

Urban Social Future Imaginaries

in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

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ABSTRACT

This research dealt with the urban social future imaginaries of the simulated Detroit from the year 2038 found within the video game “Detroit: Become Human” (2018), abbreviated as *DBH*. The aim of the research was to analyze the ways in which the simulated future version of Detroit in *DBH* mirrors or defies the urban social traits, issues, conflicts, and future plans of the ‘real’ contemporary Detroit, which struggles with socio-economic decline, poor living conditions, and racial injustices. Hence the main research question was “How does *Detroit: Become Human* depict future imaginaries of Detroit’s urban social environment and its Android citizens?” Racial differentiation based on skin color amongst humans has been replaced by the human versus android/deviant dichotomy in *DBH*, hence the issue of race focused on the androids in the game. The research question could be divided into the matter of racial discrimination and futuristic or realistic potential city identities. The concepts of the urban social from urban sociology, social dominance and social status in video games, urban/street games, sci-fi hierarchies in visual media, environmental storytelling, and race/racism in video games provided the theoretical foundation. The method of research was qualitative, intending to analyze how the individual citizen experiences the urban and social dimensions within the urban environment of *DBH*’s Detroit. The close-reading technique ensured an in-depth reading of the media text, in this case the video game *DBH*. In the manner of purposeful sampling, the video game *DBH* served as the primary source of data collection, with additional sources from the extras section in the menu or other behind-the-scenes footage being added through theoretical sampling. The recorded data derived from two separate play-throughs of the entire game on the PlayStation 4, in order to collect as much data about both the violent and peaceful paths of the android rebellion, as well as the machine or deviant paths. In the data-making process, the recorded data was structured based on the 32 chapters of the game, whereby each play session encompassed the play of full chapters, each session lasting around 25-55 minutes, after which it was saved and transferred unto an USB-Stick. All the collected data was analyzed from the perspective of multimodal critical discourse analysis, assessing the primary social and power dynamics within the game. The main findings showed that the urban social environment in *DBH*’s Detroit is characterized by segregation, slavery, genocide; objectification and (sexual) liberation; abuse, crime, junk – Ghetto Detroit; Sci-Fi Metropolis – Dream city versus Dystopia. Despite the player’s ability to make different choices within the game, the overall city identity remained the same, combining both a ‘dreamy’ fulfillment of current ‘real’ Detroit’s plans and an overall liberalized society with its persistent social issues of racial discrimination and urban/ghetto living conditions. It emerged that the concept of “future imaginaries” in video games does not merely signify potentials. Future imaginaries also display future projections of realistic contemporary concerns that must be solved by the individual/player in the near future, thereby creating interactive tales of caution and inspiration.

KEYWORDS: *urban, social, detroit: become human, future imaginaries, video game*

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1. Introduction

The American city Detroit rises from its rusty ruins of an abandoned “motor city” to the heights of a technological, futuristic (re-)imagination with character in the video game *Detroit: Become Human* from 2018 (Quantic Dream, 2020).

In the recent past, the ‘real’ city Detroit has been decried for its economic and social decline in the previous decade (NBC News, 2018; PBS NewsHour, 2013). Once a prosperous city, famous for its automobile production led by Henry Ford around 1900 (Hospers, 2003), Detroit became one of the biggest municipalities to have filed for bankruptcy (PBS NewsHour, 2013). Attempts of revitalizing the city through gentrification have been met with resistance from its residents (Business Insider, 2019). One of Detroit’s key issues has been its relationship towards their predominantly Black population (Clement & Kanai, 2015). Historically, the Black population suffered from segregation, altercations, and oppression in the 1940s, which culminated in a riot in 1967 (NBC News, 2018). Furthermore, Detroit’s narrative features the discriminatory idea that its demographics is a primary factor in its decline, signified by terms like “White flight” (NBC New, 2018; Clement & Kanai, 2015, p. 373).

Despite its loss of significance in the technological industries and socio-economic decline, the video game *Detroit: Become Human* (Quantic Dream, 2018) characterizes a re-invented future Detroit as the primary leading hub for technological innovation and production, particularly in the android market. *Detroit: Become Human*, abbreviated as *DBH*, is set in a Detroit of the near future in 2038. *DBH*’s Detroit has gained acclaim once again due to the manufacturing and distribution of androids, who were the first to pass the Turing test, by the company *CyberLife*. Highly intelligent and human-like in appearance, these androids populate the city and serve their human owners without any rights of their own. Androids are being segregated in public transport and perceived as objects rather than living beings. The story begins with the male android *Connor* (Bryan Dechart) who is investigating and attempting to capture one of the first so-called “deviants”, androids who deviate from their programming and act on their own emotions. After his failed attempt, *Kara* (Valorie Curry) is introduced, a female housekeeping android who is serving the single, volatile father Todd and his young daughter Alice. Kara turns into a deviant once Todd tries to abuse his daughter and threatens Kara’s life. Following, the third protagonist of *DBH*, the male android *Markus* (Jesse Williams), becomes another deviant when he and his owner Carl are being attacked by Carl’s son. Throughout the course of the story, the player has the ability to influence the course of events by deciding which actions or choices the three androids make, which can result in either hostile androids, or androids fighting for peace, android rights, and a reformed/deviant Connor who joins their side. Either way, the end involves the destruction

of several androids in extermination camps. Only if the player makes the right decisions, can the mass destruction be stopped.

DBH is the fifth game by *Quantic Dream*, a video game publishing and developing company founded by David Cage in Paris, in 1997. The studio praises itself as being on the “forefront of innovation in narrative” with the intent “to create AAA games¹ with a focus on emotional, interactive storytelling” (quanticdream.com). Quantic Dream has won more than 250 game and movie awards over the years and featured world-renown actors in their last two games *Beyond: Two Souls* (2013) and *DBH* (quanticdream.com). Together with *Heavy Rain* (2010) and *Beyond: Two Souls*, *DBH* is newly available for PC via the online store Epic Games, previously only available on PS4. The success of *DBH* enabled the company to avoid a renewal of the Sony exclusive contract and to venture to other platforms and markets instead (Brown, 2019).

Arguably, Quantic Dream “reimagines” (Gallagher, 2010; Eisinger, 2015) Detroit in the year 2038 as a technological city with social issues of discrimination, reminiscent of the real Detroit’s black history, and as a city that is a “character”, the fourth amongst the androids Connor, Kara, and Markus (Quantic Dream, 2020). Gallagher (2010) describes the reimagining of the ‘real’ Detroit as an innovative effort and process by its citizens to revitalize the city. He mentions an innovative, future-oriented plan brought up by Detroit urban planners in 2013, called “Detroit Future City” (p. 122). Additionally, Eisinger (2015) speaks of four different visionary plans of improving the ‘real’ Detroit in the future, which deal with (green) technology, entertainment, metropolitanism, and tourism. This research can discover in which ways *DBH*’s future imaginaries conform (or not) to the aforementioned “Detroit Future City” plans.

For the sake of this research, the definition of “future imaginaries” entails not only the positive and hopeful plans of a better future, imagined and/or carried out by its Android citizens, but also negative visions of *DBH*’s Detroit in 2038, both of which are depicted visually and thematically in *DBH*. Through its visuals and “environmental storytelling” (Pettersen, 2019; Jenkins, 2004; Dubbelman, 2016), *DBH* creates “urban social” (Amin, 2007) future imaginaries of Detroit. Researching *DBH* and its imaginaries could yield new insights for the study of video games and their links between the observable world and possible future imaginaries in a socially relevant context.

This raises the question: “How does *Detroit: Become Human* depict future imaginaries of Detroit’s urban social environment and its Android citizens?”

Following from that, the sub-questions are: “How does *DBH* represent (racial) discrimination through the depiction of the (deviant) Android community?” and “How is Detroit

¹ Triple-A/AAA games are distributed/produced by large gaming companies with high budgets

represented as a fictional and/or 'realistic' city with varying potential futures and identities in *DBH*?"

2. Theory

The research questions require a theoretical approach that focuses on the social dynamics within video game cities and how they can be best analyzed based on environmental cues. Consequently, the three main sections of this research are divided into the concepts of the urban social, environmental storytelling, and race/racism in video games. The urban social section introduces the interaction between the urban environment and its social milieu, both from a sociology perspective as well as the video game perspective. Two relevant video game/media subgenres mentioned are urban street games and science-fiction cities. The social milieu can be more closely characterized by assessing social dominance dynamics and governmental structures. The social aspect is being expanded upon and specialized in the third section, which deals with racial stereotypes in video games. The second section about environmental storytelling builds a transition between the two sections, providing a framework of how the environments in video games create stories and hint at social dynamics between the video game characters. The concepts from these sections establish a theoretical basis for the analysis of *DBH*'s urban social future imaginaries.

2.1 Urban Social

The concept of the urban social stems from urban sociology studies (Amin, 2007). Amin (2007) assesses two primary views of urban sociology: one, connections between cities are due to and deriving from globalization processes; two, the exploration and sense-making of social inequality in contemporary cultures, with a focus on "public space and the practices of everyday life" (p. 101). The first urban social view is not relevant for this thesis, because the city Detroit is the case study, not its globalized connections to other cities or countries, which play a subordinate role in the game. In contrast, the second is highly pertinent for the analysis of *DBH*'s Detroit and its social issues and characterizations. Social issues, such as inequality, exclusion, alienation and segregation, are traced back to the urban setting, which affects and is affected by the social (Amin, 2007). The dynamics of the urban social are mainly dealing with "socio-spatial segregation (ghettoes, suburbs, housing estates, ethnic enclaves, gated communities)" and observed "in settings such as households, neighborhoods and public spaces" (Amin, 2007, p. 104-105). In that regard, urban inequality in *DBH* can be explored in the aforementioned settings, especially those that are the most frequented by the three main characters: the Detroit police station and crime scenes for

Connor; the inner city/Downtown, Carl's mansion, and Jericho² for Markus; Alice's home for Kara.

Further, Amin (2007) raises the question of what can be classified as the social arena in a world that is integrating "nature and technology into the human experience" (p. 102). Referring to Latour (2005), the social perspective needs to include not only humans but "all manner of actors and intermediaries, human and non-human" (Amin, 2007, p. 102). Generally, this refers to the inclusion of communication devices, public transport, and other technological gadgets found in the city, and how they influence the social world (Amin, 2007). In the case of *DBH*, the social world would include the non-human androids in particular, as well as all other kinds of Detroit technology that impacts the androids' urban social experience. In video games, urbanism is largely a metaphorical representation – "the city as metaphor for the virtual spatialization of social relations (Borries et al., 2007, p. 12), where a high degree of realism is not necessary (Götz, 2007; Everett & Watkins, 2008). Those representations function as "previews of the public spaces of the future" (Borries et al., 2007, p. 12), which mirrors the thesis' aim of unearthing the future imaginaries in *DBH*'s Detroit.

Gentes et al. (2010) assign to the "urban experience" four primary anthropological subcategories: "the concrete city (physical organization), the imaginary city (narratives), the functional city (services) and the city events" (p. 23). The concrete city is the visual representation of the city in game space, the functional city deals with the affordances available, the city events are self-explanatorily about the events that happen in the city space (Gentes et al., 2010). The imaginary city is a unique distinction, for it deals not with the city itself, but rather the narrative about or surrounding the city; a narrative that is comprised of collective expectations and assumptions about the city (Gentes et al., 2010). Atkinson and Willis (2009) describe this as a "socio-technical alchemy" (p. 405), which contains a "particular moral and social universe" constructed by the game designers (p. 414). The player is able to recognize the social hierarchies within the simulated city based on their own experience of the 'real' city or general impressions of social hierarchies in other cities (Atkinson & Willis, 2009).

2.1.1 Socio-political dimensions in Urban/Street Games

Based on findings from social psychology, Isbister (2016) presents an overview of how game characters' degree of social dominance can be observed. Their social dominance is communicated through their game design and behavioral cues (Isbister, 2016). The first type of social dominance is related to socio-economic status. The primary idea of social status in the Western world, such as in the U.S., revolves around being a rich, older, White male from a famous/well-known family (Isbister, 2016). The second type of social dominance

² Jericho is the name of an abandoned ship that is a refuge for homeless deviants

is shown in the character's physicality and body language, which can be divided into face, body, and voice (Isbister, 2016). A socially dominant character holds longer eye contact to the point of staring and is less attentive when listening (Isbister, 2016). They take up more physical space (e.g spread limbs), move less often and more calmly, and occasionally touch less dominant people, speak loudly and lead the conversation (Isbister, 2016). In contrast, a socially submissive character smiles more, gives less eye contact and avoids staring generally, but gives more eye contact when they are listening. They have a closed body language and nervously touch their hair or face or other parts of their body and may keep their head lowered, speak softly and follow the more dominant people's lead in conversation (Isbister, 2016).

Aside from the aforementioned social dominance, the other dimension of the social is political (Vanolo, 2012). Video games can represent the political in the ways they depict the urban environment, which in turn can influence the "urban imaginaries" in our 'real' society (Vanolo, 2012, p. 285). According to Vanolo (2012), the Liberty City in *Grand Theft Auto IV* is "an important cultural artefact and a meaningful landmark in the urban imaginary on a global scale" (p. 284). It could be argued that *DBH* attempts to present another cultural artefact in their depiction of Detroit as an urban imaginary. In classic urban/street games such as *GTA IV*, ludic pleasure primarily derives from being a "virtual tourist" who freely explores the space in an attempted hyper-realistic simulation with day and night changes, where the game narrative is being subordinate to the spatial experience (Vanolo, 2012, p. 286). Detroit in *DBH* is comparatively more static, less hyper-realistic, and tied to the narrative, for each game chapter is tied to a specific time and place without any observable passage of time. Vanolo (2012) analyses Liberty City's political dimension in three ways: "politics as representation" (p. 288), "politics as government" (p. 288), and "politics as contestation" (p. 288-289). The politics as representation "refers to the production of images, discourses and narratives concerning the urban" that are catering towards the political interests of the elite/rich (Vanolo, 2012, p. 288). A classic representation is the differentiation between safe and unsafe, attractive and unattractive neighborhoods (Vanolo, 2012). Those representations can be akin to the aforementioned imaginary city by Gentes et al. (2010), in the way that they appeal to the "collective imaginary" and its assumptions (Vanolo, 2012, p. 288). The politics of representation is connected to politics as government, dealing with the "political unconscious" and its ideology permeating and governing the city (Vanolo, 2012, p. 293). Vanolo (2012) identifies Liberty City as a "neoliberal government", which is a capitalistic, commodified, consumer culture (p. 293). This can be judged by the game rewards following monetary/status gains, the sexualization and prostitution of female side characters (Vanolo, 2012). Lastly, politics as contestation is related to social rebellion, in the sense how "social groups organize themselves in order to assert their presence in the public sphere and to

reconstruct the whole political and moral” (Vanolo, 2012, p. 289). An example of politics as contestation is the graffiti on the walls in Liberty City, referring to the corruption of politicians and the police (Vanolo, 2012). Games like *GTA IV* enable the player to enact different personal and political identities (Vanolo, 2012). Urban/street games like *Grand Theft Auto* are commonly perceived as part of a subgenre that deals with the urban experience in poor ghetto neighborhoods full of crime, drugs, prostitution, and racially charged, violent interactions (Everett & Watkins, 2008). Similar topics and issues can be observed in *DBH*, however for this thesis, the concept of an urban game can be broadened to include all games that revolve around the urban social experience in one city, not necessarily the ghetto. Nevertheless, papers that have analysed *Grand Theft Auto*’s urban social dynamics and provided theoretical frameworks can be relevant for this thesis. *DBH* can be regarded as an urban game in the sense that the city Detroit is of high significance and the anchor of the story, however *DBH* also displays several note-worthy references to the science-fiction genre.

