

**CREATIVE MASS ACTIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY AND
THE AESTHETICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE**



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**CREATIVE MASS ACTIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY AND
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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and result that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

This study, which examines the relationship between art and daily life through the aesthetic actions spread among the masses on the streets, starting from the historical intersections of rebellion and creativity. Focusing on actuality, forms of mass expression, and social aesthetic pursuits, this study separates the historical relations of theoretical and practical approaches based on their periods and claims that it would include public movements to its subject through questions from daily life.

Within the framework of these claims, in the second section of the thesis, aesthetics and dynamics of creative action were researched. The research results of the art and the artist's autonomy processes, which are the propaganda tool of the power and the bourgeoisie, inevitably constitute the basic structure of the study. In the third chapter, with the curiosity about the "History of the Relationship between Social Mobility and Art and Politics", the issues of Collective International Avant-garde Movements, Civil Disobedience, Counterculture, New Action Strategies and Digital Platforms brought this thesis to the subject of "Social Movements and Formations in Turkey After 2000", which is the fourth section. Undoubtedly, although there is no claim of writing based on the formation of a historian, this section at least aims to emphasize how functional aesthetics is in daily life, especially in social mobility since the 1960s.

This thesis, which aims to show that many resistances and opposition organizations now prefer aesthetic forms of action over pro-violent actions because they are more functional, hopes to contribute to the peaceful and democratic ways of expressing themselves for new generations to have a more livable, egalitarian and just future.

Keywords: Mass action, aesthetic, political, collectivity, creative action, civil disobedience, public space, art, interactive art, revolutionary art, activism, protest against.



ÖZET

2019 Haziran ayında sanat ve gündelik yaşam ilişkisini, sokaklarda kitleler arasında yayılan estetik eylemler üzerinden incelemeye başlayan bu çalışma, isyanın ve yaratıcılığın tarihteki kesişme noktalarından yola çıkmıştır. Eylemsellik, kitlesel ifade biçimleri, toplumsal estetik arayışları doğrultusuna odaklanan bu çalışma, teorik ve pratik yaklaşımların tarihsel ilişkilerini dönemlerine göre ayırmış ve gündelik hayat üzerinden çerçevelenen sorularla halk hareketlerini konusuna dahil edeceği iddiasında bulunmuştur.

Bu iddialar çerçevesinde tezin ikinci aşamasında, yaratıcı eylem estetiği ve dinamiklerinin araştırılması söz konusu olmuştur. İktidar ve burjuvaların propaganda aracı olmuş sanat ve sanatçının özerklik süreçlerinin araştırma sonuçları ister istemez çalışmanın temel yapı taşlarını örmeye başlamıştır. Üçüncü bölümde ‘Toplumsal Hareketlilik İle Sanat Siyaset İlişkisinin Tarihi’ hakkında oluşan merak ile Kolektif Enternasyonel Avangard Hareketler, Sivil İtaatsizlik ve Karşıt Kültür, Yeni Eylem Stratejileri Ve Dijital Platformlar’ ve alt başlıkları bu tezi, dördüncü bölümü oluşturan ‘2000 Sonrası Türkiye’de Toplumsal Hareket ve Oluşumlar’ konusuna getirdi. Şüphesiz bir tarih bilimcisi formasyonu temelli bir yazım iddiası olunmasa da bu kısım en azından, özellikle 1960’lardan bugüne toplumsal hareketlilik içinde estetiğin, gündelik hayatta ne kadar işlevsel olduğunu vurgulamayı amaçlamıştır.

Artık çoğu karşı duruş ve muhalif örgütlenmelerin, şiddet yanlısı eylemlerin yerine estetik eylem biçimlerini daha işlevsel olduğu için tercih ettiğini göstermeyi amaçlayan bu tez, daha yaşanılır, eşitlikçi ve adaletli bir gelecek için yeni nesillerin kendilerini barışçıl ve demokratik yollarla ifade etmesine katkı sunması ümidini taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kitlesel eylem, estetik, politik, kolektivite, yaratıcı eylem, sivil itaatsizlik, kamusal alan, sanat, interaktif art, devrimci sanat, aktivizm, protesto.





To Bade and Burak.

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1. GİRİŞ

Art events usually take place in closed-circuit environments where the art community is receptive, such as artists, art critics and/or gallerists. However, art has built itself in the 20th century with a corpus of utopias that exist together with large masses. For this reason, “Could it be because of these closed-circuit systems that today's art cannot be socialized, that is, it cannot exist in life?” This question is the first and fundamental question of this study.

Is it possible for people outside of the art circle to participate in the movement as a receptive person with the aesthetic actions performed in public sphere? In a period when art cannot be socialized, is it possible to spread the aesthetic language created by the actions in public sphere to daily life? Can the aestheticization of life begin with the expression of the masses on the street? Could the union of the relationship between art and daily life be possible with the creative actions spreading among the masses on the streets? Other questions of this type, following the first and fundamental question, have inevitably affected the research fields and course of this study.

Within the institutionalism of the art field, it is possible that the art environment, where works of art can be exhibited and sold in galleries, or even exchanged at auctions, and where there are markets for artists or works, will be outside the scope of this thesis. Because in this thesis, apart from the field of art, where sales value is the criterion of success, new types of collective action formations that create themselves in the public sphere, the aesthetic formations and approaches that they create and

organize the masses will be investigated. By criticizing the existing system, the historical relations of theoretical and practical approaches to social movements that desire a new structure and social future will be examined within the framework of the above questions, through political sensitivities shaped according to their periods. The chronological ordering and analysis of the actions will form the method of the thesis.

This thesis will be written in order to see the whole of the popular movements that affect daily life and to investigate their effects and contributions to social and administrative structures. Of course, popular movements can be studied, linked, and even rewritten across a variety of contexts and political engagements. But this thesis will tend to be shaped through the creativity part, which is the most reconciling and massifying side of the popular movements. Although it is not possible to detect all of the popular movements; With this thesis, it is aimed to see the whole by selecting the movements that left their mark in history. Therefore, the most important binding of this is aesthetic pleasure and the theories formed in this context.

The relations between art and politics, which were discussed during the French Revolution in 1789, one of the important popular movements that left their mark on history, started with the enlightenment of the society with the conditions that caused the French Revolution, its intellectual progress, and the struggle for equality and freedom. Afterwards, important artists took active roles in the formation of the Paris Commune (1871). For example, the first work done under the leadership of Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), who was appointed as the President of the Federation of Artists of the time, was the demolition of the Vendome Column, an aesthetic icon of power built to commemorate Napoleon's military victories. (Katsiaficas, G., 2019)

This event will be accepted as a representation of the revolution shaped between art and politics and the beginning of the revolutionary movement's use of art as a tool. (Scholl, C., 2013) With such events taking place in public spheres the work of art will transform to convey the political and utopian view to the society and gain a different function.

When we look at the 20th century, avant-garde arts were also effective in the formation of anarchist environment. Among these, we can count the knowledge created by Futurism, Dada, Surrealism, Cobra, Letrism and Situationist International Collective Avant-garde Movements.

This thesis deals with the interchange of life and art from time to time, the confusion of definitions of activist-artist, the blurring of the lines between them; He draws theories of everyday life and the public sphere into his work. In Jean Baudrillard's (1929-2007) book "The Conspiracy of Art", "I think the claim of art is increasing, it wants to be life." statement explains this situation.

In addition to these, Turkey's political activity and the actions of opposing views in public spheres, which are parallel to the examples in the world, will also be examined. In addition to organizing against central governments such as the Monopoly Resistance, Gezi Park Events, and the Emek Cinema Movement, the effects of collective aesthetic actions created with the search for creative language on art and life will be investigated in this direction.

Although it does not claim to establish a research text shaped by theory, aesthetic theories and definitions that change according to periods have been added to this

study inevitably in order to examine the cause-effect relationships of social movements.

Unlike the texts written by historians, this study; Since it is written with an art-centered perspective and perception, it can be considered as an 'experimental' social movements history research.



Figure 1. Destroying the Vendome Column. Statue of Napoleon destroyed along with the Column of Vendôme during the Paris commune. Gustave Courbet, pictured ninth from the right.(<https://www.eskop.com/skopbulten/estetik-ve-politik-avangardlar/5104>)

2. AESTHETICS AND DYNAMICS OF CREATIVE ACTION

Art has shown its existence in all areas of life, with its inevitable relationship with life as a human act, and being as real as life.

While it was going to get rid of the bourgeoisie and gain its freedom, it became a propaganda tool of the powers, it was incorporated into institutions and private companies, but none of them could fully own art and artists. From the purposeful use of art by various structures, with the emergence of the concept of autonomy in history, the framework of emancipation has been formed. The concept was used for the first time in written form by Kant, who argued that art should not have any expectation of benefit or interest in his book "*Critique of Judgment*".

The relative autonomy of art, the view that art can be for everyone, the role of aesthetic experience in shaping daily life have formed the basis of today's aesthetic actions.

2.1 Enlightenment Period and French Revolution

We can see the apparent emergence of the relationship between art and politics since 1789. The factors that paved the way for the formation of the French Revolution were the public's awareness, intellectual progress, enlightenment, awareness of the rights of

the oppressed workers, and the spread of revolutionary thought to the whole society. It was the articulation of ideas by artists in the fields of philosophy, literature, music, and plastic arts that enabled this diffusion. Its foundations were laid at the end of the Middle Ages, during the Enlightenment Period (1715-1789). Afşar Timuçin¹ (1939), in the second of the books in the History of Intellectual Philosophy Series, *"Humanism', which started with the Renaissance, is the transition from the blind believer to the doubter."* he states. According to John Locke (1632-1704), one of the most important thinkers of the 17th century, who is considered to be the real founder of the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason in Europe, as he was the first to spread the understanding of freedom of thought and to organize human actions according to reason. *"It is reason that sets man free. Every society is founded on the voluntary participation of its members. Every individual has the right to defend his freedom. When the government becomes tyrant, the people have the right to resist the tyrant."* Afşar Timuçin conveyed the ideas of John Locke as follows: *"...Also, the idea of separation of powers has an important place in Locke's thought. According to Locke, the legislative, executive and judicial powers in a state will not be given to a person who uses them as he knows by his authority from God. These powers come from the people. When the state does not use these powers properly, the people will have the right to revolt..."* (Timuçin, A., 2004, S:195)

¹ Turkish philosopher, poet, writer, translator.

2.2 Revolutionary Tendencies and Romanticism

The end of the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment Period is the period when people realized that they had the right to a better life and their tendency to rebel began. The prevalence of such moods is associated with romance in the book of Hungarian art historian Arnold Houser (1892-1978).

“Almost all modern works of art, emotional impulses, all the moods and processes of modern man owe their subtlety and diversity to the sensibility engendered by romanticism. All the fury, turmoil and violence of modern art, its drunken and stammering lyricism, its unbridled, unsparing exhibitionism are also the result of this sensibility.” (Hauser, A., 2006, P:139)

Arnold Hauser said, *“The works of art were made with a traditional understanding until the romance. The romantic movement of the eighteenth century is a socially conflict-filled event for the whole of Europe... At first, the romanticism movement, which started in the middle part of the bourgeoisie, which was affected only casually by the Enlightenment movement and thought that the Enlightenment was closely related to the old classical culture; It has increasingly become a feature of classes that use the emotional tendencies of the era to achieve their own anti-rational, social and political ends. He emphasized how the structure of the social classes to which they belonged changed when the intellectuals of the period came together to change the non-egalitarian forms of political administration.”* (Hauser, A., 2006, p:85)

In addition, Arnold Hauser, in his book *The Social History of Art*, also mentioned that Romanticism is closely related to revolutionary tendencies. (ibid. S:23-25)

Architect, art historian Ali Artun, his romance is a cultural revolution; characterizes it as the greatest transformation of western consciousness. According to Ali Artun, the adventure of autonomy for the artist, and therefore his works of art, has begun. Ali Artun, in his speech at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Sculpture Department on March 12, 2019, emphasized that the result of the autonomy of art that started with the romantic revolution is Aesthetic Modernism.

“The socialist utopias of romantics such as Saint Simon (1760-1825), Fourier (1772-1837), and William Morris (1834-1896) stressed most on art's leadership in major social transformations in the revolutionary political discourse of the nineteenth century.”

In this period, art gradually moved away from the social institutions that support and condition itself and started to transform into an autonomous structure that manages itself. The concept of the autonomy of art is based on the idea that art is a free and rational subject.

In the process of autonomy in art, the romantics of the period, who redefined production and social values, expressed their revolutionary views through the writings they wrote and the actions they created. Romanticism, an intellectual movement that influenced literature, music, philosophy and art in Europe between 1800 and 1850, is a reaction movement. In particular, the social, political and intellectual structure that started with the French Revolution of 1789 had effects on the emergence of the movement that reacted to the industrial revolution, the social and political order of the period and classicism. (French Revolution, n.d.)

The Romantics of the 20th century, on the other hand, built and organized their ideological stance on these refusals in the world of consciousness they created against the dictates of modern society. In line with this, Guy Debord (1931-1994) said, "*We will be revolutionary romantics.*" The expression should be seen as a definition of a situation taken against the absolute.

"It is romanticism that feeds the anti-modern discourse. Kant, who gave the modern definition to art; By separating aesthetics from ethics and logic, he proposes that the purpose and meaning of art consists of itself. It gives art its autonomy." (Artun, A., 2013, P:23-24)

The romantics of the 20th century, who defined themselves as revolutionaries, played an important role in the construction of the future they developed by describing them in their utopias. For the future they plan to build, they sought ways to associate aesthetics with everyday life; They have put forward the activism by putting forward various strategies.

2.3 Autonomy Processes in Art and Its Effect on the Meanings of Aesthetics

The relationship and degree that the artist will establish with politics should be shaped by his own initiative and by his autonomous will, which is dependent on his own decision-making power.

The German Philosopher Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), one of the influential figures in the development of the art autonomy movement, and the "Sturm und Drang" movement founded by him, which existed between 1760-1780, is a rebellion against rationalism. Founder Johann Georg Hamann, Descartes' (1596-1650) *"I think, therefore I am."* He claimed the exact opposite of the phrase: *"I am, therefore I think"*. It has destroyed the entire knowledge regime up to that time, all ethical and aesthetic values. According to him, the source of creativity is desires, especially sexual desires. It advocates a kind of pantheism, mysticism, in which God is immanent to everything in the universe. And he believes that only artists can dismantle the secret language of God. Therefore, the substance of truth, existence and non-existence is art. (Artun, A., 2017)

The new sense of life and understanding of nature will determine the artistic understanding of the "Sturm und Drang" movement. *"In his book "Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten" (Socratic Memories, 1759), Hamann reacts to the rational understanding of art and wants the author to be a genius and to express and reflect emotions in the work. For this movement, art is nature, not culture. Therefore, the author is concerned with the nature of the person. literary products; It will consist of enthusiasms, a mobilization of emotions, a storm of passions and emotions. In order*

to produce such an art, "education" is not important. What matters is experienced life, innate genius." (Salihoğlu, H., 1988, p:199-208)

In this direction, the Storm and Tension Movement sowed the seeds of the idea that art and aesthetic pleasure, which are monopolized by aristocrats and educated people, will also be valid for the uneducated, that life can be shaped by experiences, not rooted ties, in other words, art can be for everyone.

The fact that aesthetics is widely known and used as a concept belonging to the field of art has left its meaning in the essence of the word and in philosophy science in the background. In this study, the importance of aesthetic perception in crowded environments where creativity dominates the environment is better understood.

