreams of 'smart' and 'intelligent' cars blur with those of robotic weapons systems. Satellite imagery and GPS support new styles of civilian urban life as well as 'precision' urban bombing. And, as in the new security initiative in Lower Manhattan, CCTV cameras designed to make shoppers feel secure are transformed into 'anti-terrorist' screens.

Perhaps the most powerful series of civilian-military crossovers at the heart of the new military urbanism, however, are being forged within cultures of virtual and electronic entertainment, and corporate news. Here, to tempt in the nimble-fingered recruits best able to control the latest high-tech drones and weaponry, the US military produces some of the most popular urban warfare consumer video games. Highly successful games like the US Army's *America's Army* or US Marines' *Full spectrum Warrior*[1] allow players to slay 'terrorists' in fictionalised and Orientalised cities in frameworks based directly on those of the US military's own training systems.

The main purpose of these games, however, is public relations: they are a powerful and extremely cost-effective means of recruitment. "Because the Pentagon spends around $15,000 on average wooing each recruit, the game needs only to result in 300 enlistments per year to recoup costs" (Stahl, 2006, 123). Forty per cent of those who join the Army have previously played the game. The game also provides the basis for a sophisticated surveillance system through which Army recruitment efforts are is directed and targeted. In the marketing speak of its military developers, *America's Army* is designed to reach the substantial overlap in "population between the gaming population & the army's target recruiting segments." It addresses "tech-savvy audiences and afford the army a unique, strategic communication advantage" Lenoir, n. d.).

To close the circle between virtual entertainment and virtual killing, control panels for the latest US weapons systems—such as the latest control stations for 'pilots' or armed Predator drones, manufactured by our old friends Raytheon—now directly imitate the consoles of Playstation2s, which are, after all, most familiar to recruits. The newest Predator control systems from Raytheon—leading manufacturer of assassination drones as well as key player in the UK's E-borders consortium—deliberately use the "same HOTAS [hands on stick and throttle] system on a […] video game." Raytheon's UAV

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[1] See <http://www.americasarmy.com> and <http://www.fullspectrumwarrior.com>.

designer argues that "there's no point in re-inventing the wheel. The current generation of pilots was raised on the [Sony] Playstation, so we created an interface that they will immediately understand" (Richfield, 2006). Added to this, many of the latest video games actually depict the very same armed drones as those used in assassination raids by US forces.

Wired magazine, talking to one Predator 'pilot,' Private Joe Clark, about this experience directing drone assassinations from a virtual reality 'cave' on the edge of Las Vegas, points out that he has, in a sense "been prepping for the job since he was a kid: He plays videogames. A lot of videogames. Back in the barracks he spends downtime with an Xbox and a PlayStation." After his training, "when he first slid behind the controls of a Shadow [Unmanned aerial Vehicle] UAV, the point and click operation turned out to work much the same way. 'You watch the screen. You tell it to roll left, it rolls left. It's pretty simple,' Clark says (all quotes from Shachtman, 2005).

Projecting such trends, Brian Finoki (2006) speculates about a near-future where "video games become the ultimate interface for conducting real life warfare," as virtual reality simulators used in video gaming converge completely with those used is military training and exercises." Finoki takes the video game-like existence of the Las Vegas Predator 'pilots', with their Playstation-style controls as his starting point. He speculates, only half ironically, whether future video gamers could "become decorated war heroes by virtue of their eye-and-hand coordination skills, which would eventually dominate the triggers of network-centric remote controlled warfare?"

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Chapter Six

American Exceptionalism, Abolition and the Possibilities for Nonkilling Futures

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> If we are so willing to tolerate a high murder rate at home why are we unwilling to kill others during wars when killing is traditional?
>
> Harvey M. Sapolsky and Sharon K. Weiner (1992/93).

> The modern state's discourse of historical progress is organized around dichotomies of progress and backwardness, law and criminality, reason and irrationality. These taxonomies define violence in terms of spatial and temporal locations, weaving violence into practices of social classification and economic differentiation.
>
> Julie Skurski and Fernando Coronil (2006: 15).

The end of the Cold War brought the dream of a peace dividend. But this dream turned into one of wars without killing. In the United States, investment in high tech weaponries would minimize the use of conventional weaponry and soldiering bodies. This so-called Revolution in Military Affairs promised worldwide technical dominance and the ability to sidestep the American public's ostensible post-Vietnam "casualty aversion." The deployment of US troops for "humanitarian interventions" spelled for many a shift in the military's mission to that of a cop whose beat spanned the globe intervening in civil wars and other trouble spots. With the closure of military bases and slick media depictions of a cleanly executed Gulf War, warmaking seemed to disappear from the US landscape. Yet, the end of the Cold War did not bring the peace, but instead the restructuring of violence-making. This has involved redrawing of political boundaries between foreign and domestic, police and military, war and peace, civil society and enemy.

In thinking about how to build nonkilling futures, it is imperative to be able to develop critical understandings of the ways in which cultural values, social relations, and institutions become organized for violence (Geyer, 1989). These meanings and practices can be organized to different ends by challenging relations of violent subordination and by developing practices and values geared toward building means of resolving conflicts and fostering

conditions for freedom and human flourishing. An important challenge is the dominance of ideologies and forms of governance that underwrite systemic violence, whether organization for war or categorical civil abandonment and exclusion. One of the foundational myths of the liberal nation-state is that the state acts as the sole legitimate purveyor of force, which establishes the peace. In hegemonic liberal discourses, war is understood as an exceptional eruption of violence that punctuates the peaceful norm of civil society.

There are several problems with this nationalist frame. Not only does organization for war blur sharp temporal distinctions between war and peace, it also blurs what are often thought of as spatially discrete spaces of domestic peace and foreign conflict. Further, the myth of exception shrouds the everyday, unexceptional organization and deployment of state violence on the domestic front through policing the presence and actions of people. In practice these lines are blurry, but they must be constantly re-newed—discursively (e.g. media, think tanks) and materially (e.g. border fortification)—because these categories are so fundamental to national identity and to the state's claims to singularly decide who may use force.

This chapter focuses on American exceptionalism and specifically on analyz-ing the geopolitical imaginations of this national ideology. How do exceptionalist understandings of domestic and foreign space work to reproduce US national-ism and war-making abroad and to obscure state violence practiced domesti-cally? By the term geopolitical imaginations, I mean understandings of places and their interrelations that inform the discursive production of meaning. The re-production of such discourses through representations and everyday practices of identity making, statecraft and governance thereby have material effects in the world, informing and undergirding the often violent reproduction of na-tional spaces and international relations (Bialasiewicz et al., 2007).

I build on Judith Butler's (2009) *Frames of War,* in which she theorizes antiviolence, from a critical geographic perspective. Butler's essays were writ-ten as the US waged wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. US practices of torture re-vealed by the Abu Ghraib photos and the practice of indefinite detention in Guantánamo provoked a crisis in national identity centering on the nation's claims to democracy, freedom, and the rule of law. The temporizing frame of wartime emergency serves to legitimate such violent practices, while simulta-neously obscuring how these practices were developed historically and how frequently they have been deployed (Puar 2007). Geopolitical imaginations constitute some of the most durable "frames of war." A critical understanding of how these imaginative geographies work to sustain global power and hier-archies, including the fraught racializing line of whose lives are grievable, is

imperative for cultivating a "'nonmoralized' sense of responsibility" within shared conditions of precarious life (Butler 2009: 177).

While a good deal of critical attention has analyzed how racialized geopolitical imaginations inform and sustain popular support for war-making, there has been much less attention to how racialized imaginations of the domestic sphere also shape understandings of defense, security and organization for violence. The infapolitical line dividing who will count as human (who is grievable in Butler's terms) from those whose lives are not grievable is a geopolitical struggle engaged not simply through external or Orientalist logics of foreignness, but also through the cultivation of *internal* enemies. For example, the abstract depictions of US war-making on the nightly news are not separate from racialized depictions of crime. Each set of depictions creates a racialized relationship of spectatorship that fosters viewers' "material complicity" in state violence, while "dematerializing" its effects and erasing the interrelation between police violence and war-making (Feldman, 2004).

Criticism of American exceptionalism that focuses on US war-making and empire building abroad, but ignores the systemic practices of state violence domestically, reproduces exceptionalist lens undergirding US state violence wherever it is practiced. What disappears in plain sight is the mass violence of border militarization responsible for the deaths of thousands of migrants and a US prison system whose population of 2.3 million people rivals that of the nation's fourth largest city, Houston, Texas. In the US, "governing through crime" builds on and ratifies anti-Black racism, while also serving to police and thereby constitute gender and sexual difference (Subdury, 2005; Incite!, 2006). Yet, the centrality of confronting anti-Black racism is not frequently understood as fundamental to also ending Native colonization and genocide and war (Smith, 2006; Smith, 2010). This makes challenging the systematic, domestic practices of state violence, a site where its exercise is most hegemonic, fundamental to undermining the legal categorizations that create race and structure grievability.

This chapter proceeds in four parts. First, it briefly traces Judith Butler's discussion of making antiviolent political interventions. Next, develops an analysis of the dominant geographic imagination shaping American exceptionalism. It then provides an example of the interrelation between post-Cold War domestic and foreign politics, which work to perpetuate and obscure practices of US state violence. It shows how the naturalization of anti-Black racism and legitimacy afforded to state punishment have created a normalized system of state violence in the form of mass imprisonment. Fi-

nally, the chapter concludes by returning to Judith Butler's politics of anti-
violence with a consideration of the politics of abolition.

Nationalism and Grievability

For Judith Butler, nonviolence "is precisely neither a virtue nor a position
and certainly not a set of principles that are to be applied universally" (Butler,
2009). Because "we are at least partially formed through violence" (2009:
167)—including normative social categorizations and the structural and politi-
cal violence that produce differential precarity—claims of nonviolence repre-
sent efforts to break with the reproduction of these relations. Making such a
claim is an exercise of political responsibility, of "trying to attend to the pre-
cariousness of life, checking the transmutation of life into nonlife" (2009: 177).
Grievability constitutes the threshold of this transmutation, dividing valued
lives from those whose lives "cannot be mourned because it has never lived,
that is, it has never counted as a life at all" (2009: 38).

Attempting to make anti-violent interventions rests on recognizing shared
conditions of precariousness and interdependence. Nationalism and liberalism
inveigh against such recognition because they are constituted through a fun-
damental, if tenuous and shifting, divide. There is an "unreasoned rift at the
core of the subject of nationalism" wherein "the subject asserts its own right-
eous destructiveness at the same time as it seeks to immunize itself against
the thought of its own precariousness" (2009: 48). The subject of liberalism is
similarly contradictory, simultaneously holding principles of "reverence for
life" and its legitimate destruction (2009: 160). Each of these rifts structures
war-making, wherein the "military field of affect cannot explain its own hor-
ror at the injury and loss of life sustained by those representing the legitimate
nation-state, or its righteous pleasure at the humiliation and destruction of
those others not organized under the sign of the nation-state" (2009: 58).

War-making projects rely on exceptionalist arguments about emergency
that demand subordination of democratic forms to justify the death of other
people (Puar, 2007). The power of cycles of emergency and exception is in
rationalizing and valorizing state violence as protection and freedom. The
practice and reproduction of nation-state sovereignty simultaneously intro-
duces rifts in the human and who can be mourned and domesticates particu-
lar subjects for inclusion and domination. There are those who mourn for the
loss only of "our troops;" there are others who insist on remembering and
mourning the deaths of far-away strangers under buildings collapsed by drone
attacks. And in recounting, there are those who refuse how war-making tries

to map all people into mutually exclusive categories of soldiers and civilians, combatants and noncombatants. "What happens to the citizen, the political subject of democracy," they ask, "when there are only civilians and soldiers?"

