

**ROLE OF UNCOMMISSIONED GRAPHIC
INSTALLATIONS ON RIOT PLACES: TAKSIM
SQUARE AS A BODY WITHOUT ORGANS IN
THE COURSE OF GEZI RESISTANCE**

By

ALİ NÂZİM BEŞİKÇİ

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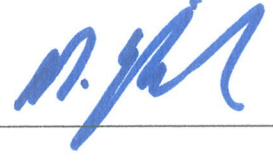
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**A THESIS SUBMITTED to
İZMİR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS
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**By
ALİ NÂZİM BEŞİKÇİ**

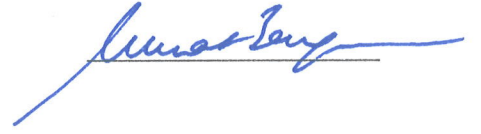
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Master of Design.



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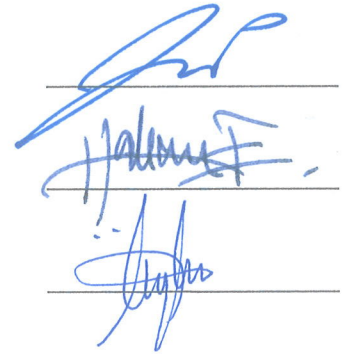
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ABSTRACT

ROLE OF UNCOMMISSIONED GRAPHIC INSTALLATIONS ON RIOT PLACES: TAKSIM SQUARE AS A BODY WITHOUT ORGANS IN THE COURSE OF GEZI RESISTANCE

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Our contemporary urban surfaces, due to the advancements in imaging technologies, is covered with urban graphics. Furthermore, commissioned urban graphics are used to create a sense of place in placemaking practices. On the other hand, uncommissioned urban graphics like graffiti are commonly used to mark the trace of street artist that warn the passer-by, especially in times of social struggles. Whether the graphics are commissioned or not, from digital screens to graffiti each, have an effect on the sense of place. The purpose of this study to analyse the effects of the uncommissioned non-digital urban graphic over urban space in the context of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's theory, namely the Nomadic Thought, in the case of Gezi Resistance which is a social unrest at 2013 in the Republic of Turkey. The study is aimed to contribute both the graphic design and urban design disciplines, about the utilization of graphics in urban scale.

Keywords: urban graphics, space, placemaking, street art, nomad, the State

ÖZET

AYAKLANMA ALANLARINDA YETKİLENDİRİLMEMİŞ GRAFİK YERLEŞTİRMELERİN ROLÜ: GEZİ DİRENİŞİ SÜRECİNDE ORGANSIZ BEDEN OLARAK TAKSİM MEYDANI

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Günümüzde kentsel yüzeyler, görselleştirme teknolojilerindeki gelişmelerle, kent ölçeğindeki grafiklerle kaplanmış durumdadır. Buna ek olarak, kullanılması için devlet otoritelerinden izin alınmış kentsel grafikler sıklıkla kentsel tasarım projelerinde kullanılmaktadır. Öte yandan grafiti gibi izinsiz kent grafiklerinin özellikle toplumsal mücadeleler esnasında, sokak sanatçısının topluma mesajlarını iletmek için kullandığı görülmektedir. İzin verilmiş olsun ya da olmasın, dijital ekranlardan grafitilere kadar tüm kentsel grafikler mekanın algısına etki etmektedir. Bu tezin amacı yetkilendirilmemiş analog grafiklerin kentsel mekana olan etkilerini, Gilles Deleuze ve Felix Guattari'nin teorisi olan Göçebe Düşünce bağlamında, 2013 yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki Gezi Direnişi olarak adlandırılan toplumsal olaylar üzerinden analiz etmektir. Çalışma hem grafik tasarım disiplinine hem de kentsel tasarım disiplinine kentsel ölçekteki grafik uygulamalar açısından katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: kent grafikleri, mekan, meydan, sokak sanatı, göçebe, Devlet

In memory of my father

Atila Kenan Beşikçi

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The motivation behind this thesis lies in my passion on urban graphics, and I believe that they have the power of changing the world, so I would like to thank all of the street artists out there.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKM : Atatürk Culture Center

BwO : Body without Organs

CPTED : Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

TOMA : Public Unrest Prevention Vehicle

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1. INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Problem Definition and Purpose of the Study

Today, our urban environments are filled with digital graphic installations. Traditional urban graphics like signboards or graffiti has been replaced by digital images, because of the advancements in imaging technologies. Many street signs are replaced by digital signs and signboard-covered city squares are shielded by giant screens. Even the street artist began to use new media techniques like light painting or projection mapping. However, in some cases, there is still an intensive use of non-digital graphics. Since the non-digital graphics, rather than being ephemeral and temporary signs, have more the characteristic of a trace, people prefer to mark their trace by non-digital graphics, espe-



Figure 1: *Diren* graffiti. (2013, İstanbul, online: see. list of figures)

cially, if there is a riot on stage or if the society is in a struggle. The graphics had re-appeared at 2013 riots in Turkey, *Gezi Resistance* which was one of the most widespread riots in the history of the Republic of Turkey (Fig. 1). After the 27th of May, 2013, the first day of *Gezi Resistance*, the position of Turkey enables us, citizens of Turkey, to think about a new social system that is applicable in national and global context. The resistance exposed those individual freedoms; freedom of expression, communication, movement, etc. could be lived without compromising our social unity. Citizens, by the help of the current communication technologies, yearn for an individual care system from the government that each citizen could have communicated individually with one's government and, find out and solve one's particular issues. The dream was expressed at urban surfaces mainly by the non-digital graphics. Individualism and non-fascist life practices were reflected on the urban surfaces.

The purpose of this thesis is, to analyse Taksim square at the course of *Gezi Resistance* in the context of graphic design by using Gilles Deleuze's theories, in order to find out in which ways non-digital graphics deterritorialize and reterritorialize the Taksim square. Revealing the role of uncommissioned urban graphics for smoothing and striating the Taksim square, may contribute to the utilization of graphic design in urban scale.

1. 2. Methodology

Gilles Deleuze was influenced by Michel Foucault at great length. In the preface of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's great work *Anti-Oedipus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Foucault labelled the book as "An Introduction to the Non-Fascist Life" (2009: p. xii). Moreover, Deleuzian thinking offers a smooth space that individualism and de-individualism co-exist in the plane of immanence. Since Gezi Resistance had the objectives of non-fascist life and individualism, a Deleuzian way of

thinking on the subject could reveal significant amounts of information for analysing the Taksim square in the course of Gezi Resistance.

During the Gezi Resistance, rebels in the riot squares made graphic adjustments for the sake of reproduction of urban space according to the intended social system. On the point of the reproduction of urban space, the Nomadic Thought and its method, namely *schizoanalysis* are used to reveal information about how do the production, destruction and reproduction take place. Although the terms for space, place, urban space and graphic installations and their use for placemaking practices are explained in the thesis by the ideas from a wide range of researchers, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's theory and appropriately their perspective is used for in-depth analysis for the case; namely, Taksim square as a body without organs in the course of *Gezi Resistance*.

The case study strategy is suited best for this thesis since it is an in-depth analysis that has concentrated on a unique event; and it needs resources from various methods of social research. As a total participator of the events, personal observation method is used in the thesis along with documents from later published books that contain researches, analyses, photo blogs, field notes, and interviews about the case. Due to the significant role of online social media in the protest, for the thesis, online resources have also been considered. Additionally, in the literature review, Deleuzian terms are elaborated to reveal the process of smoothing and understanding relationships between theory and objects of the study.

1. 3. Structure of the Thesis

In order to attain the purpose of the study, after the introduction chapter, the thesis begins with the literature review. Concepts and terms, which are referred in the analysis, are delineated in the literature review to comprehend theoretical perspective

of the study. The object of the study, on the other hand, is explained through the case study, although its spatial implications are explained in the literature review.

The second chapter, as a beginning of the literature review, makes an introduction to Nomadic Thought and its terms in principle. Beginning with desire and desiring machines, terms are explained to develop an understanding about namely the *crazy talks* of Nomadic Thought and of schizoanalysis. Furthermore, the Body without Organs and its derivations are discussed to compose a basis for the principal terms; the nomad and the State. The relation between main terms is discussed along with the war machine, which is a manifesto for the thought.

The third chapter is based on the theoretical approach of the reproduction of urban space and the object of study. From ancient petroglyphs to sophisticated navigation systems, graphics on urban space have been subject to transformation. The transformation is an ongoing process that collects various materials, techniques and interpretations for the sphere of urban design. The purpose of first two sections of the chapter is to make a brief definition of urban space and the graphical-based urban installations with the examples from contemporary usages. On the other hand, in the last two sections of the third chapter, spatial understanding of Nomadic Thought is explained in means of production for being complimentary of theoretical perspective.

In the first two sections, the notion of space and its ways of production is discussed. The discussion aims to understand the design process of a physical and a social environment. The process is exemplified by riot squares, as they happen in a limited time and are adequately documented. During the Gezi resistance in Turkey, many public spaces were used for other than their designed purposes. In other words, public areas were not used for their daily functions; they were redesigned. In terms of functional distribution, space was divided to places that each one served to the needs of participants, rather than their previously designated public functions. Although the location of each place was in a constant movement through the course of the events, their symbols and signs were in continuous indication to their momentary locations. Therefore the role of graphics, street art and graffiti in the production of space are examined. The practice of placemaking, as a part of the urban design, to a large extent relies on graphical elements. Unauthorized graphics like street art and graffiti

were also discussed as a part of the placemaking process since there was an intensive use of them in the course of the events. Their participation and effectiveness are analysed in the operation of the urban design. Although the first two sections are free from a Deleuzian perspective, information revealed in these sections is necessary to comprehend the object of the study.

Third and fourth part of the third chapter was focused on Nomadic Thought lexicon about space use and space production. Since the profound question is *how?* rather than *why?* for Nomadic Thought, the process of spacing is elaborated with the terms; smooth space, striated space, deterritorialization and reterritorialization. In the third section of the third chapter, the Deleuzian notion of space is explained by its internal and external relations. Since the notions; smooth and striated space provide a basis for the production, in the fourth section, Deleuzian terms for production of space and their production processes are described. According to Ian Buchanan, who is a Deleuze scholar, deterritorialization and reterritorialization are separate from each other and have distinct processes that they could only be understood in the presence of territory; hence the terms along with the territory in means of production (2005; p. 30).

The fourth chapter is dedicated to reviewing the Taksim square, and Gezi Resistance in terms of the role of street graphics for the usage and the production of



Figure 2: Gas mask graffiti. (2013, İstanbul, online: see. list of figures)

space. The capacity of the unauthorized street graphics is examined through the means of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of urban space. In the first section of the case study, along with the historicity of Taksim Square and its location, timeline of events in the course of Gezi Resistance are described. Furthermore, their relations with the Deleuzian production of space, are implicated. Finally, in the last section before the conclusion, graphical interventions, depicted from the events, are examined, according to the Nomadic Thought. In the course, their relation with the process of deterritorialization, reterritorialization and their ability to produce a *faciality* are explained (Fig. 2).

2. NOMADIC THOUGHT CONCEPTS

2. 1. Desiring-Production and Body Without Organs

Gilles Deleuze, was one of the most influential philosophers of the second half of the twentieth century, as Foucault once quipped the twentieth century could have been called *Deleuzian*, whether it was not certain yet. After 1968, when Deleuze met Félix Guattari who was a political activist and radical psychoanalyst, he wrote several significant works in collaboration with him. Deleuze wrote on many different subjects, and his works have been cited by researchers from various fields of study, such as architecture, urban studies, geography, film studies, musicology, anthropology, gender studies, literary studies and many other fields. Although he became popular among certain societies, reasonably, his lexicon is highly allusive, so it makes the matter even more complicated than before (The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy).

Therefore, it is convenient to begin with, a discussion about the notion, as Deleuze and Guattari put it, the “desiring-production [which] is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts” (2009: p. 1). According to Alison Ross, in her a contribution to Adrian Parr’s *The Deleuze Dictionary*, the term *desire* has an elusive position in the lexicon of Nomadic Thought, moreover, Deleuze and Guattari had developed the definition of desire as positive and productive; the definition supports the conception of life as material flows. In contrast to psychoanalytic theory, they have relentless opposition for defining desire as a restrictive external organisation that constitutes *lack*. Instead, Deleuze and Guattari offer the definition as “a process of experimentation on a plane of immanence” (2010: p. 65-66). Thus, *lack* in nomadic lexicon has a positive characteristic towards production, it

“[...] refers to positivity of desire, not the desire to a negativity of lack” (Deleuze and Parnet, 2007; 91). Desire is a social force that has the ability to form connections and enforce each party that is connected (Ross, 2010: p. 66). “Desire is never alone”, it is always coupled with, by other words; it is always in an assemblage, and the assemblage determines what the desire to be (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 229). It is like in the case of desiring-machines or desiring-production. Desiring-machines in a similar fashion, are always coupled with another machine, and they work in binary fashion; they follow and obey a binary law or set of rules determined by the governing assemblage. Since, desire is production, desiring-production can be called production of production, in other words, since production process is a flow of production, according to Deleuze and Guattari “there is always a flow-producing machine, and another machine connected to it that interrupts or draws off part of this flow” that is why “a machine may be defined as system of interruptions or breaks (*coupures*)”. Hence, desire is a flow-producing machine, by itself flowing in turn, it breaks the flows. The object produced by partial objects and continuously cut off by other partial objects, and then, in turn, it produces other flows and interrupt by other partial objects. In this continuous process, each organ-machine interpret every flux from its own perspective, since the connection between machines always established, each machine experience breaks (*coupures*) or interruptions of its own current or they break or interrupt another machine’s current (2009: p. 5-6, 36).