The root of the word 'aesthetics' comes from the words 'aisthesis' or 'aisthanesthai' from the Greek culture and language. These words, which mean to perceive with emotion, bring the concepts of sense, perception and perceiving to the fore, and the science established with the knowledge created by the experiences gained through these emotions is the basis of aesthetics. (Ergün, M., 2019)

Alexander G. Baumgarten (1714-1762) was the first to use the term aesthetics in 1735. According to Baumgarten, "logic" is a science that examines the accuracy of knowledge based on thought and mind; "Aesthetics", on the other hand, was the science that examined the accuracy of information related to senses and emotions. In other words, it was put forward as the logic of sensory-based knowledge, like the twin brother of aesthetic logic.

There are three basic normative sciences in philosophy. These are "Logic" based on truth, "Morality" based on goodness and "Aesthetics" based on beauty. Thus,

aesthetics does not examine the whole breadth of the sensual realm, but specifically the quality part of the beautiful. Therefore, sometime the concepts of the science or philosophy of beauty were also suggested by J.G. Herder² and G.W.F Hegel³ instead of the word aesthetic.

Thinkers such as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), Karl Rosenkranz (1805-1879), Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) opposed the limitation of the basic value of aesthetics as only beauty. They argued that sublime, tragic, funny, elegant, interesting, naive, noble, attractive and even ugliness are acceptable within the values that aesthetics will examine, that is, in fact, every perceptible situation is in question. (Ergün, M., 2019)

A view dealing with the work of art and its producer also suggested a change in the source of aesthetics. There are psychological aestheticians such as Theodor Lipps, who argue that the essential aesthetic is not the aesthetic object (the work of art) but the psychological feelings of the person who makes it and looks at it. On the other hand, there are phenomenological aestheticists such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, who are far from the subjective approach and argue that the main aesthetic is the object, the work of art.

In fact, philosophical aesthetics combines all these; psychological aesthetics (subject), phenomenological aesthetics (object), philosophy of art and logic of aesthetic values (aesthetic judgment) are handled as a whole.

² Johann Gottfried Herder: He is considered one of the co-founders of these fields with his works in the fields of philosophy of language and philosophy of history, which were evaluated in the German Romanticism period and especially in the Storm and Enthusiasm school and accepted as the most important products of this period.

³ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: German Philosopher.

The dimension of aesthetics regarding the regime of perception and knowing, as the experience of the subject experiencing beauty against the object, could not prevent the use of aesthetics as a concept identical with art in the following years. (Carroll, N., 2012, S: 232-271)

Even today, it is used in the sense of aesthetics, beauty and mostly for works of art. However, the meaning of the word aesthetic, which we will discuss in this thesis, is as Baumgarten used for the first time. Aesthetics, which was later described as every perceptible situation by thinkers like Kant and Schiller, was used to evaluate the perceptibility levels of creative actions in this study.

Kant, one of the founding names of German philosophy, says that the beauty experienced in the face of the object is not related to the quality of the object: *“According to Kant, just like in Hume, we do not like something because 'beautiful' is a quality of that thing, on the contrary, it is a means of enjoying it. We call something 'beautiful', but still, unlike Hume, we equip our judgment with the power of an objective, universal, and necessary knowledge judgment of the quality of the thing, as it were.”* (Hünler, H., 2011, P:365)

On the acceptance of aesthetics as a separate field of knowledge, the understanding that artistic production is a separate activity from all other productions, on concepts such as work and play, Friedrich von Schiller⁴ (1759-1805) wrote in 1794 in his book *“On the Aesthetic Education of Man”*. He mentions that production reconciles the logical and sensory aspects of man. Jack Ranciere (1940), an important aesthetic philosopher: *“Schiller's comparison of art with play is the beginning of the idea of autonomy.”* Ranciere continues: *“Schiller declares that man is fully human only when*

⁴ German poet, philosopher, historian and dramatist.

he plays.” That's when he makes art. “Schiller not only lays the foundations for the autonomy of art; binds her with the hope of transforming life. It connects with politics, revolution and utopia. Today, thanks to Schiller, we are able to imagine certain acts of freedom as aesthetic forms.” (Ali Artun Msgsü conference, March 2019)

According to Kant, aesthetic experience is based on imagination, not understanding. *“This imagination is very important in autonomy. Because it depends on the imagination and is a completely personal, free experience. Therefore, aesthetic freedom is a freedom without rules and laws. It is anarchic. The law of art is the lawlessness of imagination. Art is free because it stipulates rulelessness.” (Ali Artun Msgsü conference, March 2019)*⁵

Henry Lefebvre, in his Critique of Everyday Life, mentions that Marx first wanted to transform everyday life in order to change the world. According to Marx, there are two projects that will transform everyday life. One means, in the ethical order, the mutual acceptance of needs and desires between individuals and groups in social life. *“It includes the knowledge and transparency of the relationships between them. of “social mystery”; “that is, it requires the end of everything that makes relations between people impermeable and incomprehensible and separates them from their consciousness as well as from their actions”.* (Lefebvre, H., 2010, p:44)

The aesthetic quality, on the other hand, includes the glorification of art as a creative activity, as well as the criticism of art, which produces exceptional works for exceptional people, disconnected from everyday life and even above everyday life. At

⁵ This is the information taken from the audio recording of Ali Artun's speech with the organization of the Msgsü Sculpture Department on 12.03.2019.

this point, *“Art must both be realized and transcend itself and disappear”*. Marx imagines not a society where everyone is a painter, poet or musician, but a society in which everyone perceives the world as an artist and takes pleasure from the sensible things with the eyes of an artist, the ears of a musician, and the language of a poet. *“The art that has been transcended thus disappears in a transformed daily life by merging with what is outside of daily life”*. (Lefebvre, H., 2010, p:44-45)

The approach that attaches cultural value to freedom, creativity and individuality within the autonomy of art has also taken the economic value of art as a top priority. Yet this ambiguous tension between aesthetics, play, and capitalist work has paved the way for the reactive assertion of the notion of art as play against work. The dominance of autonomy as a value, of art expressed in the ideal of free play, can be thought of in line with attacks on other forms of domination, such as capital and the state.

Autonomy of art is essential for changing the world. According to Marx, daily life must first change. Troubles in daily life activate people and creative actions are created precisely with the feeling of rebellion in daily life. The aesthetic quality of creative actions brings people together more, and with increased awareness, the power of actions increases.

Creativity and aesthetic quality, which we accept as concepts belonging to the field of art, have been freed from the dominance of art and creative aesthetic action forms have emerged.

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL MOBILITY AND ART AND POLITICS

3.1 Social Movements Questioning the Function of Art and/or Aesthetics

The concept of social movements was introduced by Donatella della Porta (1956) and Mario Diani as “*Informal networks based on shared beliefs and a sense of solidarity, taking action around conflictual issues and using various methods of protest.*” define as. (Yıldırım, Y., 2013)

It is in question that these informal networks, collective formations and experiences, being together against the central government, create a new life experience. Everyone who believed that aesthetics, which was monopolized by art during the 20th century avant-garde art movements, could change daily life, saw the spread of the pleasure of aesthetic perception to the public as a way out, and they believed that the revolution could only take place with this exit. They believed that only a dream about the future could not be the main building blocks of collectivity, and that the future shaped by the mind, also had the unifying power of aesthetic pleasure against the grievances it created. In this direction, while examining the context between action and aesthetics, aesthetics and function shaped by social movements have a power that should be emphasized. Aesthetic pleasure, which is aimed to be taken, is something that should be known and accepted with its new definition, apart from what is felt in front of a work of art.

3.1.1. French Revolution

The overthrow of the absolute monarchy in France and the establishment of the republic is a turning point in the history of the western world. The French Revolution took place between 1789-1799 and is the biggest trigger that started a social movement in the world. The Roman Catholic Church was forced to undergo serious reforms. Art, which stood against the domination of the church, the clergy, and the feudal order, revolted against the aristocracy, the nobility, and the church with its popular utopias and ideals, before being subjected to the hegemony of the growing bourgeois class. (French Revolution, n.d.)

Society is changing at a rapid pace, under which there was a great influence of the 'enlightenment philosophers'. The philosophy of the Age of Enlightenment, which was accepted as the beginning of the 18th century, was convinced that logic ordered to abolish the rooted traditions and absolutist tendencies of the political regime.

Among the first representatives of the Enlightenment, René Descartes, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Johann Gottfried Herder, Immanuel Kant, Christian Wolff, Denis Diderot, Claude Adrien Helvétius, Baron d'Holbach, Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Voltine, Thomas Pasha, David Hume, John Locke, Thomas Locke, David Hume thinkers defended the idea that freedom should be in all areas. (Age of Enlightenment, n.d.)

Ali Artun stated that the years before the 1848 revolution were the age of socialist utopias in Europe. The continuation of the 1789 revolution is a period of searching for ideal conditions in which the promise of freedom and equality can be fulfilled.

Newspapers, leaflets and brochures published by independent publishers lead to mass awareness. The French people were organized and out of the control of the palace, the king and the elite; revolted and overthrew the monarchical form of government; The republic was established while the working class and the bourgeoisie were still in alliance. After this establishment stage, the working class and the bourgeoisie, whose demands were rejected, declared war on each other. The unity of the people, the ideals and utopias of 1789, whose dreams of revolution and republic were destroyed in an instant, disappeared.

However, the freedom and revolutionary movements that started in France in 1848 spread to various European countries. The "*Communist Manifesto*", written together by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on February 1, 1848, claims that a classless and stateless social order should be realized by eliminating private property with a revolution. Now, the concepts of subject and individual have led to the questioning of the state of being a people who obey. These ideals and utopias will always form the basis of organizing against power and capital.

3.1.2. May Uprising in Dresden

“In 1849, when Prussian troops wanted to suppress the socialist resistance in Dresden, Germany, Mikhail Bakunin⁶ made an interesting suggestion to his fellow resisters: to put the oil paintings in the National Museum in front of the barricades. By Bakunin's calculation, provoking the bourgeois sensibility towards the fine arts could have prevented Prussian soldiers from actually attacking the rebels. For the Dresden insurgents, such an instrumental approach to the fine arts was an exaggeration. That's why they refused to use the oil paintings (in the national museum) as barricades (by taking them out). A few days later, the uprising was suppressed. Bakunin and many others were arrested, some were killed, and many were forced to leave the country.” (Scholl, C., 2013)

In this article, Christian Scholl⁷ (1981) analyzes the historical Dresden Incident, *"How much can a social history be changed by the instrumentalization of the art object if the resisters accepted Bakunin's offer?"* ends with a question. In this direction, Bakunin's suggestion to *"make useful"* canvas paintings, although the use of them as barricades has not been realized, this may be the oldest example of the idea of using art in acts of resistance.

⁶ Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin: 1814-1876 is a well-known Russian revolutionary and collectivist theorist of anarchism. He is one of the representatives of the first generation of anarchist thinkers and one of the thinkers known as the basic building blocks of Anarchism.

⁷ He is a research fellow at Maastricht University ICIS, Coordinator of the Urb@Exp Research Project. His research interests are on urban social movements and participatory democracy.

The text titled “*Art and Revolution*”, written by Richard Wagner⁸ (1813-1883) in 1849 in Zurich, from which he fled after the defeated – and participated in – Dresden Uprising, “*A summary of the most important moments in European art history*” was intended to present. As can be seen from this text, despite the Dresden defeat, Wagner was still committed to the idea of revolution. According to Wagner, the "thousand-year revolution of humanity", which destroyed Greek tragedy along with the Athenian state, created the conditions that made the future work of art possible, just as he was now writing on the revolution. Art should be understood as a "social product", more precisely, it should be seen as "*a mirror that reflects the dominant spirit of the people*".

This text of Wagner shows that art has been reopened to discussion with a social interaction. According to him, the excitement of the people during the uprising should have been reflected in art, which is a mirror, and there should have been a process in which the relationship between art and society was more intertwined. In this sense, Wagner and his circle inspired artists and philosophers who came after him.

⁸ Richard Wagner: (1813, Leipzig – 1883, Venice), German opera composer, theater director, music theorist and writer. He influenced the music world with the concept of a unified work of art (Gesamtkunstwerk) he developed. He became one of the most controversial musicians of the 20th century due to his innovations in music and drama and his anti-Semitic views.

3.1.3. Paris Commune

The Paris Commune is one of the important organizations in the history of thought in terms of reflecting and experiencing the social mobility and its results. This collective structure, in which all intellectual intellectuals came together and designed the future with the contributions of their own disciplines, enabled the re-examination of human existence and phenomenon with their contexts and the redefinition of the future in line with it.

After the defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), the Paris Commune was formed in 1871 as a result of the actions of all the revolutionary groups in Paris and remained in power for two months. (Paris Commune, n.d.)

In the article “Theses on the Paris Commune” written by Guy Debord, Attila Kotányi (1924-2003) and Raoul Vaneigem in 1962, the formation is described as follows:

“The Paris Commune was the greatest festival of the 19th century. The events of the spring of 1871 were marked by the sense that the insurgents were masters of their own history - but this is a feeling experienced at the level of everyday life, not the level of "power" politics. [...] These words of Marx, who said, “The most important social criterion of the Commune is its existence, which manifests itself in actions,” should be understood in this sense.” (Debord, G., Kotányi, A., Vaneigem, R., 1962)

At a time when existentialism was discussed at the end of the 19th century, its reflection on the forms of action and its contribution to the production of daily strategies is very important for this period. In addition, the Paris Commune is seen as

the first example of a free society based on participatory democracy. Marx and Engels, Bakunin, and later Lenin and Trotsky sought to draw theoretical lessons from the Commune's limited experience of existential and participatory democracy (especially in the withering away of the state). (Paris Commune, n.d.)



Figure 2. The painting that became the Symbol of the Paris Commune.

According to Ali Artun, after these defeats in Dresden and Paris, art came out of the utopia period. The purpose of art is limited to itself and the period of autonomy begins. The language of art is its own. In modernism, art cannot represent, imitate and depict anything but itself. Now the exhibit itself is a reality and an existence.

3.2. Revolutionary Art, Collective International Avant-garde Movements and the Function of the Public Sphere

The definition of Public Sphere, made by the German philosopher, sociologist and political scientist Jürgen Habermas (1929, Düsseldorf) in his associate professorship thesis *"The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere"* written in German in 1962, was translated into English and spread to discussion environments nearly thirty years later. As the state-individual relationship, central governments and civil disobedience change shape over time, the definition of public sphere, which changes over and over between these relations, takes its place in the history of thought by creating an accumulation.

According to Habermas, *"Citizens act as a public body only when they can discuss matters of general interest in an unrestricted manner, that is, with guaranteed freedoms of assembly, association, expression and publication of opinions."*

According to Habermas, who also stated that the state is not a part of the public sphere, this space, where new ideas were created, was developed outside the state.

"The idea of the 'public sphere' in the Habermasian sense is an institutionalized field of discursive interaction ... where citizens negotiate their common issues. This area is conceptually separate from the state; in principle, it is an area where critical discourses against the state are produced and circulated... It is also conceptually separate from the official-economy; the field of discursive relations, not market relations; a stage for sparring and negotiation, rather than buying and selling. The concept of the public sphere thus allows us to consider the distinctions necessary for

democratic theory, distinctions between state apparatuses, economic markets, and democratic associations. (Özbek, M., 2004)

One of the leading works of thinkers who spoke about the public sphere after Habermas is the work of Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge.