The historical development of the nation-state is deeply entangled with war-making. And nationalism is among the most powerful ideologies that support the organization for and deployment of mass violence. The persistence of the cycle of exception and threat undergirds the divided subject of liberalism in which reverence for human life is matched with the legitimate destruction of some groups of people (Foucault, 2003 [1997]; Butler, 2009). While the *effects* of the line dividing humanity are much the same—premature death, social death—understanding the ways in which this divide is produced and naturalized demands more than a generic self-Other mode of analysis. Practices of identification and differentiation, create multiple identity-difference boundaries and relations. The reproduction of these relations forms relatively enduring racial-gender-sexual formations, which are restructured at moments of crisis.

Imaginative geographies of the nation are fundamental to reproducing such brittle categories of civilian-military, domestic-foreign. Orientalist geopolitical imaginations undergird perceptions of national threat, and have been used to justify military and "humanitarian" interventions in the name of Western properties of modernity, democracy, freedom and progress. A dualistic geopolitical imagination separating the West from sites of failed states or harbors of terrorism structures the contemporary imaginative threat that justifies state secrecy and constrained democratic action. Peace, in this narrative, becomes an enduring feature of the global North, which necessitates humanitarian intervention, while erasing contemporary and historical relationship of exploitation and subordination that should inform questions of culpability and responsibility (Orford, 2003; Mamdani, 2008; Loyd, 2009a).

Security states are organized through a "logic of masculinist protection" (Young, 2003) that structures the relations between internal and external space such that the domestic sphere is imagined as vulnerable to external threats. The deployment of such dualistic worldviews constrains the domestic political sphere by repositioning citizens as powerful, virtuous soldiers defending of the nation, or as prepolitical civilian figures to be protected. The gendering of these relations is not insignificant. In the former, spectacular wartime displays enjoin the citizenry to take part in and enjoy foreign aggression even if this aggression will only mask and intensify insecurity (Pease, 2007). In contrast, the subordinated ("feminized") position of the protected short circuits discussion of the dangers people face in their daily lives, and the agency they can individually and collectively exercise to create safety and

heal harms. State claims of omnipotent knowledge of threats and singular authority to act narrow popular sovereignty and undermine popular capacities to act politically and to make anti-violence claims.

Finally, some antiwar arguments actually reproduce nationalist logics when contrasting apparently aberrant wartime violence to the normal rule of law at home. Rather than questioning the politics of legal and extralegal violence, such arguments imagine the law as a constraint of violence, rather than one of its organizing institutions (Cover, 1986; Smith, 2002). This thereby ratifies the legitimacy of state violence, domestically and internationally.

American Exceptionalism and Imagining the Home Front

The American domestic sphere was consolidated through expansive settler colonialism, which relied on the violence of Native dispossession and genocide, and military conquest; chattel slavery; racist codification of migration and citizenship; and imperial entanglements throughout the world reaching back well over a century. However, American exceptionalist mythologies selectively remember, displace, and recuperate these histories. Exception understood as transcendence (distinction from, or exemplariness) and as temporary exemption from normal legal practices repetitively produces the US as a nation whose future is inevitable because it is the crucible of universal values. In this way, threats to the "American way of life" are structural to US national self-identification (Puar, 2007).

Critics of the American exceptionalist premises to war-making often forget how these ideologies simultaneously obscure the racial hierarchies and violence tearing at the myth of national community. For example, in seeking to situate in history the contemporary US military archipelago and practices of torture, reference is often made to the practice of domestic industrial punishment that undergirds it. Such historicization potentially inveighs against exceptionalist understandings of state violence wherein domestic practices are understood to be law-abiding and legitimate in contrast to the exceptional law-breaking, law-bending, and law-making during foreign wars. However, while this approach provides the historical context to critique claims of newness, such arguments nonetheless fail to examine (and subject to equally concerted criticism) the particular relations of violent domination and racialization in each place. As Jared Sexton and Elizabeth Lee argue (2006), tracing the continuity *by analogy* displaces the centrality of anti-Black racism to the United States, and relations of slavery (violent

domination, natal alienation and social death, after Orlando Patterson [1982]) that continue to undergird its institutions.

Organization for war-making is but one arena of legally and socially sanctioned state violence. In his influential article on the constitutive violence of the law, Robert Cover writes that the "[legal] 'interpretations' and 'conversations' that are the precondition of violent incarceration are themselves implements of violence," but in order for these interpretations or judgments to act effectively, there must be "conditions of effective domination" (1986: 1601, 1616). Conditions of "effective domination" include hegemonic understandings of punishment and exile. Criminal and international migration policies are two arenas where the violent practices of the state are least questioned, despite their longevity and far-reaching consequences. The tacit legitimacy afforded these practices creates the legal and socially-sanctioned conditions for effective domination and makes the violence of the state disappear under the frame of the law.

While the law may be uniformly violent, "effective domination" is necessarily *uneven*. The heteropatriarchial security state is simultaneously a racializing state; *some* homes and families are the object of state protection from external *and* internal enemies (Loyd, 2009b; Loyd, 2011). In the United States, the history of and resistance to chattel slavery instilled punishment as "primary and foundational to black subjection," a systematic practice of "gratuitous violence that traverses the conceptual distinction between state and civil society. It is what allows for wars in the proper sense to be fought" (Sexton, 2007: 197, 198). This "proper sense," it seems, is the establishment of the relationship between insides and outsides of civil society, which in liberal theory also delineates the distinction between who will be governed more through consent or and who will be governed more through coercion (cf. Wilderson, 2007).

The commonsense that national territory and boundaries determine where relations of consent or force predominate is a historic artifact; the distinction "between the military and police was increasingly drawn with the internal pacification that produced the modern nation state" (Andreas and Price, 2001: 34). But, as Andreas and Price note, in the post-Cold War era the line between these institutions of state violence has become increasingly blurred, and in many places the distinction never existed. Thus, the naturalized distinction of force at the national boundary should not be treated as permanent nor mistaken for actual practice. To return to Sexton, this suggests that there can be multiple relations of force and consent within national bounds, and outside of them. Relations of antagonism rather than relation to territoriality or domestic or foreign space are what delineate relations of war (Hanssen, 2000).

Finding the War at Home

In 1994 Robert Kaplan published his influential, "The Coming Anarchy," in *The Atlantic Monthly*. The article, and later book, set out to limn the new post-Cold War contours of geopolitics, which the US faced as a sole superpower interested in fostering a globally connected world. Kaplan depicts a Malthusian, Hobbesian world in which dense urban pockets of poor, restive humans live by an economy of illegality and street justice. These spots are dangerous to the developed world because they are hotbeds of disease, "refugee migrations, the increasing erosion of nation-states and international borders, and the empowerment of private armies, security firms, and international drug cartels" (1994: 46).

The colonial geographic imaginary that Kaplan resurrects has been criticized widely (Ó Tuathail, Dalby and Routledge, 2006), but less often noticed is the US *domestic* context of "racial polarity, educational dysfunction, social fragmentation of many and various kinds" within which Kaplan wrote, namely the culture wars and war on drugs. To this end, "criminal anarchy" in West Africa is significant for "our civilization" not because Americans should care in principle about the precarity of daily life for residents of West Africa. Rather, the problem is with a dysfunctional "multicultural regime" of public education that has made the US "sensitivity factor […] higher than ever." In "an age of cultural and racial clash, when national defense is increasingly local, Africa's distress will exert a destabilizing influence on the United States," further "eroding America's domestic peace" (Kaplan, 1994: 76).

The geopolitical story Kaplan narrates is not just about US foreign relations, but about the interrelations between foreign and domestic governance where racial conflict is a central destabilizing force for internal and external security. Written soon after the 1992 Los Angeles uprising, which was widely touted as the first multicultural riot, the moral panic that Kaplan taps and fuels is decidedly part of this hypermediated moment of cop shows and highly racialized discourses around crack and predator youth. While depictions of the Gulf War abstracted away from the deployment of violence, an anti-Black field of vision structured how the police video of King would be seen and made police violence an apparent response to the violence that was naturalized within King's body (Gilmore, 1993; Feldman, 2004).

Kaplan's piece, written after a decade of Reaganomics, whose invocation of the "welfare queen" made revanchism and anti-Black racism respectable, the culture wars were also fueled by a moral panic over violence that revolved around the trope of the Black underclass whose youth were consumed by crack dealing, gangs, and senseless violence. Absent from this nar-

rative was any mention of 20-plus years of capital flight and state disinvestment that left poor and working class neighborhoods to rot, and industrial restructuring that was continuing to shed Black workers. Rather, the inner city as war zone became a stock comparison in media portrayals: "A trauma doctor called to active duty told the military that he will serve in the Persian Gulf or remain in the 'combat zone' he already runs—the emergency room at Highland Hospital" in Oakland, California (2 combat zones, 1991).

It is in this domestic geopolitical context that security studies scholars Harvey Sapolsky and Sharon Weiner find the US public's desire for a "bloodless war" so paradoxical. "If we are so willing to tolerate a high murder rate at home," they ask, "why are we so willing to kill others during wars when killing is so traditional?" (1992/93: 1). I found their article, "War without Killing," while researching the post-Vietnam discourse of "casualty aversion" and shift in US media coverage of war. The tone of their piece is candid, asking how "we" as Americans imagine our relationship to killing and to state violence on domestic and foreign soil. Published in the journal for MIT's Defense and Arms Control Studies Program, the thought piece is provocative for so baldly breaching the domestic-foreign divide structuring hegemonic understandings of state violence. While a minor publication, the article is significant for revealing the ideological whiteness shaping imaginations of the domestic sphere.

The question Sapolsky and Weiner ask about the "tradition" of killing is not intended to rehearse the history of colonialism, genocide and slavery. Instead, their piece seeks to chart the divergence between the military's efforts to diminish civilian and soldier casualties abroad and "our" inability to shrink murder rates at home. They attribute to "the public" a concern about violence abroad that does not obtain domestically:

> Most white Americans can remain isolated from the murder and mayhem of the inner cities, the argument goes, and thus do nothing about it. Television news reports the violence, but the violence has no impact on most whites beyond producing a pervasive fear of young black males and inner city neighborhoods (1992/93: 2).

Sapolsky and Weiner identify racism as the "ready" reason for the gap, but white indifference alone is "not the fully persuasive" explanation. The real failure to diminish murder rates, they write, is due to the "significant" post-1960s "restraints placed on the exercise of police authority. No longer can police conduct random searches, fail to inform detainees of their rights,

beat the disrespectful, and so forth. Instead, public officers must worry about public inquiries into the misuse of force" (1992/93: 2).

Despite the divergent sources of apparent limitations placed on the use of force, the military and police now face a common conundrum: how to isolate the bad guys from the innocents. How can the US stabilize the post-Cold War globe when use of US military force has been reined in? Despite the constraints placed on the police, the answer to military problems still can be found in US urban policy and policing:

> Murderers are difficult to apprehend, often have friends who protect them, and may take revenge. This is very much a police problem. For most of us, it is also an entirely avoidable problem. Unable to deal with domestic violence without doing violence to our principles, we have learned to turn away from the problem. The same will be true internationally. Like our urban policy, isolation will eventually be our answer (1992/93: 5).

The surface narrative is that "our" pragmatic efforts to constrain state violence have had perverse effects domestically and internationally. In the case of the military, this has resulted in a progressive diminishment of violence against civilians, a laudable accomplishment. In the case of the police, however, responsiveness to "the public" has not led to citizen protection. Contrary to the legitimacy they seem to afford democratic pressure on the military, the authors decry similar accountability of the police to the public and advocate their unrestrained use of force. Thus, the article's subtextual labors are directed at ways of getting around democratic constraints on state violence. In practice, this will mean the development of strategies that necessarily advance the conceit that democratic control over the military is progressively humanizing war-making.

