Urban cinesemiotics:
A theory-based critical interpretation of Chicago in the cinema of the 1980s and 2010s

by

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B.S., Tehran University of Art, 2010
M.A., Allameh Tabataba'i University, 2013

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Abstract

In many academic fields today, cinematic representations are rich sources through which researchers recognize and interpret phenomena. Using cinema as the global form of visual texts is both useful and, to some extent, even necessary in the study of urban phenomena. Geography was the first discipline that continuously attempted to conceptualize the notion of the cinematic city. From then until now, Art, film, media studies, and architecture have considered the relationship between city and cinema. In recent years, although scholars with a background in urban disciplines have addressed this interdisciplinary topic, little in the way of effective, continuous utilization of movies in urban studies has occurred. The failure is not necessarily appreciation, but capability; arguably, the lack of an urban-oriented methodology is an important reason why urban studies has not paid deep attention to the cinema to date. From a critical interpretive position, this study has developed a dynamic methodological framework to show how researchers may interpret cities and urban experiences through cinema. Based on Charles S. Peirce's triadic model of semiotics, using urban theory, 'urban cinesemiotics' helps urbanists get closer to the final interpretation of urbanism in cinema. This dissertation employs the two-sided transaction between urban cinesemiotics and urban theory in three distinguished ways. First, the urban theory provides guidelines and attributes that have long fascinated scholars of urban studies by which the interpreter can identify the eligible image-signs from the infinite number of signs in movies. Second, urban theory enables the interpreter to go beyond the immediate and dynamic interpretation of image-signs and reach the final interpretant that provides the discipline with a critical lens to explore and experience cities. Third, urban cinesemiotics provides a context for urbanists to critique long-accepted urban theories and even revise them through the perspective of films. This dissertation interprets the representation of Chicago in the cinema of the 1980s and 2010s. In addition to the 2010s which is contemporary to the time of this writing, this study focuses on the 1980s cinema because during the reign of Mayor Jane Byrne (after 1979) filmmaking was promoted in the city with a vengeance which gave a chance visually to filmmakers to portray a city that was not depicted as much. Many Chicagoan iconic movies were made during the 1980s and represented various and sometimes hidden aspects of the city. In addition to general urban theories by Jane Jacobs and Kevin Lynch, since violence and urban crime have been a popular subject in most of the movies made in the 1980s and 2010s, the theoretical roots of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design constitute the basis for the interpretation of movies. This study shows how Lynch's five elements (landmark, path, district, edge, node), fundamentals of Jacobs' theory (neighborhood, diversity, safety, etc.), and the CPTED's principles (natural surveillance, clear visibility, mixed-use, target hardening, etc.) help us interpret the cinematic representation of Chicago, and how cinema provides a new viewpoint to criticize urban theories and revise them.

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Dedication

To my parents, Zahra and Hassan, without whom I wouldn't be where I am today. And to my brother, Soheil, who is a cinema lover.

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my loving wife, Zhila, who has been a constant source of support and love during the challenges of doctoral research and life and who always encourages me to work hard and look forward to what I determine to achieve. I would not have completed this journey without my wife's patience, kindness, and help. I will always appreciate all she has done.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the content of the dissertation. Based on the statement of the problem, this chapter identifies the purpose of the study. Then, it introduces an overall framework of the methodology. Procedure of the research and its limitations are other topics that are discussed in this chapter.

Problem Statement

In many academic fields today, cinematic representations are rich sources through which researchers recognize and interpret phenomena. If we assume Aitken's (1991) justification that the primary elements in movies are people and their environments, then cinematic city-images provide an unparalleled context for the study of human-environment transactions in cities. "Editing and camera movement reproduce the motion of the city. The mobile gaze of the cinema establishes our presence in the flow of the city" (Bruno, 1997, p.54). Using cinema as the global form of visual texts is both useful and, in correspondence to Norman Fairclough's (1995) arguments on textual analysis, even necessary in the study of urban phenomena for three reasons. First, the theoretical reason is that cinema as the visual art of urbanization era constitutes an important form of urban actions. Second, city films methodologically constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about urban experiences. Third, the historical reason for the importance of city films is that they are sensitive indicators of urban processes, changes, and movements.

Geography was the first discipline that continuously attempted to conceptualize the notion of cinematic city (Aitken, 1991; Natter & Jones, 1993; Aitken & Zonn, 1994; Clarke, 1997). Then, the relationship between city and cinema has been taken into consideration from the perspective of Art, film and media studies (Donald, 1999; Shiel & Fitzmaurice, 2001; Barber, 2002; Massood, 2003; Weber & Wilson, 2008; Mennel, 2008; Webb, 2014) and architecture (Kraus & Petro, 2003; Penz & Lu, 2011; Koeck, 2012). In recent years, this interdisciplinary topic has also been

addressed by scholars with the background in urban studies (AlSayyad, 2006), concentrating on urban issues in both developed countries (Clapp, 2013) and the global south (Goharipour, 2016). Although "it has become a cliché of contemporary writing that the city is constructed as much by images and representations as by the built environment" (Lapsley, 1997, p. 187), little in the way of effective, continuous utilization of movies in urban studies has occurred. The failure is not necessarily appreciation, but capability; arguably, the lack of an urban-oriented methodology is an important reason why urban studies has not paid deep attention to the cinema to date.

Moreover, the relationship between mediated representation of cities and urban planning ideas and thoughts is an important topic that not only helps urban planners to better understand the importance of several forms of representations of the city in the construction and development of urban theories, but also provides a theoretical framework for them to conceptualize approaches and methods that enable urban scholars to read and interpret urban phenomena through images, movies, social media, and other forms of pop culture. The pervasiveness of visual media in our lives and daily activities, the interdisciplinary nature of urban studies, the lack of an appropriate urban-oriented methodological framework for the analysis of city-images, and the need for the review/revision of traditionally-accepted urban planning theories and thought are all reasons that encouraged me to pursue this research.

Purpose of the Study

Assuming the broad concept of urban planning which stands at the collective knowledge of urbanism and neighbor fields: (e.g., urban design, environmental studies, and landscape architecture), this dissertation aims to:

- conceptualize 'urban cinesemiotics' as a methodological framework for an urban-oriented, dynamic interpretation of movies;
- critically interpret the represented image of Chicago in the cinema of 1980s and 2010s;

- employ this new interdisciplinary perspective to review and critique assumptions and characteristics of related urban theories.

Although the overall structure of this conceptualized framework will also be helpful in interpreting other forms of visual representations, the focus here is on cinema.

Brief Statement of Methods

Since visual representations, and cinema in this dissertation, frame the lens of seeing the city, 'visual methodologies' provides an appropriate entry point for determining a basis for the research methodology. According to Rose's (2006) famous diagram of visual methodologies, there is only one visual method that provides a framework for interpreting of both 'compositional' and 'social' modalities within the context of the two sites of 'image itself' and 'audiencing'; Semiology or Semiotics. The two primary traditions in contemporary semiotics are rooted in the ideas of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). They indeed conceptualized the two dominant models of what constitutes a sign. Peirce's triadic conception, as will be discussed in the next chapters, modifies Saussure's challenging assumptions. Peirce elaborated his conception of sign by introducing his famous symbol/icon/index typological distinction. Although he extended this account of signification during different periods of his life, this paper uses Peirce's early, dominant typology in order to conceptualize its methodological framework. According to Peirce's dynamicity of signification, an image-sign represents different levels of an object and its interpretant to a diverse range of audience. Recognition of the object and the interpretation of the interpretant require contextual and theoretical knowledge respectively. Cinema is undoubtedly a global media which affects people's interpretation of places regardless of their contextual knowledge. This means that without a 'full' contextual knowledge of a signified object, an urban planner's interpretation is still worthwhile. This dissertation, therefore, concentrates of the theoretical knowledge needed for a

dynamic/final interpretation of the image-sign. Urban theory, then, constitutes an important component of 'urban cinesemiotics.'

Research Procedure

The second chapter of the dissertation represents literature review. This research leans toward an interdisciplinary approach draws on three literatures: 1) the relationship between city and cinema; 2) the concept and models of semiotics; and 3) a preliminary introduction to the city of Chicago. All these topics are included in the literature review. The third chapter focuses in-depth on the application of semiotics to urban studies. This chapter conceptualizes the notion of 'urban cinesemiotics' as the methodological contribution of this study to the field. It develops the conceptual/methodological framework necessary to interpret movies in the fourth chapter. The interpretive nature of Peirce's semiotics and its dynamic characteristic and triadic model, as well as the full list of selected movies are important components of the third chapter. Then, chapter 4 presents a dynamic, urban-oriented interpretation of the cinematic representation of Chicago in the 1980s and 2010s. Although it is not necessarily a comparative analysis, this reading of movies provides an interpretive basis for better understanding of urban conditions in the two decades. Finally, chapter 5 provides a conclusion of the study and suggests further research.

Research Limitations

The most important limitation is time. If I had enough time, I would prefer to interpret the represented image of Chicago beyond the two decades throughout the 20th and 21th century in order to see how modern, Chicago-based thoughts and theories (e.g., Chicago School of Sociology) and other, more general ideas about urbanizations (e.g., those of Lefebvre, Simmel, etc.) can be interpreted/criticized through semiotic interpretation of urbanism in cinema. Moreover, since I am not a Chicagoan, my understanding of the object suffers from the lack of contextual knowledge. However, I have taken advantage of this as an opportunity to evaluate how theoretical

knowledge makes a basis for a dynamic interpretation of cinematic city in the era of pop culture and media when most of the people, including urban planners, do not have time and chance to travel all around the world, but can “read” and “interpret” places and urban spaces through cinema.

Chapter 2 - Review of the Literature

Unlike a few years ago, today many researchers speak of the importance of the relationship between city and media. Geographer, film experts, historians, and architects have conducted numerous studies on visual texts in order to reveal various aspects of places, spaces, and the environment. Given the fact that most of human knowledge and experiences about the world are attributed to visual perception, now, many scholars study the ways in which people and places interact as stories unfold in films. Although film itself developed as an urban art, and it has become an accepted argument that the city is constructed as much by images and representations as by the built environment, urban studies have not paid the warranted attention to the relationship between urban theory and thought with filmic representations. This dissertation aims to do an interdisciplinary study to see how Chicago is represented in movies. This chapter reviews the literature of two related topics: First, the relationship between city and cinema which not only shows the necessity of such interdisciplinary study, but also identifies conceptual and methodological gaps that must be paid attention in this research and further studies. Second, the concept of semiotics as a theoretical framework that provides a basis for methodology.

Texts, Visual Texts, and Cinema

Cinema is a global form of cultural texts. We should therefore first determine to what extent the analysis of texts matters to urban studies. Norman Fairclough (1995), British linguist and one of the central figures of critical discourse analysis, lists four reasons why textual analysis is both useful and to some extent even necessary in studies of social context. The theoretical reason is that the social structures which are the focus of attention of many social scientists, and texts, in turn, constitute one very important form of social action. The methodological reason is that texts constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structures, relations, and processes. The historical reason for the importance of textual analysis is that texts

are sensitive barometers of social processes, movement and diversity, and textual analysis can provide particularly good indicators of social change. Finally, in terms of the political reason, it is increasingly through texts that social control and social domination are exercised.

Apart from political characteristics of texts which is not central to this study, I agree with Fairclough that cultural and artistic texts would definitely benefit urban studies theoretically, methodologically, and historically. Texts are tangible depictions of individuals' actions/ reactions in relation to cities and urban phenomena; rich sources of evidence for urban scholars; and representations of urban changes throughout the modern and contemporary history. In this regards, cultural texts make a bridge between urban and cultural studies that reveals hidden and visible layers of urbanization and urban experiences.

The project of cultural studies, as it arose in England, was to understand what it felt like to be alive at a particular time and place through the interpretation of cultural – artistic and communicative – texts (Grossberg, 1997, p. 146). British cultural studies depended in its early stage heavily on close analysis of traditional sorts of texts (Nelson, 1999, p. 211). Later, textual analysis within the cultural studies framework evolved towards an emphasis on reception studies increasingly. At first, according to Kovala (2002), this happened in terms of the structuralist model according to which texts contain several meanings, of which some are presented as foregrounded, "preferred," while the reader may decode the text against the grain. Later still, reception all but stole the show so that reception or audience studies became perhaps the central and certainly a prominent and visible part of cultural studies. Such different approaches to textual analysis, of course, depend on the philosophical position of the researcher.

Considering representation as a key concept in textual analysis, it should be mentioned that, according to Aitken and Zonn (1994), "to represent" is to portray clearly before the mind, to give back to society an image of itself, or to act a part or a role. Among other things, representation reinforces a set of societal structures that help individuals to make sense of surroundings that are otherwise chaotic and random, and to define and locate themselves with respect to those

surroundings. Of late, representation has taken on a border set of meanings as the concept has been embraced by more and more academic disciplines.

Any representation is more than merely a reproduction of that which it represents: it also contributes to the construction of reality. Even 'photorealism' [or documentaries] does not depict unmediated reality. Highly realistic representations in any medium always involve a point of view (Chandler, 2007, p. 78). It is now commonly felt that everyday experience is not immediately "present," but is re-presented simultaneously through the contradictory images that constitute our postmodern world and through the everyday pretensions of our gender, class, and racial identities (Aitken and Zonn, 1994, p. 6). Visual representation has a special place among other forms of representation.

Jefferys (1941) believes that people nowadays get much of their information and their conceptions of life, past and present, through media other than book, lectures, and sermons, the long-standing established sources of instruction. The human eye is now bombarded almost to sensory overload with continuous flow of representations and images directed through a wide variety of media. We 'connect' with these representations of social life via our 'gaze', thereby perceiving that social life as experience, and so we are able to become a part of spatial relationships contained within the spaces of the images/representations (Aitken and Craine, 2005, p. 253). As James (1999) suggests, textual representations provide a mediating pedagogy between the reality of the metropolis and its imaginary place in mental life. To answer why such a pedagogy is necessary, James explains how a newspaper helped German city planners and people to comply with the rules of living in the metropolis:

When Georg Simmel (1903) wrote *The Metropolis and Mental Life* soon after the turn of the twentieth century, the Wilheminian Berlin which was its largely unspoken point of reference was still in the throes of a period of remarkable growth. How were they to learn the rules of this new metropolitan game? One way was through the pedagogic role of the mass press. Newspapers constructed a 'word city' whose proliferation kept pace with Berlin's physical expansion. 'The City,'

argues the historian Peter Fritzsche, simply could not be used without the guidance of newspapers. For the readers, the newspaper offered a practical guide to surviving, exploiting, and also enjoying the city. Fritzsche's view is that the affinity between the medium of the press and the mental life of the metropolis in Berlin during these years was unique, and that it was diluted by the rise of the new media of cinema and radio, which lacked a specifically metropolitan focus. The affinities between city and cinema may have been less pragmatic and less utilitarian, but they were equally strong and, in their own way, just as disciplinary (James. 1999, p. 64). Indeed, the mass nature of cinema was not just about selling itself to a market far larger and less socially discriminated than before. It also implies a homology between cinematic spectatorship and urban experience, with both being characterized by distraction, diffusion, and anonymity. Since that time, it has become an innovative context for creative planners to analyze different aspects of the city, urbanization, and planning issues through various forms of pop culture and mass media.

Important cyberpunk novels in *Cyberpunk Cities: Science Fiction Meets Urban Theory* by Abbot (2007) are other examples show the way in which the ideas of formal urban theory, such as the idea of global cities, cities as communication systems, and the Los Angeles school of urban studies, have been incorporated into this facet of textual popular culture. The analysis suggests that science fiction can help planners to understand the influence of a range of social theories on public understanding of planning issues. Clark (2014) introduces 10 *Great Novels Every Urbanist Should Read*. With ferocity, humor and intelligence, Clark argues, these novels can be counted on to reveal the lived experience in the urban landscape with uncommon power — illuminating both the failures and the possibilities of city planning. In terms of music, while there may not be popular songs specifically mentioning urban planning, there are many songs about cities and the impact of planning decisions. Chavan (2010) writes about 10 of his favorites.

It is now often suggested that much meaning is conveyed by visual images. These images are never transparent windows on the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very

particular ways (Rose, 2006, p. 6). Why are the visual forms of representation, i.e., visual texts, getting importance?

Barbara Maria Stafford (1991), a historian of images used in the sciences, has argued that in a process beginning in the eighteenth century, the construction of scientific knowledge about the world has become more and more based on images rather than on written texts. The increasing importance of the visual to contemporary Western societies is part of a wider analysis of the shift from pre-modernity to modernity, and from modernity to postmodernity. It is often suggested – or assumed – that in pre-modern societies, visual images were not especially important, partly because there were so few of them in circulation. This began to change with the onset of modernity. In particular, it is suggested that modern form of knowledge depend on a scopic regime that equates seeing with knowledge (Rose, 2006, p. 7). Jean Baudrillard (1988a) argued that in postmodernity it was no longer possible to make a distinction between the real and the unreal; images had become detached from any certain relation to the real world with the result that we now live in a scopic regime dominated by simulations, or simulacra. Wollen is right that we can repeat today Abel Gance's words a couple of decades ago: The time of the image has come (Wollen, 1998, p. 106). This modernist/postmodernist era has also made its unique form of visual representation/tetx: moving images.

There are controversial ideas about the difference in meaning between cinema and film/movie. According to Youngblood (1989), it is important to separate cinema from its medium, just as we separate music from particular instruments. Cinema is the art of organizing a stream of audiovisual events in time. Stam (1989) explains that, for Metz, cinema is the cinematic institution taken in its broadest sense as a multidimensional sociocultural fact which includes pre-filmic events (the economic infrastructure of the studio system, for example), post-filmic (distribution, exhibition, the social impacts of film), and a-filmic events (the décor of the theater, the social ritual of moviegoing). Film, on the other hand, refers to a localizable discourse, a text. Cinema comes in part from the Greek 'kinema', meaning "movement". In this context, then,

cinema is just another word meaning moving images. Consequently, since cinema, film, and movie are often used in parallel, what matters here is what we refer to as the text in terms of a cultural product.

Moving images were the dominant form of representation of the twentieth century. Pasolini (1976) claims that cinema, probably since 1936 – the year *Modern Times* (Chaplin, 1936) was released – has always been in advance of literature. Or at least, it has catalyzed, with an opportuneness that made it chronologically anterior, the profound socio-political reasons which were to characterize literature a bit later. It is because of their ability to engage the thoughts and feelings of the most varied audiences that movies have triumphed over the traditional arts, becoming, until the onset of television, not a social luxury, but a veritable cultural necessity (Galan, 1983, p. 41). Soon, movies were accepted as the new form of cultural production by which the audience receive a combination of traditional forms.

Much discussion of cultural production, particularly with regard to literature and film, relies on Benedict Anderson's study of nation as an "imagined community." Anderson (1983) argues that with the advancement of print, the novel offered a narrative form that allowed members of a particular nation to imagine themselves as belonging to the same nation despite geographical distance and lack of connection to other individuals of the same nation. The concept of the "imagined community" suggests that film, too, has played a particularly pivotal role in the ongoing development of national identities. It can also be applied to cities and neighborhoods (Mennel, 2008, p. 10). Compared to cinema's ability, painting or sculpture are simply in "no position to present an object for a simultaneous collective experience", Walter Benjamin insists, "as it was possible for architecture at all times, for the epic poem in the past, and for the movie today" (Benjamin, 1936, p. 234). Collective experience would definitely make and/or change collective perception, and this is why the cinematic texts must be paid more attention in society-oriented studies, including environmental design and planning.

Even beyond the collective perception, cinema has been able to create leading new thoughts and ideas, so that some of them made a paradigm shift. Doel and Clarke, for instance, believe that *Blade Runner* (Scott, 1982) has already achieved the oxymoronic status of a canonical postmodern cultural artefact. In addition to the film's hybrid genre and the double coding of its cinematography, *Blade Runner*'s many commentators have remarked upon: its fractal geography; the interruption of temporality; the triumph of flexible accumulation within the hollow husks of global corporations; the fusion of the mechanisms of capital accumulation and governance; the adsorption of referentiality and representation through a proliferation of simulacra and simulations; the lack of authenticity and the indeterminacy of identity; the short-circuiting of memory, genealogy, and history; the omnipresence of the Fourth World; the slow motion catastrophe of space-time decomposition; and the banality and fatality of living on in the hereafter (Doel & Clarke, 1996, p. 141). This is one example of thousands that identify the significant role cinema plays in the representation of societies, environments, and cities.

Films are no longer considered mere images or unmediated expressions of the mind, but rather are the temporary embodiment of social processes that continually construct and deconstruct the world as we know it (Cresswell & Dixon, 2002, pp. 3-4). The way spaces are used and places are portrayed in film reflects prevailing cultural norms, ethical mores, societal structures, and ideologies. Concomitantly, the impact of a film on an audience can mold social, cultural, and environmental experiences (Aitken and Zonn, 1994, p. 5). This is why Andrew (1984) argues that the history of cinema is usually measured as the progressive adequation of the rules of cinematic organization to the habitual ways by which we organize life in our culture. Now, this is the time to answer Beaulieu's (2005) question from an urban perspective: Can films be viewed through the same lens as other historical "facts"? Confidently, the answer is yes.

Cinema and the City

Wallis (1986) argues, if the cinematographer must understand the audience's structuring of the environment in order to represent it in a comprehensible manner; then the audience in viewing films may, in turn, come to understand its everyday environment in cinematic terms. That is to say, the experience of cinema becomes a metaphor for interpreting the everyday environment. Accepting Wollen's (1998) arguments that our experience of cinema suggests that great complexity of meaning can be expressed through images, interpretation of meaning is central to the urban-based film analysis and directs the researcher into developing an interpretive methodological position. Before conceptualizing the relationship between cinema and the city, there is a need to discuss how cinema represents reality. This also provides a theoretical basis for further philosophical and methodological foundations of the research in the next chapter.

There have always been controversial issues about the relationship between film and reality. In one hand, some theorists believe that cinema, in its both documentary and narrative form, is a representation of reality which is influenced by the filmmaker's philosophical position towards the reality. On the other hand, through a more constructivist perspective, many claims that reality is nothing but what is constituted by people's work and experience.

Hopkins (1994), for instance, asserts that what the film viewer witnesses is not the real but what Metz (1974) calls the impression of reality: the sense of experiencing an almost real spectacle. Crang (1997), standing at the other side of the spectrum, claims that photographs and videos indeed are not something that appears over and against reality, but parts of practices through which people work to establish realities. Those realities, Garrett (2013) argues, are part of who we are as people, part of our society, part of our culture, and as researchers it is our role to engage with them critically. The important point is that photography and video are not 'shortcut' methods; they are sensitive, difficult work.

Given the fact that a considerable amount of human knowledge about the external world is attributed to visual perception, I agree with Hopkin (1994) that [marked as a representation of reality, or a part of that] the power of the film image to make believe is considerable. Films are not different from any other types of factual document. While they are unique in that they are dependent on technology for their creation and viewing, moviesd can be examined in much the same way that any work of history should (Beaulieu 2005, p. 252) and this is why Clarke (1997) believes that cinema can no longer be restricted to the screen upon which films are projected, or to the darkened interior of the movie theatre where we become, directly, the spectators of film. Movie, Jackson (1973) argues, is part of the life experience of people since the 20th century, and it would seem wasteful if not foolish to ignore that experience in researches.

So, what is the relationship between cinema and the city?

If we assume that the primary elements in movies are people and their environments, then they clearly offer a unique opportunity for the study of person-environment transactions (Aitken, 1991, p. 163). Since more than half the world's population today live in cities, the representation of urban changes and interactions is inevitable. Gold and Ward (1997) explain that cinematic film has long had a close and many-sided relationship with the metropolitan city. Leaving aside the economic factors that drew the commercial cinema to major centers of population and the growing appreciation of cinema buildings as important built forms in their own right, the most important aspects of that relationship are reflected in film content. Many commentators (Solomon, 1970; Wiseman, 1979; Sorlin, 1991) have argued that film itself developed as an 'urban art', frequently articulating its narratives against the backdrop of the metropolitan city.

The development of new sociocultural space, and in particular, urban space in the late nineteenth century, offered new forms of human actions and interactions, population growth, and global forms of fetishism and commercialization, which have been best represented in this era's new form of representation; cinema. Ittelson et al. (1974) were right that much of what we know of the world, and of specific places in the world, comes not from firsthand knowledge, but what

we are taught through secondary information. We can assume, then, that many of our place images are derived from cinematic representations.

Editing and camera movement indeed reproduce the motion of the city. The mobile gaze of the cinema establishes our presence in the flow of the city. We are comfortably touring the streets and looking at the cityscape (Bruno, 1997, p. 54). We are not actually a stranger when we visit Paris, London, Rome, Los Angles, and New York for the first time because we have already visited them in movies and television. Although film seems to be no more than the filmmaker's point of view, following Levi Strauss (1972a), it seems equally arguable that every director is imprisoned in the events, experiences, history of his society which he orders and reorders in order to give them some meaning.

The work of Veltrusky, member of the Prague School, on man and object in the theater is very helpful in recognizing the role city plays in movies. Veltrusky describes a dual movement of signification to action and back. Thus the human performers can be either vectors of action, or along a scale going through 'human props'. And objects, on the other hand, can also move from being part of the set or props to intervening in the action (Wollen, 1976, p. 489). Cinematic city too can stand anywhere on this spectrum. Urban spaces may only be used as the location and/or backdrop of actions, or play the role of the major character in the film. In any case, cinematic representation of the city is worthy of attention.

The history of cinema, however, demonstrates that the role of city in films has been changed from something just 'there' into the central motif. As Larry Ford (1994) suggests, places did not particularly matter in the early motion pictures because they were usually perceived as mere backdrops to live action. Filmmakers soon realized that for action to be authenticated and for audiences to suspend their beliefs, the place and space of film could be used to great effect, and so they began using and extending the narrative conventions of literature to create places and spaces that could "hold" the action (Aitken and Zonn, 1994, p. 16). A very short review of the representation of cities in the American cinema better clarifies this statement.

Ford (1994) explains that in the early days of American silent films during the 1920s, cities were used as random, often unidentified, stages for action (backdrop). The city was a stage, not a player. It did not influence unduly the psyches of the human participants in the stories. The city was just there. By the 1940s, carefully contrived city scenes were becoming more important in many American films. World war II shortages made big, expensive films difficult to produce and actors and directors turned to lower budget dramas to fill the theaters. By the late 1940s, however, the stage set was beginning to lose some of its appeals and the trend was toward films made on location, especially if the location was nearby. The influence of Italian neorealism was being felt in America by 1948 as directors began to seek a more documentary approach in urban crime dramas. Location films such as *The Naked City* (1948), *Criss Cross* (1948), and *Kiss of Death* (1947) used neorealist techniques to create a city that is more than a merely neutral and uninflected backdrop. The city is molded into a powerful neurotic element in the story.

Krutnik (1991) argues that the noir city of Hollywood's thrillers of the 1940s and early 1950s is a shadow realm of crime and dislocation in which benighted individuals do battle with implacable threats and temptations. Film noir inherited many of its narrative and stylistic features, and much of its urban atmosphere, from the hard-boiled pulp fiction of the interwar period. According to Straw (1997), *New Orleans After Dark* (1957) is one of the last of a cycle of American Films which began in the early 1950s and had concluded by the end of the decade. The titles of these films named cities and promised the revelation of secrets about them. Others in this cycle include *The Phoenix City Story* (1955), *Portland Expose* (1957), *New Orleans Uncensored* (1955), *Kansas City Confidential* (1952), *New York Confidential* (1955), *Las Vegas Shakedown* (1955), The Houston Story (1956), Chicago Syndicate (1955), Miami Expose (1956) and *Inside Detroit* (1955). Most of these films claimed, in their opening sequences or in the posters which advertised them, some link to a real-life investigation of municipal vice and corruption.

Anthony Easthope (1997) explores three attitudes toward representing the city and its spaces in 1960s cinema:

1) The city is 'just there', naturalized;

In most films of the 1960s, the city is simply unmarked; it is just there, a normal backdrop, invisible as such, the presumed condition of modernity, 'the world of all of us', in which 'we find our happiness, or not at all'. However, in this decade, when the city is marked as city, it features as either utopian or dystopian. It should be noted that both modes, utopian and dystopian, are dominated by a sense of temporality and history, arising from the assumption that we are moving towards a world which is either much better or much worse.

2) A celebratory and utopian presentation of the city;

Based on the first James Bond film, *Dr. No* (1962), as well as dozens of 1960s movies, typically, we are shown the hero in his ride to the airport, shots around the terminal, a plane takes off and lands at a virtually identical modern airport with a very similar terminal. Working in excess of what is needed to explain narrative, these repeated airport sequences serve to glorify a utopian vision of intercity, technology, a fulfilment of a nineteenth century utopian dreams.

3) The city as sign and realization of dystopia;

Dystopian presentation of the city is less common and much more interesting. *Alphaville* (1965), and *Blow-Up* (1966) are just some examples.

Clarke (1997) concludes that, as might be expected, the worsening condition of 'real' inner cities in the last two or three decades of the twentieth century has been paralleled by cinematic representations of the city as a desolate battleground traversed by human monsters on the very margins of sanity. Such a view is signaled in films such as *Death Wish* (1974), *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Hard Core* (1979) and has been accurately described by Fredric Jameson (1994) as a new Third World space within the First World city.

This short review of the cinematic representation of American cities affirms that we will never really understand the ways in which Americans live in, and interpret, cities unless we precisely investigate cities, urban spaces and phenomena through movies. Although "it has become a cliché of contemporary writing that the city is constructed as much by images and

representations as by the built environment" (Lapsley, 1997, p. 187), little in the way of effective, continuous utilization of movies in urban studies has occurred. Clarke (1997) explains that this disregard was not just from urban studies. Indeed, while the histories of film and the city are imbricated to such an extent that is unthinkable that the cinema could have developed without the city, and while the city has been unmistakably shaped by the cinematic form, neither film nor urban studies have paid the warranted attention to their connection. He asserts that those film and urban theorists who continue to insist on the separation of these themes might be accused of failing to appreciate vital dimensions of their respective field – for the city has undeniably been shaped by the cinematic form, just as cinema owes much of its nature to the historical development of the city.

Even in Geography within which there is richer literature on the mediated landscape, it was not until the early 1990s that geographers began to look at power and representations in film (Aitken, 1991; Natter and Jones, 1993; Rose, 1994). Power, place, situation and spectacle (Aitken and Zonn, 1994), for instance, is a compilation of work by geographers focusing exclusively on filmic texts.

I agree with Hall (1997) that culture is not so much a set of things – novels and paintings or TV programs or comics – as a process, a set of practice. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between the members of a society or group. Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is around them, and 'making sense' of the world, in broadly similar ways. This is what we, city planners, and other urban scholars must do with cultural products represented through any form of media, in particular, cinema: developing our own way of looking at, and interpreting, images.

