

RESISTANCE ON THE WALLS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GRAFFITI IN TURKEY

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RESISTANCE ON THE WALLS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GRAFFITI IN TURKEY

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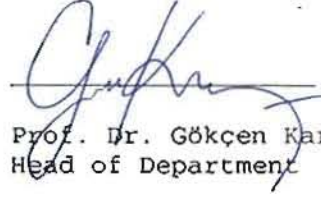
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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis
for the degree of Master of Arts.



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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our
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ABSTRACT

RESISTANCE ON THE WALLS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GRAFFITI IN TURKEY

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This paper attempts to generate some insight into the use of art and humour as a strategic tool of resistance. The main focus of the research consists of an analysis of graffiti in Turkey under the guidance of power and resistance notions in Foucauldian perspective. The research compares the samples from 2000s with those from June 2013 in terms of political content, particularly regarding elements of resistance, and the quantity of the material, taking into account that the Gezi protests of June 2013 witnessed an explosion of graffiti particularly in and around the main squares of the major cities. The sampling consists of 453 pieces from before Gezi and 813 pieces that have been produced during Gezi protests. In each period, the occurrence of themes that are critical of ‘authority’, ‘patriarchy’, ‘violence’, ‘government’, ‘conservatism’, ‘mainstream media’, ‘capitalism’, and ‘ecological/environmental policies’ are observed and the material are classified under these categories. Through this classification the research engages in a comprehensive content analysis by raising a series of questions, including: Which power forms graffiti point out as a practice of resistance? What are the main differences and similarities between the graffiti before and after Gezi events? How does humour play a role on the walls?

Keywords: power, resistance, graffiti, humor, Gezi

ÖZET

DUVARLARDAKİ DİRENİŞ: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ DUVAR YAZILARI ÜZERİNE BİR İÇERİK ANALİZİ

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Bu çalışma, stratejik direniş araçları olarak sanat ve mizaha dair bilgi üretmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Foucaultcu iktidar ve direniş kavramları rehberliğinde Türkiye’deki grafitilerin analizi araştırmanın temel odak noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Araştırma 2000lerden derlenmiş bir örneklem ve büyük şehirlerin meydanları ve çevresinde graffiti üretimi ile ilgili büyük patlamaya tanıklık etmiş Haziran 2013 boyunca derlenmiş bir örneklemi siyasi içerik, direniş ile ilgili hususlar açısından karşılaştırmaktadır. Gezi protestoları öncesinde 450 parça graffiti elde edilirken, Gezi protestoları süresince 811 parça graffiti elde edilmiştir. Her iki grupta da ‘otorite’, ‘ataerki’, ‘şiddet’, ‘hükümet’, ‘muhafazakarlık’, ‘anaakımmedya’, ‘kapitalizm’, ve ‘çevre politikaları’ konularına yönelik eleştiri ortaya konulduğu gözlenmiş ve bu doğrultuda kategorilendirme yapılmıştır. Bu kategorilendirme doğrultusunda sunulan kapsamlı içerik analizinin üzerinde şekillendiği bazı sorular şunlardır: Bir direniş pratiği olarak graffiti hangi iktidar biçimlerine işaret etmektedir? Gezi protestoları öncesi ve esnasında üretilen grafitiler arasındaki benzerlikler ve farklılıklar nelerdir? Mizah duvarlarda nasıl bir rol oynamıştır?

Anahtar kelimeler: iktidar, direniş, graffiti, mizah, Gezi

I dedicate my thesis to two youngsters who were murdered by state violence while I
was writing this thesis.

To Behzat Özen who was 8 years old and murdered by exploding of a mortar in the
East Turkey

To Berkin Elvan who was 15 years old and murdered by shooting from his head with
a gas canister in the West Turkey

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INTRODUCTION

For Iain Sinclair (1997, p. 3), “sprayed messages are meaningless”, while Michael D. Harris (2000) argues that graffiti resists against dehumanizing forces of modern city life. No matter which side one may take, it would not be contested that street art is a way of artistic expression.

As Min Sook Lee (2000) argues, graffiti can be defined as “an alternative system of public communication”. Graffiti tells many things about writers, their communities and the spaces they reside (Carrington, 2009). Since graffiti occurs as a phenomenon of urban life, and is practiced on the streets, as much as being a topic of research in communication studies, it is an object of study in urban sociology. A pioneering name in urban sociology, Henri Lefebvre, observed the place of graffiti in urban space and the potential subversive function of graffiti as follows:

The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech can become ‘savage’ and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls. (Lefebvre 2003: 19.)

Many studies formulate graffiti as a tool to analyze political and sociological issues (Austin, 2002; Bauder, 2003; Brown, 2002; Dickinson, 2008; Green, 2003; Halsey & Young, 2002; Wilson, 2008a; Wilson, 2008b). Gazi Islam (2010) emphasizes that bathroom graffiti in an urban coffee house

forms an expressive political space. Claire Humphrey (2012) demonstrates how graffiti undermines political narratives about femininity, consumerism and citizenship in the French public sphere. Wilson (2008a, 2008b) elaborates an analysis of power relationships, sexuality, violence and gender through graffiti. Monica Brown's (2002) study of graffiti focuses on representations, citizenship, nationality, and marginalization. Another scholar, Harold Bauder (2003) concentrates on spatial representation of graffiti and how neighborhoods are perceived and interpreted.

Street art also functions as a way to create sub-cultural identities. Jeff Ferrell (1996) penned an ethnographic study of hip-hop graffiti writers in Denver in the late 1980s from the perspective of power and authority issues. Maggie Dickinson (2008) examines graffiti in New York from 1970s until today and brings their anti-racist discourse to spotlight. Joe Austin (2002) analyzes the evolution of graffiti from 1970s to 1990s, as their writers struggled against New York City public authorities. Austin interprets graffiti as an attempt to exist in public sphere.

Graffiti as a part of contemporary social movements pose interesting material for several studies. Umpteen graffiti were produced during Tahrir Square revolts in Egypt in 2011 and they constituted a crucial component of the revolution. Mona Abaza (2013) states that a significant increase is observed in the production of sardonic graffiti and epic murals, the purpose of which was to generate a memorial space. Graffiti produced in New York after 9/11 function as street memorial as well (Haskins and DeRose, 2003). The importance of iconography as an art of resistance gains currency in the 2006 strike by members of Oaxaca's Local 22 of Mexico's National Union of

Education Workers (Howell, 2012). Katherine Everhart (2012) analyses the use of art in the University of Puerto Rico student movement of 2010 and she concludes that multiple art forms were observed in the movement as creative and artistic tactics for resistance.

Additionally, when a wall is built as a political separation tool, it is usually observed that writings appear as a resistance practice against authorities that have constituted it. Palestine wall was colored by various artists and art collectives coming from many different countries for years. Banksy was one of these artists to have a performance on the Palestine Wall in 2005 (Eidelman, 2010). At another time, in another country, Berlin Wall hosted graffiti that represented dissident voices (Stein, 1989).

Victoria Carrington (2009) argues that practices and communities of graffiti can be described as participatory. Besides, the circulation of graffiti is not limited to the medium of street walls. The recent rise of digital media has opened up new channels for the dissemination of street art messages. Digital media creates a new public space for the development of online communities, in which graffiti plays a significant role.

Every sort of information easily flows in Information Age (Castells, 1997), thus the images of graffiti circulate and can reach more people via the Internet. Walls are defined in this study as an alternative medium to express radical thoughts. While dominant ideas have various chances to express themselves in mainstream media, radical ideas have to create their alternative media on the walls. According to Manuel Castells (2013), social movements of 21st century started on social networks that are autonomous areas mostly free of the control of governments or big corporations. Whatever the future holds in

store, protest against dictators in Arabic countries was possible through such networks. A movement that simultaneously occurred in Israel through networks had their demands accepted. Similarly, the networks opened the way to the rise of protests against financial problems in Europe and America. Spain, Greece, Portugal, Italy, and Britain hosted social movements rooted in networks. Occupy Wall Street movement was an action that left a trace in history.

Power creates meanings by way of enforcement or symbolic manipulation mechanisms, thus it maintains its continuity. While power exists everywhere, there must also be a form of counter-power. Power relations are embedded inside social institutions, especially the state. The state uses violence, compulsion and intimidation to impose power. On the other hand, it generates the process of constructing meanings. It has to ensure the continuity of its power. When the majority of people refuse to accept the state's norms and values, system would be forced to change in any way. As a result, power struggles are wars that create meanings in people's mind (Castells, 2013).

People create meanings by setting up new networks between the neural networks, the networks in nature and social networks. The process of setting up networks is maintained by the action of communication. Communication is a meaning sharing process through information exchange. Communication technologies spread the process of creating meanings to all areas of social life through digital networks. Transformation of communication mediums directly affects modes of meaning production; consequently affecting power relations (Castells, 2013).

Circulation of graffiti through digital networks is crucial because it contributes to new mental construction that people who opposed power would like to create.

This study began as an attempt to consider graffiti as a part of social movements from a perspective that resonates with my own experience as an activist. Firstly, I started to come across very often highly original graffiti on the Internet, and then my journey began as a collector and practitioner. I realized that a counter-discourse was shaping on the walls and I could see the problems, desires, and proposals presented on the walls. It was a form of non-violent cultural resistance, and I decided to study the works of such resistance to explore what they say about the forms of power that they stand against.

I use graffiti as an umbrella term to refer to a diverse set of works on the walls, including forms of creative resistance as well as wall writings. In the course of research, I collected wall-writings, stencils, posters/stickers, drawings and a combination of forms. In the scope of this study, the term graffiti refers to all these artworks on the walls.

For the purposes of the study, graffiti is identified as an art form. As stenciling and stickering have become popular art forms in recent years (Carrington, 2009), several studies have focused on the artistic features of graffiti (Chalfant and Prigoff, 1987; Grody and Prigoff, 2007; Manco, 2002; Murthy, 2005). Although this study does not have a deep aspect of artistic appreciation, I will take into account the style of the works along with their image and textual content. Given the lack of specialized literature in Turkey, I believe this kind of descriptive knowledge can present a general overview for future studies.

In this study, humor will be taken as integral part of the graffiti, a street art form expressive of dissident voices during the 2000s and especially during the protests of June 2013. Humor functioned as a form of resistance in January 25th Revolution in Egypt and Occupy Wall Street Movement in USA (Hassan, 2013). It is also defined as a strategy of nonviolent resistance to oppression following an analysis of the Serbian Otpor movement (Sorensen, 2008).

Michel Foucault's definition of power acknowledges the possibility of cultural resistance. If power spreads everywhere, and if power and resistance are not binaries but integral parts of each other, then resistance can spark in every field of life. In light of Foucault's definition of power and resistance, it is presumed that an analysis of resistance through graffiti could reveal the nature of the existing forms of power in society, and this study adopts such an approach in taking graffiti as a form of cultural resistance. Given the excessive use of humor, contemporary street art will be situated within the historical context of the art and humor's role in the strategies of resistance.

Gavin Grindon (2010) identifies cultural practices as cultural activism and emphasizes that the notion of irony is in the heart of cultural activism. A. K. Thompson (2010), who describes cultural resistance practices as activist art, mentions that Eric Drooker and Banksy have started to create "the new spirit of resistance" (p. 35). Furthermore, he argues that these artists and their art pieces are tools to announce historical and political possibilities about social movements. Thompson (2010) interprets how Drooker and Banksy use the response of romanticism as an intervention to political issues.

This study sets out with three hypotheses. Firstly, graffiti, as a component of resistance, could reveal various forms of power. Here, I intend to

comprehend power mechanisms at work through resistance in line with Foucault's formulation (2011). Secondly, we can observe various kinds of new social movements such as feminist, ecologist, anti-war, anti-capitalist and LGBTI movements through graffiti. Thirdly, based on Foucault's idea (2011) that power generates resistance, it could be posited that the counter-discourse of resistance is determined by the discourse of power.

The sample of the study is divided into two groups. The first group of data belongs to 2000s, and the second group of data includes the graffiti produced during June 2013 protests. Most of the data were collected via the Internet, and a small amount is personally photographed. Qualitative and quantitative content analyses are chosen as main analysis methods. Additionally, I benefited from some basic tools of semiotics, textual analysis and discourse analysis to interpret the data.

I intend to investigate 1261 graffiti from two different time periods. My concern is to focus on the politically significant themes of period that graffiti writers aim to touch. Before examining the graffiti, I will introduce the theoretical framework in Chapter One, which outlines the notions of power and resistance, new social movements, art as a resistance practice and humor as a resistance strategy. Second Chapter includes the methodological premises from which the research method is derived, the tools of the study, the criteria that were used to categorize the graffiti, and the political context in which the graffiti were produced. In the Third and Fourth Chapter, the data is analyzed in detail. Conclusion presents a discussion of findings from the perspective of theoretical framework, and an outline of the results that were yielded during the course of the research.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical framework of this study about art, humor, and resistance. Firstly, I will engage in a discussion of power and resistance notions from a Foucauldian perspective and examine their interactive relations. Secondly, I will analyze social movements as practices of resistance in order to understand whether they change with different types of power. Thirdly, I will inquire into the ways in which art and humor are used historically as strategic tools of resistance, and their practical function in the course of resistance. Finally, I will discuss the intricate relationship between resistance, art, and humor.

1.1 Power and Resistance According to Foucault

This section will provide a theoretical framework about the notion of resistance, the main concern of this study. Since resistance cannot be considered independent from the notion of power, that is, its main target, the notion of power will also form the crucial part of the theoretical discussion on resistance.

In this study, I intend to explore different forms of power that is indicated by graffiti; therefore I would like to begin explaining the journey of power notion from Marx to Foucault, because it is needed to discuss interpretation of the data.

Marxism interprets the mechanism of power in its relation to economic structures. In the Marxist school of thought, the bourgeois state is defined as a form of power to be replaced with a workers' state. However, Marx was criticized for his economic reductionism and failure to observe the ways in which power functioned. Bakunin states that Marx focuses on the analysis of power, yet fails to see the fact that when power changes hands, it actually continues operating along the same principles. According to Bakunin, Marxists are not aware of the fact that despotism is not something in the style of state; it is the very idea of the state itself (Bakunin, 1984). Kropotkin similarly remarks that the essence of dominance is the State itself, and this is the greatest obstacle in the way of revolution (Kropotkin, 1943).

Although the anarchist criticism of Marxism makes a great contribution to political philosophy, its view is restricted by a certain understanding of 'human nature'. Anarchism, in its will to take down the State, relies on 'pure resistance', which is rooted in 'human essence' (Newman, 2006). Anarchism was therefore stuck in the enlightenment paradigm, which is inadequate to tackle the contemporary issues of power.

Saul Newman who coined the term 'post-anarchism' as a concept to engage 19th century anarchism and post-structuralist thought (2006) discusses Max Stirner's ideas about power to establish a connection between the enlightenment rationalism of Anarchism and Foucauldian notions of

power and resistance. According to Stirner, the human essence, which is seen as an origin uncontaminated by power by classical anarchist thought, is both naive and politically dangerous. Human essence is not a pure place untouched by power; on the contrary, it is invaded by the State and its power mechanisms. Stirner defines a new mechanism of power that is completely overlooked by some political theories such as anarchism. He describes a subjectification process whereby power does not oppress the subject, but shapes it as a political agent and operates through controlling via him or her. It is this undermining of the humanist ontology of enlightenment that allows Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari to construe an entirely new way of interpretation of political activity.

Foucault (1978a) claims, “Power is everywhere: not that it engulfs everything, but that it comes from everywhere” (p. 95). The notion of power in Foucault is discussed in the context of daily life practices. He criticizes modern theories of power that focus on macrostructure and trust in human nature. Instead, he describes power as “dispersed, indeterminate, heteromorphous, subjectless and productive, that constitute individuals’ bodies and identities” (Kellner & Best, 1991).

According to Foucault, power is above all a technique that is used systematically by state institutions – such as prisons, armies, asylums, schools – to create docile bodies (Clegg, 1989). Power is a force that penetrates into every field of social network. It is at work in various knowledge areas and discourses such as psychiatry or sexuality (Newman, 2006).

Foucault contends (2005) that power relations cannot be considered independent from economic processes. It cannot be considered

independent from the individuals' relations to knowledge, sexual relations and other kinds of relations; on the contrary, power relations are included by all of them.

Foucault establishes his theory based on the relationship between power and knowledge, in which power draws its strength from knowledge (Clegg, 1990). His basic thoughts on power and knowledge can be summarized in his own words: "There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitutive at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1995, p.27).

According to Foucault, discursive practices that affect daily life practices and subject behaviors construe the micro level of power. The nature of power resembles the blood vessels that penetrate to the tiniest parts of any organism. Similarly, power perpetrates into every detail of social life (Smith, 2005). For Foucault, the State has no essence; it is only a function of the administration practice (Gordon, 1991). Administration is not an institution in its own right, but constituted by practices and rationalities. Foucault names this 'governmentality' or 'the art of administration' (Foucault, 2005, pp. 264-287).

Foucault examines the notion of power in two modalities; disciplinary power and bio-power. He defines the disciplinary power as "techniques for assuring the ordering of human multiplicities" (1979, 218). The other modality, bio-power, is concerned with the 'species body' and social population.

Foucault observes that what the classical political theory perceives as ‘sovereign power’ has in fact gained a ‘disciplinary’ character in modern times, particularly since the early nineteenth century. As much as being characterized by its connection to the formal state apparatus, disciplinary power operates primarily to control individuals or groups of individuals (Clegg, 1990). It is integrated with the technologies of surveillance and observance. It shapes behaviors through education techniques that function on the body. This modality of power is rational rather than ritual. It is best observed in certain institutions such as prisons, schools, and military barracks (Smith, 2005), and is dispersed throughout the whole social fabric from these initial spaces.

The significant icon in the discussion of disciplinary power is ‘the Panopticon’, a prison project elaborated by Jeremy Bentham. Foucault points out that in the Panopticon structure, a guardian can see all of the surrounding prison cells from a central tower, himself remaining invisible to prisoners. Prisoners, therefore, can never know for sure if they are being observed, and keep their behavior under control accordingly. In addition to this panoptic description, modern power for Foucault also includes various disciplinary technologies, such as, time schedules, military exercise programs and monotonous jobs. These technologies try to keep bodies under control and to normalize them. The aim of the process is to create docile bodies that comply with power (Smith, 2005).