The utter incongruity of Sapolsky and Weiner's analogy rests on anti-Black racism. They operate under the assumption that increased policing prevents murder and that subjects of police violence—the "criminally-minded"—are legitimate targets. This shifts Black people from subjects of state and interpersonal violence to enemies of the state. "[I]f we were motivated to intervene" (1992/93: 2), this group would not be afforded the same noncombatant protections ostensibly legislating military force. The authors use the legitimacy they afford to policing—and specifically to policing young Black men—to delegitimize constraints placed on military power. The fiction of progressive control over military violence is maintained by the naturalization of "Black criminality" and legitimization—indeed, erasure —of violent police practices.

It is here that the shifting scope of "we"—between Americans and white Americans—is significant. While apparently there is public desire to prevent the deaths of even enemy soldiers, the same desire does not extend to either young Black murder victims nor to constraining police power. The authors use the deaths of the former to tell a cautionary tale on the apparent contradictions of popular desires to prevent unnecessary deaths of combatants and civilians. But the invisibility of police violence—and the broader regime of racialized punishment subtending it—is precisely what enables the authors to maintain the liberal conceit that there are democratic constraints on the military. To them, this popular sovereignty means that the force available to the state will not be used for protection. Perversely, then, "we" will end up in a segmented geopolitical world where indifference flourishes because of the tremendous commitment to the principle of nonkilling.

Here the contradictory set of arguments that the authors advance to discuss young Black men becomes apparent. While the military-civilian relationship structuring military violence has apparently become moot because the American public wants neither to be killed, the sovereign, militarist relationship of enmity and exception is transferred to young Black men who are positioned as either enemies of the state subject to legitimate force or as forgotten civilians. Indifference to their deaths is the exception to the progressive aversion to force. Young Black men are never situated as grievable figures whose experiences might demand condemnation of the state violence directed at them. This positioning makes relationships of citizen solidarity or civilian care discursively impossible.

Indifference is the trace of this contradiction, but this stock liberal explanation for the failure to grieve does not grapple with racialized politics and structure of white privilege. Sapolsky and Weiner's moral indictment of white indifference in the case of domestic politics positions white people as otherwise empathetic, thereby masking the historically violent relationships underpinning white expectation of protection (Gilmore, 2002). Their disquieting call for spatial isolation as a policing strategy erases the violence of this strategy in Cold War geopolitics and US cities. Histories of racism and urban segregation are made to seem a regrettable outcome of a laudatory commitment to protecting civil liberties.

Finding the War at Home Redux: Urban Crisis and Militarization

US inner cities are an all too often forgotten part of Cold War geopolitics and its reconfiguration. The geopolitical stories that Kaplan and Sapolsky and

Weiner tell are not simply about US foreign relations, but are part of an ex-
tended Cold War debate over the US "urban crisis," whose resolution has
blurred domestic and foreign policy and realms of violent state intervention
(Beauregard, 1993; Gilmore, 1998; Loyd, 2011). Racial conflict spans these
spaces of governance and force and undermines the ideological integrity of
the domestic-foreign divide. The transnational solidarities implicitly marked
by their articles not only dangerously constrain US military strategy, but have
destabilizing effects at home, just as the persistence of deep domestic racial
conflict undermines US claims to global moral leadership.

Another piece of this story appeared on the pages of *The Atlantic
Monthly* three months after Robert Kaplan's piece was published. Elijah
Anderson's "The Code of the Streets" also had some influence within the
Clinton administration. His article recycles many of the tropes of family dys-
function and Black community pathology that proved so controversial when
Patrick Moynihan penned them in the 1960s (McCants, 2010). For Anderson,
while Black families in the inner city are uniformly poor, they respond shared
conditions in sharply different ways. Against tremendous odds, "decent" fami-
lies seek to live by and instill the values of broader society whereas their
"street" family neighbors live by the code of the streets. For the latter, a
moral economy of respect is suffused with interpersonal violence. Masculinity
and violence become virtually synonymous. But such responses to the "hope-
lessness" and "alienation" engendered by "endemic joblessness and persistent
racism" fuel a "vicious cycle" of enmity between "many whites and some
middle-class African Americans" on one hand and the "ghetto poor" on the
other. Anderson concludes: "Unless this cycle is broken, attitudes on both
sides will become increasingly entrenched, and the violence, which claims
victims black and white, poor and affluent, will only escalate" (2008: 88).

Stephen Graham (2010) compellingly demonstrates how urban material
and imagined spaces and war-making are thoroughly interrelated. Colonial
models of governing and suppressing resistance, such as fingerprinting and
bulldozing boulevards through insurgent neighborhoods, were imported
back to colonial domestic spaces and used similarly to quell domestic resis-
tance to exploitation and domination, including that of people's forcibly re-
located or pushed from colonized sites. Sapolsky and Weiner's reference to
the urban policy of isolation as a strategy takes on new light when situated
within this broader geopolitical and historical context. Formal and informal
practices of urban spatial segregation and isolation sewn into racial housing
policies and urban renewal programs through the twentieth century were
complimented by a Cold War suburban containment of domesticity (May,

1988; Davis, 1990; Hirsch, 2000). Containment also underwrote Cold War military strategies of "limited wars" in Vietnam and a range of counter-insurgency tactics, including counter-intelligence, psychological operations, and social and economic development programs.

Soon after the 1965 Watts uprising, Vice President Hubert Humphrey declared: "The biggest battle we're fighting today is not in South Vietnam; the toughest battle is the battle for our cities" (in Singh, 1998: 77). "But the war is not only *in* America's cities; it is *for* these cities." Humphrey's framing of a "battle for our cities," of course, referenced inner cities and the ungovernable resistance to poverty, segregation, and oppression. The official response to urban crisis aimed to suppress and contain democratizing demands being made on the US state, which could not be met without undermining white supremacy. The development of the paramilitary SWAT team, which was used first in an early morning assault on the Black Panther headquarters in South Los Angeles, is one of the most well-known examples of the blurring between public and private through the domestication of counterinsurgency doctrines (Kraska, 2001; Wallace and Wallace, 2001; Light, 2003; Loyd, 2011).

In the late 1960s, Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon bolstered their political careers by appeal to securing the white home and national order from disorder of the cities. Military spending facilitated an ostensibly "color blind" political bloc to coalesce as the New Right on a racially coded "law and order" and anti-welfare platform (Loyd, 2011). Simultaneously, the debts of US imperial overreach came due. The state's fiscal crisis alongside the oil shocks and competition from European and Asian economies ushered in a global project of economic and state restructuring to ease capital accumulation (neoliberal globalization). At a moment in which the US faced fiscal crises resulting from the Vietnam War and increasing global economic competition, President Reagan massively invested in war-making capacity, waging clandestine and not so clandestine dirty wars abroad and further militarizing domestic policing through the war on drugs.

While there were some defense cuts and base closures after the Cold War, the 1990s brought increased border militarization and the ongoing pursuit of a domestic and international drug war (Dunn, 1996; Corva, 2008). President Clinton continued the project of post-Keynesian militarism shepherding in NAFTA (1994) and other free trade policies that displaced millions of farmers and industrial workers, many of whom resorted to short- and long-distance migration. The criminalization of poverty and anti-immigrant demonization built into a perfect storm in the mid-1990s with the passage of three strikes laws, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death

Penalty Act (1996), and Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996). These imposed mandatory sentencing terms, increased time of imprisonment, and retroactively made many minor convictions into deportable offenses. The effect was to balloon the numbers of imprisoned people and people under state supervision.

Over the course of two decades, the military defense that had fueled prosperity in suburbs throughout the Gunbelt-Sunbelt was not so much abandoned as the nation's de facto industrial policy as it was amended with investment in penal infrastructures. The shift from what Gilmore (1998) calls military Keynesianism to post-Keynesian militarism occasioned the dismantling of worker power and the welfare state through wars directed at external *and* internal enemies. The racism of anti-poor social policy was obscured through discourses of hard work and law-abiding citizenship. Archetypal folk devils of the irresponsible Black welfare mother, hyper-fertile Latina and youth gangbanger figured as repositories of blame for the nation's ills. These racial specters constituted the ultimate undeserving citizens that could explain away the contradiction of neoliberal economic policies and simultaneous state investments in containment.

The welfare state did not wither simply because the military or penal state sucked up all the resources. Nor has the steady dismantling of the welfare state had uniform effects on citizens and residents. Rather the build-up of the state's penal and expulsion capacities became the means of shrinking the welfare state. Indeed, the reconfiguration of social spending was accomplished through *redrawing* lines around citizens worthy of state protection. Economic and political democratization of the welfare state was halted and existing wins rolled back *through* domestic war-making. Criminality and need for discipline became the justifications for abandonment. But just as the benefits of military Keynesianism were uneven, and investment in violence and destruction not nearly as productive as investment in education or other industries, carceral Keynesianism is also an illusory economic development model (Hooks et al., 2004; Gilmore, 2007; Bonds, forthcoming). What this state investment has done is deepen economic inequalities and create racial categorizations.

Containment at the scale of bodily incapacitation—mass incarceration—and through focused neighborhood policing both rest on the reification of violence in particular bodies and places (Feldman, 2004; Davis, 1990). Youth antiviolence scholar and organizer Johonna McCants (2010) argues that such imaginations are forms of *epistemic violence* that create the conditions for continued racial oppression and state violence. The geopolitical imagination of these harms, whether as Orientalist threat or Black anarchy, isolates them

from broader socio-economic processes, which justifies these groups' continued abandonment or treats them as objects of violent intervention (Loyd, 2009a). Like Elijah Anderson's "Code of the Streets," the 2001 Surgeon General's report on youth violence (whose findings inform the Centers for Disease Control violence prevention guidelines) focuses on localized places such as family and community that are iconic in the underclass discourse of family breakdown, social disorganization, and poverty. Like Anderson, the report fails to explain the broader scale processes responsible for creating "risk," such as why parents have to work so much or why schools fail to provide spaces for "involvement" and "commitment." Finally, each fails to situate interpersonal violence within broader structures of state violence, including how mass imprisonment works to dis-organize communities (Clear et al., 2003), and how US war-making contributes to interpersonal and structural violence (Woolhandler and Himmelstein, 1985; Rasler, 1986). Thus, "containment" is hardly a nonviolent policing tool, but creates a virtuous circle of pathologization and localization of the harms of structural violence.

Prisons as a spatial fix—which trap over 2.3 million people, with much higher concentrations of Black, Latina/o and some Asian American groups than white people—fail to create safety or prevent violence, but instead entrench structural violence by eroding collective economic, social, and political capacities of highly policed neighborhoods (Clear et al., 2003; Roberts, 2004). "Prisons are sickening" (Faith, 2009), but their categorical and systematic harms are consistently erased or inverted. Beyond capital punishment, the conditions of prisons are a direct health hazard, which expose imprisoned people to diseases, inadequate and improper medical care, separation from community and family, emotional and mental trauma and abuse. Further, prisons amplify already serious health conditions in impoverished communities, including fueling the HIV crisis among Black and Latina/o men and women (Freudenberg, 2001; Lane et al., 2004; Golembeski and Fullilove, 2005; Shabazz, forthcoming). These harms are concentrated the very places where disinvestment in social institutions and the built environment already creates dangerous and unhealthy living conditions (Greenberg and Schneider, 1994; Wallace and Wallace, 2001; Klinenberg, 2002).

The contemporary blurring of the distinction between police and military forces and (civilian) domestic and (enemy) foreign spaces speaks to the complex ways in which geographic imaginations of the domestic and foreign are constituted. The post-Cold War idea of a "*socially useful*" military (Kraska, 2001) relies on the idea of the police as neutral arbiters, peacekeepers, or inoculants whose presence would prevent unwanted behaviors. Yet the idea of

the military as police peacemakers doubly displaces the organization for violence at home, erasing the development of military *and* policing capacities.