Uncommissioned graphic installations in riot places are produced in the same fashion that street artist’s desire is manifested as burst of production in the riot place. Although, this perceivable flow of production in riot places are supported by the flow of rioters’ desire to occupy the place, desire is just the first step to the desiring-production.

Desiring-production has two basic forms; *schizophrenia*, which is the free form of desire, and *paranoia*, which is a fixed form of desire (Holland, 2010; p. 68). Although schizophrenia as a mental illness, put the patients in a position that they experience their lives as an unmediated flow of sensation that runs over and intimidate socially accepted subjectivity, Nomadic Thought takes the term for both; a model for reality and a technique for achieving reality (Stephze, 33). As Deleuze and Guattari mentioned in *Anti-Oedipus*, “schizophrenia is the universe of productive and repro-

ductive desiring-machines” (2009; p. 5). Additionally, the limits of the mentioned universe are imposed by paranoia as a product itself or by-product of capitalist society (Saorsa, 2014: p. 247). Accordingly “schizophrenic is the universal producer”. Since “producing is always something ‘grafted onto’ the product”, there is no need for a distinction between producing and the product. The process of production is necessary to understand the schizophrenic object. As a schizophrenic object, Henry Michaux describes the schizophrenic table in terms of desiring-production; it is a table of additions that it can be described as *overstuffed*, its surface has been gradually reducing until it has not functioned as a table, in addition, Michaux call it as “some freak piece of furniture”. The infinite process of production is the necessary consequence of desiring-production. Schizophrenic table forms a space that provides a suitable environment for pure fluids flowing in a free state for desiring-production (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; p. 6-7).

On the other hand, desiring-machines compose us an organism yet in the core of the production, body suffers from its specific way of organisation, in fact, the body suffers from no organisation. On one point the organism resolves to set free the unorganized mass, and it becomes an unproductive, sterile body that in Nomadic Thought lexicon it is called the Body without Organs (BwO).

Therefore, it is safe to state that “schizophrenic table is a BwO” which is a non-productive, organ-less body that has no image moreover it exists right there where it is produced (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; p. 8). Body in Nomadic Thought lexicon means, as stated by Bruce Baugh;

“Body” for Deleuze is defined as any whole composed of parts, where these parts stand in some definite relation to one another, and has a capacity for being affected by other bodies. The human body is just one example of such a body; the animal body is another, but a body can also be a body of work, a social body or collectivity, a linguistic corpus, a political party, or even an idea. [...] It is defined by the relations of its parts (relations of relative motion and rest, speed and slowness), and by its actions and reactions with respect both to its environment or milieu and to its internal milieu (2010; p. 35).

Thus, if the schizophrenic table is a BwO as mentioned before, an example for the body could be a dinner table, or a chess table, or a Pier table. Essentially, any table with a function could be a body for Nomadic Thought. The term BwO initially used by Antonin Artaud, and the term indicates both a substrate or/and a plane of consistency (Message, 2010; 37). Furthermore, a BwO is a member of an anti-production realm that couples with production in the productive synthesis (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; p. 8). By way of expression, for a production to exist, there should be an anti-production to couple with the production in the sense of Nomadic Thought. Although BwO is a practice or set of practices rather than a notion or a concept, it is beyond the possibility of a reach; only it is an ultimate target or the limit of an infinite struggle. From that perspective, BwO has been interpreted as something that is wanted to have by a strong feeling. Apparently, BwO is desire as well as it is non-desire (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 149-150). In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari describe the BwO as “the plane of immanence of desire, a field of consistency specific to desire” (2016; p. 154).

In desiring-production, BwO is a phase produced by desiring-machines (Bogue, 2001; p. 92). The result of the relation between desiring-machine and BwO is the paranoiac machine which is an attempt by desiring-machine to break into the BwO whose going to repel the mere avatar of the desiring-machine. Paranoiac machine occurs when the latter can no longer tolerate the opposition of the process of production of the desiring-machines and non-productive stasis of the BwO. However, unreachable, unproductive or in-consumable the BwO is, by the paranoiac machine, it serves as a recording surface for the whole process of desiring-production. As everything is a production, production of recording process serves as a point of reference that machines attach themselves from every possible disjunction point to the BwO to create woven like grid network which marks the surface off into coordinates. Since, by Deleuze and Guattari’s words from the *Anti-Oedipus*, “merely so many nails piercing the flesh, so many forms of torture[...], the BwO present its smooth, slippery, opaque, taut surface as a barrier to resist organ-machines” (2009; p. 4-13).

In an urban scale, any place can serve as a BwO for various kind of productions and various kind of machines, however, in case of riot places, it is mandatory to

have a BwO, since riots, by their nature, have to manifest an idea through any kind of production. The production in riot places is determined by the desires of the crowd who populated the BwO, hence the graffiti in riot places as a result of desiring-production, reflect desire of the rioter in its layers of the narrative.

On the surface of BwO pure intensities and singular objects flow free. It is the BwO who produce and distribute intensities. On the moment, the desiring machines form the BwO; the desiring-machines is at a zero-degree of intensity. Therefore, desiring- machines and BwO in the sense of production, are two conflicted states of the same that coexist as separate entities and goes back and forward between each other; one is a functioning multiplicity, and the other is a zero-intensity substance (Bogue, 2001; p. 92-93).

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According to Jonathan Roffe, *multiplicity* is one of the most intriguing concepts of Nomadic Thought; it works through various contexts and it holds the ground for some significant notions of it, such as assemblages or rhizome. There are some key traits of it: At first, it is a complex structure that is not necessarily composed of unified parts, moreover, it has always been fragmented. While Deleuze was developing the idea of multiplicity, he influenced by mathematician Georg Riemann for his idea that any condition is a composition of multiplicities which form a patchwork or ensemble rather than a totality or a whole. A house or a city is an example for multiplicity since they are both mosaic of concrete structures and habits, that there are structures in cities or houses designated to a specific function like recreation areas in cities or kitchens in houses, moreover there are undesignated areas in cities where people stop and watch the scenery or a specific spot that household enjoying their coffees. All of these structures and habits compose the patchwork.

Another influencer of Deleuze for multiplicity is the French philosopher Henri Bergson who approaches multiplicity in two main categories; extensive numerical multiplicities and continuous intensive multiplicities. These two categories according to Bergson, in the same order define space and time. The distinction of these multiplicities is while space can be fractionated into parts, the time cannot be divided without

changing its nature. Thus a multiplicity for Deleuze, cannot be altered or extended without an alteration in its intensive state (Roffe, 2010; p. 181). As an example, every idea or every colour is a multiplicity which has n-dimensions that the set of relations between these variables inevitably determine the description of the idea or the colour (Deleuze, 2001; p. 182,183). Hence, a multiplicity is neither defined by its elements nor by its unification, but “it is defined by the number of dimensions it has; it is not divisible, it cannot lose or gain a dimension without changing its nature”. Additionally, the variations and dimensions of multiplicities are immanent, which means that each of these dimensions and variations remains within multiplicities. They continuously transform themselves into a string of other multiplicities that has appropriate thresholds and doors. Therefore, a multiplicity is a becoming that continually transforms oneself in-between these dimensions or variations.

Apparently, multiplicities, as the population of the BwO, in their journey of transformation, move away from zero. On the limits of multiplicities, there are intensities (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 30-32, 249). In other words, there are virtual multiplicities that only exists when a multiplicity embodied in a particular state of affairs. Since virtual and actual are interconnected, existence is a coalition of actual multiplicities and specific intensive movements of change (Roffe, 2010; p. 182). Unlike multiplicities, intensities are extensive and qualitative, moreover, they are sensible that the sensation cannot be experienced through an ordinary practice of sensibility. It is like in the sentence: “I feel myself becoming individual”, they are from the beings of the sensible, in Deleuze’s lexicon *sentiendum*. Furthermore, they can be recalled, conceptualized, visualized and stated. An intensity, which can be described as a singularity capable of giving rise to an actual case, only exists in the extensions they generated (Boundas, 2010; p. 133). If a multiplicity is an idea, an intensity is a dimension of the idea within the idea. Thus, because of the intensity, virtual become actual (Bogue, 2001; p. 63).

In a riot place, it is visible on the urban surfaces that various dimensions of ideas are manifested through street arts or performances as the examples of intensities. In the same way, these manifestations unify on certain ideas, which are the multiplicities who populate the BwO. In case of graphic installations, conjure up an image of a

wall in a riot place (fig.1), each graphic manifestation is there because of the multiplicities and as an intensity. In other words, intensities are manifested themselves in visual forms by rioters, since they are the dimensions of the rioters' various ideas. The ideas, on the other hand, are multiplicities in BwO that they have no actual forms unless they move away from zero to its limits for becoming an intensity or, in case of graphic installations, a graffiti. Furthermore, because numbers of graffiti are made over and top of each other, they lose their composition and became multiplicities again just like a schizophrenic table.

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On the other hand, continuous regions of intensity are called *plateau* which are constituted in a way that they restrict themselves to be interrupted by any external ending, and also they free themselves to develop towards a climax. According to Deleuze and Guattari, “every plateau is a piece of immanence [and] every BwO is made up of plateaus [moreover] every BwO is itself a plateau in communication with other plateaus on the plane of consistency” (2016; p. 158). A full BwO, as a recording surface of the entire process of desiring-production, functions as a *socius* which may be the body of earth or capital (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; p. 10-11). Over and above that BwO is all of them; a place, a plane, a collectivity of assembling elements, things, plants, animals, tools, people, powers. Briefly, the BwO has never belonged to anyone, and it is always a body which is always a contemporary multiplicity that creates multiplicities. Organs without composing an organism, distribute themselves on it that they serve as intensities, flows, gradients and thresholds where are the points for machines to cling themselves (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 161-164).

In a similar fashion, machines carry sort of code that is inherent in the machine and inseparable from it. The code made of signs which are called signifying chains, even they have not much of a resemblance to a language (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; p. 38). A regime of signs inevitably is a semiotic system that Deleuze and Guattari called *the signifying regime of the sign* which has several fundamental aspects; at first, the sign always refers to another sign which is an infinite process, the limitlessness of significance cause deterritorialization of the sign (2016; p. 117). Although the term *deterritorialization* has been elaborated in end of the following chapter, its liter-

ary definition is “the severance of social, political, or cultural practices from their native places and populations” (Oxford Dictionary of English). Second, the sign is recalled by other signs, and it always returns which is called the circularity of deterritorialized sign. Third, since the sign jumps from circle to circle, its centre constantly is displaced at the same time it ties into it that is called *the metaphor* or *hysteria of signs*. Fourth, the expansion of circles is guaranteed by interpretations that transmit signified and re-transmit signifier. Fifth, the infinite set of signs presented as both lack and excess refers to a supreme signifier called not only *despotic signifier* but also *the limit of the system’s deterritorialization*. Sixth, there is a substance called *the Face* in the form of the signifier, or body of the signifier which is the principle *faciality* trait which is responsible for constitution of a reterritorialization. Seventh by Deleuze and Guattari’s words;

[...] system’s line of flight is assigned as a negative value, condemned as that which exceeds the signifying regime’s power of deterritorialization [... and the last] the regime is one of universal deception, in its jumps, in the regulated circles, in the seer’s regulation of interpretations, in the publicness of facialized centre, and in the treatment of the line of flight (2016; p. 117).

Significance as a semiotic system is a regime of signs that inscribes its signs and redundancies on a strata which is called *the white wall*. On the other hand, subjectification as another regime of signs or even strata needs a storage which is called *the black hole* for its consciousness, passion and redundancies. When these two distinctive strata intersect, a very special mechanism called *the face* is situated. It is the *white wall/black hole system* that initiates with the abstract machine of faciality which produces faces according to its changeable distribution of cogwheels. In addition, the abstract machine is not necessarily bear a resemblance to its previous or further productions. Instead of a volume-cavity system of the body, the face is a hole surface system that decodes and over-codes the body and the head in the inevitable process of the abstract machine of facialization. Although the face is not cover for the body or a head, it touches every other part of it that is decoded (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 167-170). Therefore dismantling the face means to break through the white wall of the signified and to get out of the black holes of subjectivity that is the

production of a-signifying faciality traits and a-subjective face which is the road to becoming imperceptible (Powell, 2014; p. 91-92).

Correspondingly at riots, both the governments and the rioters build a language in a continuous transformation. Since the language is formed by the desiring-production of both parties of the riot, each deterritorialization and reterritorialization have an affect on production of faces of the riot, in other words each transformation is perceivable on symbols of the riot. As a military equipment, a gas mask can be a face for rioters by a graphic interpretation and a peace symbol (Fig. 2).

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Meanwhile, machines need a further elaboration. As mentioned before, a machine can be explained as a system of interruptions or breaks then, at first it cuts into a material flow or in Deleuze and Guattari's terms *hylé* which refers to the pure continuity of any sort of matter. In the view of the fact that every machine assembles itself to another machine and another machine to another, machines themselves set off a material flow or a *hylé*. In this material flow which exists of machines, every machine functions, even they are the flow itself at the same time. It is the law of production of production. For this reason, there are breaks-flows everywhere that the desire constitutes its productivity.

In other words, the desiring-machine is not a figurative expression; it is interrupted and these interruptions are in accordance with the withdrawal energy, detachment energy and residual energy that are in same order with what makes the production of production, the production of recording, and the production of consumption. The whole process is to produce and carry out the real operations of desire in the material world (Deleuze and Guattari. 2009; p. 36-41).