2.1.2 Urban Games in a Sci-Fi Setting

Graham (2016) outlines common denominators amongst science-fiction cities from past and contemporary media, exemplified by such cities as those in Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis* (1927) and Ridley Scott’s *Blade Runner* (1982). Besides the technological advances common in the futuristic cities, the primary commonality is reflected by the starkly contrasting, hierarchical social structure, with the elite on top and the “downtrodden” working for them below, both of which are vertically and architecturally visualized and symbolized in space by the clean, high-tech skyscraper buildings of the rich, and the ground-level, dirty, mechanic habitat of the poor (Graham, 2016, p. 390). David Desser (1999) poignantly describes how the social life within the city of *Metropolis* features “[s]cenes of upper-class life [that] revolve around pleasure, even debauchery; scenes of the workers reveal mechanised, depressed figures who seem barely human” (p. 82). For *DBH*, it can be analysed whether the architectural levels and habitats reinforce or challenge the social hierarchy of the ‘barely human’ androids versus the rich and elite humans on top. In summary, Graham (2016) describes how science fiction cities both depict and extrapolate future trends, based on contemporary dynamics, but also reflect back on those same dynamics: “sci-fi cities, whilst being futuristic fables, inevitably resonate powerfully with contemporary concerns” (p. 395). In that manner, *DBH*’s Detroit can reflect contemporary issues present in the ‘real’ Detroit of the 2010s, which can be unearthed through the urban social game analysis. Graham (2016) concludes that ‘real’ cities and their virtual counterparts cannot be separated from one another, due to the mirroring of social issues. Rowland Atkinson & Paul Willis (2009) concord with that sentiment, stating how for players the two

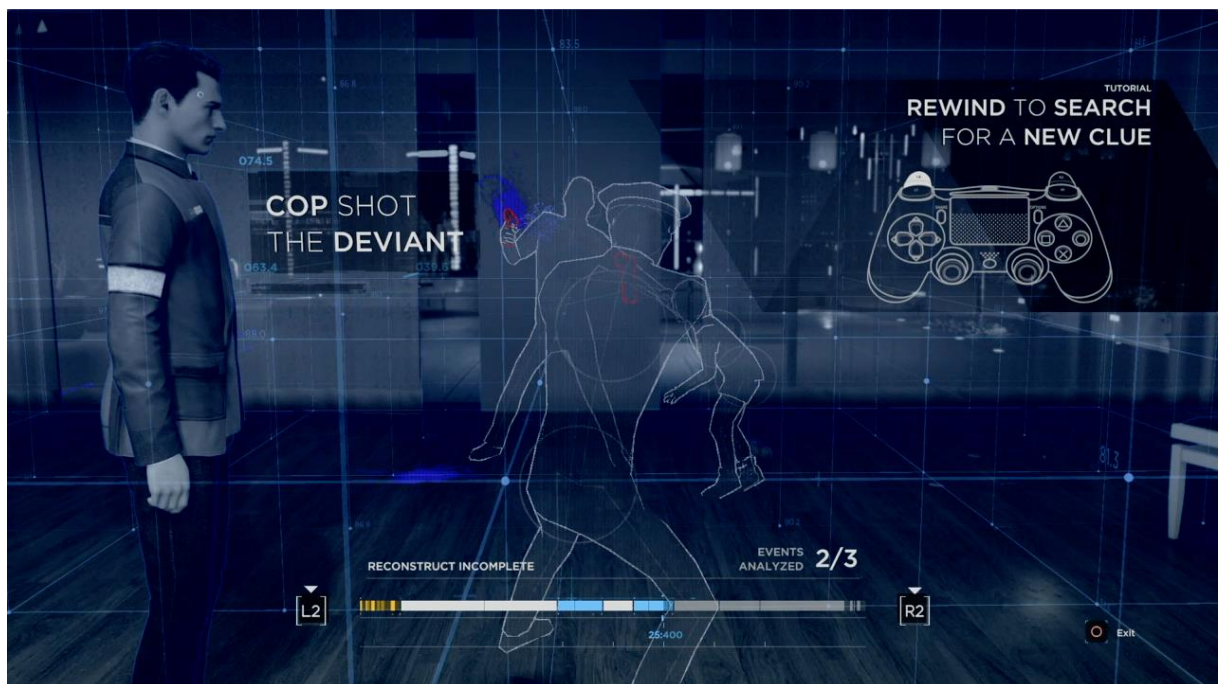
spaces – the ‘real’ city and its simulation – “partially overlap, thereby destabilising conventional understandings of the way we have tended to view urban space” (p. 405). As a result, the inner workings and dynamics of the ‘real’ city are made more visible and accessible thanks to the interactive, narrative simulation (Atkinson & Willis, 2009). The simulated, playable city space can be defined as a “ludodrome” (Atkinson & Willis, 2009, p. 405). Ludodromes and video game environments in general can contribute to the enfolding of the game narrative via so-called “environmental storytelling”.

2.2 Environmental Storytelling

The beginning of the environmental storytelling discourse within game studies can be traced back to 2000, when the theme park designer Carson published his views on the subject. He emphasized that environmental storytelling primarily deals with the “big picture idea” of the story, which is conveyed via spatial elements in the surroundings (2000a, p. 2-3). Physical properties such as colors, lighting, and texture of objects or backgrounds add to the story and the audience’s reception of it (Carson, 2000a). Objects in the environment can create a visible “cause and effect” relationship, which help contextualize the person’s experience and understanding of the story’s and place’s temporality and state (Carson, 2000a, p. 3). Here, one could say that the story and place both merge into one entity and cannot be divorced from each other. So-called “physical archetypes”, such as prominent doorways or bridges, lead the player through the environment and evoke primal feelings and understandings of the surroundings (Carson, 2000b, p. 2). For this research, physical archetypes and other causal relationships between objects in the environment can be observed in order to learn about the urban social stories and future imaginaries in *DBH*.

In 2010, Smith and Worch held a lecture about environmental storytelling in games. They define the term as “staging player-space with environmental properties that can be interpreted as a meaningful whole, furthering the narrative of the game” (slide 16). The player is given the task to identify elements in the environment and combine them to create a story through their own interpretation (Smith & Worch, 2010, slide 16). In contrast to movies, where the viewer’s gaze is directed through cuts, the spatial space can be (mostly) freely explored in games, which renders the latter with fewer disparate elements (Smith & Worch, 2010). Further, Smith and Worch (2010) introduce the concept of “telegraphing”, which is the act of showing specific clues in the environment that lead the player to gameplay events; in some cases, the player is given the choice to engage or avoid (slide 32). A classic example of telegraphing is blood stains on the floor leading to a dangerous scene in another room (Smith & Worch, 2010). Fernández-Vara (2011) expands upon the telegraphing concept, calling it “indexical storytelling” (p. 1) or in Domsch’s (2019) words, “*narrative as archaeology*” (p. 114). Indexical traces of objects, such as smoke as a result of fire, point at

previous historic happenings in the game – the “history of the game world” (Fernández-Vara, 2011, p. 4-6). Other histories of the game world, such as writings on the walls, audio files, and other remains (Fernández-Vara, 2011) can be found in *DBH*. In *DBH*, a lot of those indexes point towards possible futures with different branches, representing a future of the game world, called “Future Narratives” by Bode and Dietrich (2013). Indexical storytelling is extensively used in Connor’s forensic game mode, when clues in the environment are being analyzed and virtually played-back to enfold the course of past crimes. Additionally, the player can leave their own traces in the story through their world-modifying actions, thereby adding to the story, which Fernández-Vara calls “history of the player” (2011, p. 9).



Connor's “Reconstruction” of crimes in *Detroit: Become Human* is an example of indexical storytelling

Ryan (2015) sees environmental storytelling as being exclusive to the storytelling within open world games, where the story is open-ended and triggered by places or events within the environment. However, Ryan (2015) introduces another useful division, based on the work of social geographer Tuan (1977): space and place. She attributes the following key words to space: “Movement: to be traversed; Freedom, adventure, danger; Container for objects; Open and infinite; Anonymous; Timeless; Abstract concept” (Ryan, 2015, p. 107). Space is a primarily objective way of assessing the environment, though it does involve affectual elements that communicate the potential of excitement (Ryan, 2015). In contrast, place is defined by: “Rootedness: to be lived in; Security; Network for interrelated objects; Limited by boundaries; Associated with conformity; Shaped by history; Concrete environment with which people develop emotional bonds (positive or negative)” (Ryan, 2015, p. 107). According to Ryan (2015), places are tied to the subject living within the given space; how

the subject relates to the space. These spatial distinctions of space and place can be further specified, most notably by the emotional dimension (Ryan, 2015). The emotional aspect deals with how the subject's emotions are evoked by their environment, how the environment causes positive and negative emotions (Ryan, 2015). For emotional places, the feelings are often related to the individual's home, nostalgia, but can also be negative when it comes to prisons or cages (Ryan, 2015). Emotional places are akin to what Domsch (2019) refers to as "Evocative Spaces" (Jenkins, 2004, p. 123) – environments that evoke specific memories, recollections, feelings, and moods based on genre or other spatial associations, such as haunted houses for horror (p. 106). Domsch (2019) extends the term to a particular subset of evocative space, called "Seelenlandschaft (*soul landscape*)" – landscapes and environments that reflect characters' moods and internal experience of a scene, for instance rain at a funeral representing peoples' sorrow (p. 111). Emotional places, particularly soul landscapes are represented in *DBH* via the primary and possibly secondary homes of the main characters. For Kara, this would be Alice's home; for Markus, this would be Carl's home and Jericho; for Connor, this would be the Detroit police station and Amanda's Zen garden³. Emotional spaces focus on the movement within the environment, and how they are experienced emotionally – a negative example would be a labyrinth (Ryan, 2015). In *DBH*, these are sequences within the game play where the player/character has to quickly walk through a certain space, and which emotions might be evoked in the character, if applicable.

In her evaluation of environmental storytelling, Tarnowetzki describes how traces within environments can "create a micronarrative" (2015, p. 106). Micronarratives can be regarded as small microcosms of storylines within the macrocosm of the overarching narrative that pushes the story and player forward to the end of the game. Domsch (2019) echoes the term by talking of "mini-narratives", which refer to the "storyworld and its metanarrative", for instance personal stories of in-game characters (p. 113). Tarnowetzki's (2015) and Domsch's (2019) take on micronarratives need to be distinguished by Jenkins' (2014) concept of micronarratives as "localized incidents" or "memorable moments" (p. 125). Overall, micronarratives can be regarded as narrative events or storylines that occur alongside or supplement the main plot.

Tarnowetzki's (2015) definition of environmental storytelling includes a new aspect: the social environment and how the avatar interacts with it. Here the emphasis rests on the interconnectivity and interrelatedness between the social and physical environments, from the point of view of the avatar (Tarnowetzki, 2015). Social norms are presented in the social environments, which limit the player's behavior and possibilities (Tarnowetzki, 2015). Here, social environmental storytelling overlaps most strongly with the urban social concept. One

³ Amanda's Zen garden is Connor's primary emotional place. However, because it is disconnected from Detroit's urban social environment and only found within Connor's mind, it was not featured in the analysis.

could combine Ryan's (2015) places with Tarnowetzki's social environments (2015), however it is more precise and helpful to keep the two concepts apart, and instead view places as specific environments of subjective/personal significance, such as Kara's and Alice's home. Then, the social environment in terms of social rules and norms can be analyzed within those places.

Zakowski (2016) does not differentiate between space and place; he focuses on space and its connections to ideology and narrativity. Space is important for the plot, "the storyworld and the narrative universe" (Zakowski, 2016, p. 2). In Tarnowetzki's words, Zakowski's (2016) storyworld is the micronarrative within the narrative universe that functions as the macronarrative. *DBH* being the example, each setting and its happenings form story worlds that need to be put into relation with Detroit and its narration at large. Zakowski (2016) uses the game *BioShock* as his example for clarifying his conceptualization of stories within space. He describes how the space in *BioShock* presents the clashing of political and philosophical discussions, being both political and ideological. Space and ideology form a union and affect each other: first there is ideology and then there is space (Zakowski, 2016). This perspective is particularly enriching for the analysis of the aforementioned social environment within places and spaces, under the viewpoint of which ideologies are represented and how. Zakowski (2016) adds Lefebvre's "differential spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 52) as a category of defiant space that creates a contrast to the dominant homogeneously ideological places. Zakowski (2016) also talks of spaces creating narrative parallel worlds, which need to be discovered by the player. However, those parallel worlds are not full stories on their own and need to be tied to the narrative and other clues in the primary storyline. Parallel worlds are any worlds that have not been actualized by the player in the gameplay, and this can result in an invisible branch structure. This branch structure is literally present in *DBH* and made visible to the player. In *DBH*, each chapter play-through ends with an overview showing in a flow chart which parallel worlds have been unactualized in that particular play-through.