Even as the line between civilian and military is fundamentally blurred, redrawing the line between foreign and domestic remains imperative for war-making, even as its instability issues from the internal violence structuring liberal governance and nationalism. So, in the dominant geopolitical imagination, "America's domestic peace" is eroded from without, while it can be re-secured through domestication of the military abroad (turning them into a police force) and domestication of the home front (making war against those internal enemies who made the home front vulnerable). Simultaneously, the "home front" has become as expansive as US ambitions for global leadership. What does not change in this reconfigured geography is the legitimacy of the US state to use force (including through private contractual relationships) to protect white supremacist domesticities, even in a multicultural vein (Grewal, 2006; Rodríguez, 2008; Loyd, 2011).

Prison Abolition and Building Nonkilling Futures

> Abolition means a world where we do not use prisons, policing, and the larger system of the prison industrial complex as an 'answer' to what are social, political, and economic problems.
>
> Rose Braz (The CR10 Publications Collective 2008).

In *Frames of War*, Butler focuses her attentions on the frame of grievability structuring US citizen-subjects' pleasure in or responsiveness to torture, war-making, and US imperialist breaches of sovereignty.

> If we are to identify war crimes within the conduct of war, then the 'business of war' itself is ostensibly something other than the war crime (we cannot, within such a framework, talk about the 'crime of war'). But what if the war crimes amount to an enactment of the very norms that serve to legitimate the war? (ibid., 85)

This is an important question that situates war in relation to the political relations of the law and its legitimation. Her focus is directed outward, beyond the bounds of the nation-state, tying war-making to external relations. What if in relying on the metaphor of the insides and outsides of photographic frames, the bounds of the nation are preemptively tied to bounds of territoriality? What if in so faithfully reproducing the principle of nation-state sovereignty and hitching war to external enemies, the violent constitution of the domestic civil society remains unseen?

In focusing on how US citizen-subjects can seek to advance principled resistance to US war-making violence, Butler invites us to inveigh against the multiple forces creating human precarity, making claims against the "violence [that] is one's own possibility" (2009: 71). Butler is surely correct to criticize "illegitimate legal coercion itself, or the exercise of state power freed from the constraints of all law" (2009: 29). Still, while the legality of violence may provide its popular legitimation and naturalize its practice, legality does not make state violence somehow *not* violent. In suggesting that September 11 constituted a fundamental shift from past US exercises of sovereignty and state violence, Butler reproduces the historical forgetting that structures American exceptionalism, including the repetitive way in which legal constraints are suspended during wartime. Even if the post-9/11 security regime of the US were more punitive, this focus on newness begs the question of how legitimacy for *legal* coercion is reproduced such that legal coercion can be *expanded*. Her discussion leaves largely unexamined how racism structures what is normatively recognized as *legitimate* and legal coercion.

The relative *invisibility* of domestic state violence vis-à-vis war constrains the imagination and imperative for building just, free, and peaceful futures, internationally and domestically. Domestic practices of state violence (namely policing and imprisonment) are frequently treated as inherently more legitimate than war-making because these practices are founded in popular sovereignty. Yet, these institutions reproduce racial, gender, class, and sexual relations of hierarchy and domination that contribute to family separation, community fragmentation, labor exploitation and premature death. Building a nonkilling future, thus, means challenging the state's organization for violence that are practiced domestically in the form of defense (military-industrial complex) and in the form of prisons and policing as the "answer" to social and economic problems ranging from poverty, to boisterous youth, to human migration, and drug use (Braz, 2008; Gilmore and Gilmore, 2008).

It takes sustained ideological work to contain "war" as the only form of state violence and to contain the good sense that war's harms cannot be confined to weapons, neatly demarcated battlefields, and declarations of wars' conclusions. Building critiques of and movements against state violence means confronting hegemonic frames that understand state violence as exceptional, rather than as normal practices structuring both international relations and domestic governance. It means asking why denunciations of the "war at home" sound hyperbolic to some Americans. It means asking in what ways domestic practices of state violence are practiced elsewhere and international practices are imported. Such cross-boundary traffic in practices (and

personnel) of policing, imprisonment and war-making are important for showing that the lines between foreign and domestic, war and peace, civilian and military are constantly blurred. This in turn highlights the tremendous ideological work that goes into maintaining these boundaries, and the material consequences such geographical imaginations have on people's lives and the places in which they live. This is not to say that the war at home and war abroad are the same or necessarily have the same intensity. Rather it is to trace the frame of exceptionalism that structures the relations between these places in ways that facilitate violence in both places.

As we have seen, the invisibility and naturalization of state violence in the form of the prison is one of the most overlooked sites of American exceptionalism, critiques of US state violence, and of antiwar efforts. For precisely this reason, attentions should be placed on challenging the prison regime as one aspect of building nonkilling futures. For this historical moment, Dylan Rodríguez argues that undoing the naturalization of such commonplace violence, centers squarely on an abolitionist pedagogy that works "*against* the assumptive necessity, integrity, and taken-for-grantedness of prisons, policing, and the normalized state violence they reproduce" (2010: 9). Dismantling prisons is about dismantling relations of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy and economic exploitation that undermine the possibilities for freedom and human flourishing. Prison abolition has an expansive antiviolence imperative that necessarily demands an end to connected practices of war, colonial dispossession, and imperial rule.

Abolitionist imaginations challenge violent suppression of human freedom and offer important visions for forging links among different sectors of anti-violence organizing. We might look for example to the nineteenth century international slavery abolition movement or more recently to the non-aligned movement of (formerly) colonized nations, which regarded ending the Cold War as a condition for political autonomy and fulfilling human needs (Prashad 2007). Likewise, for civil rights organizers in the US South, the abolition of Cold War annihilation was predicated on domestic peace, which could only be won through freedom, that is overthrowing the legal and extralegal relations of white supremacy (Loyd, 2011).

Creating the possibilities for nonviolent resolution of social conflict is a recognized aim of antiwar or peace organizing. Prison abolition too is premised on dismantling the prison as a solution for social conflict and for creating the possibilities for freedom and human flourishing. As Andrew Burridge, Matt Mitchelson, and I (2009-2010) write: "Building economies and community institutions that foster creativity, care, self-determination and mutual re-

sponsibility are among the abolitionist visions for a just society. That is, abolition is a vision for the future that can guide current action for making communities that create real safety and meet people's needs." Abolition links dreams of peace and freedom. Abolitionism critically analyzes how dominant categorizations of governance and sovereignty are premised on (categorical) unfreedom. Making these links in practice means recognizing how the prison underpins violent domination on a world scale. Abolition is thereby offers imperative theoretical vision and practical means for building nonkilling futures.

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Chapter Seven

Google Bombs, Warblogs, and Hacktivism
The Internet as Agent for Progressive Social Change

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Used by roughly one-quarter of the planet's population, the internet has become an increasingly important arena of social and political debate worldwide. In addition to its innumerable commercial and personal applications, cyberspace is also a contested arena in which political discourses ranging from extremely reactionary to the emancipatory jockey with one another for audiences and attention. The internet has become a mainstay for large numbers of progressive social and political organizations operating at the local, national, and international scales, crossing borders, forging alliances, raising funds, exposing local inequalities, voicing criticisms, pressuring public officials, and mobilizing public opinion. Of course, there is also a parallel military history and set of applications of the internet (which began as a means to link military computers), ranging from electronic surveillance to cyberwarfare. Cyberspace has also been successfully utilized by numerous racist, reactionary, terrorist, and xenophobic groups for their own ends.

This chapter examines the uses of the Internet—actual and potential—to further nonkilling purposes, particularly progressive causes of social justice and peaceful reform. "Progressive activism," of course, is a vague term, but here is taken to mean the constellation of nonprofit and advocacy groups and social movements dedicated to causes such as promoting justice and human rights; preventing war; attacking poverty; environmental protection; women's, handicapped peoples', animal, and minority rights; and opposition to economic and political exploitation, including some types of corporate globalization (Lipschutz, 1992; Hawken, 2007). The chapter has two simple goals: first, to provide an overview of the numerous causes for which cyberspace has been deployed by progressive social movements and to highlight three major obstacles faced by such groups in internet use: the digital divide, the highly limited substitutability of cyberspace for face-to-face contacts, and government censorship.

Some Progressive Uses of the Internet: A Partial Overview

The internet has become indispensible to grassroots social movements advocating "globalization from below" (Della Porta et al., 2006). As neoliberalism has gutted state functions throughout the world, numerous nongovernmental organizations and other civil society actors have grown accordingly. Social movements are nonstate actors whose intentions, behavior, and strategies cannot be reduced to market forces. The internet has become indispensible for such groups, linking like-minded people on a global scale through the day-to-day coordination of trans-national organizations dedicated to nonviolent social change (Bandy and Smith, 2005; Della Porta et al., 2006). Indeed, the recent, prolific growth of nongovernmental organizations, social movements, and global civil society is inconceivable without the internet. Cyberspace allows the expression of numerous subaltern voices in this regard that would otherwise remain silent, including those that circumvent government attempts at censorship and suppression Internet-based "network armies" also often lobby offline (Cammaerts, 2005). The internet is relatively low in cost and easy to use, and its low barriers to entry reduce a major obstacle to the participation in public debate by the poor and disenfranchised. Cyberspace provides an accessible venue for information, lessons, best practices, and expertise to be shared, moral commitments and group solidarity to be enhanced, publicity to be gained, dissent made public, sympathizers alerted, resources to be pooled, and funds to be raised. Over the internet, activists can not only organize but also publicize their actions. For groups that have little expertise in public relations, the internet allows communications to be leveraged to maximum success (Taylor et al., 2001).

The rhizomatic architecture of cyberspace, without a clear core or periphery, is well suited to the decentralized, polycentric types of organizations that dominate civil society movements. It thus favors bi-directional, interactive forms of communication among geographically dispersed individuals rather than traditional, hierarchical flows within narrow social and spatial channels. Such a structure stands in marked contrast with the oligopolized, one-way nature of traditional print, radio, and television media. Moreover, the internet is well adapted to accommodating diverse views among progressives, who are often given to fractious in-fighting. Bennett (2003: 154) argues that internet-driven campaigns "allow different political perspectives to co-exist without the conflicts that such differences might create in more centralized coalitions." In Harvey's (1996) words, such strategies constitute a form of "militant particularism," in which local solidarities find common ground

with one another. Langman (2005) goes further, holding that internetworked social movements may be a qualitatively new form of social movement. Similarly, Blood (2001: 160) argues that due to cyberspace, "the centre of gravity of the nongovernmental organisation (NGO) movement as a whole is being shifted to a more radical and more overtly anti-capitalist position."

There is a relatively short, but rich, history of the use of the internet by protest groups. Of course, the use of communications technologies by subaltern groups generating geographies of resistance is nothing new: in their day, newspapers, the telegraph, and the telephone were used to coordinate actions among dispersed actors. For example, Featherstone (2005) illustrates how networks of correspondence among strikers in eighteenth century London were critical to coordinating their actions. Yet cyberspace has taken this process to an entirely different level of participation and activism, allowing the ready expansion to truly global networks. In the late 1980s, peace and environmental activists used the internet in Britain (GreenNet), the U.S. (PeaceNet), and Sweden (NordNet), projects that merged in 1990 to form an umbrella network under the name of the Association for Progressive Communications (Deibert and Rohozinski, 2008). Various groups that coagulated around the United Nations' Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 used the internet to coordinate their actions.