Cinema and Urban Planning

Film deals with space and time as well as with the construction of place and meaning. Film represents the world. Stadler (1990) argues that for many of us, the cinematic is embedded in our lifeworld – our day-to-day experiences of existence. Film and television act as maps for the everyday social-cultural and geopolitical imaginaries and realities of everyday life. Visual media are today's cognitive maps or social cartography of meaning creation and identity formation (Lukinbeal, 2004, p. 247). The images and sounds of the city found in movies are perhaps the only experiences that many of the world's residents ever realize of cities they have not been to and may never do (Alsayyad, 2000, p. 268). This is why it is important for urban planners to study cities, not only in films but through the lens of various forms of pop culture.

Some researchers, as well as city planners, believe that cinema is not just another way of seeing the city and planning issues, but it plays a prime role in our understanding of place, space, and the urban environment. To grasp the city's secret, Baudrillard (1988b) argues that you should not begin with the city and move inwards towards a screen, you should begin with a screen and move outwards toward the city. If one were to accept this premise, then cinematic technique and cinematic representation of the city over time should reveal much about both urban theory and the urban condition.

Film is always selective and partial, thereby enabling it to produce a variety of meanings for the same image and for this image to be viewed very differently by different audiences in different places at different time (Alsayyad, 2000, p. 269). This is similar to what an urban space offers to both the residents and planners. Beyond that, cinema provides the unique opportunity, not only for the users of an urban space but for the audience and city planners in all over the world to feel and experience the sense of being in that environment. Even for the residents of the city, different forms of pop culture and mass media have often been new perspectives through which they interpret/experience/learn the city.

With research into film, space and place, the 'local' film takes on a particular significance, not least because films made in and about place now constitute part of popular memory and are playing their role in the mythologization of place that has accompanied the re-branding of post-industrial cities (Hallam, 2010: 281). Today, city branding is the use of marketing techniques to give a city a unique identity in the minds of citizens, visitors, companies, and investors. The brand of a city is the identity toward which city planners prepare the vision and goals that must be reached, as well as strategies and policies that mist be implemented during a long-term or short-term plan of a city. Cinema plays a significant role in creating the identity of a city. Paris, for instance, is known as the 'city of love, light, food, and/or tourism' to many people because of its character in novels, paintings, and films. *Midnight in Paris* (2011) and *Ratatouille* (2007) are examples of how Paris has made its own brand in movies. Libera D'Alessandro et al. (2015) explore the connections between film-induced tourism, city-branding and place-based image through the case study of Naples, particularly deepening the role played by urban policies not only in promoting or sustaining but also in refusing some specific city's representations.

As another application of planning-cinema transactions, Hallam and Roberts (2014) formulated some initial discussions as to the ways in which GIS resources can inform critical understandings of the relationship between film practice and the historic built environment. While offering a unique practical tool that is able to push forward research in this area in significant ways, GIS also presents hitherto unexplored and challenging theoretical possibilities insofar as it initiates new forms of spatial dialogue between the virtual landscapes of the moving image and the architectural, geographic, and imagined spaces within which they are embedded. Mapping a city in film in the way outlined by Hallam and Roberts, enables researchers to (1) navigate the spatial histories attached to landscapes in film; (2) develop new frameworks of analytical enquiry in relation to film, place, and memory; and (3) rethink and reformulate some of the questions critically addressing the place of archival images of cities and other locations in the wider cultural landscapes of memory, heritage, and local/national placemaking.

There are many planning issues that were not recognized by city planners for the first time but signified by ordinary citizens, as well as artists, who live in the city and experience places. Gold and Ward (1997) argues that housing, the issue that persuaded many film-makers to take an interest in planning matters, remained a central element in film promotion of the cause of town planning. Views of crowded inner-city housing and of low-density, suburban ribbon development along arterial roads provided the de rigueur opening shots for many films, generally accepted as symbolizing the problems that occur without adequate planning. Slums represented the historic legacy of unplanned development, with the obligatory shots of children playing in the gutter emphasizing the waste of human potential. Suburbia symbolized the costs of allowing the tentacles of the town to creep outwards to engulf villages and farmland close to the city – a view overlain with the general distaste for suburbia felt by many professional commentators at the time. At the same time, new elements have been steadily added to the interpretation of the represented city, including concerns about transport, recreational activities, neighborhood planning, and post-war reconstruction. Individualism, Flâneuristic activities, alienation, etc. are non-physical planning-oriented issues in the city that are best represented in films.

Nancey G. Leigh and Judith Kenny (1996), instructors of a course entitled Cinema City at Georgia Tech's School of City & Regional Planning, argue, although film studies may be recognized as an important component of a humanities program, a greater burden of evidence may be placed on those who introduce it to a listing of social science courses. Leigh and Kenny claim that when they sought to augment the economic and political analysis of cities, that is, the traditional content of an urban planning curriculum, with the subjective perspective of cinematic artists, their experiment met with acceptance.

Although the relationship between the cinematic representation and the city is now recognized as a new, interdisciplinary topic in which researchers interpret various dimensions of the urban space and experience through the lens of movies, the real impact that the evolution of film has had on city growth and urban development is still a challenging question. Since there are

several sociocultural, economic, and physical criteria that affect the processes of urbanization and city growth, it is difficult to determine what aspect(s) of urban development is purely attributable to the cinema. In any event, the review of literature here demonstrates that there are three types of relationship between cinema and the city:

1) Cinematic representation of what has happened to the city:

Most studies on the relationship between city and cinema that are conducted by historians, architects, geographers, film scholars, as well as city designers and planners, mainly focus on movies that represent different aspects of urbanization which have raised concerns about the processes of urban development. These movies are indeed the reflection of what has happened to the city in past. Italian neorealism, for instance, represented a realist dark image of Italian city which was the result of Fascism and World War II. *Germany Year Zero* (1948) represented a realist image of Berlin as the backdrop for the story of a young German boy faces the problems of tough life in the immediate post-WWII. Using the story of Federal Agent Eliot Ness who sets out to stop Al Capone, *The Untouchables* (1987) represented the sociocultural/physical features of Chicago's urban spaces in the 1930s. These movies did not necessarily tend to affect the process of city growth and/or urban development. Some, however, have unintentionally had impacts on factors influencing the characteristics of the city and its urban style. City of God (2002) is a good example of the impact that cinema industry has had on urban development. what Fernando Meirelles's Oscar-nominated *City of God* (2002) did is exceptional. In 2007, the journalist Andrew Downie reported on tourists from Germany, Britain, and the USA visiting and settling in Rio de Janeiro's favelas in order to experience "the real Brazil," insisting on living the authentic life in contrast to middle-class Brazilians, for whom the favelas represent the taboo and danger: "To many Brazilians, favelas are dirty, violent, frightening places. But to many foreigners, they are exciting, interesting, and romantic" (Mennel, 2008, p. 211). This is what Mennel calls the "favela effect" which marks the larger processes by which films are created, circulated, and received in the postmodern context of global capitalism.

2) Cinematic representation of what is happening to the city:

Since the end of the nineteenth century, along with the invention of cinema, the development of new social space, and in particular, urban space in the late nineteenth century, offered new forms of activity and objects for perception which made cities immediate subject as well as the location for many films. This is why cinema is the most sensitive form of representation to the urban changes. This unique, global nature of the cinema helps it to connect with our ongoing urban experiences in different ways. "It can be said that there is reciprocity between the urban condition and the cinematic city" (Clapp, 2013, p. 30). Using urban concepts like immigration, small town, and suburbs, Clapp (2013) describes this ongoing interaction between cinema and urban development. In terms of suburb, for instance, he explains that "by the close of the millennium, the suburbs had become such a dominant feature of the American urban scene that films set in suburbia no longer had much of a locational distinction (Clapp, 2013, p. 101). This was synchronous with what was happening around the cities in the real life. The largest demographic cohort going to the movies now comes from the suburbs, filing into the multiplexes in suburban malls to see films that may well be made by filmmakers who, like themselves, were born and raised in suburbs. *Welcome to the Dollhouse* (1995), *Election* (1999), *Ice Storm* (1997), and *American Beauty* (1999) are sample movies Clapp uses to explain the impact that the cinema has had on city growth and urban development, especially in terms of suburban phenomena. The line between city and suburban, Clapp argues, has become less distinct. Suburbs increasingly are experiencing many of the problems associated with the inner city. The source of the triangle of drugs, gangs, and prostitution, once associated exclusively with inner cities has surprisingly made its way into the American suburb. And cinema has played a significant role in shaping suburbs' image in people's mind, making them aware of what is/may be happening in suburban area, affecting their decision-making, and consequently, city growth and urban development.

3) Cinematic representation of what will happen to the city.

Since this type of city films represent a futuristic-like image of the city and urbanization, they have been influential movies through which not only planners but engineers, social scientists, as well as other experts, take advantage of the knowledge that is predicted to affect the way people live in future. For researchers who study the relationship between cinema and the city, *Metropolis* (1927) is the first and most important futuristic movie that provided a unique, warning image of urban structure that industrialization and technological advances will make in future. Compared to the work of Georg Simmel (1903), Metropolis represented the visual image of the city of future which many architects/planners tended to illustrate and publish.

This type of movies, however, is not limited to the futuristic cinema. There are a number of city films in which some urban concepts and characters get meaning, and city designers/ planners, as well as other urban experts, can imagine how they work in the urban environment. Walter Benjamin's theorization of the flâneur as a figure that is seduced by the city to venture into it, for instance, is an urban character which has been best understood through the narratives of cinema. Mennel (2008) explains that Benjamin shared with Simmel the emphasis on chance encounters that for Simmel had to be controlled by exact planning so as to prevent the underlying chaos from erupting. In contrast, Benjamin's texts about the flâneur situate the pleasure of the city precisely in the chance encounters that are available to the flâneur, the figure that leisurely walks through the city. *Cléo from 5 to 7* (1962) and *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), for instance, are movies that help city planners understand how the flâneur lives in and enjoys the city.

Overall, I believe that studying cities through cinema is one way to overcome what Davis (2011) calls perceptual barriers: Perceptual barriers make us "kick ourselves" for not seeing a solution sooner. They also prevent us from getting a complete and accurate picture of our world; the "real problem" or "truth" may be missed. One creative recommendation, "make the familiar strange," encourages us to see common objects and situations in new ways, to overcome too-familiar perceptual features, and to look for new and different ideas and perceptions. Recent

generations find viewing film and video to be a natural and preferred way of learning. While this suggests the benefits of a course/study devoted to visual images, the problems associated with "media illiteracy" must be addressed as a potential weakness (Walk, 1994, p. 197). This is one of the central themes to this dissertation.

Chapter 3 - Methods

Creswell (2014) explains research design as plans and the procedures for research that span the decisions from brood assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis. According to the nature and framework of my research statement, this chapter explains the components of my research design, including my philosophical position, approach, methodology, research method, and tools.

Philosophical Position

In studying the various conceptual approaches, there are three broad philosophical positions that together consolidate many of the differences in regard to ontology and epistemology: (1) *realism*; (2) *critical realism*; and (3) *social constructionism* (Sullivan, 2010, pp. 21–37). Different authors have used other terminologies to name these positions. Realism is often considered the synonym of positivism and postpositivism. Social constructionism is also known as interpretivism, subjectivism, antipositivism, negativism, idealism, and relativism. A brief explanation of these three categories provides a theoretical context for conceptualizing my position/worldview/paradigm in this research.

According to Seamon and Gill (2016), in assuming a realist position on the world, the researcher works to generate an accurate secondhand representation of reality. Data are the means by which representations can be compared with reality to establish which representations of reality are most correct. A philosophical opposite of the realist position is social constructionism. In this worldview, the researcher's intent is to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). This is why I prefer to use the term '*interpretivism*' to identify this position.

Interpretivism argues that all representations of reality presuppose humanly constructed discourse and are not necessarily an accurate understanding of that reality. Interpretivism proposes that the social realm cannot be studied with the scientific method of investigation

applied to the natural world; investigation of the social realm requires a different epistemology. From that philosophic perspective, antipositivism proposes that social-science researchers first must be aware that the concepts, ideas, and language of research shape his or her perceptions of the social world under investigation (Macionis & Gerber, 2010, p. 32). This position focuses on discourse and language as the most appropriate means of representing and understanding the world.

In an effort to overcome extreme realist and relativist stances, some researchers have sought a middle position identified as critical realism. This perspective assumes that phenomena are not completely relativist representations but correspond at least in part to real entities and processes. This assumption means that researchers can gain access, although it may be incomplete, to a reality beyond representation that is at least partly describable in representational fashion. In addition, language needs to be understood not only as a potentially truthful reflection of reality but also as an impulse for establishing our conceptions of what is real (Seamon & Gill, 2016, p. 118). Power, cultural contexts, ideological worldviews, and social roots always distort knowledge of reality. It seems that, in spite of these potential distortions, critical realists evaluate real-world evidences in order to reach some measure of knowledge and understanding.

Figure 1 illustrates ontological and epistemological relationships between three major philosophical positions. This is clear that a researcher could stand at any level of this spectrum. Also, since movies constitute my sources of evidence, Jakobson's classification of a film analyst's possible position is helpful. Jakobson (1973) argues, there are two possible avenues of departure in film research: to view film as a visual record, or to consider it as an aspect of public opinion. In the first case, film may be judged as reality; that is, it delivers to the viewer a wealth of detailed information in visual terms. It cannot easily reveal political or ideological motivation, but it can reveal the physical existence of persons and periods in a manner unmatched by any other source. The second approach, however, judges film to be less a recording of reality than a reflection of

opinion at a given moment. Film is dealt with as are other aspects of public information, such as newspapers and magazines.

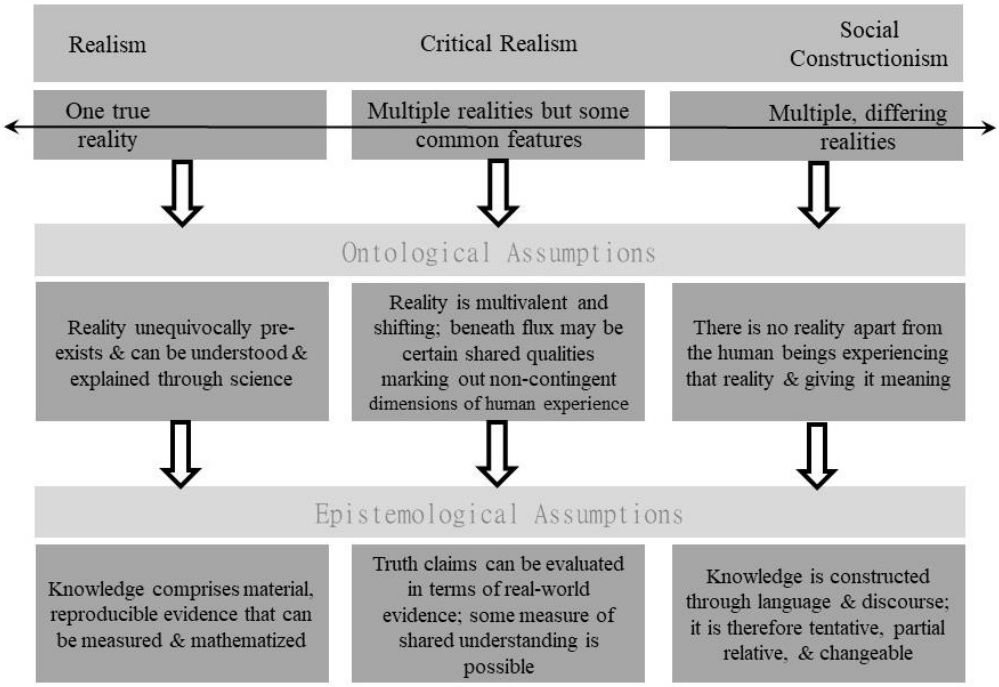

Figure 1. Key ontological and epistemological assumptions of three philosophical positions (Sullivan, 2010; Seamon & Gill, 2016)

Urban cinesemiotics demands a modified philosophical position that is best described as 'critical interpretivism.' In one hand, qualitative methodologies, indeed, are not employed by researchers to help them reach one accurate reality. An urban scholar, obviously, does not seek to establish one accurate 'reality' of the city through movies. Films do not create a new city, but a city image for spectators. On the other hand, although urban planners interpret film as the representation of real-world cities, Urban Theory, as we shall see, provides a basis for an urban planning-oriented interpretation that is more critical than a pure interpretivism. Since Urban Theory itself is a critical understanding (and expression) of the reality, it is positioned as the critical realist theory. Interpreting movies based on a critical realistic theory, then, asks for another in-between position that is called critical interpretivism. Figure 2 abstractly illustrates

‘critical interpretivism’ worldview on the spectrum of philosophical positions, from realism to interpretivism.

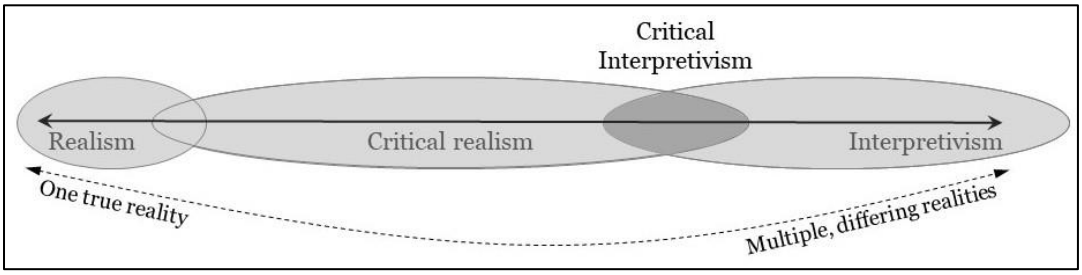

Figure 2. Philosophical position of Critical Interpretivism
(based on Seamon & Gill, 2016, p. 119)

Approach and the Type of Research

Although the conceptual framework of this study (i.e. the cinematic representation of the city), as well as my critical interpretivist position, to some extent show that this dissertation is a qualitative research, I briefly clarify why qualitative methods should be implemented in such interdisciplinary studies. Maxwell (2013) argues that in qualitative research, any component of the design may need to be reconsidered or modified during the study in response to new developments or to changes in some other component. However, I will explain preliminary basic ideas of the components of my research design in order to provide a philosophical/methodological context for further investigations during the research.

In a broad sense, qualitative research is concerned with elucidating human environments and human experiences within a variety of conceptual frameworks (Hay, 2010, p. 5). Creswell (2014) defines qualitative research as a mean for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. Obviously, in using film as a way of reading the city, researchers explore and understand meanings that filmmakers attribute to or receive from the urban environment. Exploring, understanding, and interpreting the cinematic experience of the city requires a targeted methodological framework that is best defined in a qualitative research.

Today, qualitative research is used to address a huge range of issues, events, and places and these studies utilize a variety of methods. Davies and Dwyer (2007) assert that oral techniques, textual analysis, and associated observationally based ethnographies embody a 'suite' of methods that remains the backbone of qualitative research in human geography. In this regards, important groups of textual methods utilize creative, documentary, and landscape sources. Creative texts are likely to include poems, fiction, films, art, and music. textual methods would most commonly be employed to throw light on the social processes that underpin, legitimate, and resist social structures (Hay, 2010, pp. 10-14). The process of qualitative research, therefore, involves emerging problems and questions, the collection of the texts, textual analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and making interpretations of the meaning of the texts.

Table 1. Quantitative, mixed, and qualitative methods

Quantitative Methods →	**Mixed Methods**	← **Qualitative Methods**
• Pre-determined instrument-based questions • Performance data, attitude data, observational data, and census data • Statistical analysis • Statistical interpretation	• Both pre-determined and emerging methods • Both open- and close-ended questions • Multiple forms of data drawing on all possibilities • Statistical and text analysis • Across databases interpretation	• Emerging methods • Open-ended questions • Interview data, observation data, document data, and audio-visual data • Text and image analysis • Themes, patterns interpretation

(Creswell, 2014, p. 15)

Table 1 clearly shows why this study is a qualitative research. This dissertation, however, needs a new methodological framework through the combination of various urban, cinematic, and cultural perspectives. Moreover, since I interpret images and audio-visual texts, my research is best described as a qualitative one. This does not mean that there is no quantitative or mixed method applicable in analyzing audio-visual texts. Content analysis and visualization tools are among quantitative and mixed methodological approaches to analyze audio-visual data.

nevertheless, according to my research goal, meaning of moving images is the central concern that lead me to interpret texts in a qualitative manner.

Moreover, Since I analyze the cinematic representation of the city throughout a long period of time, my study is categorized as a historical research focusing on filmic texts from the first half of the 20th century until recent years. The type of the research is then a cross-sectional textual interpretation.

Analytic Strategy

Since cinema shapes the lens of investigation in this dissertation, visual methodologies is an appropriate entry point to determine the basic framework of the research methodology. According to Rose (2006), interpretations of visual images broadly concur that there are three sites at which the meanings of an image are made: the site(s) of the *production* of an image, the site of the *image itself*, and the site(s) where it is seen by various *audiences*. These sites are complicated because there are different aspects to each of their processes. Rose calls these different aspects 'modalities', and suggests that there are three of these that can contribute to a critical understanding of images: technological, compositional, and social (Rose, 2006, pp. 16-17). To begin with, we need to identify which site(s) and modality would best fit the research problem. Figure 3 illustrates sites, modalities, and methods for interpreting visual materials in a unique way.

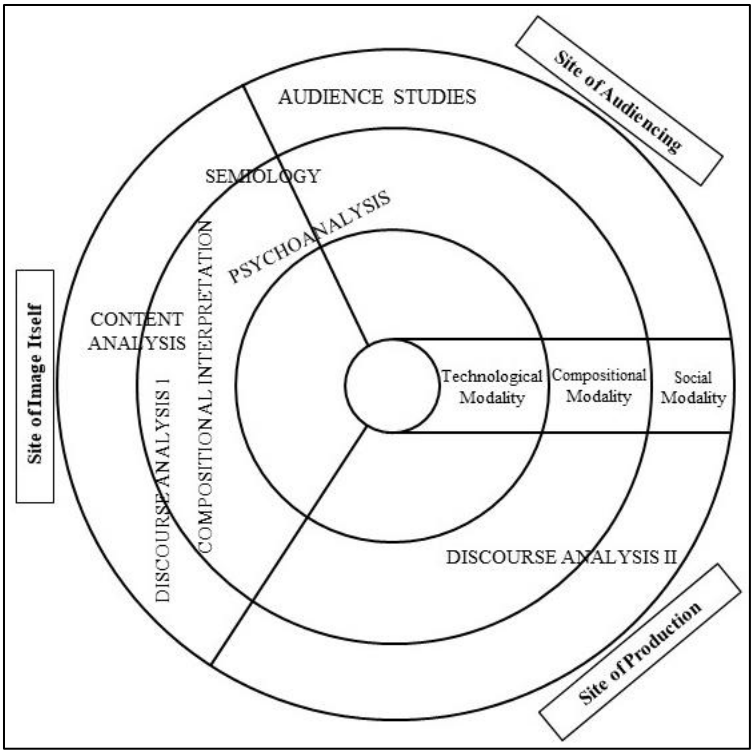

Figure 3. Sites, modalities, and methods for interpreting visual materials (Rose, 2006: 30)

In terms of Technological modality, Mirzoeff (2012) defines a visual technology as any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision, from oil paintings to television and the Internet. To define compositional modality, Rose (2006) explains that when an image is made, it draws on a number of formal strategies: content, color and spatial organization, for example. The compositional aspect of an image, therefore, is a combination of these formal strategies. Finally, Rose believes that social modality is very much a shorthand term. What she means it to refer to are the range of economic, social and political relations, institutions and practices that surround an image and through which it is seen and used. Table 2 shows how these sites and modalities intersect.

Table 2. The sites and modalities of visual materials

	Technological Modalities	Compositional Modalities	Social Modalities
Site of Production	The *technologies* used in the making of an image determine its form, meaning and effect. Clearly, visual technologies do matter to how an image looks and therefore to what it might do and what might be done to it.	It is the conditions of an image's production that govern its compositionality. This argument is perhaps most effectively made in relation to the genre of images into which a particular image fit.	It is the economic processes in which cultural production is embedded that shape visual imagery. Also, analyses of particular industries which produce visual images is important.
Site of Image	Some of the formal components of every image will be caused by the *technologies* used to make, reproduce or display the image (e.g. the black and white tonalities of the image).	The most important modality to an image's own effects which can produce persuasive accounts of an image's way of seeing.	The *social* context in which the artist has lived would influence the main attitude of her/his images (e.g. commodity, emotion, etc.)
Site of Audiencing	Those theories that privilege the *technological* site at which an image's meanings are made similarly often imply that the technology used to make and display an image will control an audience's reaction.	Several of the methods assume that the formal arrangement of the elements of a picture will dictate how an image is seen by its audiences.	The *social* is perhaps the most important modality for understanding the audiencing of images. There are two aspects of the social modality of audiencing: the social practices of spectating and the social identities of the spectators.

(Based on Rose, 2006, pp. 17-28)

Aitken and Craine (2005) argue that to avoid what calls 'analytical incoherence', you need to situate yourself within the debates of visual culture and embrace the 'modalities' that you think are most important for interpreting your chosen image. It is important to understand the theoretical position that you bring to your analysis. Since I investigate the cinematic representation of the city in this study, technological apparatus of different forms of representation (e.g. internet, photography, etc.) are not my concern. Even in the cinematic context, I do not aim to categorize various cinematic representations of the city based on any technological differences of movies. Although to begin a cinematic interdisciplinary study, urban planners need to be familiar with some level of technical/technological knowledge of film production, emphasis on technological analysis of movies is not really contribute to the knowledge of urban studies. However, it definitely helps film scholars to see how technological evolutions

and differences would change their way of filmmaking. This is not, therefore, the core concern and interest of this research to evaluate how technological differences of movies would probably affect our understanding of urban changes.

On the other hand, both compositional and social modalities of visual interpretation play important roles in our understanding of the cinematic representation of the city. Spatial organization, color, and other visible components of the image, which are almost equivalent to 'Mise-en-scène' in cinematic terminology, are basic formal configurations of the cinematic image that represent what we see on the screen. Moreover, in an urban-based interdisciplinary study, the researcher would interpret the text according to an urban-oriented understanding of sociocultural, physical, and economic relations of the space which have been theorized in shape of urban theories.

Then, we need to choose and develop a methodology that fits best with both compositional and social modalities of the image. According to Rose's diagram, there is no specific 'technological' research method in visual methodologies. All methodologies are in compositional and social modalities and, therefore, applicable to this research. In order to choose the most appropriate one, I need to review three sites of image to see what site(s) would best fit my philosophical position as well as the type of research.

All visual representations are made in one way or another, and the circumstances of their production may contribute towards the effect they have (Rose, 2006, p. 17). It may be the main goal of a particular study to understand the technologies, social circumstances, and compositional features used in the making of particular images. In a particular study on the cinematic representation of a city, one may be concerned with a specific genre (e.g. Western) in which compositional aspects of the image are formed in a predetermined manner. Another researcher may investigate how technological and/or social context of a specific era has directed the way in which filmmakers represent a futuristic image of cities. In this dissertation, however, what matters is the cinematic representation of one specific city throughout its contemporary history.

It does not aim to investigate how different factors of film production would change the way through which urban phenomena are represented in movies. The site of image itself, and the site of audiencing (the researcher as an audience and interpreter) are therefore two major domains to which the methodology should help. The intersection of these two sites and social-compositional modalities is shaded with gray color in Table 2. The sites of image and audiencing are indeed two main sites at which an image's meanings are made. According to Rose's diagram, there is only one visual methodology that makes the bridge between compositional and social modalities in one hand, and two sites of image itself and audiencing on the other hand: Semiology or *Semiotics*.

According to Ferdinand de Saussure (1915), Swiss linguist and one of two major founders of semiology/semiotics, semiology would show what constitutes signs, what laws govern them. Based on Umberto Eco's definition (1976), semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. Although both semiology and semiotics, as knowledge of signs, are usually used to refer to one specific research methodology, to avoid terminological incoherence, I prefer to use the term semiotics in this dissertation. In this chapters, I will clarify to what extent semiotics is different from semiology.

While we need not accept the postmodernist stance that there is no external reality beyond sign-systems, studying semiotics can assist us to become more aware of the mediating role of signs and of the roles played by ourselves and others in constructing social realities. Exploring semiotic perspectives, we may come to realize that information or meaning is not 'contained' in the world or in books, computers or audio-visual media (Chandler, 2007, p. 10). Indeed, according to Peirce, another major founder of semiotics, 'we think only in signs' (Peirce, 1931-58, p. 2.302).

There is a dynamic range of definitions and complex series of ideas according to which semiotics is still actively debated. This is why Rose claims that each semiological term carries substantial theoretical baggage with it, and there is a tendency for each semiological study to invent its own analytical terms. Although some commentators adopt Charles W. Morris's definition of semiotics (a reductive variant of Saussure's definition) as 'the science of signs'

(Morris, 1938, pp. 1–2), Chandler (2007) believes that the term 'science' is misleading. As yet, semiotics involves no widely agreed theoretical assumptions, models or empirical methodologies. Semiotics has tended to be largely theoretical, many of its theorists seeking to establish its scope and general principles. It is then a field of study involving many different theoretical stances and methodological tools. Although there are some self-styled 'semioticians', those involved in semiotics include linguists, philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, literary, aesthetic and media theorists, psychoanalysts, and educationalists. And now, this is time to see how urban planning benefits from semiotic perspectives. By studying signs not in isolation but as part of an urban-based 'sign-system', urban scholars understand how meanings are made.

Analytic Approach

Two primary traditions in contemporary semiotics are rooted in the ideas of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). They indeed developed the two dominant models of what constitutes a sign. According to Nöth (1990), Saussure's term 'semiology' is sometimes used to refer to the Saussurean tradition while the term 'semiotics' sometimes refers to the Peircean tradition. Nowadays, however, the term 'semiotics' is widely used as an umbrella term to embrace the whole field. As mentioned before, since 'semiotics' better represents the interpretive nature of this conceptual method, I prefer to use this term in the dissertation. Before a review of Saussure's and Peirce's ideas, there is a need first to frame the discussion in the context of the traditional debates on structuralism, language, and film semiotics.

Structuralism, Language, and Cinesemiotics

When we talk about the structure and structuralism in cinema, it is necessary to (re)define this concept according to the characteristics of the medium of film. One definition of structure occurs in Jan Mukařovský's response to Charlie Chaplin's last silent film, *City Lights* (1931) when

he defines structure as "a system of elements that are aesthetically actualized and grouped in a complex hierarchy which is united by the prevalence of one of the elements over the rest ..." (Mukařovský, 1966, p. 254). Galan, based on this definition, argues that "a structural analysis sets out to locate the decisive, organizing element, the so-called dominant, and the assembly of relationships between the dominant and all other elements of the structure" (Galan, 1983, p. 22). In Chaplin's movie, for example, the dominant consists of expressive gestures, that is gestures expressing the character's mental or emotional states. Both auditory elements and bodily movements expressive of the actor's relation to the stage space are subordinated.