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Furthermore, BwO is also desire, in every constitution of BwO there is also desire under one relation or another. It is critical to differentiate BwO from its evil twins, or as Deleuze and Guattari stated; "empty vitreous bodies, cancerous bodies, totalitarian

and fascist”. Although plane of consistency is constituted by BwOs, They reject some things which are designated by an abstract machine. Think about graffiti; either there is a fascist use of it which is in conformity with the despot, or a use in conformity with the plane of consistency. Furthermore there even could be a suicidal use of it, if its use exceeds the limits of society’s tolerance. When all the chosen functions get together with the totality of their full BwOs, the totality of BwOs as a substance applies only to the plane which is the plane of consistency (2016; p. 165-166). Since everything is possible in the plane even within the BwOs, in Deleuze and Guattari’s words; “it will sometimes end in chaos, the void and destruction, and sometimes lock us back to the strata, [where the inscriptions of BwO found, and] which become more rigid still, losing their degrees of diversity, differentiation and mobility” (2016; p. 503).

2.2. The Nomad and the State

Deleuze and Guattari believe that the role of philosophy is to invent new concepts that challenge the way that philosophy itself is written and formulated (Message, 2010; p. 37).

The *nomad*, *nomadology*, *nomadicisim*, the basis of Nomadic Thought lies under the words *nomos* and *logos*. The greek word *nomos* was used as *law*, like in Plato’s Republic, however, Deleuze notes that the word *nomos* for him means; to send out livestock and distribute them without following any particular order or structure, because the word *nomos* for him is derived from the word *nem* which means to distribute and as a derivative the word *nemô* used for pasture livestock in Ancient Greece. Correspondingly, the word *logos* is used by Deleuze as an opposition to *nomos*. Although, meaning of the word *logos* is complicated, for him it means law, especially in relation with the word *polis*, as well as it means word and reason. Basically he positions the words *nomos* and *logos* opposing to each other as he offers a composition of free distribution

versus lawful order (Roffe, 2010; p. 189-190). In *Difference and Repetition*, he uses the word *nomos* as he considers the matter of *Being* itself. He claims that *nomos* and *logos* are expressions about the problem of distribution. Furthermore, since *Being* is univocal, within the representation of *Being*, there are kinds of distribution that one of which offers precise locations, fixed positions and its determination could be assimilated to properties. According to him, this kind of distribution can be observed in common sense or good will. On the opposite direction, there is a completely different kind of distribution that offers a division rather than a distribution on an open space which is a limitless space or at least a space without definitive limits, and yet it aims to fill the space as much as possible in contrast to *nomos*. He insists that this kind of distribution “must be called ‘nomadic’” (Deleuze, 2001; p. 32-37).

In addition, in the case of *nomadology*, with Guattari, Deleuze makes a far more explicit connection between *nomadology* and *war machine* that with *war machine*, one becomes a master through exercise of force and because of that the master-slave relation is affected. Since beginning of everything is with force or with the *war machine*, it must be carved out from a forceful exteriority of war for avoiding its own harness of *the State* (Colebrook, 2010; p. 187-188).

The distribution of power in a riot is equally nomadic, for both sides, the government and the rioters. Deleuze and Guattari in the *Thousand Plateaus* prepare a manifesto for Nomadic Thought that is called *Treatise on Nomadology – the war machine*. Accordingly it is stated that “the *war machine* is exterior to *the State apparatus*”. By the statement, they put the *nomad* and *the State* on opposing positions and what is more, they put the statement to tests in several fields.

At first it is attested in mythology, epic, drama and games. These first analyses show that the state needs two poles to operate properly, yet opposition between the poles is only a relative one which is like in between the obscure and the clear or the fearsome and the regulator, namely in case of *State apparatus*: it is between political sovereignty and domination. As might be expected they work as a pair, in that way they become the principle elements of the *State apparatus*. They take action by a *One-Two* which allocates binary distinctions and sculpts a milieu of interiority. The two heads of the *State apparatus* resemble a magician king and jurist-priest and in their

milieu there is no *war machine*, but magician king uses police officers in need of a violence as it magically binds them to avoid war, and jurist-priest uses the army, by the imposition of juridical and institutional rules that it gives to the army just an organisation of military function. *War machine* on the other hand, is positioned outside of *the State's* sovereignty and antecedent to its legislations, moreover it is a pure power of metamorphosis that unties the bonds while betraying the rules. It is an immeasurable multiplicity against the *State apparatus*. In other words, it is a machine against an apparatus, or *nomos* against *polis*. In between two heads of *the State*, there is the *war machine*, even if it may be seen in a moment of the flash while passing between the magical-despotic *State* and the juridical *State*. Evidently, military institutions are mistrusted by *the State*, because they grounded on a milieu between the two heads of *the State*. Moreover, as “*the State* has no *war machine* of its own”, military institutions always be problematic to *the State*.

Second, the statement or the axiom is attested to by ethnology. Primitive societies have no distribution of power, so it is impossible to talk about presence of the *State*. Primitive societies have their chiefs who have the function for warding off the formation of *the State*. However, *the State* defined by the perpetuation, of the distribution of organs of power, and of organs of power, the chiefs are in need, of course with the mechanism, which prevents chiefs to become the *One*, and institutions which enables a chief to become a *man of State*. The *alliances* make it possible, in that way, a primitive societies ward off *the State* by the prevention which is provided by alliances, from becoming a *State* factor. In same way, packs or bands form in modern societies. These kind of segmentary societies, in other words, minorities position themselves oppose to the organs of *the State* that the exteriority of the minorities inescapably show oneself as a dispersed and polymorphous *war machine*. To sum up, as a form of interiority, the *State-form* has a propensity to reproduce itself while remaining uniformed to itself on the course of its variations and it is easily identifiable within its limits since it is always search for public recognition “(there is no masked State)”. On the war machines’ side, as a form of exteriority, its existence is only possible in its own metamorphoses, which is in an industrial innovation, or in a technological invention, as well as in a commercial circuit, or religious creation, briefly in all flows and currents are only secondary to appro-

priate themselves to the *State*. The *war machines*' existence is not dependent on its independence but its coexistence and competition in the perpetual field of interaction. Therefore, the same field limits its interiority in *States* and it manifests its exteriority in escapees of *States* or in defiant of *States*.

Third, the axiom attested to by epistemology which states existence and continuity of a *nomad*. According to Deleuze and Guattari, there is a treatment of science that can only be described as nomad science which is neither royal science nor legal science. The geometry of Archimedes is one of the examples of this kind of eccentric science (2016: p. 351-361). Archimedes was always looking for something new to add a certain sum of knowledge to the science. His studies lead him to extend particular discoveries of his predecessors to new directions (Hearth, 2002; p. 89-90). The nomad science like *Archimedian* science uses a hydraulic vortical model, and it is bound up in an indispensable way with the *war machine*. Apparently, *war machine* projected on an abstract knowledge that is different from the one of which doubles the *State apparatus*. Moreover, nomad science is continuously blocked, striated or banned by requests and qualifications of *State* science which have measurement rather than rhythm.

On the other hand, there are the great collective bodies of a *State* that differentiated by hierarchical organisms. These collective bodies set a monopoly up over a power or a function, while sending out representatives; moreover they linked the family model with the *State* model to reach on both ends to representation like great families of functionaries. The collective bodies, which do not fit in to this schema, have a *nomadic* ambition that they constitute themselves in *war machine* against the *State*. The relation with the family is an entertainment for the *war machine* that for the *war machine*, family is a band vector; genealogy is transferred from one family to another as claimed by the ability of the family at a given time to reach the maximum of agnatic unity. In contrast to *State* body, eminence of the family determined not by the public, but by its secret power or strength of its solidarity in a war body. It is all about the potential power of a vortical body in a *nomad* space. Since the *State* does not grant power to the intellectuals or conceptual innovators, it makes them dependent to an autonomous organ that rip off all of their power of implementation or of

reproduction. In any case, for the *State*, it's necessary to find a way to repress the nomad and minor science, because, their division of labor is opposed to the norms of the *State*. A science or a conception of science inevitably is associated within an organisation of the social field and especially persuades a division of labour. On one hand, royal science suggests both a configuration that arranges matter and a matter formulated for the configuration, on the other hand nomad science follows the connection between the singularities, which constitute a form of content, of homogenized form of matter and traits of expression that expression is impossible to separate from applicable traits which constitute a matter of expression. Moreover, nomad science stays on these level of connections, disregarding the fact that they are forced or natural (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 361-369).

Finally the axiom attested by *noology* which can be set against phenomenology and ideology. *Noology* is not only the study or the science of image of thought but also demands historicity for images. Deleuze in early works criticized Edmund Husserl's approach to distinguish *noesis*, which is the act or subjective aspect like desiring or perceiving, and *noema*, which is the objective side like desired or perceived. Instead, he insists that the *noema* cannot be restricted to being an object of consciousness, as there is a relation liberated from any specific observer, like in the case of a colour, a relation between light and eye (Colebrook, 2010; p. 193-194). As Deleuze and Guattari stated in *A Thousand Plateaus*; "there is thus an image of thought covering all of thought; it is the special object of 'noology' and is like the *State*-form developed in thought". Similar to the two heads of sovereignty, the image of thought also has two poles, one is called imperium of truth which constitutes the efficacy of a foundation (*mythos*), other one is called republic of free spirits which constitutes a legislative and juridical organisation for carrying the sanction of a ground (*logos*) (2016; p. 374-375). Accordingly these two poles are always in interference with each other. It is the interiority of thought. On the contrary there are counter-thoughts which have discontinuous appearances, violent acts moreover, their existence is mobile in the history. They can be defined as the acts of the private thinker or simply and more accurately a singular race which deploys itself in a horizonless milieu (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 374-379).

The *nomad* and the *State* are all about various kinds of distribution: distribution of forces, of domination, of power, of multiplicities, of intensities, of law, of sovereignty, of land, of space and of territory which produce contrasting hierarchies and identities. With the forces, everything begins or the *war machine* is the beginning of everything. The *State* cannot exist without the forces or the *war machine* or having power outside of their conflicting power (Colebrook, 2010; p. 187-188).

Desiring-production, BwO, the nomad, the State and their complimentary concepts compose the basis of the Nomadic Thought. Therefore, it is mandatory to develop an understanding about the basis of the thought to make a *Deleuzian* reading in a riot place; while the *desire* is becoming the source of creative production for rioters, BwO and its population who determines the kind of production, in our case the graphic installations, are developing a language that materialize in the faces of the riot, as the nomadic distribution of power became visible on the surfaces of the riot place. In a broader perspective, it is a similar process that *Guy Fawkes* face masks became the face of the anti-authority protests.

3. PRODUCTION OF SPACE

3. 1. Urban Space

The term *urban* is in need of description for clearing the ground for the thesis. Lexically the word *urban* means “in, relating to, or characteristic of a town or city” (Oxford Dictionary of English). The word’s origin is in 17th century, from Latin word *urbanus* which was generated from a name of a walled city in Ancient Rome, *Urbs* (Oxford Dictionary of English). In 17th century Spain, Isidore of Seville, who was a famous encyclopedist and theologian, referred the word *urbs* as built environment of the city. Moreover, during the renaissance period numerous architectural theorists claim that “[...] a city’s nobility was inextricably linked to the layout of its squares and streets as well as the design and magnificence of its buildings” (Buisseret, 1998; p. 75). Therefore, the built environment is one of the major parts of the urban space.

Since the origin of the word *urban* carries significant information about urban space, the term *space* could carry such information in its description that could be necessary to analyse urban space. Space is not only a three-dimensional area, but also it is the concept of space or notion of space. According to Daniela Bertol, the space, which is usually recognized as a composition of three-dimensional elements, is more than material (1996; p. 87). Despite that, in dictionary, space is described in two different ways, at first; space denotes time or duration that consists of material elements and movements, and the second, which is more common, is denotation of an area or an extension. According to the Oxford dictionary, the English word *space* was adapted from the Old French word *espace* which was originated from Latin word *spatium*. Additionally in the science of physics, *space* is assumed as a three-dimensional vol-

ume, not an area (Patricios, 1973; p. 311). Moreover, according to Andreas Vogler and Jesper Jorgensen's article, "*space* is structured and has hierarchies" (Jorgensen and Vogler, 2005; 319). Apart from that in sociology, *space* is the abstract geometries (range, line, dimensions, form, capacity) free from matter and cultural references.

As mentioned by Michel de Certeau, "space is what place becomes when the unique gathering of things, meanings, and values are sucked out" (Gieryn, 2000; p. 465). In other words, place is a space filled up with living things, operations, materials and depictions. On the other hand, geographic or cartographic metaphors; boundaries, territories, still define space (Gieryn, 2000; p. 465). To understand the whole notion of *space*, it could be functional to describe what *place* is? According to its geographical location a place is a distinctive point in the universe. Places are finite spaces with people that create distinction between here and there or near and far. In addition, places have logical boundaries which are analytically and phenomenologically elastic. By the words of Thomas F. Gieryn;

Place has physicality. Whether built or just come upon, artificial or natural, streets and doors or rocks and trees, place is stuff. It is a compilation of things or objects at some particular spot in the universe. Places are worked by people: we make places and probably invest as much effort in making the supposedly pristine places of Nature as we do in cities or buildings (Gieryn 2000; p. 465).

Although a place is a spot in the universe and contains physical materials, to be complete, it has to establish history or utopia, danger or security, identity or memory. Despite its materiality, meaning or value of a place is still flexible and distortable. In other words, place works like a detachable liaison between the settings and experience. Since place is a mediatory, design of a place is making of place and then, the dialogue, transliteration, order of political and economic appeal, technical abilities and forms, aesthetic judgements and social interactions.

[In sociological terms,] places are endlessly made, not just when the powerful pursue their ambition through brick and mortar, not just when design professionals give form to function, but also when ordinary people extract from

continuous and abstract space a bounded, identified, meaningful, named, and significant place (Gieryn, 2000; p. 471).