Cyberspace famously played a significant role in the Zapatista uprising in Mexico in 1994, the world's first highly publicized case of internet activism, when subcommander Marcos became known worldwide through his email missives (Froehling, 1997; Cleaver, 1998; Knudsen, 1998) and rebel hacktivists launched denial-of-service attacks on Mexican government websites (Johnston and Laxer, 2003). The international publicity that internet activism brought to bear on the Zapatistas is widely credited with preventing the Mexican government from instigating a military crackdown on Chiapas. The "Zapatista effect," however, has also led many international donors to exaggerate the emancipatory role of information technology and foster unwarranted optimism about its potential (Mercer, 2004).

Today, internet usage among social activists is so common as to be unremarkable, as demonstrated by the burgeoning literature on the topic (cf. Hill and Hughes, 1998; Palczewski, 2001; van de Donk et al., 2004; Chadwick, 2006). The agents who deploy cyberspace, and the purposes and means to which it is put, are as varied as the multiple causes that they take up. So widespread and diffuse is internet usage that progressive internet portals arose to help coordinate disparate sources of information, such as those offered by the Institute for Global Communications (<http://www.igc.org>), the Association

for Progressive Communications (<http://www.apc.org>), and One World (<http://www.oneworld.net>). Two decades of practice and scholarship have demonstrated the cyberspace neither confirms the fantasies of early utopians nor the dystopian visions of technopessimists.

The internet has been widely used by anti-globalization activists, such as in the coordination of protests against the World Trade Organization in the famous "Battle in Seattle" in 1999 (Smith, 2001), a key moment in contemporary struggles against corporate hegemony, against the World Bank and IMF in Washington, DC in 2000 (Juris, 2005), and against the G-8 meeting in Genoa in 2001 (Johnston and Laxer, 2003; Porta and Mosca, 2005). The Canadian-led global campaign in 1998 against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), put forth by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to facilitate the movement of capital but not labor, succeeded in pushing it off the OECD's agenda using broad alliances forged over the internet, one of series of blows against neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus (Deibert, 2000; Johnston and Laxer, 2003).

Similarly, corporate behavior has come under mounting cyberscrutiny. The global movement to improve working conditions in textile and footwear sweatshops, often focused on Nike, was primarily a web-based campaign (Carty, 2001). Fair trade movements, such as that advocating coffee grown under environmentally beneficial conditions and purchased directly from growers for higher prices than standard coffee, have been significant users of web-based tactics (Bennett, 2003). Successful internet campaigns against large multinational firms such as Monsanto, Microsoft, and De Beers have held their logos, brands and reputations hostage to the media spotlight (Bennett, 2003; Clark and Themundo, 2003). Other anti-corporate cybercampaigns include boycotts against companies producing genetically engineered foods, forcing the Sydney Hilton hotel in Australia to rehire employees laid off due to renovations, and forcing Samsonite suitcase manufacturer to rehire workers in Thailand who had been illegally fired (Cammaerts, 2005). In other cases, corporations have been the targets of email campaigns by unhappy employees or consumers. The Corporate Watch website (<http://corpwatch.org>) enables viewers to see hundreds of instances of company malfeasance around the world. So effective has anti-corporate cyberactivism become that Juris (2005) asserts that police often specifically target independent media coordinators in crackdowns on protesters designed to protect corporate rights and property. At a minimum, such campaigns have forced companies to be more careful in their actions to protect their reputation and public image (Illia, 2003).

Progressive political uses of cyberspace abound. At the local level, "insurgent campaigns" can make use of cyberspace as a low cost medium (Chadwick, 2006). Rutherford (2000) describes how the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, a loose coalition of over 1,300 groups from more than 75 countries that won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997, made extensive use of the Internet in a successful campaign to prohibit their future use. The worldwide protests against the war in Iraq that materialized on February 15, 2003, relied enormously on internet linkages. Routledge (2003, 2008) offers the example of People's Global Action, an international alliance of progressive activists in places as distant from one another as India, Brazil, and Europe, which crystallized using the internet as their primary means of communication, forming what he labels a "space of convergence." Similarly, Bosco (2007) describes how the internet was used by Argentine human rights activists deploring the disappearance of thousands of loved ones under the murderous military regime of the 1970s to organize local as well as trans-national networks of supporters, utilizing cyberspace as a complement to the deep emotional bonds they forged through face-to-face contacts. When the Turkish government arrested Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan in 1999, the Kurdish diaspora responded with worldwide demonstrations within a matter of hours, calling upon supporters using well established internet linkages (Denning, 2002). During the U.S. bombing of Serbia in 1999, Serbs deplored their status with messages seeking to generate support in an effort led by cybermonk Sava Janjic (Wasley, 2007), although such email was often derided as "Yugospam" (Denning, 2002); cyberspace was also a critical link to the world for anti-Milosevic forces. The first World Social Forum, launched in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001, was primarily organized over cyberspace (Juris, 2005). Between 2003 and 2005, Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan all experienced democratic "color revolutions," in which opposition parties utilized the web as an integral part of their strategy (Warf, 2009). The Burmese/Myanmar government's ferocious oppression of Buddhist monks and democracy activists was met with organized internet resistance (Wasley, 2007), among other forms. The website Protest.net serves "to help progressive activists by providing a central place where the times and locations of protests and meetings can be posted."

Cyberspace has facilitated the resurgence of progressive grassroots politics in the U.S. (Armstrong and Moulitsas, 2006) in various ways. Democratic Party fund raising over the Web, for example, which was initiated by the presidential campaign of Howard Dean in 2004, has consistently outpaced parallel attempts by conservative groups. Internet-based groups such as Moveon.org,

which began in 1998 and had more than 6 million members in 2009, played important roles in supporting Barack Obama's presidential bid in 2008, primarily through large numbers of small contributions. Moveon's efforts have been imitated by like-minded groups such as People for the American Way, New Democratic Network, and the New Majority Fund. At the leftist edges of the political spectrum, PunkVoter.com used cyberspace effectively to mobilize hundreds of thousands of new, typically young, voters.

Feminist cyberpolitics has also grown by leaps and bounds (Wise, 1997; Escobar, 1999; van Zoonen, 2001; Youngs, 2002). This phenomenon is particularly important given that the Internet has historically been an overwhelmingly masculine phenomenon, and that even today in many countries, women are less likely to use the internet than are men, although in the economically developed world the gender dimension of the digital divide has essentially evaporated. Cyberfeminist applications include connecting women's and reproductive rights groups, exposing atrocities such as female genital mutilation and "honor killings," mobilizing against domestic abuse, struggles for sex workers' rights, advocating for women's literacy in developing countries, and supporting women-owned businesses. Feminist NGOs in Mexico, for example, use the internet to bypass state-dominated media in their reform efforts (Merithew, 2004). Moreover, the internet allows for the creation of feminist subaltern "counterpublic" spaces, run by women, for women (Travers, 2003). In deeply patriarchal societies such as in much of the Muslim world, the internet allows women far wider means of communication than are found traditionally (Mojab, 2001). UNESCO's Women on the Net project, launched in 1997, focuses on empowering women around the world. Finally, cyberspace is both a vehicle for advancing women's rights in the nonvirtual world and an arena of struggle in its own right, as with attempts to combat pornography or advertising that is degrading to women.

Internet-based activism plays a key role in numerous environmental movements (Pickerill 2003). An early example is O'Lear's (1996) observation of Russian environmentalists using email to network and share information in the early 1990s. More recently, Cammaerts (2005) describes how activists saved the Lapperfort Forest near Brugge, Belgium, in 2001 by coordinating their actions online. The group <http://350.org> organized the International Day of Climate Action, held on October 24, 2009, which coordinated 5,200 events in 181 countries entirely using the internet. Envirolink (<http://www.envirolink.org>) lists 1,200 organizations dedicated to environmental issues and corporate social responsibility, offering them free web services. Greenpeace, the world's largest environmental activist

group and one of the first to initiate e-campaigns (Walsey, 2007), has encouraged civil disobedience using the web, circulated "subvertisements" that undermine Coca Cola's allegedly ecofriendly public image (<http://www.cokespotlight.org>), and empowered victims of the Bhopal chemical disaster in India. Ecological Internet, run by forest activist Glenn Barry, runs continuous cyber-campaigns on issues such as global warming, rainforest protection, and sustainable development.

Within the growing domain of animal rights activism, the internet plays a key role (Herzog et al., 1997; Swan and McCarthy, 2003). This issue takes several forms. At some universities, for example, activists protesting the mistreatment of laboratory animals used the internet to publicize their cause. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) has deployed the internet to expose cases of animal cruelty and lobby for more human treatment, including the use of Facebook pages, streaming videos, and blogs. Others have mounted successful cybercampaigns to publicize the mistreatment of greyhounds and horses used for racing; decry the sale of fur from baby seals, reindeer, and chinchillas; illuminate the plight of stray pets; raise funds for humane societies; expose animal mistreatment in zoos and circuses; mobilize against the use of whale sharks in commercial aquaria; circulate petitions to ban whaling; bring sadists who abuse animals to justice; organize boycotts of cosmetic companies that use animal products gained under unsavory conditions; promote spay and neuter programs; advocate vegetarianism; unveil the inhumanity of factory farms; reduce the human consumption of dogs and cats in China; and raise funds for wildlife habitat protection. Militant animal rights activists can use anonymizing contacts to coordinate disparate cells and evading filters to ensure that their message gets through to target email accounts. Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC), for example, is an international campaign to shut down Huntingdon Life Sciences, Europe's largest animal-testing laboratory; SHAC describes itself as "leaderless resistance" coordinated entirely over cyberspace. Similarly, the Animal Liberation Front has launched repeated internet stalking campaigns against firms engaged in animal testing and cruelty. Of course, the internet may also enable phenomena such as illegal trade in wildlife, allowing buyers and sellers to be anonymous.

The blogosphere has become an increasingly important terrain over which contemporary politics is constituted. Of course, conservative bloggers also deploy the medium aggressively (e.g., the Drudge Report), and in the early days of blogging were far more successful than leftists. However, whereas conservative blogs tend to reinforce the views of their

offline constituencies, progressive ones have focused more on reaching out to new participants and building online communities of activists (Bowers and Stoller, 2005). Thus, in 2005, the largest 150 U.S. conservative blogs attracted 10 million page views per week, while the largest 98 liberal blogs attracted 15 million. Progressive blogging includes "warblogs" that challenged the rationale for the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, exposing racist remarks by Republican Speaker of the House Trent Lott, attacking George W. Bush's scheme to privatize Social Security, and providing real time, alternative media coverage of major events such as the World Summit for Sustainable Development. Some bloggers engaged in "Google bombs," campaigns designed to catapult their target blog to the top of the behemoth search engine's rankings (Kahn and Kellner, 2004). Today, Daily Kos is easily the largest blog in the world: founded by Markos Moulitsas in 2002, it averages over 600,000 hits per day, supports and raises funds for progressive political candidates and serves as a forum for a wide variety of leftist groups. Similar blogs include Democratic Underground, FireDogLake, Raw Story, Talking Points Memo, Americablog, and Metafilter.

A virtual sit-in is the cyberspace equivalent of a physical sit-in or block-ade. A group calling itself Strano Network conducted one of the first such demonstrations as a protest against French government policies on nuclear and social issues. On December 21, 1995, they launched a one-hour Net-Strike attack against the web sites operated by various government agen-cies. On September 9, 1998 the Electronic Disturbance Theater (EDT) took the concept of electronic civil disobedience a step further; they organ-ized a series of web sit-ins, first against Mexican President Zedillo's web site, then against the Pentagon and the Frankfurt Stock Exchange, delivering 600,000 hits per minute to each (Denning, 2002); they also targeted the GOP convention in New York in 2004.