While for Wollen, it is the verbal-narrative dimension that ultimately structures a film; and its visual-formal dimension confers on it stylistic and expressive qualities, Roland Abramson (1976) argues that a 'truly structuralist' approach to the cinema would reveal a core of thematic motifs by a close examination of the mise-en-scène, that is, by analyzing both the narrative and formal structures and their interrelationship. If the method he is proposing did not relate the structure of a film – both narrative (primarily verbal) and formal (primarily visual) structures – to a worldview or personal vision, then the method would be merely formalist. Apart from their different approaches to the structuralism in cinema, both Wollen and Abramson see structuralism as a procedure that studies every single element of the movie in order to understand its large, overarching structure, narratively or visually. Since urbanists do not usually tend to interpret every single moment throughout the movie, this procedural perspective does not fit what urban cinesemiotics is looking for. There is a need, then, to separate the semiotical and structural perspective to interdisciplinary film studies.

Roth (1983) believes that structuralism and semiotics have become so interrelated through their roots in linguistics and anthropology, that it is sometimes difficult to separate the two, especially in film studies. A distinction can be drawn between semiotics and structuralism via the former's emphasis on codes. Christian Metz (1971) precisely explains that one can follow a single code through several texts; one can grasp a single text in all its codes. The first approach

[semiotics] is the study of codes, the second [structuralism] is the study of texts. There are still controversial points of view among film scholars regarding how a structural or semiotical study would contribute to the cinema-oriented topics.

Putting aside the controversial issue of 'code' in the cinema at this moment, my 'urban cinesemiotic' analysis of movies, according to Metz's, Nichols' and Pasolini's definition, follows a more *semiotical approach* rather than a purely structuralist one. Like Metz, the primary basis of my semiotical interpretation is image. Eco (1976) explains that Metz, in contemplating a semiological investigation of film, recognizes a primal entity not otherwise analyzable, not reducible to discrete units which could compound it by articulation, and this primum is the image. What is meant is a notion of the image as something non-arbitrary, and deeply motivated – a sort of analogue of reality, which can't be bounded by the convention of a 'langue'. Image, primim in Eco's terminology, is the basis of the urban cinesemiotics. I agree with Nichols (1976) that images are always motivated signs, bearing a relationship of similarity to their referent (of which Bazin in 1967 made such) although, as some semiologists, especially Umberto Eco, have suggested, the reading of images must always be learned. Motivated signs are unlike verbal language, which has an instrumental base of a rational, arbitrary sort – the phonemes. Cinema has no alphabet of phonemes. Instead, it has a continuum of images which it frames and punctuates with gaps (cuts, dissolves, fades, etc.) that are constantly shifting, with units that are limitless and with syntagms. Using semiotic methodological framework instead of the structuralists one, however, does not mean that the structuralist history of semiotics should not be reviewed and considered. The relationship between structuralism and cinesemiotics had been a controversial debate throughout the second half of the 20th century during which theorists tried to answer whether cinema is a language or not.

As the main difference between cinema and verbal (as well as other) forms of signification, the medium of cinema is not the verbal, visual or auditory signs of literature, painting or music, but is physical reality that is perceived in the form of objects. These objects are not necessarily

represented by signs (as the accepted traditional understanding of the signs system in linguistics) but may be deployed as signs. And so Jakobson could assert as did Tynjanov (1927) before him that "it is precisely things, visual and auditory, transformed into signs, which are specific material of cinematic art" (Jakobson, 1933, p. 45). Close-ups, medium, full, long, low-angle, and high-angle shots, as well as the theme and narrative, are some common cinematic tools that help filmmakers to convert persons and objects into signs.

Cinema reversed the fundamental principles of artistic representation. Whereas in literature, as well as other arts, the elementary materials are signs that stand for or signify people and things, in film the elementary materials are people and things themselves, literally, the furniture of the world, whether still or in motion. Thus in a novel, for instance, the verbal signs constituting the narrative organize themselves so as to recreate the world of things, but in film the world is there, very recognizably, from the very beginning. And the task of the filmmaker, therefore, is not so much to duplicate or create the semblance of the world, which is achieved by and large automatically, as it is to impose a narrative order on the randomness of the photographed reality (Galan, 1983, p. 24). Even if we consider cinema as a language, therefore, we are talking about a different concept of language in which traditional forms of signification does not play a significant role. So, why have many cinesemioticians, including Metz, applied semiological concepts of linguistics to the semiotic analysis of cinema?

Stam argues that it is somewhat unfair, given the regularity with which the linguistic analogy has been touched on, to blame Metz for infecting film studies with the linguistic virus. Indeed, Metz, especially in his early work, inherits many of the conceptualizations developed by his predecessors. In the background of his initial discussion, in the early sixties, as Saussure concluded that the rightful object of linguistic investigation was to disengage the abstract signifying system of a language – i.e. its key units and their rules of combination as a given point in time – so Metz concluded that the object of cine-semiology was to disengage the signifying procedures, the combinatory rules, of the cinema, in order to see to what extent these rules

resembled the doubly-articulated diacritical systems of 'natural languages.' The question which orients Metz' early work, therefore, is whether the cinema is langue (language system) or langage (language), and Metz' well-known conclusion is that cinema is not a language system but that it is a language (Stam, 1989, p. 280). Film has become language not because of the rules by which it is joined together, i.e. the effects of montage, but because it tells stories, i.e. is a narrative. Film is experienced not transversally but longitudinally, as a transformation of events (Roth, 1983, p. 12). Put another way, it is not because the cinema is language that it can tell such fine stories, but rather it has become language because it has told such fine stories (Metz, 1974, p. 47). This is why I analyze narrative films as the texts in this research. Although in documentaries, various worldviews by different filmmakers make a difference between the real world and its documented representation, this is narrative/fictional movies in which storytelling transforms the medium of cinema into a language though which some semiological patterns function as the framework of cinesemiotic analysis.

Metz (1976a) distinguishes four important difference between language-system and cinematographic language-system. First, the cinema, as opposed to the language-system, is not a method of communication. The domain of signification is not confused with the domain of what is called communication, properly speaking, which is more limited. Second, the literal sense of a film is taken in charge though not entirely, as we shall see, by analogical codifications, whereas the literal sense of a phonic statement very largely rests upon arbitrary codification. Third, the cinema and the language-system [la langue] differ profoundly with regard to discrete units. It is not that the cinema has none. It does have these units; by way of example, there is codified type of sequence which is not those of the language-system. Finally, and above all, the discrete units within film do not give the appearance of being what they are. The film is not a strict copy of reality; it is a compound speech. The goal of a certain type of analysis is, then, to extricate the codifications that are hidden behind the innocence of the film. Metz posits two tendencies within the word 'language': (1) Systems are called languages if their formal structure resembles that of

natural languages, as in the expression 'the language of chess'; (2) Everything that signifies to human beings even without a formal system can be seen as reminiscent of language. Here, Robert Stam (1989) claims that Metz comes close to the Peircean definition of the sign as something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. In contrast to verbal language, as mentioned above, in film the signifier and the signified are almost identical: the sign of cinema is a short-circuit sign. A picture of a book is much closer to a book, conceptually than the word 'book' is. It is the fact of this short-circuit sign that makes the language of film so difficult to discuss (Monaco, 1977 p. 127). As Metz (1974) puts it, in a memorable phrase, a film is difficult to explain because is it easy to understand.

In other words, the power of language system is that there is a very great difference between the signifier and the signified; the power of film is that there is not. If we both read the word 'rose' you may perhaps think of a Peace rose, you picked last summer. In cinema, however, we both see the same rose, while the filmmaker can choose from an infinite variety of ways. The artist's choice in cinema is without limit; the artist's choice in literature is circumscribed, while the reverse is true for the observer. The reader of a page invents the image, the reader of a film does not, yet both readers must work to interpret the signs they perceive in order to complete the process of intellection (Monaco, 1977, p. 128).

Furthermore, considering cinema as a language (not a language system) is not an obstacle to the conceptualization of urban context in my cinesemiotic study. In this regards, Annette Hastings' (2014) articulation of the concept of language is notable. She explains that language does not simply refer to or reflect back an independent social world, but that it is somehow involved in producing it or sustaining its characteristics, such as unequal social [urban] relations, or the 'identities' available to young people. She argues that there are numerous different approaches to researching the use of language. In some, the purpose is to explain language use with reference to society (for example, sociolinguistics). In others, the aim is to understand society by exploring the role of language (Hastings, 2014, pp. 85,87). Semiotics, like discourse analysis,

are among methods that are being implemented by the second approach to researching the language. Metaphors of language, therefore, make the significant terminological/conceptual basis for applying cinesemiotics to an urban analysis.

In conclusion of this debate, I agree with Monaco (1977) that an education in the quasi-language of film opens up greater potential meaning for the observer, so it is useful to use the metaphor of language to describe the phenomenon of film. Also, Metz argues that certain terms defined and used mainly by linguistics, such as signifier/signified and syntagmatic/ paradigmatic, are applicable to the study of the cinematic language. Therefore, since film is like a language, some of the methods that we use to study language might profitably be applied to a study of film. Furthermore, since film is not a language, strictly linguistic concepts are misleading.

Saussure

Based on his linguistic background, Saussure defines a sign as being composed of a 'signifier' (*signifiant*) and a 'signified' (*signifié*). Figure 4 illustrates a simple representation of Saussure's model of the sign.

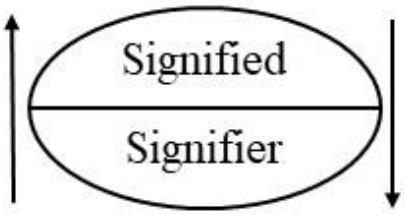

Figure 4. Saussure's model of the sign
(based on Saussure, 1967, p. 158)

Within the Saussurean model (1983), the sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier with the signified. A sign must have both a signifier and a signified. You cannot have a totally meaningless signifier or a completely formless signified. The term 'signification' in semiotics, illustrated in the Saussurean model by the arrows, is defined as the relationship between the signifier and the signified. For Saussure, both the signifier (the 'sound pattern' in linguistics) and the signified (the concept) were *non-material* form rather than substance -

although he disliked referring to it as 'abstract'. Nowadays, this model tends to be a more *materialistic* model than that of Saussure himself. The signifier is now commonly interpreted as the material (or physical) form of the sign; it is something which can be seen, heard, touched, smelled or tasted (see Jakobson, 1963). A cinematic image, then, represents a dual sense of nature. Although filmic representation can be seen and heard in cinema, at the same time it reminds non-materialistic nature of the Saussurean concept of the signifier. His inception of signs and their meaning has two significant features:

First, signs only make sense as part of a formal, generalized and abstract system. Saussure's conception of meaning was purely structural and relational rather than referential: primacy is given to relationships rather than to things. The meaning of signs was seen as lying in their systematic relation to each other rather than deriving from any inherent features of signifiers or any reference to material things (Chandler, 2007, p. 18). No sign makes sense on its own but only in relation to other signs (Saussure, 1983, p. 118). In other words, it is not so much the individual word or sentence that 'stands for' or 'reflects' the individual object or event in the real world, but rather that the entire system of signs, the entire field of the langue, lies parallel to reality itself; that it is the totality of systematic language (Jameson, 1973, p. 32). In this context, the sign is more than the sum of its parts. While signification – what is signified – clearly depends on the relationship between the two parts of the sign, the value of a sign is determined by the relationships between the sign and other signs within the system as a whole (Saussure, 1983, p. 113). In cinesemiotics, however, the relational conception of Saussurean model is an obstacle to using semiotics for interpreting image-signs. Although every sign makes sense in relation to other signs through either Mise-en-scène or editing, it does not mean that signs do not make sense on their own.

Another controversial assumption in Saussurean model of the sign is attributed to its '*arbitrariness*.' He believes that there is no necessary, intrinsic, direct or inevitable relationship between the signifier and the signified. Saussure stressed the arbitrariness of the sign– more

specifically the arbitrariness of the link between the signifier and the signified (Saussure, 1983, pp. 67, 78). Considering the linguistic root of Saussure's semiotics, with its emphasis on internal structures within a sign-system, can be seen as supporting the notion that language does not reflect reality but rather constructs it (Chandler, 2007, p. 25). We can use language to say what isn't in the world, as well as what is. And since we come to know the world through whatever language we have been born into the midst of, it is legitimate to argue that our language determines reality, rather than reality our language (Sturrock 1986, p. 79). In their book, *The Meaning of Meaning*, Charles Ogden and Ivor Richards (1923) criticized Saussure for neglecting entirely the things for which signs stand. Cinema belongs to the system of 'natural sign' (as opposed to the system of arbitrary sign) and it is both expressive and meaningful (Abramson, 1976, p. 559). conceptualized independent of Saussure's ideas and model, Peircean typology of signs is to some extent able to solve these two obstacles.

In terms of arbitrariness, however, it should be mentioned that Saussure himself believed in a distinction between degrees of arbitrariness. The fundamental principle of the arbitrary nature of the linguistic sign, he argues, does not prevent us from distinguishing in any language between what is intrinsically arbitrary – that is, unmotivated – and what is only relatively arbitrary. Not all signs are absolutely arbitrary. In some cases, there are factors which allow us to recognize different degrees of arbitrariness, although never to discard the notion entirely. The sign may be motivated to a certain extent (Saussure, 1983, p. 130). Nevertheless, the arbitrary nature of Saussurean signification is still an obstacle to using semiotics in other, non-linguistic topics. Maybe this is why Saussure did not, in fact, offer many examples of sign-systems other than spoken language and writing, mentioning only: the deaf-and-dumb alphabet; social customs; etiquette; religious and other symbolic rites; legal procedures; military signals and nautical flags. According to Iversen (1986), the theory of semiotics based on linguistics will fall far short of offering a complete account of visual signification. Within the medium of cinema, for example, many of technical, aesthetic, and narrative choices are attributable to sociocultural context in

which movie is located and filmed. Many film semioticians investigate the different level of signification of image not only based on the arbitrary representation of things but according to predetermined theories which back up their interpretation. In real life, too, many human choices are not entirely arbitrary. In the case of the colors of traffic signs, the original choice of red for 'stop sign' was not entirely arbitrary, since it already carried relevant associations with danger.

Peirce

In contrast to Saussure's dyadic model of the sign, Peirce conceptualized a triadic (three-part) model consisting of:

"A sign . . . [in the form of a representamen] is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the interpretant [sense] of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its object [referent]. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the ground of the representamen. 'idea' is here to be understood in a sort of Platonic sense, very familiar in everyday talk: I mean in that sense in which we say that one man catches another man's idea" (Peirce 1931–58, p. 2.228).

The representamen is similar in meaning to Saussure's signifier while the interpretant is roughly analogous to the signified. However, the interpretant has a quality unlike that of the signified: it is itself a sign in the mind of the interpreter. Peirce's emphasis on sense-making involves a rejection of the equation of 'content' and meaning; the meaning of a sign is not contained within it but arises in its interpretation. Moreover, the most obvious difference between the Saussurean and Peircean model is, of course, that (being triadic rather than dyadic) Peirce's model of the sign features a third term – an object (or referent) beyond the sign itself. Although Peirce's object is not confined to physical things and (like Saussure's signified) it can include abstract concepts and fictional entities, the Peircean model explicitly allocates a place for

materiality and for reality outside the sign system which Saussure's model did not directly feature (Chandler, 2007, pp. 31-33). For Peirce the object was not just 'another variety of 'interpretant' (Bruss, 1978, p. 96), but was crucial to the meaning of the sign: 'meaning' within his model includes both 'reference' and (conceptual) 'sense' (or more broadly, representation and interpretation) (Chandler, 2007, p. 33). Although Peirce did not himself offer an illustration of his model, many researchers have conventionally visualized the Peircean model (Figure 5). Lyons (1977), however, argues that there is considerable disagreement about the details of the triadic analysis even among those who accept that all three components.

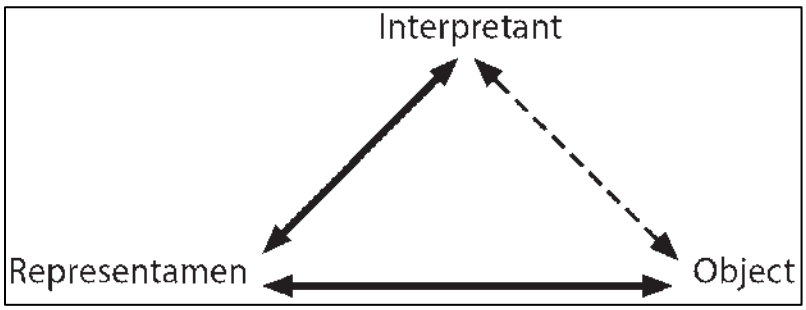

Figure 5. Peirce's Model of the Sign

While Saussure's model can only tell us how systems of 'arbitrary' signs operate, Peirce's richer typology of signs enables us to consider how different modes of signification work. Although this typology is often referred to as a classification of distinct 'types of signs', Hawkes (1977) argues, it is more usefully interpreted in terms of differing 'modes of relationship' between sign vehicles and what is signified. In Peircean terms, then, they are three relationships between a representamen and its object and/or interpretant:

1. Symbol/symbolic: This category of sign corresponds to Saussure's arbitrary sign. Like Saussure, Peirce speaks of a 'contract' by virtue of which the symbol is a sign. In a symbolic sign, the purely conventional signifier does not resemble the signified. The society/readers indeed have learned and agreed upon this relationship. In cinema, dialogues, title sequence, and closing credit, for instance, are defined under the umbrella of symbolic

signs. We interpret symbols according to 'a rule' or 'a habitual connection' (Peirce, 1931–58, p. 2.292).

2. Icon/iconic: An icon, according to Peirce, is a sign which represents its object mainly by its similarity to it; the relationship between signifier and signified is not arbitrary but is one of resemblances or likeness. The iconic sign represents a mode in which the signifier is perceived according to its similarity in possessing some of the signified's qualities. In cinema, the site of moving image itself is mostly an iconic sign.

Peirce declared that every picture (however conventional its method) is an icon. Icons have qualities which resemble those of the objects they represent, and they excite analogous sensations in the mind (Peirce, 2.279-299; cf. 3.362). We say that the portrait of a person we have not seen is *convincing*. So far as, on the ground merely of what I see in it, I am led to form an idea of the person it represents, it is an icon. But, in fact, it is not a pure icon, because I am greatly influenced by knowing that it is an *effect*, through the artist, caused by the original's appearance (ibid, 2.92).

3. Index/indexical: An index is a sign by virtue of an existential bond between itself and its object. Symptomatology is a branch of the study of the indexical sign. This connection is not necessarily observable. It can be inferred. Also, the intention is not necessary in an indexical sign.

An index 'indicates' something: for example, 'a sundial or clock indicates the time of day' (Peirce 1931–58, p. 2.285). According to Wollen (1998), Peirce refers to a 'genuine relation' between the 'sign' and the object which does not depend purely on 'the interpreting mind' (ibid, 2.92, 298). The object is 'necessarily existent' (ibid, 2.310). The index is connected to its object 'as a matter of fact' (ibid, 4.447). There is 'a real connection' (ibid, 5.75). Therefore, the resemblance is the basic element of iconicity, while direct connection represents indexicality.

Some semioticians reject this typology of signs. Eco (1976), for example, argues that from Peirce, through Morris, to the various positions of semiotics today, the iconic sign has cheerfully been spoken of as a sign possessing some properties of the object represented. Now a simple

phenomenological inspection of any representation, either a drawing or a photo, shows us that an image possesses none of the properties of the object represented; and the motivation of the iconic sign, which appeared to us as indisputable, opposed to the arbitrariness of the verbal sign, disappears. However, the iconic sign 'reproduces' the conditions of perception, but only 'some' of them: here we are then faced with the problem of a new transcription and selection. Eco insists that all signs, including images – i.e. not only verbal signs – are arbitrary and conventional and we, therefore, have to learn how to interpret them. However, he concedes that looking at a photograph of a zebra is closer in some respects to looking at an actual zebra than it is to hearing or reading the word 'zebra' (Nichols, 1976, p. 605).

Nevertheless, many film theorists find the Peircean typology of signs reasonable. As Peirce himself noted, however, there is no mutually exclusive type of sign. Culler (1975) gives an example that one signifier may be used iconically in one context and symbolically in another: a photograph of a woman may stand for some broad category such as 'women' or may more specifically represent only the particular woman who is depicted. Furthermore, most semioticians emphasize the role that convention plays in relation to all types of sign. Even photographs and films are built on conventions which we must learn to 'read'. Apart from the social dimensions of semiotics, many technical properties of cinema and its genres have been accepted by both the filmmakers and the audience based on emerging conventions. A review of Hopkins's example (1994) makes this discussion much clearer:

Let us imagine one frame in a documentary film depicting a wide-angle shot of a city's skyline. Is the film image an icon, an index, or a symbol? The film city is signified by all three semiotics processes. The projected image is an iconic sign because it convincingly represents or resembles what viewer visually experience, or might expect to experience, as a city in the everyday material world. The image is also an index because it has a causal connection to the material world. The skyline on the street has been created by light reflecting off a "real" city and hitting raw film stock to produce a representation on the film of the city. The city image may also be read as

a symbol of any one of a number of socially constructed conventions: adventure, mystery, progress, temptation, and so forth.

Overall, according to Wollen (1998), Peirce's typology is the foundation for any advance in semiotics. Again, it is important to note that Peirce did not consider them to be mutually exclusive. On the contrary, all three aspects frequently overlap and are co-present. It is this awareness of overlapping which enabled Peirce to make some particularly relevant remarks about photography. Christian Metz makes the transition from photography to cinema. A close-up of a revolver does not signify 'revolver' (a purely potential lexical unit) – but signifies as a minimum, leaving aside its connotation, 'Here is a revolver'. It carries with it is own actualization, a kind of 'Here is'. A sign can be an icon, a symbol and an index, or any combination; and regardless of the typologies of signs, interpretation here still is one important component of Peircean semiotics. In the cinematic text, according to Metz (1976), we find various systems, or various stable-configurations. Some of them have a largely socio-cultural scope: they appear in films, but also in other productions of the same civilization in the same period. They, therefore, belong to the film as a global text but not to the cinema as a means of specific expression. This is why in urban cinesemiotics, urban theories and ideas provide a basis for the critical interpretation.

Chandler (2007) explains how Saussure's and Peirce's models of the sign are attributable to their philosophical position based upon which researchers distinguish different approaches to the semiotic analysis. According to Chandler, Saussure's model of the sign involves no direct reference to reality outside the sign. As a radical response to realists, his approach is that things do not exist independently of the sign-systems that we use; reality is created by the media which seem simply to represent it. Theorists who veer towards the extreme position of philosophical *idealism* (for whom reality is purely subjective and is constructed in our use of signs) may see no problem with the Saussurean model, which has itself been described as the idealist.

Peirce's model, in contrast, explicitly features the *referent* – something beyond the sign to which the sign vehicle refers (though not necessarily a material thing). However, it also features

the *interpretant* which leads to an "infinite series" of signs, so it has been provocatively suggested that Peirce's model could also be taken to suggest the relative independence of signs from any referents (Silverman, 1983, p. 15). In other words, those drawn towards epistemological *realism* (for whom a single objective reality exists indisputably and independently outside us) would challenge it. According to this stance, reality may be distorted by the processes of mediation involved in apprehending it, but such processes play no part in constructing the world. Even philosophical realists would accept that much of our knowledge of the world is indirect; we experience many things primarily (or even solely) as they are represented to us within our media and communication technologies (Chandler, 2007, pp. 64, 81). My critical interpretivist position in this research requires an intermediate dynamic model through which both the cinematic representation of *real* urban spaces, as object, and the *interpretive* meaning of this representation are integrated. This worldview calls for a critical model of signs that would be conceptualized in the Peircean semiotics, not Saussurean semiology.

In terms of semioticians' philosophical position, in one hand, Monaco's focus is on the objective aspects of the sign: "the media which are typically judged to be the most realistic are photographic – especially film and television. In film, the signifier and the signified are almost identical ... The power of language systems is that there is a very great difference between the signifier and the signified; the power of film is that there is not" (Monaco, 1981, pp. 127–8). This is an important part of what Christian Metz was referring to when he described the cinematic signifier as 'the imaginary signifier' (Metz, 1977). On the other hand, postmodernist (e.g., Derrida) theories grant no access to any reality outside signification (Chandler, 2007, p. 80). Many postmodernist semioticians believe in a complete disconnection of the signifier and the signified. A 'floating signifier', in their worldview, may stand for many or even *any* signifieds; they may mean whatever their interpreters want them to mean.

From an intermediate position, the object in Peircean model demonstrates the realistic/ objective aspect of the sign, while the Interpretant represents its constructionist/subjective

dimension. Cinematic sign is only one of an infinite possible representation of the real world, not reproduction of reality. (Chandler, 2007, p. 70). What makes 'representation' and 'reproduction' different is conceptualized as the *Interpretant* in Peirce's semiotics.

Viewed from a semiotic perspective, according to Hopkins (1994), culture is a perpetual process of producing meanings of and from the continual succession of social practices and shared experiences. Because culture is both mediator and medium of social interactions, cultural creations such as film may be interpreted semiotically, that is, as a systematically related collection of signs or texts (Fiske, 1989; Gottdiener, 1982; Sebeok, 1986). Therefore, I agree with Margaret Iversen (1986) that Peirce's system offers a much richer potential for the purpose of formulating a semiotics of visual art. This is because Saussure believed that linguistics should serve as the master pattern for the study of semiology in general, a view which has the consequence of treating all signs as though they are fundamentally arbitrary and conventional like linguistic signs. It is clear that visual signs are not arbitrary, but *motivated*. And the dynamic interpretative nature of Peirce's semiotics is what provides the conceptual context necessary for interpreting this motivated medium.

Dynamic Interpretativeness of Urban Cinesemiotics

As already stated, Peirce's process of semiosis (semiotics) involves a triadic relationship between a representamen, an object, and an interpretant. Instead of representamen, hereafter, this dissertation borrows Pier Paolo Pasolini's 'imsegno' literally image-sign, "to account for the complex function of the cinematic sign." Like Peirce's sign, Bruno argues, "Pasolini's image-sign demands to be decoded [and interpreted] in its interactive bond to the social referent" (Bruno, 1991, p. 33). Technically, an image-sign is equivalent to what Metz (1964) calls 'syntagma.' In urban cinesemiotics, a syntagma can be a frame/shot, a sequence, a scene, or any group of shots that conveys meaning. According to Peirce's dynamicity of signification, an image-sign represents different levels of an object and its interpretant to a diverse range of audience.

Peirce speaks of two levels of change to the notion of object: immediate and dynamic. Immediate object is 'what we, at any time, suppose the object to be.' Compared to a dynamic object, an immediate object 'may involve some erroneous interpretation and thus be to that extent falsely representative of the object as it really is' and, also, 'it may fail to include something that is true of the real object.' Immediate object is "what we, at any time, suppose the object to be" (Ransdell, 1977, p. 169). The immediate object, though, is the "object as it really is." In urban cinesemiotics, image-signs may represent a range of immediate and dynamic objects. An image-sign might represent an unknown, narrow alley at the New York City's edge, or refer to a well-known landmark; Brooklyn bridge, for instance. Both objects, as well as the urban experience that happens in them, however, are valuable for interpretation. Nevertheless, the level of object's immediacy or dynamicity depends on the spectator's contextual knowledge. To someone who has always lived in an Asian small town and has no idea about American cities, both image-signs represent similar immediate objects: American urban spaces represented in a movie. To an international student who has lived in New York City for four years, the image-sign of the alley still stands for an immediate object but the Brooklyn bridge represents a well-known dynamic one. Accordingly, to a New Yorker who has always lived in that alley at the city's edge, both image-signs stand for dynamic objects.

This dynamicity of object is what Kevin Lynch referred to in his influential urban theory on The Image of the City: "People with least knowledge of Boston tended to think of the city in terms of topography, large regions, generalized characteristics, and broad directional relationships. A tendency also appeared for the people who knew the city best of all to rely more upon small landmarks and less upon either regions or piths" (Lynch, 1960, p. 49).

A viewer's contextual knowledge, then, helps him "arrive at a full understanding of an object and so assimilate that object into the system of signs" (Atkin, 2016, p. 152). The perceptive and familiar observer could absorb new sensuous impacts without disruption of his basic image, and each new impact would touch upon many previous elements (Lynch, 1960, p. 10). without a

‘full’ contextual knowledge of a signified object, however, an urban planner’s interpretation is still worthwhile. Cinema is undoubtedly a global media which affects people’s interpretation of places regardless of their contextual knowledge. The contextual reading becomes more important when an interpreter comes to interpret movies made in a time and place different than his temporal and spatial context. “This reading requires reflection on at least the outline of larger-scale events occurring both inside and outside of cities” (Ryan, 2011, p. 316). Interpreting the form and sociocultural characteristics of German cities represented in ‘the rubble films’ (the immediate postwar period in Germany), for instance, requires a minimum general awareness of what happened during the war in these cities. Contextual knowledge is important to the extent that filmmakers sometimes create a general awareness for the viewer at targeted moments of the film. At the beginning of Germany Year Zero (Rossellini, 1948), for example, the narrator states:

“This movie, shot in Berlin in the summer of 1947 aims only to be an objective and true portrait of this large, almost totally destroyed city where 3.5 million people live a terrible, desperate life, almost without realizing it. They live as if tragedy were natural, not because of strength or faith, but because they are tired. This is not an accusation or even a defense of the German people. It is an objective assessment.”

While Peirce elaborates on two levels of the notion of object, he articulates three levels of interpretant: immediate, dynamic, and final interpretant. According to his collected papers (1931–58), the immediate interpretant is the schema in imagination, i.e. the vague image of what there is in common to the different images of that object. Peirce argues that the immediate interpretant is all that is explicit in the sign apart from its ‘context’ and circumstances of utterance. Atkin (2016) concludes from Peirce’s discussion that immediate interpretant is attributed to the syntax of the sign. It is the total unanalyzed impression which the sign might be expected to produce, prior to any ‘critical’ reflection upon it. In cinema, then, formal characteristics of an image-sign, i.e. its mise-en-scène and editing would provide an immediate interpretation of the sign regardless of any contextual or theoretical grasp.

Dynamic interpretant, according to Peirce (1931–58), is the effect which the sign, as a sign, really determines [on the mind]. Then, he describes the final interpretation as the effect that would be produced on the mind by the sign after sufficient development of thought. Considering Peirce's modified, infinites chain of signs (in which an interpretant is itself a sign for further interpretation), more theoretical knowledge, then, helps an interpreter to get close and closer to the final interpretant. This dynamicity of interpretant in Peirce's language is equivalent to Kevin Lynch's urban theory on *The Image of the City* (1960) where he emphasized that So various are the individual meanings of a city. The dynamicity of interpretant is the place where urban theory' is best assimilated into urban cinesemiotics. "Urban theory and discourses provide a basis for an interpretive strategy in viewing the films" (Leigh & Kenny, 1996, p. 52). Urban theory and thoughts are almost equivalent to what Burke (1984) calls 'orientation' as a "general view of reality" or a "system of interpretation." An orientation provides a "way of seeing" for a given group of people, be it a particular 'academic field' or a world.

