Application of Hayward and Young's Cultural Criminology Framework to the Film, Joker

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Abstract

This article explores the film, Joker according to Hayward and Young's five motifs of cultural criminology by thematic analysis. Based on signs, symbols and significations, we analyze how structural and emotional variables affect on crime. In the film, the Joker, as a villainous character, kills seven people as part of his transgressive comedy act. Feelings such as anger and excitement in the Joker's character represent a lens of adrenaline and psychological violence to challenges the rational choice. In the final shots, killing the therapist and bloody footprints confirms the Joker's anarchic jester as an attentive gaze. Due to crisis of rats as a symbol of inequality, the Gotham Carnival was created. This political carnival not only shows the under life of city, but also represents the lower class riot, violent clowns and systemic violence. While Joker is introduced as a superhero and symbol of this carnival, the heroism project of Joker is a dangerous knowledge. However, transition from fictional events to real- life events illustrates that Jihadi terrorist activities are consistent with Hayward and Young's five motifs of cultural criminology.

Keywords: cultural criminology, Joker, the five motifs, humiliation, resistance, inequality

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Introduction

Cultural criminology represents a perspective developed by Ferrell and Sanders, and likewise employed by Redhead and others that interweaves particular intellectual threads to explore the convergence of cultural and criminal processes in contemporary social life (Ferrell, 1999). Critical approaches dominated by poorly developed theory, deterministic methods and statistical testing, cultural criminology has sought to recreate a sociologically inspired criminology that exposes the structures, representations and power relations that underpin crime, inequality and criminal justice (Banks and Moxon, 2013). Cultural criminology's theoretical frames have developed from its foundations in culture, critical theory, and interactionism and its methods have emerged from its roots in naturalistic case study (Ferrell, 1999).

Cultural criminology understands "culture" to be the stuff of collective meaning and collective identity; through culture, the government claims authority and the consumer considers brands of bread, while 'the criminal,' as both a person and a perception, comes alive» to improve clarity and flow. So, this discipline explores the many ways in which cultural forces interweave with the practice of crime and crime control in contemporary society and emphasizes the centrality of meaning, representation, and power in the contested construction of crime (Ferrell et al., 2015). Therefore, cultural criminology considers crime and its control as products of meanings (IIan, 2019).

This line of thought references the increasing analytic attention that many criminologists now give to popular culture constructions, and especially mass media constructions of crime and crime control. In late modernity communication media morph and proliferate, creating and servicing a diversity of audiences, replacing weakened traditional communities with communities of virtual meaning and emotion. Given this, cultural criminology highlights the emergence of this general area of media and cultural inquiry as a relatively distinct domain within criminology (Ferrell, 1999). So, cultural criminology is a subfield in the study of crime that focuses on the importance of image, meaning, and representation, which indirectly lead to crime.

Insofar as cultural criminology is concerned with the multiple intersections between crime, deviance, control and symbolic representation, then the study of film would appear to be a necessary element of any such product (Hayward, 2010). Cinema serves as a popular source for articulating, modeling, and critiquing theories in ways of academic criminology. In other words, cinema provides a cultural space that allows criminologists to study and interrogate key dilemmas surrounding the nature and shape of justice (Kohm and Greenhill, 2011). Attention to these possibilities initiates interdisciplinary alliances and promises a more democratic, less exclusionary view than that of academia of what it means to do criminology and be a criminologist (Rafter and Brown, 2011).

Despite the cultural criminological studies that focus on the televisual and filmic depictions of crime and criminality (Cheatwood, 1998; Niesel 1998; Fishman and Cavender, 1998; Schofield, 2004; Rafter, 2007; Landwehr, 2008; Yar, 2010; Rafter and Brown, 2011; Kohm and Greenhill, 2011; Kohm and Gasek, 2016), this article analyzes the 2019 film, "Joker" based on theoretical framework of Keith J. Hayward and Jock Young by thematic analysis method. Hayward and Young published their pioneering research "CULTURAL CRIMINOLOGY: SOME NOTES ON THE SCRIPT" in the especial issue on cultural criminology for *Theoretical Criminology Journal.* They suggest that these motifs are general orientations to cultural criminological analysis, that the motifs often overlap, and that they should be taken up in ways that are creative, and certainly not as a rigid template for analysis (Hayward and Young, 2004). We apply their "five motifs of cultural criminology" framework to further extend cultural criminology's potential for the visual analysis of the film. Accordingly, the main questions of this article are: how the five motifs of Hayward and Young consist of the transgressive subject, the soft city, the lens of adrenaline, the attentive Gaze and dangerous knowledge can be adapted to the dialogues, scenes and the concepts of the film? Is there a relationship between the five motifs and the main events in the film such as Joker's "fucking comedy life", the Gotham carnival and emotional needs? While, realist cinema is based on social reality, in order to explain Hayward and Young's model in the real life, we attempt to analyze the criminal patterns of jihadi terrorists in this model to match a visual product with a real case. In the current era, terrorism has become a concern of many countries in the world. However, after 9/11, war on terrorism policy has become the main basis of international relations and political, military and economic arrangements. Because of that, war on terrorism is extended round the world. However, the focus of penal systems on counterterrorism policy has led to the neglect of some criminological approaches in this context. Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze the film, Joker in the light of the Hayward and Young's model and at the same time, we try to examine the practical insights of this model among jihadi terrorists. The article opens with research methodology. In this part, the thematic analysis is briefly introduced

and then, the process of obtaining the findings is analyzed. The second part is focused on the findings of the article. In this section, by emphasizing the five motifs and the thematic analysis, the most important findings are obtained. This part shows the relationship between the five motifs and important film events. Finally, in conclusion, the step-by-step process of applying Hayward and Young's Framework to the film is examined by a thematic map.