In their work “*Public Sphere and Experience: Towards the Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*”, Negt and Kluge divided the public sphere into three. *Sovereign Political Public Sphere*; defines it as an area containing complex structures and tools in which social struggles are controlled in a way that ensures the reproduction of the system. *Alternative Public Sphere*, on the other hand, consists of words and actions that try to solve the problems that arise with globalization in nation states in favor of the oppressed. It is completely out of class; but with its stance against inequality and domination, it can become a party to class relations and wage democratic struggles in this field. In response to the domination of the *Sovereign Political Public Sphere* by the powers of power and capital in the industrial commercial system, the alternative public space is shaped by those who want to have their say. Apart from these, the *Opposite Public Sphere* is the space formed by the anti-capitalist collective and founding political words and actions, in which the class struggle rising over the labor-capital contradiction is located. (Özbek, M., 2004, p: 180)

Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge were the first to use the concept of the Counter-Public Sphere.

Alexander Kluge: “*The public sphere is where struggles are decided (concluded) by non-combat means.*”

The people, who sought equality, rights and freedoms in great social turmoil, had a great impact on artists and especially on twentieth century avant-garde art. Since the early 1900s, twentieth century artists have internalized the utopias designed for a better society and sought the ways of revolution in art while dreaming of social revolution. With this point of view, they believed that art should have a new function and definition beyond the function and definition of art, which has been formed primarily with the clergy since the 15th century, then with the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. They discussed how art should be in a structure with the people and popular movements. They established the foundations of avant-garde art history with various trials that would open the way for revolutionary art.

After these experiences, Herbert Read (1893-1968) published "*What is Revolutionary Art?*" in 1935. In his article titled "*Revolutionary art must be revolutionary.*" says. Now the concept of revolution has started to be mentioned together with art, apart from the social doctrine. Revolution is related to life and life is shaped by cities. For this reason, the field in which revolutionary art intervenes and first comes into contact with life is the art of architecture. Therefore, Herbert Read shows architecture as an example of revolutionary art, and the reconstruction and reconstruction of society is very important according to Herbert Read. (Batur, E., 2003, p:127)

Italian academic, writer and critic Renato Poggioli (1907-1963), in his book "*The Theory of the Avant-Garde*" published in 1962, while describing the situation, establishes the metaphor of minorities in society; "*The twentieth-century avant-garde is the minority society defending itself and opposing society against the larger society.*" (Poggioli, R., 1968, p:4)

Because the minority and the other always remain outside the local and absolute.

Naturally, this situation necessitates loneliness in the first place, then coming together with those who are like him, and then various strategies that must be implemented against the absolute, just like avant-garde artists. In other words, Poggioli put forward the idea that an artist who is in the majority integrated into the system cannot be an avant-garde artist.

The Slovenian sociologist, politician and philosopher Lev Kreft (1951) defines the avant-garde as follows: *“The term avant-garde used in the field of art and politics is a metaphor borrowed from the military theory of the Renaissance; battaglia, retrogard, and avant-garde represent the three divisions of a mobile army. Considering the division of historical time between the past, present and future, and the idea of progress as a march towards the perfect society, humanity, the avant-garde as the name of a military formation is perfectly suited to define the elements that contain the horizon of the future and represent the future today.”* (Kreft, L., 2008, p:37)

The avant-gardes saw themselves not as guiding, pioneering artists, but as rejecters of art and the role of artists. The thought that is effective in reaching this point is not to produce an art object of art, but to express itself only by what is put forward.

Until the end of the 19th century, the definition of the artist is very clear. The artist is the one who produces representation; it is the one who shapes the material in its most perfect form; The craft is measured by the degree of mastery, and the production-consumption processes are shaped by a network of interests. In this respect, the artist's experiences in his personal life, his view of the world and his view are not included in his art. The artist creates his own continuity and consistency only with his own style. He is the one who creates and builds his own career through his style. Especially the

twentieth century avant-garde artists have multiplied around the idea of art with revolution or revolution in art. The avant-garde artists, who are now the founders of modern art against modernism, are not those who produce work by making use of representation, but those who defend the autonomy of art, except for those who pretend or imitate it. His issue is no longer producing an art object, but the effects of what he expresses in thought.

At the head of these groups are the Futurists, then the Dadaists, Surrealists, Cobra, Letrists and Situationists.



3.2.1 Futurism

In the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe, the contribution of new inventions and discoveries to production and the shaping of the industry after the discovery of mechanization, especially steam power, took place one after the other. All of a sudden, with this industrialization activity, the formation of a new order in Europe and the increase in capital accumulation spread to the whole world, firstly to the United Kingdom, then to Western Europe, North America and Japan.

The rapid increase in the population of Europe caused the masses dealing with agriculture to migrate to the cities. The living standard of this population, which is seen as a labor force ready for urban industry, has increased. What is considered luxuries (sugar, coffee, tea) has become a natural necessity. The increase in

consumption demand and the increase in desires have caused social changes. These desires, which also fed the most important financial source of the industrial revolution, continued with large-scale looting. The transformation of the village life shaped by feudal relations into the urban middle class life, the development and enrichment of the petty bourgeoisie was the driving force of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Banking and insurance activities gained momentum in this period. Searching for new investment areas, developments in transportation and technology are indicators of rapid change in European society. The process of constructing scientific knowledge is very important in terms of rational thinking principles revealing sciences and influencing technological developments. *“The belief in now uninterrupted and unstoppable progress was stronger than religion at that time. People believed in progress more than the Bible. The astonishing developments of science and technology in daily life also justified their beliefs.”* (Futurism, n.d.)

Inventions that made daily life easier were turning the heads of the people of the period. Taps, heaters, electricity, elevators, telephones; Inventions such as trams, buses and underground trains, gramophone, radio and telegraph on the streets suddenly brought the speed of the age to the fore.

The passage of an Englishman named Bleriot from Calais in France to Dover Port in England and crossing the English Channel influenced the writing of the Futurist Manifesto by the Italian poet Filippo Thomas Marinetti (1876-1944). This and similar events in the transportation world caused the Futurist Movement to be born in Italy. Marinetti has an activist and activist personality. Fueled by the word future, Marinetti first wanted to name Futurism as dynamism or electricity.

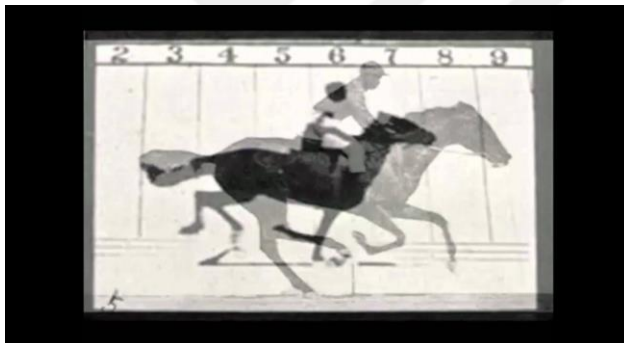
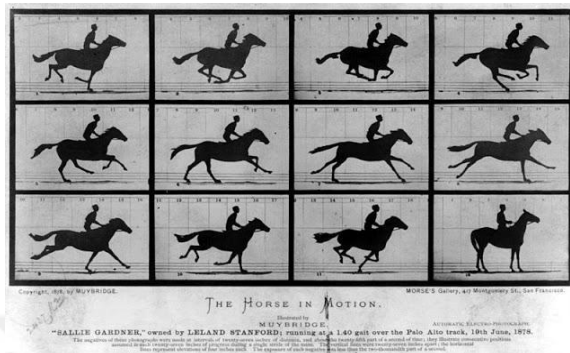
The most basic idea of futurism is that Italy states that it can make a move towards the future only if it can break its ties with the past. The most distinctive features of this movement are rhythm, dynamism and simultaneous parallel movement. According to Marinetti, speed is aesthetic and this aesthetic must be given a visual expression. Manifeste du futurisme (Declaration of Futurism), which was published in the Italian newspaper Gazzetta dell'Emilia in Bologna on February 5, 1909, and then as news on the front page of the Newspaper Le Figaro on February 20, 1909, was the announcement of a new art for a new world. declared as.

According to Marinetti, the 20th century is the beginning of the new world and Futurism is the new art of this new world. Now it is necessary to break away from the art of the past and build a new one instead. Apart from Marinetti's Futurist Declaration and his futuristic texts and poems, new thoughts and words were created by the process of recording every moment of formation of reality and speed, with his moving appearance and experimental photography techniques.

In line with Marinetti's aesthetic theories of speed, Eadweard Muybrich (1830-1904) and Etienne Jules Marey (1830-1904) create experimental photography techniques to capture the moving view. Reality is created every moment. Thoughts about it are intangible, variable. In this direction, the moving image became an interpreter for the futurists who sought to portray the dynamic moment.

Umberto Boccioni (1882-1916), Luigi Russollo (1865-1947), Carlo Carra (1881-1966), Giacomo Balla (1871-1958), Gina Severini (1883-1966). The works of these artists are important in terms of reflecting the variability and dynamism in life. In almost all of them, speed and movement are seen, because in futurism everything moves, images are perceived as vibrations on the eye chasing the image, a running

horse has twenty legs, not four. The aestheticization of speed is the transformation of daily life into art with a new language.



Resim 3. The Horse In Motion, Eadweard Muybridge, 1878.

Houses, pedestrians, street lamps seen from inside a fast-moving vehicle take new shapes by bending and twisting. Intermingling of lights, adding pictorial plans one after another, trying to visualize time is the construction of a new composition.



Figure 4. "Moods: Good-bye", Umberto Boccioni, 1911, oil on canvas, 71x96 cm, MOMA, NY

The shaping of a utopia about the future through speed and change will inspire many artists and new manifestos afterwards. The fact that futurists are supporters of modernism, which is built on reason and science, inspired them, although it contradicted the artists who would later create themselves with the criticism of modernism. The most fundamental issue in the commonalities it inspires avant-garde artists is the rejection of the past, but especially of tradition.

Together with the futurists, the relationship of 20th century art with daily life was established. Then, the avant-garde movements formed the continuity of the path opened after this progress at the level of theory in art. This opening can be described as the settlement of concerns about the future at the base of art. The Futurists' contribution to the artists' belief that another life can be shaped in a future they will establish is very important. The fact that Dada, Surrealism, Cobra, Letrists and Situationists are talking about Futurists while creating their own manifestos confirms

this situation. Now, if there is going to be a change in life, this is only possible with art. It is sincerely believed that the activist states of art and its interventionist and oppositional initiatives will have an impact on the society, and the idea that a revolution cannot take place without art has settled in society.

3.2.2. Dadaism

Dada is the most productive movement that most influenced both its contemporaries and subsequent movements. It begins with Dada soirees in Berlin in 1913 and spreads to many media such as poetry, proclamations, songs, performances, novels, puppet plays, drama, painting, collage, montage, photography, film and propaganda. Dadaists are free to be creative wherever they go; They turn it into a place of production. The street is a very suitable place for propaganda, ready for noise, shouting, slogans, games. Now the theater is a stage where every performance can turn into a manifesto, and at the same time cities are a stage of experience that has been turned into a Dadaist show.

Dada redefined art, and as a way to remove the line between it and life, he discovered to go out to the streets where daily life is experienced, to come into contact with people and to create by ensuring their participation.

Born into the spirit of revolutionary politics that arose in Russia and Germany during the First World War, Dada, of course, acted in that revolutionary spirit. He wanted to

realize the revolution in art by freeing it from its burdens. What were the burdens of art; aesthetics, concern for being unique, indispensable traditions, bourgeois monopoly, exaltation, familiar images and the limitation of the reach of art. Therefore, Dada was one of the pioneers of the "ANTI-ART" movement, which started to show itself in art in the 20th century, but emerged openly with Dada.

“All interventions were epistemological interventions regarding the conceptualization of art, its knowledge; They were interventions related to the phenomenology and hermeneutics of art. Not ontological blows. Here Dada brought this process to an end. By destroying the art object, he replaced it with action. He aimed not at what art is, but at its existence.” (Artun, A., 2018)

Although all 20th century art movements aimed to destroy the previous understanding of art, Dada differed from them in being the first to propose "action art".

The 20th century, which started with the Dada movement, was based on the questioning of art and rejection. criticizing the previous one; to establish its existence after these criticisms produced and in line with its own manifesto. However, the rejection that came with this criticism directly connected the basic ontology established by the Dadaists with the past. Because a rejected corpus was the cornerstone of that structure. This avant-garde had a profound effect on art writing. The currents established their memories with the criticisms they rejected because they rejected the previous one; They constantly renew their past. Perhaps this is the most important feature of western art in this sense. Memory is always refreshed to reject; A foundation has been built on the past, and in this direction, a chronological continuity has been formed in the history of art. Although all avant-garde art movements, especially the Dadaists, were shaped on experiment and produced anti-art (non-art)

production, the connection with the past established through thought has legitimize the history of objectless arts.

“Dada's opposition to the art object also puts an end to the fate of art, which ultimately condemns everything to the market. Performing art as an act without producing a product deprives the market of a commodity to circulate. It also prevents the creativity of the artist from falling into the labor market. This incident is extremely critical; because it symbolizes that art has emerged victorious from the struggle for domination of each other that has been going on between eternal art and money. This victory makes the acts of resistance to the market, which artists still continue with their great inventions, into an art in itself.” (Artun, A., 2018)

While Marcel Duchamp announced that 'retinal', that is, art that only appeals to the eye, was over in the 1910s, he stated that it was necessary to put art at the service of the mind again. (www.wikipedia.com)

Of course, this taboo-changing sentence of Duchamp paved the way for twentieth-century avant-garde movements. The pleasure of the visible has evolved into pleasure when it is understood and internalized, and now the relationship between the art object, the artist and the audience has been redefined. This process, which started with thinking as art by reinforcing aesthetic pleasure, formed the infrastructure of Marcel Duchamp's political and social aesthetic theories. Meetings, acquaintances and communications shaped with the audience invited to social experiments entered the history of art as artistic action-activity and have survived to this day in this direction.

3.2.3. Surrealism

Surrealism (Surrealism) developed in Europe between the 1st and 2nd World Wars.

The movement, which was heavily influenced by the Dadaists, completely denied rationality and focused on the idea of Anti-Art. Especially, according to the

Surrealism Manifesto published by Andre Breton⁹ (1896-1966) in 1924, Surrealism is a way that combines the conscious and the unconscious. Andre Breton

unconsciousness is the main source of imagination; he saw genius as the ability to enter his unconscious world. Surrealism Movement also prioritized experiment with a methodical research. They emphasized that art is a guiding tool for the establishment of a human-centered structure with the autonomy of human thought.

The most fundamental opposition of the Surrealists is the lifestyle and morality dictated by the usual modern bourgeois civilization. The manipulation of these forms by official ideologies made the surrealists think that everything that seems to belong to human beings does not belong to him.

The First World War was a breaking point in terms of cultural and artistic as well as political and economic aspects. The necessity of questioning the brutality of the war, the dominant codes of western modernity, and established perspectives has emerged.

“There is no doubt that this kind of protest is at the root of the surrealist movement that took shape in the mid-1920s, following the path opened by Dada, which challenged all the values of institutionalized art. This is between modern bourgeois civilization and its instrumental rationality, which puts imagination, the

⁹ French poet, essayist, and surreal theorist.

extraordinary, dreams, love, contemplation (thought), desires into its grip, against the "disenchantment of the world" as Max Weber puts it It is the will to form an "absolute angle." (Aydın, U., 2015)

With the autonomy of art, the break with the traditional idea of art and work, becoming incompatible and de-identified, meant primarily self-destruction. In order for a new concept of artist to emerge, it was necessary to destroy the existing one. Because what existed consisted of dictated definitions.