In the particular academic field of urban studies, there are various theories that can establish semiotical orientation toward a dynamic-to-final interpretation of a sign according to the interpreter's intent and inquiry. Jane Jacobs' (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, for instance, provides a theoretical setting for a 'close-to-final' interpretation of sidewalks, neighborhood parks, etc. in large cities. Emily Talen's (2008) *Design for Diversity* contributes urban planners to interpret the relationship between diversity and urban form represented in an image-sign. Kevin Lynch's (1960) *The Image of the City* is still probably the best theoretical reference for a close-to-final interpretation of the image-sign of a path, node, edge, landmark, and/or district. In his urban theory, Lynch himself tried to provide respondents with the theoretical knowledge necessary to capture the mental image of the city: "Since image development is a two-way process between observer and observed, it is possible to strengthen the image either by symbolic devices, by the retraining of the perceiver, or by reshaping one's

surroundings. You can provide the viewer with a symbolic diagram of how the world fits together: a map or a set of written instructions" (Lynch, 1960, p. 11).

Furthermore, the first stage of a [semiotic] analysis is "to identify the basic building blocks of an image: its signs" (Rose, 2006, p. 75). Urban cinesemiotics, as mentioned, is not necessarily a structuralist endeavor; but a semiotic analysis. It means that an urban planner does not usually need to grasp a single movie in all its signs. Structural analysis derived mostly from Saussurean semiology so that Metz concludes that "the object of cine-semiology is to disengage the signifying procedures, the combinatory rules, of the cinema" (Stam, 1989, p. 280). Instead, urban semiotics is the study of urban signs in cinema and, therefore, requires a basis to identify those targeted signs. Cinematic texts stand at the conjuncture of multivalent image-signs produced by the larger sociocultural, economic, spatial, and technological systems within which they are set. Even an image-sign may signify too many verbal, audio, and visual signs that are not necessarily related to the interpreter's query. An urban planner's inquiries of film "is not one on film criticism [and analyst], but, rather it is one on urbanism" (Leigh & Kenny, 1996, p. 51). To overcome the open-ended nature of image-signs in cinema, urban theory, too, provides 'clues' for urban planners to distinguish signs of their concern.

Urban theory, indeed, provides a basis for an urban cinesemiotician to grasp the concept of 'code' which is central to both structuralism and semiotics. Metz (1976) explains that the study of text must place the emphasis (by a kind of displacement of the principle of relevance) on the work that presides over the combination of these codes in the text, and which, in short, makes the text. Thus the analysis of texts and the analysis of codes are two different undertakings, despite the various ties that unite them. Since the study of [urban] codes is central to urban cinesemiotics, like Metz who is principally concerned with how film communicates (or signifies) as a language made up of systems of code, we are concerned with systems of 'urban' codes represented in a number of movies, not a single text with all its (probably, non-urban) properties.

It was linguistic structuralist, Roman Jakobson (1960), who emphasized that the production and interpretation of texts depend upon the existence of codes or conventions for communication. As Stuart Hall puts it, 'there is no intelligible discourse without the operation of a code' (Hall, 1973, p. 131). We learn not the world but the codes into which it has been structured (Chandler, 2007, p. 154). In cinema, codes, objects, and the social context are interwoven. Rohdie (1976) explains that film is a medium which makes images by means of natural objects, in which code (composed for real objects) and codified (the objects themselves), however distinguishable, are not clearly distinct, and yet whose concrete images by their powers of reference constitute concepts.

There are, of course, controversial ideas about the function (or even existence) of codes in cinema. Keyan G. Tomaselli (1989) writes that codes are not 'natural, neutral or even necessary.' For Tomaselli, Peirce's semiotics is a theory of meaning that considers the sign independently of codes (transcendent structures). Similar to Tomaselli, Deleuze uses Peirce to move beyond the limitations of coded signs and transcendent structures: 'Not a great deal can be done with codes' (Deleuze, 1985, p. 28). Moreover, based on the work of Christian Metz, Peter Wollen believes that cinema is indeed a language, but a language without a code (without a langue to use Saussure's term). It is a language because it has texts; there is a meaningful discourse. But, unlike verbal language, it cannot be referred back to a pre-existent code (Wollen, 1969, p. 120). Abramson (1976) claims that while, in theory, Wollen recognizes that cinema is a natural sign system, in practice he treats films as if it is based on a rational foundation. The problem is this: Wollen recognizes that film is a language without a code – it is graded but not coded, to use Wollen's terms. However, if the 'natural code' which is the basis of cinematic expression is ignored and not analyzed, then Wollen ultimately had to fall into the trap, albeit unwittingly, that Pasolini had clearly foreseen. The cinema, for Wollen, had to become a monstrosity, a series of insignificant signs.

Nevertheless, Semioticians argue that, although exposure over time leads 'visual language' to seem natural, we need to learn how to 'read' even visual and audio-visual texts. All representations are systems of signs: they signify rather than represent, and they do so with primary reference to codes rather than to reality. John Tagg argues that the camera is never neutral. The representations it produces are highly coded (Tagg 1988, pp. 63–4). So, what are the cinematic codes?

According to Tolton (1998), the dominant subject of discussion for film semioticians is the notion of the filmic code. If a text is an ensemble of signifying elements, then codes are functioning simultaneously to create the signified meaning (interpretant in Peircean term). Distinctions are made between syntactical codes, such as codes of punctuation (the straight cut, the dissolve, the fade-out) and semantic codes (conveying content), but many codes are versatile enough to perform both functions. Urban codes, equivalent to semantic codes in Tolton's terminology, are central to urban cinesemiotics.

Compared to Tolton's syntactical codes, Chandler (2007) explains that cinematic and televisual codes include: genre; camerawork (shot size, focus, lens movement, camera movement, angle, lens choice, composition); editing (cuts and fades, cutting rate and rhythm); manipulation of time (compression, flashbacks, flashforwards, slow motion); lighting; color; sound (soundtrack, music); graphics; and narrative style. Reading codes, of course, does not mean that we need to distinguish and analyze every single code. Chandler himself explains that the cinematic editing code, for instance, has become so familiar to us that we no longer consciously notice its conventions until they are broken. Or when we encounter a shot in which someone is looking offscreen we usually interpret the next shot as what he or she is looking at. In urban cinesemiotics, therefore, we mostly emphasize on semantic (urban) codes, not such detailed/accepted ones unless there is a need to interpret the meaning of urban image(s) based on a specific syntactical code.

Monaco (1977: 130) explains that Films do manage to communicate meaning. They do this essentially in two different manners: denotatively and connotatively. Like written language, but to a greater degree, a film image or sound has a denotative meaning: it is what it is and we don't have to strive to recognize it. Considering the strongly denotative quality of film sounds and images, it is surprising to discover that connotative abilities are very much a part of the film language. Because film is a product of culture, it has a resonance that goes beyond what the semiologist calls its diegesis (the sum of its denotation). In addition to the influences from the general culture, film has its own specific connotative ability. We know that a filmmaker has made specific choices: the rose is filmed from a certain angle, the camera moves or does not move, the color is bright or dull, the rose is fresh or fading, the thorns apparent or hidden, the background clear or vague, the shot held for a long time or briefly, and so on. Semantic and syntactical codes in Tolton's terminology indeed represent what Monaco calls culture and film's connotative ability respectively. However, the line between denotation and connotation is not clearly defined: there is a continuum.

Messaris (1994) argues that context is even more important than code; it is likely that where the viewer is in doubt about the meaning of a specific cut, interpretation may be aided by applying knowledge either from other textual codes or from relevant social codes. Also, Jakobson noted that 'there are two references which serve to interpret the sign – one to the code, and the other to the context' (Jakobson 1956, p. 75), and insisted that 'it is not enough to know the code in order to grasp the message ... you need to know the context' (Jakobson 1953, p. 233). Also, according to a collective text by the Editors of Cahiers Du Cinema (1970), films are readable insofar as we can distinguish the historicity of their inscription: the relation of these films to the codes (social, cultural, etc.) for which they are a site of intersection, and to other films, themselves held in an intertextual space. Urban cinesemiotics meets both requirements of readability. In one hand, its semiotic approach, in contrast to the structuralism, tends to interpret the meaning through following targeted (urban) code(s) in a number of texts which consequently leads to

intertextuality. On the other hand, 'urban theory' makes a theoretical basis for urban cinesemioticians to interpret the city through cinema.

An important limitation to urban semiotics is that the built environment situated in a sociosemiotic system is overburdened with meaning, or multicoded. There are a variety of sources for these different codes, such as variability of interpretation due to class differences, political or economic conflict over territory, the articulation of several cultural systems such as fashion, food, and shelter in the same place, or, finally, the multiplicity of interpretations any individual can potentially give for the same object (Gottdiener, 1982, p. 144). Cinematic texts, too, stand at the conjuncture of multivalent codes produced by the larger sociocultural, economic, spatial, and technological systems within which they are set. Clearly, this reveals the necessarily open-ended aspect of this cinesemiotical analysis because there are certainly numerous codes represented in movies. Using urban theory, we stop at a number of urban codes which appear to be most helpful for the understanding of urbanism in order to avoid an endless interpretation of movies. These codes are similar to what Gottdiener (1982) calls *meaning systems of signification*, and focus our perspective more on the *city*.

Urban cinesemiotics, then, takes advantages of urban theory and thoughts in three distinguished ways. First, urban theory provides characteristics and attributes that have long occupied scholars of urban studies by which the interpreter can recognize and identify the eligible image-signs (codes) from the countless number of image-signs in movies. However, there are always significant image-signs in a movie that are not necessarily backed by the theories. In such cases, the interpretive nature of urban cinesemiotics dominates the critical realism of theories. Second, urban theory enables the interpreter to go beyond the immediate and dynamic interpretation of the image-signs and reach the final interpretant that provides the discipline with a critical lens through which to examine and experience cities. Third, urban cinesemiotics provides a context for urban planners to critique long-accepted urban theories and revise them through the perspective of films. By theory I mean simply a set of concepts and ideas represent

classic and contemporary approaches to urban form as well as social, cultural, and economic experiences of everyday life that place, and define, cities. Cinema, indeed, as the most iconic representation of cities is still an almost untouched field for urban planners within which they can reread cities and reconsider urban theories.

Case Study and Selected Texts

The city of Chicago is the case study of this urban cinesemiotics interpretation. Along with Los Angles and New York City, Chicago is one of the main locations of cinema industry in the United States. Since the number of movies that are based and filmed in Chicago is lower than Los Angles and New York City, the process of sampling is much more targeted and selective. The 1980s and 2010s are time slots in which the comparative analysis will be conducted. A review of Chicago in the 1980s provides a brief contextual knowledge necessary for understanding objects in selected movies. This also shows what characteristics of this period of time makes the 1980s a reasonable choice for doing the comparative study.

Chicago in the 1980s

The world was very different in 1980. The Cold War was very much alive and Apartheid was still the law of the land in South Africa. The words Chernobyl, AIDS, and Facebook meant nothing to most of the world. Jimmy Carter was the President of the United States. In Chicago, Jane Byrne was the first female mayor. Icons that had not yet made their way to Chicago included The State of Illinois Building (aka the Thompson Center), Oprah Winfrey, and the Smurfit/Stone Building. This was the time when the Rust Belt crisis took hold.

Rust Belt refers to an economic region of the United States, parts of the Northeastern and Midwestern US, concentrated in the formerly dominant industrial states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. By the 1980s, the Rust Belt became what the Dust Bowl had been to an earlier generation—a symbolic name for a devastating economic change. Rust Belt

evoke decaying factories, segregated cities and swing states with harsh winters. Places where jobs have dried up, population has dwindled and deep legacies of industrial pollution may be left to fester by an Environmental Protection Agency uninterested in the protection of anything. Although, as illustrated in Figure below, the Rust Belt began in western New York and traversed mostly west through Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, ending in northern Illinois (Office of Technology Assessment Reports Collection, 1980: 116), it negatively affected Chicago's economy, as well as the city's spatial organization.

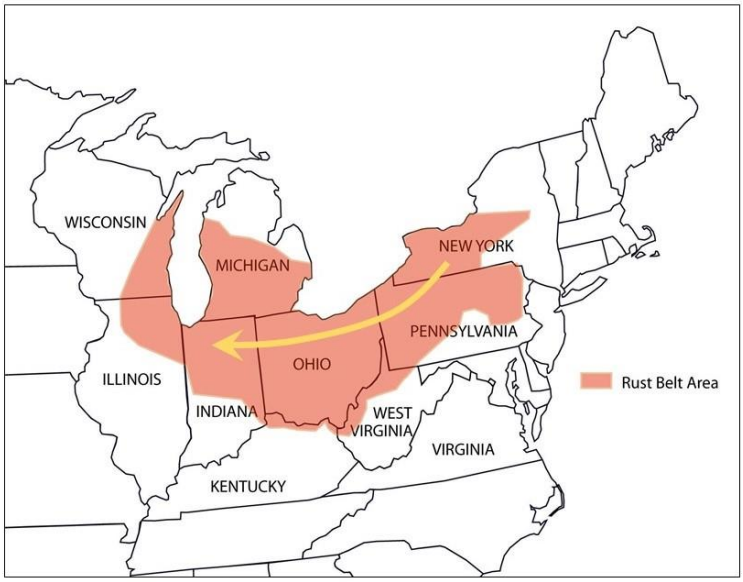

Figure 6. The US Rust Belt Region (Trowbridge, 2012)

Rust Belt cities have seen dramatic declines in their population over the course of the last half-century (Economist, 2011). Chicago's population, however, began to decrease several years ago. According to Helliker (2011), the city's population reached its peak in 1950 at 3.62 million Since that time, the city has experienced a steady decline in population. Actually, it was a couple of years before the Rust Belt challenge, after World War II, when federal policies had the effect of subsidizing outmigration of an affluent, white, middle-class population from central cities to the suburbs. The advent of the interstate highway program created access to inexpensive land on the urban periphery. Concurrently, federal housing policy and federal dollars favored new

construction (Accordino & Johnson, 2000, p. 302). Austen (2013) explains that like many other urban centers, Chicago experienced a dramatic post-war depopulation trend due to suburban growth and white flight. Between 1950 and 1990, the city's population declined by 837,000 people. Gallun and Maidenberg (2013) write about Englewood, a neighborhood on the south side of Chicago, as an example that lost two-thirds of its residents since 1950. But everything got worse when the Rust Belt challenge took hold Chicago.

A dramatic loss of employment opportunities in the Rust Belt further exacerbated population decline. The process of deindustrialization began to affect Chicago in the 1980s. Before that time, Chicago stood as the archetype of the American industrial city (Koval et al., 2006, p. 100) Soon, however, the city transformed to the Rust Belt's epicenter of deindustrialization. Chicago suffered the painful economic and population decline that came along with that transformation. Many of the city's major employers ceased operations at their manufacturing plants. This resulted in city unemployment figures that soared above the national average (Doussard et al., 2009, p. 184). Employers were abandoning the inner city and moving on to greener areas in the suburban periphery. This shift ultimately resulted in a massive erosion of the city's economic base.

Nevertheless, once era of deindustrialization began Chicago's economic base managed to break away from its reliance on the manufacturing sector. It should be noted that Chicago was not completely depended on factories and industrial sector, and then, it was the main reason why Chicago survived. Consequently, Chicago's economy experienced a revitalization. The region evolved from one dependent upon factories and machines, i.e. a manufacturing-based economy, to one focused on serving the global financial markets, tourism, transportation hubs, media, leisure, and management consulting services. According to the Economist's (2006) report, by 2006, many lauded Chicago's downtown renaissance as a success story. The city's revival served as a master example for other shrinking cities in the Rust Belt region on how to adapt and re-create after the painful era of deindustrialization.

In spite of that, the Rust Belt challenge had bad impacts on the planning issues in Chicago. In terms of properties, when the property owner does not reside on the premises, or title to the property is clouded or ownership unclear, there is less opportunity or incentive to maintain the structure and premises to the same standard or quality as if the owner occupied the property. Cold weather climate like Chicago's also exacerbates the problem. Foreclosures have also economic consequences for the broader community beyond the scope of the individual household impacted by that. The creeping blight associated with vacant, abandoned and distressed properties has obvious costs for both those residents who remain in the communities and for the municipalities charged with responding to vacant buildings. Blighted and distressed properties have a demonstrable, negative impact on surrounding property values (Whitaker & Fitzpatrick, 2012, p. 3).

Vacant and abandoned buildings create significant social costs to communities. While foreclosure inevitably results in upheaval in the lives of the families or individuals who lose their homes, the resulting long-term vacancies create secondary externalities that can affect the stability of a neighborhood and the quality of life in a community. Accordino and Johnson (2000) explain how social disorder, lack of social engagement, adverse impacts on neighborhood vitality, commercial district vitality, crime prevention efforts, and decline of overall quality of life, are important social consequences of the Rust Belt disaster.

In terms of public health and safety, uninhabited buildings that are open to unauthorized entry are vulnerable to intentional arson. Squatters may invade the building and set indoor fires to keep warm which threatens the building. These buildings frequently contain hazards such as buckling floors, blocked or damaged stairs, broken glass, pits and holes, combustible materials, or maze-like configurations that increase the rate of firefighter injuries (Int'l Assoc. Arson Investigators INC. & U.S. Fire Admin, 2006). Signaling to criminals that there are fewer 'eyes on the street' to monitor behavior, providing havens for squatters and criminals, are the main

reasons why Olivo et al. (2011) believe that the buildings themselves become targets for crime: Vandals scavenge for materials and engage in “house stripping” or “urban mining.”

Overall, in the 1980s many Chicago neighborhoods were in decline while few were on the upswing. During the decade of the 1980s, Chicago lost tens of thousands of jobs, mostly related to the steel and automobile industries. It was just a bad time for American cities, and probably the nadir for this one. The decline of Chicago as a ‘Rust Belt’ city corresponded with the decline of manufacturing centers, high levels of vacancy in neighborhoods surrounding urban core, concentration of urban poor in high rise public housing, removal of high-rise public housing in Chicago CBD. Moreover, Chicago lost its place as the nation's second-largest city to Los Angeles.

My brief review of the history of Chicago, however, shows that the 1980s was one of the worst times in the history of Chicago but I'd hardly call it dark days, especially compared to what happened to other great cities at the same time. Chicago has always been a wonderful and beautiful city depending on what part of Chicago one lived in. Neighborhoods were for the most part highly segregated though. The Downtown Skyline was (and still is) a beautiful sight of incredibly designed buildings, bridges, and structures. As mentioned before, Chicago was not completely depending on the faculties and industrial sectors and, then, could save itself and began to rebound sooner than other great cities in the Rust Belt region. The trend to return to urban working/living areas resulted in boom in construction of high-rise, luxury residential in Chicago’s CBD. This Corresponded with corporate relocations that moved back from suburban campuses to urban center. Replacing industry-oriented economy to knowledge oriented economy was the main reason why Chicago could quickly spend the bad days.

In terms of city and cinema, it is worth mentioning that during the reign of Mayor Richard J. Daley who died in 1976, very few studio movies were shot in Chicago as supposedly the mayor was afraid Hollywood would portray his city negatively. That all changed under the Jane Byrne administration (1979-1983) which promoted filmmaking in the city with a vengeance. The Blues

Brothers (1980), for instance, was an iconic movie set and made in Chicago during those days. Dan Aykroyd who wrote the screenplay (along with the director John Landis), and who played Elwood Blues, stated many years later that the movie was made to be a tribute to Chicago. Perhaps no major studio movie before or since has shown more of this city, from its rough and tumble rust belt industrial landscape, to its tony suburbs, and everything in between.

Cinematic Texts

The main tools or sources of evidence in this research are narrative movies. Mukařovský's observation (1933) shows that the more a film relies on a temporal and casual joining of motifs, the more straightforward the story, the easier it is to exploit the semantic potential of space-signification. I agree with Bruner (1990) that narratives are similar to schemas for familiar events in everyday life. Turning experience into narratives seems to be a fundamental feature of the human drive to make meaning. We are 'storytellers' with 'a readiness or predisposition to organize experience into a narrative form' which is encouraged in our socialization as we learn to adopt our culture's ways of telling. This is what exactly Aitken and Zonn (1994) believe in as the ability of a film to produce and sustain meaning which is not derived from the film's degree of "realism" but on the successful construction of a set of narrative conventions: The fixed space is problematic in that it does not create place. Cinematic space must be dynamic in the interests of the unity of the action and the place, and the spectator's view. That unity is conceived from the narrative conventions of literature that cinema has exploited and extended.

Compared to documentaries, Jakobson (1973) explains that fictional films, as creative efforts, may lack the authenticity of newsreel and documentary footage, but they provide a glimpse of the cultural or intellectual atmosphere of a period and cannot be disregarded by the [urban] historians. Frank Capra's whimsical comedies, for instance, offer the researchers a valuable measure of Depression-era culture. Krutnik (1997) speaks of a deep, narrative quality of film-noir that makes it enable to represent the strange side of the city: it is precisely through the

triggering of sensations that film noir speaks most eloquently. A mode of signification that privileges connotation over the denotative, cause-and-effect logic of linear narrative, the highly-wrought noir aesthetic ensures that the 'meaning' of the noir city is not to be found in the narrative's surface details but, in its shadows, in the intangibilities of tone and mood.

All Chicago-based narrative movies made in the 1980s and 2010s are considered as "texts" out of which I selected some of the most urban ones. Using a very limited number of publications about film locations as well as Internet-based data, a purposive sampling method is implemented by which a number of movies are selected in order to provide a high level of satisfaction with sampling factors in terms of time period, genre and storyline, urbanistic approach, and theoretical richness.

According to The City of Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs and Special Events1, there are respectively 64 and more than 100 movies that have been filmed in Chicago in the 1980s and 2010s. Removing documentaries and short films from the list, there is still too much material to be viewed by a single person in a reasonable time period. A number of movies then must be selected as the research sample. The movies selections are based on three techniques of 'purposive sampling', a type of non-probability sampling which selects subjects according to the research design and theory. Those three techniques are Criterion sampling, Opportunistic sampling, and Convenience sampling.

In terms of criterion sampling, I select a number of films in order to meet two criteria of time and genre. This means that sample movies should not represent only a specific time period (e.g., one year), and/or one or two genres. Although film critics are generally agreed that the gangster film and its generic affiliates such as the *film noir* and the *film policier* occupy a special place in the representation of the city (Clarke, 1997, p. 28), I selected movies as diverse as possible, and from different genres, including comedy, drama, fantasy, action, horror, and science fictions,

[1] https://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/dca/supp_info/chicago_film_office6.html

etc. to avoid a limited perspective. Of course, some recognized genres, in which the city plays a more central role, have more representatives.

Using opportunistic sampling, I flexibly include Chicagoan movies that are mentioned as urban-oriented films in the existed cinematic books, film reviews, film websites, and other publications. *World Film Locations: Chicago* (edited by Scott Jordan Harris, 2013), for instance, introduces 39 movies filmed in Chicago since 1897 to 2003. Although this series of books does not tend to methodologically analyze various dimensions of the cinematic representation of cities, it provides a targeted quasi-encyclopedia of film locations in New York, Chicago, Tokyo, London, Madrid, Los Angles, Glasgow, Beijing, Florence, etc. These kinds of published materials provide an opportunity for urban cinesemioticians to directly jump into the prepared list of movies that represent the city, architecture, and other related topics.

Finally, convenience sampling frames the final list of the sample movies by removing those that are not in-hand due to the time limit, research costs, non-accessible archives, and other limitations. Tables 3 and 4 show the title, genre, and the year in which each movie was made/released.

Table 3. The 1980s movies

Title	**Genre**	**Year**
The Blues Brothers	Action, Comedy	1980
Thief	Action, Crime	1981
Risky Business	Comedy, Crime	1983
Code of Silence	Action, Crime	1985
About Last Night ...	Romance, Comedy	1986
Ferris Bueller's Day Off	Comedy	1986
Running Scared	Action, Comedy	1986
Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer	Biography, Crime	1986
Adventures in Babysitting	Adventure, Comedy	1987

Table 4. The 2010s movies

Title	Genre	Year
The Dilemma	Comedy, Drama	2011
Roundabout American	Comedy, Romance	2012
Chi-Raq	Comedy, Crime	2015
Imperfections	Comedy, Crime, Mystery	2016
Office Christmas Party	Comedy	2016
Bad Santa 2	Comedy	2016
Death wish	Action, Crime	2018
Rampage	Action, Adventure, Sci-Fi	2018
Canal Street	Drama, Thriller	2019

Finally, Table 5 illustrates a linear representation of my research design.

Table 5. Research design

Philosophical Position	Research Approach	Type of Research	Methodology	Method (technique)	Case Study	Tools
Critical Interpretivism	Qualitative	Cross-Sectional Textual Analysis	Semiotics	Urban Cinesemiotics	Chicago in the 1980s & 2010s	Narrative Movies

Chapter 4 - Research Findings

Urban Theory

Two sets of urban theory provide the basis for the cinesemiotics analysis/interpretation in this research: General and Chicago-based theories. There are two influential books in which the most significant general ideas and variables about urban form and experience in American great cities have been theorized. Supported by studies of Los Angeles, Boston, and Jersey City, Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960) describes what the city's form actually mean to the people who live there. Although Chicago's urban image is not addressed as a case study in the book, the wide scope and criteria of Lynch's study provides a unique and vital perspective for the evaluation of city form and its meaning. Moreover, even though it is written based on Jane Jacobs' (1961) observation of New York City, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* is definitely one of the most intellectual texts about the characteristics of urban planning in the 20th century that provides a meaningful platform for an urban cinesemiotics interpretation. Also, a preliminary review of selected movies reveals that 'crime' is the major motif in most of the movies that are based in Chicago in the 1980s and 2010s. The theoretical roots of 'Crime Prevention through Environmental Design' (CPTED) constitute a targeted theoretical ground for the interpretation.

On the other hand, *City Beautiful Movement* and *Chicago School of Urban Sociology* with were two dominant thought streams that directed urban theories and ideas of Chicago's architects, sociologists, and urban scholars in the late 18th to early 19th century. Although sample movies in this dissertation are made in the 1980s and the 2010s, reviewing these two dominant movements are necessary due to their influence on Chicago's urban form for decades. Since these two sets of urban theory only provide a theoretical basics necessary for the dynamic interpretation of image-signs in movies, there will be a need to assimilate other, newer urban theories to the research once the basic theories are not sufficient for an urban-oriented interpretation. Derek Paulesen's *Crime and Planning: Building Socially Sustainable Communities* (2013), for instance,

is one of the recent books that explores crime prevention theories and crime patterns in relation to planning issues. This book provides us with a theoretical knowledge necessary for addressing the relationship between crime and city planning in suburban areas which is a complement to Jacobs' ideas about safety in great cities.

Table 6. Selected urban theories and thoughts

General Urban Theories	Chicago-based Urban Theories/Thoughts
The Image of the City	City Beautiful Movement
The Death and Life of Great American Cities	Chicago School's Urban Sociology
Crime Prevention through Environmental Design	

The Image of the City

"*The image of the city*" was written by American urban planner Kevin Andrew Lynch (1918 – 1984). His main contribution was to provide empirical research on city planning, studying how individuals perceive and navigate the urban landscape. Each individual holds a unique image of his or her city, a visual representation that guides through daily life and maps out meaning. On this concern, Lynch states that, unlike Architecture, Urbanism is in constant change: today, fifty years later, this issue could be regarded and discussed with further attention. Lynch's urban theory concentrates especially on one particular visual quality: the apparent clarity or "Legibility" of the cityscape. A legible city, according to Lynch (1960), would be one whose districts or landmarks or pathways are easily identifiable and are easily grouped into an over-all pattern.

Lynch argues that people in urban situations orient themselves by means of mental maps. Environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer—with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes—selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees. This what 'urban cinesemiotics' tends to do through the cinematic representations of the city of Chicago. We, as urban planners, first select the image-signs that signify something

about urbanism in the movie. Urban theory here, as explained in the previous chapter, provides us with a basis for selecting image-signs. Then, we organize and interpret the meaning of signs according to our contextual and theoretical knowledge.

The process through which Kevin Lynch explains analytical components of the urban environment is to some extent similar to Peirce's triadic model of semiotics. Lynch argues that an environmental image may be analyzed into three components: identity, structure, and meaning. A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. This is called identity, not in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness. Second, the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. Finally, this object must have some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional (Lynch, 1960, p. 8). Both the object and meaning (interpretant), according to Peircean semiotics, are two dimensions of a sign. Although structure is precisely articulated by Lynch, since urban cinesemiotics is a semiotical study not a structural endeavor, this dissertation concentrates on the object and meaning as the two significant components of an urban image-sign. Lynch's urban theory, however, concentrated on the identity and structure of city images.

In this dissertation, Lynch's urban theory, as well as other thinkers' thoughts, play the role that diagrams and maps did in Lynch's own study: "Since image development is a two-way process between observer and observed, it is possible to strengthen the image either by symbolic devices, by the retraining of the perceiver, or by reshaping one's surroundings. You can provide the viewer with a symbolic diagram of how the world fits together: a map or a set of written instructions" (Lynch, 1960, p. 11). According to Lynch, you may train the observer.

Lynch's aim was to understand the relation between environmental images and urban life, at the basis of urban design principles; he therefore brings up an analysis of three different towns, putting into practice a research method whose successfulness is assessed and tested through the results of the analysis itself. Residents of Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles were extensively

interviewed about the images they carried of their own cities. The emphasis in Lynch's theory is on the physical environment as the independent variable. According to Lynch, the contents of the city images can conveniently be classified into five types of elements (Lynch, 1960, p. 47-8):

1. *Paths*. Paths are the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. They may be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads. For many people, these are the predominant elements in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related.
2. *Edges*. Edges are the linear elements not used or considered as paths by the observer. They are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity: shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls. They are lateral references rather than coordinate axes. Such edges may be barriers, more or less penetrable, which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together. These edge elements, although probably not as dominant as paths, are for many people important organizing features, particularly in the role of holding together generalized areas, as in the outline of a city by water or wall.
3. *Districts*. Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters "inside of," and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character. Always identifiable from the inside, they are also used for exterior reference if visible from the outside. Most people structure their city to some extent in this way, with individual differences as to whether paths or districts are the dominant elements. It seems to depend not only upon the individual but also upon the given city.
4. Nodes, Nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is traveling. They may be primarily

junctions, places of a break in transportation, a crossing or convergence of paths, moments of shift from one structure to another. Or the nodes may be simply concentrations, which gain their importance from being the condensation of some use or physical character, as a street-corner hangout or an enclosed square.

5. *Landmarks*. Landmarks are another type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them, they are external. They are usually a rather simply defined physical object: building, sign, store, or mountain. Their use involves the singling out of one element from a host of possibilities. Some landmarks are distant ones, typically seen from many angles and distances, over the tops of smaller elements, and used as radial references. They may be within the city or at such a distance that for all practical purposes they symbolize a constant direction. Such are isolated towers, golden domes, great hills. Even a mobile point, like the sun, whose motion is sufficiently slow and regular, may be employed. Other landmarks are primarily local, being visible only in restricted localities and from certain approaches. These are the innumerable signs, store fronts, trees, doorknobs, and other urban detail, which fill in the image of most observers. They are frequently used clues of identity and even of structure, and seem to be increasingly.