Social movements' uses of the internet also include aggressive instances of hacktivism, a series of cybertactics that includes denial-of-service attacks, de-facement of websites, information theft, and virtual sabotage (Jordan and Tay-lor, 2004). For example, in 1998 the group Milw0rm hacked into India's Bhabha Atomic Research Center in Mumbai, posting an anti-nuclear message on its website. The 1999 meeting of the G8 in Cologne, Germany, was attacked by a group called J18, including hackers from Indonesia, Israel, Germany, and Can-ada who launched 10,000 denial of service attacks in a five hour period against the computers of at least 20 companies and the London Stock Exchange (Un-goed and Sheehan, 1999). In 2000, a group of "electrohippies" overloaded the webpages of the World Trade Organization (Langham, 2005). Tamil guerrillas

swamped Sri Lankan embassies around the world with thousands of electronic mail messages that read "We are the Internet Black Tigers and we're doing this to disrupt your communications" (Denning, 2002). Cult of the Dead Cow, one of the largest and most famous hacktivist groups (with spin-offs such as Ninja Strike Force and Hacktivismo), launched repeated denial-of-service attacks against the Church of Scientology, and also cooperated with Hong Kong hackers working against Chinese internet censorship. Other anonymous hackers have attacked websites of conservative commentators Bill O'Reilly and Sarah Palin. Of course, this tactic works both ways: Chinese hackers, for example, have launched attacks against CNN and film festivals deemed to be critical of the Chinese state. Still other hacktivists released open source software such as OpenOffice, a shareware version of Microsoft's Office suite, to challenge the behemoth's dominance in this sector. As Huschle (2002) points out, cyberspace transforms the nature of civil disobedience, allowing small groups or even single individuals in one country to have far larger significant impacts at a distance in other countries than is possible through conventional tactics such as demonstrations and sit-ins.

One of the most important uses of cyberspace by progressive social groups is scale jumping, the use of one scale to facilitate political action at another, allowing the local to become global (and vice versa). A fecund body of literature has recently portrayed scale as made, not given, denaturalizing it as a social construction with powerful and contested political dimensions (Marston, 2000; Benner, 2001; Marston, Jones, and Woodward, 2005; Moore, 2008). Such a perspective avoids the common error of conceiving as scales hierarchically, i.e., like nested Russian *matroyshka* dolls; rather, it allows processes to be viewed as deeply multiscalar in nature, and foregrounds the nature of social relations as networks and flows rather than spaces, a notion essential to poststructuralist perspectives. Telecommunications are an ideal mechanism for groups to jump scale (Adams, 1996), allowing them, for example, to leverage public opinion at the global scale in local struggles for justice. Prominent examples of scale jumping using cyberspace by progressive social movements include the Zapatista uprising (Cleaver, 1998), linking local community networks in the U.S. (Longan 2002), farmers' opposition to transnational mining companies in Peru (Haarstad and Fløysand, 2007), and the Indian Farmers' Movement resistance to foreign biotechnology (Featherstone, 2003). Leveraging the global to shape local struggles is a tool long used by transnational firms; the internet offers the same strategy to groups operating in civil society. In Cox's (1998) terms, the internet allows local groups to expand their spaces of engagement, i.e., the geography of

their supporters and audience, well beyond their spaces of dependence, the locations of their support networks on the ground.

The internet is often used by diasporic networks to maintain contacts among persons living outside their country of origin (Cunningham, 2001), keeping them in touch with one another and with their origin country, forming a globalized "imagined community" of the sort made famous by Benedict Anderson (1983). Parham (2004), for example, notes its use by the Haitian diaspora to form Haitian Global Village, a sprawling website that receives one-half million visits per month. Indian emigrants forged a Hindu cyberdiaspora in the early 1990s (Lal, 1999), and Tamilnet.com links Hindu Sri Lankans worldwide. Often such groups have contacts in cyberspace that cross caste, gender, or religious lines in ways that would not be possible in person. The Iranian diaspora, for example, is linked by a series of cyberchannels that connect people of varying ages, degrees of religiosity, different levels of fluency in Farsi, and political outlooks (Graham and Khosravi, 2002). These lines of connection serve to problematize prevailing conceptions of citizenship, as some diasporic communities may be more informed about and more involved in political affairs in their home country than their brethren in remote rural villages. Some diasporas, such as Russian Jews in the late 1980s, Kurds, Palestinians, and East Timorese, deployed the internet in struggles against oppressive governments in their respective homelands (Dahan and Shefer, 2001). As Appadurai (1996: 10) puts it, "The transformation of everyday subjectivities through electronic mediation and the work of the imagination is not only a cultural fact. It is deeply connected to politics. … The diasporic public spheres that such encounters create are no longer small, marginal, or exceptional."

More broadly, the internet may help to foster a relational ontology of space and place and corresponding alternative geographic imaginaries, in which identity is defined through lines of power and feelings of belonging and responsibility rather than simple proximity (Bennett, 2003; Massey, 2009). Vivid pictures and films of atrocities and injustices circulating over the internet can have powerful impacts in raising awareness about a variety of issues. Indeed, formal ideologies, political parties, and elections may be giving way to network-based identity and lifestyle politics. In facilitating rhizomatic networks of power, the internet can be an agent for the generation of geographies of compassion and empathy that stand in sharp contrast to xenophobic discourses of hate and exclusion. Such a view is in keeping with the emerging literature on geographies of care and the ethics of responsibility (Lawson, 2007), particularly in the face of the neoliberal assault on state-funded interventions in the sphere of reproduction and the associated growth of dis-

courses of individual, rather than collective, responsibility. In such a context, the moral community to which each person owes an obligation is, by definition, worldwide, generating an obligation to "care at a distance," in which the concerns of distant strangers are held to be as important as those of people nearby (cf. Ginzburg, 1994; Corbridge, 1998).

Obstacles to Internet Use by Civil Society Activists

Internet use by grassroots activists is not without its difficulties. First, such groups face the continuing problem of the digital divide, i.e., social and spatial inequality in access (Korupp and Szydlik, 2005; Stevens, 2006; Warf, 2001). The global digital divide, reflecting long standing divisions by wealth and power, is reflected in the highly uneven internet penetration rates found around the world (Figure 1), which vary from as low as 0.2 percent (Myanmar) to 93 percent (Iceland). In many developing countries, Internet penetration rates are relatively low, and low income users, who often lack the technical skills to master cyberspace on their own, must turn to expensive cyber-cafés. Significant divides exist within countries as well, particularly between urban and rural areas. To speak of the Internet as emancipatory in impoverished social contexts such as rural Mozambique or Bolivia, with high illiteracy rates and few telephones, is absurd. With slow connections and out-of-date telephone systems, graphical information—which uses much more bandwidth than text—is virtually out of the question. Differential access to cyberspace may create difficulties for activists seeking to stay in touch with people in remote regions, or breed resentment on the part of those thus excluded.

Figure 1. Internet Penetration Rates, December, 2010.
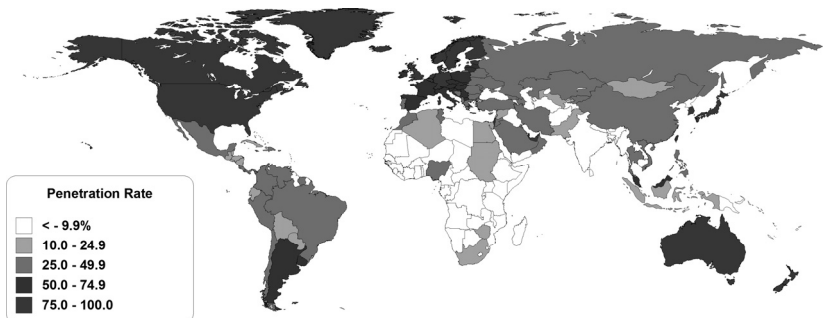
Source: calculated by author using data from <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>.

Second, although it is ideal for communicating over long distances, the internet is a poor substitute for face-to-face contacts, which are essential for building trust and the formation of successful, long-term alliances. Compared to face-to-face conversations, email is disembodied, and lacks many of the nonverbal visual and verbal cues essential to effective communication. Email and websites do little "emotional labor" at the level of affect. Indeed, it is highly unlikely that individuals who have never met face-to-face can establish the dense bonds required for the building of trust and deep, multidimensional personal commitments (Calhoun, 1998). The internet *per se* does not resolve differences in language or culture among diverse constituencies. Despite its capacity to generate cross-national solidarity, the fact remains that internet usage, and the agendas to which it is put, are still very much shaped by local and national cultural contexts. Moreover, information quality control on the internet is poor to nonexistent, allowing misinformation to proliferate as rapidly as do accurate accounts. In short, cyberspace is ideal for cultivating "weak ties" without emotional commitments, but poor at fostering "strong ties" necessary to cement loyalties.

Overreliance on the Internet can in fact undermine other forms of political action: as Johnston and Laxer (2003: 64) ask, "Is Internet solidarity a lazy activism of e-mail petitions, or simply a convenient tool to facilitate grass-roots organizing?" Notably, Internet use by itself does not necessarily lead to heightened interest in political issues or greater participation. Ayres (1999) asserts that cyber-activism's "politics at a distance" has displaced traditional street-based forms of protest such as marches, which are far more telegenic and visible locally. Social movements that rely exclusively on the internet to foment long-term linkages are unlikely to succeed: cyberspace is a complement, not a substitute, for "real world" contacts. In this sense, the internet is not only social groups' greatest asset, but their Achilles' heel as well. Thus, the internet spawns movements that are not quite true cohesive communities in the classic sense of the word, but more than coincidental coordinations of isolated groups. Deibert (2000: 264) maintains that "What the Internet has generated is indeed a new 'species'—a cross-national network of citizen activists linked by electronic mailing lists and World Wide Web home pages that vibrate with activity, monitoring the global political economy like a virtual watchdog." Moreover, politically active individuals are likely to be active with or without the internet (Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2002).

Third, activists using the internet often face government surveillance, censorship and filtering, or outright suppression (Kalathil and Boas, 2003; Deibert et al. 2008). There are multiple motivations for internet censorship,

and thus several forms and types, including political repression of dissidents, human rights activists, or comments insulting to the state; religious controls to inhibit the dissemination of ideas deemed heretical or sacrilegious; protections of intellectual property; or cultural restrictions that exist as part of the oppression of ethnic or sexual minorities. Typically, governments that seek to impose censorship do so using the excuse of protecting public morality from ostensible sins such as pornography or gambling, although more recently combating terrorism has emerged as a favorite rationale. Deliberately vague notions of national security and social stability are typically invoked as well. Governments face a choice in the degree of censorship, including its *scope* (or range of topics) and *depth* (or degree of intervention), which ranges from allowing completely unfettered flows of information (e.g., Denmark) to prohibiting access to the internet altogether (e.g., North Korea); most opt for a position between these two poles.

However, internet censorship is often actively resisted by groups with counter-hegemonic agendas (Warf and Grimes, 1997; Kreimer, 2001; Crampton, 2003). Indeed, protecting internet rights has become yet another form of global civic activism. Cyberactivists, for example, can deploy anonymizing proxy servers in other countries that encrypt users' data and cloak their identities such as anonymizer.com and proxify.com. When the Chinese government attempted to require manufacturers to install filtering software known as Green Dam Youth Escort on all new computers, Falun Gong responded with a program to circumvent it called Green Tsunami. Using its programmers in the U.S., Falun Gong also developed censorship-circumventing software called Freegate, which it has offered to dissidents elsewhere, particularly in Iran (Lake, 2009). The Tajik government's attempt to criminalize some forms of cyber-speech was met with heated opposition from Tajik cyber-journalists, avoided censorship using the Canadian censorship circumvention program Psiphon. The Iranian government's brutal crackdown on political activists unleashed numerous amateur videos of government attacks that circulated virally on the Web. The Cuban government's suppression of free speech on the internet has been countered by a growing network of *informáticos*, or technologically savvy individuals.