Research Methodology

The current article is based on thematic analysis. Thematic analysis as an analytic tool draws on core features that are common to many approaches in qualitative analysis and aims to explore the understanding of an issue or the signification of an idea, rather than to reconcile conflicting definitions of a problem (Attride-stirling, 2001). So, thematic analysis is an accessible, flexible, and increasingly popular method of qualitative data analysis and a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into, patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

Applying thematic networks is simply a way of organizing a thematic analysis of qualitative data. Thematic analyses seek to unearth the themes salient in a text at different levels, and thematic networks aim to facilitate the structuring and depiction of these themes. Clearly, the process of deriving themes from textual data and illustrating these with some representational tool is well established in qualitative research. As such, thematic networks analysis is not in any way a new method, but one that shares the key features of any hermeneutic analysis. Thematic networks systematize the extraction of: (i) lowest-order premises evident in the text (Basic Themes); (ii) categories of basic themes grouped together to summarize more abstract principles (Organizing Themes); and (iii) super-ordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole (Global Themes). These are then represented as web-like maps depicting the salient themes at each of the three levels, and illustrating the relationships between them. So, a thematic network is developed starting from the Basic Themes and working inwards toward a Global Theme. Once a collection of Basic Themes has been derived, they are then classified according to the underlying story they are telling and these become the Organizing Themes. Organizing Themes are then reinterpreted in light of their Basic Themes, and are brought together to illustrate a single conclusion or super-ordinate theme that becomes the Global Theme (Attride-Stirling, 2001). In this article, the step by step process of thematic networks consists of coding the material, identifying themes, constructing the networks, describe and explore the thematic networks, summarize the thematic network, and interpret patterns has been used (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Since, the five motifs of cultural criminology are the basis of the article, it must be noted that the identification of segments has been done by deductive qualitative analysis. Deductive analysis is a theory testing process which commences with an established theory or generalization, and seeks to see if the theory applies to specific instances (Hyde, 2000). This approach uses a pre-existing theory, framework, or other researcher driven focus to identify themes of interest (Braun and Clarke 2012). So, deductive analysis is useful for honing in on a particular aspect of the data or a specific finding that could be best illuminated or understood in the context of a pre-existing theory or frame (Kiger and Varpio, 2020). To assess the validity of a qualitative study, various methods are used during which the process takes place. For this purpose, the findings were evaluated by cinema experts and specialists as well as criminologists and their approval was obtained. In this article, the MAXQDA 18 software has been used to categorize and facilitate the analysis. The film was viewed many times and according to the five motifs of cultural criminology, the examples were searched in the film. Coding was subsequently performed according to the primary data in the film consist of scenes, dialogues, characters, episodes, signs etc. Then the segments of each category were created.

Findings

This section presents the thematic analysis of the film based on the five motifs of cultural criminology. Accordingly, the concepts of transgressive subject, soft city, lens of adrenaline, attentive gaze and dangerous knowledge are explored in the film, Joker.

The Transgressive Subject

According to Hayward and Young, Crime is an act of rule breaking. It involves an attitude to rules, an assessment of their justness and appropriateness, and a motivation to break them whether by outright transgression or by neutralization (Hayward and Young, 2004). Contrary to the sociological positivism and the rational choice theory, Cultural criminology would point to the way poverty, for example, is perceived in an affluent society as an act of exclusion in a consumer society. It is an intense experience, not merely of material deprivation, but of a sense of injustice and of ontological insecurity (Hayward and Young, 2004). Therefore, Cultural criminology states that the nature of emotions needs to be investigated as they play a key role in the explanation of crime (Hayward, 2011). However, the crucial component in cultural criminology argumentation is the inclusion of irrationality and emotions in the explanation of crime. (Hayward, 2007).

While there is some variation of theme and emphasis in the development of cultural criminology, there is one element that united all concerned: an abiding interest in existential motivation as expressed primarily through the phenomenological accounts of crime and risk-taking associated with Jack Katz's (Katz, 1988) imperious Seduc-

tions of Crime and Stephen Lyng's (Lyng, 1990) concept of "edgework." In particular, Young and Hayward started to blend "a phenomenology of transgression" with a sociological and structural analysis of late modern culture to create what O'Malley and Mugford (O'Malley and Mugford, 1994) had earlier referred to as a "historically contextualised phenomenology" (Hayward, 2004; Young, 2003). This allowed cultural criminologists to open up questions of etiology to include the wider contexts in which individual experience takes place (Hayward, 2015).

Rafter and Brown argue that a growing number of contemporary films about crime stem from the angst of late modernity and are characterized by "byzantine narratives" and characters whose "lives are marked by a sense of futility, moral ambiguity, and doubts about the possibility of justice." Late modernity – characterized by "a rapid global tempo that is often atomizing and isolating in its effects on the individual" (Rafter and Brown, 2011) drives characters in late modern crime films to search for meaning and justice by engaging in transgressive behaviors that may only further dislocate them from mainstream society (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

At the start of the film, after hearing the radio interview and the protest voices in Gotham City, Arthur Fleck is forcing his face into a smile. In the second scene, we see Arthur dressed in his clown attire dancing with an advertising sign – which written on it "Everything Must Go"-. The Gotham youth beat Arthur after they steal his sign. As he is beaten, he feels like a child who finds himself unable to retaliate. Therefore, he prefers to lie on the ground for a few moments. By the end of the first major scene, it is understood that Arthur is not respected by the society he lives in, which sets the stage for the ontological deprivation. Arthur lives in the city of Gotham with his mother, Penny Fleck, who refers to him by the nickname, "Happy".