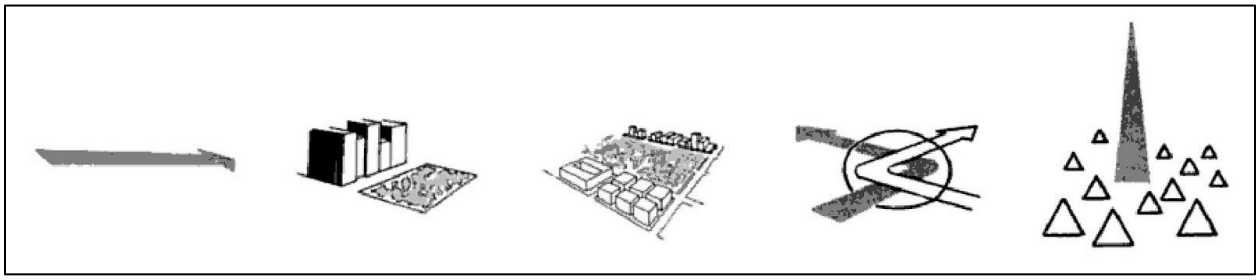

Figure 7. Five elements of Kevin Lynch's Theory

There are ten important design qualities that apply to each element:

1) **Singularity**: Sharp contrasts can be used to draw attention.
2) **Simplicity**: Forms should be easily conceivable geometric shapes.
3) **Continuity**: Individual elements must be understandable as a whole.

4) **Dominance**: Some elements stand out from the others.

5) **Clarity of Joint**: Emphasize strategic intersections and boundaries.

6) **Directional differentiation**: Asymmetry can help the observer detect direction.

7) **Visual Scope**: Points at which the larger picture can be taken in.

8) **Motion Awareness**: Make the traveler visually aware of one's speed.

9) **Time Series**: Designing "melodies" in a series that is experienced over time.

10) **Names and meanings**: Non-physical attributes that enhance design features.

The Death and Life of Great American Cities

As a critique of 1950s urban planning policy, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* represents Jane Jacobs' urban theory through which she writes about *how cities work in the real life* in order to find the clues of the underlying order of great cities. Although in trying to explain that, she uses a preponderance of examples from New York, most of the basic ideas in this book come from things she first noticed or was told in other cities. For example, she explains that "my first clues to the unmaking of slums came from Chicago" (Jacobs, *Introduction*). *Hyde Park–Kenwood*, *Lake Meadows*, *Grant Park*, and *Back of the Yards*, are examples of urban spaces and neighborhoods in Chicago that are gotten attention in Jacobs' urban theory. She stresses that the way to get at what goes on in the seemingly mysterious and perverse behavior of cities is "to look closely, and with as little *previous expectation* as is possible, at the most *ordinary* scenes and events, and attempt to see what they *mean* and whether any threads of principle emerge among them." And this is exactly similar to my point of view in interpreting urban change in Chicago through the cinema. In the case of Chicago, 1) I look closely at the cinematic representation of the city; 2) I have no previous experience, and therefore, expectation of what Chicago means as a city; 3) Ordinary cinematic scenes and events provide the major basis for me to find the clues; and finally, 4) *Meaning* of the city is the central concept I am looking for in movies.

In her journey to explore how cities work in the real life, Jacobs begins with the peculiar nature of cities, including three uses of sidewalks (safety, contact, and assimilation children), the uses of neighborhood parks, and the uses of city neighborhoods.

Sidewalks

She frames the sidewalk as a central mechanism in maintaining the order of the city. Its safety is Jacobs' first concern. "To keep the city safe is a fundamental task of a city's streets and its sidewalks" (ibid, 30) and this is why she believes that if a city's street is safe from barbarism and fear, the city is thereby tolerably safe from barbarism and fear. Jacobs posits cities as fundamentally different from towns and suburbs principally because they are full of strangers. As a summary of her arguments in this context, Jacobs (1961: 29-88) writes:

It is not illuminating to tag *minority groups*, or *the poor*, or *the outcast* with responsibility for city danger. Also, public peace of cities is not kept primarily by the *police* or *thinning out* a city. A city street equipped to handle strangers must have three main qualities:

First, there must be a clear demarcation between *public* space and *private* space;

Second, there must be *eyes* upon the street;

And third, the sidewalk must have *users* on it fairly continuously.

The basic requisite for such surveillance is a substantial *quantity of stores* and other public places sprinkled along the sidewalks of a district; enterprises and public places that are used by *evening* and *night* must be among them especially. A lively street always has both its users and *pure watchers*.

Moreover, the *lights* induce people to contribute their own eyes to the upkeep of the street. Horrifying public crimes, however, can, and do, occur in well-lighted subway stations when no *effective eyes* are present. Without effective eyes to see, a light does not cast light. Jacobs also talks about the *elevator*, or what she calls traveling streets and interior streets, that although

completely accessible to public use, are closed to public view and they thus lack the checks and inhibitions exerted by eye-policed city streets.

Furthermore, Jacobs gives examples of *redevelopment projects* of cities by which the middle and upper-income housing occupying many acres of city where she calls "islands within the city' and "cities within the city". The technique in these projects is to designate the *Turf* and *fence* the other gangs out. In the rebuilt city, Jacobs argues, it takes a heap of fences to make a balanced neighborhood. They try to buffer the Turf against its next-door neighbors with a *wide parking lot*, a *spindly hedge* and a cyclone fence. Lake Meadows middle-income project of Chicago is an example of what Jacobs calls a rebuilt American City solution.

She finally concludes that under the seeming disorder of the old city, wherever the old city is working successfully, is a marvelous order for maintaining the safety of the streets and the freedom of the city. It is a complex order. Its essence is intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it a constant succession of eyes.

Contact is one of the central terms Jacobs uses to describe various characteristics of sidewalks. She asserts that the *trust* of a city street is formed over time from many, *many little public sidewalks contacts*. Jacobs gives a number of examples of such little contacts that remind us familiar cinematic signs: stopping by at the bar for a beer, getting advice from the grocer and giving advice to the newsstand man, comparing opinions with other customers at the bakery and nodding hello to the two boys drinking pop on the stoop, eying the girls while waiting to be called for dinner, admonishing the children, hearing about a job from the hardware man and borrowing a dollar from the druggist, admiring the new babies and sympathizing over the way a coat faded.

Most of it is ostensibly utterly trivial but the sum is not trivial at all, Jacobs argues. *Privacy* is precious in cities. A good city street neighborhood achieves a marvel of balance between its people's determination to have essential privacy and their simultaneous wishes for differing *degrees of contact*, enjoyment or help from the people around. When an area of a city lacks a sidewalk life, the people of the place must enlarge their private lives if they are to have anything

approaching equivalent contact with their neighbors. They must settle for some forms of '*togetherness*," in which more is shared with one another than in the life of the sidewalks, or else they must settle for lack of contact. The more common outcome in cities, where people are faced with the choice of *sharing* much or nothing, is *nothing*. To protect themselves, they make *few*, if any, *friends*. *Suspicion* and *fear* of trouble often outweigh any need for neighborly advice and help. Jacobs gives an example of such a considerable togetherness, along with nothingness, that can be helpful in analyzing urban contacts in the context of movies:

Often two women from two different buildings will meet in the laundry room, recognize each other; although they may never have spoken a single word to each other back on 99th Street suddenly here they become "best friends." If one of these two already has a friend or two in her own building, the other is likely to be drawn into that circle and begins to make her friendships, *not with women on her floor*, but rather on her friend's floor These friendships do not go into an ever-widening circle.

As the solution, Jacobs argues that the social structure of sidewalk life hangs partly on what she calls *self-appointed public characters*. Most of these public sidewalk characters are steadily stationed in public places. They are storekeepers or barkeepers or the like. Lowly, unpurposeful and random as they may appear, sidewalk contacts are the small change from which a city's wealth of public life may grow.

In terms of the relationship between sidewalks and assimilating children, Jacobs claims that street gangs do their street fighting predominately in *parks* and *playgrounds*, except those that are located in neighborhoods where streets are lively and safe and where a strong tone of civilized public sidewalk life prevails. Sidewalks are then great places for children to play under the general supervision of parents and other natural proprietors of the street. An important question in central to Jacobs' discussion here: why do children so frequently find that roaming the lively city sidewalks is more interesting than *back yards* or playgrounds? She herself answers: because *the sidewalks are more interesting*. Jacobs talks about a form of *unspecialized play* that

the sidewalks serve – and that lively city sidewalks can serve splendidly. Playground and parks could be devoted instead to more ice-skating rinks, swimming pools, boat ponds and other various and *specific outdoor* uses. Actually, it must be a well-administered playground to compete successfully with the city streets, teeming with life and adventure.

Working places and commerce must be mingled right in with residence if men are to be around city children in daily life. Also, the play gets crowded out if sidewalks are *too narrow* relative to the total demands put on them. If the sidewalks are skimped, rope jumping is the first play casualty. Roller skating, tricycle and bicycle riding are the next casualties. Sidewalks thirty or thirty-five feet wide can accommodate virtually any demand of incidental play put upon them – along with *trees* to shade the activities, and sufficient space for *pedestrian circulation* and adult public sidewalk life and loitering.

Neighborhood Parks

According to Jacobs (1961: 89-111), parks are volatile places, they tend to run to extremes of *popularity* and *unpopularity*. She insists the fact that parks need people, not vice versa. In certain specifics of its behavior, every city park is a case unto itself and defies generalizations. Moreover, large parks, such as Grant Park in Chicago, differ much within themselves from *part to part*, and they also receive differing influences from the different parts of their cities which they touch.

Jacobs claims that one of the bitterest disappointments in *housing project* history is the failure of the *parks* and open grounds in these establishments to increase adjacent values or to stabilize, let alone improve, their neighborhoods. She asks us to notice the *rim* of any city park, civic plaza or project parkland to see how rare is the city open space with a rim that consistently reflects the supposed magnetism or stabilizing influences residing in parks. She argues that it need not have been office work that depopulated central large parks, *any single, overwhelmingly dominant use* imposing a limited schedule of users would have had a similar effect.

A generalized neighborhood park that is stuck with functional monotony of surroundings in any form is inexorably a *vacuum* for a significant part of the day. And here a *vicious circle* takes over. A generalized neighborhood park that is not headquarters for the leisured indigent can become populated naturally and casually only by being situated very close indeed to where *active and different currents of life* and function come to a focus.

Parks intensely used in generalized public-yard fashion tend to have four elements in their design which Jacobs calls *intricacy*, *centering*, *sun*, and *enclosure*. Also, parks primarily to please the eye, uncombined with other uses, are by definition where eyes will see them; and again by definition, they are best *small* because to do their job well they must do it *beautifully* and *intensively*, not perfunctorily. She believes that the worst problem parks must heavily concentrate on *demand goods* in order to bring enough customers. In terms of demand goods, Jacobs explains that if a generalized city park cannot be supported by uses arising from natural, nearby intensive diversity, it must convert from a generalized park to a *specialized park*. *Swimming*, *fishing*, *bait buying* and *boating*, *sport fields*, *carnivals*, *music*, *ice skating*, and *kite-flying* are among activities she refers to. In the cities at the latitudes of Chicago, Jacobs argues, *artificial rinks* extend the skating season to include almost half the year.

City Neighborhoods

Reviewing the characteristics of three kinds of neighborhoods (the city as a whole, street neighborhoods, and districts), Jacobs (1961, 112-140) recommends four pillars of effective city neighborhood planning:

First, to foster *lively and interesting streets*;

Second, to make the fabric of these streets as continuous a network as possible throughout a district of potential *subcity size* and power;

Third, to use *parks* and *squares* and *public buildings* as part of this street fabric;

Fourth, to emphasize the *functional identity* of areas large enough to work as districts.

How big, in absolute term, must an effective district be? Jacobs answers, in absolute terms, this means different sizes in different cities, depending partly on the size of the city as a whole. In New York or Chicago, a district as small as 30,000 amounts to nothing. Chicago's most effective district, the Back-of-the-Yards, embraces about 100,000 people[2].

Some observers of city life, noting that strong city neighborhoods are so frequently *ethnic communities* – especially communities of Italians, Poles, Jews or Irish – have speculated that a cohesive ethnic base is required for a city neighborhood that works as a social unit. "I think this is absurd", Jacobs said.

Other concepts

Diversity, mixed primary uses, small blocks, aged buildings, concentration, ruinous uses, and border vacuums are other important concepts and places by which Jacobs (1961, 143-269) theorizes her observations and understanding of urban experience.

To generate diversity, Jacobs recommends combination or mixture of uses which help to understand cities. Small manufactures need cities and, also, help diversity in cities. Variety and plenty of city commerce encourages other kinds of diversity. Her suggestion, generally, can be described in four categories:

- More than one primary function (in different hours of the day);
- Short blocks: mixing of paths;
- Various buildings in age and condition: especially, ordinary low-value *old buildings* that provide space for local activities such as neighborhood bars, foreign restaurants, bookstores, antique dealers, studios, galleries, and stores for musical instruments;
- Dense concentration on people: enough people in enough buildings, avoiding empty lands.

[2] In 1960s

Also, Jacobs states that the *sameness* of use causes the disorder of conveying no direction. Using different *colors* and *textures* does NOT necessarily provide genuine architectural variety. Different *heights at first-floor levels* and differing arrangements for *entrance* and sidewalk access encourage diversity. Moreover, most *landmarks* and *focal points* increase contrast.

She also defines *junkyards*, *used-car lots*, and *abandoned* or badly *underused buildings* as unsuccessful and uncultivated spots. *Parking lots*, large or heavy *trucking depots*, *gas stations*, and *gigantic outdoor advertising* are examples of harmful urban spaces and elements for diversified districts. Moreover, a chain of banks, insurance companies, and prestige office along a street causes what Jacobs calls self-destruction of diversity. Finally, since they are a dead end, large-scale activities such as university campus, civic centers, hospitals, waterfronts, large parks, and housing project produce *border vacuums*. Greater use of their perimeter, as well as high population concentration near borders, are two significant solutions Jacobs suggests to solve the absence of vitality around these border vacuums.

Figure 7 clearly shows categories of urban codes derived from Jane Jacobs' Urban theory.

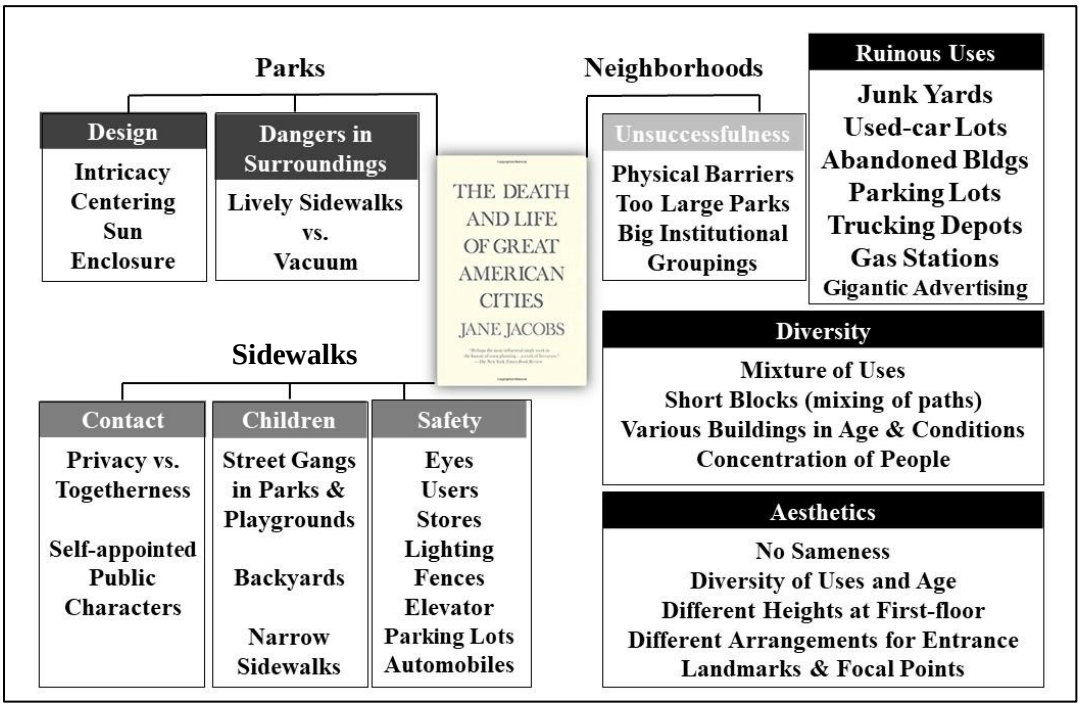

Figure 8. Key concepts of Jane Jacobs' urban theory

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED)

Crime has historically been associated with cities. From the sociological perspective, according to Crutchfield and Kubrin (2002), the primary theories used to study urban crime are social disorganization, subculture, and conflict theories. Now, it is widely believed that the problematics of danger in cities cannot only be traced to social factors, economic challenges, generational conflict and the presence of immigrants. It can also depend on the various aspects of urban planning and design, lack of urban identity and city maintenance. In a more general sense, it is now generally accepted that there is a strong relationship between the design of urban space and all forms of public behavior, crime and violence among them (Dovey, 1998). However, there is rather less agreement about the nature of this association.

The contemporary known ground on which urban planning and crime meet is found in the work of urban ecologists of the Chicago School of Sociology. successive outer ring. Since that time until now, crime prevention is no longer seen exclusively in terms of socio-economic policies of crime but is considered also as an interdisciplinary topic that makes the bridge between the spheres of crime and urban policy. Today, many urban plans and policies from the comprehensive plan to zoning, infrastructure design and housing are investigated with special attention to the rate of crime and even feeling of danger. Significant researches by authors like Jacobs (1961), Jeffery (1971), Newman (1972) and Brantingham and Brantingham (1975, 1981) spread and fashionized the idea that urban design and criminality are interrelated.

Jane Jacobs' (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* is an important text for a variety of reasons, one aspect pertaining to the ways through which Jacobs frames the problem of safety in association to the streets, sidewalks, and neighborhoods of a large city. This is why many criminological thoughts are rooted in Jacobs' urban experiences. Her ideas have significantly influenced CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) thinking and planning policy and practice since the 1960s. Borrowing ideas from Jacobs, the city planner Oscar Newman developed the concept of *defensible space* and focused on specific housing projects and

neighborhoods that promoted crime. Newman's defensible space idea became popular in the 1970s as urban crime problems continued to rise. Following its implementation as well as criticisms in the 1970s and 1980s, defensible space ideas have been developed and refined and are now generally known as CPTED. As asserted by Crowe (2000) and the Council of the European Union (2011):

> CPTED is a proactive crime prevention philosophy based on the theory that proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in crime and the fear of crime, as well as an improvement in the quality of life for the community, and it aims to reduce or even remove the opportunity for crime to occur in an environment and promote positive interaction with the space by legitimate users.

The goals of CPTED are to increase public safety and to promote a sense of physical security through the physical design and planning of the built environment (Jeffery, 1971). CPTED principles attempt to not only decrease the crime rate but also to reduce the opportunities for crime by making crime more difficult. Newman's ideas got attention from both scholars and policymakers and held their interest through the 1980s and 1990s. Appleyard et al. (1981) and the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (lAUS) (1986), for instance, included investigations of crime-related issues in their detailed studies of how streets ought to be designed (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993). Although the preliminary idea of CPTED has received a lot of criticism from scholars and practitioners of sociology, criminology, and even urban design itself, its constant revision and development have made it the core concept of mainstream studies on urban crime until today.

On the other hand, the multi-dimensional nature of crime in cities is the main reason that researchers from different disciplines have implemented a wide variety of tools and methods to address crime-environment transactions. From quantitative approaches (Hino & Amemiya, 2019) and tools, such as econometric models (Faria, et al., 2013) and regression (Sohn, 2016), to mixed

methodologies, spatial aspects of CPTED have been analyzed and interpreted. Although some of the discrepancies of the results of many studies may be due to the varying methodological approaches used to test the theory (Donnelly, 2010), Brantingham and Brantingham (1993) believe that traditional quantitative techniques are unlikely to work, and building a working backcloth may well require imagination and methodological innovation. Using cinema, this paper aims to open a new perspective toward the imagination of the environment where crimes occur.

The main question in the study of crime-environment transactions is what characteristic of the environment influences whether someone decides to commit a crime? By environments, we mean simply different scales of the space from specific rooms or buildings, to housing projects, or entire neighborhoods and city. To make the principles of CPTED more tangible in identifying and interpreting cinematic urban signs, they must be translated into the planning and design attributes. The following criteria are derived from the ideas developed by Jacobs, Newman, Jeffery, etc., as well as the CPTED's guidelines and strategies prepared by Singapore National Crime Prevention Council (2003), New Zealand Ministry of Justice (2005), and City of Portland (2008):

- Safe movement and connections especially after dark,
- Clear visibility, sightlines, and opportunities for surveillance (eyes on the street),
- Active frontages to the street through the ground level building facades,
- Adequate lighting,
- Minimizing concealed and isolated routes,
- Reducing entrapment and isolation,
- Integrated mixed uses/activities,
- Use of activity generators,
- Minimizing border vacuums,
- Appropriate night-time uses,
- Creating a sense of ownership through maintenance and management,

- Hierarchy of and boundaries between public, semi-public (communal), semi-private or private spaces,
- Care is taken to create good quality public areas (quality environment),
- Vandal-resistance of materials and fixtures, and
- Target hardening

In addition to the definition of environment, a researcher must also be familiar with different types of crime. Many urban planners refer to crime in very broad terms and do not distinguish between very different types of urban crimes and criminals. Researches consistently reveal that crime is not randomly distributed across urban space, but rather different types of crime cluster at certain locations and at certain times (Cozens, 2011). Eck (2018), for instance, claims that crime is highly concentrated at proprietary places. According to Eck and Eck (2012), all 44 studies reviewed by Lee and colleagues (2017) confirmed this concentration. This is why high-crime places tend to remain high-crime places, and low-crime places tend to remain low-crime places. The Brantinghams' (1981, 1984) 'crime pattern theory,' too, seeks to understand the search and selection processes that criminals use. According to this theory, crimes against the person predominantly take place at home or in and around drinking establishments (Fattah, 1991) while property crimes are concentrated at or near activity nodes and attractors, where people congregate (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1993, 2008; Kinney et al., 2008). These examples show why any study on CPTED will not be complete if researchers do not distinguish between different types of crime. This is noted in this research.

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (2011), crime refers to both Part I and Part II crimes. The Part I offenses are four personal crimes, including rape, robbery, homicide, and aggravated assault and four property crimes (burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson). The Part II offenses, for which only arrest data are collected, are other assaults (no weapon), forgery and counterfeiting, fraud, embezzlement, vandalism, drug abuse violations, gambling, vagrancy, prostitution, public drinking or drunkenness, and the like. In addition to the

myths of CPTED (as the urban theory) and categories and types of crime, criminal's intention is also an important factor that any researcher must consider in her/his interpretation of the crime scene. These intentions include thrills, revenge, economic gain, self-indulgence, etc.

Cinema, the lens through which this research interprets urbanism, is appropriate for urban crime studies for several reasons:

First, given that CPTED is mostly concerned with the physical prerequisites of crime, there is a need for city planners to also consider non-physical attractors and generators of the crime that, concurrently with the physical elements, facilitate urban crimes. A criminal, for instance, follows some decision process (whether consciously or unconsciously) in locating suitable targets and 'good' crime situations (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1993). Contrary to many tools and approaches that focus on the destination and outcome, the narrative nature of cinema helps researchers see the phenomenon multidimensionally. Cinema tells the story of criminals whose intentions have not been clear to other people.

Second, the hallmark of a safe city is not just the absence of danger, but also the absence of fear (Chiodi, 2015). This is why in recent years, researchers have begun to distinguish between crime rates and crime risk. On one hand, feelings, like fear, are not quantitative and countable. They are not perceived through statistics and numbers. On the other hand, researches suffer from a lack of lived experience in different places and cities. Cinema somehow fills this gap and enables the viewers to experience the feelings of the characters in the spaces they have never been to before.

Third, researchers most often rely on crimes reported to the police. It has been widely recognized that numerous crimes experienced or observed go unreported (Skogan, 1976). Cinema reveals the hidden side of the crime in cities. This includes unknown places, characters, and ways of crime.

City Beautiful Movement

The City Beautiful movement emerged at a time in U.S. history when the country's urban population first began to outnumber its rural population. Most city dwellers perceived that cities were ugly, congested, dirty, and unsafe. As cities grew—an increasingly rapid condition enhanced by an influx of immigrants at the end of the 19th century—public space was being usurped. With increased congestion, city dwellers needed open outdoor areas for recreation as they never had before. In addition, the chaotic approach to sanitation, pollution, and traffic found in the biggest American cities affected rich and poor alike, which is how the City Beautiful movement gained both financial and social support (Blumberg & Yalzadeh, 2014). The City Beautiful Movement was an attempt by late nineteenth and early twentieth century architects and planners to establish a sense of order and dignity in American urban planning at a time when land-use decisions were exclusively dictated by local, often provincial, urban traditions. Daniel Burnham typified the new kind of architect and planner who wanted to create better urban environments for all of their citizens. The motivating factor responsible for much of Burnham's thinking was Neo-Classical architecture and L'Ecole de Beaux Arts. The school's students were indoctrinated to believe that an all-inclusive design would not only lead to more effective urban planning, but would also promote economy, efficiency, and good citizenship within the city they served.

Enthusiastic about the possibilities of such wide-scale planning, American architects such as Burnham brought these ideas to America. In Burnham's case, the overwhelming success of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago not only catapulted him to national prominence, but reinforces his belief in the positive good of such planning initiatives. The planning of the exposition was directed by architect Daniel Burnham, who hired architects from the eastern United States, as well as the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, to build large-scale Beaux-Arts monuments that were vaguely classical with uniform cornice height. The landscape of the Columbian Exposition, which included lagoons and big green expanses, was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., famous for his winning design of New York City's oasis, Central

Park, which broke ground in 1857. The exposition displayed a model city of grand scale, known as the "White City", with modern transport systems and no poverty visible. The exposition is credited with resulting in the large-scale adoption of monumentalism for American architecture for the next years.

Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett's Chicago Plan of 1909 truly reflected their belief: "Make No Little Plan." This design package called for regional redevelopment, which included a totally modern highway plan, a cross-county park system, and a new enlarged civic and business center. The plan featured a dynamic new civic center, axial streets, and a lush strip of parkland for recreation alongside the city's lakefront. Of these, only the lakefront park was implemented to any significant degree. The Chicago Plan proposed an expanded commercial district for Michigan Avenue north of the Chicago River. Specifically, the plan called for the construction of Neo-Classic super-blocks on the both sides of Michigan Avenue from the Civic Center to the Water Tower. Of uniform height, these super-blocks were to flank a modern, tree-lined Michigan Avenue, this part of the planning initiative was derived from the earlier plans developed by George Haussmann for the Champs Elysees in the 1860s. Burnham and Bennett's plan recommended a series of elaborate bridges span the Chicago River at strategic downtown points. Designed to be architectural achievements in their own right, these bridges were to connect the older, more densely settled areas in and around the loop to the south and the newer well-planned business district to the north. The implementation of much of the Burnham Plan took place over the course of 20 years, starting in 1909 and coming to an end —though incomplete— at the start of the Great Depression in 1929.

Daniel Burnham and the City Beautiful Movement represent an important early stage in modern American urban planning. Perhaps the greatest contribution made by this movement was to get architects and planners to reconsider what constituted good design and to think of the long-term ramifications of their efforts (see Klein, 1988). Over time, the movement's shortcomings came to the fore, and it became apparent that improvement of the physical city without addressing

social and economic issues would not substantively improve urban life. The movement, as a whole, began to wane by World War I.

Chicago School of Urban Sociology

Chicago has long served as a site for urban sociological research central to the discipline. It was through the formation of the 'Chicago School', a group made up entirely of faculty from the sociology department of the University of Chicago, that the developments and changes occurring in the American city and its urban environment were first addressed, investigated and systematically conceptualized. The influence of classic sociological thought and the unique interpretation of Darwinian thought gradually merged and found their expression in the synthesis of 'human ecology' as introduced by the Chicago School.

The formulation of a sociological approach to the city, Louis Wirth (1938) argues, may incidentally serve to call attention to the interrelations between the distinguishing characteristics of urban life by emphasizing the peculiar characteristics of the city as a particular form of human association. The serviceable definition of urbanism should lend itself to the discovery of the variation of essential characteristics which all cities -at least those in our culture- have in common. A sociological definition, then, must obviously be inclusive enough. For sociological purposes, Wirth argues, a city may be defined as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals. This definition is highly associated with what the Chicago School of Urban Sociology defines as human ecology.

The precise meaning of human ecology and how it could be applied to the conditions of an urban environment is best explained in a collection of essays entitled *The City*, written and edited as a combined effort by Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie (Hess, 2001, pp. 70-71). As McKenzie (1920) observes, as the community increases in size specialization takes place both in the type of service provided and in the location of the place of service.

While McKenzie discusses the relationship between human ecology and the city in more general concept, William Burgess is more concrete. “The outstanding fact of modern society is the growth of great cities” (Burgess, 1925, p. 85). This is the first sentence of Ernest Burgess’s influential article entitled *The Growth of the City* in which he reflects on the expansion of the city and the spatial separation. In this paper, Burgess (1925) argues that the larger proportion of women to men in the cities than in the open country, the greater percentage of youth and middle-aged, the higher ratio of the foreign-born, the increased heterogeneity of occupation, increase with the growth of the city, and profoundly alter its social structure. A sociological study of the growth of the city is concerned with the definition and description of processes, as those of (a) expansion, (b) metabolism, and (c) mobility. The typical tendency of urban growth is the expansion radially from its central business district by a series of concentric circles, as (I) the central business district, (II) a zone of deterioration, (III) a zone of workingmen’s homes, (IV) a residential area, and (V) a commuters’ zone. The distribution of population into the natural areas of the city, the division of labor, the differentiation into social and cultural groupings, represent the normal manifestations of urban metabolism.

He begins his introduction of the concentric ring model by emphasizing on the argument that “no study of expansion as a process has yet been made, although the materials for such a study and intimations of different aspects of the process are contained in city planning, zoning, and regional surveys” (Burgess, 1925, p. 88). Figure represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any town or city to expand radially from its central business district—on the map “The Loop” (I). Encircling the downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture (II). A third area (III) is inhabited by the workers in industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration (II) but who desire to live within easy access of their work. Beyond this zone is the “residential area” (IV) of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive “restricted” districts of single-family dwellings. Still farther, out beyond

the city limits, is the commuters' zone—suburban areas, or satellite cities—within a thirty- to sixty-minute ride of the central business district.