Briefly, a place makes a constant spiral of material form and interpretative understandings or experiences (Gieryn 2000; p. 464-471).

Our contemporary urban spaces host an increasing number of people. The population has been rising in urban environments. Since technological advancements obsolete many muscle based work, people prefer to be employed at offices that most of them are provided in the centrum of the cities. Think about city squares that are surrounded by shop windows, one after another covering the whole area. Office blocks complete the scene. Cities with a vast number of facilities and services become complex grounds. In these complex environments, orientation gets to be a complicated issue. Besides these, workplaces dispense almost every need; in this kind of variety directing oneself to the right place for the need becomes an issue to solve. People have to satisfy their needs in a limited time on the urban ground which glorifies competition and efficiency. In a crowded city centre finding the direction that points the desired location requires complicated tasks like measuring the distance, choosing the path, interacting with the society. Wayfinding systems and placemaking practices are the practices which are the way that people cope with the orientation problems in the complex urban environments. Wayfinding systems and placemaking practices aim to instruct a user guide for the designated built environment. In parking lots, cars follow directional signs on plates, walls or ground. Signboards on top of workplaces prepare the guests for the workplace environment. Colour in urban space set the mood of the place. Traffic patterns, signs or any kind of visual instructions on streets along with colour constitute the visual elements of urban space. Furthermore, according to Craig M. Berger, who is the author of the book titled “Wayfinding: Designing and Implementing Graphic Navigational Systems”, graphics are positioned intermediary of all of these elements that tether them together (Berger, 2005).

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On the other hand, whether it is commissioned or uncommissioned, street art takes its place as another element for setting the place in urban space. Street art, as a spatial

and a social component, is added to urban space and invites interactivity with the response of the society to the public space (Klanten, 2008; p. 3). Graffiti, street art, and urban art use the urban space as a stage to exhibit the response of society to the urban environment; they cover the urban space as a giant exhibition hall (Taşçıoğlu, 2013; p. 123). According to Wooster Collective, who is founded in 2001 by Marc and Sara Schiller to show and celebrate ephemeral art in urban space, “[street art]... is the interplay between the urban environment and the artist who sees the city as one giant canvas that captives the imagination” (Schiller and Schiller, 2010; p. 10).

Various disciplines, such as psychology, anthropology, philosophy, physics and many others, have a tendency to divide the *space* in two traditional categories as material (physical) space and virtual (mental) space (Patricios, 1973; p. 311). On the other hand, another separation divides the notion of *space* in four as, (a) physiological space which is another name for material space, (b) perceptible space which is a space of the interactions between materials and our senses, (c) psychological space which is a space for self-impressions, and (d) sociological space which defines zones of privacy and community. On top of that, the discipline of architecture utilizes these four major layers of space to create functional spaces (Jorgensen and Vogler, 2005; p. 391-392).

About two-dimensional virtual space, Andrew Pepper states that “since the discovery of perspective, with its ability to represent three dimensions accurately, a number of drawing devices and aids have been developed to help ease the transition from a three-dimensional world to a flat surface”. Looking at a two-dimensional virtual space is extremely similar to looking through a window. Its pseudo-depth is perceivable on its material surface which stores a visually solid image (Pepper, 1989; p. 295-296). Thus both material space and virtual space are both variables that can be products of an observer’s mind (Patricios, 1973; p. 312). As mentioned earlier, there is “the awareness that space has more than its three-dimensional geometry” (Jorgensen and Vogler, 2005; p. 391). Hence, the notion of space inevitably connected with perception.

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In order to elaborate on the perception of space, it is compulsory to comprehend the Gestalt psychology which is instituted in early twentieth century by German

psychologists, Max Wertheimer, Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Köhler. According to Gestalt (form) theory, the human brain recognizes forms in various ways called *similarity grouping*, *proximity grouping*, *closure*, *common fate* or *good continuation*. These ways and many others together constitute our perception of the forms (Behrens, 1998; p. 299-301). The concern of Gestalt theory is the description of structural features and wholeness of systems, materials, relations, and circumstances. The theory investigates the perception that builds a foundation for faculty of understanding, recognition, and distinction (Arnheim, 1943: p. 71-73). In other words, Gestalt theory is a way to understand how our visual, auditory and somatosensory perception works. Rudolf Arnheim states that;

[...] everyday experience distinguishes between impenetrable matter, such as mountains or tree trunks or the walls of building, and openings that we can pass through. This distinction is fundamental for the architect, since he constantly seeks the proper ratio between two. At the same time, however, the architect must be aware of the second conception, suggested to him by the physicist and the psychologist, that space is created as a relation between objects. These relations persist in perceptual experience, even though the man in street may not spontaneously acknowledge them (Bertol, 1996; p. 88).

According to Latour, in case of being in a space, the question is not *to be*, the right word is *to have*. In recent riots that takes place in Turkey, people gathered in squares not only *to be* there, but also *to have* the squares for expressing their influence on the urban environment.

[Since] the architecture of squares is one of the most creative and effective indicators of the identity of those residents in that area and it absorbs the most attention in cities and their design is somehow linked to the history of that city. One of the qualitative factors foe cities is to provide comfort for that place and design of urban space can send this message (Zamani, 2013; p. 64).

Moreover, squares have extensive parts that make them physically available to reach for the urban society. People in squares can easily communicate, socialize and make trades of any kind on an urban scale. Additionally, “a square is a temporary space and it has a social and physical identity [Latour underlines that] entities engender their

spaces [,] if we take entities out [from the space that exist in connections,] nothing is left, especially space”. He claims that being in a space eventually occupies our consciousness when we understand that no action could be done outside of the space. In case of occupying a space with graphic based installations, there are various mechanics to send information to the addressee and each of them has their own way to make a relationship (Zamani, 2013; p. 64).

In case of a riot, in the urban space, rioters need to produce a riot place that responds their riot specific needs along with the essential needs like shelter and security. Whether, it is intensional or not, a riot place in an urban space, rioters distribute themselves according to satisfy the needs, for example the detonation of graphic based urban installations in riots is an evident for the riot specific need of idea manifestation. Furthermore, navigation in the riot place is again in accordance with the distribution of the riot specific needs. Since the graphic installations like signboards are the essential part of the orientation in a place, they are also one of the vital parts of space production, especially in a riot place.

3. 2. Graphic Based Urban Installations

If we are to believe in the power of ideas, as we must, we must understand that it is not in the thoughts we keep to ourselves but only in sharing them that ideas attain their potential. This is the primary reason that public space offers such a fertile tableau for unsolicited artistic expression (Seno et al. 2010; p. 220).

From ancient petroglyphs to complicated navigation systems, humanity has used graphical elements in urban space for a long time. Street artists reply in affirmation of the postulation that marking a territory is a self-expression and a form of social communication. Therefore, the core characteristic of the street art is as old as hu-

mankind. Nevertheless, our recognition and record methods are developed in time; the archaeological findings on the walls of ancient Pompeii proves that graphics in urban space is indeed quite old (Seno et al. 2010; p. 131). In ancient Egypt, people were informed about city life from hieroglyphs on tablets or walls. Before the Second World War in Germany, National Socialist Party has taken advantage of graphic design by the directions of Joseph Goebbels who was Reich Minister of Propaganda in Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1945. Based on the presupposition that kids insistently seek some mode of expression, street art has not been much different from the kids, except the degree of attention. Street artist and the kid both express themselves in relation to their environments (Seno et al. 2010; p. 131).

In today's cities, the graphics, from signboards to graffiti, gives clues about the identity of a particular urban area. Even the safety of that particular area could be recognizable by the graphics in the place. According to Jacobs, people's level of comfort within the urban space directly affects the usage of the space. She argued that safety of streets require a clear distinction between the public and the private space by markings (Jacobs, 1961; p. 111).

Oscar Newman who is a known architect and city planner, came up with the idea that is called *defensible space* in the early seventies that the idea is a foundation stone for a new criminological sub-discipline which is called *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* or CPTED. The idea offers natural surveillance techniques that maximize visibility of particular space, natural access control and marking territory for the sake of control and care of the space (Newman, 1996; p. 73).

Although the idea offers reduction of crime by manipulation of the urban space through surveillance, it is found offensive by some designers like Jeff Ferrell who is a professor of sociology and the author of the books; "Crimes of Style", "Tearing Down the Streets", "Empire of Scrounge", and, with Keith Hayward and Jock Young, "Cultural Criminology: An Invitation". Whereas restricting access with bars and benches is a part of his concern, his main disturbance is about the annihilation of street performances, graffiti and street art that public space loses its publicity because of the manipulation of designers (Ferrell, 2001: p. 64). The dilemma is solved by Nabeel Hamdi who is Emeritus Professor of Housing and Urban Development at Ox-

ford Brookes University and winner of the UN-Habitat Scroll of Honour for his work on Community Action Planning. His approach to placemaking was called *urban acupuncture*. His proposition takes place in the sphere of intervention to the urban area, instead of rebuilding the designated area. He points out the significance of user participation and consultation with the users of the designated environment. Furthermore, he adds that “starting something visible in a place helps to draw interest and increase awareness” (Zamani, 2013). In this sense, Hamdi puts the graphical street practices to the very centre of the space production process along with many other user-defined urban objects.

Public urban areas locate themselves, to display the variety of graphic design, as a stage, from commercial advertisers to the activists, everybody desires the biggest audience (Lupton, 1996; p. 15). Inevitably, urban space, under the bombardment of images, filled with giant billboards on façades and on vehicles, posters, signboards that in urban space; on streets, in coffee shops or in shopping malls, it is unavoidable to come face to face with a message. This repertoire of urban messages creates a visual culture that is originated not only by companies but also by the people of the neighbourhood. In other words, urban space offers an open microphone for anyone who has words to say or ideas to express. Value of graphic language, by Robert Klanten’s terms, by expressive and descriptive applications in the urban space produces a surface that artist, designer or urbanite communicates with the society (Taşçioğlu, 2013). In the urban space, communication may be in various dimensions which are not only amongst economic dimension or political dimension but also included in aesthetic dimension (Lupton, 1996; p. 17). Street art along with graffiti and post-graffiti rapidly spread to the world, as they are not merely creative but destructive, they are pointing out an endemic political and social shift in the society (Lupton, 1996; p. 131).

According to Banksy, who is a pseudonymous graffiti artist and who is known for disrespect for the legal issues against graffiti, “graffiti is a perfect proportionate response to being sold unattainable goals by a society obsessed with status and infamy” (Seno et al. 2010; p. 6). The most critical quality of graffiti is its resemblance to branding and logo. They both, at the base level, use repetition and saturation in their ideographic compression (Seno et al. 2010; p. 130). Graffiti could be conceived as a

marking to the territory (Taşcıoğlu, 2013: p. 126). Even more so it is a remark that makes community and the place appearing in the urban space, from where they about to be eradicated or displaced (Seno et al. 2010; p. 83). Many street artists and *gangs* repetitiously apply their definitive ideographic on various urban environments for the sake of reputation. Although governments support that they are creating a visual pollution, street artists argue that actual visual pollution caused by legal billboards and commercial street advertisements (Taşcıoğlu, 2013: p. 126). American civil rights lawyer J. Tony Serra states that “government considers graffiti a ‘blight,’ ‘detrimental to property values,’ and ‘visual pollution’ in a wholly one-sided, off-balance, and alarmist perspective” (Seno et al. 2010; p. 311). Whereas, wherever a subculture feels a repression generated from the dominant culture, it seeks a space for manifesting its protest mentality combined with its artistic creativity. Graffiti is a product of psychological, intellectual, social, political needs of the subculture. In a broader sense, it is a symbol of disagreement that proves the feeling of repression over society derived from any form of freedom of speech of interference. Noticeably, there are various forms of graffiti. On the one hand, there are graffiti writers who are driven by provoking ideas and on the other hand those who desire only deface the properties. Besides, “graffiti and vandalism are not mutually inclusive” (Seno et al. 2010; p. 312). Furthermore, Anne Pasternak, the president and artistic director of Creative Times which is an organisation that has been commissioning public art since 1974 in New York, clearly states that “urban artist activate public space as a place for beauty, bold actions and wonder, [...] prankster artist also keep our cities alive with provocation, humour and even a healthy measure of perversity” (Seno et al. 2010; p. 307). According to her, artists who work for creating some of the most mesmerizing art experiences of today, should enter into the everyday world without permission to give rise to brand new ideas by accepting the instability of public realm for reclaiming the streets and they should have words to say to the society (Seno et al. 2010; p. 306). Thus, urban youth culture brings its visually sophisticated and insightful form of expression into existence. The youth have the capacity to hack dominant culture, as a vital part of the resistance towards the hegemony. Fundamentally, their style is both satiric and aggressive. However, it is all about making art free for everyone in the urban space. As McCormick articulated “in a consumer-based economy, the idea of giving anything away for nothing and making fun of the machinations of seduc-

tion that compel us to over-identify with commodities may well be the truly offensive crime being committed here” (Seno et al. 2010; p. 130). Because of the economic needfulness of the urban society, street artists strive to open a space for democracy between public memory and more private and secretive world of society (Seno et al. 2010; p. 83). Therefore, graffiti is rather an art movement than a social phenomenon unauthorized by the governments (Seno et al. 2010; p. 131). On account of the fact that when artists express themselves freely, without commission, they can reach success in the public realm by interventionist art which is by Pasternak’s words;

a term coined by the influential writer and curator Nato Thompson, describes the work of artist who trespass into the everyday world to critique, lampoon, disrupt, agitate in order to create social awareness and even advocate for social change [and] in the process, they activate our urban spaces as a places for democracy, keep our cities alive with creativity and powerful ideas, and engage new audiences (Seno et al. 2010; p. 306).