Arthur has dreams of becoming a stand-up comedian, but instead has a job working as an entertainment clown. Despite contradictory emotions, Arthur is sometimes kind, loves children, takes his mother to the bathroom, and kisses his friend Gary after Randall's murder. Arthur is a symbol of the underprivileged class with emotional malaise and delusion; he laughs hysterically in the sad moments of his life. These laughs take him to the point of nausea, and if Arthur's laughter is not the body's natural reaction, he may even go to the point of suffocation. That's why Arthur opens his joke journal, staring often at the phrase, "I just hope my death makes more cents than my life." Nevertheless, a piece of paper with a description of his mental illness helps others to understand his conditions: "Forgive my laughter. I have a condition." However, the initial scenes of the film show that Arthur is a normal human with a degree of self-control under normal circumstances.

Arthur's explanation of the murder of three Wall Street men in the subway shows that he did not initially react to the violence of the three men. But when the three men are mocking Arthur's laughter, he kills them. In other words, Arthur's humiliation in the form of a madman, not a sick man, incites him to commit a crime. Explaining his past and discovering Penny's relationship with Thomas Wayne, Arthur finds that she was institutionalized at Arkham Asylum for personality disorder. After stealing her medical files, he reads that he was adopted by his mother and faced severe neglect while her boyfriend repeatedly physically abused Arthur in his youth. Also included in the file are adoption papers which indicate that Arthur was indeed adopted, as suggested earlier by Thomas Wayne (Reed and Boppre, 2021). What afflicts Arthur is the deception of Penny; because while Arthur is in love with his mother, but Penny's true love was not Arthur. Understanding this old relationship, Arthur goes back to his mother's hospital room and suffocates her with a pillow.[1] While painting his face in preparation for attendance in the talk show of Murray Franklin, two of his former coworkers, Randall and Gary, show up at his apartment. In this scene, Randall who gave Arthur the gun tells him about his accusation. Due to this accusation and their past relationship, He takes a pair of scissors from his mother's makeup stand and brutally murders Randall with them. He kisses Gary goodbye and lets him go unharmed, as Gary had always been kind to him at work. The murder of Murray on the talk show is justified in the same way; Because Murray plays Arthur's stand-up comedy on his show and mocks him. Given this, after confessing to the murder of three men, he tells Murray, "You are like everyone else. You play the video. You're inviting me to your program to making fun of me … What do you get when you cross a mentally-ill loner with a society that abandons him and treats him like trash?" and then proceeds to kill him.

Social psychology suggests that people who have been humiliated may respond with social harassment (Femenia, 2008). As a result, people who have been humiliated may seek social revenge (Muenster and Lotto, 2010). In such situations, the desire for revenge can be so intense that a person may act impulsively and disregard the consequences of their actions. In this context, if Arthur's crime is justified based on revenge for social humiliation, he can still not be controlled by increasing the severity of the punishment as deterrence. If Arthur committed seven murders, it would be necessary to investigate the role that social humiliations played in motivating his actions. Perhaps this is why the scene in which Arthur murders Randall shows him with half of his face and body covered in blood and the other half clean. This image may suggest that good and evil coexist within all humans, and that no one is entirely good or entirely evil. This scene, which resembles a similar scene in the film, The Dark Knight, may serve as a reminder that all humans are flawed, and that good and evil coexist within everyone

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1 However, Arthur is in a hurry to kill his mother; because by looking at a photo of Penny's youth and reading the romantic phrase behind it – Love Your Smile- written by Thomas Wayne, he realizes that Wayne was his real father. However, the status of Penny's medical record and its change by Wayne demonstrates the power of wealthy groups in capitalist societies.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Transgressive Subject	The Joker's Fucking Comedy Life	Hysterical laughter and Mental illness Broken family Closure of the social service center Thomas Wayne as his father Getting fired from his job Arthur's joke journal
	Poverty	Living in the suburb Old apartment Poor family Awful elevator Dirty and high stairs
	Humiliation/ Revenge	The murder of the three men The murder of Penny The murder of Randall The murder of Murray

Table 1. Thematic Analysis Based on the Transgressive Subject

Findings of researches mainly address the role of negative emotions such as humiliation, fear, hate, anger, guilt, contempt, and disgust in committing terrorist operations. Such jihadi groups provide their recruits with a well-developed structure and system, which generate negative feelings such as hate, anger, and disgust toward an out group (Haq et al., 2020). People usually hate those they are afraid of (Gaylin, 2003). Hatred is coupled with anger as a way to feel safe from a threatening situation (Freyd, 2002). The feeling of hatred is described by Beck (2002) as a result of feeling threatened in certain situations or by the image of an evil person. Radical young people act out of anger and hate. In most cases, such hatred even lasts a lifetime (Ljamai, 2020). Leaders of jihadi movements also recognize the importance of emotion in mobilizing the sometimes latent political agency of their members. So, jihadi literature is replete with narratives that use emotion to trigger direct political action. In the case of neojihadi terrorism, filmatic montages such as those of the Baghdad Sniper, still images, websites, and sermons designed to motivate and inspire young men to accept violent forms of neojihadist ideology all illustrate the strong emphasis given to emotive narratives. Emotive writing is combined with pictures showing Muslim people being mistreated or humiliated in an attempt to provoke or escalate outrage and anger within the wider Muslim community. These emotional appeals are often then juxtaposed against pictures of Muslims actively fighting American troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, or resisting forces in other conflict zones such as Chechnya and Kashmir, in an attempt to ignite emotional responses and transform them into political action (Wright-Neville and Smith, 2009). Those who have sought to ground terrorist behavior in broadly psychopathological traits (as opposed to mental illness) have tended to draw un problematically on the passions to emphasize the role of emotions such as anger, frustration, aggression, humiliation and hatred. As such, Peters claims to have found evidence of "the madness of a civilization" in the political passions of terrorist activists (Peters, 2002). Therefore, jihadi terrorists are criminals who have their own criminal processes and commit crimes based on anger, aggression and hatred.