The author's statements of self-killing increased steadily in different contexts between 1920 and 1930, especially in the surrealist statements of André Breton, Louis Aragon¹⁰ (1897-1982), and André Thirion. While executing his manifesto to be published in the magazine of the Parisian Dadaist group that would later become the surrealists, Aragon said: "*No more painters, no more writers, no more musicians, no more sculptors... enough of all these abominations, enough, enough, enough, enough, enough.*" (Aragon, L., 1920, S:1-2)

"Surrealism has 3 goals: 1. the absolute liberation of the human spirit 2. The convergence of the calls of "transforming the world" and "changing life", where the paths of Marx and Rimbaud intersect, and 3. André Breton adds a new one to these two goals: a complete re-establishment of the human mind." (Aydın, U., 2015)

For the Surrealists, the most basic area of freedom was imagination. Art was invaluable to develop the imagination. Imagination and the phenomenon of art that would set people free would make them more competitive with the system in life. Therefore, people could only increase their resistance in life through art. For this

¹⁰ Political activist and communist poet, novelist and essayist.

reason, imagination was the main area of struggle that needed to be developed.

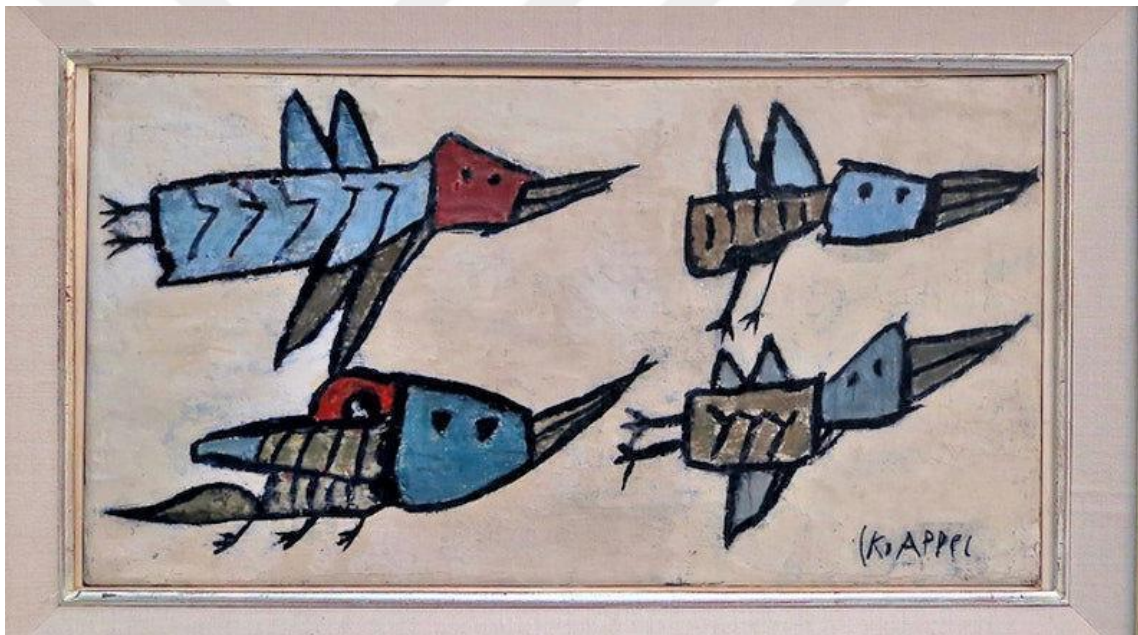
However, by fighting in this area, it could be against the ablehs.

3.2.4. Cobra

The European cities of Copenhagen, Brussels and Amsterdam, where the leaders lived, gave their name to the group, which continued its activities between 1948-1951. According to the artists of the Cobra group, one of the first avant-garde formations to claim the legacy of Dada and Surrealism in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, all conventional aesthetic structures and traditions must be rejected. For this reason, the group that analyzes and analyzes the past art history has organized its own existence between the cracks of this history. According to Cobra, all expression requests will be liberated and the consciousness of expression will be revealed, and artistic production will find a place in daily life in line with everyone's expression processes. (Artun, A.,2012)

If the avant-garde art history is to be internalized, it is necessary to accept the movements that formed it with the rejected theories of the previous one. For example, while the Cobra Group opposes the Surrealism's suggestion of awakening the individual subconscious with automatism, they will advocate for the Surrealists to reveal the secrets of the collective unconscious in daily life, through irrational ordinariness. In other words, the Cobra Group aimed to reshape the true spirit of life

outside of the pressure of reason and consciousness. At the same time, the Cobra Group, which was inspired by the Futurists, opposed the Futurists' passion for the future and reason, and especially criticized the rational culture of the west. Rational solutions in society should be rejected, just like in tradition, because reason forms the basis of dystopias, a structure that puts the future of societies in difficulties and must be resisted. Just as the rationality of the west ruined daily life by sitting at the foundation of World War I. (Artun, A., 2013, S:261-268)



Resim 5. Karel Appel. Cobra Museum of Modern Art, Amsterdam.

The members of the Cobra Group, with their passion for collective production and consciousness, established ties with the communist party and future utopias, and directed their new forms of expression to create their creativity resources in other fields with their own ideological approaches.

The group, which tends to all production activities other than the oppressive, ideological, perception and language of the West created by the central governments, will especially focus on prehistoric art, eastern calligraphy, legends, magic, folklore, creativity of children and mentally ill people.

In this direction, the Cobra Group is also an organizational form and strategy, as in all other avant-garde movements and movements. It held together about fifty artists from eight countries for 3 years; He united the artists around a common utopia, not a style.

Cobra members formed their intellectual background by analyzing past art movements, as in Dadaists and Surrealists. They have shaped their thought infrastructures by sorting out and criticizing the past. However, apart from the relationship they have established with the past, the Cobra Group is also considered important with their intuition and predictions about the future.

While opposing the state of art in the hands of experts, he expressed his hope that everyone would take up pencils and scribble on the streets (it was thirty years before graffiti spread on the streets) in order to strengthen the indispensable link between art and life. Sanatın uzmanların elinde olma durumuna karşı çıkarken, sanat ve yaşam arasındaki vazgeçilmez bağıın gücünü arttırmak için, herkesin kalem alarak sokaklarda karalama yapmaları (grafitinin sokaklarda yayılmasına daha otuz yıl vardı) ile ilgili umudunu ortaya koymaktaydı.

It is certain that Cobra had an influence on Joseph Beuys (1912-1986) advocating the idea of art for all years later. Since the publicization of art and the production and consumption of art for everyone is the main subject of this thesis, Cobra has been seen as one of the influential movements in this sense.



Resim 6. "Green Ballet" Asger Jorn. 145x200cm. Oil Painting on Canvas, 1960, Guggenheim.

3.2.5. Letrism

It is a counter-art theory based on poetry, rejecting existing aesthetic-cultural expression forms and aiming to change them. Poetry, which was the scene of the experiments of Dadaists and Surrealists, was reduced to letters in letrism.

"The pioneer of the movement, Isidore Isou, says the following on this subject: There is nothing beyond the letter. There is nothing in our minds that is not or cannot be a

letter. We can boast that we have added 19 new letters to the alphabet that has been decaying in 24 letters that have suffered from atherosclerosis for centuries." (Çetişli, İ. 2006)

Letrists created a new alphabet in which the influence of Dada was reflected in poetry and obtained by reducing the words to letters, aimed to settle accounts with Dada, with facts such as profit economy and religion, and carried out many resounding actions. Letrists, who aimed to change the world, argued that this could only be possible with creativity dominating daily life.

The Letrist International movement stood out as an alienation, not belonging to a geography or not identifying with a national ideology. Surrealists and letrists alike organized such accidental excursions, aimless journeys. Letrists have also used the word "derive", which means doing psychogeographic research. In other words, it was used to investigate the effects of geography on the emotions and attitudes of the individual.

3.2.6. Situationist Movement

The Situationist International was founded in the middle of the 20th century and made a name for itself in the French student movements of 1968. Ideologies on which situationism feeds, anti-authoritarian marxism in politics and anarchist socialist democracy; in art, it has been dada, surrealism, cobra, letrism and the international

imaginist bauhaus. The aim of the group is to break the domination and alienation in daily life through games and to create “established situations” in which individuals can fully reveal their creative potential. (Yeşil, B., 2015)

“I'm proud you call us bandits, but you're wrong. Because we are worse than bandits, we are situationists.” Jacqueline de Jong¹¹, 1962.

The Situationist International is the last of the collective, 'international' avant-garde movements, first announced to the world in 1909 with the *"Futurist Manifesto"* in 1957. (Artun, A., 2013)

At the Cosiod'Arroscia Conference held in Italy, three groups that left the disintegrating avant-garde movements announced that they had founded the Situationist International. Letrist International (Guy Debord, Michele Bernstein), Movement for an Imaginary Bauhaus (Asger Jorn, Pinot Gallizio, Walter Olmo, Piero Simondo), and the London Psychogeographic Society (Elena Verrone, Ralph Rumney)

These three groups, gathered under the roof of the Situationist International, came together in line with their common troubles about the modernization and degeneration of art and politics, and shared their discomfort with art and artists working with international companies with Nazism and Stalinism.

In order to come together and reconsider these ideas, the members of the three groups that united under the name of *“Situationist International”* published the *“Report on the Construction of Situations and the Conditions of Activity and Organization of the*

¹¹ Jacqueline de Jong was born in 1939 in the Netherlands. She joined Situationist International in 1960. Between 1962 and 1968 Gaston Bachelard edited and published The Situationist Times, featuring Roberto Matthew.

International Situationist Movement” under the leadership of Guy Debord. In this report, there are suggestions for solutions to the problems in the creation processes. These problems, which were especially emphasized to be caused by cultural infrastructure, were reflected in the report as follows: *“The problems of cultural creation can only be solved in connection with the new developments of the revolutionary movement on a world scale.”* (Artun, A., 2013, S: 295)



Figure 7. Situationist International, “Cosiod'Arroscia Conference”, from left to right: Guiseppe Pinot Gallizio, Piero Simondo, Elena Verrone, Michele Bernstein, Guy Debord, Asger Jorn, Walter Olmo.

The members of the Situationist International, the latest artist organization believing that they can change the world with the art movement, have developed various strategies and methods, believing that many things must be destroyed in order to build the future. Discussing the need to create revolutionary atmospheres and situations, the group, after its conference in Cosiod'Arroscia in 1957, met in Paris in 1958, Munich in 1959, London in 1960, Gothenburg in 1961 and 1962. Organized conferences in Antwerp. Over time, many painters and artists joined the group, and the situationist

movement gained an international dimension with its British, German, Italian, Swedish, Dutch, Belgian and Algerian participants.

“The Situationist International drew on the experiences of the five other collective international avant-garde movements that had preceded it and created a very refined form of organisation. Their most important focus is to destroy the border between art and life together and to ensure that art is replaced by the creative moments of daily life. For this purpose, they have developed various situations (situations) in which the theoretical infrastructure has been created.” (Artun A., 2013, S:312-313)

“The situationist movement, both as an artistic avant-garde, as an experimental research on the way to freely construct everyday life, and finally; It appears as a contribution to the practical and theoretical construction of a new revolutionary encounter.” (Artun, A., 2010, S:335-344)

Together with the avant-garde art movements outside these six collective international revolutionary art organizations, they opposed the modernist and rational approach of the age. However, these six groups, unlike the others, organized an anarchist perspective in line with Bakunin's legacy and, contrary to what others advocated, believed that the existing system would only be revolutionized by demolishing it, not by improving it. For this reason, they gave great importance to the flow of life and always kept the revolutionary structure in art at the forefront. They believed that it was not possible to restructure the system by improving the system, as in the fluxus and feminist art movements, and they saw this as reconciling with the system.

If revolutionary art wants to establish a new language in art, reconciling with the language of the system shaped by central structures will not achieve its purpose. If art

is to assume the responsibility of creating a new language and social perception, it will be possible not by revising the system, but by demolishing it and re-establishing it. This is the biggest difference between the Dada and Fluxus art movements, which already show a lot of similarities. This is why Fluxus and especially Joseph Beuys consider acts of civil disobedience to legitimize the system. At the same time, the restructuring of an art history written by men with feminist artists legitimizes that art history. Just for this reason, it is necessary to reject the past for another world and another art, to destroy traditionalist and moralistic approaches, and to establish a new world for a new art.

Situationists pursued an art as real as life, with the experiences they received from their predecessors, they created methods, situations and strategies for art as real as life and for real life as art.

“The situationists gave great importance in this sense that both modern art and revolutionary politics should be overcome, and with their interest in the discovery of new means of action, they started a war against official art institutions and ideology and existing cultural values.” (Artun, A., 2013, S:337-338)

The Situationist International says in the report that making the world rational is the first step in creating a more exciting, interesting and fulfilling world.

In line with these thoughts and ideological structures, the Situationist Manifesto was published in 1960.

“A new human power that cannot be suppressed by the existing social patterns is growing day by day, alongside the unease of the irresistible development of technology and its potential applications in our meaningless social life.”

“The alienation and oppression in society cannot be mastered in any of their particular manifestations, they can only be rejected altogether, together with society itself. Genuine progress clearly depends on the revolutionary resolution of the present crisis in all its forms.”

According to the Situationist Manifesto, art is confined to a certain time and place. It only includes the organization of situations related to the moment lived. However, against this privatized art, art should be shaped by a global practice that includes all actions as real as life, everywhere at any time.

“Situationist culture will be an art of dialogue, an art of interaction, as opposed to one-sided art.... We are now starting the last of the professions historically. Even the role of the situationist, amateur-expert, anti-expert will remain a form of specialization until a time of economic and mental abundance, when everyone will be an artist in a sense that no artist has ever achieved before, that is, when everyone will build their own life.” (Artun A., 2013, S:320-323)

In Guy Debord's book *Society of the Spectacle*, the Situationists' approach to art is explained as follows:

“Dadaism and Surrealism are historically both linked and opposed to each other.(...) Dadaism wanted to abolish art without realizing it; surrealism, on the other hand, wanted to realize art without eliminating it. The critical attitude developed by the Situationists later showed that the abolition of art and the realization of art are inseparable aspects of transcending art.” (Debord, G., 2017, S:141)

Together with the Situationist International, the definition of aesthetic-political avant-garde movement was used for the first time. In the aesthetic-political avant-garde

movement, apart from the criticism of the system formed by class distinctions shaped by the capitalist wheels, he also brought criticism to art and daily life.

Although Surrealists criticize the attitude that cares about the unconscious, which conditions and governs the tradition in order to reject the tradition, it is important for the Situationists that the Surrealists try to spread creativity to the society with this method they have developed and emphasize that everyone can be an artist. However, against the subconscious suggestions of the Surrealists for the spread of art, the Situationists found aesthetic actions correct. They emphasized that producing action should be replaced by producing art. Because designing action in society includes being dissident, being involved, imagining the future and a freer life. This is the content of the art described by the avant-gardes. But Situationists emphasize that aesthetic action is more functional so that the line between life and art becomes blurred or even disappears.