The second conception of power described by Foucault is ‘bio-power’, which “is oriented to the subjugation of bodies and control of population in general”. Bio-power focuses on sexuality to discipline human

bodies. Clegg emphasizes, “Bio-power normalizes through discursive formations of psychiatry, medicine, social work, and so on. The terms of these ways of constituting the normal are institutionalized and incorporated into everyday life (Clegg, 1990, pp. 155-156).”

Foucault sustains criticism of humanism and sees the human subjectivity as product of power. According to Foucault, power is productive rather than repressive. It does not suppress human subjectivity; but creates it. The fact that power is productive rather than repressive does not mean that power is not oppressive. Foucault claims that power and resistance exist in a mutual antagonism and have a provocative relation with each other. Resistance is an absolute denial of dominance. Foucault (2005) advocates the idea that just like power can be resolved from the point of view of resistance. Resistance can be analyzed from the origin of power.

“It is always necessary to stand up to inviolable laws and irrevocable rights against power (Foucault 1981, p. 8).” Foucault indicates that rights, basically, are neither on the power’s side nor on the side of resistance. Rights are the weapons to be wielded in the struggle and interpreting them is up to the individual. Foucault does not protest against rights and values; he just stands up to their absolutization. When rights and values are absolutized, they slip away from the individual and serves fortends to serve the benefits of power (Newman, 2006).

Foucault (2011) intends to propose a way between theory and practice to resist. The main argument underlying Foucault’s proposal is that there should be various kinds of resistance in the face of various kinds of power. He contends that it is necessary to draw benefit from resistance in

order to understand power relations and the methods to which they apply. He suggests a delineation of resistance forms in order to dissect the content of power relations:

Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power. [There is] *a multiplicity of points of resistance*: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a *plurality of resistance*, each of them a special case (Foucault, 1978a, pp.95-96).

Analyzing the social movements in the 1960s, Foucault (2011) advocates that they cannot be explained only as anti-authoritarian because they were not limited to just one country. It is also impossible to explain them in relation to a particular political or economic regime. The struggles were against the effects of power. They directly criticized the nuclei of power resources closest to them. Foucault (2011) observes that the most authentic feature of these movements was their questioning of the position of the individual. They were struggles against privileges based on knowledge and against mystifying representations. Their focus was the question, “who are we?” Their fundamental aim was not to assault a specific power institution, group, or class. Instead, they fought against forms and mechanisms of power.

Foucault (2011) divides struggles into three groups: struggles against forms of dominance, struggles against forms of exploitation that alienate individuals from products they produce, and struggles that attach individuals to themselves to resist against forms of subjugation. Struggles are historically narrated as separately or within one another; however, for

integrated cases, usually one of them is dominant. For instance, although economic exploitation is a main reason for struggles that occur in feudal societies, usually the struggle against forms of dominance is dominant. In the 19th century, struggles against exploitation became widespread, and in 1960s struggles against forms of subjugation became even more substantial.

Although Foucault's theory provides the basic framework to approach the notions of power and resistance, it falls short to account for the relation between art and resistance. Here, I intend to look through the notion of 'cultural resistance'. Postmodernist theories on power and resistance open up a perspective to view the resistance as a notion that is diversified, fragmented and transitory (Clegg, 1990).

Stephen Duncombe (2002, p.5) suggests a description of cultural resistance by defining it as the use of culture "consciously or unconsciously, effectively or not, to resist and/or change the dominant political economic and/or social structure". Various types of cultural resistance can be illustrated by some activism forms such as Hakim Bey's (2009) the Temporary Autonomous Zones, Reclaim the Streets (Klein, 1999), and Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA).

Contemporary resistance practices are directing to cultural sphere and they are attacking narratives of truth in society by way of various tactics such as culture jamming, sousveillance, media hoaxing, subvertising, flash mobs, street art, hacktivism, billboard liberation, and urban guerilla (Firat & Kuryel, 2010, p.10). These tactics would increase depending on creativity of activists. Humor is an integral part of them. Begüm Özden Firat and Aylin Kuryel (2010, p.10), editors of the book "Cultural Activism", state that "this

form of activism, with its insistence on creative interventions based on the notions of humor, playfulness, and confusion appears to bring a novel dimension to conventional strategies of protests.”

These types of resistance are oriented to undermine the dominant messages. Although various tactics are considerably new, destroying culturally hegemonic codes is inspired by avant-garde artistic and political movements. The resistance practices establish in the basis of avant-garde art tradition (Firat & Kuryel, 2010, p.11).

New activism forms have started to being discussed particularly after 1999 protests against the Third Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle. Contemporary social movements have created their new resistance practices depending on their changing characteristics. The most significant characteristics of the contemporary movements is being decentralized and involving various types of political groups such as anarchists, communists, ecologists, trade unionists, farmers, nuns, queers and so on (Firat & Kuryel, 2010, p.11).

1.2. New Social Movements

Alberto Melucci (1999) defines a social movement according to three elements: a social movement is a collective form of movement based on solidarity that contains a conflict, and forces the limits of the system in which it emerges.

From the end of the Second World War to 1970s, the politics of Western Europe focused on economic growth, income distribution, and security problems. Claus Offe (1999) argues that differences between movements can be explained through the conflict of 'old and new political paradigms' (pp. 56-66). Unions, political parties, and political groups were organized hierarchically and they were legally part of the old political paradigm as defined by Offe (1999). Such organizations were interested in fundamental conflict issues, i.e. economical enlargement, military, social security, and social control (Sanlı, 2005).

The traditional patterns about politics and non-politics collapsed in 1970s. Newborn political patterns are defined within a new political paradigm by Offe (1999). The boundaries between public and private sphere became increasingly blurred during 1970s. The issues that were not regarded as political from the perspective of liberal political theory began to be politicized. The concerns of movements that belong to new political paradigm cannot be explained by neither public nor private sphere. This change can be defined as an endeavor to find an alternative way to resist (Offe, 1999).

The movements which approve the new political paradigm have struggled for peace, ecology, human rights and identity. New movements are described as spontaneous, sentimental, non-centralized and egalitarian. Offe (1999) mentions that they advocate a struggle form that is autonomous and occurred in the non-governmental space. The main aim of these movements is to gain freedom and rights for different identities. The participants of new movements cannot be defined by known political and socio-economical codes, since they do not belong to significant categories. On the other hand, the values such as individual freedom, equality and participation, which characterize new movements, are not regarded as new. These ethical values shaped many struggles such as bourgeois and proletarian movements.

Social movements in 1980s started to move from political space into cultural space. People were struggling for their symbolic and cultural rights. They were searching for a solution about issues that concern society as a whole, and believed that it was possible to change the life of all individuals (Melluci, 1999). The movements that belong to new political paradigm have resembled to networks composed of small groups which are engaged in daily life. The movements were mainly concerned with issues such as nuclear energy, abortion, ecology, women's rights, gay-lesbian rights and peace.

Hank Johnston, Enrique Larana and Joseph Gusfield (1999), who write about new social movements, lay out eight characteristics for the emergence of new social movements. A class-based approach remains incapable to describe the characteristics of activists. The ideological background of new social movements is in contrast with Marxist ideology. New social movements concern cultural and symbolic aspects of identity

issues. They find expression through individuals, not groups. They reflect individual aspects of life. They use new mobilization methods that can be described as non-violent and as forms of civil disobedience. They gather around the forms of alternative participation and organization. Finally, they can be described as subdivided, dispersed, and individual-centric.

Discussions on the nature of contemporary social movements gained a new momentum since the protests that took place in Seattle during the 1999 WTO Ministerial Conference. The distinctive feature of the social movements is not only their unification after Seattle but also the criticism of neoliberalism, the occurrence of local movements which express themselves globally, to go beyond traditional conflicts between environmental movement and social justice movement, extension of the demands of democracy which also includes economy, to be sensitive about self-expression of different identities inside movements were the crucial features of the anti-globalization movements. The organization and protestation forms of anti-globalization movements in Washington, Prague, Geneva and many Latin countries recall of the 1968. The most important issue, which the protesters emphasize, is the consensus-decision-making (Çetinkaya, 2008).

1.3. Art and Resistance

One of the most important theorists who wrote about the political potential of art is Herbert Marcuse. For him, art is a method to resist dominant powers and attain 'salvation' (Marcuse, 1998, p. 74). The political

potential of art is revealed in its destruction of the oppressive hegemony of language and images that are used as domination tools. The revolution, therefore, needs to create an anti-conformist language to take down the dominant system. This language should reach the communities whose consciousness was formed by power. Such a language can only be formed by shattering traditional expressions and images. According to Marcuse, such kinds of antagonist languages appear in two different edges of society: art and folk traditions such as slang (Marcuse, 1998).

Folk traditions generally refer to the language of others. Marcuse underlines the widespread use of obscenity in resistance starting from language. Marcuse appreciates its political potential, yet condemns the humiliation of sexuality. He contends that any language including humiliation of sexuality betrays the weakness of dominated ones, therefore causing the language to eventually lose its political impact. For instance, the word “shit” is used for the things produced by power and it reinforces ‘the Bourgeois’ ignorance about anal eroticism’ (Marcuse, 1998, pp. 74-75).

According to Marcuse, art states in the other edge of destroying oppressive language. The main target of using art as resistance is to destroy the aesthetic form. He defines the aesthetic form as “the total of qualities (harmony, rhythm, contrast) that make a work of art a self-contained whole with a structure and order of its own (the style)” (Marcuse, 1972, p.81). Art creates new meaning by breaking aesthetic rules, thus it can change the existing conception of reality. The transformation of aesthetic forms endeavors to destroy the limits imposed by bourgeois culture. This is parallel with the struggle for alternative life styles outside of bourgeois high culture.

For Marcuse, the role of art in social transformation does not only suggest a new interpretation of art, but also entails a struggle against capitalism to be undertaken by individuals. Playing an important part in effecting a change in collective consciousness, art is a crucial component of class struggle (Marcuse, 1998).

Art establishes a new world by transforming objects that it takes from the real world. This transformation should not be understood simply as destruction. Art prefers to spotlight the language and the image of the repressed while selecting its subject matter. This aesthetic transformation is imaginary. Marcuse underlines that it needs to be imaginary, because the sensorial existence of things that do not exist can be barely explained with imagination. Aesthetic systems cannot be managed with notions; it is sensitive and is synthesis of imagination and understanding. For this reason, the transformation will be sensorial substituted for notional (Marcuse, 1998).

Frankfurt School sees art as a rebel zone inside the incorrectly running social order. It denies the Mimesis theory of Plato and Aristotle. According to Frankfurt School, art does not reflect society; on the contrary, society sees the truth through art. The social reality and the work of art are ontologically opposites of each other. A work of art cannot be understood as an action that changes the social realities. It is a negation of society. Marcuse defines this negation as 'second alienation'. Artistic alienation creates an illusion, in other words reality turns into illusion, thus it uncovers 'destructive reality of art'. The destructive reality of art takes its strength from this alienation (Marcuse, 1998, pp.88-89).

For Marcuse (1998) although art and revolution share the common aim of ‘changing the world’; the relationship between them is a unity of opposites. Even if art is a tool to change the world, its objectives will only be in aesthetic forms. Art is so liberated that it will not even bow before the revolution. Marcuse gives Courbet as an example. Both an artist and a revolutionary, Courbet was present in the commune of Paris in 1871. He struggled for a “liberal and unprivileged” art, yet continued to draw still-life paintings (pp. 94-95).

There is a kind of tension because of the opposition between art and revolution. Art cannot change the reality of daily or political life. It cannot inherently be a tool for the objectives of revolution. On the other hand, revolution can inspire art, because “revolution is in the substance of art” (Marcuse, 1998, p. 102). Whether revolution establishes a better system or fails to do so, the aesthetic forms continue to transform together with the revolutionary process. Art and revolution live on same resources; nevertheless, art always keeps transcending the revolution. This does not mean that art can exist independent of the revolution. The struggles against situations that restrict the potential of art ensure the continued existence of art (Marcuse, 1998).

Art is a tool that can convince people to revolution. The relation between art and revolution as found in manifestos is testament to the belief in the power of art, as underlined by Marcuse. For instance, avant-garde aspired to destroy monarchy and classicism. Art takes a role in social movements for raising social consciousness. Art has got out of theocracy and aristocracy and has started to wait on society since modernism (Artun, 2013).

Meaning advanced guard, the term 'avant-garde' was first used by Saint-Simon in 1830s. It is a perfect instance where art and resistance come together against modernism. Saint-Simon states that artists will be advanced guards of society because the power of art has the most direct and quick impact on society (Artun, 2013).

Romantics of the 9th century, Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Fourier (1772-1837) and Morris (1834-1896) put emphasis on the role of art in social transformations (Artun, 2013). It is not mere coincidence that the birth of utopias and romanticism occur simultaneously. Romanticism supports the anti-modernist discourse. Art is emancipated from both the patronage of monarchy, the Church, and "the utility principle of bourgeois rationalism". The Romantic Movement, which liberates aesthetic form, also gives rise to a revival of utopias (Artun, 2013, pp. 23-24).

Besides, art itself has usually declared its partnership of revolution since modernism in avant-garde art manifestos. The first one of them is The Futurist Manifesto, which was published in February 20, 1909 in Paris. After the First World War, a proliferation of such manifestos has been observed. They are a part of the revolutionary tradition; therefore they are connected to utopias. They both believe that life can change. For instance, utopia literature conveys the dream of communism to 19th century politics (Artun, 2013).

Most of the avant-garde artists can be defined as Marxists or ones who are interested in Marxist social movements. There are many communist party members among surrealists in France, Dadaists in Germany, and COBRA artists in the Netherlands and Belgium. André Breton states that surrealism is affiliated to the Marxist movement in the Second Manifesto

published in 1930. Avant-garde artists were influenced by the 1917 Russian and 1918 German revolutions. When Stalin's politics of culture threatened independence, the first ones to struggle were the surrealists (Artun, 2013).

New art movements that bear the traces of prewar avant-garde movement began to appear after 1968. The most influential among these movements was the punk movement, which came to existence in London in the late 1970s. The pioneers of this movement called themselves "cultural terrorists", raised their voices against the commodification of art. Their main purpose was to politicize sound and destroy the music industry. The manifestations of Punks are their lyrics, graffiti, scandals and performances. However, punk would become integrated into the culture industry in a short span of time (Artun, 2013, p. 61).

A new rebellious music style, hip-hop, establishes a new subculture. In conjunction with the rising hip-hop culture, a specifically hip-hop graffiti also developed during the 1970's and 80's.

Human beings have written on walls since the Stone Age; however, the very first piece of graffiti known to human kind is found in Pompeii and dates from 79 BC. It reads, "Solemnis was here. He/she is almighty. Solemnis, you are the most wonderful lover" (Kutal, 1988, p. 11). It is hard to say much about graffiti culture in the First Age and the Middle Ages due to insufficient data. The rise of graffiti coincides with the Hippie movement in late 1960s. Graffiti was the symbol of resistance against war, violence, and hatred. It glorified peace, sensibilities about social and political issues and love. However, it became more aggressive and more political as the flower children grew up (Kutal, 1988).

Many sociologists and psychologists used graffiti in their studies due to its being a reflection on society. Graffiti has always been linked to the political happenings in a society. The major part of human history was written by ruling classes and aristocrats, yet graffiti expresses the voice of others through an unrecognized medium. If dominant voices have newspapers, magazines, books, art museums and advertisement agencies, walls are open for everyone (Kutal, 1988).

The content of graffiti is mostly political and anarchist. Anarchism can be described as an illegal way to protest the State and the ruling class. Governments that want to control such strategies of resistance assign some walls to graffiti artists; yet it is mostly impossible to prevent graffiti from spreading everywhere. Graffiti is creative because it uses slang, pun, poetry, philosophy, culture and many other expression methods. It can also be seen as a result of alienation. Huge concrete buildings cause that people feel very small and unimportant. Writing on a wall is a way to say 'I am here' (Kutal, 1988, p. 11).

1.4. Humor as a Resistance Strategy

The world-changing power of the laughter has been expressed since the following Egyptian papyrus from the 3rd Century BC:

The seven gods who rule the world were born when god laughed... after he had burst out laughing, light appeared... he burst out laughing a second time; the waters were everywhere. At the first burst of laughter, Hermes appeared; at the fourth, creation; at the

fifth, destiny; at the sixth, time. Then, before the seventh laugh, God had a tremendous inspiration, but he laughed so hard that he cried, and from his tears the human soul was born. (Nichols, 2004, para. 25)

The laughter that provides a different view to the world creates a liberated zone for human imagination. Humor always ruins the narrative of powers. Powers are aware of using humor is not for their favor, because –as Bakhtin said- laughter has never been a tool to repress or enslave people, it always stays as a liberation weapon during the history (as cited in Avci, 2003).

Rebel laughing act keeps alive the consciousness of being subject during the history. Laughter liberates and rescues from tension, thus it helps to preserve the communities' hope of political liberty. Because it refuses to take the world as it comes, it removes fear and lightens oppression. That is the reason why powers endeavor to compete with laughing. The act of laughing includes mockery, having off, rudeness and obscene discourse. These are implicit resistance practices against hegemonic discourse. The act of laughing is the most crucial part of oppressed ones' secret scenarios (Avci, 2003).

Plato believes that laughing is dangerous in terms of its results, as well. He emphasizes the power of laughing which defeats established regime and turns oppression upside down (Sanders, 2001). Aristotle says that *commedia* is less qualified than tragedy in the sense of both pleasure and ethics. According to him, the act of laughing is powerful and unpredictable when left unsupervised (Avci, 2003). It is clear that Socrates, Plato and Aristotle take a stand against humor because they think that it is a way to

resist against the ruling class and it has a potential to pull down powers.

According to Bakhtin, the most radical, the most universal, the most cheerful laughter evolves out of folk culture in the Renaissance. This laughter is the expression of a new liberal and critical consciousness. The most important function of humor in the middle Ages is to reverse the hierarchical structure and to remove absolute categories. This comes true in carnival spaces. All the rules of daily life are suspended during a carnival, when the utopian side of life comes into existence. The oppressed find a space where they can resist the oppressive practices of the medieval power. The hegemonic discourse loses its influence and liberty rises: “Carnival draws its strength from humanity’s hunger for utopia. It is revolt against everything which already determines; rules, regulations, hierarchies...” Carnival contains within itself the hope for a happy future and a just world (Bakhtin, 2001, p. 101).