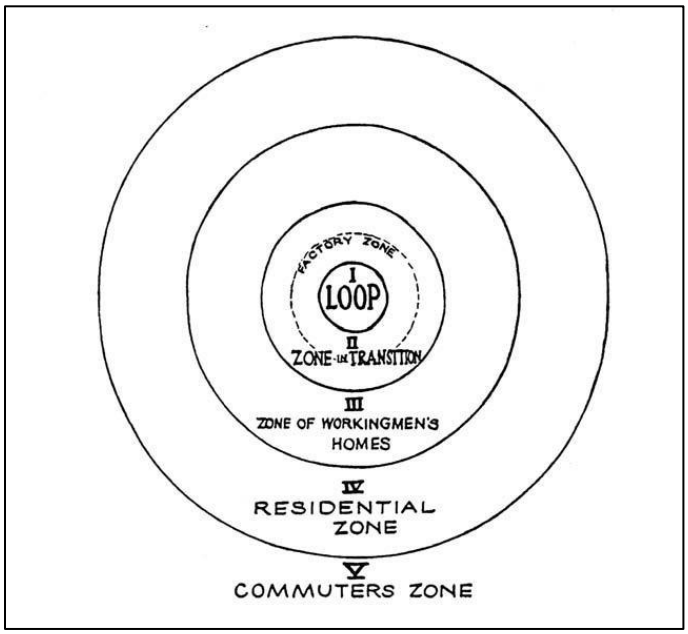

Figure 9. Concentric rings of growth (Burgess, 1925)

This concentric ring model was never a perfect fit (Simpson & Kelly, 2011, p. 206). Burgess emphasizes the tendency of each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone. He calls this process "succession." Burgess describes this succession as a continual expansion process, whereby groups in each zone continue to expand concentrically outward until they reach the suburbs. Groups tend to move outwardly with culturally, professionally and economically similar individuals, creating a homogenous area. Burges argues that over half a million people daily enter and leave Chicago's "loop" in the 1920s. He speaks of the appearance of "satellite loops" that represent a telescoping of several local communities into a larger economic unity. Burgess witnesses a process of reorganization into a centralized decentralized system of local communities coalescing into sub-business areas visibly or invisibly dominated by the central business district.

In the zone of deterioration, Burgess speaks of the so-called “slums” and “bad lands,” with their submerged regions of poverty, degradation, and disease, and their underworlds of crime and vice. Wedging out from here is what he calls the Black Belt, with its free and disorderly life. It is in this zone that effects of mobility can be clearly seen. The primary reason for this is a rapid influx of immigrants in zone II, causing current residents to expand into zone III, and zone III residents to move outward to zone IV, and so on. Zone III is also inhabited predominatingly by factory and shopworkers, but skilled and thrifty. Interrelated with this economic division of labor is a corresponding division into social classes and into cultural and recreational groups.

Burgess makes a distinction between movement and mobility. Movement does not always indicate mobility; mobility is defined here as a “change of movement in response to a new stimulus or situation.” Stimulation induces a response of the person to those objects in his environment which afford expression for his wishes. Mobility, Burgess argues, is perhaps the best index of the state of metabolism of the city. It is a process which reflects and is indicative of all the changes that are taking place in the community, as the “pulse of the community” and which is susceptible of analysis into elements which may be stated numerically. The increase of letters delivered to Chicagoans, telephones, and land values (the highest land values in Chicago are at the point of greatest mobility in the city) are examples of indicators that Burgess uses to explain the concept of mobility.

In this regard, Louis Wirth (1938) argues, urbanites are dependent upon more people for the satisfactions of their life-needs. The city is characterized by secondary rather than primary contacts. These secondary contacts include impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. In terms of the superficiality and the anonymity character of urban-social relations, for instance, whereas the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, on the other hand, Wirth speaks of the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. His constitutes essentially the state of anomie or the social void to which

various forms of social disorganization (e.g. crime) occur. In terms of the segmental character of urban environment, Wirth believes that the priority of utility and efficiency suggests the adaptability of the corporate device for the organization of enterprises in which individuals can engage only in groups.

Wirth also speaks of the "density" that, in terms of numbers, can be categorized under what Burgess describes as the numeric pulse of the community. Wirth (1938) believes that an increase in density tends to produce differentiation and specialization. On the subjective side, our physical contacts are close but our social contacts are distant. Density, land values, rentals, accessibility, healthfulness, prestige, aesthetic consideration, absence of nuisance such as noise, smoke, and dirt determine the desirability of various areas of the city as places of settlement for different sections of the population. Diverse population elements inhabiting a compact settlement thus tend to become segregated from one another in the degree in which their requirements and modes of life are incompatible with one another. The city consequently tends to resemble a mosaic of social worlds in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt. The clock [similar to Simmel's interpretation of metropolis] and the traffic signal, Wirth argues, are symbolic of the basis of our social order in the urban world.

Also, as mentioned before, the contemporary known ground on which urban planning and crime meet is found in the work of urban ecologists of the Chicago School of Sociology. Although the spatial organization of the city, as well as other ideas developed by Park, Burgess, and other sociologists of the Chicago School, are criticized by many scholars, studies to some degree confirm their thoughts on the relationship between criminology and urban form. Brantingham and Brantingham (1975), for example, refer to Shaw and McKay (1969) who examined the spatial distribution of the residences of delinquent children in Chicago and other American cities, and demonstrated that the homes of delinquent children were spatially distributed in general conformance with the zonal model that was developed by Ernest Burgess (1925). The highest rates occurred in the central circle formed by the CBD and the 'zone of transition' and successively lower

rates occurred in each successive outer ring. This aspect of the Chicago School of Sociology makes the bridge between this Chicago-based theory and general theories that are explained above.

Interpretation of Chicago in the Cinema of the 1980s and 2010s

In this part, based on the theories and principles explained above, I interpret the cinematic representation of Chicago in the selected movies. Following a semiotic approach (not structural), as conceptualized in Chapter 3, eligible image-signs that best represent the problematics and characteristics of the city are identified in each movie. The interpretation of each movie begins with a brief introduction to its storyline, film locations, and other demographic information if necessary. Then, a few image-signs (shots, sequences, scenes, etc.) are interpreted according to theories and thoughts based on which they are selected. If necessary, a photo of the image-sign is added. The number of image-signs selected from each movie directly depends on the role that the movie plays in representing the city and urban phenomena. some movies and image-signs are interpreted in more depth due to the significant role that the city and urban elements play in them, and some are discussed briefly. While this chapter presents a film-by-film interpretation of Chicago, Chapter 5 concludes how different urban issues and topics are portrayed and changed in the cinema of the 1980s and 2010s.

Chicago in the 1980s Movies

The Blues Brothers (1980)

After the release of Jake Blues from prison, he and his brother Elwood go to visit "The Penguin", the Catholic home where he and Elwood were raised. They learn the Archdiocese will stop supporting the school and will sell the place to the Education Authority. The only way to keep the place open is if the $5000 tax on the property is paid within 11 days. The Blues Brothers want to help, and decide to put their blues band back together and raise the money by staging a big gig.

This iconic comic movie opens with several aerial shots of the factories and oil refineries around Chicago at night as the images pan overhead to a prison. This is an extreme long shot of the city of Chicago where the industrial role of the city dominates its other functions. The interference between automobiles (highways), bridges, and boat routes creates a context for a comedy sequence for an iconic automobile jump across the bridges raised sections. As the Brothers approach traffic at the foot of the 95th street bridge caused as the span is raising its sections for boat passage, Elwood decides to prove just how powerful the new 'Bluesmobile' really is. Gunning the engine, the brothers drive straight at the bridge using it as a ramp to jump the vehicle (hilariously unrealistically) across the gap. The car lands on the opposite side and the Blues Brothers are off on their mission from God. The bridge seems to be just another purpose-built industrial span.

Figure 10. The bridge scene
(The Blues Brothers, 1980)

Like most of the selected movies in this dissertation, downtown skyscrapers and towers constitute the main landmark of the city referring to which helps the filmmaker makes contextual knowledge about the city of the film. Willis (formerly Sears) Tower, in particular, is a distant landmark in the background of this long-shot, seen from many angles and distances and used as radial references. It has singularity, dominance, and visual scope; three important attributes that make an urban landmark.

Figure 11. The landmark role of Willis Tower
(The Blues Brothers, 1980)

The representation of a ruined, empty street at the highway's immediate block stands for what Jacobs refers to as a border vacuum. The large-size single use of highway creates a vacuum

around it which sucks the life out of the neighborhood. Jacobs (1961) outlines a wide variety of borders that produce these vacuums. Transportation infrastructure (roads and railroad tracks) are prime offenders.

Figure 12. Border vacuum around the highway
(The Blues Brothers, 1980)

Trying to find their old band members, who have since taken other jobs, they visit a boarding house where one of the members had previously stayed. This sequence represents a few children playing on a wide sidewalk. This is what Jane Jacobs refers to as the 'Assimilating Children in the Wide Sidewalks.' Jacobs states that sidewalks of thirty to thirty-five feet in width are ideal, capable of accommodating any demands for general play, trees to shade the activity, pedestrian circulation, adult public life, and even loitering.

Figure 13. Assimilating children in the sidewalks
(The Blues Brothers, 1980)

Jake and Elwood arrive in a seedy area of Maxwell Street where they park their car and see John Lee Hooker as he plays outside a soul food restaurant. Inside the restaurant, the brothers meet Matt 'Guitar' Murphy, as well as 'Blue Lou' Marini to ask them to rejoin their band. The role of eyes on the street, different age buildings, and mixed primary uses have created a lively street in this segregated neighborhood. Jacobs (1961) wrote that for a street to be a safe place, there must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street. She refers to the concept of “eyes on the street” which is the activity taking place in city streets that keeps the movement and security of the street intact.

Figure 14. Eyes on the street
(The Blues Brothers, 1980)

The big difference between Jacobs and Newman was the encouragement of, even reliance on the encounter with strangers in Jacobs' ideas (Donnelly, 2010). In other words, Jacobs and her followers believe that strangers police the space, while the inhabitants police the strangers (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). These two different thoughts stem from their distinct perspectives on the topic of permeability; what Cozens (2011) refers to as the 'encounter' model and the 'enclosure' model. According to the 'encounter model,' permeable spaces are safer. The proponents of the 'enclosure model' argue that limiting permeability, by controlling access to strangers, means that residents can more readily distinguish strangers and potentially criminal behavior, and thereby reduce opportunities for crime. In this regard, some researchers believe that the enclosed retail environment of the shopping mall is the most popular and successful new public space of the second half of the twentieth century. The mall, in particular, constructs a safe and predictable realm within a world rendered dangerous by both crime and cars. The mall offers both the illusion of vital public life and a harmonious community and a stable and sheltered sense of enclosure (Dovey, 1998). Thus, provides a mixture of advantages of both encounter and enclosure models. A high-speed chase through the Dixie Square Mall (scene 1-1) in the comedy of *The Blues Brothers*, however, mocks the safe function of malls. To protect public spaces, National Crime Prevention Council (2003) suggests barriers that appear in the form of signs, paving textures, nature strips or anything that announces the integrity and uniqueness of an area. Neither physical elements not non-physical or psychological barriers prevent the *Blues Brothers* from entering the mall. The title characters drive through a shopping mall with police not far behind as shocked shoppers run for safety and the whole place ends up trashed. They leave behind them a completely wrecked suburban shopping center and that's how the place stayed forever after.

Figure 15. The chase through the mall
(The Blues Brothers, 1980)

In a comic scene, the *Blues Brothers*, tracking down members of their old band, enter an expensive restaurant at which one of the band's members is the maître d' (scene 1-2). The brothers behave obnoxiously, disturbing the peace in the restaurant until he relents. The police cannot patrol inside the restaurant. On the other hand, there is no reason to establish a monitoring or security system to prevent these customers from entering the restaurant. And all the more, environmental design plays no role in this urban public setting. The adherence to ethics, which is rooted in the socio-cultural background of characters, is the only practical factor that could prevent this criminal behavior.

Thief (1981)

Frank is the owner of the Rocket used car dealership and the Green Mill cocktail lounge. These businesses, however, are just a front for how he makes most of his money, which is through high stakes jewelry heists. After having spent many years in prison, he has a very concrete picture of what he wants out of life--including a nice home, a wife, and kids. As soon as he can assemble the pieces of this collage, using his chosen profession, he intends to retire and become a model citizen. Coming closer to his dream of leading a normal life, a professional safecracker agrees to do a job for the Mafia, who has other plans for him.

This movie, too, begins with urban scenes. The first sequence represents rainy Chicago at night which reminds the audience of dark and wet streets of film noir, the great American genre that came of age in '40s and '50s Hollywood when the shadows of the city pulse with killers and corpses. Chicago's downtown skyscrapers, and Willis Tower, in particular, are still the most iconic landmarks in the second sequence of the film that help the filmmaker establish the context of the story.

Figure 16. The geography of the story
(Thief, 1981)

The Chicago "L", the rapid transit system serving the city of Chicago and some of its surrounding suburbs, is the representation of what Lynch (1960) refers to as 'path' which

constitute one of the five mental elements of the image of the city. This is why its route, trains, and stations are used throughout this movie and many other movies interpreted in this research as well-known elements of Chicago. Although nothing is mentioned about Chicago in Thief, the Chicago L plays an important role in contextualizing the geography of the movie. The contextual knowledge is indeed the only reason some audiences get the dynamic object(s) in this film. After taking down a major diamond score, Frank gives the diamonds to his fence, Joe Gags (Hal Frank). However, before *Frank* can collect his $185,000 share of the score, *Gags* is murdered by being pushed out of a 12th-story window for skimming off mob collection money. *Barry*, who is *Frank*'s friend and associate, discovers that a shady plating company executive *Gags* was working for, *Mr. Attaglia*, is responsible for *Gags*' murder and stealing *Frank*'s payoff. In a tense confrontation at *Attaglia*'s plating company, *Frank* demands his money back. The Chicago L is an urban element, seen in the background of *Attaglia*'s office window in this sequence.

Figure 17. The Chicago L in the background (Thief, 1981)

As mentioned before, the absence of clear visibility, sightlines, and opportunities for surveillance is one of the major environmental roots of crimes. Newman (1972) suggests that the physical environment can be designed to improve natural surveillance opportunities for residents; i.e., the ability of residents to casually and regularly observe the public areas. He bases this idea

on a fundamental, widely accepted premise that criminals do not wish to be observed. This idea is very similar to Jacobs' (1961) argument on 'eyes on the street' which is associated with the vitality of streets and public spaces and correlated with mixed uses and diversified activities by different users and at different times of the day and week. The lack of adequate lighting and appropriate night-time uses are the main reasons why there are no eyes on S. Wabash Avenue in the Chicago Loop in *Thief*. Although target hardening still seems to be the best decision to protect jewelry, environmental shortages are significant incentives for diamond thieves to commit the crime in the opening scene of this Chicagoan crime-action movie. The camera tilt shows the prison-like perspective of the fire escape stairs of two opposite buildings between 7 and 15 S. Wabash Avenue where the thieves' car is parked on the wet street. The absence of eyes, mixed uses, and lighting are the factors that make us expect crime to be committed.

Figure 18. The prison-like perspective of S. Wabash Avenue (Thief, 1981)

Massive single uses in cities, Jacobs (1961) argues, form borders, and borders in cities usually make destructive neighbors. Car lots are other massive uses, located inside and on the outskirts of American small and great cities which produce indefensible spaces in their immediate surroundings. Two crime scenes are narrated in *Frank*'s car dealership lot at night in *Thief*. *Frank* drives to his car lot unaware that *Leo*'s (a high-level fence and Chicago Outfit boss) henchmen

have already beaten and captured his friend *Barry*, and are waiting in ambush. On his way to the car lot, we see the moving reflection of Chicago's buildings and neon signs on *Frank*'s car hood that alerts us to his departure from the bustling downtown toward a peripheral area.

Figure 19. Getting away from the downtown
(Thief, 1981)

Although the dealership car lot is lit with lots of lamps, its massive single nature of activity provides the criminals with an appropriate time and space to commit the crime. *Frank* is knocked out and *Barry* is killed by one of *Leo*'s enforcers. *Frank* awakens with *Leo* staring down at him, surrounded by his henchmen. *Leo* threatens *Frank*'s family if he does not continue working for him. *Frank* returns home. With nothing to lose, he blows up their home using high-explosive charges. He then drives to his business establishments and the parking lot and does the same.

Figure 20. The ruinous function of the parking lot
(Thief, 1981)

Even the presence of the police cannot prevent all types of urban crimes. There are many image-signs among the selected movies in which crimes occur on the upper floors of downtown towers where police have no control. “As it grows higher the tower form becomes progressively detached from the city - a vertical enclave” (Dovey, 1998). *Frank* and his crew are involved in a large-scale West Coast diamond heist. The crew had monitored the tower for a long time and planned the theft. They enter the tower through the roof and did their job without stepping on the street. Even a formal police patrol in the area could not prevent the crime from taking place there.

Figure 21. West Coast diamond heist
(Thief, 1981)

Risky Business (1983)

A suburban Chicago teenager's parents leave on vacation. Joel, the teenager, is looking for fun at home while his parents are away, but the situation quickly gets out of hand. An unauthorized trip in his father's Porsche means a sudden need for lots of money, which he raises creatively.

The opening of the movie shows Chicago at night while the downtown skyscrapers and recognized landmarks can be seen in the background. In creative practice, the filmmaker uses the Chicago L route, while we can hear its voice, and takes a tracking shot of the city. Instead of camera dolly indeed, the camera is placed on a real train. The dark representation of the city and its neighborhoods, along with the neon lights of the buildings remind the viewers of the dark, risky environment of Film Noirs.

Figure 22. Chicago at night
(Risky Business, 1983)

Most of the movie time is filmed in the interior spaces, *Joel*'s house in particular. However, the city of Chicago and its suburbs are secluded. No matter a scene is filmed by Michigan Lake, Baha'i House of Worship or Joel's neighborhood in Highland Park; all urban spaces are empty. If the movie was not a comedy, this representation of urban environments would provide an appropriate context for scary crime scenes.

Figure 23.Vacant urban spaces of Chicago
(Risky Business, 1983)

The only live, vibrant urban space in the city is the Drake Hotel's front street and sidewalk where nightlife is thriving. In contrast to the opening of the movie, the city of Chicago and even its suburb do not play a significant role throughout the film. There is no geographical connection between the story and the city. O'Hare International Airport from which *Joel*'s parents leave could be another airport in any other city. Also, *Joel*'s neighborhood should not have to be Highland Park. At least for a viewer who does not have considerable contextual knowledge about Chicago and its suburb, and accordingly cannot identify the dynamic object of most image-signs, urban spaces do not mean. Maybe the slope to Lake Michigan is the only Chicago-based feature that makes trouble, causes the car to crash into the lake and challenges the daily life of *Joel*.

About Last Night (1986)

In Chicago, the salesmen of restaurant supply Danny Martin and Bernie Litgo are best friends and womanizers. One night, the handsome Danny meets Deborah 'Debbie' in a bar and they have a one-night stand. Danny's life takes a different turn Their closest friends Joan and Bernie frequently try to sabotage their relationship. Five months later, Danny breaks with her and the brokenhearted Debbie returns to Joan's apartment. Meanwhile, Danny grows up and misses Debbie, but maybe it might be too late for reconciliation.

The movie's opening shot represents downtown Chicago where *Danny* and *Bernie* are walking by one of the rivers that run through Chicago. This sequence cuts to a shot inside of an L train, and then, to a crowded bar. A baseball playground inside Grant Park is the location where *Danny* and *Debbie* meet each other and the audiences meet Chicago's skyscrapers in the background of a long shot. Now, the geographical context of the story and, accordingly, the objects associated with image-signs look more tangible and dynamic to the audience. Therefore, rivers (edge), downtown (district), Chicago L (path), Grant Park (district), and skyscrapers (landmarks) are still parameters, according to Lynch (1960), that makes the bridge between the film's signs and the viewers' mental image of the city.

Figure 24. Downtown Chicago
(About Last Night, 1986)

Similar to Running Scared (1986), Wrigley Field, Home of Chicago Club, is an iconic element that along with the L route are references to the city of lovers' daily turnover. Wrigley Field stands for an urban node in Lynch's terminology into which an observer can enter. It is the example of a concentration that gains its importance from being the condensation of sports use.

Figure 25. Wrigley Field as a node
(About Last Night, 1986)

Although the border vacuum of the Lake produces a context for criminal activities in many movies, the complementary roles of characters in the foreground, Michigan lake in the middle ground, and Willis Tower in the background create a love scene under the sunset in this film.

Figure 26. Lake Michigan as a background for love stories
(About Last Night, 1986)

The Chicago L plays a dominant role in defining the city's main path through which the characters commute between different destinations. It also plays the role of a landmark in some scenes. The main café of the movie, for example, is adjacent to an L route in the background that supports the geographical meaning of the location.

Figure 27. The Chicago L as a landmark
(About Last Night, 1986)

The third role of the Chicago L, in addition to its function as a path as well as a landmark, is its sound that dimentionalizes the image of the city. The faculties of sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch are all factors that create the atmosphere of a city. Cinema, in this movie, in particular, gives us a taste of what we probably hear in the city of Chicago. In a sequence, *Danny* is trying to fix the TV antenna up on the roof. Again, downtown's skyscrapers, including Willis Tower, define the context in the background and are a complementary to the voice of the Chicago L train that passes in a few seconds. In contrast to crime movies, adjacent blocks of the Chicago L are safe in this love story. They are places that people live and gather in the café.

Figure 28. Downtown skyscrapers and the voice of Chicago L
(About Last Night, 1986)

The happy ending of the movie takes place in Grant Park and its baseball playground and walking paths while the distance to downtown skyscrapers still defines the location of characters within the city limit.

Figure 29. Grant Park and skyscrapers
(About Last Night, 1986)

Code of Silence (1985)

Code of Silence is the story of a tough, honest, Chicago cop. Eddie Cusack is a Chicago police officer about to bust some members of the Comacho gang when the gang is shot up by a rival drug gang from the neighboring building, led by Tony Luna. Victor Comacho is the only survivor of the Comacho gang and his older brother, Luis, who is the leader of the gang, retaliates by killing Luna's family and kidnaps Luna's daughter, Diana. Cusack must face Tony Luna and Luis Comacho alone because nobody on the police force is willing to help him since he was the only cop who broke the code of silence by testifying against a fellow cop who killed an unarmed teenager.

Chicago downtown and Willis Tower at night and early morning are again iconic landmarks the filmmaker depicts to take the audience beyond the immediate object of the geography of the movie toward a more dynamic understanding of it; the city of Chicago. Also, the Chicago L plays a dramatic role throughout the movie. *Cusack* takes off after *Diana*, who is being chased by several *Comacho* gang members. In an alley. *Cusack* surprises them at gunpoint. One takes *Diana* hostage with a knife, but *Cusack* disarms the three remaining suspects and goes after the one with the girl. He follows them to the Randolph/Wells (CTA) elevated station and boards a train. A standoff ensues, leading to a fight on the roof of the eight-car train. At a bridge crossing, the gang member jumps into the Chicago River, where he is run over by a speedboat.

Figure 30. The iconic role of the Chicago L
(Code of Silence, 1985)

As mentioned before, Jacobs outlines a wide variety of borders that produce these vacuums. Transportation infrastructure (roads and railroad tracks) are prime offenders. Other vacuum-generators are wide-open public spaces like parks or waterfronts, which can transform the space around them in a way that discourages pedestrians from spending time on the street at various times of the day. The Graceland Cemetery and the 'L' train's route and stops in Chicago are important vacuum-generators around which many crime scenes in various movies occur. The story begins with within the border vacuum of these two single massive uses. It is late morning in Chicago's Uptown neighborhood where a sting operation is taking place. Sergeant *Eddie Cusack* and his crack team of Chicago Police detectives take their positions in a cemetery. An undercover informant is about to meet a buyer at an 'L' train stop. A drug exchange is made inside an interior space (the house) where a rival gang led by a mafia drug lord mercilessly guns down the attendees. Although environmental design cannot directly prevent the crime inside the house, it can manipulate the threatening condition of the exterior space; the cemetery and train stop. The border vacuum generated by these elements is one of the reasons why the criminals chose this house for drug-exchange location. This vacuum even provides the opportunity for a sergeant and his partners who are going to do the sting operation to use a garbage truck to patrol beneath the train tracks.

Figure 31. The border vacuum of Graceland Cemetery and the 'L' train's route (Code of Silence, 1985)

Chicago's Lake Michigan is the natural border of the city that, along with the rivers leading to it, are other vacuum-generators of downtown Chicago. The lake's and rivers' shorelines make a linear vacuum within which many directors narrate their crime stories. The ending scene of *Code of Silence* is located in a drug gang's hangout, a warehouse by the Calumet River where they find it to be safe for criminal activities. This is where *Cusack* single-handedly launching a full-scale attack on the *Comachos*' lair.

Figure 32. The border vacuum of Lace Michigan and its rivers (Code of Silence, 1985)

Although 'eyes on the street' and public surveillance are important factors in increasing safety in urban environments, as mentioned before, there are some situations in which environmental design is not perceived to be sufficient for providing security and safety in public and semi-public spaces. These crime situations are important in that they illustrate why environmental design is not perceived to be capable of taking responsibility for crime prevention throughout the city. In a street scene in *Code of Silence*, one of the sergeant's partners, *Gamiani*, is stabbed to death by a knife-wielding attacker in front of the Chicago Cultural Center. The camera tilt shows two men standing in front of an open flower shop at "65 E Randolph," waiting for their rival's girl who, escorted by *Gamiani*, exits the Chicago Cultural Center in downtown. It is before sunset and all shops are open. Many people are waking in the street and there are active

frontages to the street through the ground level building facades, especially the Chicago Cultural Center. There are integrated mixed-uses in the street and its quality as a public area is good. The crime, however, occurs. None of these environmental elements can deter criminals from committing a crime. That is why Darley and Latane's (1968) study rejects the relationship between the increased number of bystanders and the likelihood of intervention.

Figure 33. The crime scene in E Randolph St.
(Code of Silence, 1985)

Also, there is a scene in *Code of Silence* that represents how residents of a single-family house are attacked and murdered outside their home. The scene is filmed in 7327 Holly Court, River Forest. Neither the principles of encounter with strangers nor the hierarchy of enclosed model has been implemented in the environmental design of this urban neighborhood. Nevertheless, it does not seem that in this case and other similar ones, the environmental design could help prevent crimes because victims are purposely selected. Posing as food vendors, the criminals brutally gun down every member of the household to take revenge. The crime scene is pre-planned. This is where environmental design does not help.

Figure 34. A pre-planned crime scene in the neighborhood (Code of Silence, 1985)

Running Scared (1986)

Ray Hughes and Danny Costanzo are a pair of wisecracking Chicago cops. Julio Gonzales is a fast-rising drug kingpin and "a smooth-talking drug dealer who is bucking to become Chicago's first Spanish Godfather". When Ray and Danny are almost killed in working on a case, they are forced to take a vacation by their captain. Key West offers a substantial change over frozen Chicago. They decide to quit and open a bar in Key West. Upon returning, they find that Julio, the drug dealer who nearly killed them has made bail and is trying to complete a giant drug deal. They decide to complete their case against Julio before quitting, but then begin being careful.

The opening sequences of the movie begins with different shots of the downtown's skyscrapers and well-known places like Chicago Tribune old building, Wrigley Field, and the Chicago Sun-Times building and ends with a shot of the Chicago L panned to a playground in its immediate, poor block in which undercover police detectives Danny and Ray spot two criminals, Julio Gonzales and "Snake", getting out of a parked Mercedes-Benz:

Danny Costanzo: In this neighborhood*, a* Mercedes *is probable cause*

Figure 35. The Chicago L in the opening scene of the movie (Running Scared, 1986).

Similar to *Code of Silence*, The Chicago L plays an iconic, narrative role in this movie. As the primary 'path' in the city, the Chicago L's railroad provides an unusual context for a chase. In one scene, at customs, *Gonzales* meets with a Colombian priest and nun. When he sees *Danny* and *Ray*, he escapes in a limousine, leaving the nun and priest behind. *Ray* and *Danny* give the priest and nun a ride, and a chase ensues. *Gonzales*'s limousine drives onto the elevated railroad tracks and the police taxicab barely misses crashing into an oncoming train. The chase continues until *Gonzales*'s limousine stops for another oncoming train. *Gonzales* jumps out and disappears into the station just as the train upends his limousine.

Figure 36. A chase on the Chicago L (Running Scared, 1986).

This movie shows why the remarkable role of eyes on the street is not limited to night time. In a comic vandalistic sequence in *Running Scared*, four teenagers spray paint the characters' car. This scene is filmed in 4911 N. Winthrop Avenue in uptown Chicago, a residential neighborhood that looks quiet, but empty. There is no other activity in the neighborhood. It is winter and the street is covered with snow. No interaction happens between the neighborhood's street and its adjacent houses. No eyes observe the street. Vandals do their job and run. Although CPTED principles suggest vandal-resistance of materials and fixtures in residential apartments and complexes, this strategy could not help in this case. In a comic robbery scene in the same movie,

two street robbers take advantage of the lack of surveillance around the Graceland Cemetery in Uptown Chicago to target two police officers and an arrested drug dealer. In this scene, inactive frontages to the alley through the ground level building facades and the limited number of openings to the alley are other reasons why the robbers immediately decide to threaten three men. Looking at a larger scale, however, the threatening function of Graceland Cemetery's surrounding area plays the most significant role in providing criminals with the context for committing the crime. This is what Jacobs (1961) refers to as 'the curse of border vacuums.'

Figure 37. The neighborhood's vandals
(Running Scared: 1986)

Chicago's Lake Michigan, as explained before, is the natural border of the city that, along with the rivers leading to it, are important vacuum-generators of downtown Chicago. In an action scene in *Running Scared*, two police officers approach a meeting place, a cargo ship, where they find that up-and-coming drug dealer *Julio Gonzales* has acquired a large store of Uzi submachine guns. The cargo ship is, indeed, Columbia Yacht Club in North Lake Shore Drive.

Figure 38. The border vacuum of Lake Michigan
(Running Scared, 1986)

I previously explained why even the presence of the police cannot prevent crimes that occur on the upper floors of downtown towers. In a tower scene in *Running Scared*, the drug dealer *Gonzalez* kidnaps *Danny*'s (police officer) ex-wife whom he still loves and has been trying to reconcile with, and says he will trade her for his drugs; otherwise, he will kill her. *Danny* agrees, leading to the final confrontation inside the high-rise atrium of the James R. Thompson Center in downtown Chicago. The climax of the movie, indeed, is filmed in this landmark tower. Although the offender is unsuccessful in this scene, neither environmental design nor police patrol can prevent the crime. In this sequence and other similar crime scenes, target hardening is the only strategy that helps people, organizations, and officials to protect their assets. Beyond the old assumption which attributed target hardening only to environmental approaches, i.e., the treatment and securing of doors and windows; today, target hardening is simply referred to as any security and monitoring tools and systems that make it impossible or difficult to commit a crime.

Figure 39. A downtown tower as a crime set (Running Scared, 1986)

Chicago is cold and snowy through the movie. The characters constantly refer to the city as an unsafe place:

Ray: Do you think Chicago would be safe in their hands?

Danny: [using his twerp voice] Oh, no.

Ray: Millions of people out there to protect.

Danny: Yep, we owe it to this fine city.

Ferris Bueller's Day Off (1986)

High school student Ferris Bueller wants a day off from school and he's developed an incredibly sophisticated plan to pull it off. Cameron is reluctantly persuaded to borrow his father's Ferrari, and together they hatch a plan to get Sloane out of class. Suspicious dean of students Ed Rooney knows all about Ferris, but can never catch him. they ditch school and take off on a raucous journey through Chicago as they stay one step ahead of their principal and Ferris's sister.