Instead of producing art to revolutionize society, the situationists claimed that the activist movements themselves were art. In this direction, everyone could become an artist as an architect to change the environment of the city by creating a situation like on a theater stage, by designing a performance like in a public space. According to the situationists, being an artist gives one a feeling of freedom. Because in fact, the only thing Situationists are interested in is freedom. If this happens, people can get rid of playing models that have been cut out for themselves, posing as a manageable citizen, thinking with official views and wandering within the boundaries of their cut life. Only in this way would people be able to escape from being stuck in similar lifestyles, and they would be able to live their lives freely in line with their real needs, by attaining their own unique characters. In this methodical process, it was necessary to

research, analyze and criticize the existing language by everyone. Only in this way, after a criticism, could a person create his individual criticism and then design his action with his oppositional structure. According to the situationists, this action was art itself.

3.3. Mobility on the Blurred Line Between Art and Life in the World in the 20th Century

3.3.1 Fluxus Art Movement

Fluxus is a movement that developed in Germany in 1962 under the leadership of George Macuinas (1931-1978), with his creative thoughts and projects. Fluxsus, which developed largely in parallel with the line of composer John Cage, Zen-Buddhism-Duchamp-Dadaism, opposed individual, emotional, and commodified fine art products that required special talent, and envisioned living the world in its current flow with daily events instead of making art. (Fluksus, Eczacıbaşı Art Encyclopedia)

The lectures that John Cage gave in his experimental composition class were influential in the emergence of Fluxsus and Allan Kaprow's discovery, 'Happening'. Many artists who attended Cage's classes in the late 1950s held performances and concerts in the studio of George Maciunas and one of the first American minimalist composers, La Monte Young (1935) and Japanese musician Yoko Ono (1933), between 1960 and 1961.

“While the word “fluxus” has the meanings of “to flow” and “change” in Latin and other European languages, similarly in English the word “flux” means “flux”, swell, “tide”, “continuing change” and medical sense. It means “flow, flow”. (Golden Dictionary, 1989, p:350)

The rebellion that started in the 20th century was Fluxus, the movement of the 1960s that produced with a similar revolutionary spirit, following the Dadaists, who chose the trash, that is, the temporary and worthless, as an object and the street as a place. One of their most distinctive discourses was that they considered their actions as a socio-political struggle. Art should have a function and transform society. In this context, Joseph Beuys, the most well-known artist of Fluxus and actually exceeding the boundaries of Fluxus, has clearly stated that it is necessary to turn art into a tool to transform society. In this context, Fluxus is perhaps the first movement to suggest instrumentalizing art for social issues.

“Fluksus aimed to overturn the values of the bourgeoisie and create a new culture in the political, social and artistic fields, or in short, in all areas of life, against art becoming a commodity.” (Yılmaz, M., 2012, S:88)

Semra Germaner says that for Fluxus, which has reached today with the new perspective she brought, “it is an understanding that has turned into a living myth rather than a trend”. (Germaner, S., 1996)

Antmen states that some of the aims of George Maciunas, who wrote the Fluxus Manifesto, were *“to save art from bourgeois diseases”, “to get rid of dead art” and “to start a revolutionary trend in art”*.

Ahu Antmen states that Fluxus is a formation that feeds on the forms of social opposition of the 1960s and is articulated with the wave of cultural opposition of the period. He defines Fluxus as a common attitude of artists who are caught in that flow, rather than being a common style that flows from Germany to many European cities and New York. (Antmen, A., 2010, S:203)

In a letter he wrote to Tomas Schmit (1943-2006) in 1964, George Maciunas defines Fluxus as follows: "Fluksus' aims are social, not aesthetic. Fluxusists are ideologically linked to the LEF group (NOVI), founded in the Soviet Union in 1929, and its aim is to destroy the fine arts (music, theatre, poetry, painting, sculpture, etc.) over time. The reason for this is to stop the waste of material and human resources (like you) and redirect them towards socially structural purposes." (Antmen, A., 2010, P:208,209)

Beuys stated the following against institutionalism and stereotypes: *"To prove that art is the only revolutionary force today is possible by considering all activities related to art and making a radical change in the definition of art. Solving the oppressive elements of a decrepit and decrepit social system is only possible today with art. In order to build a "social organism as a work of art", art must first destroy it... "Every person is an artist" who feels his freedom, is in a state of freedom and learns to create "the total artwork of the future social order"* (Antmen, A., 2010, S:211)

The most important feature that distinguishes Fluxus from Dada was that Fluxus was aware that the center of art was not Europe and America. Especially the linguistic and formal structure of the Far East art created a different field of expression for the Fluxusists. Different results have been achieved with cultural differences, and apart from nearly 60 years of avant-garde art experiments, a new perspective has filled the

infrastructure with a more democratic understanding in a global sense. It cannot be said that there is a cultural hierarchy in fluxus art. It is not a western art that was shaped by the inquisition society that had to be burned and demolished and shaped by various processes and came to the 1960s. Despite being criticized, the iconization of Western art has been noticed by the artists of Fluxus, and representations and metaphors at different faith levels have been used with the participation of different cultures.

Another feature that distinguishes Fluxus from Dada was that Dada experiments were more violent, provocative and triggering. Especially in Cabaret Voltaire, artists and thinkers who came to Zurich and organized from various parts of Europe after escaping from the World War I gathered in the streets with bells, rattles and various percussion instruments, making noise and fighting with the shopkeepers by driving them crazy during the protest marches.

However, Fluxus appeared before the audience by making announcements with more sympathetic, more playful experiments and tried to include the audience in the actions. These two differences allow the evaluation of Dada and Fluxus's view of society and their strategies regarding society. Dada has always considered the individuals of the society he is in as guilty and evaluated them as system fanatics, representatives of the order and pro-war bourgeois. He imagined the future society and formed his own theories in this direction. Fluxus, on the other hand, aims to prepare the society he is in, formed with the audience, for the future, he takes them with him, not against him. Sometimes, even if the audience is a person on the street, he becomes the artist of that performance. He does not impose on his audience the representation of the official view, as Dada does.

Because of these differences, Fluxus is not associated with the collective international avant-garde group to which Dada is included. But Fluxus is especially important in terms of the desired relationship between art and society, that Joseph Beuys' works created in public spaces are referred to as social sculptures and that everyone says they are artists. According to Beuys, who put forward the idea that all human activity can now be put forward as an artistic act, every person has the potential to make art. According to him, only in this way can a bridge be built between art and life. The concept of a social sculpture shaped in the living world was put forward by Beuys. Because art has a function that shapes the world. At this point, the concept of "social sculpture" is just as important as Marcel Duchamp's announcing that retinal art is over.

If change begins in thought, then the human being is a sculpture with his thought, sensitivity and will. A self-made sculpture that builds itself finds what it lacks by thinking; He realizes his defect and improves it. With this attempt, he enters into historical perspective.

Joseph Beuys believed that he could improve the world with all these concepts, but especially with his artistic approach called *"Extended Art Concept"* and *"Social Plastic"*.

"The only evolutionary and revolutionary force of our time, art and artistic activities can only be understood if definitions can be changed radically. Only art can destroy this dying system by eliminating the oppressive effects of this diseased social system, and build a 'Social Organism as a Work of Art' in its place... Every person is an artist..."

The relationship that needed to be established between people was now more important than the relationship that the artist established with his audience. The artist could offer them the artistic impulse that would enable people to come together and make up for their own shortcomings, and the audience could turn into a social sculpture in the process of making up for their deficiency.

Adding a new strategy to social movements, Joseph Beuys re-established the relationship between art and politics with his activist approaches in artistic productions. Presenting social issues to the society with various performances and shows is a big step towards massification of art. The social sculpture proposition of Joseph Beuys will be very effective in the transformation of the concept of Relational Aesthetics into a doctrine.

Art is no longer an aristocracy/bourgeois sign that can be enjoyed as you look at it, prestige as you buy it, and money when invested, it has turned into a process that the masses are forced to consume in their resistance to life. This process is the action itself. The documents created after the action were exhibited in museums, thus ensuring the continuity of these actions.

The gradual introduction of sound and video recording devices into daily life during the Fluxus period put this trend in a more advantageous position compared to its predecessors. However, the fact that the content in the action documents against institutions and even museums is exhibited by reducing or even destroying has made the movement disadvantageous. In today's world, Fluxus and especially Joseph Beuys are transformed into a showcase in Berlin museums, Germany, and continue to be exhibited as instruments of a touristic museum tour.

Fluxsus has inevitably become a part of the museum institutions that it criticizes, and has taken its place as the masterpieces of the income source of its museums.

3.3.2 Women's Movements in the World and Feminist Art

Since the middle of the 19th century, the place of women in daily life has been defined and these definitions discussed. If the relations with the state structures and the clergy are examined, especially in the male-dominated order of societies, it will be seen how little the relationship that women should establish with the administration, even with the street.

The movement started by women in England in 1908 aimed to redefine the place of women in everyday life on the street. As a result of the pressure exerted on women, such as the prohibition of women smoking in the street, women who live as a mother and wife have emphasized that they cannot benefit from the law fairly after the harassment and rape they have suffered. Women, who do not have equal rights with men, have come together to demand their right to vote and be elected.



Figure 8. Women's Market Walk, 21 June 1908 Program

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), founded by six women in Manchester in 1903, held a rally on 21 June 1908 for women's right to vote and be elected. Approximately 500 thousand women attended the rally held in London's Hyde Park. This action, called the "Women's Market", to grant women the right to vote, undoubtedly has an important place in the history of the universal women's struggle. (Karakuş, F., 2020)



Figure 9. Women's Market Walk. 21 June 1908, Londra Hyde Park.

The demonstration was announced in various campaign offices, buses and billboards in London, and handouts. The press, which had previously disdained the movement, admitted that it *"showed not only a combative but also an astonishing military genius"*; He changed his approach to the movement by emphasizing the logistic power of the action. The *"Women's Market"* march has been an important step in the historical process in which performance art has moved from its origins in religious ceremonies and missionary meetings to modern forms of political expression. (Clark, T., 2004, p:39)



Figure 10. Lawrence Strike, 1912, Bread and Rose.

While women were fighting for the right to vote in London, in the same year, after a factory fire in which 128 women workers were killed in New York, 15,000 women workers started a march. It is the first time that US female workers have participated in the march in such a large crowd. *"We want bread, say rose!"* The slogan was first used in this march in New York in 1908. (Karakuş, F., 2020)

This slogan is known as a first because of its metaphorical approach apart from cliché expressions and slogans.



Figure 11. Lawrence Strike, 1912, Bread and Rose.

Three years after this slogan was coined, James Oppenheim (1882-1932), inspired by this slogan, wrote a poem called *Bread and Roses*. The song composed from this poem and the slogan in question left their mark on the Lawrence strike that would break out a year later, in 1912, that this strike went down in history as the Bread and Roses strike. In the Lawrence Strike, women objected to low wages and working hours. Their demands were "*higher wages and shorter working hours*". (Meriç, İ., 2007)

In these periods, it is witnessed that the artists were inspired by the experiences they lived and the moods they felt by being involved in social movements, apart from producing art with the instructions of the rulers, aristocrats and the clergy. Art (literature, theatre, music, cinema and plastic arts) has now become a documentation

of social memory. In addition to mass actions, mass suffering is also at the center of these works. For this reason, the people who are subject to the work of art have started to internalize the art in this direction. Art will begin to become massive, apart from aristocrats and rulers. Within works of art, the public will understand the importance of organizing with artists to find their own suffering or utopian success stories.

As James Oppenheim's poem "Bread and Roses" combines people walking in different times and continents for the same cause through poetry and song, the artist was now at the very foundation of social mobility.

With the social movements that developed throughout the history of the 20th century, women were also affected by other social issues besides their own victimization, and they were organized around these issues. The perspective focused only on women's issues, such as the right to vote, legal and social rights, sexist approaches, sexual victimization, combined with a social struggle area with social movements. Especially with the concepts of justice, equality and freedom shaped by Marxist theory, women's rights began to appear as a part of social inequality.

In this direction, Feminist Art was fed by social movements in the 1960s, in which attitudes such as gender discrimination and racism began to be criticized. Feminist Art, which started to spread rapidly since the late 1960s, started with the struggle against the insufficient representation of women in art, art history, institutions and museums, even their exclusion and misrepresentation. (Antmen, A., 2010, S:239)

American art historian Linda Nochlin (1931-2017) wrote in 1971, "*Why Are There No Great Female Artists?*" He wrote an article called In response to the title of this

article, it has been shown that women do not have equal rights with men in many fields, primarily education.

Feminist Art, which gained popularity in the 1960s, did not consist of feminine issues in content, contrary to its connotation. Apart from the historical situation of women and women's problems, she mainly aimed to combat the male-dominated view of art. He created various social analyzes and new perspectives that emerged after 1960. Feminist analysts accepted and examined art and art history as a system, as it is in everything else, at a time when the currents of thought that were accepted and followed by everyone were viewed with suspicion. What they unleashed was the dominance of an institutionalized sexism. Apart from the struggles on the street in line with social rights, this discrimination applied to women identified in the cultural environment; turned out to be the same as what was done to races, homosexuals, disabled and fat people They re-studied and interpreted many institutionalized things written on the basis of this thought, but primarily the history of art. The existence of hierarchical structures between people in art, as in society, was determined and how to produce ideas against this was discussed. Feminist artists, who did not take much action on the street, created their works by foregrounding sociological structures and personal histories. At the end of a period when women's traditional productions were brought to the fore and handicrafts of women were given importance in order to remove these hierarchical structures, it could be said that the works had a feminist content.

The difference of the Feminist Art Movement from other movements was not only the relationship they did not establish with the street. Another difference was that the Women Artist in Revolution (WAR), Ny Based Art Workers Coalition and Feminist

Art Program were included in the education system by various universities in 1969, and art became more effective in universities outside the street.

Feminism rose rapidly in the United States, but particularly in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Many feminist institutions emerged. Feminist exhibitions supported by these institutions were opened. At the end of the 70s, when the feminine thought became legitimate, women's emotional intelligence was accepted.

Autobiographical works, victimization of women throughout history, violence against women have been the subjects of exhibitions. While these exhibitions informed the audience, they also included media and news sources.

The struggle for Feminist Art, which started in the 1950s, was now included in all arts when it came to the 1980s. However, it was also seen that the struggle between 1950-60 was moved away from its center and main axis. Feminism emerged within Marx's communist utopia and class equality theory. Feminist Art, which was knitted with the theoretical infrastructure of the texts created in the 1950s about workers, children, women and animal rights, and shaped in the context of Marxist thought, turned into an obsolete structure by breaking away from its own center in 1980s and later. Just as all other ideological structures have withered away from the main structure they belong to, it lost its influence and power especially in the 1960s, and it got stuck between theories and contexts in the academic environment and cut off its relation with daily life.

3.3.3 Performans Art

“Performance” emerged in the late 1960s and began to be recognized as a distinctive field in the 1970s. Performance is a field where the body is the main material and seeks new expression possibilities with body material in stage and visual arts.

(Atakan, N., 2008, p: 72)

It also has an interdisciplinary character. Afterwards, Performance Art (Performance Art), which is associated with arts such as "Body Art" and "Happening" (Formations), is also associated with art movements such as Situationism, Fluxus, and Feminist Art.

The difference of Performance Art from the art movements it is related to is that the main structure is shaped by the process, not the result. The process exhibited is memorable. A painter's display of his post-performance work becomes a performer's display of the pre-work process. Performance Art, which was created by making use of all art disciplines such as music, dance, poetry and theater, is important in art history because it sees the body and the environment as a material rather than its relationship with the street. In fact, there is no artist organization in this movement, as in other movements. Therefore, there is no manifesto. French artist Yves Klein (1928-1962)'s *"Jump into the Void"* photograph, which shows himself throwing himself out of the window in 1960, is considered one of the earliest examples of performance art.