3.3. Smooth and Striated Space

The thing is, everyone has habits of thinking: I tend to think of things as sets of lines to be unraveled but also be made to intersect, I don't like points; I think it's stupid summing things up. Lines aren't things running between two points; points are where several lines intersect. Lines never run uniformly, and points are nothing but inflections of lines. More generally, it's not beginnings and ends that count, but middles. Things and thoughts advance or grow out on the middle, and that's where you have to get to work, that's where everything unfolds. Gilles Deleuze (1995; p. 160-161)

Elaborations of the terms *smooth space* and *striated space* require a return to the Nomadic Thought which, by its nature, take most of its concepts to the definition in rhizome like environment. Nomadic theory of space is developed horizontally and to

form a jungle like a mesh of allusions and interconnections, and it spreads out eventually crossing tendrils and runner-shoots (West-Pavlov, 2009; p. 171). This is one of the reasons that some called Deleuze a *horizontal thinker* (Doel, 2000; p. 117). Space for Deleuze, is always in motion and it is a manifold, a multiplicity, a rhizome, a storm, moreover, space is a creation that is inseparable from the limited consistency to a precise milieu of heterogeneous particles and parts, of differential connections. For that reason, it could be useful to approach space as a verb instead of a noun. To space or spacing is an action, a haecceity and a way of being. Therefore, to think anything, space is a prerequisite as well as spacing cannot be without thinking. A space of flows is in constant stretching or distancing of the interactions across space-time. It is at the same time intensive and extensive that fluid networks expand more and more by connections established more and more, while the folding flows heighten the complexity of both the whole system and the interlaced points until they find themselves at the precise place which is scattered to the wind. Hence, if the place is both *no where* and *now here*, placement is a double articulation of incompatible like the smooth and the striated. (Doel, 2000; p. 123-125).

According to Deleuze and Guattari, the *war machine* develops in a space which is different from the space instituted by the *State apparatus*, in terms of nature of the space. Although they are different in nature, they exist only in mixture. Smooth space is in constant translation for being transversed into the striated space, and what's more, striated space similarly is in constant reverse for being returned to a smooth space. The oppositions between the two depend on both the *de jure* distinction and the *de facto* mixture; one determines the forms that presume by the other. To comprehend difference between smooth and striated space, entirely different movements of these spaces, various aspects of the two space and the relations between them envision that a certain number of models is necessary.

The first model is the technological model. The fabric is a good example for striated space in this model. The two kinds of parallel elements constitute a piece of fabric; horizontal and vertical threads, the two intertwining and intersect each other perpendicularly. It is a striated space. Furthermore, one of the two elements is fixed while the other is mobile. Additionally, a piece of fabric is delimited; it is infinite in length

but finite in width which is determinate by the warp that makes the space striated. In addition, a striated space by its determined nature, has a bottom and a top as well as a piece of fabric. On the other hand felt or polar fleece is an adequate example for the smooth space that it operates as an anti-fabric in Nomadic Thought. As an opposition, it is in principle infinite in every direction, has no threats at all, neither it has a bottom nor a top, nor a centre, only entanglement of fibers and distributions in constant variation. Although it is not homogeneous, it is smooth like in the opposition between embroidery and patchwork. In spite of the fact that embroidery has an extraordinary complexity, patchwork constitutes an open space without a centre motif, and it is composed of various pieces, colours and forms. This proves that smooth space is not homogeneous, on the contrary, it is a non-formal or amorphous space.

Second model is the musical model that the striated is in which intertwines fixed and variable elements, constitutes an order and a successful distinct form, and composes horizontal melodic lines and vertical harmonic planes. The smooth, on the contrary, is the pure act of the drawing of diagonal line across the vertical and the horizontal that is why the smooth is the continuous development of the form in constant variation. To produce proper rhythmic values, the smooth fuses harmony and melody. As it is stated “the smooth is a *nomos*, whereas the striated always has a *logos*, the octave”.

The third model is the maritime model. Both spaces, smooth and the striated, have points, lines and trajectories. In striated space, lines and trajectories usually subordinated to points that one goes from one point to another, whereas in the smooth space, points subordinate trajectories. For smooth space, the line is a vector, instead of a dimension. The nomad wonder through the archipelago or desert in any possible direction nevertheless it is for a goal or for a stopover. Since smooth space is directional, events and haecceities fill or follow these vectors. Smooth space is not a space for perception, instead it is a space for effect or a haptic space. It is an intensive space and inherently it is occupied by intensities. On the contrary, striated space forms a matter that comforts the signals from smooth space. It is a visual space and measurable in its visual derivations. The relation between smooth and striated is same as the relation between the city (*logos*) and the sea (*nomos*). The sea is an archetype of smooth space, it is assured by its properties like openness. While

open waters offer movement in every direction, navigation on it, by maps or bearings, striates the space. Therefore, the sea is also the archetype of all striations of smooth space. On the other hand, the city is the striated space; it has the force of striation that it even striate sea by commerce.

While the fourth model, which is the mathematical model, give pure mathematical data about smooth and striated space in the name of the topology of multiplicities, fifth model, which is the physical model, is needed to understand physics of the smooth and striated. In each model smooth space pertain a fundamental heterogeneity which communicates with homogeneity because of homogeneity's link with striation. Physical space begins striated by parallel gravitational verticals. Accordingly, these parallels, or more accurately, these forces are applied to a specific point in the body which occupies the space. Change in the direction of the parallel forces does not change the position of the point, even the direction of the parallel forces changed to a perpendicular regarding their previous position. It means the gravity is a particular case of a universal attraction following straight lines between two bodies. Thus the definition of the work as a force-displacement relation is a certain direction. Only that way striated space reach its perfection; running in every direction subordinated by points.

The last model is the aesthetic model, in other words, Nomad Art. Smooth space offers a close-range vision, and it is a haptic space whereas striated space offers a long-distance vision and it is an optical space. In haptic space, there is neither a horizon nor a background, nor a limit, nor centre, nor intermediary distance, all distances are the same like in Eskimo space. Furthermore, smooth space in its close-range vision giving rise to the striated. Smooth space finds absolute form in its passages, as all the distances are intermediary in it that there could be a passage in every direction. Over and above that these absolute passages are one with becoming with their infinite linkages and changes. Besides, in striated space, absolute is the horizon or the background, in other words, the Encompassing Element which is the foundation stone for globalization or being englobed. Sea, desert, or sky, the unlimited plays its role in striated space as an encompassing element that grounds the earth. The striation of the earth indicates this double articulation of the smooth space; on one side smooth in its

passages runs away from encompassing horizon, yet on the other side it is deduced to an encompassing horizon (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 474-495).

Apparently, the nomad uses a territory in such a way that in his customary paths the nomad travel from a point to another, which are subordinated by the paths. The points in its territory serve as stopovers or delays; hence the life of a nomad is intermezzo. In other words, smooth space is a space for the nomad whereas sedentary space which is striated by walls, enclosures, and roads between enclosures, is a space for the State (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 380-381).

Although, a city or an urban space can be a striated space, the riot place in it will definitely be a smooth space that open for destruction, development or redevelopment. A striated space, like a city, is a space for regulations, and an unregulated riot place is a smooth space for desiring-production. Therefore, in riots, the clashes between governmental forces and rioters as a matter of fact are the battles of the striated space and the smooth space.

3. 4. Deterritorialization and Reterritorialization

The two terms deterritorialization and reterritorialization have a notable place in not only Nomadic Thought lexicon but also in its spacing process. Although each has its own order or they do not necessarily recover each other, the two terms or processes go hand in hand. Even though the two processes are separate, they are bound by the primary term territory. Thus in the absence of territory, there is no use for the two (Buchanan 2005; p. 29-30).

The territory is a milieu space for Deleuze and Guattari. Instead of being a sedentary place with firm walls against outside threats, it is a shapable space for passages. In other words, a territory is not limited by the State borders but the movements over

the earth. The territory is an assemblage which momentarily reveals several unceasingly changing heterogeneous elements and circumstances together for many reasons. Since, it sets up connections from subject, concept, being and the areas of representation, however, it has no fixed image, signification and subjectivity, it is a vector that it constantly accompanies to the lines of flight which are proposed by deterritorialization. Hence, it is a necessary component for deterritorialization. On the other hand, earth and territory are disjunctive terms that earth embraces all territories and it has continuous movements of distribution and variation. In that way, the earth unfolds pristine materials and forces as the forces of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Therefore, earth offers the BwO as a complex assemblage and various lines of flight, in contrast with territories' offering; the particular or concentrate time and place (Message, 2010; p. 280-282).

By Deleuze and Guattari's words from the first book of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*; *Anti-Oedipus*, "the earth is the primitive, savage unity of desire and production." Thus it is a surface that offers the BwO to inscribe the whole process of production. If BwO is *socius*, then the territorial machine or the territory is the initial form of the *socius* or *machine of primitive inscriptions* or the *megamachine* who occupy the *socius*, namely *the social machine*. It is not a technical machine that needs men power; instead, it has men for its parts. Without a doubt, the social machine is a real machine, and under a different perspective, it can be both a social and technical machine. Since it internalizes the men with their machines to exhibit them as an immobile motor, the primitive territorial machine is already a social machine. If the notion of territoriality refers to a principle of geographic distribution, the primitive social machine is not territorial. In this sense, only the State apparatus can be territorial by subdividing the territory. However, the primitive machine subdivides people on earth where there are significant local ties, even over the predominance of kinship. If the division extends the earth itself, it is not considered as a promotion of territoriality; it is, on the contrary, is the first movement of deterritorialization on primitive societies (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; p. 140-146).

As a State apparatus, a property regime mediates the relation between earth and striated space. On the contrary with the nomad, the relation with earth is constituted by

deterritorialization. The earth deterritorializes itself to lend a territory for reterritorialization of the nomad. On that point, land stops being a land; instead, it becomes a simple ground, more accurately a support. This event occurs at a specific location that on the global scale the earth or its relative movement does not deterritorialize. Furthermore, the nomad and its smooth space have a mutual relationship as vectors of deterritorialization. They constitute and extend each other in all directions (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 381-382).

Clearly, the function of deterritorialization is the movement for the one leaving the territory. Deleuze and Guattari say that “It is the operation of the line of flight”. Deterritorialization occurs in various cases. It can be overlaid on an obscured line of flight by a compensatory reterritorialization. In this kind of case, deterritorialization becomes negative. On the other hand, reterritorialization *stands for* lost territory; reterritorialization can lay on anything like a book, or an apparatus, or a being, or even a system. It is critical that reterritorialization is not a return to a previous or primitive territoriality, it rather implies set of tricks that any deterritorialized territory, while losing its territoriality, becomes a new territoriality for another who has lost its territoriality as well. From the regime of signs, the signifying regime come by a high level of negative deterritorialization that it simultaneously configures a complete system of reterritorialization on the signified and the signifier. This set up blocks the line of flight to enable persistent negative deterritorialization.

In another case, deterritorialization plays a secondary role that allows it to prevail over reterritorialization. In this case, deterritorialization becomes positive in a relative sense. Since the line of flight which is drawn by deterritorialization, is segmented into proceedings, it goes into black holes or ends up in them, like in the case of catastrophe. The system is called the regime of subjective signs. These two major modes of deterritorialization have a relation that either positive one can break away from negative, or positive one may lead to negative.

Furthermore, deterritorialization is absolute. This axiom is only comprehensible by remembering the elaborations on relations between deterritorialization, reterritorialization, the territory and the earth. First of all, since the territorial assemblage allows other assemblages on itself and it is carried along with them, vectors of de-

territorialization are inseparable with the territory. Second, there is an inseparable mutual relation between deterritorialization and reterritorialization that is because deterritorialization is always multiple in the sense of not only various forms, but also distinct speeds and movements which can be assigned to either deterritorialized element, or deterritorializing element. Finally, in a similar fashion, the earth has a mutual relationship with deterritorialization in *the Cosmos*. Deterritorialization enables the creation of new land, or a universe and the earth as well and at the same time, the earth is only existed outside of territory as an intense focal point, in the movements of deterritorialization.

As an addition to the three major forms of deterritorialization; positive, negative and absolute, deterritorialization is also relative. In Nomadic Thought lexicon, absolute, instead of transcendence or association, indicates only a kind of movement which is only qualitatively divergent from relative movement. When the movement, in any quantity or speed, relates a body which is considered as multiple to smooth space, it became absolute. On the other hand, when the movement relates a body, which is considered as one, to striated space, then it becomes relative. Thus according to Deleuze and Guattari, there are at least four major forms of deterritorialization that they can confront and combine (Deleuze and Guattari, 2016; p. 508-510).

Riot place surely is a territorial entity, therefore developments, destructions, or in other words transformations in the place are bound by the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Occupying a city square, or a street to transfer the messages of the riot, or turning a square to a performance stage, or cleaning the area from the rioters, each of them, are the examples of transformation in the riot place, moreover, each of them lead the territory to a different kind of deterritorializations and reterritorializations. While one is deterritorializing the striated space and smoothing the territory, other reterritorialize on a positive deterritorialization to make the territory even smoother. In a *Deleuzian* reading of a riot space, each of the processes like striation, smoothing, deterritorialization and reterritorialization can be perceivable. Each police intervention to a riot place is an attempt to the deterritorialization of riot place, as well as, it is an attempted State striation, on the other hand each riot-

er occupation of an urban space is both reterritorialization of riot place and deterritorialization of the State striation, as well as it is smoothing the urban space.

4. CASE STUDY: TAKSIM SQUARE AS A BWO IN THE COURSE OF GEZI RESISTANCE

4. 1. Taksim Square as a Smooth Space

Change life! Change Society! These precepts mean nothing without producing an appropriate space. (Lefebvre, 1991; p. 59).