The first sign of Chicago in the movie is not an image-sign, but a narration. In addition to two airports, the emphasis is on the lakefront which shapes the edge of the city:

It is a beautiful day in Chicago today. Temperatures expected to reach the upper 70 Right now, 75 at the lakefront, 74 at Midway, 73 at O'Hare.

Downtown skyscrapers, the Chicago L train, Lake Michigan's river that passes through the downtown, the reflection of building in the glass façade of towers, a boat on the river and, of course, Willis Tower are urban elements that define the geography of the story throughout the movie. The downtown is alive, vibrant, and colorful.

Figure 40. Chicago downtown
(Ferris Bueller's Day Off, 1986)

The trio explores the city, including the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago Mercantile Exchange, a restaurant and attend a ball game at Wrigley Field. The movie represents an exciting

tour of the city in the mid-80s and brands the city by using its significant landmarks (e.g., West Wacker), nodes (e.g., Chicago Board of Trade), districts (e.g., Grant Park), edges (e.g., Glencoe Beach), and paths (e.g., Wells Street). This cinematic representation goes beyond a physical mental image of the city, what Lynch (1960) refers to, toward giving a taste of what can be heard, touched, and smelled in Chicago. Chicago isn't just a backdrop. All these elements play their own role in the movie. This is what John Hughes, the filmmaker, intended to do in his movie:

Figure 41. A tour of Chicago
(Ferris Bueller's Day Off, 1986)

"I really wanted to capture as much of Chicago as I could. Not just in the architecture and landscape, but the spirit."[3]

[3] See https://www.amc.com/talk/2007/04/ferris-bueller

Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer (1986)

Loosely based on serial killer Henry Lee Lucas, the film follows Henry and his roommate Otis who Henry introduces to murdering randomly selected people. Henry likes to kill people, in different ways each time. Henry shares an apartment with Otis. When Otis' sister comes to stay, we see both sides of Henry; the "guy-next-door" and the serial killer. The people they kill are strangers. There is no limit to what they will do once they get a taste for it.

The opening scene of *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer* (hereafter: Henry) draws the audience's attention to several slaughtered victims in different urban locations. Since the serial killer, based on whose life the movie is made, did not live and commit his crimes in a specific city, the filmmaker does not emphasize, on the characteristics of Chicago as the context of the movie. There are, however, different elements and references that represent the dynamic objects of the film's signs for viewers.

Throughout the movie, we see how the lack of lighting and eyes on the street does not only facilitate property crime but also makes personal crimes easier. Explaining his philosophy of "the world is them or us," *Henry* goes on a killing spree in Chicago. In an uncomfortable sequence, he uses the darkness and quiet of an alley to kill two prostitutes. While driving along a seedy part of Milwaukee Avenue, Henry and Otis pick up a couple of women. The car pulls into an alley where they begin to make out with the two women. In the back seat, Henry suddenly kills her. The other woman, in the front seat with Otis, screams and tries to get out of the car, but Otis grabs her while Henry reaches up and snaps the woman's neck. He pulls the bodies out and leaves them in the alley. A trash container, the dim light of adjacent windows in the background, and a dog's bark are typical cinematic elements of the unsafe, concealed and isolated connections of back alleys after dark in Chicago that cause entrapment and are the environmental factors behind this crime.

Figure 42. The dark back alley
(Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer, 1986)

Border vacuums are still the major reason why different areas of the city facilitate the commision of crimes. In a crime scene, *Henry* and his friend *Otis* kill a portly man surrounded by television sets and other appliances in his store, located in the border vacuum of the L route. They enter the store at night, negotiate with the salesman and then kill him horribly. A concrete wall separates the L route from the shop's exterior. No one is seen outside the store. No activity happens. It is dark. Garbage is the only thing visible under dim area light. This sequence shows why a sole activity at night time not only improves safety but also might threaten the activity generator.

Figure 43. The border vacuum of L route
(Henry, 1986)

Another scene in the same movie shows *Henry* and *Otis* driving through Lower Wacker Drive at night. They stop their car in the road shoulder and open up the car hood, waiting for random assistance. Once a guy stops his car to help them, *Otis* kills him by three shots. Wacker Drive was conceived of in the 1909 Burnham Plan of Chicago and first opened about a century ago. The upper deck is intended for pleasure driving and local traffic, and the lower level is for through traffic and service vehicles. The Wacker Drive itself is a massive use inside and around which is a desirable place for criminals. Two shots of the Wacker Drive signs are the only urban referents in the movie that take beyond an immediate understanding of the object toward a more dynamic grasp of the city.

Figure 44. The border vacuum of the Wacker Drive (Henry, 1986)

Different scenes show why not only the eyes on the street and the lack of border vacuums but also other principles of the CPTED do not necessarily prevent crimes. Henry drives around Chicago listening to his car radio and staring at the people on the street. He drives to a suburban neighborhood and sees several women walking to their cars in a shopping mall parking lot. He chases a stranger woman, to her house, but leaves when he sees a man greet her in the driveway. He knocks on the woman's front door and introduces himself as an exterminator and asks if she needs her house fumigated. She lets him inside. Afterward, the woman is seen lying dead on her

living room couch, having been strangled with an electrical cord. *Henry* murdered her for self-indulgent pleasures. The crime scene is pre-planned. This is where environmental design does not help. Since the criminals routinely approach the victims, the hierarchy of private, semi-private, and public spaces could not protect the victims from being murdered. In *Henry*, the crime occurs inside the house, thus potential strangers could not police the crime scene. This issue led us to the significant, complementary role that police play in providing safety and security in cities and will be discussed below as a separate consideration.

Figure 45. A random murder scene
(Henry, 1986)

In a very uncomfortable annoying scene in *Henry*, he and his friend slaughter a family while recording the whole incident by their video camera, then watch it back at their apartment. Although they are not shown how to enter the house, the movie's characterization of these two quasi-psycho men reveals that this crime, similar to previous ones, is operated randomly. Target hardening, again, seems to be the only way to prevent them from entering the house. The psychological and sociocultural problems of these serial killers continue to be the main cause of crime though.

Adventure in Babysitting (1987)

Chris has a big night out planned when her boyfriend, Mike, cancels on her. She agrees to babysit for Brad and Sara Anderson. She's settled in for a dull night when her friend, Brenda, is trapped in the bus station in downtown Chicago, she has to travel out of the suburbs to the big city. Chris, Brad, Sara, and Brad's friend, Darryl, get into Chris's mother's station wagon for a trip to the inner city. All is well until they get a flat tire.

While *Adventures in Babysitting* is an American teen comedy film, the characters' tour of Chicago represents different places of the city at night where crime and unsafety is the main issue. The geography of the first 15 minutes of the movie is a Chicago suburb; a rich neighborhood with single-resident houses. The first Chicagoan sign of the movie is not an image-sign, but a dialogue. *Mrs. Anderson* explains that they are going to be at a reception at the Associate Center, which is now called Crain Communications Building and refers to a well-known skyscraper in downtown Chicago. We see this building in the last sequences of the movie in contrast to and in the background of an unsafe, dark alley in Chicago. This image-sign represents a contrasting status of the downtown, a luxury restaurant in particular, compared to its immediate blocks. There are other verbal references, e.g. the bus station downtown, that help the filmmaker to create the mental map of the story before we see characters moving to Chicago.

Figure 46. Crain Communication Building
(Adventure in Babysitting, 1987)

Some conversations add details to this mental map and help the audience to clarify their contextual understanding of the film and the distance between different locations.

- *If I take a cab to the Andersons', could you pay for it?*
- *Oh, no, that's going to be like $40.*

As always, Willis Tower is the most significant landmark of the city that can be seen when people are driving to Chicago.

Figure 47. Willis Tower: Chicago's landmark (Adventure in Babysitting, 1987)

The first things *Chris* and others encounter as they enter the city are not pleasant. Their car tire blowout and stands them on the expressway without a spare, *Chris* realizes that she forgot her purse at the *Anderson*'s. A tow truck owner *John* offers them to pay for the tire repair. *John* is distracted by a call and he diverts to his home where his wife is cheating on him. In a resulting shootout, *Chris* and the others get out of the truck and into a Cadillac, which is being stolen. Although this scene and many other scenes throughout the movie is filmed in Toronto, Canada, the image that is represented is attributed to Chicago. This is why the real location itself does not matter as long as the story defines the geography.

The thief, Joe Gipp, promises to take them to safety after he drops off the car at a chop shop. They then make a tense escape crossing the girders in the warehouse ceiling, escaping outside. The thieves notice and give chase.

Back alleys in the movie are very similar to how urban spaces have been represented in the film noir genre. Exaggerated qualities of light and shadow in empty, urban spaces evoke a sense of urban alienation. Wet and dirty streets and alleys are shown primarily at night.

Figure 48. Noir-style representation of back alleys (Adventure in Babysitting, 1986)

Even urban spaces that are represented throughout the movie remind the audience of well-knows, typical places that have been used in film noir. Downtown station, bar, and Chicago L. all are examples of crime-potential locations that help Chris and others to escape. Another chase from the thieves, for example, prompts them to board an L route where a pair of rival gang members move in to kill each other. Although the comic style decreases the level of tension that is usually felt in such spaces, the overall image of Chicago in this movie is not safe and pleasant.

Figure 49. The Chicago L
(Adventure in Babysitting, 1987)

The Dilemma (2011)

Ronny and Nick are best friends and partners in a small auto design firm. The two have recently been given an opportunity to pitch an eco-friendly car to Dodge. discovers that his best friend's wife is having an affair.

Similar to many other Chicagoan movies, the film begins with a long-shot of the city's landscape, the Lake Michigan, downtown skyscrapers, and in particular, Willis Tower. Even though none of these elements directly affect the lives of characters, the filmmaker contextualizes his movie and, with the help of music, creates the atmosphere of the story. An edge (Lake Michigan), a district (downtown Chicago), and several landmarks (skyscrapers) at night introduce the city in which the first narrative scene is located: a modern restaurant.

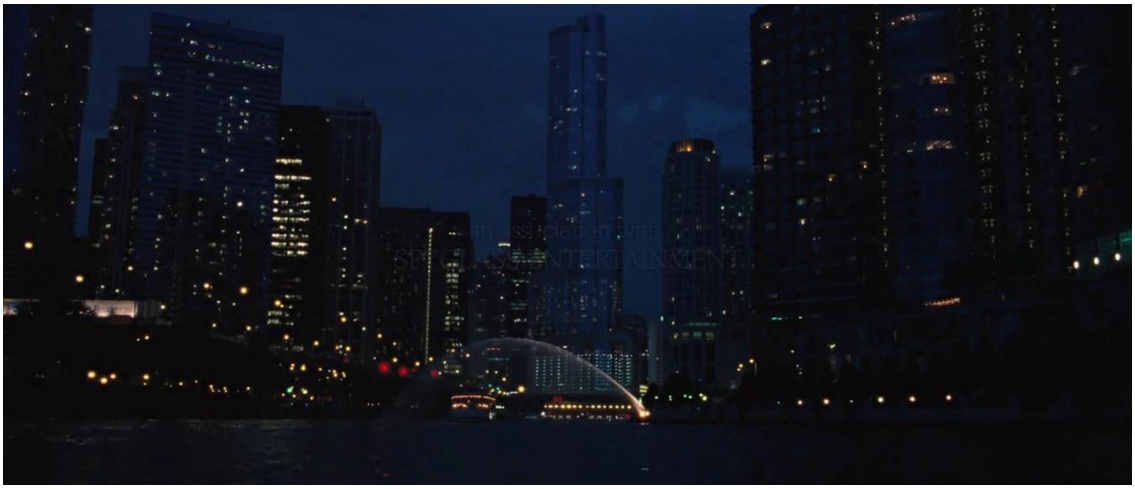

Figure 50. An edge, a district, and a landmark
(The Dilemma, 2011)

The image of the city is then completed by representing other elements throughout the movie. The Chicago L and bridges on Chicago's rivers are the most iconic paths of the city that facilitate the movement of the characters and develop the mental map of the geographical context of the film.

Figure 51. Bridges
(The Dilemma, 2011)

Chicago Stadium (Madhouse on Madison) is a sport “node” that has not been observed in other movies. Wrigley Field is the only sports arena that was repeatedly represented in films.

Figure 52. A sport node
(The Dilemma, 2011)

Although the city of Chicago does not play an active role as a character throughout the movie, different spaces and landmarks of the city provide the physical and atmospheric backdrop. "It always made sense to film the movie in Chicago because Chicago is modern and the movie is modern," said director Ron Howard: "The movie has a little edge and bite, and Chicago certainly

has that. The movie also is about friendship and heart, and I think Chicago offers that humanity."[4] From the planning perspective, however, the movie represents contrasting urban spaces; mostly modern and even luxury, and some unsafe and dark places. The Dodge Automotive HQ and the botanic garden are examples of modern places that are replaced with ruinous spaces in crime movies that could have been represented here. This is what Saussure refers to as paradigmatic signification.

Figure 53. Modern urban spaces
(The Dilemma, 2011)

[4] See https://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/ct-xpm-2011-01-06-ct-mov-0107-dilemma-premiere-20110106-story.html

On the other hand, s massage club in a dark alley and the empty space under the Chicago L station and route foster this contrast and give a taste of what the audience can expect to see outside the downtown Chicago where buildings are not tall and people are not seen.

Figure 54. Contrasting, unsafe urban spaces
(The Dilemma, 2011)

Roundabout American (2012)

Alex is lonely. When he meets an American girl online, he comes for a month-long visit. But the young lady changes her mind and dumps him at a rundown suburban motel. A night of despair and cheap whiskey, he meets Ron who spends most of his waking life in his parents' basement. Ron cheers up Alex with a tour of Chicago-its hot dogs its skyscrapers, its weed, and the bustling life on the street. Alex pushes the limits of the American Dream by converting a Chicago pizza restaurant into a luxury entertainment service for the super-rich.

The title sequence of the movie uses the animation technique to tells the story. A French guy flies to Chicago; a city that is represented by its downtown skyscrapers, lake, and cars on the road. Landmark buildings, the natural edge, and a path are elements that create this image of the city.

Figure 55. The animation of Chicago
(Roundabout American, 2012)

These elements are again represented during Alex's tour of the city where the audiences see Willis Tower and other skyscrapers, the road under the Chicago L route, a downtown park, bridges on Chicago rivers, and the Cloud Gate sculpture at Millennium Park. In some shots, the mise-en-scène is so that urban elements, not the characters, play the central role. In one shot, for

example, the Twin Towers are placed exactly at the center of the screen and attract the audience's attention to themselves.

Figure 56. The central role of urban landmarks: Twin Towers (Roundabout American, 2012)

In some shots, there is no character at all. All we see is the city of Chicago and its urban elements. The Willis Tower is an example of an urban element that dominates the mise-en-scène and does not share it even with the movie's characters.

Figure 57. The dominance of urban elements (Roundabout American, 2012)

In another scene, *Alex* tries to touch the Cloud Gate. His endeavor signifies his dream of the United States that has been realized. The tour of the city is accompanied by music and creates an inviting atmosphere.

Figure 58. The Cloud Gate: American dream
(Roundabout American, 2012)

The role of the city is not limited to a tour. Although this is a comedy, the criminal business of *Alex* and his friends is associated with the city:

- *The Chicago way: I've got a guy who's got a guy!*

And, like always, the Chicago L plays a central role in creating a context for criminal activities. The dark, empty environment under the L route produces an indefensible space for ordinary people and a desirable place for criminals.

Figure 59. The indefensible space under the Chicago L
(Roundabout American, 2012)

Chi-Raq (2015)

After the shooting death of a child hit by a stray bullet, a group of women led by Lysistrata (a modern-day adaptation of the ancient Greek play Lysistrata by Aristophanes) organize against the on-going violence in Chicago's Southside creating a movement that challenges the nature of race, sex and violence in America and around the world.

The classical Greek comedy is relocated to a Chicago nicknamed Chi-Raq for its ever-increasing body count and explores the epidemic of gun violence in Chicago. In an unusual title sequence, the movie represents quantitative data of murders in Chicago that compare the violence in the city to what happened in Iraq to show why Chi-Raq best represent Chicago. This title sequence creates a dark image of neighborhoods on the South Side:

Homicides in Chicago, Illinois, have surpassed the death toll of America's Special Forces in Iraq. Over 400 school-age kids have been shot this year. On the weekend of July 4th, 2015, American Independence Day, 55 people were shot and wounded and 10 were murdered including a seven-year-old boy. Where was their freedom? Where was their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

Then, comparative data of deaths in Afghanistan's war, the Iraqi war, and murders in Chicago are shown.

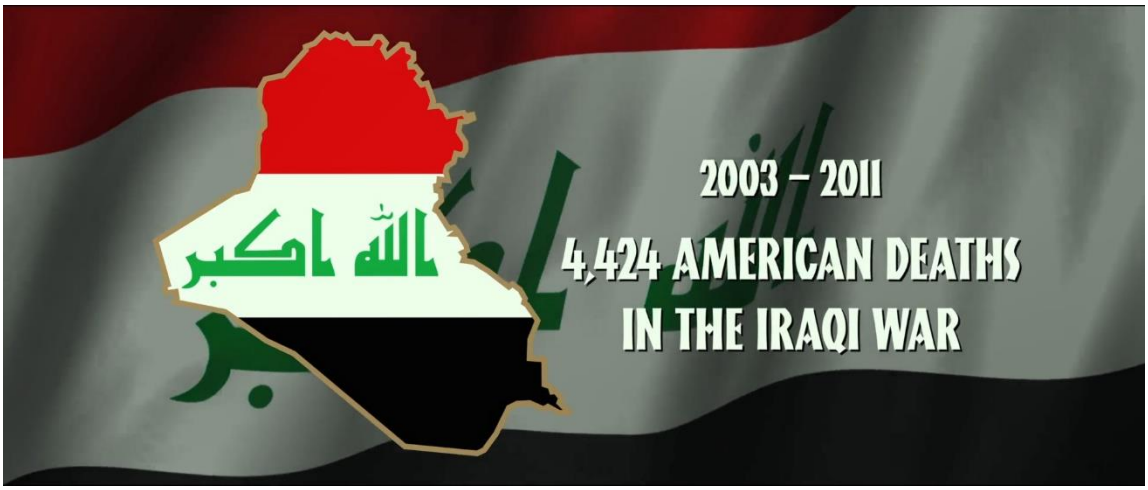

Figure 60. The murders data in Chicago
(Chi-Raq, 2015)

The movie also begins with a crime scene. The Chicago L train is the first urban elements in the movie that cuts to a surrounding neighborhood where black people are in a long line to enter a club. The film noir-style, a wet street at night prepares the audience for an underground space where a horrible crime is expected. The sequence of dancing in the bar ends with the shooting. The Chicago L, a wet street in its immediate block, African-American youth in a dancing club, and shooting all stands for one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in Chicago: Englewood.

Figure 61. The Chicago L and its immediate block
(Chi-Raq, 2015)

Beyond an urban path, the Chicago L plays a central role in the movie. The second crime, an arson attack at their home, happens while *Lysistrata* and her boyfriend (nicknamed *Chi-Raq*) are having sex. Chi-Raq chases the attacker to the street and shoots him. A tilt camera movement shows to the audience where this crime scene, in front of their house, occur: under an L route.

Figure 62. The house attack under the Chicago L route (Chi-Raq, 2015)

This unusual urban environment that, regarding its proximity to the train route, does not look comfortable is again represented in another sequence where *Lysistrata*'s neighbor, Miss Helen Worthy, a well-read non-violence advocate, is working in his small garden.

Figure 63. The house location under the Chicago L route (Chi-Raq, 2015)

The train route also creates a safe place, not for ordinary people, but for the neighborhood's gangs. There are a few scenes that show where gang members meet each other. The ruinous space under the L route is not a commuting area but a hangout location with a popular appearance that is created by drawing graffitis.

Figure 64. The ruinous role of the Chicago L
(Chi-Raq, 2015)

The homogeneous ethnicity of black people in the neighborhood throughout the movie is a cinematic representation of the Chicago School of Sociology's emphasis on the human ecology and segregation of urban circles. The most obvious feature of the neighborhood is its residents as well as posters and graffitis on the walls. While two terrifying crime scenes occurred last night, we see *Lysistrata* who is walking in the neighborhood in the morning, feeling safe and happy.

Figure 65. Neighborhood's appearance
(Chi-Raq, 2015)

There is a series of traveling shots that, using the Chicago L routes, all together shows how far this neighborhood is from downtown Chicago. The Willis Tower in the background of the first shot helps the audience estimate the distance between this neighborhood (or circle in the Chicago School of sociology's terminology) and the downtown. They also represent the different and contrasting condition of the neighborhood's urban fabric compared to the modern skyscrapers, Lake Michigan and its rivers in the downtown. The "Building A New Chicago" billboard in the downtown, however, opens a window of hope.

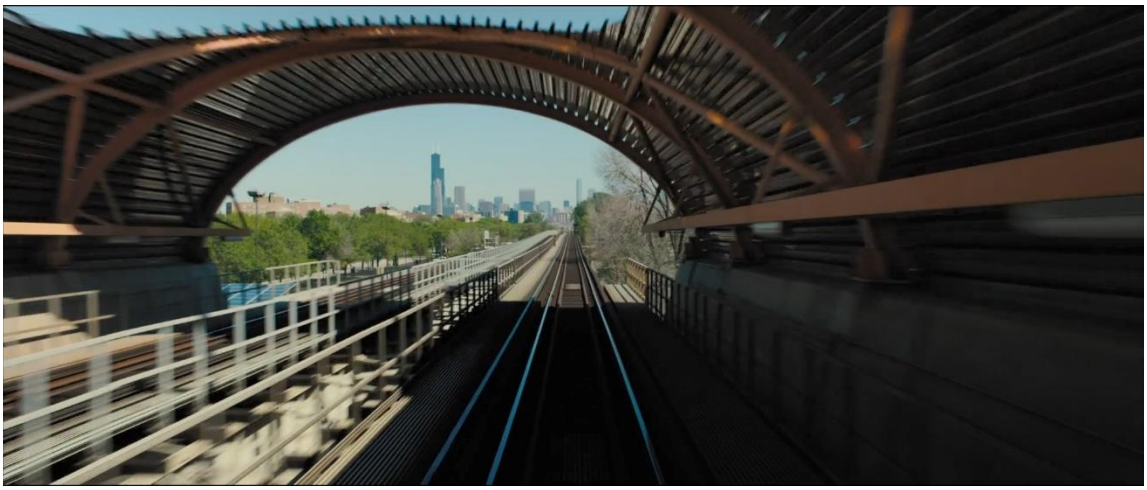

Figure 66. The contrasting image of Englewood and the downtown Chicago (Chi-Raq, 2015)

Despite the overwhelming presence of urban elements, the film's proposed solution to reducing crime and increasing security and hope is the use of women's sexual power.

Office Christmas Party (2016)

It is a few days to Christmas but you wouldn't really know it at a Chicago tech firm. When the CEO, Carol, tries to close her hard-partying brother's branch, he, Clay, and his Chief Technical Officer, Josh, must rally their co-workers and host an epic office Christmas party to impress a potential client and close a sale that will save their jobs.

Office Christmas Party shot on location in the city, and the movie shows off the Windy City every chance it gets. The first urban sequence of the movie represents the Chicago L, passing through the downtown skyscrapers. It is winter. It is snowy. *Josh* takes the "L" to work in the bitter cold, and it looks miserable. People are walking in the streets. The downtown is vibrant, alive and happy. The Chicago L route and train are not only 'paths' through which people get into the downtown 'district,' but is also a well-known urban element that defines the city.

Figure 67. The Chicago L through downtown skyscrapers (Office Christmas Party, 2016)

Most of the film takes place in an office building at a downtown plaza, so there are plenty of shots of the crew walking across it with that giant red sculpture in the background. The contrasting color of the sculpture compared to the achromatic appearance of the rest of the mise-en-scène (i.e., gray and black buildings and white snow) emphasizes on the role of this red element as a local landmark.

Figure 68. The red sculpture as a local landmark
(Office Christmas party, 2016)

Chicago river and the bridge on it are other urban elements that the filmmaker uses to advance the dynamicity of the context, object in Peirce's terminology, of the movie. *Josh* and *Clay* stroll across the river early in the film, and *Clay* wonders how fast you'd have to be going to jump the bridge when it gets raised for boats. This becomes relevant later in the film in a scene. This also reminds viewers of the famous car jump sequence in *The Blues Brothers*. The river and its bridges have two functions in the city; first, they provide paths for boats and cars to pass through them and reach different destinations in the downtown; second, they define edges by which hand-made urban spaces are separated from nature.

Figure 69. Chicago River and its bridges
(Office Christmas Party, 2016)

While most of the film takes place in the downtown and tech firm, the contrasting image of an out-ot-downtown neighborhood reveals another face of the Windy City. Clay disappears and *Josh* and his friends go to find him. *Carol* reluctantly joins them. They find him at a sleazy nightclub. The atmosphere of the movie changes when they leave the party in the downtown and arrive at an empty, dark neighborhood where buildings are old, there are no eyes on the street and they are attacked. The Willis Tower in the background shows how far they are from the downtown and how this distance changes the appearance as well as the social and psychological characteristics of the city.

Figure 70. The contrasting image of downtown and a surrounding neighborhood (Office Christmas Party, 2016)

Imperfections (2016)

Cassidy is a struggling actress sleeping on her mother's couch. Desperate to save enough money to move to Hollywood, she takes a job working as a runner for her mother's boyfriend, an importer in Chicago's diamond district. When she realizes the money is trickling in too slowly for her to put a stake together, she conspires with the owner's son to stage a robbery and keep the diamonds - using her former boyfriend as the fall guy.

This is another comedy that narrates a crime business set in Chicago. The filmmaker, David Singer, is from Chicago and tells the story that represents the charming, almost anachronistic noir setting of Chicago's Jewelers Row district. The first image of the city is a vague representation of skyscrapers through Cassidy's mother's apartment window. Before any urban action, we become familiar with the relationship between a daughter and her mother while we see the city's tall buildings in the background. This image-sign prepares us for future exterior scenes in a city that, as this scene shows, is recognized with its downtown skyscrapers. Similar shots are included throughout the movie so the audiences see the Willis Tower through this window in the second half of the film. Two example shots can be seen in the Figures below.

Figure 71. Downtown skyscrapers in the background of the window (Imperfections, 2016)

The first urban scene of the movie represents two faces of the downtown strict. On his way to work, a boy is chased by a group of people in the downtown where the Chicago L route is a well-known landmark and people are around. The boy runs to the back block where the urban atmosphere changes. No one is in the neighborhood; the streets are not as clean as the previous space and buildings' façade are different. He is caught at the intersection of these two different blocks. While the initial image of the downtown represents a desirable, live space, we immediately see another face of the neighborhood which is devoted to the backside of the same modern buildings.

Figure 72. Two faces of the Chicago downtown (Imperfections, 2016)

The Chicago L still plays a central role in urban interactions. In addition to the above scene in which the boy first sees the men under the L route, this is where Cassidy's ex-boyfriend is waiting for her. No crime or even crime-potential atmosphere under the L route is represented this time though. The modern buildings and luxury shops on the two sides of the street here dominates the ruinous role that the Chicago L plays in many other movies.

Figure 73. The active role of L route (Imperfections, 2016)

All the locations referenced in the movie are real places in Chicago: Harrison Street and 5th Avenue for example. The most contrasting image of Chicago is represented when Cassidy is

walking in the vibrant and live downtown street to deliver a diamond and get a call for taking part in an acting test. She changes her way and goes to the test location, obviously outside of downtown, where she is attacked by two men. They take her to a back alley where no one is seen; no one hears her scream; and trashes are the only objects on the street. While almost the whole story is narrated in the beautiful, charming spaces of downtown Chicago and its river bridges, this sequence shows another face of the city that does not look inviting; is under no eyes' surveillance; and therefore, is not safe at all, at least against targeted crime, even during the day.

Figure 74. Unsafe condition of an out-of-downtown neighborhood (Imperfections, 2016)

Bad Santa 2 (2016)

As Willie, fueled by cheap whiskey, greed, and hatred, tries and fails, to kill himself, he is visited by Thurman "The Kid" Merman, who delivers to Willie a package containing a large sum of cash, and Willie soon finds out it's from Marcus, his former partner who has been released from jail after the events 13 years earlier. Marcus, expressing sincere remorse for betraying Willie, tells Willie he has an opportunity in Chicago, a deal that can potentially net them millions. Willie will discover that another partner in crime is also eager to join in the heist: his desperate for cash estranged mother, Sunny.

The bulk of *Bad Santa 2* is set in Chicago, which apart from some obligatory establishing shots of well-known urban elements is not Chicago based on the architecture and transit signs in the background. Again, it is Winter and snowy. A skating rink in a downtown park, the skyline of towers and skyscrapers, frozen Lake Michigan and its rivers, people in the live and vibrant downtown streets where Christmas trees promise the arrival of Christmas, the Chicago Tribune building, the Cloud Gate, and the Water Tower all together give the first taste of what characters might expect to see in Chicago. These postcard shots have no effects on the narrative but show off the city. A few minutes later, the Chicago L finally appears to complete the image of the city.

Figure 75. Downtown Chicago
(Bad Santa 2)

All these urban scenes plus the happy atmosphere of the dancing in a park stand at a contrasting position against the dark back alley of the Charity where *Willie*, *Marcus*, and *Sunny* prepare for the robbery as the charity is holding its event where the children are singing. The absence of eyes on the street provides them with the opportunity to use the building's trash chute system to escape the building.

Figure 76. Back alley of the Charity Center
(Bad Santa 2, 2016)

Other Chicagoan urban elements in the movie do not even play the role of a backdrop for the story and, therefore, cannot be interpreted concerning a Chicagoan object.

Rampage (2018)

When three different animals become infected with a dangerous pathogen owned by gene manipulation company Energyne, a primatologist, Davis, and a geneticist, Kate, team up to stop them from destroying Chicago. Chicago becomes a dangerous battlefield.

Rampage is the only sci-fi movie that is interpreted in this dissertation. Brandon Staley (2018) argues that when a giant movie monster emerges with murderous intent, there's one rule that generally holds true: the bigger the stakes, the more effective the thrills. Whether it be gleaming skyscrapers, an iconic tower or a massive bridge used by millions every month, each locale has its own landmarks that would become a mere memory if said monster could not be stopped. The Willis Tower plays the central role here in impressing the audience. The first urban scene of Chicago is represented when *Energyne*'s CEO decides to activate a radio frequency that calls to the mutated animals, and they make their way to Chicago, where *Energyne* is located. The company is based in Willis Tower whose antenna generates the radio frequency.