There are three major theoretical approaches to humor: the incongruity theory, the superiority theory, and the relief theory. The incongruity theory is considered as the linguistic theory of humor because it is built on the perception or reception of incongruity through the nature of humorous texts. The superiority theory, on the other hand, is premised upon a social relationship model that refers to relations between human and aspects of superiority for instance power, conflict, and hierarchy. Finally, the relief theory establishes a relation between humor and unconscious. These three approaches can also be framed as a linguistic theory, a sociological theory, and a psychological theory, respectively (Hassan, 2013).

Humor is widely used in the social movements of the 21st century. This is a notable departure from the social movements of the past. Social movements before the 21st century were pretty serious. They were seriously engaged in the significance of their objectives. Although a little humor was involved in the Indian independence struggle and women's suffrage movement, a general opinion that is found in the literature on social movements is that the common feature of mass protests was their lack of humor (Varol, 2014).

Contemporary research on humor describes the function of humor in parallel with its historical usage. Majken Sorensen, in describing the functions of humor in Otpor Movement (2008), defines three functions of humor as a form nonviolent resistance; facilitation outreach and mobilization, establishing a culture of resistance for protesters and turning oppression upside down. She establishes her theory on the basis of Serbian Otpor Movement, which used humor as a crucial part of their strategy to bring down Slobodan Milosevic.

Ozan Varol (2014), a scholar of law and politics, summarizes the functions of humor in social movements as follows: (1) to break up the culture of fear imposed by oppressive regimes, (2) to create an effective coping mechanism against repressive practices, (3) to increase the self-esteem of oppressed communities, (4) to stimulate the response of the regime in the direction of protests' objectives, (5) to change the negative discourse on movements by dominant ideologies, (6) to create cooperation among the heterogeneous group of protestors, (7) to create political mobilization on local and global level, (8) to encourage the participation of new people via creating

popularity, (9) to provide an alternative way of expressing discontent (10) to deconstruct traditional methods of suppression used by repressive regimes such as law.

1.5. Theoretical Discussion

The theory of power and resistance as drawn by Michel Foucault constitutes the backbone of this research. Although Foucault builds up a contradictory notion of resistance, he acknowledges the possibility of resistance springing everywhere where power reigns. This study focuses on the manifestation of resistance in the area of art; following Foucault's thought that resistance can occur in every field. It is observed that art has been used as a method to criticize and to stand against authority since the Ancient Greek works of *commedia* staged in Dionysian festivals. This research aims to show that art as a method of resistance has been converged with humor since Ancient Greece.

In accordance with this aim, the ideas of Herbert Marcuse (1998) provide a crucial vantage point to discuss the relationship between art and resistance. According to Marcuse (1998), art is one of the two ways to shatter the dominant language and to create another reality. The ideas of Marcuse can be read in parallel to the following argument poised by Foucault and other post-structuralist theorists: power relations begin with and continue to exist through language. Similarly, Marcuse (1998) argues that art turns into resistance by deforming the aesthetic forms imposed by dominant class. Perhaps the best testimony to Marcuse's thesis is the course of movements in

art history. Artistic movements mostly begin as rebellions against a dominant language.

Another argument put forward by Marcuse about art and resistance is that art is neither a reflection of society, as advocated by Mimesis Theory, nor does it provide a tool to be used by revolution. According to Marcuse (1998), art should lead society and society should reshape itself according to the things shown by art. For instance, the role of avant-garde in social movements is to put forward resistance mechanism. Resolution phase of manifestation art is parallel to dispersing meta-ideologies in political sphere. While the subject of art 'us' is being transformed into 'I', on the other side it has been created the struggle of different identities and individualism.

Foucault puts forward an open-ended theory of resistance which avoids defining a specific strategy of resistance. However, it is seen that art and humor have used as a resistance strategy since ancient Greece in the view of theoretical framework of the study. The plurality of 'powers' and 'resistances' stands out since the social movements begin with 1960s, for this reason resistance strategies have been proliferated and dispersed to various spaces.

Graffiti as a modern form of political expression first appears on the Berlin Wall in the 1950's. Since the emergence of Punk and Hip-hop movements, it has become a part of political scene as an artistic expression of counter discourses. While social movements are taking a new turn with the 1999 Seattle protests and resistance strategies have being started to create new spheres including street art and humor, graffiti have maintained an ascendance on political scene.

This study aims to analyze the graffiti made in 2000s in Turkey. It describes resistance strategies and power mechanisms through such artworks. In the works analyzed within the frame of this research, the element of humor appears to be as a crucial part of resistance strategies.

CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL CONTEXT

In this chapter, I intend to investigate social movements in Turkey. I will divide them into two parts according to the classification that has been elaborated by Offe: (“Old”) Social Movements and New Social Movements.¹ This way, I aim to illustrate the historical evolution of social movements in Turkey. Then, I will present an outline of the political life in Turkey in the 2000s and during the Gezi Protests to place the graffiti samples in their political context.

2. 1 Modernization and the “Old” Social Movements in Turkey

The working class struggle for unionization, the socialist movement and the Kurdish movement, the three interrelated major social movements of Turkey, can be classified as belonging to the “old political paradigm” as Offe (1999) puts it.

Since the commencement of first industrial enterprises in Turkey during the second half of the 19th Century, workers have been engaged in various struggles to improve their conditions. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire that

¹ See, p. 17 above.

was followed by the formation of a nation-state, during the turn of the Century, resulted in the restructuring of the economy. In this process, the early working class organizations collapsed and until the end of the Second World War, the new ones could not be established due to the nationalization of economy along with the authoritarian political environment. In parallel with the limited political liberalization from 1946 onwards, labor movement began to re-emerge. Trade unions were formed following a legislation in 1947, which allowed unionization without the rights to strike and collective bargaining. The law also imposed a requirement for the unions to be “nationalist”. A special permit from the government was required for the affiliation to international organizations (Doğan, 2008, pp. 285-291).

In 1950, Democrat Party (DP) formed a centre-right government with prospects of democratization and economic reform. Earlier nationalization measures were relaxed in favor of private entrepreneurship with a perspective of integration with the “free world” both economically and politically. Political integration required taking a clear stance in the emerging Cold War conflict on the side of the “free world” led by the United States. In this view, US was protecting Turkish democracy from the communist menace of the Soviet Union. The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Türk-İş) was founded in 1952 in this political environment, with a prospect of controlling the tendencies towards unionization among the working masses. Türk-İş assumed itself to be “above party politics” and declared its commitment to work in cooperation with the governments (Doğan, 2008; pp. 294-295).

After the military coup of 1960, a new trade union act was introduced that recognized collective bargaining and right to strike. The Confederation of

Revolutionary Trade Unions (DİSK) was founded in 1967 after a strike at a glass factory resulted in a split within Türk-İş. Organizing mainly private sector workers, DİSK adopted an overtly radical position and supported the socialist Turkish Workers Party (TİP). With the DİSK's entry into political scene, a dramatic acceleration of unionization among workers were observed. The two major confederations' total membership was exceeding one million by 1971. Owing to the competition between individual trade unions and the trade union federations, the number of strikes increased significantly. Moreover, trade union campaigns became more and more radical between 1967 and 1970 (Wannöffel, 2011; p. 549).

On 15-16 June 1970, hundreds of thousands of workers walked out of factories in and around Istanbul and took to the streets. The demonstration turned into riots with five fatalities. Hundreds, including the leadership of the DİSK, were arrested and thousands of workers lost their jobs. (Doğan, 2008; pp. 307-310).

On 12 March 1971, the military intervened in politics once again and prohibited left-wing organizations. Between 1973 and 1980, the labor movement gained momentum, fighting for social change as well as for new rights. DİSK organized mass demonstrations on 1st of May from 1976 onwards. On 1 May 1977, fires were shot on the demonstrators and in the resulting panic 37 people were killed in Istanbul's Taksim Square. Following this incident, Turkey's political stage rapidly deteriorated towards a civil war, from which the military coup of 1980 derived its legitimacy. Under the military dictatorship, parties, organizations and DİSK were suppressed. Thousands of unionists and labor activists were imprisoned, tortured and killed. A new

constitution was introduced which granted extensive power to the military. A new law on trade unions was also adopted by the military regime, which placed serious constraints on the labor movement (Wannöffel, 2011; p. 549).

The state-controlled Türk-İş was promoted by the military regime, while DİSK remained outlawed until 1992. In this environment, the number of individual trade unions and the rate of unionization among laborers have declined dramatically (Doğan, 2008; 316-324).

While the regime managed to destruct the militant trade unionism of DİSK, a new dynamic, the unionization of public servants, gained momentum in the 1990s. Teachers pioneered this movement. In spite many authoritarian obstacles, Confederation of Public Workers Unions (KESK) was founded with massive affiliation of public servants (Doğan, 2008; 333-334). Since the formation of the KESK, other confederations (Kamu Sen and Memur Sen) representing different political views were set up to unionize public servants.

Socialist movements followed a parallel trajectory to that of the labor movement. Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), which was founded in 1920, was immediately outlawed by the Kemalist government of Ankara. In 1946 socialist parties were founded once again but closed down to remain outlawed until 1960s. The formation of the Turkish Workers Party (TİP) in 1961, was a turning point in Turkey's modern history. TİP managed to derive support around the country and entered the Parliament with 15 deputies in 1965. In addition to its close links with the labor movement through DİSK, TİP also had connections with the ascending youth movement and other sectors of society, such as the peasantry, the Kurds and the middle classes (Belge, 2008; pp. 30-48).

The year 1968 saw the expansion of student protests in major cities. Revolutionary Youth (Dev-Genç) emerged from these protests as a radical and popular youth organization. Student militancy faced with state violence soon bred discussion among youth circles on armed struggle. The Cuban revolution and the Vietnamese resistance were inspiring the youth to search for ways to bring down the regime through armed action and to attack the US and NATO existence in Turkey with an anti-imperialist perspective. People's Liberation Army (THKO) and the People's Liberation Party-Front (THKP-C) were founded in 1971 and launched guerrilla struggle both in the cities and in the countryside. Both organizations emerged from within Dev-Genç. There were also Maoist tendencies organized among the youth. The military intervention of 1971 particularly targeted these groups. Their leaders were killed by military operations, the captured militants were sentenced to lengthy imprisonments and three founding members of the THKO were executed after receiving death sentences in 1972. TİP was outlawed by the 1971 junta and its leadership were also imprisoned.

In 1973 a center-left government came to power and declared a general amnesty, by which the jailed rank and file of the 1960s socialist movement were released. The left picked up once again with discourses of revolutionary social change. The pro-Soviet line became influential in the DİSK and formed a popular youth movement (Progressive Youth Association – İGD), while the Maoists and other tendencies were also forming popular front organizations. This ascendance of the socialist left was countered by state violence and ultra-nationalist paramilitary groups. By the mid-1970s, arguments for armed struggle were once again attracting popular support among youth circles. The

situation degenerated after 1 May 1977, into a civil war between rightwing and leftwing militants. There was also serious intra-left conflict. The 1980 military coup took place in these conditions.

The 1980 military regime imprisoned and tortured thousands of socialists, while thousands fled the country. Socialist movements picked up after the removal of restrictions in the 1990s but could never regain its strength of the 1960s and 1970s (Belge, 2008; pp. 43-44).

The labor and socialist movements in Turkey demonstrate certain features of 'old social movements', including their reliance on macro-organizations and discourses of wholesale social and political change.

2.2 New Social Movements in Turkey

During the 1980s, traditional patterns of politics experienced significant modifications in Turkey. Private sphere and micro politics gain importance in political struggles. New social movements struggle for peace, ecology, human rights and identity emerged. In this part, I will consider the new social movements in Turkey.

Feminist movement has emerged in the 1980s in Turkey. The first approved protest after military coup was achieved by feminists in 1987; therefore private space politics took the stage of social movements. 1980s was very productive for feminist movement with regards to consciousness-raising groups, campaigns about violence against women, emerging feminist organizations and feminist publications. Feminist organizations were restructuring a new way of politics with absence of hierarchy and leadership,

democratic and participatory organization structure and micro political concerns. Feminist movement gained a perspective that is formed by diversity, fragmentation and locality in 1990s. Various types of feminism have been determined during this time. Several feminist organizations that still actively work were established such as Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, Flying Broom, KADER, Ka-Mer. Feminist movement in 2000s has focused on legislations about women. Many social projects have been launched by institutionalizing of feminist organizations and increasing number of European Union funds in 2000s. Women Research Centers have been opened since 1990s and advanced in the 2000s, whereby knowledge produced about women and gender, and professionals who study about them significantly gain importance (Yılmaz, 2008; pp. 531-567).

LGBT movement is one of the most significant new social movements in Turkey, as in the entire world. The movement begins to be visible in 1980s and various organizations that still actively work and groups in universities are established such as LambdaIstanbul, KAOS GL, and LEGATO in 1990s. 1990s is a period that LGBT-focused events and publications increase. Quantities and qualifications of LGBT organizations and followers of the movement have highly increased in the 2000s and problems and demands more significantly put into words (Yıldız, 2003a; 2003b; 2003c). In Gezi Protests, LGBT individuals and organizations have showed that they are a very important part of political life in Turkey.

6 May 1990 is a turning point for the ecologist movement in Turkey, because of the protests against the Aliğa Thermic Power Station, which prevented its construction. Ecologist movement continues to raise its voice

from then on about environmental pollution, occupation of farmlands by industry, waste control, protection of natural habitats, climate and energy policies and so on. It has been effective in important decisions such as the cancellation of Akkuyu Nuclear Power Station; on the other hand there are some places that struggles did not result in victory, such as Gökova, Yatağan, and Bergama. Consequently, the ecologist struggle in Turkey has continued for 30 years. In recent years, the most significant problems for ecologist movement are Hydropower Plants, agricultural policies, and the destruction of nature as in Gezi Protests (Şahin, 2010).

Anti-war movement has appeared in the beginning of 2000s in Turkey. Crowded masses had many protests against USA invasion of Iraq. The permit that allows US armed forces pass over Turkey to Iraq has not been adopted in 1 March 2003. Protests had an effect on this result (Benlisoy,2008; p. 424).

2.3 Turkey in 2000s

Turkey's political stage has been stamped by the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) reign during the 2000s. AKP was formed by the "moderate" wing of the Islamist movement, with a program, which looked substantially different from their predecessors, regarding, in particular, economic and political liberalization and the willingness to integrate with the West through European Union membership. The party defines its ideology as 'conservative democracy' (Akdogan, 2004), referring not only the prospect of a synthesis of conservatism and

democracy but also the aim at rendering the AKP as the representative of the synthesis between Islam and neo-liberalism.

While the traditional economic stance of the ‘National Outlook Movement’² consisted of the reaction of the provincial merchants and local businesses against the destructive effects of capitalist modernization, the AKP has stood as the voice of the rising Islamic capital to claim their share from economic growth by exploiting the opportunities of neoliberal globalization.

This economic stance helped the AKP to expand its influence from the conventional support groups such as MUSIAD³, TUSKON⁴, the Gülen Community⁵ and the Nakshibendi Order⁶ towards the secular groups such as the TUSIAD⁷ and the liberals.

AKP’s ascendance to power raised concern among the secular and modernist sectors of society, while raising hopes among the pro-Islamist and liberal sectors. Secularists have accused the AKP for using democratic structures to establish an Islamist regime. While the majority of Turkey’s population is Sunni Muslims, the republican establishment has elaborately restricted religion in the public sphere. The centre-right governments since the 1950s have systematically relaxed these Kemalist restrictions. State

² ‘National Outlook’ is the name the legal political Islamist movement has called itself with. The founder of the movement, Necmettin Erbakan, is also the founder of National Order Party (MNP-1969), National Salvation Party (MSP-1973), Welfare Party (RP-1983) and Virtue Party (FP-1997). Each of these parties have been closed down by the decisions of military or civilian courts mainly for breaching the principle of secularism. and Felicity Party (SP-2001)

³ Pro-Islamist businessmen organisation.

⁴ Pro-Islamist industrialists and businessmen organisation.

⁵ Gülen Community is a global network of the supporters of Fethullah Gülen. They are particularly involved in the business of education around the world. With the AKP’s reign, Gülen supporters reportedly obtained key positions particularly in the judiciary and the police force. Recently, AKP government turned against the Gülen movement and launched a campaign to liquidate their supporters from the State’s rank and file.

⁶ Nakshibendi Order, is one of the most influential Sunni/Sufi orders in Turkey. They were outlawed by the Kemalist regime but then gradually rehabilitated by the centre-right governments since the 1950s.

⁷ The country’s largest and most powerful industrialists and businessmen organisation.

funded religious schools (Imam Hatip schools) have been opened and developed, compulsory religious instruction was introduced to the national curriculum, and the Sunni orders have been rehabilitated. The 1980 military coup was a turning point regarding the rearrangement of the relationship between the state and religion (Uzgel, 2013, p. 11-13). The AKP government has been the expected consequence of this long-term restoration of Islam in republican state and society.

With this support, it sought to represent both the capitalist fractions and the Islamist ones that projected themselves as the victims of the Republican years. The transformation of the state through neo-liberal policies throughout these years has led to the strengthening of the authoritarian aspect of the state. In addition, the new authoritarian manners that the AKP formed through its Islamic conservative practices were put in the service of the capitalist fractions (Bedirhanoglu, 2013).

The AKP's stance towards human rights, as depicted in the graffiti, should also be taken into account. The public speeches of the AKP leaders seem to give credit to human rights. Looking at the legal amendments made during the initial years of the AKP government, we see that they established positive expectations towards democratization and the improvement of human rights. However, since 2007, an increase in human rights abuses has been observed particularly in the suppression of the protests (Türközü, 2013, p.226).

2.4 Gezi Protests

The police occupation on May Day in 2013 in Istanbul was an early message about the upcoming tension. As a result of two bomb attacks on 11 May 2013 in Reyhanli, Hatay, 52 people died and 146 were injured. The media embargo in the aftermath of this event has increased the tension in the relations with the government. Meanwhile, the government made warnings about prohibiting kissing at public transportation and called for ethical behavior in public places. The ban on alcohol consumption was put forward and the Prime Minister related this ban to religious obligations. One more statement was that 'ayran' was the 'national drink'. Within this tense environment, the Prime Minister addressed the media and said, 'it does not matter whatever you write' (with a menacing tone). Other discussions revolved around the natural disaster that the construction of the third bridge in Istanbul would trigger. More discussions emerged with the announcement that the bridge will be named after Yavuz Sultan Selim, known for tortures against the Alawis (Yıldızoğlu, 2013, p. 70-72). May 2013 was marked by such tensions.