In the course of the Gezi Resistance, Taksim square, which is located in the heart of the modern city of İstanbul, was the main host of the protests. Before beginning the analyses, it is valuable to know about the history of the district's built environment from the early period of the Republic of Turkey to the present day. Taksim square, can be called simply *Taksim*, since, today it is the name of the area in between Beyoğlu, Gümüştuyu and Talimhane districts (Fig. 3). Today, Taksim is composed of the areas called, Gezi Park, the Republic Monument with its surroundings, Old Water Reservoir, a transportation hub and the Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM). It is located on the European side of the İstanbul, exactly the east side of the historical peninsula crossing the Golden Horn (Fig. 4) (Rodriguez et al. 2014; p. 113). During the 1930's the area was used for testing modernist approach to urban planning by Henri Proust (Shirazi and Erkut, 2014; p. 226-227). At that time Proust was commissioned as a city planner by Lütfü Kırdar, who was the mayor of İstanbul, to carry out modernization ideas of the new secular republic. The most significant implementation is the clearance of military barracks in order to open space for the place called İnönü Esplanade at that time, now called Gezi Park. Although the barracks lost its military function at the end of the First World

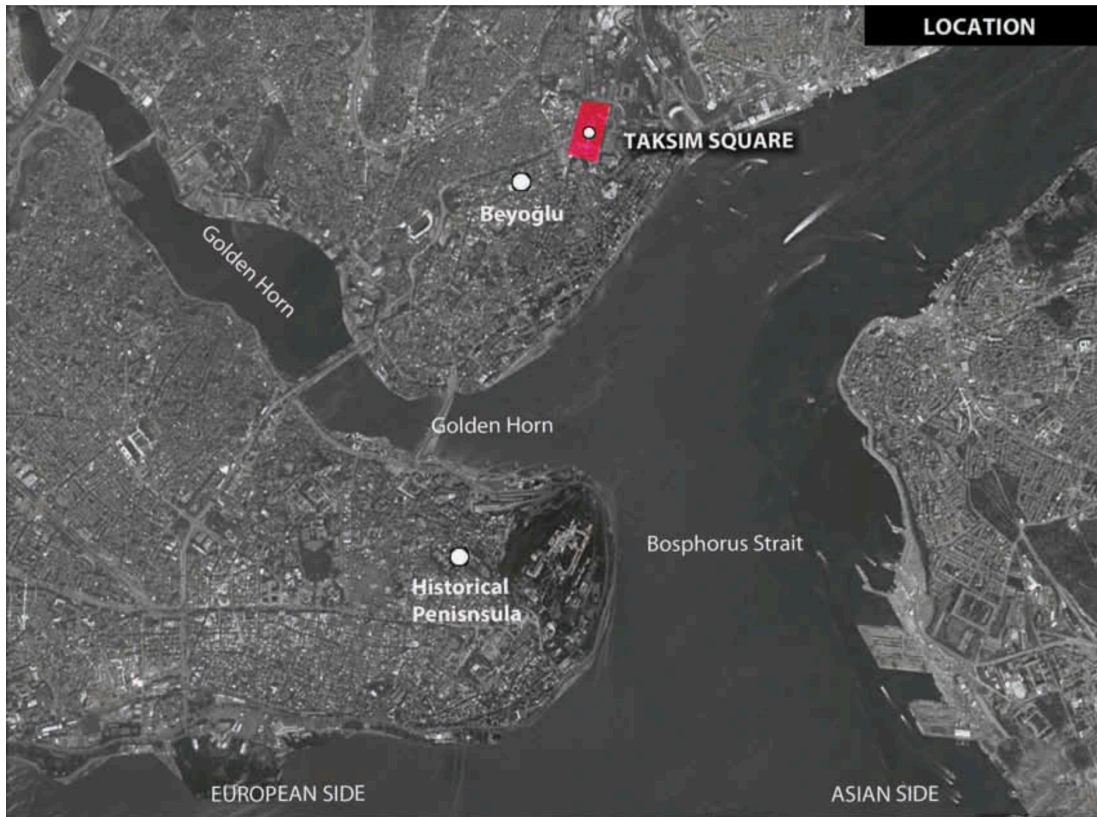


Figure 3: Location of Taksim square. (2014, Rodriguez, see. list of figures)

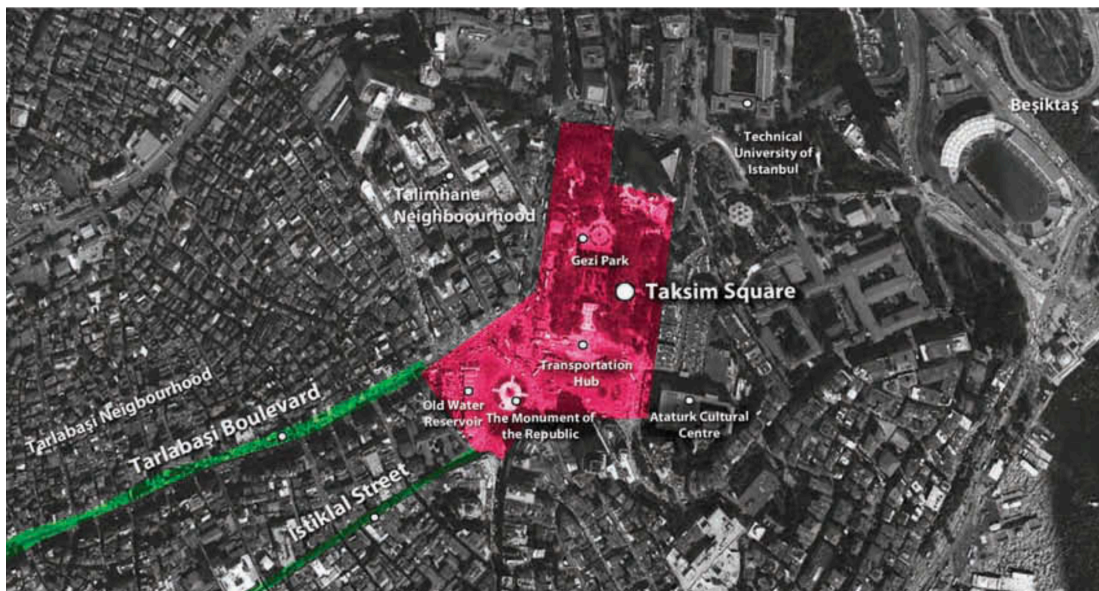


Figure 4: Location of Taksim square (close-up).
(2014, Rodriguez, see. list of figures)

War, and it was functioning as İstanbul's first football stadium. The re-adoption of Taksim as a public place was possible by Gezi Park as a free passage for both the city and to the modernity of the new secular republic. After the Second World War, in the 1950's, by the liberalization of the economy and the increase in population, Taksim was positioned in the vortex of high modernist urbanism. Its characteristics were enhanced by the construction of the Opera (AKM) and the Hilton Hotel. Surroundings of the area were populated by high rise buildings, and thus Taksim began to present new western ideological influence and Turkey as a part of the liberal world. With the economic recessions in the 1960's and the 1970's until the 1980's, the flows in Taksim has changed; many minorities living in surroundings of the place had moved away and left their neighbourhoods to new sub-cultures that the flows of capital were positioned against the flows of people. In the 1980's, by the new investments in the area, the idea was to reach the glamour of the 1950's again, low-income dwellers began the gradual abandonment of surrounding districts. On the 16th of October, 2011, the government announced the new Taksim Square project called Taksim Pedestrianization Project by the unanimous approval of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Parliament (Fig. 5). The project included a new opera building in the space of AKM, new Taksim Mosque in a part of Gezi Park and re-building of the old military barracks with a mall, along with rearrangements for traffic and underground system. Although the project is delayed because of archaeological findings, more accurately old cemetery's headstones, the announcement is the first trigger for Gezi Resistance (Rodriguez et al. 2014; 117-123).

Therefore, it is possible to find traces of smooth space, even in the brief republican historicity of Taksim Square. First of all, it was apparently a space for diverse activities: political demonstrations, social gatherings, and transportation services which make it a space for flows. It has heterogeneity since it hosts flows of people, flows of cars, flows of the economy, flows of classes and many other flows. Furthermore, it was designed to function as a passage. Although all of these aspects suggest that Taksim Square is a smooth space, they are not sufficient to prove it had smoothness in the course of Gezi Resistance.

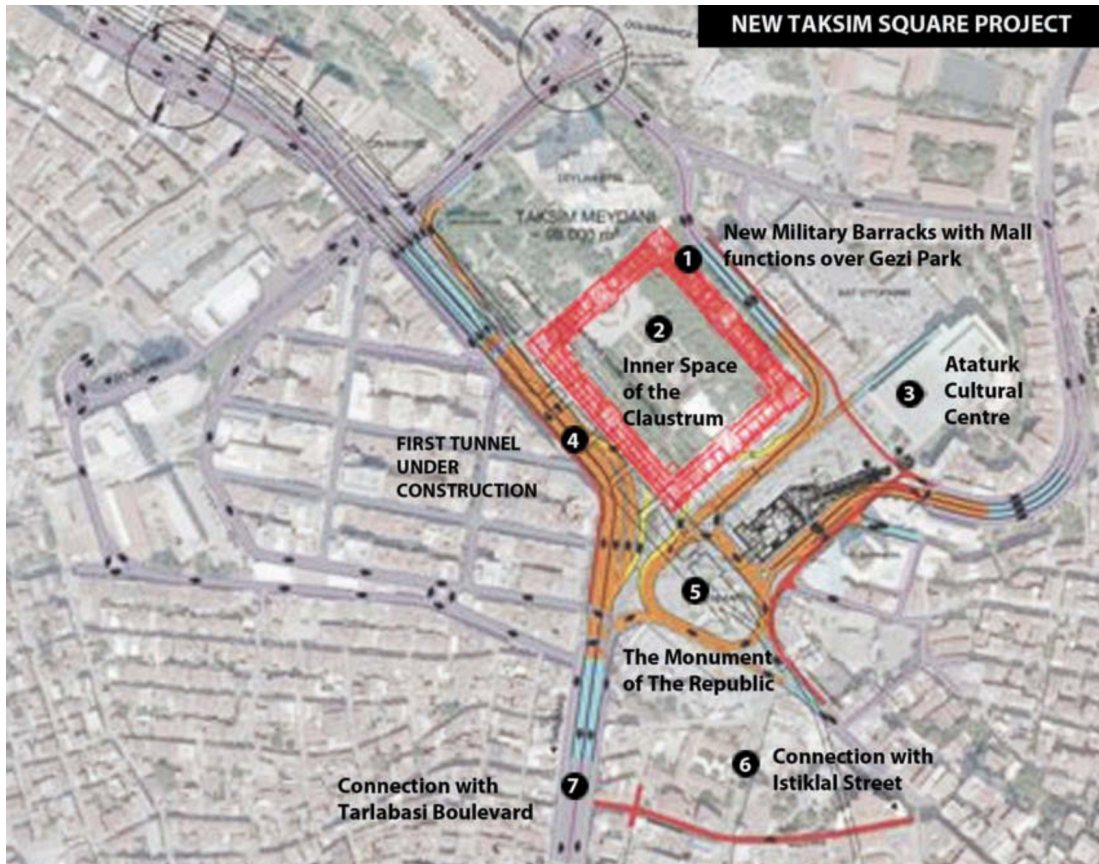


Figure 5: New Taksim Square Project. (2014, Rodriguez, see. list of figures)

Since, the focus of this thesis is the Taksim square in the course of the Gezi Resistance, the timeline of the events in the course has a great significance for the analysis. Therefore, a chronological timeline is needed in order to begin the analysis. Although protests partially commenced on the 4th of January 2012 by the approval of the Consul of Monuments for the project, Gezi Resistance began on the 27th of May 2013. In the first night at around 23:00 demolition teams of the municipality had arrived at Gezi Park to remove the trees; however, people from various chambers and associations who call themselves Taksim Solidarity, were waiting in the park to stop the demolition. The following day, police intervened and the first symbol of Gezi Resistance appeared: *the woman in red* (*Kırmızılı Kadın*) who was a woman in a red dress suddenly attacked by a police officer using tear gas directly to her face (Fig. 6). Her name is Ceyda Sungur, and she was an academician that supports the resistance. In the same day a parliamentarian, Sırrı Sürayya Önder joined the resistance by standing against the demolition machines until 30th of May 2013. This decisive resistance



Figure 6: The woman in red. (2013, Osman Örsal, see. list of figures)

and police violence caused increase of the population in resistance at the Gezi Park. Over 5000 people gathered in the area to stop demolitions. In early hours of the following day, around 04:30 police forces again intervened the protesters by heavy use of tear gas and intervention vehicles for social protests (*TOMA*) which were using pressurized water. Consequently, through the day, many people were injured including parliamentarians: Sırrı Süreyya Önder, Sezgin Tanrı Kulu, and Gürsel Tekin. Moreover, various commercial companies declared that their shops were not going to be in the planned mall. 31st of May 2013 is the day that the protests expanded to other districts of İstanbul and other major cities of Turkey (Ayata et al. 2013; p. 7-8). Besides, it was the day of the first appearance of the well-known chanting of the protest; “*her yer Taksim, her yer direniş!*”¹. On social media platforms, it was shared by the hashtag “*#heryertaksim*” to gather people at riot squares (Özyer, 2013; p. 22).

The first four days of the resistance show circumstantial shreds of evidence to smooth Taksim by disposing the physical boundaries of the space and distributing multiplicities over the new limitless space. Furthermore, on intensities like in the case of the woman in red, Taksim was functioned as a manifold to distribute multiplicities (Fig. 7). These were the first movements of deterritorialization on the territory.

¹ Translation of the chanting: “Everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance!”