The Soft City

Jonathan Raban, in his book "Soft City" contrasts two cities. On the one hand, he notes the conventional depiction of the city as the site of mass planning, rationalization, consumption and production - the urban grid of neighbourhoods and zones, an iron cage where humanity is channeled and pummeled. On the other hand, there is the "soft city", an alternate "space" where all sorts of possibilities are on offer, a theatre of dreams, an encyclopaedia of subculture and style (Raban, 1974). This "dual" analysis of urban space, not of spatial segregation and division within the city – although these, of course, inevitably occur – but in the sense of the under life of the city, runs throughout cultural criminology and should be considered a key organizational concept. This is the world where transgression occurs, where rigidity is fudged, where rules are bent, and lives are lived (Hayward and Young, 2004).

One of the most important methods for recognizing city is a critical system of material/spatial phenomenology known as "the morphology of the cultural landscape". Hence, the cultural geography which is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group is a good discipline to understand real culture (Hayward, 2012). Hayward and Young's second motif draws our attention to the way crime films open up the strange spaces or the under life of society to view. We argue that the imagery and narratives in crime films allow audiences to discover and vicariously experience these strange cinematic spaces that represent the city's under life. (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

While, the city is a composite of everyday round of urban life like the practicalities, prosaic routines, anxieties and changeable moods (Hayward, 2004), the carnival shows the criminal face of cities. In fact, the carnival causes the under life of the city to emerge from isolation and show themselves in public. Carnival mediates the order and disorder (Bakhtin, 1984) and is a place to enjoy moving within the boundaries of social and personal restrictions (Bakhtin, 1986). Accordingly, the carnival is an extraordinary event in which the pleasure and revolt against the prevailing and static norms play the most important role (Bakhtin, 1973). Therefore, the structure and image of the carnival legitimize unacceptable and even criminal behaviors (Bristol, 1985). Thus, Carnival legitimizes violation, challenges the hegemony of powerful hierarchies, and ridicules it. Therefore, the language of parody and humor is used to oppose the existing conditions instead of scientific discussion and exchange of views.

The awful situation of Gotham consists of crisis of rats and massive garbage leads to the formation of a carnival. So, due to poverty, conflicts and unjust opportunities, people take to the streets and form a protest movement. The Carnival of Gotham is a protest movement against the capitalist system and an opportunity to express the concerns and needs of the lower class. However, the carnival is associated with the clown symbol; because the language of the carnival is a language of humor and irony, and the clown is a symbol of laughter and ridicule. So, the protest of Gotham lower class is not through ideology, but the language of chaotic protest along with expressing disapproval of the law and uncontrolled emotions manifested in the form of breaking windows and arson. On the night of the carnival, Arthur's appearance on Murray's talk show and his confession to the murder of the three Wall Street men makes Arthur, or the new Joker, the main character of the carnival. The simultaneous appearance of Arthur in Murray's talk show, his confession to the murder, and the carnival of Gotham illustrate the conflict between those who disrupt the capitalist order and the owners of power and wealth. This is why Arthur, who feels upset when he arrested by the police, smiles when he sees the power of the carnival and describes it as a beautiful event. In this scene, following a car accident caused by one of the protestors, Joker is taken unconscious out of the back of the police car and placed on the car's hood. Upon awakening, Joker stands on top of the police car like a hero, and shows the non-verbal approach of the carnival through his body language and rhythmic movements. For the same reason, Joker even uses his fingers to create a bloody smile on his face and he begins to dance to show that the suffering and humiliation inflicted on him has brought him to the pinnacle of victory.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Soft City	Civil Protest	Protest interview Protest voices on the radio Clown Masks Support for the killer of three men Protest against economic inequality
	The Crisis of Rats	Rebellion of rats in lower areas Heap of garbage on the streets The crisis of rats as economic inequality
	The Gotham Carnival	Rebellion of Gotham people The murder of Thomas Wayne Arson and vandalism Down with Wayne Weakening of the police force Strengthening the lower class

Table 2. Thematic Analysis Based on the Soft City

The concept of soft city is well seen in jihadi terrorist groups; because jihadi terrorists secretly organize terrorist activities. In this context, the complex networks of terrorist groups show the underground life of society. Jihadi groups are explicitly illegal organizations that operate clandestinely to avoid direct exposure to officials and the public. Because of that, Terrorist groups can have at least three dimensions of complexity or differentiation consists of vertical, horizontal, and spatial to hide their illegal activities (Dugan and Gibbs, 2009). So, terrorist acts are carried out by a loosely integrated web of violent actors, aptly described by experts as an "armed underground" that is comprised of diffuse and fractured networks linking together militants, members of organized crime, and corrupt state officials. These networks also tend to be permeated by different ethnic, religious, and local ties (Omelicheva, 2018).

Due to the underground activities of terrorist groups, the penal systems have used pre-emptive criminalization and surveillance programs against people suspected of committing terrorist crimes.