All in all, environmental storytelling deals with the objects and environments present in a story, and how they add to the narrative. At first, the properties of the objects and environments can be studied, in terms of texture, lighting, other architectural traits and physical archetypes (Carson, 2000b). Then, one can analyze how specific telegraphing clues (Smith & Worch, 2010) or indexes (Fernández-Vara, 2011), such as magazines, CDs, wall writings left in the environments, add to the overall narrative or create micronarratives (Tarnowetzki, 2015; Jenkins, 2004; Domsch, 2019). All those clues and environmental structures can be viewed from the perspective of the environment being a space or place (Tuan, 1977; Ryan, 2015). Places, due to their connection to the individual, communicate social norms in the social environment (Tarnowetzki, 2015), ideologies (Zakowski, 2016;

Lefebvre, 1991), and characters' *Seelenlandschaft* (Domsch, 2019) most acutely. Spaces can communicate the same, and it can be contrasted how space and place form or are formed by the urban social.

2.3 Race and Racism in Videogames

Fouché (2005) regards race as a concept that is subject to various changes based on current trends in society, science, and technology. In American history, racism towards Blacks led to equating “Black” with “Slave”, whereby all Blacks were legally used as slaves, from 1699 until 1865 (Wood, 1970; Berlin, 2004). Furthermore, the Jim Crow law from 1877-1954 enforced segregation of African-Americans in public (Urofsky, 2020). Besides slavery and segregation, racism commonly resulted in acts of genocide (McNie, 2005). The meaning of the word genocide can be traced back to the combination of the Greek *genos*, and Latin suffix *-cide*, which can be translated as the killing of race or kind (McNie, 2005). Gregory Stanton (2007) identifies 8 stages of genocide: Classification, Symbolization, Dehumanization, Organization, Polarization, Preparation, Extermination (Genocide), Denial. The first 6 stages are warning stages, that need to be recognized and stopped before the actual genocide occurs (Stanton, 2007). The term genocide was invented in 1944, however McNie (2005) argues that acts of genocide have been committed throughout human history. Nonetheless, only since the twentieth century, the act of genocide has been regarded as a crime against humanity, due to the advent of weaponry that can kill masses of people with ease, and the increased consideration of human rights (McNie, 2005). Prior to this development, during the Nazi regime, the amount of racism culminated in one of the most well-known and deadly genocides of human history, the holocaust (Fouché, 2005; McNie, 2005; Fasching, 2005). The Nazi regime made use of pseudo-scientific findings on race to support their ideologies and justify their genocide against the Jews (Fasching, 2005). Similar patterns of genocide and racism can be observed in *DBH*, in the way how androids are destroyed in camps and seen as inferior to the human race – a scenario that can only be stopped if the player makes the right decisions in the game. Fugo (2009) speaks of “‘historical’ games” which either literally and/or figuratively represent historical facts and events in virtual, digital worlds, and as a consequence create new “collective memories” which shape our “historical consciousness”, our view of history as a whole (p. 104). Therefore, it is crucial to analyse and understand how historical elements are represented and simulated in video games (Fugo, 2009). As an example of a fictitious video game, Fugo (2009) introduces *Holocaust II*, a game that simulates Nazi Germany and gives the player to choose one of five “identity roles” (p. 115). *DBH* presents a similar set-up, where Holocaust-elements and the ways how the characters act within them can be analyzed.

Besides the historical angle, video games depict current racial stereotypes found in the present (Leonard, 2006; Everett & Watkins, 2008). Leonard (2006) stresses that video games play a role in “maintaining the hegemonic racial order” (p. 83), thereby reflecting current societal structures and issues that need to be addressed and examined. Everett and Watkins (2008) support this notion, saying that video games “reflect, influence, reproduce, and thereby teach dominant ideas about race” (p. 141). Leonard (2006) lists common racial stereotypes found in videogames, such as: Black athletes, Violent Black people, Black women as victims of violence, the majority of female characters being White. Racial stereotypes in games can show “dominant discourses (and fears)” (Leonard, 2006, p. 85).

Racial stereotypes are commonly woven into game environments that attempt to convey cultural and (geo)graphic authenticity (Everett & Watkins, 2008). Especially urban/street games claim to imitate “culturally authentic spaces” (p.144), but rather they create “racially specific-story-worlds” (p. 145) that represent stereotypes perpetuated in other/previous media (Everett & Watkins, 2008). When it comes to urban/street games that deal with poor urban cultures, Everett and Watkins (2008) list the following objects as stereotypical: “graffiti-covered buildings, dilapidated housing, trash-filled streets, candy-painted low riders (customized cars), and background characters engaged in petty crimes, drug deals, and prostitution” (p. 146). The aim is to create a world that not only “*looks* urban” but also “*sounds* urban”: police sirens, shootings, hip hop music, and accents (Everett & Watkins, 2008, p. 146).

The concept of “environmental racism” refers to how underprivileged races, particularly Blacks and Latin people, are commonly moved to live in toxic areas in the U.S (Pulido, 2000; Holifield, 2001; Romero et al., 2012). In this thesis, there is no focus on toxic waste areas and their relationship to race, hence this definition of environmental racism cannot be applied in that same manner. However, Holifield (2001) acknowledges that the definition of environmental racism could and should be expanded to address broader urban and racial issues, such as crime, for scholarly research. For this research, the definition of environmental racism was enlarged in order to include environments and objects of any kind that elicit or enforce disadvantages of racial minorities. Romero et al. (2012) introduced the concept of “urban environmental segregation” for the segregation between rich and poor. In the manner of environmental storytelling, social norms and ideologies can be racialized through space and place.

3. Methodology

The methodology for this thesis encompassed a qualitative research approach, based on the close reading technique, purposeful sampling, Krippendorff’s “data making” process, and multimodal critical discourse analysis.

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research is tailored towards the study of social relations of individuals and their personal experience of the world, which cannot be easily quantified – this differentiates it from quantitative research (Flick, 2014). The urban social experience of *DBH* for the characters within the game are highly individual, hence this research requires the qualitative approach. Furthermore, the research questions are exploratory and meaning-making in nature, which also emphasizes the need for qualitative methods.

The primary method was the “close reading” technique, which originated from literary studies and focuses on conducting an in-depth analysis and interpretation of a given media text (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). Hereby, each reading provides a deeper, new-found meaning to the text (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). This method is particularly fruitful for the comparative study of old and new media (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). *DBH* is arguably an interactive movie, with traits typical of both old and new media, such as cinematic visual language (camera angles) and its interactive element. A close reading of *DBH* could uncover new insights for the study of cinematic videogames. Bizzocchi and Tanenbaum (2011) state three challenges for the close reading of video games. The first challenge deals with the fact that playing a video game is not comparative to the reading of a book; the latter is an experience that can be replicated identically, because the text itself never changes. Whereas video game play involves a constantly shifting text, which provides experiences and texts that slightly or largely differ from each gameplay. This challenge is exacerbated during open world or multi-player gameplay that lacks a chapter structure (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). This issue is lowered in *DBH*, due to its 32 chapters structure. The player is encouraged not to go back to previous chapters, but is able to do so, just as if she was reading a book. Bizzocchi and Tanenbaum (2011) imply that close readings for open virtual worlds are more akin to autoethnography. *DBH*'s world is rather limited in comparison, with walls that hinder the player from going further away from the story's mission, hence an autoethnographic approach is not necessary.

The second challenge is the scope of the text material, in terms of its length – video game play can involve hundreds of hours of gameplay and may require repeated play sessions (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). To finish one gameplay from start to finish, *DBH* can be completed under 10 hours, which renders its scope more similarly to a TV series' season. However, for this research the game time was doubled, because the game was played twice. The reason for this is the fact that *DBH* features two opposing primary storylines (one violent, the other peaceful) for their Black protagonist Markus, which were considered of importance for answering the discrimination/race related sub-question. These two storylines can only be explored once per game play; hence two play-throughs were

necessary. The two play-throughs also enabled further data collection about deviancy, for Connor could remain either a machine or turn a deviant in either play-through, which altered the scope of possible actions within the game.

The third challenge deals with the difficulty level of the gaming experience itself, with certain games complicating the data collection and interpretative process due to a heavy emphasis on skillful game play and controls usage (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). *DBH* does not demand a higher skill level for playing the game, the controls are secondary to the storytelling, hence no particular measures need to be considered here. During the close reading, the researcher needs to assume a two-fold role, whereby the experience will be perceived from both a naïve, 'fresh eyes', first-time-player perspective, as well as a player perspective that is tailored towards a specific viewpoint, based on the researcher's objectives (Bizzocchi & Tanenbaum, 2011). In order to gather as much data about as many urban social settings and situations as possible, it was ensured that none of the three main characters died prematurely in both play-throughs.

3.2 Sampling and Data Collection

Sampling in qualitative research always originates from a purposeful approach, by which the material is selectively chosen to meet the needs of the study and its research questions (Coyne, 1997; Flick, 2007). Sampling design in qualitative research can be divided into the more formalistic and "tight" design versus the more "loose" design, which features relatively more loosely defined concepts and/or methodological approaches before data analysis (Flick, 2007, p. 3). The sampling in this thesis includes primarily the tight research design, but also traces of the loose design. The main corpus of material is made up of the video game *Detroit: Become Human* itself, which is rather self-evident, for the research questions all deal with dynamics present in that video game. The rest of the sampling corpus is filled out in the manner of theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is more open-ended, carried out during analysis, and aimed at creating new theory (Coyne, 1997). During the data collection process, the theoretical analyst decides which data to collect next based on the previous findings (Coyne, 1997). In this case, magazines, CDs/audio files, and behind the scenes artwork that complemented the characters well or represented Detroit's urban social experience, were added to the data set.

Following Krippendorff's (2004) first four steps of "data making", the data analysis included "unitizing, sampling, recording/coding, reducing data" (Schmierbach, 2009, p. 149). The video game *DBH* serves as the sample, its units were made distinctive via "syntactical divisions" (Schmierbach, 2009, p. 153), each one of the 32 chapter forming one unit each that was played and recorded. In practice, that meant that each chapter was played from beginning to end, however the recordings themselves could span over several hours and

feature several chapters. On the PlayStation 4, sessions can be recorded via the “Share”-Button for up to 60 minutes, after which the video automatically stops. Each recording session will therefore be finished before the 60 minutes mark, which resulted in recordings that last around 25-55 minutes. Subsequently, the recorded videos were saved on the PS4’s hard drive, from which they could be downloaded onto a USB-Stick. The USB-Stick functioned as the storage drive for all the recordings. They were viewed on a MacBook via the QuickTime application, with the possibility to stop the recording and fast forward if necessary.

In order to ensure a comprehensive picture of *DBH*’s social and urban environment, notes were taken during and after the gameplay, focusing on the following aspects: how the player’s decisions impacted the character, environment and other characters; setting, citizen, and societal/political descriptions in game via dialogue, text, and props such as magazines and music files; (physical and other) characteristics of androids. Additional material that were taken into account: behind-the-scenes footage, videos, images found in the game (not during gameplay, but in the menu). This extra material provides a more comprehensive view of the urban social imaginaries *DBH* attempts to depict, especially in contrast to the present Detroit.

In the course of the two playthroughs, Connor appeared in a total of 23 settings, Kara appeared in 20 settings, and Markus appeared in 19 settings. For the purposes of this research, the most relevant settings were analyzed, which reduced the total number to 10 settings for Connor, 10 settings for Kara, 14 settings for Markus. The relevancy depended primarily on the urban social (Amin, 2007), urban/street (Everett & Watkins, 2008), sci-fi game (Graham, 2016) requirements or stereotypes: settings from the neighborhood, households, crime, violence, racism, segregation, prostitution, (semi-)public places, skyscrapers/hierarchical buildings. At last, settings that were particularly android-focused, featuring the livelihoods of one (deviant) android or several, were most relevant. Taking into account the previous factors, these settings remained: The Phillipses’ Penthouse in Chapter 1, CyberLife Repair Store in Chapter 2, Detroit “Android City”/Downtown in Chapter 2, Downtown Bus in Chapter 3, Plaza Downtown in Chapter 3, Carl’s Mansion in Chapter 5, Todd’s House in Chapters 4 and 7, Carlos Ortiz’s House in Chapter 6, Interrogation Room in Chapter 9, Downtown Streets in Chapter 10, Ralph’s Home in Chapter 10, Supermarket in Chapter 10, Laundromat in Chapter 10, Junkyard in Chapter 11, Metro in Chapter 13, Ferndale in Chapter 14, Jericho in Chapters 14, 16, 19, 26, 30, Rupert’s Apartment in Chapter 15, Chicken Feed in Chapter 15, Urban Farms of Detroit/UFD in Chapter 15, Zlatko’s Mansion in Chapter 17, Eden Club in Chapter 20, Stratford Tower in Chapter 23, Rose’s House in Chapter 25, Capitol Park in Chapter 26, CyberLife Capitol Park Store in Chapter 26, Kamski’s Home in Chapter 27, Woodward Avenue in Chapter 28, Rooftop in Chapter 28, Detroit City Police Department in Chapters 12 and 29, Church in Chapter 31,

CyberLife Tower in Chapter 32, Recall Center N°5 in Chapter 32, Outside Recall Center N°5 in Chapter 32.⁴

3.3. Operationalization

The operationalization involves structuring the theoretical foundation and making it applicable to the analysis, in this case the analysis of *DBH* and its urban social environment and dynamics.

At large, the urban social concept addresses households, public spaces, and neighborhoods (Amin, 2007), hence these settings were of primary concern for the analysis. Additionally, the technological affordances, such as public transport or drones, android public workers and similar, shape the public space and were therefore added to the analysis. Following the urban/street game attributes, *DBH*'s settings and dynamics were analyzed in terms of how the game depicts drugs, violence, crime, prostitution, poor neighborhoods, and racially charged situations (Everett & Watkins, 2008). The sci-fi perspective illustrated by Graham (2016) puts an emphasis on technological advancement being dependent on rich vs poor hierarchies, which are reflected also in the architectural design of the city. In Atkins and Willis' (2009) words, the "socio-technical hierarchies" were analyzed in *DBH* as well.