Concluding Thoughts

The examples of progressive cyberactivism offered here comprise but a small sample of the totality of such efforts; nonetheless, they point to the range and diversity of ways in which the internet has been harnessed for

causes advocating, in one way or another, justice, equality, and environmental protection. In an age of rampant neoliberalism, conservative triumphs, and unfettered corporate hegemony, the internet has arguably become the most common and effective means of resisting hegemonic attempts to commodify everything and destroy the public commonweal. By allowing alliances to be forged, the internet greatly enhances the power of social movements, making them into relatively coherent forces that accomplish far more together than they could by acting alone. Cybernetworks allow resistance to be conceived as something other than the local in confrontation with global forces; rather, like globalization, resistance is everywhere.

As an antidote to the widespread utopian rhetoric and overblown expectations that often accompany the internet, it is necessary to keep in mind its limitations. Despite the enormous rates of growth in internet usage, the digital divide remains real, and many activists, especially in the developing world, can make but limited use of cyberspace. Email and other forms of cyberconnectivity do not and cannot compensate for the trust and intimacy necessary for successful political mobilization. Indeed, overreliance on the internet can generate fragile progressive coalitions with numerous weak ties but few deep and meaningful ones required for sustained political campaigns.

Although it does not level the playing field completely, cyberspace has significantly broadened the number of voices heard in the international political arena and increased the number of stakeholders, in many ways intruding on the traditional role of states by allowing nonstate actors to become formidable actors in their own right. Such a view should not be taken to mean that all nongovernmental organizations are inherently democratic: some may be only marginally accountable to the people they claim to represent. However, there is little question that the internet has increased the transparency of international negotiations and allowed voices to be heard that would otherwise remain silent. This process should not be exaggerated however: cyberactivism is a complement, but not substitute, for other, more conventional means of political organizing. The internet should thus be seen as one, albeit powerful, tool within a broader repertoire of possible progressive tactics.

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Chapter Eight

Killing with Kindness?

Institutionalized Violence in 'Humane' Slaughter

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Upton Sinclair's 1906 publication of the *The Jungle* (1960) revealed the dangerous and violent conditions for both humans and animals in the slaughterhouses of the Chicago stockyards. Historically, the industrialization of the United States meat industry has increased the violence of the slaughter process. Capitalist tenets of higher efficiency and productivity have dictated an increase in speed and volume of slaughter which is exacerbated by the consolidation among slaughterhouses in the industry. Sinclair's exposé of the slaughterhouse aimed at evoking public outrage at the violence and cruelty of the industry, but instead roused a movement of increased legislation for food safety. The concern for both human and animal lives in the industry was secondary to concern for consumer health.

Almost a century after *The Jungle*, Gail Eisnitz's *Slaughterhouse* (2007) attempted to expose the violent abuses in the slaughter industry through documenting testimonies of slaughterhouse workers. Through exploring the violence inflicted by humans on animals during the process of slaughter (both as part of the approved slaughter process and as violations of the slaughter process), Eisnitz's work shows how the slaughter of animals in the industrialized food system entails immense suffering not only for the animals themselves, but for the workers as well. Slaughter imposes on the body of workers repetitive stress injuries at the least as well as frequent more serious injuries and occasional death. Additionally, the violence inherent in the slaughter process predictably fosters an increased likelihood of worker-on-worker violence as well as against others with whom workers associate beyond the walls of the slaughterhouse.

For our purposes here, it makes sense to establish a simple working definition for violence. The Latin root of 'violence' is the word for 'force,' reminding us of the obvious truth that to violate is to force something against its nature. Sinclair and Eisnitz have focused mainly on the violence against the workers,

which is a kind of *mitigated violence*. While humans involved in slaughterhouse work are certainly, on one hand, forced against their nature to enact violence against animals on a daily basis, and are victims of violence against themselves, this violence is mitigated by the economic contract the workers have made with the meat packing company. There are certainly socio-economic factors which leave workers little choice but to seek employment in the slaughterhouse, but the imperative is that they do make a choice. The violence against their bodies is mitigated in part by their agreement to submit to the risks of work and by the pay they receive for the work they perform.

The violence against animals in slaughter, on the other hand, has received relatively little public attention. It represents a form of *unmitigated violence*. Animals do not voluntarily enter into a work contract, they are not paid for the exploitation of their bodies, and they are granted no agency in determining how their bodies are used. Violence against animals during slaughter is total. It denies any life interests the animal has and turns the animal into a commodity to be used entirely at the convenience of humans.

Throughout the discipline of geography, there have been pleas to take animals seriously. William S. Lynn asks us to take a "second (and clear-eyed) look at animals and animal ethics" and acknowledges a growing tradition to take the ethics of human-animal relationships more seriously (1998: 280). Michael Watts (2000) uses the chicken industry to refer to the widespread globalization of animal welfare concerns. Victoria Lawson (2007) challenges us to push our understandings of care beyond human boundaries to include our human-nonhuman relationships. And yet, for the most part, geographers have remained largely silent regarding the experience of animals in the food industry. It has been the tradition of food and agriculture geographers to ask, 'Where does our food come from?' Implicit in this question are a broad range of human and nonhuman factors. Among food geographers responding to this question, concern has risen around issues of poverty, access, hunger and famine (Clark, Feldman et al., 2000); the viability and limitations of alternative modes of food production (Jarosz, 2000; Guthman, 2004; Slocum, 2007; Peters and Bills et al., 2009); inequality that arises in the food system (Moore and Roux et al., 2008; Sacoby et al., 2002); and the industrialization and globalization of the food system and its impact on humans and the environment (Watts and Little, 1997; Jarosz, 2009). Despite the rigor with which geographers have tackled an exploration of the food system, surprisingly little work has been done to explore the violence inflicted on animals in this system.

But if we are to imagine nonviolent futures for both animals and humans, it will be essential for us to confront the violence at work in the industrialized meat industry. And it is also critical to explore the alternatives to industrial slaughter, particularly with the increasing supply and demand of "humanely" raised meat on what I will refer to as "alternative" farms. The practice of alternative slaughter is often similar to industrialized slaughter, with the exception of a recent rise in Mobile Slaughter Units (MSUs) in Washington State. These alternative meat producers market a "nonviolent" version of farming that obscures the process of slaughter. Both practices (industrial and alternative) bring up important questions about the nature of slaughter, both the degree to which it can be said to be humane as well as the complicity of the consumer in this violence.

This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the United States federal guidelines and industry recommendations for 'humane' slaughter. Next, it explores how alternative meat producers practice and market 'humane' slaughter. Following these content and discursive analyses, this chapter considers both the implicit and explicit violence institutionalized in slaughtering animals for food in the United States food system. Looking at the methods by which consumers are disconnected from the process of slaughter and from the animals themselves, this chapter considers the way geography is at work in distancing humans from animals in physical, psychological, and emotional ways.

Federal Guidelines, Industry Recommendations, and State Exemptions

The Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act (HMSA) is the federal legislation governing 'humane' slaughter. Initially passed in 1958, adherence to the law was *voluntary* for most industry slaughter facilities. The legislation emerged in response to growing consumer discomfort with the meat industry sparked by the popularity of Sinclair's *The Jungle* at the beginning of the 20th century as well as by other "persistent reports of continued cruelty to livestock at a few plants" (FSIS, 2009: 2). The HMSA had multiple benefits from the perspective of the legislators:

> the use of humane methods in the slaughter of livestock prevents needless suffering; results in safer and better working conditions for persons engaged in the slaughtering industry; brings about improvement of products and economies in slaughter operations; and produces other benefits for producers, processors, and consumers which tend to expedite an orderly flow of livestock and livestock products in interstate and foreign commerce (USC, 1958: 1).

The HMSA was amended in 1978 to make adherence to the law *manda-tory* for all United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) approved facilities. Then in the 2002 Farm Bill, the George W. Bush Administration encouraged more stringent enforcement of the HMSA (PL 107-171: Sec 10305). There are two approved methods of slaughtering animals laid out in the HMSA. The first was that animals must be "rendered insensible to pain" prior to slaughter by a gunshot, blow, electric shock, or carbon dioxide gas (USC, 1958). The second method of slaughter deemed acceptable was ritual slaughter in which the animal is not stunned and instead has his/her carotid artery cut and is rendered unconscious by a rapid loss of blood (USC, 1958).

As a response to consumer concern about slaughter and handling operations in the meat industry, the American Meat Institute (AMI) published more stringent guidelines for 'humane' slaughter. The AMI is a trade organization representing ninety-five percent of red meat production and seventy percent of turkey production companies (AMI, 2010). These guidelines are not requirements, but suggested guidelines for industry producers to follow. The AMI worked with Temple Grandin to write *Recommended Animal Handling Guidelines 2007*, which quantifies "acceptable" levels of suffering during the handling and slaughter process. For example, no more than twenty-five percent of pigs and animals should be shocked with electric prods during transport (AMI, 2007: 48), and no more than two per one thousand cattle should still be sensible on the bleed rail (AMI, 2007: 42-43).

In spite of efforts like the HMSA and the AMI industry guidelines to make slaughter more humane, there are exemptions that make enforcement of these standards difficult. First, animals such as poultry, fish, and rabbits are excluded from the guidelines and have no federal protections during slaughter. Second, difficulties in enforcement come from insufficient reporting of violations, inconsistent adherence to standards on the individual level, variance in adherence on a district by district basis, and lack of funding for inspectors (GAO, 2004). Third, and most importantly, federal legislation is undone at the state level by a kind of legislation that Attorney David Wolfson terms Common or Customary Farming Exemption (CFE) laws. CFEs grant meat industry companies exemptions from animal cruelty laws:

> The majority of states have put CFE laws on their books […] Using words like "common," "customary," "accepted," and "established," CFE laws allow any method of raising farmed animals to continue, no matter how cruel, so long as it is commonly practiced within the industry (Marcus, 2005: 57).

In Washington State, the CFE law reads, "[n]othing in this chapter applies to accepted husbandry practices used in the commercial raising or slaughtering of livestock or poultry, or products thereof" (WSL, 2010). Acceptable practices include severing pigs' tails, castration and cutting chickens' beaks off—all without anesthetic. During the slaughter process, these practices include using electric prods to force animals to move, as well as allowing some animals to remain conscious even after stunning, when defeathering, bleeding, skinning and dismembering begin.

How Alternative is "Alternative"?

With the consolidation of the slaughter industry, smaller slaughter facilities found it increasingly difficult to survive. The costs of operating a USDA-approved facility are prohibitive for most small-scale producers. And so, small-scale farmers often found themselves transporting their animals hundreds of miles to reach a facility that could slaughter and process their animals. The Mobile Slaughter Unit (MSU) or Mobile Processing Unit (MPU) has emerged in Washington State (and now in other places around the country) as an alternative to industrial-scale slaughter. The MSU is a semi-trailer truck converted into a USDA-approved slaughter facility. The truck travels to the farm and slaughters the animals onsite using the same approved methods as the industrial slaughter reviewed in the previous section. After slaughter, the MSU transports the carcass to a cut-and-wrap facility where it is butchered and packaged for sale (PSMPC, 2010).

The animals' experience of the MSU is most likely an improvement on their experience of industrial scale slaughter. The MSU allows farmers to retain more control over the transport and slaughter process. Transport to slaughter is highly stressful to the animal and the effects of transport include injuries, exhaustion, predation, poisoning, sunburn, bloat, heat stroke, heart failure, suffocation, trampling, and fighting (FAO, 2001). The MSU has the potential to eliminate the need for transport, thus reducing the stress put on the animals before slaughter. Additionally, the number of animals slaughtered per day is low (usually under forty animals per day) compared to the more than thirty thousand slaughtered per day at Smithfield Foods' largest slaughter facility in North Carolina (MSU, 2010; Wise, 2009). This reduction in scale and speed *may* translate to more care taken during the slaughter process in the case that a concerned farmer is present, just as the opposite could be true.