The Lens of Adrenaline

Against the two analysis of criminality – the rational calculator and the mechanistic actor –, Hayward and Young consider cultural criminology as counterpose to naturalism. The actual experience of committing crime, the actual outcome of the criminal act, bears little relationship to these narrow essentialisms. Rather, the adrenaline rush of crime, that takes place, as Jeff Ferrell puts it, between "pleasure and panic", the various feelings of anger, exitement, exuberance, excitement, fear, do not fit these abstractions. Crime is seldom mundane and frequently not miserable. The central idea defended by Hayward, Ferrell, Young among others, is that individuals get involved in crime; because it enables them to experience emotions. Crime offers an exciting liberation from an alienated and mundane reality and the opportunity to obtain sense and transcendence. Nor does it have the instrumental payoffs that rational choice theory would suggest; nor for that matter the adjustments for the deficit of inequality that sociological positivism would point as the major mechanism. Furthermore, such feelings of intensity extend throughout the whole process of crime and its depiction: from the offender, to the intense gutted feelings of the victim, to the thrill of the car chase, to the drama of the dock, to the trauma of imprisonment. And behind this, the outrage of the citizen, the moral panics of the media, and the fears of urban dwellers, whether in the streets or at home (Hayward and Young, 2004). In sum, while the transgressive subject focuses on emotional needs in the etiology of crime, the lens of adrenaline shows feelings that come from crime. In films about crime and justice, intense feelings of desire link the audience to representations of crime and (in) justice and oscillate between pleasure and revulsion. The visual elements of the film including what images are seen and left unseen further align audiences viscerally and emotionally with the experience of crime and loss (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

After killing three Wall Street men, Arthur enters an abandoned house and dances. These rhythmic movements can be the symbol of satisfaction and pride. Arthur also takes a deep breath accompanied by satisfaction after Penny's murder. After Randall's murder, the combination of makeup and blood on Arthur's face is accompanied by a smile of satisfaction. In the same scene, drinking Randall's blood by Arthur represents anger in committing a crime. So, these violations can be also perceived as a pleasure, anger and excitement. Such feelings are important parts of social life and are transferred to cultural forms or originated from them in some cases. Accordingly, the immediate delight of any kind of feelings is at the center of individual decisions, regardless of concepts such as de-

viance and crime. Hence, contemporary human seeks to satisfy his needs and restrictions through risk, pleasure, and excitement (Forter, 1995). The second shot fired at Murray in the talk show is another indication that Arthur commits crime according to lens of adrenaline. After killing the psychiatrist, the character of Joker changes in a way that crime becomes a part of his daily activities, and because of this, he feels more pleasure in this murder.

The final shots of the film show Arthur walking down the hallway of the asylum, leaving bloody footprints as he goes, inferring that he killed or at least severely injured his therapist. In particular, committing a crime satisfies emotional needs, strengthens the sense of self-confidence of Arthur, and improves his mental state; in a way that he quits his medication and his hysterical laughter decreases significantly. All of these suggest that committing a crime turns Joker's weak personality into a strong one. So, committing crime and gaining confidence after the subsequent murders, causes Arthur to enter Murray's show with high self-confidence and impress everyone. That is why, unlike the initial scenes, where tired and miserable, Arthur stares up the outskirts of Gotham City and has no hope or haste to reach his destination, and in the present scenes he never reaches the end of the stairs, in the final scenes, he is not even trying to climb up, but he comes down the stairs triumphantly.

The killing of three Wall Street men, Murray Franklin on the live talk show and the therapist, is a symbol of lens of adrenaline in the Joker. However, the Joker's murders contradict the rational choice theory; because committing a crime in the subway, live TV and hospital causes the offender to be arrested. According to the theory of rational choice, an offender is a person who commits a crime based on a cost-benefit approach. Therefore, mathematical and calculating logic is very important in the personality of the offender. For this reason, the Joker's murders violate the classical principles of rational choice theory. But we must point out that the classical reading of rational choice bases the benefits of crime on the basis of material matters and the costs of crime in the form of punishment. Accordingly, the Joker's murders are not consistent with rational choice theories. But crime in late modernity has changed the manifestations of delinquency. For this reason, emotions and the fulfillment of psychological needs also form an important part of modern rational choice. In this context, a person commits a crime due to psychological needs. Thus, it must be said that the Joker commits murders in order to satisfy his psychological needs on the one hand and to show that punishment does not lead to deterrence, on the other hand.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Lens of Adrenaline	Anger	Hitting the trash after being fired Randall murder with scissors Take a deep breath after killing Penny Murder of Penny while she had a stroke
	Excitement	The murder of Murray in the live show The second shot fired at Murray Loud Laughter after watching the sabotage at the carnival Gain confidence after committing a crime
	Pleasure	Dancing after the murder The second shot fired at Murray Killing a psychiatrist with his hands tied Quit psychiatric medication Joining the Gotham Carnival

Table 3. Thematic Analysis Based on the Lens of Adrenaline

The concept of lens of adrenaline offers a new approach to crime. Accordingly, crime in the postmodern period is different from classical approaches. So, the commission of a crime by jihadi terrorists violates the classical principles of rational choice theory. For example, consider suicide bombers. The suicide bombers carry out terrorist operations realizing that they will die. Suicidal terrorists tend to die, but not to death that does not benefit them. Perhaps it can be said that this issue reflects the logic and accountability of suicide terrorists, which has gradually become a culture among perpetrators of terrorist crimes (Weinberg and Pedahzur, 2010). In other words, suicide bombing should never be considered unwise; because in the ideology of terrorists, the concept of rationality is derived from ideological approaches, and therefore, the spiritual rationality considered by terrorists is not compatible with the material rationality of the theory of rational choice. Thus, it can be said that the specific nature of terrorist crimes and the role of ideology in committing these crime have changed the concept of rationality. The difference is that the promise of heaven and religious motives are the most important basis for cost-benefit analysis. More precisely, the commission of a crime in the light of religious ideology gives rise to a particular reading of the concept of rationality. This reading of the concept of rationality corresponds to the hereafter. Therefore, rationality in the light of religious ideology does not include only the formal penal system. In other words, a person who commits a crime based on religious ideology prefers the approval and reward of the Shari'a to the punishment of the political system and, therefore, is not afraid of formal punishment.