Furthermore, peaceful protests against the destruction of the Taksim Gezi Park and against the intention of constructing a shopping mall saw violent response by the police and this led to reaction by the society. After the burning of the tents and belongings of the peaceful protesters at Gezi Park on the 31st of May, new protests began in Istanbul and the rest of

Turkey. The protests spread to 79 out of 81 districts (except Bayburt and Bingol) in Turkey and continued for several months.

The protests met with very harsh response by the police. The Turkish Medical Association (TTB) announced on 20 June that 4 people died and 7,832 were injured as a result of the protests. According to the data provided by the IHD, in the period 31 May-10 June, 5 people died and 3,158 were injured. 64 were seriously wounded. The main weapons of the police force, according to IHD, were tear gas and water cannon. While various types of tear gas were used, tear gas canisters were also used for shooting people. In some cases, demonstrators were shot by tear gas canisters. The police beat the protesters with batons, used rubber bullets/pepper balls, and violently detained people taking part in the protests.

The graffiti used in this study were collected until 30 June 2013. The reason is simple that there is a huge amount of graffiti, but only limited time for the completion of this study. Even at the end stage of this study, protests were still ongoing and the political landscape was changing.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL PREMISES

3.1. Data Collection

Street art as a form of cultural resistance and the forms of power that it resists will be investigated through graffiti art from Turkey. The data of the present study is divided into two periods: the first period roughly covers 2000s and the second period extends from May 31, 2013 to the end of June - the period that has seen protests around Taksim Gezi Park and spread country-wide. During the protests, the production of graffiti significantly increased and they were actively used as a resistance strategy. I will separately evaluate the data obtained from the period from early 2000s to May 31, 2013 as one group (Part I), and the data that was collected until the end of June 2013 as another group (Part II). Although their discourses or power mechanisms that they oppose are similar, the processes of the protests need to be analyzed independently because some sub-categories in the analysis of the first group change into categories in their own right, some new categories appear, and the contents of them change due to characteristics of the process.

The research covers the data collected mainly from Web Pages and social media networks. The majority of graffiti art consisted of wall-writings, stencils, stickers, or posters. These are removed or painted over in a short time. Luckily however, they are photographed and disseminated in social media networks. Especially with the proliferation of smart phones and improvement of communication technologies, such dissemination is now easier than before. Hereby they are able to reach more people and their permanence is maintained by protecting on the web. In order to have as much data as possible, samples were selected among the images of graffiti art that circulate on the web. It also provides to pick them among graffiti that their messages convey to the largest population. Most of the material was obtained from two Facebook groups, which are the most active groups to collect street artworks in Turkey. These groups are “Street Art in Turkey”⁸ and “Turkey Street Art”⁹. The data on these pages display unprecedented diversity because not only admins of the pages upload the photographs to the pages, but also followers are allowed to upload themselves. I also benefited from some other web pages¹⁰. Additionally, I personally photographed some part of the data in June 2013.

⁸<https://www.facebook.com/Streetartinturkey>

⁹<https://www.facebook.com/TurkeyStreetArt>

¹⁰<http://duvardakisesler.tumblr.com/>, <http://listelist.com/gezi-parki-direnisini-anlatan-83-duvar-yazisi/>, <http://duvardageziparki.tumblr.com/>, <http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/duvar-yaz%C4%B1lar%C4%B1>, <http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/duvar-yaz%C4%B1s%C4%B1>

3.2. Categorization

3.2.1. Part I

639 images of graffiti were collected for the period before Gezi protests. 450 of them are divided into 11 categories: ‘anti-authoritarianism’, ‘anti-capitalism’, ‘anti-violence’, ‘anti-conservatism’, ‘feminism’, ‘critical’, ‘revolutionist’, ‘romanticism’, ‘ecologism’, ‘local culture’, and ‘just humor’. While setting up the categorization, I intended to explore the messages or demands of graffiti and the power forms that they resist against.

The main concern of the graffiti that are categorized under ‘anti-authoritarianism’ is being against forms of authority. Authority forms are outlined as the idea of state, government, ruling persons, institutions or classes, law, security forces, and local administrations (See Appendix A – Image 1). Furthermore, the media, censorship, and freedom of speech are directly described in relation to authority in artworks (See Appendix A - Image 2); hence they are categorized under this title. The artworks in this category strongly criticize the authority forms that were defined above; however, a small group makes reference to authority indirectly. It is not easy to say directly what kind of authority they criticize; also it is not easy to explain them with just one form of authority. For example, a group of work consists of grey objects painted in pink such as waste containers, footbridge, and transformer boxes (See Appendix A – Image 3). These items directly could not be explained as being against the state, government, or local

administration. However, through a basic semiotics method, the color grey can be suggested as signifying the state in a broad sense. Ankara, the city where these graffiti appear, is identified with grey color because of its bureaucratic image. Furthermore, the geography and climate of the city are important factors in its identification with grey. In brief, where the power forms that the graffiti stand against are unclear, I preferred to use another sub-category. Moreover, some figures known for their anti-authoritarianism such as Emma Goldman and Tyler Durden were evaluated in this sub-category.

The most significant sub-category of ‘anti-authoritarianism’ category is ‘anti-government’, which includes discourses against the ruling party – Justice and Development Party (AKP) –, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and local administrations and ‘anti-state’ includes discourses against idea of the state. The other sub-category is ‘anti-control’, which involves surveillance technologies, censorship, freedom of speech and the media.

The second category is ‘anti-capitalism’, which generally includes the graffiti about criticism of economic system (See Appendix A – Image 4). The topics that the graffiti in this category mentions are capitalism, unbalanced income distribution, wealth/poverty, class struggles, the commodification of art, and the commercialization of education. The graffiti about Karl Marx, who is known as an anti-capitalist figure, are evaluated in this category. Additionally, references to the global brands such as Burger King and Coca-Cola are analyzed here under the title of ‘anti-consumerism’.

The other category is ‘anti-violence’, which consists of positions against police violence, war and armament (See Appendix A – Image 5).

The 'critical' category can be summarized as critiques about the individual or social constructions, and emphasis on revolutionist thoughts or demands (See Appendix A – Image 6). The critical pieces generally present critical thoughts and questions about political issues, and life.

'Revolutionist' category signifies the graffiti that have revolutionist content mainly agitate to rebel (See Appendix A – Image 7). Their main idea emphasizes that something should be changed.

The graffiti that advocate the freedom of sex, homosexuality, alcohol, and drugs on the one hand, and criticize religion on the other are collected under the same heading, 'anti-conservatism'. The artworks expressing an opinion against family and public morality, and those praising bad language are also incorporated into this category. Some artworks related to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan are incorporated in this category because they produce counter-discourses against his discourses on family and woman's body.

The title of the category 'romanticism' already gives an idea about its content. Dreams, imagination, disappointments about love, fraternity, and enjoyment are also included in this category. Quotations from poets, authors, or lyrics related to such topics are evaluated as well.

The 'feminism' category, which stands against another form of power, includes the graffiti that have anti-patriarchal discourses. Lesbian love is incorporated into this category instead of 'anti-conservatism' category due to its opposition to patriarchy. Abuse, child porn, violence against women, women in the workforce, women's body, and the power of women are common topics that the graffiti in this category are interested in.

‘Ecologism’ category comprises the graffiti that are against the abuse of nature and that advocates animal rights to life. Some graffiti in this category are limited to specific local administrations and companies, but since their fundamental emphasis is about ecology, they are evaluated in this category.

The graffiti that bear the stamp of the celebrities, the components of traditional culture or popular culture were evaluated under the ‘local culture’ category. This category is divided into 3 sub-categories. The first sub-category is ‘anti-globalization’. The fundamental emphasis of the works in this section is that local culture should be glorified before global culture. The second sub-category is about memorializing and perpetuating some valuable artists and their works. The third sub-category consists of the graffiti that criticize popular culture.

The last category of this first time period is entitled ‘just humor’ because they do not intend to give any message socially or politically. It seems that their only objective is provoking laughter. The main concern of the artworks in this category is to have a humorous content without conveying any message or resisting against any form of power.

3.2.2. Part II

The second part covers the period from May 31, 2013 to the end of June, which is the first month of Gezi protests. 820 artworks were collected and 811 of them were categorized. 12 categories emerged: ‘anti-government’, ‘anti-violence’, ‘critical’, ‘revolutionist’, ‘anti-conservatism’, ‘anti-

capitalism', 'feminism', 'ecologism', 'anti-mainstream media', 'Kemalism', 'just humor', 'romanticism'.

The 'anti-authoritarianism' category is incorporated into the 'anti-government' category because the form of authority that the graffiti resist appeared as the government, the ruling AKP and specifically the Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The protests were clearly organized against government, thus the process determined the discourses of the graffiti. The most apparent and the most frequently used counter-discourse was 'Chapulcu', which is reclaimed against Prime Minister's offensive use of the word to insult protesters. The works including the concept of Chapul and the graffiti that are specifically interested in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKP are all evaluated in this category.

'Anti-violence' is the broadest category, consisting of 273 pieces of graffiti. As the police violence intensified, the protests resulted in loss of lives, loss of limbs, loss of eyes, and serious injuries that were directly linked to the crackdown. This is the reason why the artworks produced during the protests are extremely critical of violence, specifically the police violence. The keywords that are used to determine graffiti to this category are 'pepper', 'gas', 'police', 'TOMA' (Turkish abbreviation for water cannon), 'baton' and all the implications about them. Besides, the words and images about products that are used against pepper gas are included in this category. Another crucial keyword for this category is 'resist'. The word was specifically used in phrases such as 'resist against police violence' during protests. The word is also popularly combined with places where police

violently attacked; for instance, ‘resist Ankara’, ‘resist Taksim’, and ‘resist ODTÜ’. These patterns are mostly used with hash tag sign.

‘Revolutionist’ category has same characteristics as in the previous section. They emphasize changing and provoking the revolt. However some new features were added to ‘revolutionist’ category. In the previous section, the term referred to ‘a revolt’, but it was not real, it was just an ideal, on the other hand the artworks in the second section produced in parallel to a real revolt. Therefore, the graffiti that glorify revolt, protest, and protesters as well as those that call people to squares and salute protests and protesters alike were labeled as ‘revolutionist’.

The category entitled ‘Critical’ includes critical thoughts on individual or social situations as in the previous section. However, there is a remarkable sub-category different from the analysis of Section 1: ‘anti-Kemalism’. This sub-category is composed of graffiti that are produced against a specific Kemalist discourse stating ‘we are the soldiers of Mustafa Kemal’. Some other graffiti express criticism about protests. For example, the graffiti stating that protests should not include swearing was analyzed under this heading.

‘Anti-conservatism’ category contains the same content as the ‘anti-conservatism’ category in Part I. In addition to the contents of the previous category, counter-discourses against the prohibition of alcohol, which was announced in the eve of the protests, have also been observed. After the Prime Minister’s statement “ayran is our national drink”, the word ‘ayran’, a yoghurt beverage mixed with water and salt, has played a key role in the ‘anti-conservative’ graffiti.

‘Anti-mainstream media’ category was formed in the second part of analysis. A few graffiti displaying media criticism were included in Part 1, yet they were mostly evaluated in ‘anti-authoritarian’ category. Furthermore, such content significantly increases as a consequence of media’s ignorance of the protests.

Another non-significant category that appears in Section 2 is ‘Kemalism’ category. It involves just 5 graffiti; however, it still deserves to be handled as a category because Kemalism was a complicated issue during the protests. Furthermore, this category should be compared with the wall writings that display criticism towards Kemalist thought.

‘Anti-capitalism’, ‘anti-conservatism’, ‘feminism’, ‘romanticism’, ‘ecologism’, and ‘just humor’ categories were determined by the same criteria as Part 1. Furthermore, the protests and the signifiers of the protests exist in all categories.

3.3. Analyzing Methods

Quantitative content analysis was used primarily to determine descriptive values. Quantities of works in each category, their forms (graffiti, stencil, poster or wall writing), their content (text, image or text and image), the size of letters, content of humor, their references and percentages were evaluated using this analysis method.

Qualitative content analysis was preferred as one of the research methods of this study for the categorization of the content of street artworks.

The aim was to identify themes or patterns through systematic classification. The reason behind the preference for qualitative analysis instead of quantitative analysis was to examine meanings of artworks since the former could go beyond just counting words or summarizing content. Another reason of preference for qualitative content analysis for categorization is that it could disclose latent themes and patterns due to use of irony, metaphor or metonym. This was a frequently encountered case while evaluating the texts. Rhetorical strategies are significantly used in the language of graffiti. One of the fundamental characteristics of these texts, humor is generally achieved through rhetorical strategies; therefore, counting the words would not give patterns to explore the underlying meanings.

For the first step of content analysis, the numbers were important to generate a descriptive standpoint about the walls of Turkey. In the second step, themes of texts were categorized to find out the content of resistance practices and the power mechanisms they stand against. In the third step of analysis, tools of textual analysis were used to describe and interpret the data. The purpose of using textual analysis is to describe content, structure and functions of the messages contained in the texts.

The data was analyzed via SPSS (Statistic Package of Social Sciences). Frequencies and ratios were also evaluated via SPSS.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

4.1 Description of data

In this chapter, the data collected from the early 2000s until 31 May 2013, the day that the Gezi Park Protests began, will be evaluated. From the whole set of images collected from this time span, 450 were selected for analysis. The hip-hop style graffiti were excluded for the reason that although they belong to the public sphere by definition, they require another expertise field. Furthermore, they are unsuitable for the thematic content analysis. Some graffiti that are abstract, complicated and problematic for the thematic analysis are not included in this study.

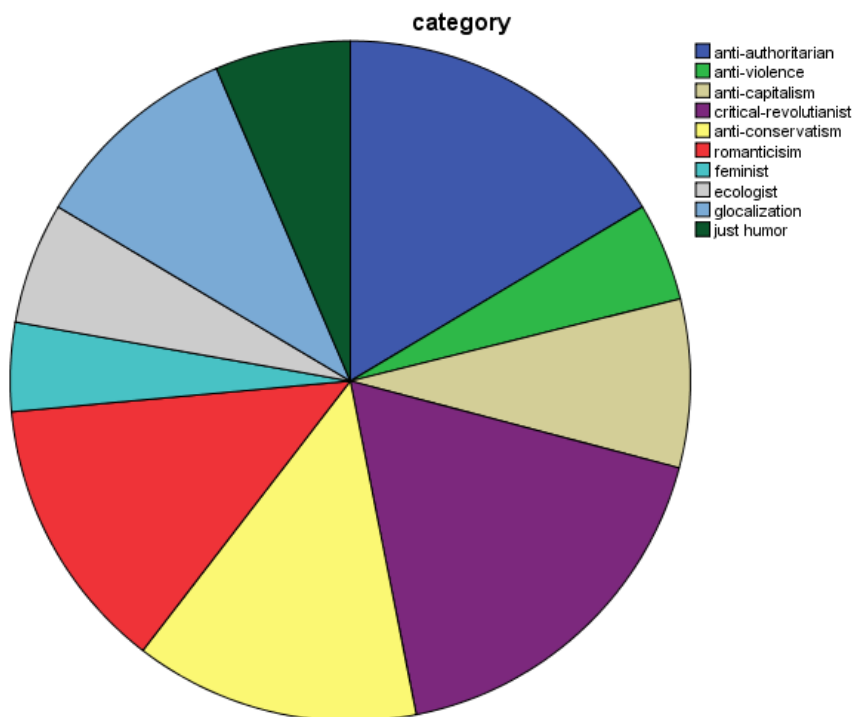
Firstly, the selected works will be defined according to their basic features through a quantitative content analysis. Secondly, they will be categorized by the shared patterns, and lastly the categories obtained will be explained by textual analysis methods.

One of the main purposes of this study is to examine how resistance is shaped by various power forms. In order to answer this question, a quantitative content analysis has been performed, and the results revealed 10 categories. According to the categorization, 17,8 % of the selected works

is ‘critical-revolutionist’, meaning that they include socially and individually critical thoughts, and emphasize the revolutionist movement. 16,4% is grouped under ‘anti-authoritarianism’ category, an umbrella classification for all works against all kinds of authority. 13,6 % of the works are categorized under ‘anti-conservatism’, 13,1% under ‘romanticism’, %10 under ‘local culture’, 8 % under ‘anti-capitalism’, 6,4 % under ‘just humor’, 5,8 % under ‘ecologism’, 4,7 % under ‘anti-violence’, and 4,2 % under ‘feminism’ category. All these above-mentioned categories will be explained in detail further in this chapter.

Categories	Frequency	Percent
Anti-authoritarianism	74	16,4%
Anti-conservatism	61	13,6%
Romanticism	59	13,1%
Critical	55	12,2%
Local Culture	45	10%
Anti-capitalism	36	8%
Just humor	29	6,4%
Ecologism	26	5,8%
Revolutionist	25	5,6%
Anti-violence	21	4,7%
Feminism	19	4,2%
Total	450	100%

Table 1. Frequencies and Percentages of Categories



Of all the 450 works that were gathered in this period, 223 of them only include text (See Appendix A – Image 8), 64 of them are only images (See Appendix – Image 9), and 163 of them have both text and image (See Appendix – Image 10).

	Frequency	Percent
Only Text	223	49,6%
Only Image	64	14,2%
Text & Image	163	36,2%
Total	450	100%

Table.2 – Frequencies and Percentages of Content

Style	Frequency	Percent
Stencil	184	40,9%
Writing	163	36,2%
Poster/Sticker	57	12,7%
Combination	30	6,7%
Drawing	16	3,6%
Total	450	100%

Table. 3- Frequencies and Percentages of Style

When we look at the shape of the graffiti, we see that 36.6 % of them are spray painted (See Appendix A – Image 11); 40.9 % are stencils painted to the walls through plastic, metal, carton or paper stenciling patterns (See Appendix A – Image 12); 12.7 % of them are posters and stickers on the walls (See Appendix A – Image 13); 3.6 % are designs hand-drawn with pencil, brush or spray paint (See Appendix A – Image 14), and 6.7 % of them are combinations of some of these methods (See Appendix A – Image 15).