Figure 77. The central role of Willis Tower (Rampage, 2018)

More than real-world urban spaces and elements, Chicago is heard in dialogues:

Davis: Colonel, you have to evacuate Chicago

Apocalyptic images of Chicago are disturbing. The giant crocodile, wolf, and gorilla are destroying bridges, buildings, and cars. The city is under the fire and frightened people are fleeing:

- *Are we evacuated downtown?*
- *Clear at a 10-block radius from Upper Wacker to Adams, sir.*

Figure 78. Chicago under attack
(Rampage, 2018)

George, *Ralph*, and *Lizzie* (animals) arrive in the city, leading to an all-out rampage. *Davis* and *Kate* arrive as the monsters start tearing the city apart. the monsters start making their way up the tower. This is where Willis Tower plays a significant role. If the monsters succeed in destroying the tower, the most iconic landmark of Chicago, it is as if the city was destroyed. A traveling shot shows the animals climbing up the tower. The disaster is going to happen. The tower is represented as the heart of a city that is being destroyed.

Figure 79. The Willis Tower is collapsing
(Rampage, 2018)

Death Wish (2018)

Based on a 1972 novel by Brian Garfield, Death Wish (2018) follows the character *Paul Kersey*, an experienced trauma surgeon and a man who has spent his life-saving lives. *Dr. Kersey* often sees the consequences of the city's violence in the emergency room. When home intruders brutally attack his wife and young daughter, *Kersey* becomes obsessed with delivering vigilante justice to the perpetrators.

Most of the picture is being shot in cost-effective and versatile Montreal. Nevertheless, through a Chicago-based story, the movie provides a representational context for interpreting the crime-planning relationship in Chicago and its suburb. Because the movie is quite contemporary to the time of this writing (2020), a contextual reading demands little historical knowledge. Nevertheless, the filmmaker's emphasis on the city where the story takes place, Chicago, is so much that he creates the targeted contextual knowledge at the beginning of the film. Watching an extreme long shot of Chicago's cityscape and one of its streets, we hear the voice of different newscasters:

[newscaster 1] The girl is now recovering from a shooting on the far South Side … [newscaster 2] Breaking news, two teens, the victims of deadly gunfire … [newscaster 3:] Chicago will end 2016 with a surging murder rate as city leaders … [Sway] It's Sway in the Morning. Shade 45. We gotta talk about what's happening in Chicago. [man 1] You got … on the line right now, man. You wanna know what the problem is? The problem is they don't care about us. The problem is we don't get enough education. [newscaster 4] Seventeen-year-old boy who was shot and killed … [newscaster 5] A 12-year-old girl recovering from gunshot wounds suffered in the shooting last night. [newscaster 6] 762 murders, more than 3,500 shootings. [man 2] There's no hope, guys. The government ain't coming for ya. Things are worse than ever before. So, sit there … [Sway] We gonna keep this topic goin' because something has to give in Chicago.

While the story of the original novel by Garfield (1972) takes place in New York, this contextual introduction takes any viewer beyond the immediate object of the represented city, an American city, to a more dynamic understanding of the overall object of the movie: Chicago. Since urban crime is the central motif of the movie, crime-related urban theories and thoughts provide the basis for the interpretation.

The first image-sign that is interpreted here represents the pre-burglary scene where *Dr. Kersey*'s neighborhood becomes the element of suspense. What/where is the object of this image-sign, the neighborhood, in the real world? Although it represents a low-density, single-family residential neighborhood in Chicago, that is more than an immediate object for an ordinary viewer, more details help Chicagoans, or other viewers who are familiar enough with the city, to grab the most dynamic object as it is. '20 Dorset road, Evanston Il,' though is a fake address, reveals the ecological context of *Dr. Kersey*'s neighborhood where his wife and daughter are attacked: A Chicago suburb wedged neatly between Lake Michigan and Chicago's northern border. Furthermore, a more familiar planner may know that, with a median household income of $68,169 compared to the national average of $59.039 (Chandra & Yadoo, 2017), Evanston Il is ranked No. 5 in "America's Best Cities to Live" by Financial news site 24/7 Wall St (NBC Chicago, 2014).

while *Dr. Kersey* is in the hospital due to an emergency case, this image-sign shows his wife and daughter at the moment of returning home at night. Two earlier sequences, we see a restaurant worker who stealthy takes a photo of *Dr. Kersey*'s house address on his car monitor. Now, the half-front image of a car parked by *Dr. Kersey*'s house in this image-sign creates anxiety. Following some actions and interactions, this image-sign leads to the death of his wife and the injury of his daughter at their house in the next sequence. An immediate interpretation of this image-sign, based upon the 'immediate' or somehow 'dynamic' object, maybe that low-density, single-family residential neighborhoods in Chicago are not safe to live. A more dynamic interpretation may be that if even Evanston Il is not that safe, what suburban neighborhood in

the United States is a safe place to live? Based on the teachings of urban planning, however, an urban planner may reach a close-to-final interpretation of the scope and roots of the problem.

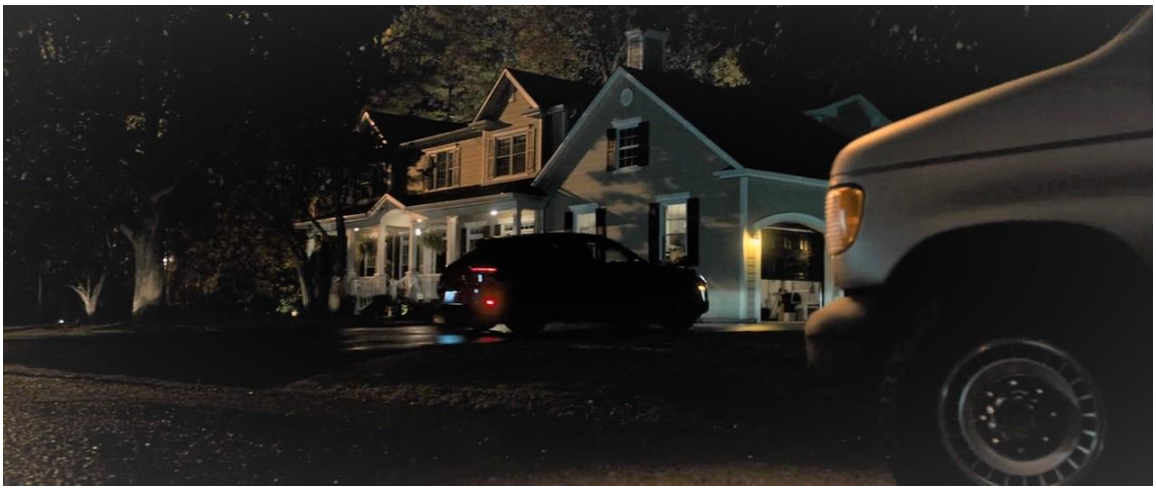

Figure 80. The safety concern of suburban areas
(Death Wish, 2018)

Jacobs was focused mostly on personal crimes, not property crimes. Moreover, she said of her ideas, "I hope no reader will try to transfer my observations into guides as to what goes on in towns, or little cities, or in suburbs which still are suburban. Towns, suburbs, and even little cities are different organisms from great cities" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 16). But Paulsen provides planners with 'Design Guidance', focus mostly on suburbs, that helps in the planning-oriented interpretation of this image-sign.

To answer the major question of how urban planning and design would prevent such burglaries, murders, and assaults, the neighborhood's level of 'connectivity' is the first element Paulsen takes into consideration. "one of the biggest conflicts in terms of crime prevention and planning arises with connectivity. This conflict centers on the enclosure and encounter models of how to design street networks. Traditionally, [similar to Jacobs' point of view] planners favor highly connected, gridded street networks, while crime prevention advocates favor less connected, limited-access street network" (Paulsen, 2013, p. 88). Aside from what is the best design method for a suburban neighborhood, the benefits of highly permeable gridded street networks, Paulsen

writes “are isolated to high-pedestrian-activity- areas in large urban areas and not necessarily extended to suburban locations” (Paulsen, 2013, p. 88). To avoid a pure enclosure model, however, he argues that the solution is balanced connectivity. An excellent guide to what balanced connectivity, Paulsen writes, comes from Security by Design (SBD): The success and failure of a place as part of a sustainable community are influenced by the nature and quality of its connections, particularly to local and wider services and amenities. Too few connections can undermine vitality, too many –and especially too many underused and poorly thought out connections- can increase the opportunity to commit the crime. The right level and type of access, resulting in places that are both well connected and secure, is achieved through careful and creative sign based upon the local assessment.

Although a comprehensive, extreme long shot of the neighborhood’s urban design is not depicted in the movie, it is not possible to examine its level of connectivity. The empty street represented in the pre-burglary scene, however, implies that the nature and quality of the neighborhood’s connections are below the correct level.

In terms of land use and zoning policies, “while planners traditionally propose a healthy mix of land uses,” Paulsen argues, “crime prevention advocates are leery of mixing uses, preferring to separate uses and keep them at low intensities.” Although his summarization of the research results on the diversity of land uses reveals that “property crimes and robbery victimization are more likely in mixed land-use locations,” the filmmaker here targets a low-density, single-family residential neighborhood. Furthermore, as with connectivity, Paulsen speaks of a “balanced approach” that is “neither a pure crime prevention model nor a pure planning model.” He then affirms that “the biggest issue when it comes to mixed-use developments is how to design them for lower-activity suburban areas.” Finally, Paulsen sees the solution “in communities that have functional mixed-use, where the uses are close enough to easily walk to but do not share the same block space” (Paulsen, 2013, pp. 92-3).

In the pre-burglary image-sign, however, assault and murder happen at night when, even in the case of having functional mixed-use, there is probably no functional activity in the adjacent block that could prevent the crime. Moreover, the criminals have chosen their prey elsewhere (in front of a restaurant), not in the neighborhood. They just followed the address. *Dr. Kersey*'s neighborhood has not necessarily been inviting, but only facilitated the context for the crime. The main question here is whether urban planning can really prevent targeted crimes? What level of connectivity or mixed land-use could really persuade criminals to ignore this wealthy target in a suburban area? Paulsen's comment is noteworthy: "it is important to remember that while design is essential to ensuring a safe and secure mixed-use area, all planned mixed land-use areas should be designed to facilitate easy police patrol" (Paulsen, 2013, p. 94). Since the level of lighting as a primary element in environmental surveillance seems adequate in this image-sign, a formal police patrol plan for the area could be complementary to planning-oriented policies of crime prevention at least in suburban areas.

Instead of formal police control, Jacobs speaks of a "public character" in urban neighborhoods. "A public character (e.g. a storekeeper or barkeeper) is anyone who is in frequent contact with a wide circle of people and who is sufficiently interested to make himself a public character. A public character needs to have no special talents or wisdom to fulfill his function—although he often does. He just needs to be present, and there need to be enough of his counterparts" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 68). While it is not applicable for planners to count on a "public character" in suburbs, only a policeman may notice something unusual; a suspected parked car in this image-sign. In Death wish, however, there is a horrible dialogue by *Dr. Kersey*'s father in law: "People rely on the police to keep them safe. That's the problem. The police only arrive after the crime has taken place." The final interpretation of the first image-sign evokes this complex discussion that stands at the intersection of sociological, planning-oriented, and police-related roots of property crimes in suburban areas. Jane Jacobs criticized life in such areas at best. "I live in a lovely, quiet residential area," says her friend who is hunting another place to live. "the only

disturbing sound at night is the occasional scream of someone being mugged" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 30). This spatial horror is confirmed by police statistics in the movie: "Well, there have been a string of break-ins along the North Shore ... Six in the last nine months."

The second image-sign selected here represents a crime sequence in which *Dr. Kersey*, now the city's 'guardian angel,' shoots the fake 'ice cream man' to get a boy's revenge. Using the address on the Chicago North Hospital's patient form, the filmmaker again takes Chicagoans, other familiar viewers, and/or follow-up interpreters beyond the immediate object of the represented 'urban space' to grab the dynamic object of "S. Logan Avenue" in Chicago. Again, Chicago is not represented here as a generic background but as what Phillips (2016) calls "a pointed, loaded, famously violent character." Since the crime occurs in a neighborhood in a great city, Jacobs' theory provides a planning-oriented context for the close-to-final interpretation of the image-sign.

Figure 81. Targeted shooting and murder in the sidewalk (Death Wish, 2018)

The crime occurs in the sidewalk, a central element in Jacobs' discussion of safety and diversity. "Streets and their sidewalks, the main public places of a city, are its most vital organs ... If a city's streets are safe from barbarism and fear, the city is thereby tolerably safe from barbarism and fear. When people say that a city, or a part of it, is dangerous or a jungle what they mean

primarily is that they do not feel safe on the sidewalks ... To keep the city safe is [then] a fundamental task of a city's streets and its sidewalks" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 29-30). She even goes beyond the tradition of the sociological framing of urban crime and states that it is not "illuminating to tag minority groups, or the poor, or the outcast with responsibility for city danger" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 31). In contrast to her argument, however, a retail drug dealer becomes the 'targeted' victim of the crime, regardless of the characteristics of his urban context.

Furthermore, in Jacobs' theory, 'diversity' is a central concept that makes streets and sidewalks safe and lively. There are specific characteristics that contribute to this liveliness. "A lively street always has both its users and pure watchers" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 37). Moreover, "If sidewalks on a lively street are sufficiently wide, play flourishes mightily right along with other uses" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 86). Based upon Jacobs' clarification, then, Logan Avenue and its sidewalk in which the crime occurs are lively. The image-sign 2 shows a lot of users and pure watchers in the avenue and specifically its sidewalk: The ice cream man who 'use' the avenue to do his 'real' job; the boys who 'live' there and 'use' the space to go to school; the neighbors who purely 'watch' what happens in their neighborhood; and the children who play in the 'wide' sidewalk. Interestingly, this avenue also covers most of Jacobs' "myths" about diversity. Buildings have different "colors and textures", "ages", and "height at first-floor level". Even the ice cream man himself made a kind of "diversity of uses" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 222-238) compared to the residential nature of the neighborhood.

In Jacobs' thought, the streets of successful city neighborhoods must have three main qualities. The Logan Avenue in *Death Wish* seems to pass all: "First, there must be a clear demarcation between what is public space and what is private space ... Second, there must be eyes upon the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street ... And third, the sidewalk must have users on it fairly continuously" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 35). On the other hand, "The public peace of cities" Jacobs writes, "is not kept primarily by the police." If urban planning has met all its responsibilities in Logan Avenue, and if according to Jacobs "no amount

of police can enforce civilization where the normal, casual enforcement of it has broken down" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 31-32), then is this reasonable to expect urban planning to take all the responsibilities related to urban crime prevention? It seems that at least in case of 'targeted' crimes when the urban structure of streets and neighborhoods is not crime-inviting, sociological theories are expected to deal with non-facial roots of the problem. By the way, the goal of this paper is not to answer the chain of questions evoked by those interpretations, but to introduce and apply urban semiotics to reach a planning-oriented close-to-final interpretation of movies.

There are also urban scenes in this movie that confirm the ruinous role of border vacuums. Similar to the unsafe condition of Chicago L's immediate blocks in the cinema of the 1980s, there is a sequence in the movie in which Dr. Kersey is beaten by strangers under an L route at night. Even though many people get off the train at the same time and the street is relatively busy, eyes on the street do not prevent the crime.

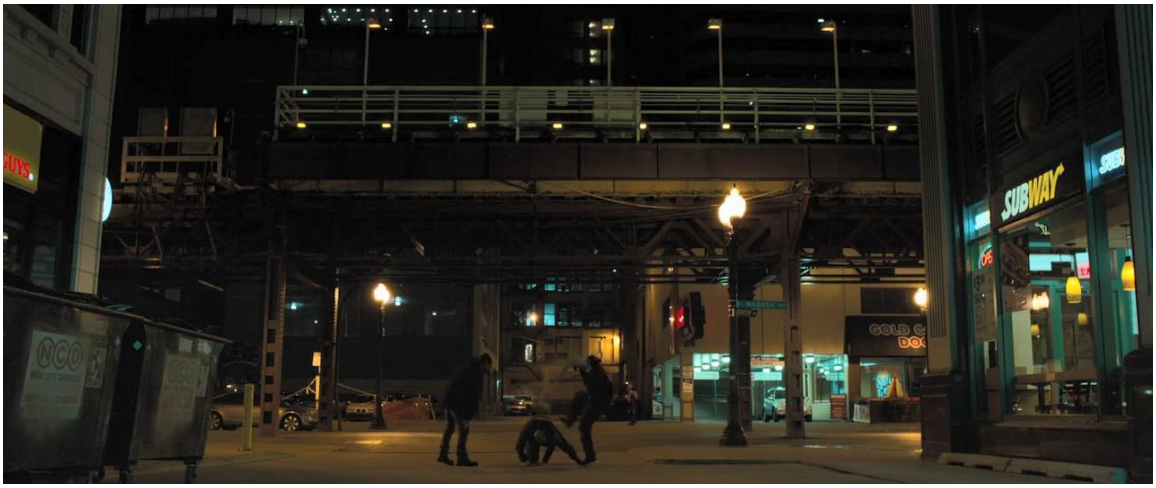

Figure 82. The border vacuum of Chicago L
(Death Wish, 2018)

Canal Street (2019)

Kholi, a young black teenager, is wrongfully accused of and arrested for the murder of his white classmate, Brian. His father fights in court for his son's vindication. Against all odds, they embrace their undying trust in each other and find faith in God.

Canal Street tells the story of a community that is torn apart and divided. The movie forces the audience to question the "lens" through which they see and relate to others. Although the film seldom shows the real urban elements, landmarks, and spaces, it constantly refers to districts and neighborhoods that all are known by Chicago residents and historically shaped the social organization of the city. The filmmaker tells his crime story based on the historically existed urban segregation in Chicago: "it's not going to be Black people on one side and white people on another side, it's going to be about the city of Chicago and the diversity that surrounds it, and the segregation. And with segregation and diversity, it's not just color, it's where you grow up. It's also how you were raised ..." Rhyan LaMarr, the director, said.[5]

The movie begins with radio news and roundabout talks about this murder, crime in general, and the social context that surrounds Chicago:

So, where do we stand when it comes to privilege in America? We are so marginalized as a people. There are people dying in my neighborhood every day... All right. black lives matter, yes. Latino lives matter too. Asian lives matter. Indian lives matter. Muslim lives matter. So, everything's got to be about race all the time 'cause it sells the news... as a society, we need to start listening to all perspectives.... Compared to a Caucasian person, you always have to prove if you're there. They never want to believe you on face value... Chicago! the whole world is watching us right now.

The first sequence of the movie makes the bridge between what the audience just heard and what the city looks like. This scene depicts a long shot of *Kholi*'s neighborhood where he was

[5] See https://www.bet.com/celebrities/exclusives/canal-street-movie-interviews-exclusive.html

born and raised. The downtown skyscrapers are in the background and demonstrate how far this neighborhood is from the heart of the city. The grid network of streets and three-floor buildings of the black neighborhood create a contrasting image compared to the towers of the downtown and Lake Michigan horizon line.

Figure 83. Black neighborhood vs. downtown skyscrapers
(Canal Street, 2019)

A similar comparative shot of the neighborhood and downtown district is represented a few minutes later.

Figure 84. Black neighborhood vs. downtown skyscrapers (2)
(Canal Street, 2019)

Later in the movie, we find out that *Kholi*'s neighborhood is E 83rd St & S Ingleside Avenue which is located in a ring (in Chicago School of Sociology's terminology) farther from the CBD that, featuring with Willis Tower, is represented two minutes later.

Figure 85. Downtown Chicago
(Canal Street, 2019)

A conversation between *Kholi* and his classmate, *Brian*, who is killed a few minutes later, reveals the consequences of this physical segregation and shows how all sides of this urban policy are affected:

- *Kholi: I don't feel like I'm welcome here.*
- *Brian: That's all in your head! Who is it telling you to leave?*
- *Kholi: Nobody!*
- *Brian: When I was seven years old, I remember my parents took me out to the mall downtown. I was standing there holding my mom's hand, and I saw another kid there holding his mom's hand, only I had never seen anyone like him except maybe on TV, so at seven years old, I was unfamiliar with him, man. But I am asking you, is that my fault?*

Surprisingly, in contrast to other movies, the Chicago L does not play the role of indefensible space in *Canal Street*. There is a long shot that depicts the calm and peaceful

downtown in a sunny day where the glass façade of skyscrapers reflects the sunlight in the background, the L train is passing through the district in the middle ground, and the shining Chicago River creates a desirable combination of the city and nature in the foreground. Urban landmarks (skyscrapers), path (L route), and edge (river) in the central district of the city (downtown) all together create the most vibrant 'node' of Chicago where the voice of the train gives a taste of what they might experience in this area.

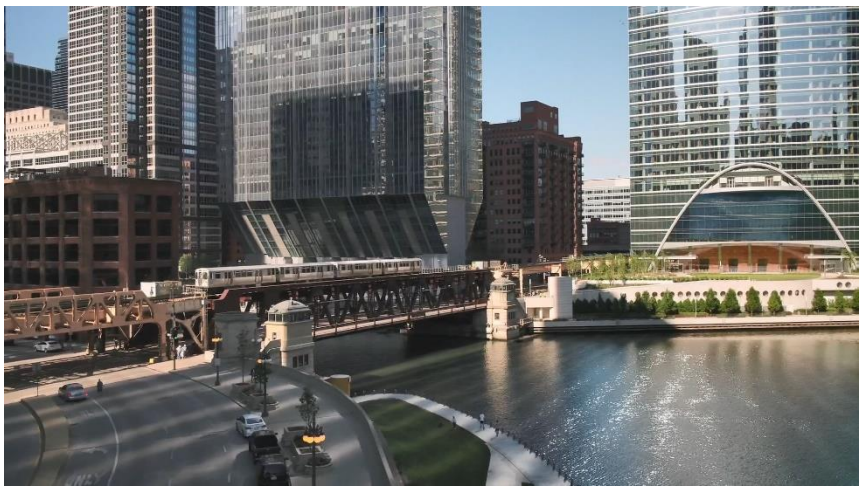

Figure 86. The five Lynch's elements in downtown Chicago (Canal Street, 2019)

While the opening sequence of the movie defines Canal Street as:

A Street existing in every society that provides equal access to opportunity without prejudice.

Its ending sequence complete this definition:

The Street where all communities meet in conversation for the greater good of our society even while stuck in uncomfortable traffic.

Chapter 5 - Discussion and Conclusion

Along with the invention of cinema at the end of the nineteenth century, the development of urban space offered new forms of activity and objects which made cities immediate backdrop and even subject for many movies. Now, after more than one century, despite limited efforts, interpretation of visual representations of cities has not become a mainstream in the urban studies community. The emerging forms of pop culture, new media, and visual representations are providing a unique opportunity for embodied, subjective construction of spaces, places, and cites so that scholars of urban studies have no choice but to apply these representations of the new age into their inquiries of city. Meanwhile, cinema has been the dominant form of representation throughout the twentieth century. Cinema has been able to create leading new thoughts and ideas, so that some of them made a paradigm shift. The way spaces are used and places are portrayed in film reflects prevailing cultural norms, physical appearances, ethical mores, societal structures, and ideologies.

Analyzing visual image-signs represented in cinema needs a philosophical and conceptual standpoint that helps urban researchers read cities and urban phenomena. The pervasiveness of cinema from the last century to now, its global impact and unique ability to represent different aspects of urban spaces, people, and issues, encouraged me to develop an interdisciplinary framework, called urban cinesemiotics, for the dynamic interpretation of the cinematic city. The notion of dynamic refers to a degree of flexibility that enables urban researchers, with any level of contextual and theoretical knowledge, to interpret cities and urban thoughts through movies. Although the emphasis here was on cinema, the conceptual framework developed in this dissertation is also applicable to other visual domains; with some technical changes, though.

From a critical interpretive philosophical position, urban cinesemiotics leans toward an interdisciplinary approach draws on three literatures: urban theory, cinema, and semiotic. Based on the Peircean triadic semiotics, every image-sign is a representamen that stands for an object

and an interpretant. The object refers to the city, urban space, or any other urban phenomena that are represented in an urban image-sign. Depending on the viewer's contextual knowledge, an image-sign stands may for a range of immediate and dynamic objects. Accordingly, interpretant is an equivalent sign which is created in the mind of the interpreter. Sufficient theoretical knowledge moves the interpretant beyond the immediate interpretation toward a dynamic or even final interpretation of the sign. Here is where urban theory is assimilated into this methodology. This interdisciplinary framework not only enables urban planners to, using urban theories and thoughts, identify and interpret image-signs but also opens a new perspective through which they might review or reframe the teaching, thoughts and theories of urban studies.

Two sets of urban theory provide the basis for the cinesemiotics analysis/interpretation in this research: General urban planning thoughts and Chicago-based theories. Kevin Lynch's *the Image of the City* and Jane Jacobs' *the Death and Life of Great American Cities* are primary books that along with the Chicago School of Sociology's urban theory helped the author to develop a primitive interpretation of the films and their urban-oriented image signs. This preliminary review revealed that 'crime' is the major motif in most of the movies. The theoretical roots of 'Crime Prevention through Environmental Design' (CPTED), then, added to Jacobs' and Lynch's ideas and constituted a targeted theoretical ground for the interpretation.

The interpretation of movies made and/or based in Chicago in the 1980s and 2010s shows that the Chicago L is the dominant 'path' in the city. While there are well-known highways, streets, and boulevard in Chicago, none of the is represented as much as the L in movies. While the Willis Tower is the most significant landmark in the city, all skyscrapers and towers together make the city's most represented district: the downtown. Green zones like Grant Park, Millennium park, and Graceland Cemetery, as well as peripheral neighborhoods like Englewood are other observed districts in movies. Also, the Twin Towers, Water Tower, and Cloud Gate are examples of other urban-scale landmarks that mark the city. Furthermore, there re several nodes in and/or around which Chicagoan stories are narrated. The Chicago L stations, downtown offices and companies,

sports stadiums, especially Wrigley Field, Chicago Board of Trade, the Art Institute of Chicago, and several restaurants and coffee shops are important urban and neighborhood nodes in films. The Lake Michigan and its rivers make the dominant, natural edge for the city. In some cases, however, the L routes play the role of edge to define borders of neighborhoods and districts.

What the cinematic representation of the city adds to Lynch's five elements, is giving a taste of what can be heard, touched, tasted, and smelled in Chicago. The narrative form of cinema does not only limit the audience's perspective to what one can see in the city, but it depicts a scene in which all human senses are involved. Beyond the physical appearance of Lynch's five elements, cinema enables the viewers to experience the feelings spaces they have never been to before. In addition to 'what' the city's landmark, node, path, edge, and district are, films help the audiences answer 'how' they work. This is why an urban researcher applies urban theories and thoughts to make sense of the functions of urban elements through movies.

The lack of proper environmental design according to the teachings and principles of CPTED, for instance, is one of the shortcomings in and around the L routes and stations as well as massive land-uses (e.g., Lake Michigan, parking lots, highways, Graceland Cemetery, etc.) that enables criminals to commit the crime. This is so important that crime has been the dominant motif and genre during both the 1980s and in recent years. The selected Chicagoan movies revealed how criminals took advantage of the lack of the eyes on the street, visibility, sightlines, opportunities for surveillance, integrated mixed-uses, and nigh-time activities and used the entrapment and isolation of alleys and highways to steal and kill people and deal drugs. Movies show the riskiest settings in Chicago have been border vacuums around massive single uses like the Graceland Cemetery, L train's route and stops, Lake Michigan, and rivers. These vacuums generators encourage criminals to make or select warehouses, buildings, and streets to commit a crime there.

But the other side of the story learned from the movies, as Chiodi (2015) argues, is that environmental design, urban planning, and other spatial disciplines cannot influence individuals'

criminal intentions nor can they single-handedly solve the problem of urban safety, but they can play an important role in influencing crime opportunities. There are several crime scenes that confirm why Newman's theory and his claims about the effectiveness of his design principles in reducing crime are the subject of much criticism. In terms of the eyes on the street, for instance, although different strategies are identified by researchers to help people care about signal or something dangerous happening in their neighborhood, nothing is suggested to motivate strangers in a downtown street to pay attention and react to what is happening in their surrounding area. This is an example of why it is still a matter of debate whether the physical environment can solely determine human behavior or not. Cinema shows multiple non-environmental factors affecting the occurrence of a crime. Psychological or economic factors, as represented in *Henry, Portrait of a Serial Killer* and *Running Scared*, are examples of criminals' unpredictable intentions that motivate an individual to commit crime even in urban areas that are considered to be environmentally safe. Even urban spaces, which have apparently met all the design requirements, have failed to convince the directors not to narrate their criminal stories. Similar examples of questions about urban theories are discussed in Chapter 4. This is how researchers may focus on specific urban planning and design issues to see how they work in an artistic (cinema) or social mediated (Instagram, ...) visual representation of cities. This study is just a small step toward the interpretation of city through cinema using urban thoughts and theories. More studies still are needed to see how narratives reveal different aspects of urbanism.

Future Studies

Future studies help to enrich this topic in different ways. First, there is a need to use urban cinesemiotics in other movies along with more urban studies topic to see how it works in relation to other thoughts and theories, rather than planning and crime which was the main genre in Chicagoan movies. Focusing on utopian urban theories, for example, there is a need to interpret futuristic city films to see how they have represented future utopias/dystopias compared to the

teachings of urban studies. Social injustice urban theories, those of David Harvey and Henry Lefebvre in particular, create theoretical context necessary for the interpretation of movies that address the problematics of different social groups in cities.

Second, the author's contextual knowledge about Chicago was very limited in his research. Indeed, it was and intentional decision to see how urban theories help urban researchers to make sense of and interpret cities that they have never been to and, therefore, their understanding of the objects associated to the image-signs is immediate. Although watching several movies has increased the author's knowledge about Chicago and its urban phenomena, it is still hard to claim that my understanding of the real-world objects has developed to a dynamic level. A comparative study between what I have observed and interpreted through the movies and what I directly see in real urban spaces would be an interesting future topic of study. There will not be enough time and opportunity for urbanists, however, to visit every single city and region they see in movies; and this is why I intentionally decided not to visit Chicago until the end of this research.

Third, this paper concentrated on the first level of cinesemiotics: the image sign. There is a potential fluidity in semiotic studies which tends to reach a mixed conception based on the ideas of Saussure, Peirce, and other semioticians. In addition to an image-sign's intrinsic meaning, developing a fluid model, using syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure of Saussure's semiology for instance, may provide a basis for interpreting image-signs based on their relationship with other image-signs represented, or could be represented, in the movie.

Fourth, cinema was only a standpoint in this dissertation. The pervasiveness of mobile social media applications and smartphones is generating vast amounts of visualized user-generated content. As such, they lend themselves as unparalleled socio-spatial data sources for researchers. Photography and video-making have never been more democratic than today. As new media are architected by design to readily support collaboration and community, their content can be interpreted as the voice of 'ordinary', and even 'marginalized' people so that reveals processes and concerns that have long occupied scholars of urban studies. Accordingly, these

media demand a developed, conceptual framework by which researchers can interpret the visual representation of people, the environment, and their relationship. Although discourse analysis, psychoanalysis, and phenomenology have been common qualitative methods for analyzing visual materials, the interpretive nature of Peirce's semiotics makes it an appropriate basis for developing dynamic frameworks, (e.g. Instasemiotics,) that are consistent with the characteristics of new emerging media platforms.

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