The Attentive Gaze

A primary goal of cultural criminology is to understand how mediated processes of cultural reproduction constitute the experience of crime, self, and society under conditions of late modernity (Kidd-Hewitt and Osborne, 1995; Manning, 1999). According to Hayward and Young cultural criminology stresses the mediated nature of reality in late modernity; subcultures cannot be studied apart from their representation and ethnography and textual analysis cannot be separated (Hayward and Young, 2004). Because of this, the orthodox sequence of first the mass media and then its effects cannot be maintained: "Criminal events, identities take life within a media-saturated environment and thus exist from the start as a moment in a mediated spiral of presentation and representation … Criminal subcultures reinvent mediated images as situated styles, but are at the same time themselves reinvented time and time again as they are displayed within the daily swarm of mediated presentations. In every case, as cultural criminologists we study not only images but images of images, an infinite hall of mediated mirrors" (Ferrell and Sanders, 1995). However, late/postmodern crime can draw attention to this hall of mirrors in an infinite gallery of representations of (in) justice and raise questions about our ability to see the truth. The very best of critical or alternative crime films (Rafter, 2006) do this in ways that subvert or disrupt widespread assumptions or societal "myths" about crime and justice (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

At the first episode of the movie, Arthur has a normal life as an interested person to stand-up comedy. When Randall gives Arthur a gun after him being beaten by a group of young men and then a bullet is accidentally shot,

Arthur's fear is a good evidence of his low criminal capacity. However, killing the three men in the subway changes the course of Arthur's life. After killing them and in Arthur's mental imagination, going to Sophie's apartment, playing the song and slow dancing illustrates Arthur's insistence on committing a crime very well. After getting fired from his job, Arthur destroys the clock and changes the sign "Don't Forget to Smile" to "Don't Smile". From this scene we understand the crime has become a part of Arthur's life. Stealing the hospital file, taking revenge from the police force, killing Penny, Randall, Murray and finally psychiatrist all indicate that crime is an integral part of Joker's life. To speak of crime as culture is to acknowledge at a minimum that much of what we label criminal behavior is at the same time subcultural behavior, collectively organized around networks of symbols, ritual, and shared meaning. Put simply, it is to adopt the subculture as a basic unit of criminological analysis. While this general insight is hardly a new one, cultural criminology develops it in a number of directions. Bringing a postmodern sensibility to their understanding of deviant and criminal subcultures, cultural criminologists argue that such subcultures incorporate - indeed, are defined by - elaborate conventions of argot, appearance, aesthetics, and stylized presentation of self and thus operate as repositories of collective meaning and representation for their members. Within these subcultures as in other arenas of crime, form shapes content, image frames identity (Ferrell, 1999). However, after getting arrested, the killing of the psychiatrist marks the culmination of crime as culture in Arthur's character. Handcuffed and laughing nervously, he kills psychiatrist. Therefore, crime in this field refers to a situation in which Joker considers the commission of a crime as an integral part of his life.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Attentive Gaze	Arthur as a law-abiding citizen	Trying for self-control Inability to use a gun The sudden shooting and Arthur's fear Kindness to his mother and children Inability to retaliate Gotham youth
	Joker as a persistent offender	Destroying the clock after being fired The theft of medical file Serial killings

Table 4. Thematic Analysis Based on the Attentive Gaze

The criminal subcultures in jihadi terrorist groups can be examined on the basis of attentive gaze. Sageman (2008) stated that "Terrorism emerges out of a political subculture … Just as these terrorists emerge from a neo-jihadi subculture rejecting the values of the West". The ethnography of terrorist groups shows that members of terrorist groups have specific subcultures due to their particular religious ideology. These subcultures which consider committing a crime as an everyday culture can explain crime as culture in cultural criminology. In addition, the recruitment of jihadi groups is analyzed in the same context. The representation of terrorist activities by the leaders of terrorist groups is such that it provides an ideal picture of terrorist activities. According to Sunde et al. (2020) "analyzing the complex cultural architecture of jihadi propaganda and motivation makes sense of what might otherwise seem senseless. It can help by stressing the importance of human experience and agency in the conduct of war, insurgency and counter insurgency, and show how trivial matters such as storytelling, clothes, music, rituals and adrenaline are in fact powerful forces within a subculture".

Dangerous Knowledge

According to Hayward and Young, the traditional positivism of sociologists and psychologists, or the new "crime science" of Marcus Felson and the rational choice/routine activity theorists, have exceptional interest in maintaining rigid definitions and demarcations between science and non-science, between crime and "normality", between the expert and the criminal, between criminology and more humanistic academic disciplines – and even between the individuals studied themselves as isolated atoms incapable of collective activity. It is the nature of cultural criminology that it questions all these distinctions and is thus an anathema to the project of criminology as a "science" of crime. As such its "intellectual lawlessness" serves as a direct challenge to such an orthodoxy. If, by questioning established definitions, focusing on subjective emotions, countering the heartless numeric abstractions of positivistic criminology, and generally adding a human dimension to the late modern crime problem we "make a mess of the field" of criminological "knowledge", then let it be stated here without reservation; we make no apology for our action. These, then, are some of the ways in which cultural criminology seeks to counter mainstream criminology's

modern (allegedly) "scientific methods". Whether we can achieve our goal of derailing contemporary criminology from the abstractions of administrative rationalization and statistical complexity remains to be seen. In the meantime, however, we will continue our work at the margins; for it is here, in these forgotten spaces that the story of crime so often unfolds (Hayward and Young, 2004). Lastly, crime films have the potential to produce subjugated, dangerous knowledge that disrupts notions of ontology, identity, sexuality and desire. Reading cinema as a type of popular criminology (Rafter, 2007), we argue that crime films constitute popular cultural efforts to understand the causes and consequences of crime in society. While conventional Hollywood crime films buttress and lend ideological support to conventional ideas about society and the justice system, alternative and critical crime films have subversive potential. In particular, the visual and cinematographic nature of film presents unique opportunities to disrupt our ontological assumptions about justice and truth. (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