Letter Size	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Capitals	268	59,6%	70,7%
Lower-case letters	111	24,7%	29,3%
Valid Total	379	84,2%	100%
Missing System	71	15,8%	
Total	450	100%	

Table.4 – Frequencies and Percentages of Letter Size

The graffiti that involve letters have been evaluated in terms of their use of capital or lower-case letters. In some graffiti both capital and lower-case letters have been used. In such cases, the graffiti have been categorized depending on the majority of capital or lower-case letters. Out of 379 graffiti, 70,7 % includes capital letters, while 29,3 % includes lower-case letters. I decided to use the letter case (capital vs. lower-case) as a variable when I was collecting data from the Gezi Park protests, and this material will be analyzed in the next section. In the next section it can be clearly seen that the generation that has produced the graffiti has been highly influenced by the Internet culture. This generation has actively used the Internet jargon in terms of spelling, punctuation, and terminology. I think the use of capital letters in graffiti is parallel to the use of capital letters in social media to express exclamation. The high percentage of the use of capital letters in graffiti is evidence to this parallelism.

	Frequency	Percent
Humorous content	267	59,3%
Non-humorous content	183	40,7%
Total	450	100%

Table. 5 - Frequencies and Percentages of Humorous Content

One of the focuses of this study is the use of humor as a strategy within the process of resistance. In order to understand whether this is the case, I have looked up whether the graffiti included a sense of humor or not. Out of 450 graffiti, 59,3 % contains humor (See Appendix A – Image 16), while 40,7 % does not (See Appendix A – Image 17).

Since ancient times, humor has been part of any kind of resistance against authority (Avcı, 2003; Bakhtin, 2001; Sanders, 2001). This study has also revealed that this tradition is still ongoing today.

In the process of examination of the collected data, I observed that there was too many reference to other texts in the graffiti. This has led me to consider the reference to external texts as an additional variable. This study, which tries to understand the dynamics of resistance in a post-modern world through a post-structuralist perspective, has examined the references to external texts in terms of the concept of intertextuality. It was the post-structuralist theorist Julia Kristeva who firstly introduced the notion of intertextuality. Kristeva based this concept on Bakhtin's dialogism theory (Aytaç, 2003). According to Kristeva, "each text is based on mosaic of quotations, and each text is the result of absorption and transformation of

another text'. Intertextuality includes quotations, plagiarism and allusions (Genette, 1997).

Based on this concept, a category of intertextuality is divided into two groups: the first one is the 'quotation' group, including direct quotations from books, movies, poems, and lyrics (See Appendix A – Image 18); the second one is the 'reference' group, including references to a cultural text (See Appendix A – Image 19). Out of 450 graffiti, 32 include direct quotes, and 21 make references to cultural text. Each graffito is also seen as a cultural text that includes intertextual components such as literary, musical, and visual artistic works.

Intertextuality	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Quotation	32	7,1%	60,4
Reference	21	4,7%	39,6
Valid Total	53	11,8%	100
Missing System	397	88,2%	
Total	450	100%	

Table.6 - Frequencies and Percentages of Intertextuality

4.2. Categorization of the data

4.2.1. Anti-authoritarianism

This category is composed of 74 graffiti that make up 16 % of the data. These works have been divided to six subcategories: surveillance, state, government, media, censorship, and undefined authority.

The largest of these subcategories is 'government', which is composed of 46 graffiti. Graffiti that oppose the government, ruling party, the opposition parties, and the state institutions have been assembled under this subcategory. 9 graffiti in this subcategory include either a visual representation, or the name of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The fact that these graffiti are not directed against the government or the Justice and Development Party but directly towards Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is in accordance with the policy of 'sole person' that the AKP follows. While the government has identified itself with the personality of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the resistance has made this figure as part of its object (See Appendix A – Image 20).

In this subcategory, 8 graffiti are related to local government. Among these graffiti, 5 are directed towards the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and the Mayor Melih Gökçek, one is directed towards the Municipality of Çankaya, and 2 towards the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul. The graffiti directed against the Municipality of Istanbul criticized mostly the institutional identity and the policies of the municipality, while

those against the Municipality of Ankara criticized the mayor of the municipality (See Appendix A – Image 21).

4 of the graffiti in this subcategory are directed towards USA policy. One of the graffiti contains the ‘Uncle Sam’ figure (See Appendix A – Image 22), while one of them is related to George Bush. If we consider that this category includes graffiti from the early 2000s, judging from their content, we may say that they are critical of George Bush’s wartime policies. Such graffiti occurred in the streets of Turkey because Turkey was involved in the War in Afghanistan and sent troops to fight. The possibility of sending troops to the war in Iraq met with grand opposition in Turkey, leading to anti-war protests across the country. Although the USA and George Bush appear as targets in these graffiti, the indirect bearer of these protests was the ruling coalition AKP/JDP, which supported the invasion (See Appendix A – Image 23).

The graffiti against state institutions mainly concerned the judicial body as the target of protest and anger. These graffiti mainly convey an understanding that the judicial bodies function in line with the demands of the government. 2 of the graffiti that criticize jurisprudence are related to a specific case. The case concerning the fire at Madımak Hotel, or the incident known as the Sivas Massacre, which took place on 2nd of July 1993, was dropped on 13 March 2012 due to the statute of limitations (See Appendix A – Image 24).

The subcategory ‘state’ includes graffiti that criticize the government in an anarchical manner (See Appendix A – Image 25). There are 4 graffiti that are against the state. 2 of them contain the anarchy symbol. This

subcategory is differentiated from other anti-government subcategories based on the content of the graffiti included. The graffiti in this category are different from the anti-government graffiti that occurred during the Gezi Park protests. It could be argued that the anger towards the government has increased in the face of worsening state pressure and violence.

The 'surveillance' subcategory is composed of 5 graffiti that are related to the act of surveillance. These graffiti include visualization of security cameras (See Appendix A – Image 26). The dissatisfaction from the security cameras, which symbolize today's Panopticon, can be clearly seen in these graffiti.

The 'media' subcategory includes 5 graffiti that are critical of the role of the media and its functioning. Comparing this subcategory to the graffiti produced during the Gezi Park protests reveals the fact that the criticism towards the media increased significantly during the week of protests. The criticisms observed in these 4 graffiti are softer and more general (See Appendix A – Image 27) compared to the graffiti of the Gezi protests. These graffiti does not include any reference to a newspaper, TV channel, or media corporation, except Acun Ilıcalı, a well-known TV producer and presenter (See Appendix A – Image 28). 3 graffiti in this subcategory have humorous content.

Another subcategory, 'censorship' includes 5 graffiti that criticize censorship and the limitations on the freedom of speech. 2 of these graffiti criticize the obliteration of the graffiti with paint (See Appendix A – Image 29), an instance for the restriction of the freedom of speech in general. One graffiti in this subcategory criticizes the ban on Internet (See Appendix A –

Image 30). Another one criticizes the conviction of art and artist, while another depicts how the freedom of speech is restricted in many ways.

The subcategory 'undefined authority' contains graffiti that are against any authority. There are 10 graffiti under this subcategory. In them, the main characters of the movie 'Fight Club' – namely Tyler Durden and Marla Singer – as well as the poet Nazım Hikmet, and Emma Goldman are depicted. Other graffiti that do not depict a clear object and/or subject portray the use of force by a person or a group against the powerless (See Appendix A – Image 31).

4.2.2. Anti-violence

21 of the graffiti (4,7 %) are categorized as 'anti-violent'. These graffiti are divided to three subcategories: 'police', 'war', and 'armament' depending on the themes that they address.

The graffiti included in the subcategory 'police' criticize police violence. There are 12 graffiti under this subcategory. The majority of them include a reference to pepper spray and gas mask (See Appendix A – Image 32). Another frequently encountered image is that of a police baton. One of the graffiti is attributed to Festus Okey, who was killed while under police arrest on 20 August 2007 (See Appendix A – Image 33).

The subcategory 'war' includes 6 anti-war graffiti. The political context of the Iraqi war, which Turkey was about to get involved, has mainly shaped the content of these graffiti. One of the graffiti depicts the plane crash to the Twin Towers along with the name of Bin Laden (See Appendix A –

Image 34). This piece can be seen as an evidence for the argument regarding the political context. Along with the war in Iraq, a major theme in these graffiti is the harm that children were subject to during wars.

Another subcategory is 'armament', which includes 3 anti-war graffiti. The main symbol within this subcategory is revolver (See Appendix A – Image 35). In the images, the one holding the gun is depicted to have power over those who do are unarmed, thus powerless.

4.2.3. Anti-capitalism

36 graffiti that comprise the 8 % of the total (450 graffiti) contain anti-capitalist themes. One major theme in these graffiti is the unequal distribution of income. The graffiti depict those who possess higher levels of income as symbols of power and brutality. These graffiti also reveal sentiments of anger and humiliation against the privileged groups (See Appendix A – Image 36).

The main theme of the graffiti that criticize the capitalist system is its harm on the individuals. The damage that the capitalist system creates has been mainly associated with the notion of death; for example, 'the beauty of capitalism kills' (See Appendix A – Image 37) and 'watching advertisements kills' (See Appendix A – Image 38). Other themes include the enslavement of individual by the professional life and the absolute power of the capital to control over the individuals and the society.

Another group of graffiti focuses on the industry and criticizes large companies. Three brands are widely used through deformation of the

brand names: Burger King (Burger Kill), Coca-Cola, Walt Disney (Kill Miki).

Some graffiti focus on the commodification of art. One major message is 'art is not for sale' (See Appendix A – Image 39). One graffiti supports this message by stating that the public space should be rescued from the capital, and this is only possible if walls, billboards, and advertising boards are occupied by the public through art (See Appendix A – Image 40). Another major criticism on the commodification of art is related to art galleries (See Appendix A – Image 41). It is argued that these galleries divert art from its true purpose through commodification.

The graffiti generally convey a Marxist understanding of power. They describe the bourgeoisie as a class holding the power versus the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is depicted as owners of the means of production, thus controlling over the proletariat, while the proletariat is depicted as exploited and oppressed.

4.2.4. Critical

55 graffiti that compose the 12,2% of the total 450 graffiti are assembled under the 'critical' category. These graffiti criticize individual attitudes and behavior as well as societal structures. One main issue is the critique of existence. Compared to other categories, the graffiti in this category contain questions such as 'has anything changed?', 'who tells you to become a big man?', 'what are you doing!?', 'what am I doing here?', 'how will things be?', 'how did you kill the child inside you?', and 'what kind of a

life is this?’ (See Appendix A – Image 42). What these graffiti share in common is asking questions to the society about being and awareness.

An overview of these graffiti reveals that it is hard to suggest a concrete definition of power. In general, there is an anti-system attitude in these graffiti. This attitude goes beyond the call for resistance against political power, means of production, and any source of power in general. The anti-system attitude includes all these forms of resistance and calls for organizing against all sources of power. The common theme of these graffiti, a call to ‘change one’s life’, should be evaluated within the framework of resistance towards all kinds of micro and macro sources of power.

4.2.5. Revolutionist

This category, which is composed of 25 graffiti, calls for change both at the individual and the social level. The graffiti in this category call for rebellion, revolution, ‘waking up’, and going out to the streets in order to promote change.

Two words are widely used in the graffiti in this category: ‘wake up’ and ‘street’. These graffiti are against the taken-for-granted and they seek to change the present conditions (See Appendix A – Image 43). They speak to the oppressed and powerless sections of society. Their main point is the call for a rebellion against power holders. The frequent use of the word ‘street’ indicates that these graffiti call for a rebellion by the oppressed in the streets.

4.2.6. Anti-conservatism

The rising tide of conservatism in Turkey for the last ten years has created cultural resistance. 13.6 % of the graffiti, that is 61 works, contains a kind of criticism against conservatism. This category is divided into the following subcategories: 'sexuality', 'alcohol & drugs', 'public decency' and 'religion'.

'Sexuality' is the broadest subcategory and contains 29 graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 44). One of them actually fits in both 'sexuality' and 'alcohol & drugs' subcategories. As Foucault's concept of bio-politics reveals, sexuality is one major means of control used by power holders. Similarly, we see that graffiti also contain sexuality as a means of resistance. The recent years in Turkey saw Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan speak a lot about sexuality issues and some legal arrangements took place accordingly such as the ban of abortion have led to increasing opposition voices. The graffiti that have as their objects the political power holders and public morality define the wider public as the possible bearers of change. One main message that these graffiti communicate is that sexuality is important and it should no longer be a taboo. Additionally, 2 graffiti are related to homosexuality and against heterosexual domination.

Another subcategory is 'alcohol & drugs'. This subcategory contains 13 graffiti, 9 of which are related to alcohol as a theme (See Appendix A – Image 45), while 4 refer to drugs (See Appendix A – Image 46). These graffiti underline the fact that the consumption of alcohol and drugs is a reality despite the efforts to disguise. Especially the graffiti

referring to the consumption of drugs seek to disseminate the message that despite the prohibition, drug consumption continues and in this way, laws as a power form is being pierced

The subcategory 'public decency' contains graffiti that criticize public morality and call for opposition to general ethics (See Appendix A – Image 47). This subcategory contains a total of 8 graffiti. These graffiti criticize concepts such as 'family', which is seen as natural but nevertheless ideological. Similarly, these graffiti criticize conformation to public norms and undermine the concept of ethics.

The last subcategory is 'religion' and contains 8 graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 48). Under this subcategory, 7 graffiti refer to Islam. One graffiti contains symbols of all monotheist religions and calls for staying away from all. A major theme is the issue of the veil, or headscarf, a highly contested issue since the day AKP government came to power. The graffiti that are against the headscarf contain elements of humor, yet they do not seek to humiliate women or they do not contain elements of anger against women. These graffiti depict Islamic ethics as insincere, and some of them joke about Islamic ethics.

4.2.7. Romanticism

Graffiti that refer to hope, love, dreaming, disappointment, peace, and affection are grouped under this category (See Appendix A – Image 49). Broadly, the graffiti under this category contain emotions and they comprise 13,1%, that is 59 graffiti in total. One major characteristic of this category is

that it contains the highest number of intertextual pieces. 15 out of 53 intertextual graffiti fall under this category. The main reason is that the graffiti concerned here include snippets from poems, movies, novels, and songs as a means to express emotions. Hakan Günday, Cemal Süreya, Leyla Halid, Franz Kafka, Ah Muhsin Ünlü and Orhan Veli Kanık are among the poets and novelists that are mainly cited in these graffiti.

These graffiti show similarities with the hippy sub-culture of the 1960s. A major common point that these graffiti share is the desire to oppose power by keeping out from the realm of power with love and hope.

4.2.8. Feminism

The feminist movement is one of the most central movements that were depicted in the theoretical framework under the ‘New Social Movements’. The feminist movement has been central to the identity politics that proliferated especially since the 1970s and today it continues to be a major movement despite the deep changes in our world in the last decades. Since the 1970s, human rights, equality, and identity issues have been central to social movements (Offe, 1999). Social movements have entered a new period after the Seattle protests in 1999. Since 1999, social movements have been united under a wider formation (Çetinkaya, 2008). In this study, I have focused on how the feminist movement has been used in graffiti within the language of resistance.

4.2 % of the graffiti, that is 19 graffiti in total, contain references to feminism (See Appendix A – Image 50). Main themes are policies towards

women, physical and sexual violence against women, and myths ascribed to women. Written and unwritten policies towards women are one major theme of resistance in these graffiti. They oppose both the patriarchal structure and the state as the responsible body for the legal orders unjust to women. These graffiti oppose the ordering mechanisms based on the control of women's sexuality.

The graffiti reflect the rapid increase that took place in female homicides in Turkey. In 2013, 214 women were killed in Turkey¹¹¹. The graffiti also depict the call for struggle against physical and sexual harassment of women (See Appendix A – Image 51). One major theme is child porn and criticism against harassment of children (See Appendix A – Image 52).

These graffiti have as their subject the women and the patriarchal order. They depict the state as responsible for the legal arrangements unjust to women.

4.2.9. Ecologism

The balance of the nature has been irrevocably damaged in the recent years due to the increase in consumption, growth of population and non-efficient use of resources. This situation has been contested in different parts of the World. In Turkey, 2.6%, that is 26 graffiti out of the total 450 covered in this study, states opposition to environmental damage.

12 of these graffiti criticize the damage done to animals due to the destruction of their natural environments. The rest of the graffiti focuses on

¹¹¹<http://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/153946-erkek-siddetinin-yargidaki-bir-yili>

the destruction of the environment. One major theme in these graffiti is the Hydroelectric Power Stations (See Appendix A – Image 53). Some of the graffiti criticize concretization and the destruction of open-space areas (See Appendix A – Image 54). In these graffiti, main targets are the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara and the famous contractor Ali Ağaoğlu.

These graffiti mainly target humanity. The focus on development and production since the Industrial Revolution, the instrumentalization of the environment and the animals, and the humanity's effort to dominate the nature are main themes encountered in these graffiti.

4.2.10. Local Culture

10 % of the data, that is 45 graffiti, focuses on local culture. 11 of these graffiti criticize popular culture. All graffiti in this group have humorous content. These graffiti use humor as a critical method to trivialize the culture industry. The rest of the works seek to glorify local culture and local artists as well as to remind local culture (See Appendix A – Image 55). 9 of these graffiti are posters produced by a group of street artists named Avareler from Ankara. Each of these posters conveys the same message albeit with different visuals: 'you may listen to blues, but listen to local music/instruments along with blues'. The visuals used in these posters refer to Ahmet Kaya, Selda Bağcan, Neşet Ertaş, Orhan Gencebay, Barış Manço, Erkan Oğur, Cem Karaca, Arif Sağ and Ruhi Su.

4.2.11. Just Humor

Under this category I assembled the graffiti that could not be categorized in any of the previous categories, because they lack any thematic coherence yet contain a sense of humor (See Appendix A – Image 56). 29 graffiti, which compose the 6.4 % of the total graffiti covered in this study, were grouped under this category. They mainly contain verbal tricks and irony in a humorous tone. While these graffiti do not oppose any kind of authority, they are nonetheless considered as statements of cultural resistance because, as stated in the theoretical framework, the function of humor make these graffiti part of the resistance.

4.3. Discussion

I would like to discuss that graffiti mirror the society (Kutal, 1988) and thus, they can help us infer with regards to power and resistance. My main hypothesis has been supported by this study. Considering graffiti within the framework of power and resistance sheds light on the specific kind of resistance inscribed on the walls. This specific kind of resistance, which took shape within the political context of the 2000s, articulated its discontent and demands in the streets. This phenomenon could testify to Foucault's (2005) assertion that power produces resistance.