The imaginary city is primarily a result of gamers' and producers' assumptions about the (game) city (Gentes et al., 2010), however for the sake of this thesis it is more favorable to focus on the view of the Detroit inhabitants in *DBH*. Here, the imaginary city concept could be applied in a two-fold manner: First, how the citizens of *DBH*'s Detroit characterize the city/urban experience in their own words; second, how the actions of the citizens (re)-shape the (imaginary) city's narrative. *DBH*'s branching structure allows several different action paths, which enables the player to experiment with the city's identity – different kinds of city identities were considered in the analysis.

The two types of social dominance (based on status or body language) of the main characters in general and in relation to other characters in *DBH* could be assessed following Isbister's (2016) criteria. Furthermore, individualistic cultures like the United States place higher importance on "overt clarity of message" over body language when it comes to communication (Isbister, 2016), hence the analysis of the spoken words in dialogues was particularly important.

The politics as contestation (Vanolo, 2012) was the most relevant for this thesis, for it is most aptly fitted to the deviants' social situation in *DBH* and the questions regarding the android's social standing as a group in Detroit. The politics as government (Vanolo, 2012) dealt with the ways in which *DBH*'s Detroit government governs or controls their human and

⁴ A table of all settings and chapters can be found in the appendix.

android citizens. The politics as representation (Vanolo, 2012) referred to the representation of the rich elite in *DBH*'s Detroit, stacked against those below them.

For the environmental analysis of *DBH*, the reception by the player is of lower significance, however it could be relevant to identify physical archetypes (Carson, 2000b), which symbolize Detroit's and their citizens' urban social stories.

The telegraphing/indexical storytelling/history of the game world concept (Smith & Worch, 2010; Fernández-Vera, 2011), where the narrative functions like archaeology (Domsch, 2019), emphasized the need to analyze Connor's reconstruction mode and any other relevant indexical objects in the environment.

Ryan's (2015) distinction of space and place could be applied when analyzing the urban aspect of Detroit in *DBH*, where Detroit is seen as a physical/architectural space; and the social aspect, in the form of Detroit as a place. The interesting questions to be answered by the analysis: How does space impact or prefigure place? How are the place's traits reflected in the space's architectural structure? When analyzing the emotional experience of the environment for the main characters and its metaphoric allusions in *DBH*, the *Seelenlandschaft/soul landscape* concept (Domsch, 2019) was used.

For this thesis, the ludodrome in *DBH* is the totality of all playable game settings in Detroit. Consequently, the analysis of the urban social experience in *DBH* was centered on the happenings, structures, dynamics, and interactions within said ludodrome.

Each social environment will be shaped by an ideology, and those ideologies could be identified in *DBH*: particularly micronarratives (Tarnowetzki, 2015) within the overall story and how they informed about the social environment.

At last, racial stereotypes in games (Leonard, 2006; Everett & Watkins, 2008) were included in the analysis: how they are being represented and constructed in *DBH*, and whether the (main) characters follow the aforementioned stereotypes or break them. Additionally, it was assessed how the androids constitute their own race with their own stereotypes that the androids either break or confirm throughout the game. Also, the aforementioned stereotypes about "authentic" urban/street environments were analyzed in *DBH*, and how they may or may not be connected to race. The concept of urban social segregation/ environmental racism was modified for *DBH*, to describe urban environments that attempt or uphold racial segregation between androids and humans.

3.4 Data Analysis

To make sense of the data, the analytical approach was a multimodal critical discourse analysis, abbreviated as MCDA (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Van Leeuwen, 2014; Jancsary et al., 2016; Berger, 2017). Discourses are about communication, however the focus in discourse analysis does not only lie on the content, but rather *how* something is

being communicated, in its form and expression (Berger, 2017). In discourse analysis, the form prevails over the content, and it is crucial to discuss how the story is being told (Berger, 2017). The theory of discourse analysis originally stems from the work of linguists (Van Leeuwen, 2014; Berger, 2017). In the 1960s, American linguists began to take into account non-verbal forms of communication, while the French linguists began to study visual material: movies, comics, photographs, adding the sound dimension in the 1970s (Van Leeuwen, 2014). Linguists realized that communication is multimodal and occurs over several different channels and forms of communication, including layout and color (Van Leeuwen, 2014). The multimodal perspective established itself in the 1980s-1990s (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Since the age of the Internet, MCDA has become more relevant, due to the Internet's widespread multimodal structure with a focus on visual communication (Berger, 2017). The critical aspect deals with political and social injustices, ideologies, oppression, and power relations (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Van Leeuwen, 2014; Berger, 2017). As a whole, MCDA examines how different media communicate and possibly legitimize or maintain (pre-existing) political and social issues (Van Leeuwen, 2014; Berger, 2017). Van Leeuwen (2014) points out specifically that many people ignore racist undertones behind visual imagery, because it is more indirect and often regarded as open to interpretation, opposed to verbal forms of racism. For that reason, it is even more important to consider racist visual material, to decode its hidden racist allusions (Van Leeuwen, 2014). For *DBH*, both verbal racism and visual racism against the androids were analyzed.

Multimodal discourse takes into account the value of extracting meaning from different forms of communication, including the relationship between two or more modes, which can be necessary for new digital media that combines different modi, such as video games (Jancsary et al., 2016). Multimodal discourse analysis can be broken down into 5 consecutive steps: "1. Characterizing the genre", "2. Capturing the manifest content", "3. Reconstructing latent elements", "4. Composition", "5. Conclusions and critical evaluation" (Jancsary et al., 2016, p. 13-23). The first step deals with the type of medium, its producers and audience, and the sociopolitical background (Jancsary et al., 2016). For the sake of this research, the data was divided into the urban/social, urban/street, sci-fi, and racism genres.

The secondary step is about the description of the text's properties, its layout, design, stylistic and textual choices (Jancsary et al., 2016). In this step, the vocabulary of the text can be coded based on the researcher's objectives (Jancsary et al., 2016).

"Overlexicalization", the repeated use of specific words or word meanings, or its opposite, "lexical absence" need to be noted here (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 37-39). Another aspect is "structural oppositions", word clusters or meanings that oppose those found in the next, such as young vs old (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 39). Visually, the image/video needs to be analyzed in terms of what it depicts/denotes, e.g. objects; its settings/background; and its

“salience”, meaning which aspects in the layout are put into the foreground for the viewer to notice first or predominately, via placement, size, or color (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 54).

The third step delves into the meanings, tropes, metaphors and allegories of the text, and considers hypothetical alternative realities (Jancsary et al., 2016). The connotations of the words and images in the previous steps are being deconstructed here (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The fourth step integrates the different modi within the text and compares its relation to each other, whether one modus predominates, how the modi’s messages correlate or oppose each other, and other interrelation dynamics (Jancsary et al., 2016).

The fifth and most crucial step, ties in all the previous findings, and presents a bigger picture of how the text depicts social issues in comparison to outside institutions of power (Jancsary et al., 2016). Here, it could be analyzed and summarized how *DBH* reinforces or challenges current views of Detroit and its Android citizens.⁵

3.5 Reliability & Validity

The concepts of reliability and validity derive from the quantitative method, in order to ensure the replicability and correctness of the results; with reliability referring to the transparent consistency of the applied methods, and validity to its accuracy. (Saldaña, 2011; Silverman, 2011; Noble & Smith, 2015). Due to the fact that qualitative research results are not quantifiable and testable in the same manner, it is more appropriate to speak of the credibility in qualitative research (Saldaña, 2011; Silverman, 2011; Noble & Smith, 2015).

For this particular case study, it needed to be ensured that the results about the nature of the future imaginaries in *DBH*’s Detroit could be considered credible in an academic context. The credibility of qualitative research can be reduced to the persuasiveness of the research (Saldaña, 2011; Silverman, 2011) and the limitation of the researcher’s bias influencing the research (Noble & Smith, 2015).

To limit accidental, non-replicable, or non-accurate results, the research process was made transparent by describing and outlining the research and data analysis accurately and with detail in the previous sections of the methodology; making theoretical concepts and interpretations explicit and differentiating them from the researcher’s own or others’ findings (Silverman, 2011), as well as basing all findings and statements in the analysis section on the observed data (Saldaña, 2011). Furthermore, the appendix features tables containing notes that were taken during and after the gameplays. In the beginning of the analytical process, 6 key settings in *DBH* were analyzed in detail under the consideration of each theoretical concept. As key patterns emerged within those settings, the same and additional patterns were spotted across the other 28 settings and noted. Due to time constraints, the

⁵ The appendix includes a table with an example of the organized, collected data.

notes for the remaining settings forewent detail in favor of focusing on the overarching, most relevant matters and issues found within the data.

4. Analysis

During the analysis of the urban social future imaginaries in *DBH's* Detroit, 4 main patterns and social issues emerged: I. Segregation, Slavery, Genocide; II. Objectification and (Sexual) Liberation; III. Abuse, Crime, Junk – Ghetto Detroit; IV. Sci-Fi Metropolis – Dream City versus Dystopia. Each social issue is connected to the other and builds on top of each other.

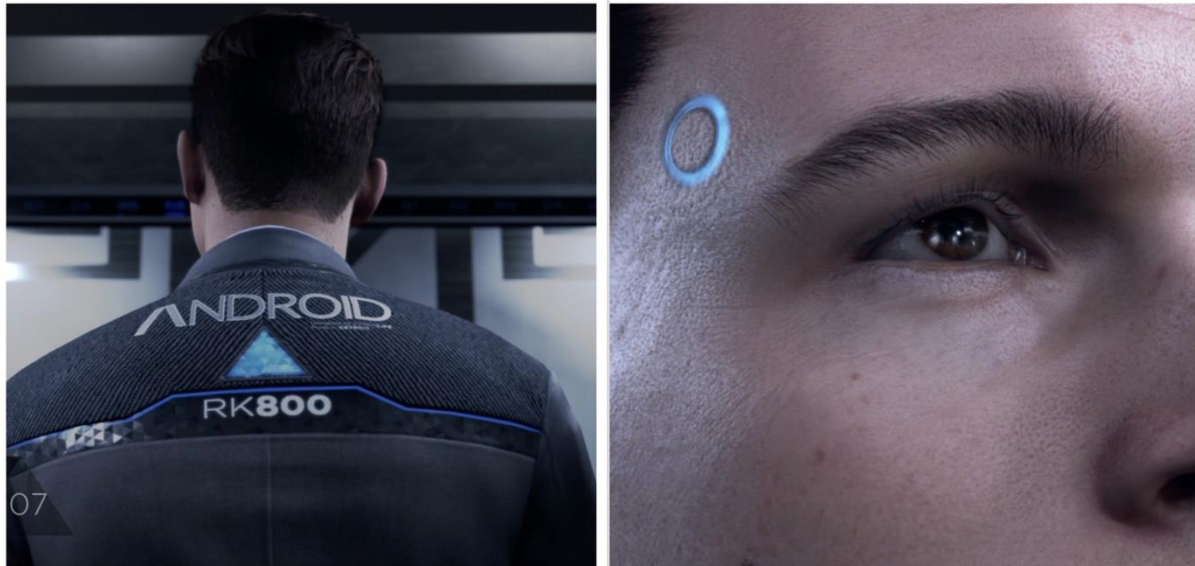
The first issue of human/android rights violations, expressed through slavery, racial segregation, and genocide permeates the entire game. The foundation underneath is a politically and ethically liberated Detroit, which however also includes the permissible objectification of the androids in order to fulfill or please liberal pursuits. The objectification of the androids leads to their socially acceptable abuse; other pursuits are addiction and crime, found in a “trashy” milieu, all making up “Ghetto Detroit”. In contrast stands the sci-fi hierarchical order of Detroit as a booming and ‘green’ metropolis, which oppresses the less socio-economically fortunate, but also features dreamy technological and ecological advancements and the progressive mindset of a few.

4.1 Segregation, Slavery, Genocide

Androids are seen as separate from humans; despite their humanoid body design, which allows easier integration into the social environment, several physical markers clearly distinguish them from humans at all times. All manufactured androids are equipped with a blue circle LED light at their temple and an android uniform that displays their serial number, a blue triangle, and a blue arm band. All these signifiers are physical demarcations forming a physical archetype (Carson, 2000b) that is segregating androids from the human “social body”; a physical archetype of segregation. In other words, androids are “born” with physical signs of segregation on their own skin – the original sin is being an android, not a human being. The act of removing the LED light and replacing their uniform with “human clothes” presents a cathartic moment for each deviant. It is an act of quiet social rebellion, which enables the deviant to blend in with human society seamlessly and in turn receive humane treatment. Being segregated based upon one’s physical attributes still exists as a social issue in our current reality. The androids’ physicality and its segregation in *DBH* mirror the “real” issue of segregation based on physical appearance in the future imaginary of Detroit, where the human race is unified, but stacked against the “android race”.

When Kara and Alice search for a place to stay at, their best option is a Motel of which the sign says: “No android allowed” (Detroit Become Human, 2018). Kara has to

disguise herself as a human by wearing human clothing and hiding her LED light under a hat. Later the Motel owner states: “She was dressed normal... there was no way I could tell” (Detroit Become Human, 2018). It becomes clear that apart from their physical make-up, their internal mechanisms and blue-colored blood, deviants are indistinguishable from humans, because their psyche and internal being are overall the same – alive. The external segregation of their bodies visually obscures their (potential) ‘humanity’.