Figure 7: Taksim during Gezi Resistance.
(2013, Bünyamin Aygün, see. list of figures)

Next day, again in early hours thousands of people began to march from the Anatolian side of the city, through the Bosphorus Bridge, to occupy Taksim. The people had clashed with the police forces to reach Taksim Square until the police forces decided to stop the intervention around 15:45. Meanwhile in the capital city of Turkey, a protester, Ethem Sarısülük, 26, was shot in the head by a police officer and hospitalized; his tragedy was the first of many. Through the day, major mainstream media channels did not cover the events in their broadcast streams, and one of which was streaming a documentary about penguins, instead of covering the events. As a result, penguins became a new sign for protesting the subjectivity of national press. The 2nd of June, 2013, police violence had risen, especially after the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's interview about the subject. During the day a protester, Mehmet Ayvalıtaş, 20, was hit by a car and he died in another district of İstanbul. Same day another protester, Ali İsmail Korkmaz, 19, had been beaten to death in another city. What is more, in another city, three university students had been beaten by 17 police officers. Additionally in İzmir a video was recorded that a young women protester had been

dragged by a police officer by her hair. The rise of violence led to the expansion of the protests, even in foreign countries, supporting demonstrations were arranged. Clashes between the police forces and protesters continued in the following day, and another protester, Abdullah Cömert, 22, died by a gas canister because he took a hit on his head. In the period between the 3rd of June, 2013, and the 7th of June, 2013, the prime minister had gone for Morocco trip. In this period of time, Gezi Park re-arranged by protesters to serve as a space for living in harmony. Gender-biased slung words have been erased from surfaces (Ayata et al. 2013; p 8-9). Philosopher Noam Chomsky gave his support to Gezi Resistance by uploading a video on youtube.com, stating that “I am also a *çapulcu*”². In the period, although the police violence continued along the country, there was a relatively peaceful atmosphere at Taksim square. Additionally, the President of the Republic, Abdullah Gül and various ministers had given modest speeches, even police forces and protesters got along peacefully when there was no clash (Özyer, 2013; p. 25-27). Another symbol of Gezi Resistance appeared in these days. A protester, Ziya Azazi in Gezi Park performed a series



Figure 8: Ziya Azazi performing as *gas masked dervish* in Gezi Park.

(2017, online, see. list of figures)

² Besides, literally Turkish word *çapulcu* means *looter*, in the course of event the word embraced by protesters, against the prime minister’s imputation.



Figure 9: Ziya Azazi performing as *gas masked dervish* in Taksim square.
(2013, İdris Emen, see. list of figures)

of *sema*³ performances as a *gas masked dervish*, along with a photographer, Deniz Akgündüz (Fig. 8). They called their project “SEN de GEL”⁴ to point out Mevlevi Order’s welcoming principle (Fig. 9) (Acar, 2013).

Beginning on the 5th day of the Gezi Resistance until the 11th day, although the events in the period looked as if Gezi Park was in a reterritorialization, instead they were in the continuum of the positive deterritorialization (Fig. 10-11-12) . As in the regime of subjective sign, the vectors of deterritorialization or the lines of flight were segmented, in performances, expressions, and protests. As mentioned before (2.2. the nomad & the State) in need of violence, the State apparatus used police forces, which were striated by the State in order to prevent a war; yet on a smooth ground like Taksim square, striated violence, on certain occasions, broken its striation, and was caught in war machine’s current. Additionally, the nomads’ desire to make Taksim

³ Sema is the sacred ceremony of Mevlevi Order, and it forms as a whirling dervishes.

⁴ It can be translated as “YOU COME, too”.



Figure 10: Taksim square during the events. (2013, Yasin Akgül, see. list of figures)



Figure 11: Overturned and painted vehicles in Taksim square during the events. (2013, Yasin Akgül, see. list of figures)



Figure 12: Overturned and painted vehicles in Taksim square during the events. (2013, Jenk1907, see. list of figures)

everywhere and make *everywhere* resistance, was reached by the expansions of resistance to other cities, even in foreign cities in the forms of a flash mob.

On the 7th of June, 2013, around 02:00 the prime minister had returned to Turkey, and to welcome his return thousands of government supporters gathered and chanted for his lead. He gave a relatively moderate speech and blamed “interest lobbyists” and noted that he was each citizen’s Prime Minister (Özyer, 2013; p. 29). The following day, a police officer, Mustafa Sarı, 27, fell from a bridge under construction and died. While contradictory but modest statements were made by government officials, in Taksim, protesters put posters on the front façade of the AKM building (Fig 13). Between the 3rd and 11th of June, 2013, there was no clash between police and protesters in Taksim; however, clashes continued all across the country (Ayata et al. 2013; p. 11). In this period of time in Taksim, various performances, events, and gatherings happened, even a mathematician Prof. Ali Nesin, who is the son of a famous writer and humourist Aziz Nesin, give a lecture of logic. On the 11th of June 2013, as announced by the Governor Avni Mutlu, the police forces intervened Taksim square and AKM to clean the façades of the AKM building from posters. Through the daytime, there were minor clashes, but by night, police pressure had in-



Figure 13: AKM front façade with posters. (2013, Selçuk, see. list of figures)

creased. Until the morning of the 13th of June, clashes continued in Taksim. When police ceased interventions, yet again Taksim was filled by protesters, performances and events. Furthermore, after approximately two days of police violence in Taksim that caused an increase in a variety of protester profile; parents of the resisters joined their children. Meanwhile, Gezi Resistance, inspired people from Brazil to protest their government in the same fashion due to the price rise in public transportation. On the 14th of June, after Taksim Solidarity members' meeting with the prime minister, they declared that the decision about Taksim and countrywide protests were going to be taken by forums. The following day, on the 19th day of the protests, as an outcome from the forums, people decided to pursue the protest under one name; Taksim Solidarity, and they cleared the barricades on the entrance of Gezi Park. Same day around 21:30, police forces intervened Taksim and cleared out everything in 15 minutes. Although the resistance carried on for at least two more months, it was resistance's last day in Gezi Park (Özyer, 2013; p. 25-37).

In the course of the events, Taksim square was occupied by multiplicities from various ideological backgrounds, various religious beliefs, various ethnicities, various sexual orientations, various sports team supporters and various protests (Özbank, 2013; p. 29). Since multiplicities are ideas that contain intensities (dimensions of the ideas) to become actual, in the variety the spatial idea of Taksim completely deterritorialized and became a smooth space for the protests (Fig. 14). As a smooth space, Taksim expanded even to Brazil. The territory reterritorialized not on its original location but on its extensions, in other words, Taksim in the context of Gezi Resistance reterritorialized on other parks and squares in the form of a city forum. Therefore as a BwO, the very location of Taksim square has kept its amorphous form, even under the striation of the State apparatus.

4. 2. Graphic Expressions in Taksim Square

Ironically, Taksim Square was under construction for the new pedestrianization project, yet Gezi Resistance had stopped the constructions by opening the space in another way of production, namely the desiring-production. Since desiring machines need to be clung to a BwO in order to be productive in the means of desiring-production, in the course of events urban graphics clang to Taksim square as well. From a distance, deterritorialized Taksim square, visually, had gained a texture of multiplicities either in the form of people or in the form of urban graphics (Fig. 14).

Before analysing depicted urban graphic expressions from the events, as intensities and multiplicities, the texture they generated is needed to be analysed in the context of smoothing. In the course of the events, graphical expressions covered the surfaces of the space to express various issues concerning the protesters. In the process of



Figure 14: Graphic expressions on a public bus in the course of the events.
(2013, Serkan Ocak, see. list of figures)

production, the sense of Taksim square was carried over many other public spaces either by the protesters or by their graphical interventions. Each and every surface in the space, which in the course became Taksim square, had gained the texture of graffiti, including the surfaces of vehicles that were used by protester for a variety of purposes. The use of graphics to occupy the territory by the heterogeneity of graphical expressions evidently was a vector of deterritorialization for the Taksim square. Each person in the riot space, whether they were a protester, police officer or a passer-by was involved in the process of deterritorialization and consequently the translation of visual narrative, or in other words the reterritorialization. The protesters' random composition of graphic expressions, regardless of their individual expression as an intensity, worked as a multiplicity that smoothed the striated space of Taksim square to enlarge as an immeasurable riot square. Even if particular individual graphical expressions had deterritorialized from their significations as graffiti, they indeed worked like borders of a territory which was the result of a reterritorialization on vectors of negative deterritorialization.



Figure 15: *I couldn't find any slogan graffiti.* (2013, Şahin, see. list of figures)

Among the messages of graffiti, along with expressions of desires, protesters occasionally used the particular message; “*slogan bulamadım*”⁵ which states that the artist of this work could not find any slogan to write (Fig. 15). Hence the graffiti was just made for the sake of occupation, without carrying any further desire. Their only desire or production was to occupy the space for smoothing. Therefore inscriptions of desires on the strata of BwO whether observed from a distance or not, created a heterogeneous sense of place that, in our case, was Taksim Square.

Since BwO was occupied by multiplicities and intensities, Taksim as one could be attested in its spatial elements. The front façade of the AKM building as an element of Taksim was also occupied by graphic interventions in the form of giant posters and banners. Although they were above human scale, even the façade of the building had the graphical texture of Gezi Resistance. Furthermore, in the course of the events, the façade resembled a mirror or a screen for the space to reflect the actuality of the nomad as well as the actuality of the State on its two-dimensional surface. Its



Figure 16: AKM front façade with Turkish Flags and Atatürk poster.
(2013, Mete Çelebican, see. list of figures)

⁵ Translation of graffiti: “I couldn’t find a slogan”

surface continuously reflected power over the space. The graphic interventions made by the resistance and the government were continuously replaced by each other. In the course of the events first, the façade was occupied by the resistance graphics as a deterritorialization for smoothing, then it was reorganized by the resistance as a reterritorialization on a smooth space, and it was cleared by the government as a deterritorialization for striation; finally it was again covered with government authorized graphics which are the Turkish Flag and the portrait of the founder of Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Fig. 16).

In addition, in many cities of Turkey, road signs were intervened by protesters, where they had changed the name of places which were occupied by protesters, to Taksim. Furthermore, they made new road signs for particular places for which, in the course of the events, according to the protesters, had deserved new names (Fig. 17). As an example, in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, for a street, named after one of the



Figure 17: Custom sign post. (2013, Cansu Aslan, see. list of figures)

first parliamentarians in Turkish Republic “Tunalı Hilmi Caddesi”, protesters find another name; “TOMA⁶’lı Hilmi Caddesi”, because of continuous clashes between protesters and the police forces. Additionally on the same signpost Taksim, although it is located in İstanbul, was also addressed for indicating quasi-neighbourhood of the two places. Since the directional signs are a significant part of the wayfinding or place-making processes the graphical interventions on road signs had also affected the sense of place. Therefore, the graphical interventions on road signs as a vector of deterritorialization, work for smoothing the space that they were at the same time extending the Taksim as a smooth space and deterritorializing the actual location for reterritorialization as a riot space.

In the late days of the riot, the 26th of August, 2013, a citizen, Hüseyin Çetinel, painted stairs in his neighbourhood in rainbow colours (Fig. 18). According to him, he had only



Figure 18: *Rainbow stairs* (2013, online, see. list of figures)

⁶ “TOMA” is a Turkish abbreviation for Public Unrests Intervention Vehicle. “TOMA’lı Hilmi Caddesi” indicates that because there were many TOMA’s, the street become inseparable with the intervention vehicles. Additionally it is punning on a street name.

done it to “beautify” the neighbourhood and to make passer-bys smile. However, four days after he finished his work, municipal police painted the stairs back to grey. As a reaction, in various cities and locations, protesters painted public spaces in rainbow colours. Although after the first grey night, stairs were painted back to rainbow colours by municipal workers and Hüseyin Çetinel rejected any political message attached to his work, the vortical movement of the nomad space embrace *the rainbow stairs*. Gezi Resistance used the rainbow colours to paint their reach of territory and used them as a vector of deterritorialization that supports the smooth space of Gezi Resistance. Each location painted in rainbow colours indicated the resistance which refers to Taksim, even though the original location is not in Taksim square anymore.

Therefore from a distance, these heterogeneous multiplicities of urban graphics have been affected by the deterritorialization of the striated space. Each and every one of them together worked to support the smooth space. They were captured by the vortical movement of the smooth space and distributed on the infinite ground of the BwO as multiplicities of the schizophrenic table. Moreover, the graphic interventions, individually, worked as intensities, like in the movement, they were the points that the segmented lines of flights of Gezi Resistance pass-by.