(Atakan, N., 2008, p:72-73)

When compared with the theater, the differences of performance art will become clearer. Contrary to theater and performing arts, the results of performance art are uncertain. The subject of the performance becomes the object of art. It is out of format

with a certain setup and everywhere is the stage. It should get as much attention as anything else in life. As the event determined in the determined environment turns into a show, the show also becomes an event. There is no rehearsal and repetition of the performance artist as in the theater or performing arts. Because the artist performs to share his experience instead of turning a situation in his mind into a show. Therefore, it cannot be rehearsed or repeated. The audience can participate by watching these experiences and add to their own personal history. Since the result cannot be shaped with any fiction, the course can reach any result, just like in life. For this reason, it is an art that is closest to life and has results as real as life.



Figure 12. Leap into the Void, Yves Klein, 1960.

During the performance, the subject becomes an object and the actions come to the fore. The identity of the artist, his bodily characteristics remain in the background, the

performance created through the contexts he has established is what remains in the minds of the audience. This art form, which started to be named with Fluxus in the 1960s, turned into a broad artistic movement in the 70s. The artist, who was dealing with the ontological structure of art until the 60s, started to deal with his own body, and experimental shows were formed to develop various analyzes of the body's contexts. Performance art, which diversified in the 80s, became completely media in the 90s and lost its effect.

In the development of Performance Art, the freedom movements that started in the second half of the 20th century and the mass actions that developed accordingly. We can consider this as an artistic extension of the political events that affected the 1960s.

Performance Art bears the traces of a period that criticizes youth movements, anti-war protests, actions against racial and gender discrimination, all kinds of overt or covert violence against the body and political controls. (Martinez, E.H.V., Demiral, A., 2014, S:180-201)

3.3.4. Civil Disobedience, Counterculture

The American author, philosopher, poet, historian, abolitionist, tax resister, development critic and naturalist Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), who was the first to use the term civil disobedience in the literature, wrote in his book "*Civil Disobedience*" written in 1849, "*The best government is the one that rules the least.*" " he began.

Civil disobedience takes shape through situations, actions and positions shaped by the criticism brought against the law by the individual who wants to expand his area of freedom within the limits set by the laws.

This movement, which is formed by the masses who come together in the first place as a march, assembly or sit-in, is considered as a protest, a crime and brings the crowd against the law enforcement officers. However, Thoreau argues that when the law is unfair, its violation is justified. Since the grievances caused by the malfunctions in most of the systems established by the central governments will not be legitimized by any religious, political or moral justification, it is quite natural for the masses to take part in such movements. (Thoreau, D., 2013, P:27)

According to Thoreau, acts of civil disobedience are not done to overthrow the government, but to bend the law and make it more inclusive. For example, laws that satisfy fifty percent of the population should be expanded to satisfy the other fifty percent.

Thoreau, who left a mark on political history with his article titled "Civil Disobedience" in 1849, spent a night in prison for not paying the tax demanded from him due to the Mexican War. The reason he didn't pay was because he thought the Mexican War was started only to promote slavery. Thoreau explained his non-payment of tax as a matter of principle and stated that he did not want to facilitate the work of a slave-owning state by paying taxes. *"If you don't like what's going on, resign."* Inviting him to civil disobedience, Thoreau could not escape arrest, but thus he was able to draw attention to the anti-slavery movement. Thoreau criticized that he was released a day later because his debt was paid by a friend, and he claimed that he had the right to stay in prison because he did not pay his taxes himself, but was forced out. When one of the leading figures in the abolitionist movement in the United States asked him why he came in, he replied, *"Why didn't you come in?"* He took his place at the forefront of the movement. Later, he conducted studies against slavery by giving conferences to the townspeople under the pretext of this prison entrance story, and after these conferences, he wrote the article "Resistance To Civil Government". (Civil Disobedience, n.d.)

The article named Civil Disobedience, which was shaped together with these efforts against slavery, later influenced many people and activists around the world, as well as became a great source of inspiration for Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948). Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is the political and spiritual leader of the Indian Independence Movement. His views are referred to as Gandism. He is the forerunner of the Satyagraha philosophy, which is about active but nonviolent resistance to evil and truth. Resistance and protests based on this philosophy have made India independent and inspired civil rights and freedom advocates around the world. (Indian Independence Movement, n.d.)



Figure 13. Mahatma Gandhi. In March 1830 he initiated a new Satyagraha against the salt tax.

Apart from Gandhi, Russian writer Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1828-1910) and African-American Baptist pastor and American civil rights movement leader Martin Luther King (1929-1968) were also influenced by Thoreau's article. King is known around the world for his views on nonviolence and racial equality.

Habermas said that civil disobedience is an action done with moral and political motives, taking into account common interests and values, and it is based on a rational justification, even if it is minimal. (Çelebi, A., 2011)

Michael Allen, in his article published in the journal *Theory*, tried to test the conceptual limits of deliberative democracy's commitment to persuasion and communication rather than threats and intimidation. (Allen, M., 2009, p:127) “*Civil disobedience remains a purely communicative effort to reason, insofar as the*

protesters' concern is, above all, to publicize an existing injustice in order to initiate a dialogue." (Allen, M., 2009, p:131)

American philosopher Professor J. Angelo Corlett, who specializes in ethics and epistemology, admits that civil disobedience is never revolutionary violence, but underlines that civil disobedience includes threats and intimidation. (Allen, M., 2009, S:134)

Many definitions of civil disobedience have been made up to now, the shortest and most effective of these definitions is Nicolaus Fleisch's: *"Civil disobedience is an act of state power that can be clearly seen and understood by third parties, without the use of brute force and against an act that is perceived as unfair. It is a public protest action. This action stems from a remarkable political-moral motivation; It includes at least one violation of the law in accordance with a crime pattern and has the attitude of being ready to bear the legal consequences of the violation of the norm."* (Ökçesiz, H., 1994, S:110)

Tolga Yalur, on the other hand, wrote in his article on civil disobedience, *"This problematic relationship of the individual with authority and the state of being subject, his actual disobedience, is as archaic as the myth of Adam and Eve, who cannot stop themselves from eating the apple; it is also contemporary enough – in the context of Turkey – to be seen in a number of titles: conscientious objectors who refuse to serve in the military and suffer the consequences passively legally; actions taken in the name of freedom and democracy, against investigations and prosecutions at universities; Movements that make the governments helpless from North Africa to Spain..."* (Yalur, T., 2011, p:247).

A comparative study of 323 violent and nonviolent acts that took place between 1900 and 2006 was conducted by two political scientists, Erica Chenoweth (1980) and Maria J. Stephan. According to the article, while civil resistances using nonviolent strategies were successful at a rate of fifty-three percent, this rate decreased to twenty-six percent in violent resistances. The reasons for this are very clear. Nonviolent resistance increases the legitimacy of the action and gains more support with more participation. In violent actions, suppression of the actions is more severe as the state can more easily justify itself about counter-attack. Therefore, peaceful actions put more pressure on the governments. (Bayram, M. and Macit, M.H. 2021)

The most important factor that legitimizes obedience is that the state organization was established without the consent of its citizens. However, the discussion of the necessity of public intervention in the laws during the administration's implementation of the laws goes back to Henry David Thoreau. As mentioned above, it is an activism method made by Henry David Thoreau, who established the cornerstones of the idea. The aforementioned article titled "*Civil Disobedience*" also describes a peaceful protest action.

"It is a peaceful protest action that is carried out publicly and illegally for the sake of the superior values contained in the idea of the rule of law, while not violating a higher right of third parties." (Ökçesiz, H., 1994, S:130)

This text, which forms the basis of a political resistance that goes back to the American human rights defender Rosa Parks¹² (1913-2005), Mahatma Gandhi and the

¹² Rosa Louise Parks, 1913-2005. American human rights activist. By taking a stand against discrimination against black people, she triggered the start of the next movement.

French thinker and activist Paul Lafargue¹³ (1842-1911), puts forward the conscientious, not the legal, as a decision mechanism. Various ways and strategies of non-violent but active resistance have been established in the protests. Designing forms of action, anticipating consequences, and accepting what might happen are the most basic elements of civil disobedience. In line with the silent method of expressing opinions, creative strategies have emerged apart from the side-by-side of the activists and the speaker, if any, addressing the audience. Creative actions have enabled civil disobedience to leave public spaces and continue on different platforms. These creative actions have built their bases on theatre, plastic arts and poetry, so they have created the relationship between art and life through civil disobedience. In line with the theories of Civil Disobedience, art organizations have also been built on social issues. It can be said that the new language pursued by artists throughout the history of avant-garde art inspired new methods constructed against the government in protest actions. These public spaces, which have been transformed into carnivalesque and festival areas, have always surprised the law enforcement officers who stood against the activists representing the government and made them unable to respond due to their bewilderment. In the period of Civil Disobedience, the function of art was redefined as a means of communication among the activists within the organization.

Aesthetic forms of action have entered the daily life of the activist community with their own aesthetic structure, and the usable functional status of aesthetics is at the base of these strategies.

¹³ Paul Lafargue, 1842-1911. Founder of the French Socialist Party. He contributed with his writings to the organization of workers' revolutions. He killed himself and his wife in 1911, not wanting to see old age erode his body and mind little by little.

3.3.4.1 The Hippie Movement and Counterculture

The Vietnam War, in which the USA lost 60,000 soldiers between 1963-73, led to the formation of countercultural movements, especially in the USA and then the UK. The friendship he established with the American politician and human rights defender Malcolm X (1925-1965) and Martin Luther King, during the suspension of the world-famous boxing champion Muhammet Ali Clay (1942-2016) from the ring for three years after he declared that he condemned the Vietnam War and that he would not enlist in the military, and that he would not serve in the military. His famous speech "*I Have a Dream*"¹⁴ inspired hippies in the counterculture movement. (Günel, C., 2014)

In this way, antimilitarist movements were shaped within the hippie movement, which came to the fore with its anti-systemic movements. During the Vietnam War, hippie youth who did not want to join the army formed the basis of the counterculture movement. Vegan and vegetarian hippies pursuing an alternative life lived in communes on an exchange system without any financial income. The counterculture movements that developed in this communal life led to the re-examination of interracial relations, memorized sexual customs, body politics, customary power procedures and the dictated American dream. The hippie culture, which also led to the formation of various subcultures today, led to the existence of new cultural relations.

¹⁴ American civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929, Atlanta, Georgia - April 4, 1968, Memphis, Tennessee) He is known worldwide for his views on nonviolence and racial equality, and was awarded the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. Also, in 1977, nine years after his death, he was awarded the Presidential Freedom Award by former US president Jimmy Carter, and Martin Luther King Day was celebrated in his honor. King's most well-known and influential speech is "I Have a Dream".

In 1958, seventy thousand pacifist students gathered in London's Trafalgar Square in an act of civil disobedience and pacifist protest. These demonstrations, which would later become a series of protests, will be referred to as "*Ban the Bomb*". Also, the most recognizable symbol of freedom and hippie emerged in the first counterculture groups formed in these protests. Social anthropologist Jentri Anders¹⁵, who stated that many areas such as the freedom to discover one's own potential, the freedom to create oneself, the freedom of personal expression, the freedom to use personal time, the freedom from tightly defined roles and hierarchical statuses are supported by the opposite cultures, also emphasized the sensitivity about the freedom of education. (Counterculture in the 1960s, n.d.)



Figure 14. Ban The Bomb. 1962, San Francisco, CA.

Resim 15. Ban The Bomb Symbol revealed. 1962, San Francisco, CA.

¹⁵ Jentri Anders Social anthropologist, political activist in California, part of counterculture movements.

In fact, the pioneer of the counterculture and hippie movement is the Lebens Reform Movement (Life Innovation) based in Germany and Switzerland. It showed its effect as a social movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lebens Reform, which idealizes an organic life, criticizes the urban and urban phenomenon, promotes a return to natural life by supporting healthy nutrition, organic nutrition, sex freedom and nudism society movements. Lebens Reformers, including artists, rejected a new industrialized world. Lebens Reform Movement, which stated that they wanted to live outside the civilization of the 20th century, perceived science as a dangerous threat and gathered vegetarians, naturalists and natural medicine supporters together with artists. The first to use the word "ecology" was Jena University professor Ernest Haeckel (1834-1919). Ernest Haeckel is a member of this movement. German painter Karl Wilhelm Diefenbach (1851-1913) was one of the pioneers of the Lebens Reform. Diefenbach, who was influenced by the four-volume work titled "Natural Lifestyle" written by a thinker named Eduard Baldzer (1814-1887), migrated to the island of Kapri in the Mediterranean in accordance with this life form. By establishing a separate commune there, he tried to improve the lifestyles of the people there. The works of painters Fidus and Gusto Graser, who were trained in the art workshops established in this commune, are considered to be the pioneers of the colorful and striking drawings produced by the 1960s hippies. (Lebensreform, www.wikipedia.org)

“The Hippie Movement was one of the two major trends in 1960s US society, along with Marxist revolutionary thought. I and II. It is a movement against a world order that has suffered great losses with the World Wars. The youth movements of the 1960s hold the previous generations responsible for this understanding that set countries

against each other and question the values imposed by the societies.” (Uçan, B., 2016)

Colorful, lively, cheerful drawings and dyeings, which were active between 1960 and 1970, and later showed themselves in many fields, especially in textile design, developed under the leadership of hippies. These productions, in which freedom and antimilitarism are means of expression, also continue to exist as a representation of the period. Although it extends to various subcultures and later to the more dominant hipster culture, they still maintain the importance of what they represent in the direction of the search for freedom of the period

War (Riff War) in 1925 and it lasted until his 121s manifesto¹⁷, which Breton signed shortly before his death in 1960, condemning the Algerian War and justifying the resistance. (1968 May Events n.d.)



Figure 17. Paris, May 1968 - Getty Images/Carlo Bavagnoli

In May 1968, the same symbolic role was played by members of the Situationist International. (Woolen, P., 1989)

The 1968 Movement is one of the most influential movements of the 20th century. The student movement, which started in Nanterre University in France against the rule of Charles De Gaulle¹⁸ (1890-1970), gradually grew and led to nationwide uprisings, factory occupations and general strikes by getting the support of the working class. (1968 May Events n.d.)

¹⁷ It is an open letter published from the September 1960 Verite-Liberte Journal, signed by 121 intellectuals. He called on the French Government to recognize the Algerian War of Independence as a legitimate war of independence. It is an open letter denouncing the tortures of the French Army and urging the authorities to respect the French Conscientious Objectors.

¹⁸ French soldier and politician. He returned to politics in 1958 after the failures of the Algerian War of Independence and the First Indochina War caused depression in France. He was the first president of the French Fifth Republic, which he helped to establish. He resigned from his post in 1969 and died in 1970.



Figure 18. Meeting at Sorbonne University, 28 Mayıs 1968. [Foto: Bruno Barbey/MagnumPhotos](#)

Figure 19. A classroom used as a dormitory at the Sorbonne, 28 Mayıs 1968.