The categories that emerged as a result of analysis in this study point to various sources of power. For instance, the power form that the graffiti in the anti-capitalist category oppose is the bourgeoisie, which

according to Marxist thought holds the capital and means of production. Similarly, for the graffiti under the 'ecologist' category, the power form is the big companies that damage the environment. The categories 'anti-authority' and 'anti-violence' can be considered within the framework of Foucault's (1979) disciplinary power. Similarly, we can see 'bio-power' under the category of 'anti-conservatism'.

The humorous content that we see in the 59.3 % of the graffiti covered in this study reveals that in Turkey humor is an important part of contemporary social movements (Varol, 2013).

The graffiti that have been analyzed in this section are the products of a long period. Therefore, they describe many social and political changes. The next section will provide an analysis of graffiti that were produced in a period of crisis as products of a short but tense period. The results of the analysis will be compared with the ones obtained in this chapter. A comparative analysis of these two kinds of graffiti will provide a more complete picture.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS (II)

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the graffiti drawn on walls during the protests that broke out on March 31, 2013 in Taksim Gezi Park and spread all over the country. 811 graffiti, compiled between May 31 and June 30, were included in the analysis. 7 graffiti considered not to fit in any of the categories were excluded.

Though the identities of the authors are not known, based on the nature of the texts, it can be said that most of them were drawn by protesters. These texts were generated in an alternative media environment, which happens to be the public space. They were written to be utilized as a tool of cultural resistance. The analysis aims at studying the message these texts convey in a detailed way.

The analysis of the data obtained in this chapter will be presented in two parts. In the first part, the data will be described, and second part will present a comparative analysis with the data compiled before the protests.

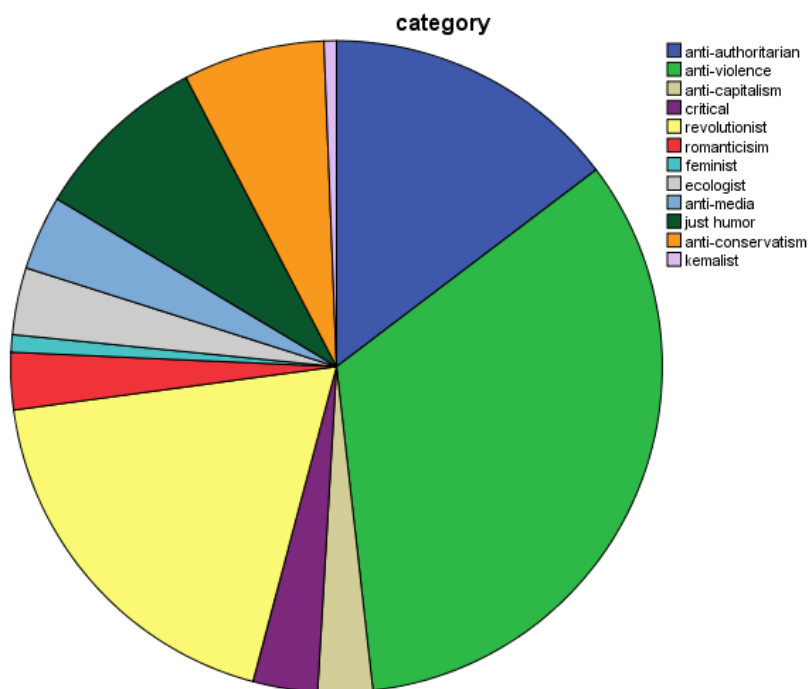
5.1. Description of the data

Just like in the first part of the analysis, qualitative content analysis method is used for categorization of data, and 12 categories emerged. Mostly these categories show similarities with the ones obtained in the first part, yet some aspects appeared clearer and sharper in an environment that could be defined as a state of crisis. Therefore, some topics that were considered as sub-category in the previous part appeared as categories in their own right.

The theme of ‘anti-violence’ emerged as the most frequently encountered theme in all graffiti produced during this period. 33.5% of the graffiti fall under this category. The category of ‘revolutionist’ includes 18.7%, while the category of ‘critical’ includes 3.2%. The category previously named as ‘anti-authoritarianism’ became more crystallized in this part and was re-framed as anti-government. 14.7% of the graffiti are in this category. In the previous part, the media fell under the title ‘anti-authoritarianism’ as a mode of authority. Due to the serious reactions to media during the week of protests, it became the subject of so many graffiti that it is now considered as a different category: ‘anti-mainstream media’. 3.7% of the graffiti are assembled under this title. The category of ‘anti-capitalism’ includes 2.7%, ‘romanticism’ 2.8%, ‘feminism’ 0.9%, ‘ecologism’ 3.3%, ‘anti-conservatism’ 7% and ‘just humor’ includes 8.8% of the graffiti. One of the new categories emerged in this part; ‘Kemalism’ includes the graffiti that display Kemalist discourse and constitutes 0.6% of the entire data compiled.

	Frequency	Percentage
Anti-violence	272	33,5%
Revolutionist	152	18,7%
Anti-government	119	14,7%
Just Humor	71	8,8%
Anti-conservatism	57	7%
Anti-mainstream media	30	3,7%
Ecologism	27	3,3%
Critical	26	3,2%
Romanticism	23	2,8%
Anti-capitalism	22	2,7%
Feminism	7	0,9%
Kemalism	5	0,6%
Total	811	100%

Table.7 - Frequencies and Percentages of Categories



697 out of 811 graffiti are composed of text only, while 14 are image only and 100 include content in both text and image form.

Content	Frequency	Percent
Only text	697	85,9%
Only image	14	1,7%
Text & image	100	12,3%
Total	811	100%

Table.8 - Frequencies and Percentages of Content I

Looking at the style of the graffiti, it is observed that 82.4% are drawn with spray paint or various pens, 12.1% are stencils (the visuals are molded with plastic, metal, cardboard or paper templates and drawn with

spray paint), 1.1% are posters and stickers stuck on the walls, 0.4% are figures drawn with brush and spray paint, and 4.1% are combinations of a few of these methods.

Style	Frequency	Percent
Wall-writing	668	82,4%
Stencil	98	12,1%
Poster/Sticker	9	1,1%
Drawing	3	0,4%
Combine	33	4,1%
Total	811	100%

Table. 9 - Frequencies and Percentages of Style I

While 74.6% of 796 graffiti that involve texts are composed of capital letters only, 25.4% are composed of lower case letters. Elements of the Internet language used in the graffiti were examined in order to understand whether the capital letters, which is an important part of the Internet language, were used to express exclamation.

It was observed that 81 out of 811 graffiti had references to Internet language either through the use of elements and styles of this language in the texts or through references to the internet world and video games. Important components of Internet language are smiles made with punctuation marks and letters (such as :), :p, :o) and the hash tag sign (#). References to video games include GTA, Pro Evolution Soccer (PES) and Counter Strike. Facebook and Twitter abbreviations (such as nbr, slm, cnm)

that are widely used in correspondences on digital media are also encountered. Some graffiti included quotations from popular viral videos. Based on these observations, it could be posited that the creators of these graffiti – a group that consisted of graffiti artists as well as resisters – are more than familiar with the Internet language. This particular knowledge is reflected in their expressions and styles on the walls. From this perspective, the use of capital letters can be interpreted as stating an exclamation in the form of Internet language.

Letter Size	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Capital	594	73,2%	74,6%
Lower case letter	202	24,9%	25,4%
Valid Total	796	98,2%	100%
Missing System	15	1,8%	
Total	811	100%	

Table.10 – Frequencies and Percentages of Letter Size I

When we examine the humorous content of the graffiti, we see that while 73% have such content, 27% do not have it. Comparing these figures to the ones in the previous part, we observe that the ratio of humorous content has increased significantly. Historically humor has been used as a strategy of resistance (Avci, 2003; Bakhtin, 2001; Sanders, 2001), and it seems this tradition is continuing today on walls of Turkey. A major component of the

social movements of 21st century (Varol, 2013), humor was effectively used also in Gezi Park Protests.

	Frequency	Percent
Humorous content	592	73%
Non-humorous content	219	27%
Total	811	100%

Table.11 – Frequencies and Percentages of Humorous Content I

References to or quotations from other cultural products appearing in the graffiti were analyzed under the topic of intertextuality. 11.6% of the graffiti have intertextual properties. While 69.1% of 94 graffiti made references to other cultural products, 30.9% contained direct quotations.

Intertextuality	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Quotation	29	3,6%	30,9%
Reference	65	8,0%	69,1%
Valid Total	94	11,6%	100%
Missing System	717	88,4%	
Total	811	100%	

Table.12 – Frequencies and Percentages of Intertextuality I

The graffiti that were divided into 12 categories based on their common patterns was defined for each category in terms of their qualitative and quantitative properties.

5.2. Categorization of Data

5.2.1. Anti-government

In the previous part, anti-government was a sub-category under the category of anti-authoritarianism. Since the data in this part was compiled during the protests against the government, the anti-government content emerged as one of the major categories. 119 graffiti, which constitutes 14.7% of 811 graffiti, have anti-government content.

While 4 of these can be defined as anti-state (See Appendix A – Image 58), and 2 of these as pro-democracy (See Appendix A – Image 59), 113 of them are strictly anti-government. While 6 of them address directly the government and/or the ruling party (See Appendix A – Image 60), 107 graffiti target the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (See Appendix A – Image 61). 71 graffiti have directly addressed the Prime Minister Erdoğan (See Appendix A – Image 62). 63 graffiti include the name and/or visual of him (See Appendix A – Image 63). He was addressed with 19 different ways (i.e. President, you, la, Erdo, Recep etc.) and 16 of these nicknames were generated by a deformation of his name (i.e. Tayyos, Teyyip, Tayyit, Taib, Teyyep etc.).

28 graffiti generate counter-discourse by humorously deforming some statements of Prime Minister Erdoğan. Instances include the word “chapulcu” (meaning looter) (See Appendix A – Image 64), which Erdoğan used to address the protesters in one of his public speeches. His claims that he

can barely keep 50% of the population at home (See Appendix A – Image 65), his statements about social media (See Appendix A – Image 66) and alcohol (See Appendix A – Image 67), and his visions regarding families to have at least 3 children were among other instances encountered in these graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 68). The graffiti include 15 different words derived from the word root “chapul” (loot) (See Appendix A – Image 64).

5.2.2. Anti-violence

In this category, there are 272 graffiti, which constitutes 33.5% of the data. They are all regarding police violence. It is possible to read on the walls the use of excessive violence that caused loss of organs and lives, and thousands of injuries during the protests. 148 graffiti directly address the use of tear gas (See Appendix A – Image 69). These graffiti include the word pepper and/or gas, or the names or/and visuals of the products (such as gas mask, lemon, Talcid, underwater goggles etc.) used as a protection from the tear gas (See Appendix A – Image 70). 26 graffiti are regarding TOMA (Riot Control Vehicle, or water cannon) and attack with water cannons (See Appendix A – Image 71).

As a word or visual image, or as an indicator, ‘police’ was used 46 times (See Appendix A – Image 72), ‘barricade’ 7 times (See Appendix A – Image 73), ‘smoke bomb’ 4 times (See Appendix A – Image 74), and ‘baton’ 3 times in the graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 75). The repeated graffiti were included in the analysis just once. Yet it should be emphasized that A.C.A.B. (abbreviation for “all cops are bastards”) was written numerous

times. The number of words combined with “resist” or its derivations is 12 (See Appendix A – Image 76).

5.2.3. Critical

There are 26 graffiti in this category and they constitute 3.2% of the entire data. While they contain individual criticism (See Appendix A – Image 77) and criticism through society (See Appendix A – Image 78) in the same category before the protests, criticism towards street protestations is also included in this category after the protests (See Appendix A – Image 79).

The most prominent criticism in this category is towards the Kemalist discourse. As a reaction to the famous slogan ‘we are Mustafa Kemal’s soldiers’, popularly shouted by Kemalist protesters, some graffiti reformulated the slogan in a humorous way. Instances include ‘We are nobody’s soldiers,’ ‘we are Mustafa Keser’s soldiers,’ ‘we are Dumbledore’s soldiers,’ ‘we are Yildiz Tilbe’s soldiers,’ ‘we are Ned Stark’s soldiers... well, that didn’t fit,’ ‘we are Ra’s Al Ghul’s soldiers!’

5.2.4. Revolutionist

The category ‘revolutionist’ includes 18.7% of the graffiti. While in the previous part, the graffiti under this category called for street protests, the graffiti that were collected from the time of protests had a different tone. Even though their main themes are the same, the hopes derived from actually protesting on the street are reflected in the graffiti (See Appendix A – Image

80). Among the graffiti that contains text, the word ‘revolt’ was used 15 times (See Appendix A – Image 81), ‘revolution’ 16 times (See Appendix A – Image 82), ‘freedom’ 7 times (See Appendix A – Image 83), and ‘people’ was used 11 times (See Appendix A – Image 84). There are references to anarchism in 3 (See Appendix A – Image 85) and to socialism in 5 of the graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 86).

The graffiti that belongs to the paradigm that is defined by Offe (1999) as ‘old political paradigms’ are only in this category. These graffiti bear the traces of some hierarchical organizations (See Appendix A – Image 87). It is observed that the graffiti that have similarities with the banners and graffiti generated between 1963 and 1980 in Turkey (Aysan, 2013). These graffiti are only included in this category.

5.2.5. Anti-conservatism

Anti-conservatism constitutes %7 of the data, which is 57 graffiti in total. Sub-categories remained the same as the previous part. These are ‘sexuality,’ ‘alcohol & drugs,’ ‘public decency’ and ‘religion.’

‘Sexuality’ contains 20 graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 88). 5 of them emphasize homosexual love (See Appendix A – Image 89). ‘Alcohol & drugs’ constitute the largest sub-category with 30 graffiti regarding alcohol and drugs. 18 of them are strictly about alcohol (See Appendix A – Image 90), while 12 are only about drugs (See Appendix A – Image 91). This category has enlarged due to the fact that the protests broke out right after the ban on the sale of alcohol after 10 p.m. in Turkey. In the first group, there

was only an overall approach towards the use of alcohol and drugs; whereas here these themes are associated with Prime Minister Erdoğan and his statements regarding alcohol. In counter-discourses generated against Erdoğan's statements, 'ayran' appeared as an indicative referring to alcohol (See Appendix A – Image 92).

There are 6 graffiti in the sub-category 'religion' (See Appendix A – Image 93). They contain references to slogans such as 'I asked God and he said #resistgezi' or 'the only solution is revolution. Amen.' The sub-category 'public decency' includes one graffiti regarding entertainment.

5.2.6. Anti- mainstream media

In the first part, the pre-Gezi graffiti concerning media was included in a sub-category under 'anti-authoritarian'. In this part, the graffiti about media are analyzed as a separate category. Media, within the framework of this study, denotes the mainstream media (See Appendix A – Image 94). This category includes 30 graffiti. It was observed that the language was milder before the protests, and it turned into a strong and sharp criticism with the break of events. The words used to describe the media are 'liar, biased, hired, coward and fucked' (See Appendix A – Image 95).

While there was an overall media criticism in the previous part, we have more crystallized actors here. Targets are Fatih Altaylı, NTV and CNN Turk. The main criticism towards the media was the fact that they were influenced by the government (See Appendix A – Image 96). There were reactions against Prime Minister Erdoğan and his domination over the media.

Some graffiti point out to Twitter and walls as the alternative to mainstream media (See Appendix A – Image 97).

5.2.7. Kemalism

This category concerns Kemalist discourse and includes only 5 graffiti, constituting only 0.6% of 811 graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 98). The reason it is considered as a separate category is that although Kemalist groups were active and high in number on the streets during the protests, their presence was not reflected on the walls. The aim was also to see the responses to criticism towards Kemalist discourse.

These graffiti portray an understanding that follows the footsteps of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and they do not contain any other argument or criticism.

5.2.8. Anti-capitalism

The category ‘anti-capitalism’ contains 22 graffiti. The crystallized power in these graffiti is the capitalist class as in other group of data. In terms of content, they are not different from capitalism-related graffiti drawn before the protests (See Appendix A – Image 99).

5.2.9. Ecologism

The category 'ecologism' includes 27 graffiti, which constitutes 3.3% of all data. The content of the few number of graffiti on the walls is regarding the fact that natural habitat destroyed just for rent (See Appendix A – Image 100). Themes of park and tree are the principal focus of the graffiti (See Appendix A – Image 101). During the events, the image of fist and tree (See Appendix A – Image 102) became the emblem of the protests and its derivations were painted on the walls. In graffiti aiming at protecting the nature, the power form that damages the nature is defined not as an institution or government, but directly as Prime Minister Erdoğan (See Appendix A – Image 103). 7 of these graffiti directly address Erdoğan in person.

5.2.10 Feminism

The category 'feminism' reflects the reactions towards the patriarchal power mechanisms. It includes 7 graffiti, which constitutes 0.7% of the data. While one of the graffiti has protest-related content (See Appendix A – Image 104), others focus on the basic problems of the feminist struggle such as femicide (See Appendix A – Image 105), rape, verbal or physical abuse (See Appendix A – Image 106), gender inequality, and gendered discourse (See Appendix A – Image 107). Crystallized power forms that graffiti criticize patriarchy, the state, and the ruling party.

5.2.11 Just Humor

71 graffiti under the category ‘just humor’ constitute 8.8% of all data (See Appendix A – Image 108). In the first part, the content of this category was defined as follows: “the graffiti that could not be categorized in any of the previous categories because they lack any thematic coherence but nonetheless, contain a sense of humor.” In this part, the scope of the category is kept the same in line with this definition. Yet, the experiences gained from the protests and the common language created during this period was influential on the ways in which the humorous content was formed. For instance, while ‘I ran out of slogans’ refers to the abundance and creativity of the graffiti generated during this period, ‘everywhere is Maksim, everywhere is casino’ is a pun on one of the most principals slogans of the protests ‘everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance.’

In this part, there are 13 graffiti that have references to soccer (See Appendix A – Image 109). In these graffiti, humor is addressed to the fact that characters from soccer world are presented as leaders, administrators and problem-solvers. There is one particular graffito that is not reflected in numbers since repeated works are examined only once in the analysis: ‘solution is Drogba’ (See Appendix A – Image 110). This graffito, which is a reference to Galatasaray’s soccer player Didier Drogba, came out in Istanbul, spread all over the country, and has been used numerous times. It includes no political sub-text, just a reference to the fact that Drogba is a very successful player.