On the other hand, particular graphic works give references to the faces of the nomad and the State. Among Gezi Resistance’s variety of urban graphic expressions, figurative expressions were depicted; since they had the advantage to communicate universally by bringing the expression without a support of language, although they may have bounds with the culture. The first face of the riot is *woman in red*, and as a symbol, she was illustrated by an artist name Murat Başol moreover, the illustration was used in variations by protesters in various forms like stencil, poster or graffiti (Fig. 19). In this illustration, he pictured the police in full riot gear spraying pepper gas to a giantlike unarmed woman with flying hair in a red dress carrying a white tote bag. In this way, as a face or in other words as a centre of signifiacance, she render the powerful stance and the peaceful characteristic of women protesters. In the process of becoming women protesters’ face, the face of Ceyda Sungur, who was the woman in red dress, had to be dismantled. While her face became imperceptible by the illustration, a signifying face was reterritorialized on the

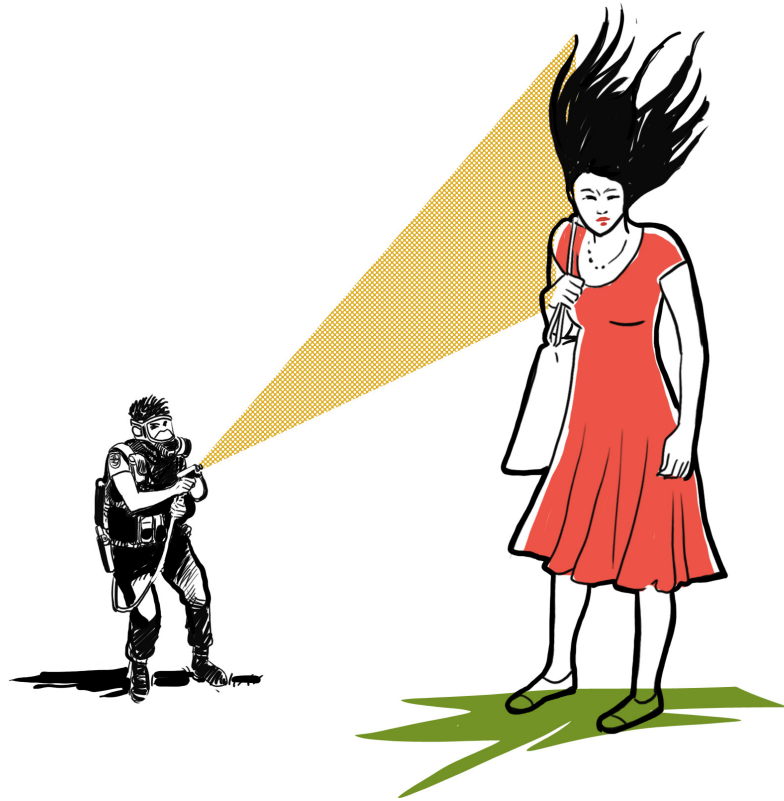


Figure 19: *woman in red* illustration by Murat Başol. (2013, see. list of figures)

lost ground. In various locations along the country, the illustration was printed on a large membrane with a hole instead of her face, protesters put their own faces in the hole to take souvenir photos of resistance. This was the first reterritorialization of one of Gezi Resistance’s many faces.

As in the case of the woman in red, the pepper gas, according to reports, was used excessively by the police forces and it was apparently the major power of the police in the course of the events. Hence it was the force of violence that the State, more accurately the magician-king used. Yet, on the point of excessiveness, it ran out from its striations and put itself on the war machine where it was deterritorialized. When the vortex of Gezi resistance deterritorialized it, it was reterritorialized on the smooth space of the riot as another face by unauthorized urban graphics in various forms. On a mural, a little girl with anarchy symbol on her shirt holding a pepper gas canister in the form of old advertisement poster with advertisement slogan “*so biber?!*” and

⁷ “Biber” means pepper in Turkish.



Figure 20: Anonymous stencil about pepper gas. (2014, Wagner, see. list of figures)



Figure 21: Swan stencil with a gas mask. (2014, Wagner, see. list of figures)

with explanatory sub-slogan “best remedy for nasal congestion!”. The mural explicitly indicated the invincible characteristic of the protesters, by understating the power of the State (Fig. 20). Furthermore, in relation to the pepper gas, gas-masked figures were used on many surfaces as uncommissioned urban graphics. By these gas-masked figures, protesters were reterritorialized as a face, instead of making understatement about the State. Gas-masked construction helmets had become the face of the protesters; gas-masked cats and swans became the face of the protesters from Ankara, since the city is famous for cats and the park named “*Kuğulu Park*⁸” that was one of the places in the capital city; protesters dwelled (Fig. 21). Among various gas-masked figures, there were family pictograms (Fig. 22), swans, pregnant woman silhouettes (Fig. 24), even corporate images (Fig. 23). The gas-masked figures as faces of the Gezi Resistance touched almost every part of the body of the resistance. From the symbols of the resistance, *gas masked dervish* with its slogan “SEN de GEL” attached; had also found its reflection on the urban surfaces of the riot space.



Figure 22: Gas masked family pictogram. (2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)



Figure 23: Gas masked Twitter company logo stencil. (2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)



Figure 24: Gas masked pregnant woman stencil. (2014, Wagner, see. list of figures)

⁸ *Kuğulu Park* means park with swans in Turkish.



Figure 25: Gas masked dervish stencil with its slogan.

(2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)

As a centre of signifiacnce the work invited passer-bys to resistance; at the same time, it marked its territory as a smooth space by inviting multiplicities.

On the other hand, another symbol of the Gezi Resistance had played its role in a different way; penguins as the symbol for the subjectivity of national mainstream press, was again a face of the resistance on uncommissioned urban graphics. On urban surfaces of the Gezi Resistance, streaming a documentary about penguins, instead of covering the events, reflected as if the penguins were also a part of Gezi Resistance that they joined the protest in their own way. On a poster in *Kuğulu Park*, there was an annoyed family of penguins on a television screen with *CNN TÜRK*⁹ logo illustrated with a subtitle that indicated the continent of Antarctica was in resistance (Fig. 26). It was a reterritorialization on the lost ground of the news coverage about protests on the mainstream national press. In the vortical

⁹ Turkish affiliate of the cable news channel CNN.



Figure 26: Annoyed family of penguins poster. (2014, Wagner, see. list of figures)



Figure 27: Penguin stencil. (2014, Wagner, see. list of figures)



Figure 28: Gas masked penguin stencil. (2017, online, see. list of figures)

movement of the smooth space, penguins were illustrated on many locations of the resistance. In various places, penguins were illustrated as they stand in dignity against the government (Fig. 27), while in some other surfaces they were illustrated as gas masked and with a raised wing instead of a raised fist (Fig. 28). In that way, penguins became a face of unarmed protesters.

Each face of the resistance had played its role in the process of reterritorialization. Since, Gezi Resistance as an abstract machine of faciality, produced many faces according to the nomadic nature of the resistance, in the process of reterritorialization, all of the faces produced by the resistance were referring to a despotic signifier of Gezi Resistance. Yet, the machine, from its self-perspective, pointed out the fascist by rejecting the State apparatus. As the abstract machine of facility rejected the evil twin of the BwO or the empty virtuous body, it was visualized as the face of the despot on urban surfaces. Since the protests were made against the government, being the head of the government, the prime minister was the focus of the protests.



Figure 29: "Red Hot Chilli Tayyip" mural. (2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)



Figure 30: The prime minister with Ottoman sultan turban poster.
(2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)



Figure 31: The prime minister with toothbrush moustache stencil. (2013, Selçuk, see. list of figures)



Figure 32: the prime minister's eyes covered with black strip stencil. (2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)

Consequently, the image of the prime minister became the face of the State, or in other words the face of the despot. His face was illustrated on urban surfaces in various contexts; while one was indicating his anger by a pun in relation with a rock band called *red hot chilly peppers* (Fig. 29), the other one invited him to the resistance for a friendly photo shoot (Fig. 34). Although these invitations to deterritorialization of the face of the State did not dismantle its image, there were other graphic interventions that directly accused his power and the use of his power. As rejected by the abstract machine, the face of the despot was cropped out of the smooth space. Thus as a member of striated space, his face was illustrated with a toothbrush moustache of Adolph Hitler (Fig. 31), or more domestically his face was illustrated with a turban pinned with a crescent moon as if he was an Ottoman Sultan (Fig. 30). On the other hand in another graphic intervention in the form of a stencil, instead of accusing the despot of using excessive power, his eyes were covered with a black strip with the word *wanted* tag as if he was a wanted criminal but his identity was hidden for the risk of incrimination (Fig. 32). Furthermore, in another mural the face illustrated as if he was unsuccessfully hiding (Fig. 33). These two attacked the presence of the despot's face directly since the despot never hides his face. On the other hand,



Figure 33: The prime minister is hiding mural. (2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)

in a particular mural is designed as a souvenir photo booth to remember the prime minister's friendly approach to resisters, during the resistance (Fig. 34). On one dimension, the face of the despot was attached to a friend hugging postured body indicating the welcoming principle of the resistance against fascism accusations for the prime minister. On the other dimension, the composition attempted to deterritorialize the face of the despot by making the face imperceptible through breaking its signifiante and taking it out of subjectification.



Figure 34: Souvenir photo booth with the prime minister mural. (2013, Erbil, see. list of figures)

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Accordingly, each face of the resistance had played its role in the process of reterritorialization. Graphic expressions on urban space visualized the faces to reterritorialized as a riot place on the lost ground of the State. Individually each face touched each related intensity, and they work in a white wall/black hole system to reduce intensities to point zero for the actualization of the intensity. Therefore unauthorized graphic interventions on the urban surfaces in times of trouble have uses for the process of placemaking. They occupied the territory, deterritorialized it, expanded it and put the lost territory to the process of reterritorialization. In that way, the uncommissioned urban graphics proved their worth in the practice of placemaking even in social struggles.

5. CONCLUSION

The idea of Taksim square as a BwO in the course of Gezi Resistance in the context of uncommissioned urban graphics requires an inter-disciplinary study between urban studies and graphic arts. Furthermore, the process of placemaking at a social struggle is needed to be analysed in a politically neutral perspective that conformity with each side of the events. Therefore, Nomadic Thought and its basic concept, desiring-production, were explained by their processes regarding how desiring-machines operates on BwO and how they distribute their elements according to the nomad and the State along with the war machine and the State apparatus. Additionally, the Face as a centre of significance was explained in terms of multiplicities and intensities by the nomadic lexicon. Besides, spatial understanding of Nomadic Thought in terms of space production, the object of the study; the uncommissioned urban graphics were described by their use in terms of urban production of space. Moreover, the descriptions of smooth space and striated space were made with their modus operandi which are the deterritorialization and the reterritorialization. Since these operations cannot exist without the territory or the earth, the nomadic understanding of these terms and their relation with abstract-machines and BwO were explained. To cover the whole scope of the idea, the space namely the Taksim square and graphic interventions, which were made in the course of the events, were discussed in term of the theory.

In conclusion, the thesis reveals, along with the literature review and the case study, that the sense of space either can be destroyed or can be established or be expanded by the use of uncommissioned urban graphics. The location of Taksim square that served as a space of flows in the history of the Turkish Republic has not only been hosting the flows, but also it has been acting as a face by touching the multiplicities, who were using the place as a passage, and the built environment, which have sur-

rounded the square. Intensities, composed by multiplicities on the location, were reduced to zero for becoming a face by its geographic location in urban space.

Furthermore, in the course of the Gezi Resistance, first, the space was put in the process of smoothing where the protests expanded to the country, and on the expanded riot space, multiplicities of the resistance were distributed. The movements of deterritorialization were continued by segmented lines of flight that protests expanded to foreign countries in the continuum of positive deterritorialization even there was a constant battle between the State apparatus and the war machine. Although Gezi Resistance was reterritorialized in the expansions of deterritorialized Taksim square, the original location of the square kept its amorphous form even under the striation of the State apparatus.

In the course of the events, urban graphics have played their role in the process of deterritorialization, reterritorialization, smoothing and striation so that all of these operations were in the capabilities of the uncommissioned urban graphics. The graphic texture on surfaces of the riot space has enhanced the process of deterritorialization of the Taksim square and accordingly the reterritorialization of Gezi Resistance. Many graffiti were made just for the occupation of urban space without carrying any particular message. As a late work of the resistance, the rainbow stairs acted as an addition to the texture which indicated the reach of resistance's territory. While the front façade of the AKM building was affected by the texture, it also served as a screen for reflecting the power struggle over the original location of Taksim square. Additionally, by graphic interventions on road signs or in the form of road signs, many riot places along the country were labelled as Taksim so that new road signs indicated the deterritorialization of original location as expansions and the reterritorialization on expansions as a riot space. If the inscriptions on the strata of BwO are the recordings of the process of production, the infinite production of desire was recorded on the urban surfaces as the inscriptions on the strata at Taksim square. Therefore, Taksim square had functioned as a BwO of the resistance.

On the reterritorialization of Gezi Resistance over the riot space, uncommissioned urban graphics have visualized the faces of both the State and the nomad. Although in the course of events, they have been removed or developed on a daily base, the

uncommissioned urban graphics have indicated the faces and consequently the perspective of the protests. While *the woman in red* illustration has been the face of powerful and peaceful female protesters, pepper gas referenced graphics were aiming to antagonize the State by understating its power. However, the gas-masked figures, by touching every part of the resistance without any discrimination, had become the welcoming face of the resistance. Furthermore, penguin illustrations had appeared as a face of unarmed resistance, although the protesters accused the press for using penguins to auto-censor the coverage of the events, by setting fire to the broadcast vehicles, they show their hypocrisy. Eventually, the faces of the resistance referred to the despotic signifier of the Gezi Resistance, and their process of reterritorialization antagonized the face of the government. Hence, in the process, the resistance put their claims of non-fascist life practice in jeopardy at the urban surfaces.

In my opinion, the finding of this thesis has proven that the uncommissioned urban graphics have the power of placemaking over and above the built environment by producing a sense of place. Even in limited time and resources, they have the capabilities of creating, carrying, as well as destroying the sense of place. On the other hand, they can also be observed for sensing the dimensions of the place, since they are the recordings of space production. Therefore, in the long term even the construction materials, can be replaced with the graphics to create a place. From the Lascaux cave to modern cities, graphic expressions have served the functions of the place in the process of space production. Furthermore, I think the functionality of two-dimensional surfaces in our built environment should be considered in urban scale for placemaking processes. Since the thesis has focused on non-digital graphics which were created in the course of the Gezi Resistance for serving the purposes of the riot, in future studies, either digital urban surfaces in a limited period of time can be observed and researched in the sense of Deleuzian production of space, or other civil unrests can be investigated in the same manner. Furthermore, in a wider perspective, findings of this thesis can be used for interdisciplinary design and research projects concerning graphic design and urban design disciplines.

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