[Foto: Bruno Barbey/MagnumPhotos](#)

With the political and artistic avant-garde sharing the same stage, it is seen that the opposition, revolutionary and autonomous movements that started in May 1968 spread all over the world. This spread took place in the form of the explosion of the intellectual and cultural atmosphere, also with the influence of the 20th century avant-garde. *“The attacks of Dada and Surrealism before the war, then Cobra, Letrism and especially Situationism against the word-centred principles in subjects such as language, consciousness, knowledge, psyche, politics, the city, as well as the philosophical transformations on the eve of 1968 and after, in various fields such as*

architecture, urbanism, music. was also effective. Everywhere, rebellion finds expression in the language of the manifesto and street art, in which the situationists were influential. Statement and graffiti become everyday equipment of urban life, creating effective public spaces.” (Artun, A., 2009, p:32-47)



Figure 20. Sorbonne University School of Medicine. [Foto: Bruno Barbey/MagnumPhotos](#)

“Art and politics, which, according to the situationists, make sweet promises and proclaim that this will be achieved, continue to delay enrichment and satisfaction, must be abolished.” (Situationist International, 2008, p:17)

Members of the Situationist International group believed they could replace the field of art and politics with activist movements. The compatibility of these beliefs with the active cultural structure of the period led them to play an important role in the 68 movement. This is how the redefinition of politics, both as art and as radical, took place.

3.4 New Public Sphere, New Media, New Strategies for Action and Digital Platforms

Social movements formed by different masses, often spontaneously gathering in squares with common issues such as an idea, a victimization or a commemoration, can be influential enough to change the agenda of that country or geography, and leave great traces on its political history. These social movements in the squares shaped by common demands and sharing suddenly establish a communication among themselves that they could not establish in normal times in this way. This organic structure, shaped by various activist identities when social mobility overflows from squares to side streets and spreads all over the country, is centered on 'social aesthetic action' in the article titled *"From Contemporary Art to Radical Politics, Aesthetic-Political Action"* written by Begüm Özden Fırat and Ezgi Bakçay in 2013. examined. In the aforementioned article; Regarding the distinction between artistic and political practices and between artist and activist identities, the Bolivian anarcha-feminist collective Mujeres Creando¹⁹ stated: *"Creativity is human – it belongs to all men and women. But they want to deprive us of this creativity that belongs to us. They want to turn our creativity into something elitist; they just say that artists are creative, inspired and inspiring to each other. We do not allow ourselves to be deprived of this means of struggle, and we add to everything we do, the books we publish, the street activities, the graffiti, this element called creativity, which is very fundamental and important to us. Some say to us "You are the artist". But we are not artists, we are*

¹⁹ It is a Bolivian anarcho-feminist collective involved in a range of anti-poverty work, including propaganda, street theater, and direct action.

street activists. All we do is use a purely human power: Creativity.” (Firat, B. Ö., Bakçay, E. N., 2013)

This article, in which aesthetic-political action practices are discussed, highlights the bodily and affective dimension of collective action and mentions through various examples that the public sphere is a network of relations reproduced through collective actions.

In Nicolas Bourriaud (1995), the concept of Relational Aesthetics is an art proposition that patches the openings in the social structure and creates microscopic examples of new forms of social interaction. According to Meral Özbek, *“The principle of relationality is an ethical and aesthetic principle as well as a political one that will guide the search for a holistic lifestyle and experience, expression and memory production within the perspective of class struggle, as well as the search for cooperation between opposing and opposing political publics of different nature.”* (Özbek, M., 2004, p:204)

According to the definition made by Jürgen Habermas (1929-1991) in his book *"The Structural Transformation of the Public"*, *"Public Space is a stage where individuals come together to discuss their common interests and needs of society, where democratic dialogue is possible."* (Habermas, J., 2007, p:60)

Strategies shaped by collective avant-garde movements can be listed as follows in order to create a social unity and language unity in the stage set up for democratic dialogue in Habermas's description above.

“Rhizome” (rhizome structures), a form of horizontal organization developed by Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) and Félix Guattari (1930-1992), are decentralized, non-

hierarchical, non-centralized, easily destroyed, just like the spreading of weed grass. They are structures that emerged from somewhere else when they were thought to disappear. Rhizome expresses a thought model based on becoming, multiplicity, difference, movement and horizontal expansion, which is put forward as an alternative to the "tree-shaped" classical western philosophy, which is characterized by identity, unity, binary opposition, hierarchy and stasis. ("Rhizome", n.d.)

3.4.1 Carnival

Carnivals, one of the ways people come together, are entertainment organized in open spaces where people from different classes and ideologies, which are difficult to come together under normal conditions, come together with high energy and joy. The festive carnival environments created in squares, streets and streets are experienced as moments out of the daily flow of monotonous time. During the carnival, people who come together temporarily, share the atmosphere for a short time, and then everyone returns to their lives.

Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) explained the carnival with the following sentences:

"The activities in the carnival square provide the materials that make up this monstrous work. The carnival square is a place of public consciousness that manifests itself in the form of ridicule of all kinds of official status and seriousness, the overturning of all hierarchies, the violation of the rules of behavior with profanity,

obscurity, humiliation, and the celebration of all excesses against bodily appetites. Perhaps the most crucial point of these activities is the emphasis on the material and bodily dimension of life. Even laughter can be thought of in this context insofar as it is a bodily reflex expression of criticism, ridicule, anomaly, and celebration. In the body image, which is placed at the center of the carnival, the absolute limits of human existence are violated, life and death are mixed. The bodies and mortality of individuals are transcended through the historical progress of humanity as a giant body that simultaneously contains life and death.”

According to Bakhtin, carnival is a place of laughter, entertainment and madness, where class differences between people are not seen, inequality situations are eliminated, prohibitions and restrictions are eliminated, existing relationships are not ruled, genuine interactions are experienced, aesthetic pleasure is felt immensely. (Bakhtin, M., 2001, p:23)



Figure 21. Carnival of Apocries. 2013, Patra, Greece.

Carnavalesque gatherings are very different from any political organization or opinion's call for a rally. It does not dictate a centrist formation, it has no central administration. It takes place in a party atmosphere with the participation of thousands of people without the knowledge of the law enforcement officers. These gatherings, where high-level music is played and various demonstrations take place, are also a demonstration where slogans are shouted and protest banners are carried against the grievances that are the subject of the meeting. The victimization that caused this meeting can cover a wide range from global capitalism to the problems experienced by immigrants. This noisy community, which suddenly appears in front of the police by occupying the square, spreads their messages with their aesthetic constructs and amusing moods, and they often disperse without being exposed to police intervention.

“The unpredictability of carnival, which creates a state of complete spontaneity in which each individual can shape his environment and transform himself into another being for an hour or a day, creates fractures in what we perceive as reality. It sets up a new world by overturning all patterns; It pushes the limits of the imagination, turning the existing world upside down for a moment.” (Scholl, C., 2013, s:175)



Figure 22. Pavli Fair, 1910, Pehlivanköy, Kırklareli.



Figure 23. Pavli Fair, 2019, Pehlivan köyü, Kırklareli.

3.4.2 Disruption

“Contemporary art activists often articulate their aim to interrupt the normal course of life by interfering with the public sphere with art.” (Scholl, C., 2013). However, there are important differences between the use of interruption as a tool and the states of expressionism. Particularly, expressionist expression methods have instant success while interrupting daily life. However, if the situation becomes instrumental, that is, if the normal course of life is interrupted or even changed direction, the relationship between art and resistance emerges. The biggest trump card of the carnivalesque structures established by the activists that suddenly filled the streets is to interrupt daily life. The whole system may collapse in an instant, and the criticized structure

reconsiders its own dynamics after this collapse. Interruption also initiates a conflict within the interrupting group members. Conflict is the result of an evaluation. It is inevitable that various gestures and images will emerge after this evaluation. In any case, aesthetic pleasures will spread to all participating activists, and then the definition of aesthetics will be reshaped in this direction.

Disruption also makes the participants feel the power of belonging that emerges from the bringing together of indicators and bodies that are impossible to come together in daily life in the Claiming Street Movement. It is not the fulfillment of wishes, but the strong expression of desires that creates satisfaction in people. This satisfaction is the basis of the new aesthetic theory.

Especially in the global struggles protesting the summit meetings, the method formed by this evaluation process creates a temporary autonomous space. *“Summit protesters often refer to the idea of cracks, thinking of summit protests as moments that interrupt the reality of global capitalism.”* (Scholl, C., 2013)



Figure 24. 45. G7 Summit Protest, Biarritz, Fransa, August, 2019.

The change underlying the revolution finds its place in the center of these actions as “widening the cracks”. The main issue is shaped as follows for the masses who freely use the cracks and fill and empty the squares by flowing through the cracks, despite all the control of the system; *“How to multiply and widen these rejections, these cracks in the fabric of domination?”* (Scholl, C., 2013)

3.4.3 Situation Creation

Avant-garde art criticizes the definition of an art that is abstracted from everyday life, not with the act of creation, but with the production process. Now the work of art is a business line. Because of this situation, it is the radiant world of the creation process that contains the subjectivity of a single person. For avant-gardes, this world is a struggle for social revolution and utopias. Because the aforementioned art is a structure that needs to be terminated with all its sectors, knowledge, areas of expertise and profit/loss calculations that have severed its ties with life. However, according to avant-garde artists, art is political and in this direction, it is a part of social balances. That's why various tactics and strategies, especially the situationists, have created the aura of art, to destroy its traditions. In the Situationist International, it was argued that producing art should be abandoned, and instead, actions and situations were put. Producing art as a political action should be stopped. In other words, not producing art is a political act. The strategy, which now focuses on creating situations in cities where human living spaces are restricted, defines itself at the theoretical and political

level. The fact that uncertainty is pursued and the current reality is ambiguous, unreliable and deceptive has ensured the continuity of this tactic. Because this situation prevents it from being able to be learned and theoretically fixed. Uncertain situations bring out the fake and play with it. Productivity, in which uncertainty is materialized, legitimizes the existence of situations that can be learned and repeated. Many people work collaboratively at the same time to produce situations. It does not have a single planner or artist. What is displayed on the case is not a work of art. It reveals extinction with an anarchist look. It is an act of making anti-art that will disrupt the flow and purpose of the fictionalized daily life in the spectacle society. It is the practice of not producing art. According to Guy Debord, “*Art, like a leprosy hand, infects everything. First of all, it is necessary to destroy everything related to art.*” (Debord, G., 2008)

The best example that can be given to this tactic of the situationists is the situation creation of “*The Yes Men*”.²⁰

Dow Chemical owns Union Carbide, the company responsible for the chemical disaster that occurred in Bhopal, India on December 3, 1984. The factory established by the company in the city of Bhopal has done a lot of damage to the environment. 3800 local people died immediately from the hazardous waste chemicals emitted by the factory, and thousands of people died in time due to the fumes coming out of the factory chimney. The Bhopal Disaster is one of the worst environmental disasters in history. After this incident in 1984, the Supreme Court of India sentenced the company to 470 million dollars in compensation to be shared among the families of the deceased. However, the company that continues its activities has not paid this

²⁰ It is a group of culture agitators and supporters formed by activist duo Jacques Servin and Igor Vamos.

money. A caller to the BBC studios in 2014 stated that he was the spokesperson for Dow Chemical Company and that they would claim the damage 30 years later. The BBC immediately hosted the caller on the TV show. The person who introduced himself as a spokesperson in the live broadcast stated that the company plans to pay 12 billion dollars for medical care, clean up contaminated soils and fund research, and declared in this 2-hour program that the new generation managers want to erase this black mark in the company's past. After the announcement, Dow's share price in Frankfurt fell by 4.24 in 23 minutes, losing \$2 billion in market value. It did not change as a result of the Dow Company realizing the situation and saying that they had no relationship with the interviewer. This situation, undertaken by The Yes Men, showed how important action can be even in capital exchanges, and made history. The fact that the interviewer is a theater artist, the BBC studio is used as a stage, and the shown is presented as a performance art reminds us how this aesthetic act creates new situations and how it is related to the involvement of 'real' art in daily life, as suggested by the avant-gardes.

3.4.4 Psychogeography and Derive

The concept of psychogeography is used to describe the effects on people's emotions and behaviors. This concept, which was introduced by the Situationist International Movement in the 1950s, was shaped by the influence of artistic concerns. The

psychology of the person shaped after the relations with the environment turns into a political tool.

In fact, psychogeography is used by the ruling powers of that geography in every field and moment. There can be many examples of states building their power over city squares. The squares, which have become a symbol of the unwavering authority of the state, design the effect that will be created on individuals. The Situationist International, which uses this strategy by naming it, reversed this situation and placed the concept of psychogeography on a necessary ground for the revolution with tactical propositions. *“Especially Les Poetes Maudits, which is a political interpretation of the concept of Flaneur, which is widely used in French literature, is simply to explore the psychogeographic structure of the city by wandering around.”* Although Guy Debord described derive as an experimental act, he refused to associate this entanglement with chance. Because the derive had to be conscious and purposeful and could contribute to a revolutionary whole in this direction.

Derive, which is the application method of the concept of psychogeography in the city, is the wanderings that individuals make in the city by leaving everything that is priority in their lives aside. According to the Situationist International, during these wanderings, losing the way, encountering surprises and intuitions that develop in this direction can be perceived as a space consciousness that is bypassed. Debord, on the other hand, defines derive as *"an experimental behavior depending on the conditions of the urban society: a technique of rapid transition from various environments"*.

(Derive, www.wikipedia.org)

Only in this way, the individual can establish instant perceptions and relationships with emotional triggers, symbols from the past. It is put forward as a reaction to the

decrease in environmental sensitivity in the modern world and the industrial age and the restrictions created by monotonous life. In fact, the concept of derive triggers a state of civil disobedience through the process of constructing political consciousness with a discovery and challenge. In addition, it is aimed to decipher the representational and fictional order thanks to the maps created with psychogeography. Because these maps are shaped by daily experiences and new relationships, rather than their desirable imaginary counterparts in the city. The Situationist International, which invites the person to a political structure through his relationship with the city, produced very few visual products on psychogeographic maps. It brings creativity to the fore in revealing the invisible or ignored parts of the city. This suggested strategy should not only open one's perception, but also stimulate one's creativity. In the first place, it refers to the physical and sociological situation of the city, which is the application area of psychogeography. The second stage of this experimentation, which is designed as a teaching method, is *“The change of maps, which are a visual representation tool for understanding the city, in the historical process, their ongoing controversial aspects, their relationship with different disciplines, and finally, their innovative approaches are explained with examples.”* In the third part, it includes how the practices or actions that will be created with artistic and intellectual infrastructures after the obtained city information and outputs approach daily lives. The concepts of psychogeography, derivation and mapping, which will be established in the fourth stage, are discussed again and examples of psychogeographic mapping obtained as a result of the study are discussed and evaluated. In the conclusion part, a general evaluation of the study is made.