Crime in cultural criminology should be understood as creative motivated behavior expressing issues of identity, lifestyle and resistance and is embedded in particular subcultures (Hayward and Young, 2007). Deviant subjects attempt to make sense involve a political "rebellion", a capacity to resist, defy and distort meanings and images assigned by dominant power groups (Presdee 2000; Ferrell, 2007). However, Joker as the protagonist of the film becomes the symbol of the protest movement and the hero of the clown carnival. Yet, the important question is whether Joker is a political figure and an anti-capitalist in this film or not?

Examination of the character of Joker and his dialogues shows that Joker is a narcissistic and non- political character. He frequently emphasizes in his dialogues that he is not a political figure or concerned with fighting against capitalism. In the first scene of the film, he tries to show his indifference. Therefore, although Arthur is from the lower class and faces economic pressure, he tries his best to hide this fact. Even, Joker doesn't approach Thomas Wayne because of financial issues, but he is trying

to find his father. Now, a more important question is why Joker becomes a symbol of the protest movement against capitalism? It seems that the murder of three Wall Street men by Joker means that he has a political character. However, he did not kill them for anti-capitalist motives, and he did not even know at the time of the murder that they belonged to the upper class. Thus, it is clear that Joker is not a political figure fighting against capitalism, while the director considers him a symbol of the protest movement and a carnival hero. So, Joker's heroism is a social construction of reality. The Joker is not introduced as the murderer of seven people in this film but as a symbol of the protest movement and the carnival of the underprivileged. This is why he stands heroically among people, although the process of the film could have introduced him as the antagonist.

However, there are some images and symbols artistically and intelligently that perform this heroization process successfully. For example, the clocks show 11:11 in three different scenes of the film. The time 11:11 can be a symbol of verse 11 of Psalm 11 of the King James Bible, according to which God says He would bring evil upon them, and they would not be able to flee. Although they cry for Him, He would not listen to them. Ultimately, the silent image of the clock culminates the heroization project using this interpretation. The director introduces Joker as the "savior" and the "promised" and capitalism as the symbol of "cruelty" on the one hand and associates the "Christian ideology" with the "negation of the capitalism" on the other hand. Meantime, when the carnival of the clown comes to power, the entrance to the Gotham movie theater is shown, in which the movie "Zorro: The Gay Blade" is on the screen. This film, which was on the screen in 1981, features the famous character "Zorro" who fights against villains. The director seeks to show his work real through this image along with placing a film in another. He warns the people of Gotham that the "real Zorro" is the Joker who has rebelled against the dominant capitalism, and therefore there is no need for them to watch the movie "Zorro".

According to the concept of dangerous knowledge,

Category	Concepts	Signs
Dangerous Knowledge	**Joker as a hero**	Joker as a symbol of carnival Joker as a symbol of anti- capitalism movement Being encouraged by the people at the carnival being saved by the people at the carnival
	The social construction of reality	11:11. Zorro: The Gay Blade movie at the box office of Gotham cinema Emotionalization of the crime People's sympathy with the Joker

Table 5. Thematic Analysis Based on the Dangerous Knowledge

terrorist groups try to justify the crime by neutralization techniques like denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of the condemners, and the appeal to higher loyalties. This is especially done through radicalization. Radicalization is a process of relative change in which the individual or a group undergoes an ideological transformation in order to achieve political goals. The pursuit of profound radical changes in society can lead to the rejection of democratic principles, and possibly to the use of violence (Ashour, 2009; Kundnani, 2014; Wilner and Dubouloz, 2009). It is a process whereby confidence in the political system diminishes and people become increasingly isolated (Ljamai, 2020). So, radicalization not only encompasses the prejudiced thoughts and negative feelings of members of terrorist groups, but also refers to a process in which individuals are at risk of committing terrorist crimes. According to the findings, what leads to the commission of terrorist crimes with prejudice and hatred is derived from ideological extremism and fundamentalism (Borum, 2017). In this case, the sacred values play a major role in carrying out terrorist events (Webber and Arie, 2017). In other words, radicalization as a complex process in jihadi terrorist groups leads to the formation of dangerous knowledge in the first step and after that religious fundamentalism causes

the creation of transgressive subject, lens of adrenaline, and attentive gaze.