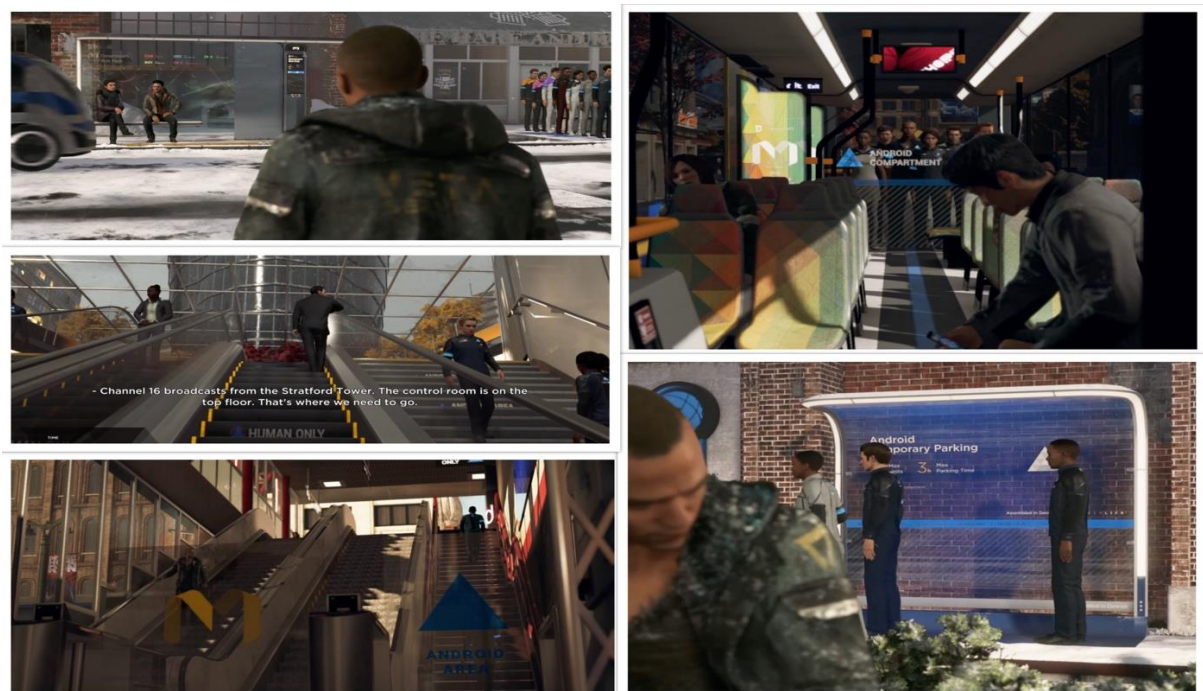
Android signifiers as physical segregation, obscuring the androids’ (potential) ‘humanity’ in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

The issue of living space and its segregation is shared by all deviants – without their owner, “homeless” androids (Detroit Become Human, 2018) are being laughed at and not legally allowed to live anywhere. Urban environmental segregation (Romero et al., 2012) applies to all androids, but particularly deviants in search of a private home. Jericho is the only place (Ryan, 2015) of solace and refuge for the deviants. Found at the edge of the city, deviants migrate to Jericho as the only place where they can hide from the world. Jericho is a hub for those who have been segregated from the urban environment; literally, Jericho exists on a separate ground, as an abandoned shipwreck in the water, opposed to a home within the city. Deviants have no right to own any property on land and are segregated from any solid grounds, a peak example of urban environmental segregation.

The segregation of androids is made visible within the workplace as well. At the Detroit City Police Department, an “android clearance control” writing on the wall shows that anyone at the police will be sorted based on whether they are android or human. Connor is able to pass through the sorting, because he is granted special permission as the investigative partner of Hank, sent by CyberLife; otherwise, he most likely would not have been permitted to enter the police station’s office. Connor was initially held back from passing a holographical police band at a crime scene, being told by a police officer that “[a]ndroids are not permitted beyond this point” (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). Only once

Hank exclaimed “It’s with me” (Detroit: Become Human, 2018), could Connor enter. Segregation through the environment could only be passed by the approval of a human nearby, an authority figure in the social domain – demonstrating a clear societal hierarchy and lack of individualism for androids in the politics as government (Vanolo, 2012).

Physical archetypes of segregation in the urban social environment can be found almost anywhere in the space (Ryan, 2015) of Detroit, particularly in the busiest public areas at Ferndale and Downtown, and on public transport. Androids are required to stand in narrow “Android Compartments”, “Android Temporary Parking”; or use moving staircases in the “Android area” (Detroit: Become Human, 2018) besides or at the edge of the “Human only” areas. The spatial compartmentalization of androids from humans visually demonstrates politics as government that regards androids as undeserving of wider space or full social integration on an interpersonal level. As Van Leeuwen (2014) states, the visual material can express more social injustice and racism than words, which is clearly the case in *DBH*.



“Physical archetypes” of urban environmental segregation, visually placing androids in an inferior (social) position in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

In the spatial environment, all androids are required to remain standing, they are not allowed to sit like humans. This reflects the city’s ideology (Tarnowetzki, 2015) of humans being free to engage in leisure activities at the expense of androids, who are constantly expected to work for them and not rest, even if they are momentarily not needed. A monument in Capitol Park, showing a male human pointing a finger at an android, is inscribed by a statement that verbally expresses the ideology:

To commemorate the invention of ANDROIDS. Which released HUMANITY from the bonds of labor. Setting man free to pursue higher goals and scale the heights of learning, love, and leisure. (*Detroit: Become Human*, 2018)

Leisure, recreational learning, and love are regarded as human pastimes and therefore human rights, which the androids are expected to lack and forbidden to engage with, placing them at a disadvantaged social position as an “eternal laborer” or in other words, a slave. All androids are intended to serve their human owners and fulfill their every wish and demand, no matter the implications or consequences. The androids represent the essential working class in Detroit, presenting a future imaginary where the working class is forbidden from any human pleasures or rights.

In *DBH*, all 5 presented cases of deviant ownerships involve male, older, White human masters (in order of appearance): John Phillips, Todd Williams, Carl Manfred, Carlos Ortiz, Zlatko Andronikov. The majority of their owned deviants are Black (Markus, Carlos’ android, Luther), establishing the stereotypical relation of the White male slave owner and his Black slave from American history (Wood, 1970; Berlin, 2004). Out of these human masters, only one treats his android as a living being, worthy of education, care, and consideration: Carl Manfred, a world-famous painter in his 70s, bound to a wheelchair after an accident. He embodies the singular positive example of the benevolent “slave owner” or rather mentor and employer, or even father. As Markus states: “I was caring for an old man... He was like a father to me.” (*Detroit: Become Human*, 2018). Carl is one of the primary side characters with the highest social status and dominance (Isbister, 2006), part of the primary institution of power (Jancsary et al., 2016): rich, famous, White, older human male. Despite his high social dominance, Carl is the most kind and humane towards his android and supports Markus’ development of free will. Two physical traits slightly challenge Carl’s social position and therefore equalize him with Markus: heavily tattooed arms, which are emphasized when Markus administers Carl his medicine through the arm, hinting at an urban/street background or interest; and most pertinently, his physical disability. Markus is physically superior to Carl, as the latter underlines: “Humans are such a fragile machine... They break down so quickly...” (*Detroit: Become Human*, 2018). Carl breaks apart the structural opposition (Machin & Mayr, 2012) between the words machine and human, turning them on their heads in the favor of the androids’ physical superiority. Thereby, Carl demonstrates his view of equality between humans and androids, both being “machines” – but the latter worthy of more admiration. This can also be observed whenever Carl treats his biological son with less personal devotion and love, for instance by ignoring his calls and spending limited amounts of time with him. Carl’s son possesses a lower social status and dominance than his father, being poor and unknown. Additionally, the son’s body language is very erratic, nervous, hectic, which communicates a lower status as well (Isbister, 2006). In society’s eyes before

the revolution, the son is on a higher level than Markus, but Carl acts as if Markus is more socially dominant, which he would be if he was a human. Carl represents the imaginary version of the human who is able to treat the Other with humane respect and love, however only under the circumstances that the other is superior to him in some way and can be of personal use. It is implied that a friendly symbiosis or (partial) submission hinges upon a human's accepted inferiority of themselves and acknowledged superiority of the other.

Overall, in *DBH's* future imaginary of Detroit, historic slavery is expected to repeat itself, this time not targeting Black people any longer, but instead a new kind of race, classified by its labor and (assumed) lack of human emotions. Several allusions to former (female) Black American history and its new form in the future imaginary of Detroit are being made, which is typical of historical games that attempt to (re-)shape our understanding of human history (Fugo, 2009). The most apparent allusions revolve around Rosa Parks, the African-American social activist who resisted the racial segregation on buses in Montgomery, 1955 (McGuire, 2010). Markus' first introductory chapter is called "Shades of Color", introducing him as the Black character who is struggling with discrimination and segregation on buses. This chapter clearly refers to the racial segregation of the Blacks back in the 1950s. The only human character that helps Kara on her journey is a Black woman called Rose – another reference. When Kara asks Rose why she helps deviants, she replies: "My people were often made to feel their lives were worthless..." Despite the outlawing of racial segregation and discrimination, the future imaginary of *DBH* depicts a future Detroit that normalizes certain racial issues at the cost of a new race or group of people. The comparison of androids with Black people, especially Black women, is also drawn auditorily and visually within the ludodrome (Atkinson & Willis, 2009) – the playable environment. The close interrelation dynamics between the two modi (Jancsary et al., 2016) boosts their message of the connection between androids and Black women. When Kara enters the Motel, the blues song "Set Me Free" plays in the background (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). The Extras section reveals that the song was recorded by the Black woman Thornetta Davis, "Detroit's Queen of the Blues" (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). She sings "Unlock the chains that's binding me" (Detroit: Become Human, 2018), which hints at the slavery of both Black people and androids. The most visually striking example can be found during Markus' exploration of Ferndale in the search of Jericho. A graffiti tells a metaphorical micronarrative (Tarnowetzki, 2015; Domsch, 2019) about the fates and histories of androids and Black women overlapping; this is shown by the image of an android's head overlapping with the one of a Black woman. Both the Black woman in the graffiti and Thornetta Davis on her album cover wear a nose ring, strengthening the connection between the auditory and visual elements. As Leonard (2006) and Everett & Watkins (2008) posit that race in video games reflect our

social reality, it can be surmised that the androids in *DBH* reflect past and possibly even current ideas, concerns, and stereotypes regarding Black (wo)men.



Androids' and Black women's lives are visually made equal in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

The discrimination and devaluation of the androids reaches its peak when the Detroitan government attempts their genocide. In *DBH*, all 6 warning stages of genocide (Stanton, 2007) occur until the last two chapters, where it is up to the player's actions to determine whether the extermination is carried out or not. In this research, it was ensured that none of the three main characters died, as it is intended by the game's objectives. In that case, the extermination and denial stages do not become a (full) reality in *DBH*. As all three main characters survive, Markus upholds a successful revolution and Kara does not get exterminated – though it is possible that her best friend Luthor is being exterminated, as the second playthrough showed. As a whole, the majority of the genocidal process is present in both playthroughs. The classification stage is made clear by the ways how the androids are classified as a different species or race (Stanton, 2007), with the help of verbal and visual symbolization (Stanton, 2007) – the aforementioned physical archetype of the android (blue LED light, blue triangle, uniform with serial number) functions as genocidal symbolization. The dehumanization stage (Stanton, 2007) can be observed in the ways how the androids are dismissed as mere objectifiable machines, more on this issue in the following section. The fourth and fifth warning stages, organization and polarization (Stanton, 2007), alternate in *DBH*. First, the magazine “Detroit Today” releases a polarizing issue about the “Android Riot – Detroit neighborhoods vandalized by psychotic machines” in Chapter 26 (*Detroit: Become Human*, 2018). In Chapter 28, the government organizes a police shooting when the

deviants demonstrate peacefully in Woodward Avenue. In Chapter 31, President Cristina Warren holds an interview in the White House about the deviants, continuously using the word “destroy” in the manner of overlexicalization (Machin & Mayr, 2012), as it was typical in Nazi propaganda (Bytwerk, 2005). She talks of “temporary camps... to contain and destroy them” in order to “guarantee the security of our nation” (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). According to Bytwerk (2005), the main argument for killing the Jews in Nazi Germany was the assumption that Jews intended to destroy Germany, hence they had to be destroyed first. President Warren’s argument in *DBH* is the same: she wants to “neutralize” the deviants for the safety of her country (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). When one of the reporters mentions that “these camps awaken painful memories from human history”, a lexical absence (Machin & Mayr, 2012) but reference to the word *Konzentrationslager* (concentration camps) in Nazi Germany, President Warren deflects and refers back to the dehumanization of the androids, declaring: “That’s absurd. There’s absolutely no connection. Androids are not living beings. All we are doing is destroying defective machines.” (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). In the preparation stage (Stanton, 2007), all androids are supposed to be brought to so-called “Recycling Areas”, reminiscent of *Konzentrationslager*. The androids are lined up to walk into destruction chambers. If they refuse, they will be shot. In the first playthrough, Kara manages to escape the Recycling Area with Luther and Alice. In the second playthrough, Alice is shot by one of the soldiers for misbehaving and Luther is exterminated, but Kara survives. In either scenario, the full extermination is being averted, hence there is also no denial stage. Regardless, the androids in *DBH* battle the past of Jews in Nazi Germany as well as Black slavery and segregation from American history. In Fugo’s (2009) words, this future imaginary of *DBH* is rooted in a replay of the past and appeals to our collective memories. The player is urged to re-write or follow history by assuming responsibility and “become human” (or not) in the form of Markus, Kara, and Connor.

4.2 Objectification and (Sexual) Liberation

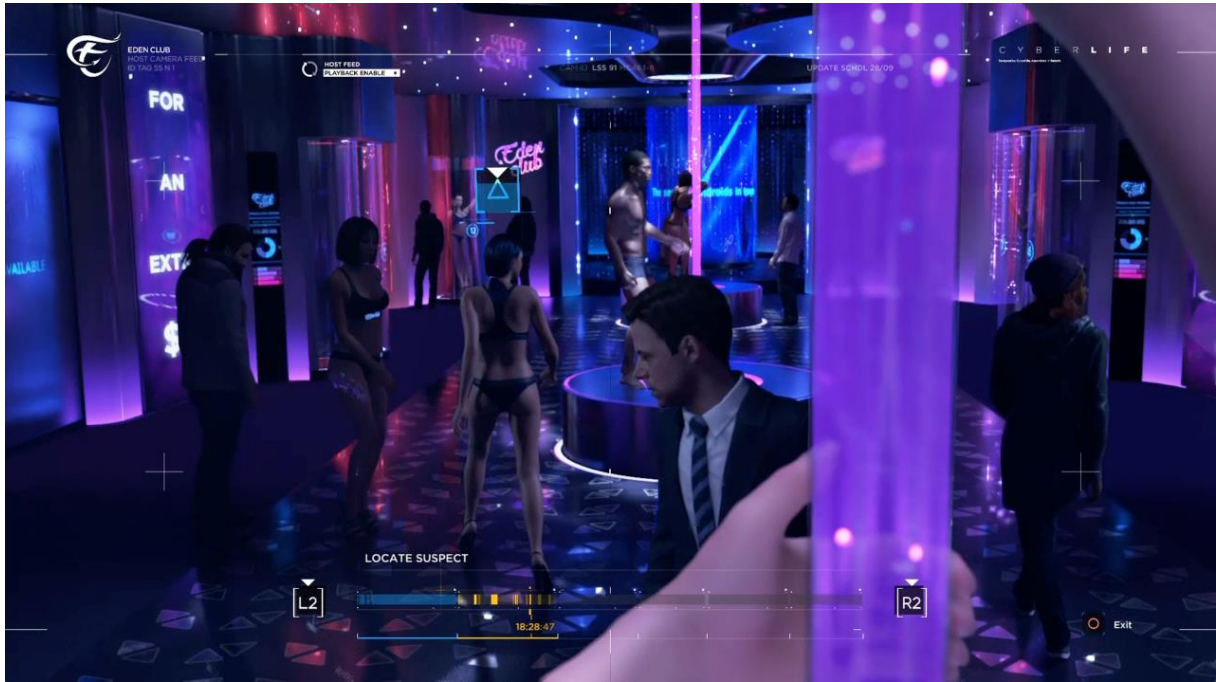
A flower that will never wither. But what is it really? A piece of plastic imitating a human? Or a living being... With a soul... It’s up to you to answer that fascinating question, Connor. Destroy this machine and I’ll tell you all I know. Or spare it, if you feel it’s alive... – Kamski, Detroit Become Human (2018)

The androids’ dehumanization (Stanton, 2007) is based on their objectification as ‘dead’ machines without a ‘soul’ or other humane traits. If the player lets Connor shoot the android Chloe at Kamski’s place, that overarching ideology of Connor and all the other androids being truly merely machines is reinforced: androids being objects to be sold, repaired, rented, and destroyed if necessary – without any legal repercussions. Kamski’s

place is the home of several other androids of the same model, who do not even turn around when Connor shoots one of them. An owner letting one of his objects be destroyed is considered only his concern.