Despite these important differences between industrial and alternative slaughter, the method by which the animals are slaughtered is substantially the same. The animals are stunned by one of the approved methods (usu-

ally outdoors), bled on the ground, and then hauled into the back of the MSU where they are skinned, disemboweled, cleaned and readied for transport to the cut-and-wrap facility. The laws and regulations governing alternative slaughter are the same as those governing industrial slaughter, meaning that alternative slaughter is not held to any higher standards. Moreover, the essential violence is the killing of the animal and in all processing the truth of the killing has been obscured by conceiving of the animal as 'meat'. This conception is an essential part of the violence. In order to veil the obvious similarity of killing that occurs in both industrial and alternative slaughter, many of these farms market a version of farming devoid of the violence of slaughter. In other words, they attempt to mitigate the violence of slaughter by improving the conditions under which the animals are raised.

To understand how these alternative farms are marketed, I conducted a discursive analysis of the website marketing materials for three different small-scale farms in Washington State. Two out of the three use the MSU as their main method of slaughter (Thundering Hooves, 2010; Skagit River Ranch, 2010). Thundering Hooves, a fourth generation farm in Eastern Washington State, uses the following language to describe slaughter: "Right on our farm, livestock are *harvested* under the watchful eye of a USDA inspector in our self-contained abattoir" (Thundering Hooves, 2010). The use of the term "harvest" rather than "slaughtered" or "killed" represents a strategic avoidance of the violence implicit in raising and slaughtering animals for meat. To harvest something recalls nonviolent images of picking fruit from a tree or vine. The violence of slaughter is obscured by this reference to seasonal gathering of produce, implying that animals can be converted into food by means of simply gathering meat. Aside from pre-holiday accelerations, there is nothing seasonal about the demand and supply for meat, which goes on year round in disregard for the natural seasonal rhythms of growth and maturity. Additionally, the use of the word "abattoir" may work to further obscure the process of slaughter by using a French term, with its air of cultural refinement and tradition, to refer to the slaughterhouse.

Different Kinds of (Dis)connection

Consumers of meat are complicit in the violence against animals and humans in the food industry. In order to forget our complicity in this violence, consumers find ways to disconnect from it. The most obvious forms of disconnection are geographical. As the population in the U.S. moved away from rural areas, the socio-spatial distance from farming and slaughter increased (Berry, 1997). Slaughterhouses are disproportionately located in

rural areas (FSIS, 2010) away from the majority of the population who live in urban areas (US Census, 2000). Whereas much of the population previously lived with farmed animals, the move away from living with them distanced us from recognizing them as individuals. In the relationship between consumers and the animals supplying meat, a distinct anonymity (for both consumer and animal) displaced personal connection, an anonymity which not surprisingly coincides with what Erika Endrijonas (2001) describes as a significant increase in the consumption of meat and processed food beginning in the 1950s. It has also driven support for the alternative food movement, popularized by actors like Michael Pollan and Slow Food, where a connection is promised between producer and animal.

This connection between the farmer and animal prior to slaughter and the probable familiarity between the two presents a question of betrayal in the relationship between farmer and animal. Presumably, the farmers and animals have lived in proximity to one another and, in the best farms, the animals have become accustomed to being cared for by the farmers. When the animal is killed, any trust of the farmer that the animal may have developed is violated because of the farmers' commitment to care for and protect the animals throughout their lives. Perhaps, however, the animals do have some inkling of distrust for the farmer, for throughout their lives, they have most likely had to undergo painful, unexplained procedures such as castration and branding. Nevertheless, the question of betrayal is an important one to consider.

Returning to consumer disconnection, another mode by which consumers were distanced from animal slaughter was that, as consumption of both meat and processed food increased, the population began to frequent grocery stores rather than butcher shops (Endrijonas, 2001). Butcher shops' popularity declined, and with this the ability of consumers to see the silhouette of an animal when they bought their meat. Meat in grocery stores is packaged in plastic and Styrofoam and is rarely reminiscent of the actual animal. Additionally, the spaces of slaughter changed; the majority of slaughter is now industrial and is done in large indoor spaces where the walls hide from the public what goes on during slaughter. For consumers interested in witnessing the slaughter process, industrial producers rarely allow access to their spaces of slaughter. There are, however, still farms (such as those who utilize the MSU) where slaughter is mostly done outdoors and where farmers may be more agreeable to having consumers watch the slaughter process.

Many of these small farms offer their meat in local cooperatives and at farmers markets, where consumers can meet the farmers and maintain a connection to the local that is integral to the food localization and organic

food movements. The language used to market meats produced by these farms is meant to encourage a connection between the consumer and the farmer, the earth, and the farming process. And yet, it is this language in marketing that brings us to some of the less obvious forms of disconnection between consumer and animal.

Thundering Hooves, Skagit River Ranch, and Seabreeze Farm employ three different kinds of rhetorical devices for simultaneously encouraging consumer connection to the farm and obscuring the process of slaughter. Thundering Hooves advertises a grounded connection to the earth. Earthy browns and greens on their website encourage a connection to the earth, as well as their name, which is literally the sound of an animal's feet on the earth. The use of 'harvest', which I've described above, also evokes a feeling of connection to the earth. Skagit River Ranch, on the other hand, promotes an ethereal connection to Mother Nature in which "Mother Nature will bless [them] back with healthy, clean food—a gift [they] are honored to share with you" (Skagit River Ranch, 2010). With its website designed in pale watercolor shades, Skagit River Ranch advances a version of farming where meat is also harvested (like at Thundering Hooves) and Mother Nature is responsible for the food the consumer receives. Seabreeze Farm does something slightly different in that they promote a poetic and artistic representation of farming:

> Welcome to…our pasture. We are passionate about grass. We want our animals to live, love, breath, frolic, eat and[,] when the time comes, die in it. Grass is green. Green is good. Good and green and gorgeous and delicious. We love the palette of the fields,[sic] and what it does for our palates. Color=flavor. Find us at a market, our restaurant, our butcher shop, our farm, facebook, twitter and our website. We're growing grassy-green-goodness everywhere. Enjoy grazing our site… (Seabreeze Farm, 2010).

Seabreeze Farm's discourse converts farmers into artists, farming into poetry, and infers that animals are not killed at Seabreeze Farm, instead dying naturally, 'when the time comes,' in the grass.

The overt violence of slaughter is simply not addressed by these farms; reference to 'harvest' or 'dying' replaces any description of what slaughter looks like and what it does. The grounded connection to the earth, the ethereal connection to Mother Nature, and an artistic representation of farming do the work of distancing the consumer from the reality of slaughter by promoting an (albeit limited) connection between production and consumption.

'Humane Slaughter': Commitment to Nonviolence or Oxymoron?

Quite clearly, 'humane slaughter' is a contradiction in terms. 'Humane' is defined as "a disposition to treat other human beings or animals with kindness or compassion […] Humane emphasizes the element of kindness, benevolence, or sympathy" (Webster's, 1931: 1045). Synonyms of 'humane' are merciful, kindhearted, benevolent, compassionate, and sympathy (Webster's, 1983: 691). 'Slaughter' is "the killing of great numbers of people or animals indiscriminately [or] to kill in a brutal or violent manner" (Webster's, 1983: 1339). Synonyms of 'slaughter' include carnage, homicide, murder, massacre, and butchery (Webster's, 1983: 1339). Thus 'humane slaughter' can also be understood as 'merciful murder,' 'kindhearted carnage,' 'sympathetic massacre,' and 'benevolent brutality.' The phrase 'humane slaughter' is as glaring a contradiction as anything invented by the Inner Party in Orwell's dystopic novel *1984,* but of course that does not disqualify it for use in current marketing discourse. A deconstruction of 'humane slaughter' provides further insight into the usefulness of the phrase in farms' marketing discourse.

The Humane Methods of Livestock Slaughter Act (HMSA), the American Meat Institute's Recommended Guidelines, and the marketing of the alternative farms all work to mitigate the violence of slaughter by promoting a discourse of connection and humaneness. And certainly, some more than others do have a significant impact for the animals. For example, the reduction in transport of animals offered by the MSU has the potential to reduce the stress on the animals. However, the violence of the slaughter itself cannot be mitigated because the violation of the animal is total. Killing an animal violates that animal's interest in living, not to mention those life interests readily acknowledged in the case of companion animals: bonds of kinship and friendship as well as complex emotionality: grief, humor, love, fear, etc. Recent research recognizes the significance of animals' rich emotional lives and the importance of taking them seriously (Masson, 2003; Bekoff, 2007; Hatkoff, 2009). Recognizing these interests is vital to understanding the true violence of slaughter. This recognition also makes our complicity in this violation all the more severe because we can identify with these kinds of emotional attachments.

Again, the violence of slaughter is violence in which we *are* complicit. Consumption of meat supports an industry (both industrial- and small-scale) fundamentally rooted in violence. Presumably, the violence inflicted on the animal is obvious; killing an animal is to exercise force against the animal's nature to survive. Documentation from Sinclair, Eisnitz, and others reveals the violence faced by workers in the slaughter industry, both the violence

enacted by the workers and the violence *visited on* the workers. And beyond affecting the animals and workers in the industry, it also affects us, the consumers. We are all (animals, workers, producers, consumers) violated by the slaughter of animals in the food system. From authentic industry efforts to mitigate the violence of slaughter by eliminating inessential or incidentally violent aspects of the process to the pervasive inauthentication of our experience into which we are led by the advertising and public relations reconfiguration of reality, we can see how much hard work is required to justify this violation of animal and human life. Producers attempt this mitigation in two different ways. First, there is an actual mitigation, meaning that, in varying degrees depending on the farm, farmers may treat the animals more gently during their lives and leading up to slaughter. This certainly generates an improvement in the experience of the animals during their lives, but it fails to confront the violence of slaughter itself. Second, producers in the industry work to rehabilitate the image of the industry, as seen in the web pages reviewed here. The discourse of 'humane slaughter' is an example of this, as is the absence of any explicit mention of slaughter. Both are designed to relieve the consumer of any disturbing thoughts that may arise while shopping, cooking, or eating. The work of denial, forgetting and rationalization is a constant, under-recognized process occurring on the farm, at the market, in the kitchen and around the table. All of us are involved. Even those of us who have no knowledge of the farm and have never reflected on or even acknowledged what has to be involved in the transformation of an animal into meat, even such ignorance must be maintained and the work of accomplishing this involves a constant assault on one's own powers of observation, memory and reflection.

Jacques Derrida writes about the violence of the meat industry:

> [n]o one can deny seriously, or for very long, that men do all they can in order to dissimulate this cruelty or to hide it from themselves, in order to organize on a global scale the forgetting or misunderstanding of this violence (Derrida, 2008: 26).

In order to counteract this forgetting, denial, ignoring and the ignorance that results, we can interrogate how we conceive of animals in the food system. What is our human relationship to animals in general and what is our responsibility in particular to the animals in the food industry? How might education about animals and the healthfulness of an animal-free diet (Campbell, 2005) change our conception of animals and help to promote nonviolence toward the animals we are accustomed to eating? In what ways can we ex-

tend our awareness of the institutionalization of violence in the meat industry and its effect upon us to deepen our commitment to living nonviolent lives? If we are to imagine nonviolent futures and societies dedicated to nonkilling, as is the aim of this book, it is essential that we confront, with an unflinching gaze, the institutionalized violence of the meat industry. Acknowledging such violence may be particularly difficult because it is violence perpetrated in the presumably peaceful setting of home and in which we may be implicated each time we eat. As we may hope to evolve in our understanding and embodiment of nonviolence in our lives and work, it is vital that we include a consideration of animals as well as of humans in our commitments.

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