Conclusion

Criminological analysis of the film suggests that Joker as the main character of the film suffers from a neurological disorder. The trajectory of crime committed by Joker can be evaluated by the lens of adrenaline and transgressive subject. In this spirit, Joker kills someone who is awful; as he says: "I killed them; because they were awful". This reflects the Joker's crime in the light of feelings such as humiliation, revenge, excitement and anger. New forms of crime in late modernity are an exact response to unequal structures and challenge rational choice. Hence, Joker kills Murray in the live talk show without considering the cost-benefit analysis. The unequal structures in Gotham city turn from personal levels to social levels; because of that the soft face of Gotham shifts to a criminal manner. The people of Gotham take to the streets and create a carnival. The Gotham carnival is a response to capitalism and a riot against powerful. In this spirit, Joker is introduced as a symbol of resistance and protest movements.
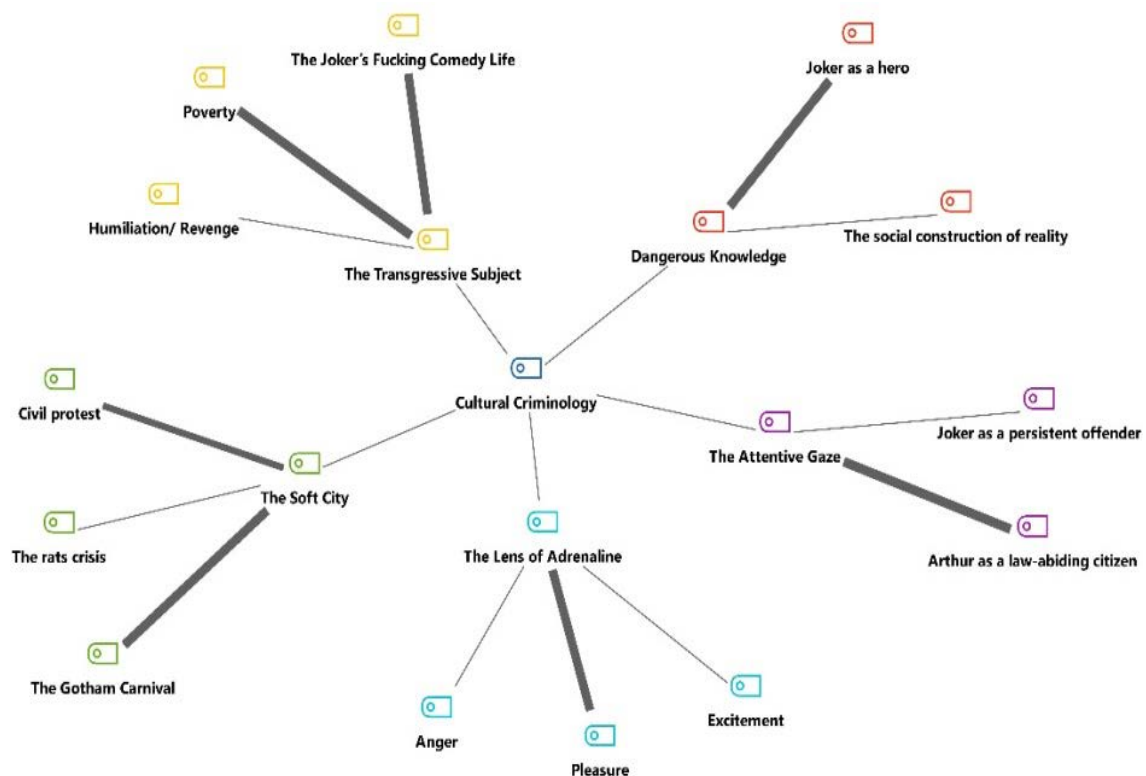

Figure 1. Thematic Networks of Hayward and Young's Framework in the Film[2]

2   It must be noted that line width indicates the frequency of data in that category.

This thematic map as an output of temathic analysis based on deductive qualitative analysis approves the relationship between the five motifs and the film events such as Joker's "fucking comedy life", the Gotham carnival and emotional needs. Also, the film uses signs, symbols and significations to represent the inclusion of irrationality and emotions in the explanation of crime. Therefore, the proposed model accurately confirmed the relationship between the five motifs and the main events of the film.

Cultural crimiology encourages us to analyze crime films as effort for better understanding of crimes in real life. Thus, the film reflects some structural challenges in the Gotham society. We see the lack of community services, class distance, inequality, and poverty as cinematic signs that prove some political problems. Through a criminological examination of the Joker as a visual product, we conclude that the Joker is a symbolic character who can play a criminal role in social life. Because of that, we can consider jihadi terrorists as real-life jokers in social life. ISIL terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Manchester, Barcelona, and Ankara can be well analyzed based on five motifs of cultural criminology.

Despite the above, based on visual criminology, it seems that the Hayward and Young's model has some challenges. Visual criminology emerges from a call to rethink the manner in which images are reshaping the world and criminology as a project. Visual criminologists pursue a refinement of concepts and tools as well as innovative new ones to tackle questions of crime, harm, culture, and control. They push crime and media scholars to investigate more deeply the role of the image itself, beyond conventional studies of crime and media (Brown, 2017). Visual criminology invites the development of alternative objectives and methodologies but with an astute understanding of its place within criminology and within broader historical visual knowledges, such as art history, visual culture, cultural studies, media studies, and critical theory (Carrabine, 2015). So, visual criminology, by focusing on the variables of knowledge about crime, can develop criminological theories. Based on visual criminology, significant events in the film illustrate some challenges in Hayward and Young's model. For example, this model lacks a clear idea about crime control in the context of culture. Because of killing seven people by Joker, cultural control of crime is a fundamental issue. However, the model has no idea about cultural policy and its role in crime control, cultural preventive measures, and appropriate cultural responses to the offender. Another important issue that has been neglected in this model is the cultural causes of crime While the Hayward and Young model is the essence of cultural criminology in late modernity, it does not pay attention to the etiology of crime in the context of culture. Moreover, this model does not expalin the process in which a criminal becomes a hero.While Joker kills the seven people, he is represented as a hero. In the final shots, he is encouraged by the people of Gotham as a hero, when he stands on the top of police car. Because of that, some libertarian movements in the Middle East have taken the Joker as a symbol. Thus, cultural criminology studies must also consider the process by which the offender becomes a hero. Moreover, some other film events such as collective criminality, cultural-criminal policy, and cultural victims are also ignored in the model. Hence, it seems that attention to the above issues can improve the model of Hayward and Young.

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