Considering the active participations of soccer clubs during the protests, it is no coincidence that soccer references were abundant in the graffiti produced during that period. Although these graffiti do not have subtexts, it is clear from their language that they were drawn by those actively involved in the protests. Similar to El Ehli fan group playing an active role in the Egyptian Revolution in Tahrir Square, the supporter groups of Besiktaş, namely Carşı, was an important figure in Istanbul protests. It could be posited that supporters play important roles in the protests as well-organized groups that are used to police violence due to frequent conflicts with the police over soccer (Bora, 2013).

5.2.12 Romanticism

The content of the category is the same as what was defined in the second part and it is parallel with the previous data set, additionally hope is common theme for graffiti that are generated during the protests (See Appendix A – Image 111). The proportion of this category, which contains 23 graffiti, to all data set is 2.8%. There are not as many intertextual references in this category as in other groups. Only 3 graffiti include quotations. These quotations are from Ernesto Che Guevara, Virginia Woolf, and Ece Ayhan(See Appendix A – Image 112) .

5.3. Discussion

Graffiti produced during the protests reflect the happenings on the streets. In other words, the characteristics of the resistance and resisters could be read from the walls. Additionally, the people and/or the matters targeted by the resistance could be traced by looking at the graffiti content. The similarities and differences between the 2 periods have been listed following an analysis and comparison of the respective data. One of these two periods is relatively long and stable, whereas the other is short and characterized by a crisis.

This study defines graffiti as an artistic product and sees it as a significant part of social movements and resistance.

Humor dominates the resistance language and it was observed in both periods. It remained unchanged as the key feature of graffiti language in all categories addressing various issues. Both the quality and the quantity of humor increased during the protests. The discourse that started to be formed in order to resist to oppressive regime before the protests took preserve its characteristics during the protests. The positive correlation Foucault established between power and resistance worked in the same way when the humor was generated as a result of oppression in social movements. In other words, as violence and oppression increased, the resistance is spread through the use of humor.

The categories, which were created according to the themes and repeated patterns, indicate that graffiti target the foci of political power as a

method of cultural resistance. These forms of power are consisted of people or groups who we selected to govern, people or groups have capital or people or groups who are favored because of social structures. Apart from these, there is one focus of power on which there is a consensus for different categories: Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. One possible interpretation of this data is that the protests, which started on May 31 in Turkey, were the consequence of many problems but evolved into a position against Prime Minister Erdoğan as the sole agent of these problems. Looking at the period before the protests, it is observed that there were indications of this evolvment as Prime Minister Erdoğan was defined as the focus of the power. As Foucault argues that that resistance is the product of power, in conjunction with this it is seen that the image of sole power that Erdoğan creates in the same vision during the resistance.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS (III)

6.1 Comparison of Data Sets

After the data that was compiled in two separate periods are described, these two periods will be compared. The comparison will include two steps: Firstly, the graffiti will be compared with regard to their content, style, font, humorous content and intertextual properties. Secondly, the categories will be studied in terms of their similarities and differences.

The graffiti were also studied to reveal whether they have textual and/or image content. While the proportion of the graffiti including only text was 49.6% before the protests, this ratio increased to 85.9% during the protests. While the proportion of the image-only graffiti was 14.2% before the protests, it dropped down to 1.7% during the protests. The same decrease was also observed in the number of graffiti combining image with text. The proportion of 36.2% before the protests came down to 12.3% during the protests.

While the number of graffiti compiled before the protests is 450, the number of graffiti compiled in the month of protests was 811. Although the duration in which the graffiti were generated before the protests remains unclear, it expands over some years. The abundance of image-only graffiti,

which takes a lot of effort and time, can only be explained from this perspective. The number of graffiti generated during the protests is considerably higher than the number of graffiti generated throughout years. As the violence inflicted upon the protesters increased and a lot of problems surfaced, the pace of production and the quantity of graffiti increased.

	Only Text	Only Image	Text & Image
Before Gezi Protest	49,6%	14,2%	36,2%
During Protests	85,9%	1,7%	12,3%

Table.13 – Comparison of Content

As it can be seen in the comparative table below, there is a considerable increase in writings on the walls during the protests. Furthermore, there is a decrease in all other styles of production. As was argued in context and seen as a result of the analysis, police violence is the most principal factor during the period of the protests. It could be posited that police violence is the reason why writing, the fastest method of production, became widespread. The fact that 33.5% of the graffiti concern police violence could be suggested as a proof of this argument. Also that protesters spent most of their times outside caused the lesser number of more complex graffiti that requires preparation.

	Writing	Stencil	Poster/Sticker	Drawing	Combination
Before Gezi Protests	36,2%	40,9%	12,7%	3,6%	6,7%
During Gezi Protests	82,4%	12,1%	1,1%	0,4%	4,1%

Table.14 – Comparison of Styles

As it is seen above chart, it was concluded from the comparison that frequency of the utilization of capital-lower case letters are at approximate values. The analysis regarding the use of Internet language in the second part demonstrates that producers of the graffiti belong to a generation that actively uses Internet and has a command of this language. Based on this information and the nature of graffiti, it is thought that the capital letters indicates an exclamation as in the Internet parlance.

	Capital	Lower-case
Before Gezi Protests	70,7%	29,3%
During Gezi Protests	74,6%	25,4%

Table.15 – Comparison of Letter Size

The analysis shows that while 59.3% of the data collected before the protests have humorous content, 73% of the data collected during the protests have humorous content. Use of humorous content was already

widespread before the protests, but became even more so with the protests. The humorous discourse predominant in the resistance practices of 21st century (Varol, 2013) was also one of the most prominent characteristics of the Turkey protests in 2013. The function of humor as a mechanism to deal with oppressive practices (Sorensen, 2008; Varol, 2013) could explain this increase during the protests.

	Humorous	Not humorous
Before Gezi Protests	59,3%	40,7%
During Gezi Protests	73%	27%

Table.16 – Comparison of Humorous Content

The number of graffiti having references to or quotations from cultural texts is very similar when compared with the data analyzed in the previous part. 11.8% of the data obtained before the protests and 11.6% of the data collected during the protests is intertextual. Although there was a significant increase in the number of graffiti, the ratio of intertextuality remained almost the same.

	Total Intertextuality	Reference	Quotation
Before Gezi Protests	11,8%	60,4%	39,6%
During Gezi Protests	11,6%	69,1%	30,9%

Table.17 – Comparison of Intertextuality

Although there are some differences between the categories obtained from the data collected before the protests and those obtained from the data collected during the protests, the category titles remained mostly the same, except the 'Kemalism' category, which is constructed as a separate category with only a few graffiti. The aim here was to examine the arguments regarding Kemalism that were voiced during the protests also in graffiti. The category 'local culture', which emerged from the data obtained before the protests, was not encountered in graffiti produced during the protests. Sub-categories 'anti-government' and 'anti-mainstream media', which were previously considered under the category 'anti-authoritarianism' to examine the data before the protests, emerged as different categories in their own rights during the protests.

Before Gezi Protests				During Gezi Protests	
Anti-authoritarianism	16,4%	Anti-government	10,2%	Anti-government	4,7%
		Anti-media	0,8%	Anti-media	3,7%
Anti-violence		4,7%		Anti-violence	33,5%
Anti-capitalism		8%		Anti-capitalism	2,7%
Critical		12,2%		Critical	3,2%
Revolutionist		5,6%		Revolutionist	18,7%
Anti-conservatism		13,6%		Anti-conservatism	7%
Romanticism		13,1%		Romanticism	2,8%
Feminist		4,2%		Feminist	0,9%
Ecologist		5,8%		Ecologist	3,3%
Just humor		6,4%		Just humor	8,8%
Local Culture		10%		X	
X				Kemalism	0,6%

Table.18 – Comparison of Categories

6.1.1 Anti-government

This was a sub-category before the protests, but it crystallized into a separate category during the protests. The reason behind this increase during the protests was the principal motivation of protests as anti-government. While 10.2% of the data collected in the first part were

evaluated as a sub-category, 14.7% of the data compiled during the protests made up this category in its own right.

The graffiti within this category are defined as anti-government, but a closer analysis of the content reveals that most of them are actually against the Prime Minister Erdoğan. The graffiti did not consider the government as a whole or as a ruling party, but addressed the Prime Minister as the sole actor extorting the governmental power. This perspective is found in both groups of data.

Another common feature of these two groups is the intense use of humor. 89.9% of 119 graffiti in the second part have humorous content. These graffiti testify to one of the functions of humor in social movements as defined by Sorensen (2008): “turning oppression upside down”. Humor can be defined as a strategy of destroying the powerful and rigorous image of Prime Minister Erdoğan, called ‘dictator’ in many graffiti as the source of oppression in various areas of daily life, and described as the sole principal of power.

6.1.2 Anti- mainstream media

‘Anti- mainstream media’, which was considered as a sub-category with a proportion of 0.4% in the previous part, emerged as a category in this part with a proportion of 3.7%. The reason why it is established as a category here is not only the increase in the proportion. The problems regarding the media were particularly emphasized because criticism towards the media

became evident during the protests; also it was argued that media was biased towards the government.

While the media was criticized with a more general and mild approach before the protests, the language of criticism stiffened and turned into insults during the protests. In the first part, there was an overall criticism of media, whereas the criticism involved names of people and channels in the second part. The rage of people was not only reflected on the walls, but also turned into a mass action in front of the headquarters of NTV due to the fact that Gezi Park protests were not televised on June 3, 2013¹².

Along with the criticism towards mainstream media in the graffiti in the second part, there is also a call for creating a new media. Numerous graffiti drawn on the walls and intensive use of social media network during the protests are initiatives of creating alternative media.

6.1.3. Anti-violence

The category of anti-violence, which included 4.7% of the graffiti in the first part, displayed the most dramatic increase and went up to 33.5% in the second part. The most prominent actor of violence in both parts is the police. Based on this dramatic increase in the graffiti produced during the protests, it could be said that the most important social problem during this period was police violence. Police violence that came up as the most prominent subject of graffiti during the protests caused deaths, injuries and

¹²<http://www.bianet.org/bianet/yasam/147168-ntv-onunde-gezi-parki-protestosu>

loss of limbs. Graffiti conducted during 2000's also show that police violence reached to a point to cause deaths. Surely, the dramatic increase in the anti-violent graffiti during the protests reflects the same dramatic increase in police violence.

While 28.6% of the graffiti within in the category of anti-violence had humorous content in the first part, 83.5% had such content in the second part. The idea that humor is used as a strategy of dealing with violence could be reinforced with this data.

6.1.4. Anti-capitalism

While the proportion of anti-capitalist graffiti was 8% in the previous part, it came down to 2.7% in this part. The reason for this could be that issues have been more crystallized and ignored an overall criticism towards the system.

6.1.5. Critical

One of the categories that faced a remarkable decrease is 'critical.' While previously 12.2% of the data were categorized under this heading, in this part only 3.2% of the graffiti fall under this category. It could be argued that the feelings of hopelessness, unpleasantness and desire to change things were replaced with more positive feelings of hope during the weeks of protests.

This part includes criticism towards action practices, which was not encountered in the data analyzed in the first part. Protesters have expressed criticism towards each other or action practices through walls.

6.1.6. Revolutionist

There is a considerable increase in the number of graffiti falling under the category 'revolutionist' during the Gezi Park protests. While 5.6% of the graffiti were in this category before the protests, the figure increased to 18.7% during the protests.

6.1.7. Anti-conservatism

Graffiti with anti-conservatism content constituted 13.6% of the data in the first part and 7% in this part. While the other data group just uses anti-conservative discourse, the data in this group use the anti-conservative discourse by showing Prime Minister Erdoğan as a reason of conservatism. The fact that 10 graffiti directly use the name of Erdoğan and that 22 graffiti create counter-discourse towards Erdoğan are an important indicative of this. The power that graffiti indicate in this category is Prime Minister Erdoğan. Graffiti in this category focus on the policies that aim at making the society more conservative.

6.1.8. Romanticism

Another category with considerable decrease in the figures is ‘romanticism.’ While the proportion of the graffiti full of hope, love and peace was 13.1% in the previous part, it is 2.8% in this part. One may inevitably deduce that it was hard to romanticize anything during the protests due to the violent crackdown of the police resulting in many injuries and deaths. However, both generally and specifically in this category, it is still possible to see how being on the streets increased hopes.

6.1.9. Feminism

Another category with a smaller ratio in the second part is ‘feminism.’ While the ratio of graffiti with feminist content was 4.2% in the previous part, it went down to 0.9% in this part. The content is not different in both parts. The point of focus remains patriarchal order in both groups of data.

6.1.10. Ecologism

There is a decrease in the ratio of the graffiti specifically concerned with environmental destruction. While the graffiti with ecology content constituted 5.8% of the data in the first part, only 3.3% of the images obtained

during the protests fall under this category. Although cutting down the trees in Gezi Park was the main reason that sparked the protests, this concern was not reflected in the graffiti content. It could be posited that protesting against police violence and government policies in general eclipsed the ecological awareness.

6.1.11. Just Humor

Considering the increase of humor in all categories, it is not surprising to see such an increase in this category as well. While the graffiti with only humorous content was 6.4% in the first part, it went up to 8.8% in this part. There are references to action practices and action language even in jokes and graffiti with entertainment purpose in the second part; this is most considerable differentiation between two groups. Although these graffiti include no other political content, they use the relief effect of humor at a time of intense and violent period.

6.1.12. Local Culture

This is the only category that does not show up in the second part, although it included 10% of the graffiti in the first part. Criticism towards products of popular culture, remembrance of cultural identities and encouragement of localization was not among the themes during the protests. I previously mentioned that graffiti encouraging localization could be regarded as anti-globalist. Revolts rising all over the world in 2000s could be

defined as anti-globalist as well. This message is also conveyed on the walls of Turkey. Interestingly though, anti-globalism was not expressed widely during the revolts in Turkey.

6.1.13. Kemalism

This is the only category that did not exist before the protests but emerged from the data obtained during the protests. The ratio of graffiti with a Kemalist perspective is 0.6%. The reason why these graffiti were regarded as a separate category despite its proportion is that Kemalist groups were widely involved in the protests. Furthermore, some claimed that the revolts were in accordance with the Kemalist view. The slogan ‘We Are the Soldiers of Mustafa Kemal’ showed up on the walls less than those that were opposed to or critical of Kemalism. From this perspective, it could be concluded that Kemalist groups active in the streets did not produce graffiti as much.

6.2 Discussion

It is possible to see that the resistance, as reflected in the graffiti analyzed here, includes different types of demands, problems, and discourses. Two different conclusions can be drawn from this observation. Firstly, a social movement that carries different topics and political views inside may unite in pursuit of a goal to define the contemporary social movements. Based on the information obtained from the graffiti, it may be posited that different political views came together against Prime Minister Erdoğan. Secondly, it

can be discussed that the movement does not determine a specific issue for struggle and it can cause not to focus any demands. Although Erdoğan is seen as the one responsible, protests do not merely demand Erdoğan's resignation according to the analyzed data. This was actually not a significant demand written on the walls.

A further question, thus, emerges as to the meaning of antagonizing Erdoğan as the source of all problems in Turkey. In this context, Ernesto Laclau's (2003) concept of 'empty signifier' could be useful. Empty signifier can be briefly defined as a signifier without a signified. The concept tackles the following problem: How is it possible that a signifier is not attached to any signified yet still be part of a signification system. The only possibility is that it has to have a unique success in the course of the destruction of the sign. According to Laclau, the concepts that do not have a single definition such as democracy or human rights will be easily agreed upon as empty signifiers. In spite of their emptiness, these concepts constitute a reference point for large crowds and politics is premised on them.

A possible answer to the question above can be elaborated by identifying the Prime Minister Erdoğan, the authoritarian target of all resistance, as an empty signifier. In the early years of the government, Erdoğan's image was associated with courage and challenge, yet it gradually became non-negotiable, aggressive and unpredictable in the eyes of various sectors of society. As we can see in the results of the study, the resistance re-established the signifier according to changing patterns of signification. Paradoxically, this situation can be perceived as resulting in the reproduction of Erdoğan's power.

Another situation that the notion of empty signifier can be deployed to explain is the protests that took place in June 2013. The protests contained various groups with different points of view, without a common goal. According to Laclau (2003), a struggle that organized for a partial target under exceptional oppression comes together not only for concrete demands, but also against the whole system. The reason of coming together to demonstrate is not a concrete positively defined project but a negative condition. What holds the masses together is a common enemy. In other words, different movements melt their historically shaped traditions in the same pot. From this perspective, the signified of the resistance has been divided since the very beginning.

CONCLUSION

The study set out to explore the concept of power and resistance in street art, specifically graffiti. In the course of the research, the characteristics of graffiti in Turkey were identified. The reasons and motivations of the artworks on the walls were evaluated in conjunction with the political context. The study also sought to establish whether humor as a resistance strategy was used by graffiti artists. By drawing the general theoretical literature on power, resistance, art and humor specifically in the context of Turkey, art works on the walls are evaluated. Thus, descriptive and interpretive perspective for the study has been provided. Several vital questions posed by the study were answered from this perspective.

The main empirical findings were summarized in the relevant chapters (Chapter III and Chapter IV). In this section, empirical findings will be put together to answer the research questions and an interpretation will be provided with reference to the theoretical framework.

Firstly, the study asserted that graffiti could be evaluated as a resistance form according to Michel Foucault's (2011) notion of resistance and Stephen Duncombe's (2002) notion of cultural resistance. For Foucault (2011), various kinds of resistance may exist in the face of various kinds of power. In the scope of this study, graffiti was defined as a tool that interferes public space, informs society, and incorporates various resistance strategies such as humor.

Secondly, according to Foucault (2011) resistance is crucial in order to understand power relations and the mechanism of power. In this study, it is hypothesized that forms and mechanisms of power could be deciphered through street art. The research question was “which kind of power forms do the graffiti resist against?” As a result of qualitative content analysis, 8 different power forms were identified: state, state institutions (specifically police), local administrations and the government (specifically Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan), capitalist class, media, patriarchy, bio-power, and surveillance technologies. People who wrote on the walls stand against and criticize these power forms.

A theoretical framework about the notion of power is sketched from Marx to Foucault from a historical perspective. The Marxian notion of power is defined in its relation to economic structure. The bourgeois state and the capitalist system are antagonized from this perspective. Although the artworks on the walls do not define the state as bourgeois, especially the works in the ‘anti-capitalist’ category clearly refer to the capitalist class. Moreover, the graffiti in ecologist category criticize big corporations that destroy nature. These works also associate capitalist companies with ultimate holders of power.