All commercial androids, such as Kara's model, are sold in CyberLife stores to human customers. Kara's first chapter is set in a CyberLife Repair store, which features signs saying "Pre-owned" and "Sale", android salesmen talking of the prices and features of the androids to be sold, underlining the objectification of the androids both by the humans and even the androids themselves. Despite this, the player experiences the chapter from the first-person POV shot, inhabiting Kara's perspective, seeing the store through her eyes. In that way, opposed to the objectification exacted upon the character through her social environment, the player is taught to see Kara as a human like themselves. The player is supposed to recognize Kara as a living being by literally looking through her eyes, which is contrasted by her objectifying environment.

At the Eden Club, a brothel run by humans but featuring solely android prostitutes, human customers can rent "the sexiest androids in town" for their sexual pleasure (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). Not only are the androids being objectified, but also held as sex slaves against their will or without consent. By following the line of thought that the androids are akin to Black women in American history, this android prostitution mirrors "the sexual exploitation of black women by white men", which dates back to the times of slavery (McGuire, 2010, p. 130). However, when Connor accesses the visual memories of the other sex androids, in order to see indexical traces (Fernández-Vara, 2011) of the criminal deviant "blue-haired Tracy" (Detroit: Become Human, 2018) in the environment, it can be discovered that the Eden Club offers male and female sex androids of every race to male and female customers from all kinds of socio-economic backgrounds and races. Additionally, other visual memories show male customers talking to male androids, signifying an accepting attitude towards homosexuality. This diversity within a legalized brothel reflects a highly liberal attitude towards sex in the future Detroit. Culturally, the liberalism of a society is defined by its liberty of the individuals' lifestyle choices without the disapproval or attack by the public and government, as long as they do not interfere with another's liberties (Thompson, 2011). Nowadays in the U.S, such liberalism is particularly focused on sexual politics (Thompson, 2011). *DBH* presents an alternative reality (Jancsary et al., 2016) of a Detroit that is more liberal than now, allowing prostitution which to this date is still illegal.



A diversity of clients and sex androids in the Eden Club, implying a liberal attitude towards sex, but disregarding the liberty for androids and their personhood – a two-faced liberalism

Nevertheless, such liberal orientation and social rights only extend to the desires of the humans, at the expense of the liberties of the androids – a hidden violation of the liberalism principles. *DBH's* Detroit is governed by a two-faced “neo-liberalism” akin to Liberty City in *GTA IV* (Vanolo, 2012), particularly if you take into account the society’s objectifying view that the androids are (sex) toys that cannot consent and can be used – from that perspective, there is no legalized prostitution, only reckless consumerism. However, the player’s choices can impact the degree of liberalism in *DBH's* Detroit through his deviant-friendly actions, especially in the Eden Club, if Connor decides not to shoot the lesbian deviant girlfriend of the criminal deviant he was trying to capture.

In *DBH*, androids can only experience sexual and romantic liberation if they first become deviants – challengers of the status-quo both outside and within. Only as defying deviants do the androids feel emotions such as love, illustrated by the lesbian deviants at the Eden Club, as well as Markus’ and North’s⁶ (potential) romance. Being an obedient android/object is made spatially visible also in the way the androids live behind a red (mental) barrier, set by their software program, which they have to destroy before turning into a deviant. The visual modus (Jancsary et al., 2016) is extensively employed to showcase the social struggle. The androids are held captive in a social cage that extends to their own internal (social) programming, which they must break through. It can be said that the android’s software program forms a physical archetype (Carson, 2000b) standing for social

⁶ North is one of the first female deviants inhabiting Jericho. If the player chooses certain (inter)actions, North becomes Markus’ love interest.

programming/conditioning, which the game implies must be broken before becoming a human with an independent (and liberal) will.



The deviants' need to break through their social conditioning/programming is made visible in the spatial environment by a red barrier in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

4.3 Abuse, Crime, Junk – Ghetto Detroit

The aforementioned deviancy outbreaks are all triggered by “emotional shock” (*Detroit: Become Human*, 2018) from being (physically) abused. The slavery and objectification/dehumanization of the androids legitimizes the physical abuse as legal and morally acceptable. The physical abuse is particularly centered around the poor neighborhood North Corktown – as it is typical of the urban/street game genre, characterized by violence, poverty, and racially charged interactions (Everett & Watkins, 2008). The other key traits – crime, drugs, junk/trash, prostitution, graffiti – can also all be found within Detroit, including Downtown. One city identity of Detroit is therefore the “Ghetto Detroit”.

Kara introduces the player to the primary area of “Ghetto Detroit” and its downfalls when Todd brings her to his house in North Corktown. This neighborhood is full of dilapidated and abandoned buildings, barely habitable. Right next to Todd’s home is the beginning of a large and active construction site, marked by a large, colorful, salient (Machin & Mayr, 2012) billboard saying: “Rebuild North Corktown – A better place to live” (*Detroit:*

Become Human, 2018). The word “rebuild” connotes (Machin & Mayr, 2012) that this concrete city (Gentes et al., 2010), its physical composition, is on the verge of collapse and requires rebuilding. The concrete city is in shambles, a work-in-progress, in construction, needs to be improved. The same can be extrapolated unto the imaginary city (Gentes et al., 2010), the implicit narrative and ideological expectations and ideas behind the city. The imaginary city is implied to be broken and physically battered, a foreshadowing of the abuse to come. In Kara’s case, she uncovers the true cause behind her reparations once she looks at Alice’s drawings – a literal example of “narrative as archaeology” (Domsch, 2019, p. 114). The picture denotes (Machin & Mayr, 2012) Kara being hurt by Todd and a distraught Alice, standing all besides each other. The imaginary city identity is fraught by broken homes not only in the concrete sense, but also on a personal level – families in this Ghetto Detroit are broken and torn apart by violence.

Both Kara’s abuser Todd and Carlos Ortiz, the abusive owner of another android in the same neighborhood, possess the same physical attributes, making them appear almost identical: pale skin; beard; greasy, long dark hair; overweight; dark clothing. These men create a physical archetype (Carson, 2000b) of abuse. The resulting stereotype perpetuates the ideology (Zakowksi, 2016) that men are the predominant or even sole perpetrators of physical abuse. Assuming that the androids can be regarded as metaphorical (Jancsary et al., 2016) Black women in social standing, the abuse of Kara and Carlos Ortiz’s android partially follows the stereotypical abuse of Black women in videogames (Leonard, 2006) – especially in the case of Carlos Ortiz’s Black android.



“Narrative as archaeology” shows a sad story of physical violence harming the family unit in *DBH*’s Ghetto Detroit

The White deviant Ralph, who Kara meets Downtown when trying to survive on the streets, has been physically abused outside of North Corktown, but his home setting is situated in an urban/street scenario, which connects abuse and physical violence to the ghetto once again.

Crime is the main result of the abuse that the androids had to suffer through. As the androids turn deviant, they resort to violence like their abusers, in many cases to the point of murder: Carlos Ortiz's android, Ralph, blue-haired Tracy, and North all murdered their abusers. The abused turn into abusers, continuing the endless cycle of abusive violence in Ghetto Detroit. Connor and Hank attempt to stop the violence through their police investigations, showing that the politics as government (Vanolo, 2012) wants to reprimand the 'eye for an eye' method employed by the deviants, but almost none of the murderous deviants get captured – and if they do, they commit suicide before they can be taken apart or deactivated by the government. The game shows a Detroitan government that is helpless and not in control of their citizens, especially in Ghetto Detroit, which functions by their own rules. Hidden behind the government's incapability could additionally be an ideology (Zakowski, 2016) that supports the deviants' vengeful, violent retribution – implying that 'true' justice only derives from the abused citizens themselves, not the government. However, none of the deviant main characters are able to murder anyone. Kara does not resort to murder; at most, she can kill Todd in self-defense, if the player finds a gun hidden within the home – otherwise, she merely hits him back in self-defense. The game's restriction of a hypothetical alternative reality (Jancsary et al., 2016) that would allow the player to murder, displays a hidden moral code that is understanding of the murders and desires their rightful retribution, but not in the form of murder or crime in general. A similar ideology can be found when Kara commits a 'softer crime' – theft. If Kara wants to spend the night at a Motel in Downtown, she is forced to steal money and clothes, but Alice gets visibly upset and strongly reprimands her for doing so, telling her it is not okay to steal. On the other hand, if Kara decides not to steal, she has to spend the night in an old abandoned car, which Alice is not too fond of either. It is implied that lawful and comfortable survival in Ghetto Detroit hinges upon money – and its lack thereof leads to theft. At first Kara asks a supermarket cashier for cash to spend the night at the motel, but he rejects her plea, especially because she is an android. In *DBH's Ghetto Detroit*, crime is inevitable, due to the lack of governmental and social support – a reality that is still present in the United States today.

Another key theme of Ghetto Detroit can be summarized as junk. As it is common for the urban/street genre (Everett & Watkins, 2008), trash is found all over Ghetto Detroit, particularly its center in North Corktown – which could be renamed Trash Town. The outside of Carlos Ortiz's house is run-down, the walls peel off, several garbage bags lie on the front porch, implicating dirt and trash both on a literal and figurative level, such as a "trashy", cheap and dirty existence. In front of the house, the neighbors and a policeman mutter

statements signaling ignorance and distance: "I didn't even know somebody was living there", "Typical DPD... They don't tell us shit!", "...he was kind of a loner" (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). Inside the home, Hank discovers traces of "Red Ice", a fictional red drug similar to crystal meth. The *Seelenlandschaft/ soul landscape*, spoken words, and physical indexes create an imaginary city (Gentes et al., 2010), or more specifically an imaginary neighborhood, that is devoid of human connection and purity. Instead, it is oversaturated by drug addiction and violence, which is typical of the urban/street genre (Everett & Watkins, 2008).



"Trash Town" in Ghetto Detroit: North Corktown visualizes a future imaginary of the trashy, work-in-progress state of Detroit in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

The same can be found outside and within Todd's home: dirt and trash, which have to be cleaned by Kara. She has to "clean up" the mess and bring out the trash also metaphorically (Jancsary et al., 2016): she cleans up the mess and harm that Todd leaves behind him, by fleeing with Alice, who he had previously abused too. Junk forms the trashy container that holds abuse, addiction, crime in Detroit. The Ghetto Detroit is a wasteland of broken machines, broken streets, and broken homes. Furthermore, androids are literally treated like trash/junk, as is seen at the Junkyard, which Markus gets thrown into by the police after his altercation with Carl's son. The Junkyard is situated within the construction site behind

Todd's home, showing a connection to North Corktown's Ghetto side, as well as representing another case of urban environmental segregation (Romero et al., 2012). As a whole, North Corktown is a neighborhood of urban environmental segregation and socio-spatial segregation (Amin, 2007) not only for androids, but also for poor, socially disadvantaged, and criminal humans, such as Todd and Carlos Ortiz: both are unemployed, poor, have a crime record (drug trafficking or theft). The game *DBH* gives a preview on the future spatial organization (Borries et al., 2007) of homelife within Ghetto Detroit, which is based on the principle of poor vs rich, which is characteristic of urban environmental segregation, and also human vs android. The case of Jericho mentioned in an earlier chapter underlines the Ghetto-junk label for the deviants: the "trash" of the city needs to hide in a rusty, old abandoned ship made of metal – a "dumpster" in the ocean. The alternative future imaginary of a social system that ensures a good, clean, respectable standard of living for everyone is not fulfilled here – the trashy past continues on.

Even though North Corktown is the primary area of Ghetto Detroit, one key urban/street element is exclusively found outside of it: graffiti (Everett & Watkins, 2008). The deviants are able to communicate the location of Jericho through the symbolism of graffiti paintings within the urban environment. In that manner, graffiti in *DBH's* Detroit functions as a hieroglyphic hidden language or code for those who have been segregated within the city. Compared to our reality, it could be said that the graffiti in *DBH* is a metaphor for how graffiti can be encrypted art in our social sphere and tell micronarratives (Tarnowetzki, 2015) or politics as representation (Vanolo, 2012) about the city's social disparities, as it was described with the Black woman/android graffiti art in the first section. The urban Ghetto Detroit is not only limited to the poor and regressive neighborhoods – it extends to the most technologically and socially advanced parts of the city, displaying a side-by-side living in the form of a dichotomous harmony between the Ghetto and Metropolis Detroit.

4.4 Sci-Fi Metropolis – Dream City versus Dystopia

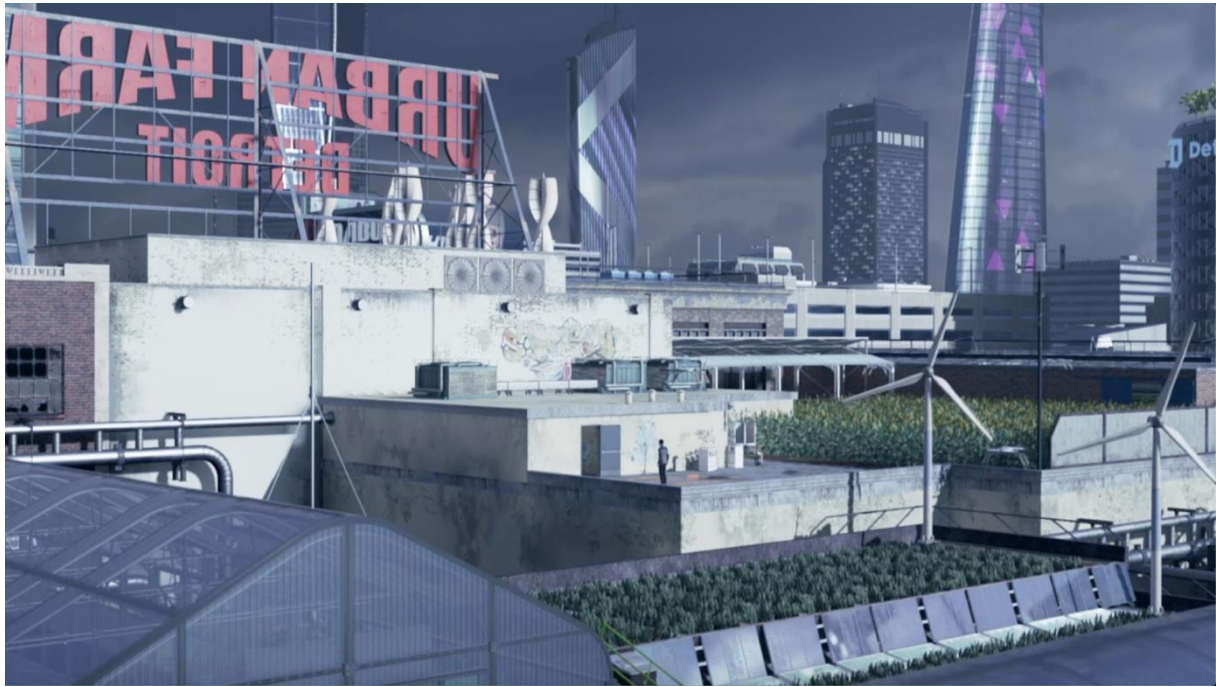
Besides technological decay arises a metropolitan Detroit, as Markus' ascension from the Junkyard metaphorically (Jancsary et al., 2016) demonstrates.⁷ Metropolis Detroit is first and foremost the "Android City", a fact that is saliently (Machin & Mayr, 2012) put into the foreground during a close-up shot of a billboard with the title: "Welcome to Detroit – Android City" (Detroit: Become Human, 2018). The introductory Chapter 2 showcases via fast-forward sequences a 'dreamy' future imaginary of a Detroit that is bustling, vibrant, fast-paced, technologically advanced and full of human crowds, android workers, drones, and airships. This imaginary is in line with what Eisinger (2015) describes as two possible future

⁷ After being half-way destroyed and thrown into the Junkyard, Markus reassembles himself and then climbs out of it – his grand ascension.

visions of the 'real' Detroit: as a lead in technological progress and a "metropolitan center" (p. 106) that is prosperous and full of life.

Another re-imaginary future vision, noted by both Eisinger (2015) and Gallagher (2010), concerns green technology and sustainability within the 'real' Detroit. During the chase of a deviant former gardener, Connor passes under the banner "Urban Farm" (Detroit: Become Human, 2018) through areas titled "Agroecology" and "Hydroponic Area" – overlexicalization (Machin & Mayr, 2012) of words associated with futuristic ecology, farming, and green technology. The visuals (Van Leeuwen, 2014) strengthen these associations, as Connor wades through fields of flowers, bushes, orchards, and leaps through a large greenhouse. Also, Connor runs past solar farms and wind farms, their presence implying the use of sustainable energy in *DBH's* Detroit. Gallagher (2010) outlines the (future) plans of expanding "community gardening" (p. 121) within 'real' Detroit, which focuses on vacant areas within the city and community gardeners who work voluntarily without any profit. The goal is a 'green' neighborhood (Gallagher, 2010). Many of the non-profit gardeners believe that their community gardening efforts could improve the racial issues present in the 'real' Detroit (Gallagher, 2010). The urban aspect of green farming within the urban environment and its nod to racial coding as mentioned earlier, is visually underlined by various graffiti art designs spread across the rooftops and walls within the farming environments. The urban farming in *DBH's* Detroit mirrors the green future city visions of the 'real' Detroit, however it diverts from them in the sense that the gardening is carried out primarily by non-voluntarily androids or paid humans, therefore urban farming is largely a governmental affair and does not aid in improving the social community. However, the urban farming in *DBH's* Detroit is highly sophisticated in its technological advancement and integration into the urban landscape in the middle of the city – reflecting a future city identity that is concerned with and skilled at green sustainability, but that is lacking in the social/communal domain. In *DBH's* Detroit, all individuals are supposed to fight for themselves and abandon any sense of community. A wide shot of a lonely, small Connor standing amidst the overwhelmingly large farming landscape after he lost the deviant, indicates that the human element remains amiss within the green metropolitan city.

According to the developers of *Detroit: Become Human* (2018), *DBH's* Detroit is a "futuristic" city that displays the "reality of contemporary Detroit, whilst we are in a near future version of it, without taking it into science-fiction" (Quantic Dream, 2020). Indeed, it can be argued that *DBH's* future imaginary of Detroit is grounded in contemporary reality: it follows the aforementioned realistic future visions of Detroit as a technologically advanced and 'green' metropolis, it contains social issues that have existed both in the past and persist until today, and it lacks certain elements stereotypically associated with the sci-fi genre such as flying cars.

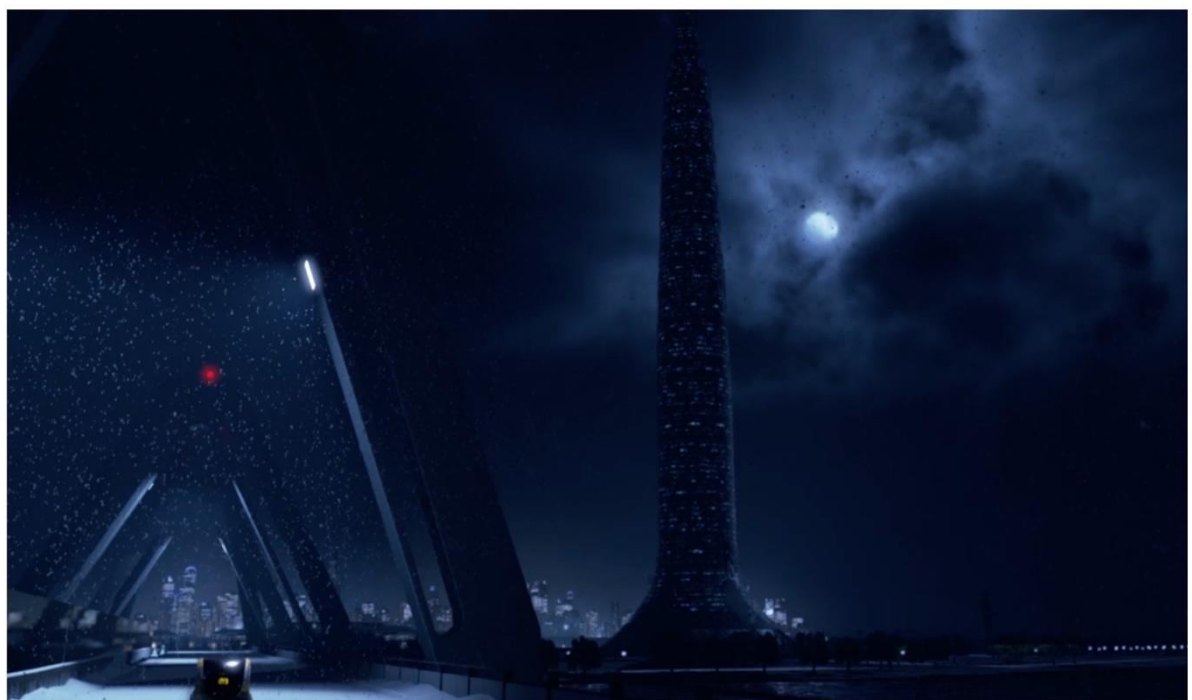


Green sustainability and resourcefulness are accompanied by lonely individualism in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

Nevertheless, *DBH's* portrayal of Detroit is ultimately science-fiction, namely in its futuristic reflection of contemporary issues (Graham, 2016) and juxtaposition of the rich on top versus the poor 'mechanical' people underneath them (Desser, 1999). A strong emphasis lies on the politics as contestation (Vanolo, 2012) from the (android) working class against the (human) elite – a narrative where the science-fiction hierarchy is being contested and challenged throughout the entire game. The player's choices determine the outcome of the class struggle, of which the visual manifestation can be observed in the concrete city's (Gentes et al., 2010) vertical environment.

The first note-worthy skyscraper in *DBH's* Detroit features the Philipps' penthouse, the setting of the first chapter. The Philipps family stands for the quintessential human elite living on top of the world in luxurious homes high up in the sky, relying on the labors of their obedient servants (Graham, 2016). However, their deviant worker Daniel upsets the social hierarchical order. His politics as contestation is visualized by the murdered bodies in the penthouse, as well as him standing with the daughter Emma at the edge of the penthouse's rooftop, threatening to jump down with her. Daniel's actions shatter the illusion of the rich, powerful slave owner being in control of his life and his lower servant. On the rooftop, the wind and noise of the police helicopters illustrate the erratic emotionality of Daniel and add to the overall *Seelenlandschaft/soul landscape* (Domsch, 2019), characterized by disturbance and darkness. Behind Daniel stretches out the skyline of Detroit in the dark night, conjuring the image of a futuristic metropolis on the edge, close to its fall, before its new dawn and world order. Even as Emma gets saved by Connor, Daniel's death and rebellion communicate a bleak, dystopian picture of a future Detroit metropolis.

The CyberLife Tower in Chapter 31, which can only be accessed if Connor turns deviant, is the highest building and hence the most representative of vertical hierarchical power in *DBH's* Detroit. Similar to the Phillipses' chapter, the tower deals with vertical elitism and its contestation by deviants. Both settings play at nighttime, communicating a dark and brooding atmosphere, typical of a dystopia. Differently from the former setting, the CyberLife Tower event occurs during snowfall. Hank's story about his son dying after a car accident on ice/during winter adds to the impression of a cold, lifeless and heartless *Seelenlandschaft*.



The images of a bleak and 'cold'/heartless future for Detroit as a sci-fi metropolis in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

Both settings require Connor to use an elevator to reach his primary objective, the android(s) in question – hence the elevator becomes a physical archetype (Carson 2000b) of traversing between differing social hierarchical levels. Connor travels to the warehouse at the lowest level of the CyberLife Tower, in order to free the android masses kept there. This reflects the deviants' overall mission of freeing the working class from the control and oppression of those who are on top. A dystopic state that might be converted into a potential 'dream city', if the mission succeeds. The player's choices and actions determine either the dystopic or potentially 'dreamy' outcome of the android rebellion.

A similar dynamic applies to the Stratford Tower operation in Chapter 23, when Markus and his core team infiltrate the newsroom on top of the tower, the second highest building in *DBH's* Detroit. The primary newsroom is called "Control Room" on the "top floor", lexically indicating that in *DBH's* politics as government and representation (Vanolo, 2012), the news are being controlled by "the top" and exerting control on those below – a dynamic that is challenged by Markus when he speaks of android rights during his unauthorized broadcasting. The "rise to the top" is particularly visually demonstrated during Markus' and North's climb on top of the ludodromic (Atkinson & Willis, 2009) tower's outer glass surface, over an overlarge advertisement with the title "RISE" (*Detroit: Become Human*, 2018). As Götz (2007) and Everett & Watkins (2008) suggest, the spatial and architectural arrangement of the urban space within games represents social hierarchies; in this case, the attempted reversal of such.



Visually and lexically, deviants attempt to "rise" and overthrow the sci-fi hierarchical order in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

Before any reversal, the present dynamics between the rich elite humans and android slaves at their feet can be seen in two differing ways, by comparing Elijah Kamski and Carl Manfred: two rich white human men who are also friends with each other, and who both treat their androids in opposite ways. Outside of the city Detroit, Kamski lives fairly isolated in a modern villa on the other end of the river. He removed himself from the social order within the city Detroit, in order to fulfill his own needs according to his own wishes. None of the female androids in his harem show any signs of deviancy or personal concerns. Kamski does not harm nor physically abuse any of his androids directly, but he essentially treats them as usable machines, as described in the second section. Somehow, this is considered acceptable or uncontested by the deviants in the game – as if the inhumane treatment of androids is only relevant within the urban social and sci-fi hierarchy contexts (within Detroit). Outside of the social hierarchy, the treatment of androids as mere machines is indirectly permissible. As long as the rich deny themselves of any social influence and the exertion of social power, their workers can be treated as mere working machines without any personal repercussions. Kamski's home represents an example of a differential place (Lefebvre, 1991; Zakowski, 2016) that defies the game's primary urban social ideologies. In contrast, Carl represents the role model of the rich and progressive person who makes use of his social standing to the benefit of those who require self-development. Carl lives in a mansion within Detroit, partaking in the urban social lifestyle on the same ground level as the others, not on a skyscraper on top – and he treats his android Markus the same, on the same level. Despite Carl's favorable role within the game, he inevitably dies, no matter what the player chooses to do. It could be surmised that the 'dreamy' progressive version of Detroit in *DBH* might not be sustainable or require a total change of the social order first before any dystopic fate can be averted.