Marx was criticized for his economic reductionism. Furthermore, Bakunin argues that Marx was not aware of the fact that the very idea of the state itself was despotism (1984). Although anti-state content emerged as a sub-category in the study of the graffiti, it cannot be said that the idea of the state is totally rejected. The reaction was more concerned with the government specifically. However, any alternative party or leader is not

wanted to be substituted for ruling party AKP and Prime Minister Erdoğan according to graffiti on Turkey's wall. When I embarked on this study before Gezi protests began, I just had the first group of data, from which I concluded that graffiti in Turkey had anti-authoritarian content that is beyond government or a party, but this hypothesis was proven to be incorrect. Only 4 graffiti in the first part includes an anarchist point of view; whereas, in the second part, the anarchy symbol repeats thousands of times. Considering the content of these graffiti, one can hardly suggest that they are critical of the idea of the state as a whole.

Foucault (1979) examines the notion of power in two complementary modalities: disciplinary power and bio-power, as explained in Chapter I. Disciplinary power prevails in various categories. The forms of power that is identified in the anti-authoritarian and anti-violence categories in the first part are disciplinary power forms. In the second part, I observed disciplinary power forms in anti-government, anti-violence, and anti-media categories. State, government, local administrations, state institutions, surveillance technologies and media are power units that are determined in these categories. Identified power forms are exactly the same in spite of changing rates for two groups of data. In the second part, anti-government and anti-violence categories significantly gain importance in respect to pressure and violence of authorities.

One of the biggest categories of the study is anti-conservatism. It is highly significant when it is evaluated in relation to political context of Turkey. The government that is defined its system as "conservative democracy" (Akdoğan, 2004) surrounds public and private spaces with

conservative politics and their practices. These politics and practices aggravate resistance that exists in a mutual antagonism with power, and it allows analyzing power through resistance (Foucault, 2005). According to analytic results of the study, one of the power units is government that has legislative regulations about religion and the use of alcohol. The other one is the hegemonic consent that exercises control over sexuality and public decency. In light of all data analyzed in the scope of this study, it could be seen how disciplinary power has taken different forms in the specific context of Turkey.

Looking at the data included in the ‘anti-conservatism’ sub-category, the notion of sexuality can be evaluated in relation to Foucault’s concept of bio-power. Foucault defines bio-power as “oriented to the subjugation of bodies and control of population in general (Clegg, 1990, p. 155)”. All graffiti in this sub-category criticize the control of individuals through restrictive body politics. Especially, the ban of abortion and the Prime Minister Erdoğan’s public call to bear at least three children stimulate bio-power themes in graffiti.

I hypothesized that to explore various kinds of social new social movements through graffiti. According to Offe (1999), traditional political patterns collapsed in 1970s and newly rising new political paradigm have started to struggle for peace, ecology, human rights and identity in place of political and socio-economical codes. I found the graffiti examples that represent feminist, ecologist, anti-capitalist, anti-war, and LBGTI movements. On the other hand, it is observed that the masses protesting on the streets in Turkey in 2013 do not belong to a specific union, political party

or political group – defined as parts of the old political paradigm by Offe (1999). The graffiti produced during the weeks of protest do not convey such information to prove otherwise. Therefore, the movement can be identified as spontaneous and non-centralized.

The graffiti that are analyzed in the scope of this study are not concerned with economical enlargement, military, social security and social control – which are old political paradigm's area of interests. These notions could be just one part of their interests; however, they are not sufficient to explain the social movement that took place in Turkey in 2013 in its entirety. The movement included different identities and various subjectivities. While the private space was getting increasingly politicized during 1970s, sexuality, body politics and surveillance were becoming the subject of politics. The graffiti on the walls involve fragmented political movements of post-1980's Turkey, such as feminist, ecologist, homosexual, and anti-war movements. Besides, there are some graffiti that focused on the subjects of old political paradigm such as economical enlargement, military and social control defined by Offe (1999).

An effort has occurred to understand contemporary social movements after 1999 Seattle protest against WTO Ministerial Conference and it shows that diversified social movements in 1970s have a tendency of reuniting under a generalized criticism of neoliberalism and globalization, while protecting their distinctive features. The graffiti analyzed in the scope of this study include all these characteristics except for the criticism of globalization. Criticism of globalization is not a significant issue for the graffiti of Turkey, although this theme appears within the categories 'local

culture' and 'anti-capitalism', it does not generate great reaction, probably because of the urgency of task of criticizing the oppressive regime.

According to Foucault (2011), there are three types of struggle. First of them is the struggle against forms of dominance. Instances of this type of struggle could mostly be observed in feudal societies. Second type of struggle is those against alienation, such as the 19th century revolts. Finally, the third type is the struggle against forms of subjugation as observed in 1960s. Foucault (2011) emphasizes that these types can occur all together or separately. Looking at the data covered in this study, it could be posited that all three types have been observed on the walls of Turkey.

The data obtained from the Gezi Protests is not enough to determine the characteristics of the recent social movement. One of the strengths of this study is to present a comparison with the graffiti produced during 2000s before the protests. Such comparison provides an idea about the maturation of protests. Contents and language of two periods are highly common. In the light of this similarity, it can be asserted that problems have a continuum and reaction of society reached its boiling point in Gezi Protests as a result of the politics during the 2000s. The problems and demands written on the walls during the weeks of protests are identical to those written over the years predating the protests. Last of all, the results of the study indicate that graffiti as an art and resistance form creates a political sphere. They are crucial sociological tools to understand society.

The language of graffiti has two specific characteristics that reflected the features of the Age. First of them is web terminology that is

based on graffiti writers' information practices. Second is intertextuality, in the sense that cultural products on the walls benefit from the other ones.

The results of the study also revealed a high ratio of humorous content in both groups of graffiti. It must be underlined that the use of humor significantly increased during the Gezi Protests. Anti-violence, anti-government, and anti-conservatism categories constitute the major parts of humorous graffiti. Various reasons and motivations to use humor were identified in the theoretical framework. As I discussed in theoretical framework, one of the humor theories, Relief Theory that was theorized by Herbert Spencer, could be useful to understand why humor is used as a resistance strategy. I think that people on the streets who are up against government and try to cope with violence need humor's relief characteristic.

According to results, humor was used to deform authoritarian figures. The results showed that Prime Minister Erdoğan, the most prominent authoritarian figure of the protests, was deformed through humor in the graffiti. This deformation creates an insuperable image for an authoritarian figure. This is a perfect instance of how humor could turn oppression upside down.

Various functions of humor in social movements were previously explained in this study (Hassan, 2013; Sorensen, 2008; Varol, 2013). In light of this information, it is observed that humor is used for the following purposes. When people think that legal ways do not work, they embrace humor as a non-violent resistance strategy. Using humor helps popularizing the protest. It creates a culture of resistance that facilitates partaking in the protest movement. It increases the self-esteem of protesters. Furthermore, it

deconstructs traditional methods of protest and creates alternative ways to express discontent.

As a result of the analysis, various power forms and actors were observed. Nevertheless, most of the criticism targeted only one actor in both data groups across all categories: Prime Minister Erdoğan. The graffiti in the anti-authoritarian and anti-government categories portray Erdoğan as the source of oppression in Turkey. The reaction certainly targets the government, the ruling party, and the parliament, but all these are symbolized in Erdoğan's name and images. In anti-violence category, the police appear as the practitioner of violence; while Erdoğan is seen as the main perpetrator. Furthermore, Erdoğan is held responsible for conservative politics in the graffiti under anti-conservatism category. He is seen as the source of media censorship in anti-media category.

In light of the Foucault's idea that power produces resistance, I can say that the representation of Erdoğan as the sole actor, who is responsible for every oppressive situation, is based on Erdoğan's almighty image that is created by himself and their party politics. On the other hand, it is not realistic to find just one figure responsible for various issues that do not go well in Turkey. Because, as we see, there are many power forms such as the state, state institutions, capitalism, traditions etc., and the power is established by all these additives.

Although I could unforeseen in the beginning of study, I concluded that the empty signifier notion of Ernesto Laclau (2003) is very useful to understand the figure of Erdoğan in graffiti and to interpret social movement that occurred in June 2013 in Turkey. As I see in the results of analysis that

obtained from graffiti, different political views came together against Prime Minister Erdoğan. On the other hand, any specific issue for struggle or any demands cannot be focused. Prime Minister Erdoğan, the authoritarian target of all resistance, is constructed as an empty signifier. The resistance re-established the signifier according to changing patterns of Erdoğan's signification. Paradoxically, this situation can be perceived as resulting in the reproduction of Erdoğan's power. Another empty signifier is the protests that took place in June 2013. Various groups with different points of view came together against a common enemy, but paradoxically without a common goal. These different groups have historically different traditions, point of views, and goals. In conclusion, the signified of the resistance has been divided since the very beginning.

The main argument of this study is that graffiti is a highly efficient tool to discuss relations of power and resistance. Graffiti considered throughout this dissertation were highly valuable products to describe the resistance and to analyze various power forms. The study contained two groups of data belonging to different periods, through which it was possible to present a wide perspective on how graffiti had been used for putting into words and images the political problems and demands in Turkey. This study contributes to the literature as a descriptive and analytic study of street art as a form of resistance. The collection of all data via Internet could be seen as one weakness of the study. This may have had an effect on the extremely high ratios of humorous content obtained in the analysis. Not surprisingly, the graffiti uploaded to Web pages are the catchiest ones; therefore, less interesting wall writing may not have made into the corpus of the study.

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APPENDIX A



Image – 1



Image – 2



Image – 3



Image – 4



Image – 5



Image – 6



Image – 7



Image – 8



Image – 9

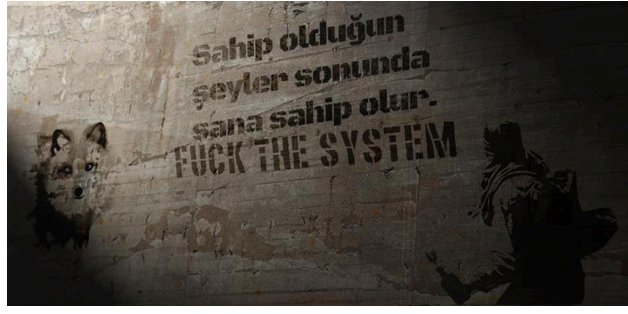


Image – 10



Image – 11



Image – 12



Image – 13



Image – 14



Image – 15



Image – 16



Image – 17



Image – 18



Image – 19



Image - 20

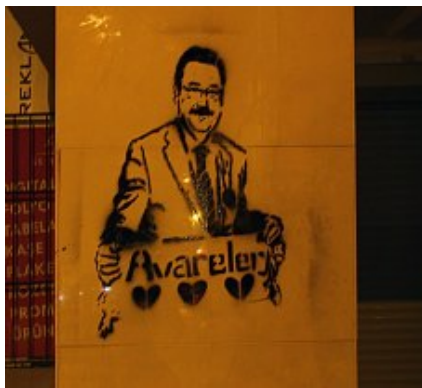


Image – 21



Image - 22

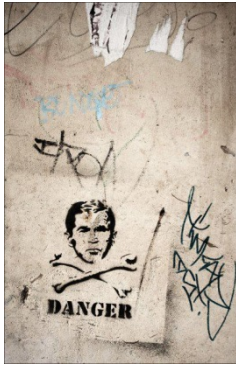


Image – 23



Image – 24



Image – 25



Image – 26



Image – 27



Image - 28



Image – 29



Image - 30



Image – 31



Image - 32



Image – 33

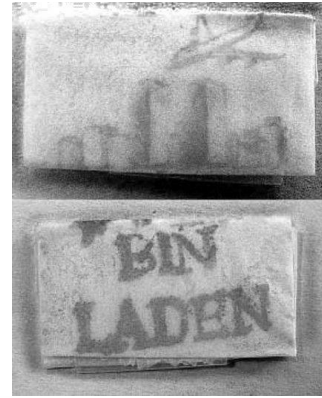


Image - 34



Image – 35



Image - 36



Image -37



Image – 38



Image - 39

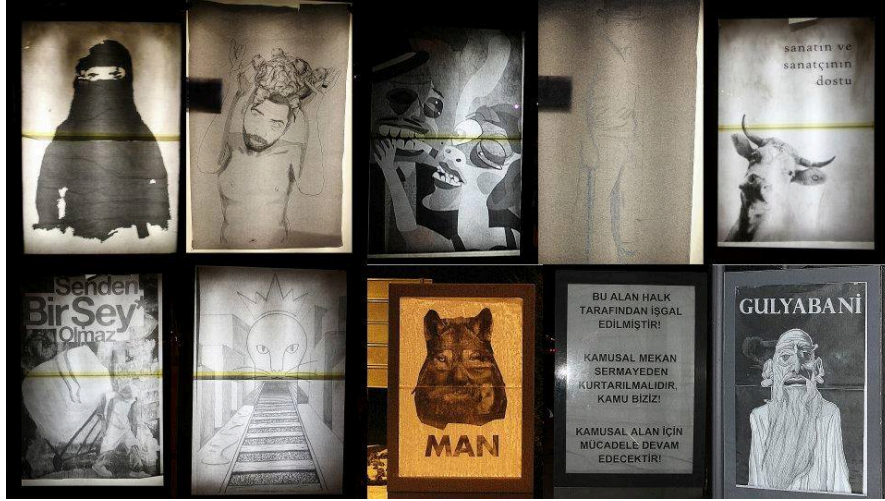


Image - 40



Image – 41



Image - 42



Image- 43



Image - 44



Image – 45



Image – 46



Image - 47



Image - 48

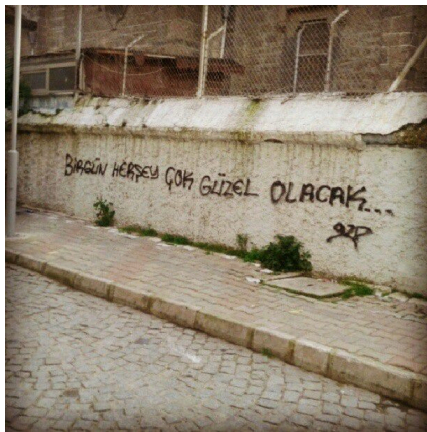


Image - 49



Image - 50



Image - 51



Image - 52



Image - 53



Image - 54



Image – 55



Image – 56



Image – 57



Image – 58



Image - 59



Image - 60



Image – 61



Image – 62



Image – 63

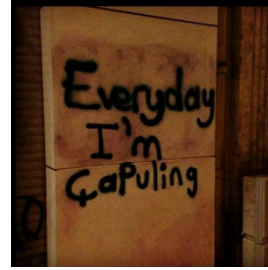


Image – 64



Image – 65



Image – 66



Image – 67

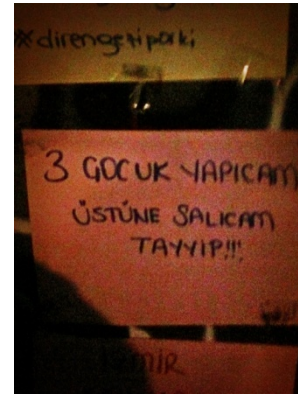


Image – 68



Image – 69

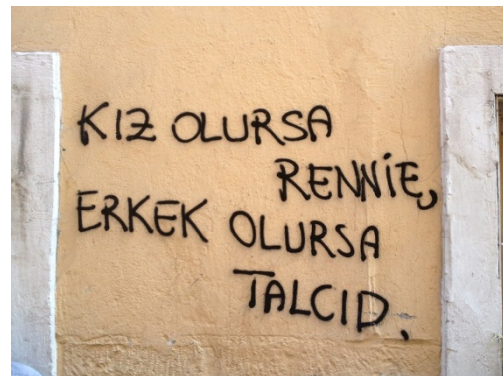


Image – 70



Image – 71



Image – 72



Image – 73



Image – 74



Image – 75



Image – 76

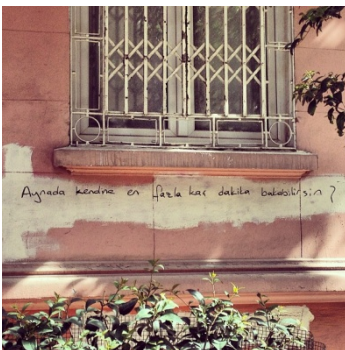


Image – 77



Image -78

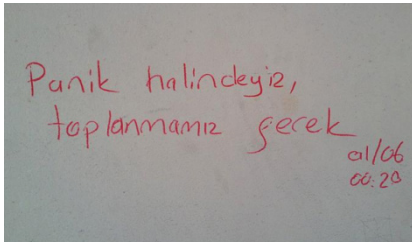


Image – 79



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Image – 89



Image – 90



Image – 91



Image – 92

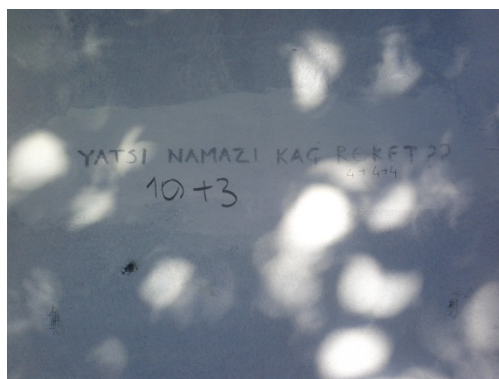


Image – 93



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Image – 97



Image – 98



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Image - 103



Image – 104



Image – 105



Image – 106



Image – 107



Image – 108



Image – 109



Image - 110



Image - 111

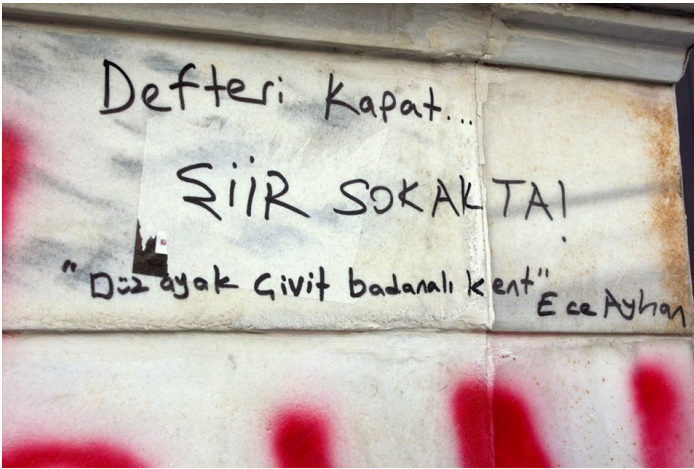


Image - 112