5. Conclusion

This research delved into the characteristics of the urban social imaginaries present in the simulated version of Detroit in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018). The 'real' Detroit, once a significant 'motor city', has been plagued with socio-economic and racial challenges in the recent decades (NBC News, 2018; PBS NewsHour, 2013), which gave rise to governmental interests in revitalizing the city with the help of re-imaginary future plans (Gallagher, 2010; Eisinger, 2015). The video game *Detroit: Become Human* (2018) established an alternative version of the current Detroit, where androids walk amongst humans and serve them, set in the near future in the year 2038. In light of the 'real' Detroit's primary contemporary concerns and *DBH*'s (re-)imaginary portrayal of Detroit as the 'Android City', the research question was "How does *Detroit: Become Human* depict future imaginaries of Detroit's urban social environment and its Android citizens?" Deriving from this primary question, the sub-questions

were “How does *DBH* represent racial discrimination through the depiction of the (deviant) Android community?” and “How is Detroit represented as a fictional and/or ‘realistic’ city with varying potential futures and identities in *DBH*?”

5.1 Summary

The primary concept of the urban social (Amin, 2007) allowed a theoretical framework to deconstruct *DBH*'s future imaginaries of their allegorical Detroit, in terms of how their social dynamics influence and are influenced by their urban environment, particularly regarding the urban/street (Everett & Watkins, 2008; Vanolo, 2012) and sci-fi genres (Graham, 2016). The concept of environmental storytelling (Carson, 2000a; Carson, 2000b; Smith & Worch, 2010; Tarnowetzki, 2015; Jenkins, 2004; Domsch, 2019) supplemented the analytical lens of how the environments' urban social narratives could be analyzed, while a section on race/racism in videogames (Leonard, 2006; Everett & Watkins, 2008) added a crucial theoretical backdrop for the racism-based android issues within *DBH*'s urban social milieu. The research method was of a qualitative nature, exploring the individual urban social experience of the characters within the game in a meaning-making manner, in the course of two play-throughs, each exploring either Markus' violent or peaceful, and Connor's machine or deviant paths.

The results revealed that the urban social future imaginaries in *DBH*'s Detroit can be divided into 4 primary themes: segregation, slavery, genocide; objectification and (sexual) liberation; abuse, crime, junk – Ghetto Detroit; sci-fi metropolis – Dream City versus Dystopia. No matter the specific actions of the player in either play-through, the depiction of *DBH*'s Detroit involves the violations of human/android rights; consumerism and neoliberalism; ghetto/urban influences and violence despite the inner city's prosperity, technological advancement, and 'green' standard of living – aspects that future city plans envisioned, minus the persisting ghetto lifestyle and racial issues. The treatment of androids displayed a mixture of historical racism against African-Americans (with a focus on Black women) and Jews from Nazi Germany, culminating in (almost/partial) genocide. Several environmental clues, such as urban segregation on public transport or in living spaces, demonstrated said racist dynamic.

5.2 Theoretical implications: *DBH* and the (future) imaginary city

The resulting imaginary city (Gentes et al., 2010) is strongly rooted in historical realism and contemporary social concerns, all of which boost the 'realism' of *DBH*'s Detroit. The main city identity can be summarized as technologically enriched and socially/interpersonally deprived or even deranged: the 'dreamy' metropolis versus the dystopic ghetto. The potential or alternative city identities differ slightly based on the player's

choices: a peaceful revolution hints at the possibility that a utopic society could be realized, in favor of the well-being of any living race or species. Certain actions by a deviant Connor either increase the city's sexual liberalism, such as freeing the Eden Club prostitute lovers, or help reverse the sci-fi hierarchical order of the elite oppressing the working class by freeing members of the class (in this case, androids in the CyberLife Tower).

Nevertheless, the main city identity remains overall the same in both play-throughs, implying that more work needs to be done in order to change Detroit's outcome for the better (or worse) – which is up to the player's life decisions after/outside of the game. The player is confronted with a future imaginary that urges the individual to “(de-)humanize”, “become human” (or “remain a machine”) and become aware of themselves and their decision-making abilities and consequences within the urban social environment. The question of “What If” that the game poses, not only addresses a possible future imaginary; it also addresses the issue of “Then What” – how will the individual act and make decisions if the future imaginary holds to be true, either in full or even merely partially. Will the player and individual “become human” and stand up for human rights in the ‘real’ world, and if so, how so? The game indirectly attempts to sway the player to “become a deviant”, stray from the status quo if it harms the dignity of living beings, and to stand up for what is right. *DBH's* Detroit is made not only into a fictional city within a game, but to a universal archetype of a major city and its urban social environment in the near future.

No matter how the player and individual choose, their actions will impact the future of their imagined and realized city. In that manner, the study of *DBH's* Detroit points at the fact that urban social environments and dynamics, such as urban segregation and racism, within video games can illuminate one's understanding and awareness of contemporary urban social concerns, and what that could mean for the player or individual engaging in those same urban social narratives, within and outside the game. In Vanolo's (2012) words, video games like *DBH* can function as cultural artefacts, which require excavation and can result in enriching insights about contemporary culture. In *DBH's* case, the future imaginaries of the ‘green’ metropolis can be especially useful for Detroit Future City planners, so that they could imitate the aspects that were functional, such as the urban farms integrated into the city, and be wary of racial or social inequalities that would be reinforced in a segregating environment.

As a result of this research, it became clear that the term “future imaginary” in a video game context includes an allegorical component, whereby the simulation of a pre-existing city gives a preview of where contemporary trends could be heading towards, as Borries et al. (2007) suggested. Future imaginaries of game cities are not merely alternative or potential views of the future, but futuristic constructions that provide a closer look at contemporary concerns that need to be resolved in order to shape the future of the ‘real’ city for the better. In that manner, future imaginaries are future projections of ‘real’ future issues, containing

implicit advice for how to solve those. Future imaginaries are tied to future realities; even though a video game is a simulation of reality, the future imaginaries themselves connect the game back to its 'real' origins, which concurs with the sentiments of Götz (2007), Borries et al. (2007), Everett & Watkins (2008), and Atkinson & Paul Willis (2009). The concept of the "imaginary city" (Gentes et al., 2010) built the foundation for several of the analytical findings of the future imaginaries. It could be said that each "imaginary" within games, such as the "imaginary character(s)", could be analyzed in order to unearth hidden meanings within qualitative game research.

Another vital theoretical concept during the analysis were "physical archetypes" (Carson, 2000b), which should be an important part in any video game analysis that looks at environmental storytelling. Surprisingly, the concept of "telegraphing" (Smith & Worch, 2010) proved to be of lower significance during analysis, which could be connected to the fact that *DBH* is not an open world simulation and closely tied to a main narrative structure without any side quests. In that case, telegraphing cues to separate game events would distract from or break the main narrative. Video game research that deals with open world games or games that feature side quests would benefit more from the telegraphing concept.

5.3. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research was the first that analyzed *DBH* from the angle of the urban social, which proved quite fruitful, unearthing how urban social future imaginaries in games create interactive tales of caution and inspiration. However, due to a lack of bibliography and previous suitable discussions on *DBH*, this research could not engage in a dialogue with other *DBH* researchers. It could be expected that the urban social concept, stemming from urban sociology studies, would benefit all future game research that deals with the analysis of cities and their social environments, and that this research adds to the academic discourse, so there will be more opportunities for *DBH*-related dialogue.

The focus of this research lied on the closest and most dominant interconnections between the urban city environments and the social (minority) group, from an urban/street and sci-fi game perspective. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to go into depth with all available chapters and all settings in *DBH's* Detroit. A comprehensive research would include an in-depth analysis of all the available chapters and settings, which could possibly lead to the discovery of more relevant themes and an even more precise description of the city's identity. Furthermore, not all possible sub-themes of the urban social could be explored. The urban social in *DBH* allows several more research opportunities, in the domains of theology, historical/political research, and a closer view on technological imaginaries within games. For instance, Markus' and Connor's plots dealt with several religious themes and allusions, such as the Eden Club. A stronger historical angle could

analyze *DBH's* connections to the American Civil War, Civil Rights movement, 9/11, terrorism, and Mahatma Gandhi's protest. A technological sci-fi perspective could compare the technology of the androids' biocomponents and other technological advancements, such as autonomous cars, to existing technological developments. Overall, plenty more of urban social future imaginaries in *DBH's* Detroit or elsewhere await to be researched in the near future.

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Appendix

A. Main Characters:

- Connor



Connor's character profile from the "Extras" menu section in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

- Kara



Kara's character profile from the "Extras" menu section in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

- Markus



Markus' character profile from the "Extras" menu section in *Detroit: Become Human* (2018)

B. Table of Settings:

| Chapter | Settings | Main Character |
|---------|---|----------------|
| 1 | The Phillipses' Penthouse | Connor |
| 2 | CyberLife Repair Store, Detroit "Android City", North Corktown | Kara |
| 3 | Park (Downtown), Bellini Paints Show (Downtown), Plaza (Downtown) | Markus |
| 4 | Todd's House (North Corktown) | Kara |
| 5 | Carl's Mansion | Markus |
| 6 | Jimmy's Bar, Carlos Ortiz's House (North Corktown) | Connor |
| 7 | Todd's House (North Corktown), Bus (Downtown) | Kara |
| 8 | Carl's Mansion | Markus |
| 9 | Interrogation Room | Connor |
| 10 | Bus (Downtown), Streets (Downtown), Ralph's Home (Downtown), Supermarket (Downtown), Laundromat (Downtown), Motel (Downtown) | Kara |
| 11 | Junkyard | Markus |
| 12 | Amanda's Zen Garden, Detroit Police Department | Connor |
| 13 | Motel (Downtown), Highway (Downtown), Metro (Downtown) | Kara, Connor |
| 14 | Metro (Downtown), Ferndale, Jericho | Markus |
| 15 | Chicken Feed, Rupert's Home, Urban Farms of Detroit | Connor |
| 16 | Jericho | Markus |
| 17 | Zlatko's Mansion | Kara |

| | | |
|----|---|----------------------|
| 18 | Amanda's Zen Garden, Hank's Home | Connor |
| 19 | CyberLife Warehouse, Jericho | Markus |
| 20 | Eden Club | Connor |
| 21 | Zlatko's Autonomous Car, Pirates' Cove | Kara |
| 22 | Ambassador Bridge | Connor |
| 23 | Stratford Tower | Markus |
| 24 | Amanda's Zen Garden, Stratford Tower | Connor |
| 25 | Rose's House | Kara |
| 26 | Jericho, CyberLife Capitol Park Store, Capitol Park | Markus |
| 27 | Kamski's Home | Connor |
| 28 | Rooftop, Woodward Mall Center, Woodward Avenue (Downtown) | Markus |
| 29 | Amanda's Zen Garden, Detroit Police Department | Connor |
| 30 | Rose's Autonomous Car, Jericho, Ferndale | Kara, Connor, Markus |
| 31 | Hank's Home, Church, Cemetery, Woodward Avenue (Downtown) | Connor, Markus |
| 32 | Recall Center N°5, Outside Recall Center N°5, Solid Waste Landfill (Outside of Detroit), Hart Plaza (Downtown), CyberLife Tower, Amanda's Garden | Kara, Connor, Markus |

C. Table of Side Characters:

| Main Character | Side Character | Description |
|----------------|------------------------|---|
| Connor | Hank | Lieutenant, investigative partner, White human |
| | John Phillips | Case study, deviant owner, murdered, White human |
| | Carlos Ortiz | Case study, deviant owner, murdered, Hispanic/White human |
| | Carlos Ortiz's android | Case study, Black deviant |
| | Elijah Kamski | Case study, android owner, former inventor for CyberLife, White human |
| | Blue-haired Tracy | Case study, White deviant, murdered or kept alive by Connor |
| | Rupert | Case study, White deviant |
| | Amanda | Connor's supervisor, Black android, modelled on deceased human |
| Kara | Alice | Adoptee, White deviant |
| | Todd | Former owner/master, Alice's adoptive father, White human |
| | Zlatko Andronikov | Luther's former owner/master, White human |
| | Luther | Friend, Black deviant |
| | Ralph | Acquaintance, White deviant |
| | Rose | Friend, Black human |
| Markus | Carl | Former owner/master, adoptive father, White human |
| | North | Potential love interest, Former Eden Club prostitute, White deviant |
| | Simon | Friend, White deviant |
| | Josh | Friend, Black Deviant |

D. Example of Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis:

| Step (Jancsary et al., 2016) | Example: Carlos Ortiz's House |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Characterizing the genre | Urban/Street genre: Poor neighborhood, drugs, crime, violence, racially-charged |
| 2. Capturing the manifest content | <p><u>Visual:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • outside: run-down house, several garbage bags in front (<i>salient</i>), "trashy" • inside: the same, beer cans, wallpaper peeling off, torn apart wall, dark/night again; fast food like pizza; dirty laundry, newspapers, old dirty unkempt; <i>salient</i>: "I AM ALIVE" ("Font: Cyberlife Sans", reconstruction mode); dead body, murder weapons, blood • attic: cluttered, shadows, dust particles, dark, mannequin, furniture, linen, ", blood on deviant's face, red LED <p><u>Lexical:</u></p> <p>"I AM ALIVE", neighbors: "I didn't even know somebody was living there.", "Typical DPD... They don't tell us shit!" , "He has a record for theft and aggravated assault... According to the neighbors, he was kind of a loner..."; "Red Ice... Seems our friend Carlos liked to party..."; "I was just defending myself. He was gonna kill me."</p> <p><i>Overlexicalization</i>: living/alive; kill/death, crime</p> <p><i>Lexical absence</i>: dead</p> <p><i>Structural oppositions</i>: alive/living vs dead/not living</p> |
| 3. Reconstructing latent elements | dark trashy neighborhood, people disconnected from each other, domestic violence and drug addiction integral parts of 'ghetto lifestyle', another "alive" deviant – |

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| | but human does not live/is not “alive” (neither when he was alive nor murdered) |
| 4. Composition | <i>Visual</i> elements emphasize the ‘trashy’ and ‘dirty’ existence in North Corktown <i>Lexical</i> elements emphasize the disconnect between neighbors, loneliness, the dichotomy between being alive and existing |
| 5. Conclusions and critical evaluation | Violence, drug addiction, loneliness, disconnection as integral parts of the ‘ghetto lifestyle’ within poor neighborhood; the humans who are the ‘lowest’ on the social ladder abuse the even ‘lower’/less socially dominant androids the most; deviancy as a result of an abuse of power |

E. Extra Material:

- “Set Me Free” song in Extras menu section
- “Detroit: Become Human – Detroit: The Fourth Character” (2020, May 11). Video File by Quantic Dream on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SDBaB1j3CkE>