Although the aim was a new urban application area and democratization of relations in life, as a result, it could not go beyond raising awareness of individuals and strengthening their relations with the city. (Sari, J., 2013)

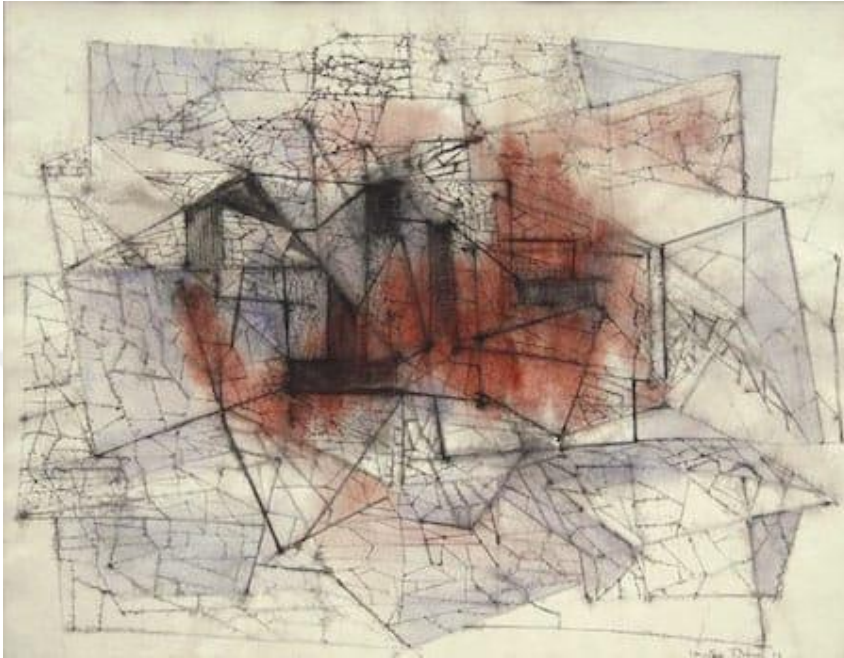


Figure 25. Dorothy Dehner, *New City*, 1953

3.4.5 Detournement

At the Situationist International Congress held in 1956, the Situationists agreed that a political revolution would not be sufficient for a social revolution. According to them, the revolution should be like a carnival and should be transformed into the way of life of individuals in their daily lives. The importance of idleness and leisure time in the form of a capitalist society in which every moment is adapted to work was

emphasized and this was considered as a protest against the society of the spectacle. The revolutionary struggle of the 20th century should have been in the form of an analysis of the "*society of the spectacle*" and, after this analysis, a rebellion against it.

In his book *Society of the Spectacle*, Guy Debord describes in detail the "*colonization of social life by commodities*" and says that he can neutralize this situation, where alienation is inevitable, with art. The whole point is to break this alienation and get rid of the influence of the show society. These strategies, including detournement, are meant to disrupt the sense of loss of meaningless life and values. The transformation of public and daily life away from art and philosophy into a consumption area and the feeling of dissatisfaction that will occur afterwards can only be possible by spreading artistic creativity to daily life. Now one can actively participate in life instead of watching a big show. Various games are set up for this, and games are the basis of situations. Situations transform everyday life. (Debord, G., 2017)

Another form of rejection of the images that the spectacle has imposed in order to break the depression created by the society of the spectacle is detournement. This concept, which can be translated into Turkish as "reversing" or "destroying by degenerating", transforms the image motifs of the spectacle society as a form of art and action, ascribes different meanings to it, often turning it into a form that will have the opposite effect. As stated in the article titled *Definitions* published in the first issue of SE magazine, it is possible that there can no longer be a situationist work, only the works belonging to the society of the spectacle, which were created before, can be interpreted using detournement. In other words, judgments about art and daily life would be broken only in this way, people would rethink and most importantly, individual images would be formed against the images of the spectacle society.

It was very important for them that the new visuals that SE created with the concept proposal of detournement were not signed and presented anonymously. This is the main point of Andy Warhol (1928-1987), who especially reproduced Marilyn Monroe's paintings that he produced with the awareness of detournement, differing from the situationists. In situationism, royalty is not paid, and the new meanings of the works in question are purely a weapon of struggle. It is foreseen that these works produced with the concept and awareness of detournement will turn into an artistic structure with copyright, that these works will be valued in the mainstream process, that they will be presented to the society by emptying their inside (meaning), and in this case, they will go beyond their purpose. The detournement, which was created against the populization and reduction tactics of capitalism, did not use this technique during the creation of a work of art in order not to be marketed and not to be turned into an ornament. (Yeşil, B., 2015)

3.4.6 Creative Action

When Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) talks about "*The Creative Act*", he mentions that this action occurs with a bilateral interaction. The work experienced by the receiver gains a meaning with the receiver, and the receiver's interpretation is included in the work. This is how it is transferred to the society, to those who have not experienced this work. It is also the accelerator of receptive, creative action. It is the activist himself who creates the continuity of the action. The common practice formed during

this continuity is the aesthetic pleasure felt by the cooperation and spontaneous organization of the participants. (Marcel Duchamp, n.d.)

In the traditional sense, the realization of art is to be seen by the audience and presented for viewing. Participatory art, on the other hand, rejected this audience and suggested an understanding of art in which everyone in the environment is productive and creative. The alienating effect of capitalism, mentioned by Guy Debord in his *"Society of the Spectacle"* (1967), illustrates the importance of participation and sharing very well. (Debord, G., 2017)



Figure 26. Gezi Park, 2013.

Various actions took place in line with the above descriptions during the Gezi Park Events (2013), in which everyone participated in line with their objections to the future. Most of these actions, in which people who did not know each other stood side by side in action, consisted of creating a new living space, meeting vital needs, taking daily protection measures and organically building a desired system for the future. People who did not know each other came together to meet their daily needs such as the street library, mobile infirmary, artistic production workshops for children and adults, cooking and distribution areas.

It didn't matter whether the structures created were creative or not, or who the builders were. During the Gezi Park events, anonymous structures were built against the authority and some writings were written on the streets. Of these, the one that left its mark on the Gezi Park Incidents the most is "*Down with the Bound Things!*" had happened. This sentence very well described the revolt against oppression during the Gezi Park Events. It was far from an authoritarian discourse in that it was written on the ground, not a target to which it was addressed, and could be erased because it was underfoot. This sentence, which included a new perspective and perception outside of the daily political language, became the slogan of everyone.

The similarity between Duchamp and the concept of anti-art that came after him and creative action movements is in the approach. Rather than creating a counter-action against the authority in their language, this approach includes actions aimed at establishing a dialogue based on horizontal, anonymous and inter-body cooperation, which do not aim to be an authority. Since all these actions are against the existing authority and powers, they are events that are suppressed by the authorities and tried to be forgotten, the most important outputs and results are the comments of those who experience it and what they feel.

The concept of aesthetics, which the receiver should feel in traditional art, has now turned into a concept that is felt by being a part of a whole in a collective structure, touching shoulder to shoulder, minimizing egos when acting together, not having a ruling class, realizing unlimited imagination, experiencing, playing and enjoying being in it. In other words, the Greek word "aisthesis" and as in Baumgarten's definition, it showed itself in society with meanings such as sensation, senses, perception, perception with emotion.

In this direction, the areas where new forms of action, including all the functions defined by aesthetics, and art meet, are named as "participatory art", "relational aesthetics", "community-based art".

3.4.7 Culture Decay

A group led by Kalle Lasn²¹ (1942), calling themselves the Cultural Jammers, criticized the functioning of the culture industries. Adbusters, who are under the broad umbrella of culture disruptors, who especially criticize the operation of the assumed culture by various institutions in line with their own power management and capital decisions; *“Our aim is to shake up existing power structures and make them fit for the way of life in the twenty-first century. We believe that what the human rights movement means to the 60s, feminism to the 70s, and environmentalism to the 80s, culture degradation means the same thing for our age. Culture change will change the way we live and think. It will change the flow of information, the way companies use their power, the management structures of television stations, and the way the food, clothing, automobile, sports, music and cultural industries set the agenda. Above all, it will change the form of our relationship with the mass media and the processes of meaning formation in social life.”*

²¹ He is an Estonian-born Canadian filmmaker, writer, magazine editor and activist.

The neoliberal economic policies that rose with the 60s, and especially American capitalism, created a new dream of life through the advertising sector network created through the media and directed the desires of the societies with scenarios full of prosperity and luxury. Although this new way of life, which is encouraged by consumption, has led to the rapid development of the economy, it has led to the development of social classes, injustice between classes, inequality and new strategies across borders. For example, “*Artist and Writers Protest Against War*”, which was formed in 1965 by a group of artists and writers against the Vietnam War, was the first political collective established by the artist generation after the Second World War.

Founded in 1966, Black Mask also published a magazine that brought together avant-garde art and radical politics. In 1967, Black Mask members marched on New York's Wall Street wearing ski masks to protest the Vietnam War. This demonstration was the first recorded example of the “*black bloc*”²² *aesthetic* that would develop in Europe in the 1980s and become widespread during the Seattle demonstrations in the USA. (Grindon, G., 1968).

In 1968 the band changed their name to “*Up Against the Wall Motherfucker*”. This statement was an expression of the violence that the police inflicted on black people. “Destroy Museums. Our struggle cannot be hung on walls.” Led by the group, the Sao Paulo Biennale in 1969 was protested over the military regime in Brazil. In the 2000s,

²² The Black Bloc is the name of protest groups wearing black, acting in autonomous small groups. It is a common mistake to think of the black bloc as some kind of international organization, whereas the black bloc is no more than just any tactic used by the demonstrators.

there were long-lasting protests against museum policies.



Figure 27. “Wall Street is War Street”

Members of the de-culture movement saw themselves as the continuation of a revolutionary current rooted in ex-punk rockers, the hippie movement of the 60s, the situationist international of a group of intellectual and conceptual artists, surrealists, dadaists, anarchists, and similar social agitators.

Kalle Lasn, who is world-renowned for her experimental short films and documentaries and has won over fifteen international awards, shot a 30-second commercial about the deforestation in the Pacific Northwest in 1989 and was astonished to find that no television station sold her airtime. He has been fighting ever since. In the information age, they acted for human rights, the right of

communication, and unlimited exchange of ideas and information in the media.

Organizations such as the Media Foundation, Adbusters Magazine, Powershift Advertising Agency and Culture Jammers Network always act on the fact that there is no democracy in broadcast waves. (Lasn, K., 2014)

As Lasn stated, one of the most important struggle areas of the post-90 period is the media. The media can shape the whole society with the perceptions it creates on the images it produces. Gender, race, geographies and ideologies can transform society in line with the interests of capital and central government.

Thanks to the internet networks and digital news center platforms that developed after 1990, they have become areas of action for activists, where anti-media criticisms are created.

Groups that place their existence under the umbrella of “*hacktivism*”, such as Anonymous (2003), Wikileaks (2006) and LulzSec²³ (2011), which place the use of the internet at the center of their movements, have carried out cleverly planned actions with a high level of impact. This platform, which can be described as a new public space, also created types of digital activism and made great contributions to democratization in society. This last period, also called media democracy, has turned into an approach like media-carta²⁴ and an important social meme²⁵ with the partnership of the anti-commercial agency Adbusters. (Lasn, 2014)

²³ Lulz Security, Black Hat Hackers. It was a black hat hacking group that claimed responsibility for several high-profile attacks, including the hijacking of Sony Pictures' user accounts in 2011.

²⁴ The word, produced by Adbusters, has been likened to 'Magna Carta', which is the 'Great Edict of Freedom' in Turkish. Media-carta is the approach of those who think that the democratic possibilities of internet technologies and new media and their social use will contribute to democracy and freedom.

²⁵ Mem or Meme is the unit of cultural transmission introduced by Richard Dawkins. According to Dawkins, as generations change, cultural and social content is passed on to the next generation by memes. It is just like the transfer of biological content by DNA. But memes are more abstract, not

This idea, which will spread among all digital activists, is shaped by the democratic and human rights of the 'new' media such as information gathering, politics, discussion and involvement.

The new media has been accepted as an important platform for the 21st century social movements as an important pillar of the democracy of the people who do not work for capital or administration.

“Under their original names, many types of cyber activism such as clictivism, netactivism, smartmob, (smart gangs), hacktivism, cybervigilantism, netwar and cyberterrorism, millions of people engage in passive and active social movements with different actions.” (Yanık, A., Batu, M., 2019. S:179-208)

Big Tech Group, which has the power to manage the media, is the common point of digital activists that they see facebook, apple, twitter, amazon companies and similar social media channels as the biggest struggle area. In particular, Adbusters' manifesto is regenerative in this sense.

“We are an international collective of activists, artists, writers, designers, musicians, philosophers, poets, punks and wild hearts. Join us as we take down Big Tech. Clear toxic areas of our mental environment. Reverse the upward flow of wealth. Punish any company that betrays the public's trust. Hold corrupt politicians accountable. Awaken a thoughtless, indifferent culture. Fight the psychological takeover of the all-seeing advertising-surveillance industry. Stop following and retweeting... Start thinking, talking and acting for yourself. Our aim is to wreak havoc on a sudden and unexpected moment of truth, a dramatic reversal of perspective, a global shift of

concrete codes of information that can be seen under the microscope like DNA. In this respect, it can be called a sociological gene. (<https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mem>) When translated into Turkish, it may appear as 'mime' incorrectly. It's actually considered a meme.

mind, in such a way that corporate, consumer forces can never fully recover. Join us and subvert every system that is preventing you from living your dreams. ADBUSTER MEDIA FOUNDATION” (Adbusters, n.d.)



Figure 28. Occupy Wall Street, September 2011, New York City.

The Occupy Wall Street protests, launched by the Canadian activist group Adbusters on September 17, 2011, on Wall Street in New York, are peaceful. This movement, especially shaped by educated youth, protests inequality and the impact of companies on the US administration. The actions started by being influenced by the Arab Spring. (Occupy Wall Street, n.d.)

The popular movements in the Arab world are followed from America as well as all over the world. It emerged from the demands of the Arab peoples for democracy,

freedom and human rights; It is a regional social political-armed movement. The fact that there were many internal conflicts separated the Arab Spring from the popular movements in the west, where aesthetic actions were dominant. The peoples overthrew many Arab dictators under the name of freedom struggle. (Arab Spring, n.d.)

Although Occupy Wall Street started in New York, it spread almost all over America, then spread to England, Australia and Europe. Economic inequalities, government corruption and abuses between the government and the people are the main reasons for the uprising. Civil disobedience is the most important method in these movements where internet activism is at the forefront. These protests, in which more than 2000 demonstrators were marching in New York and 700 demonstrators were arrested, continued in the following year, and continued on October 5, 2011, with 21 thousand people marching. But the most important one is the march of nearly 100,000 demonstrators who marched on Wall Street in 2012. These actions were not shown much by the media; It is also blackened when shown. Words such as Nazi, communist, sex addict were used for the protesters.

Occupy Wall Street continued their actions with various projects. The most important of these projects is the formation of alternative banks. This project, called Occupy Money Cooperative, is to ensure that low-cost, transparent and high-quality financial services are available to everyone. His first goal is to produce Occupy Cards.



Figure 29. Occupy Card.

The aim of this project, which is considered the most useful thing Occupy Wall Street can do, is to take over some of Wall Street's businesses. According to Occupy volunteers, the way to the revolution and the establishment of socialism is a practical alternative way to be established to reduce the excesses of Wall Street. *“This path is to build an institution that can provide the most basic financial services most people need at the lowest possible price to all people.”*

Occupy activists have developed many action strategies beyond walking in a square, dancing or arranging meetings in carnivalesque structures, and they have brought alternative systems with social projects against the structures they criticize apart from just protesting. (Nolan, H., 2013)

3.4.8 Digitization with the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation)

It takes its name from Emiliano Zapata, the legendary leader of the Mexican Revolution that took place between 1910 and 1920. (EZLN: Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) The Zapatistas, who believe they have an independent geography from the government, were founded in 1982 by a group of Maoist guerrillas. They emphasize that the land is the people. They always state what the people ordered and what the government implements as a slogan in their protests. With the words they developed against globalization and neoliberalism, they sought the rights of the indigenous peoples living in the villages afterwards. The digital network platforms they have established for their demands for justice, freedom and democracy are a first. The internet, satellite technologies and all the actions they took to organize on the digital platform took their place for the first time in history. *“The global meeting form of the Zapatistas is also considered to have inspired the Peoples' Global Action network, founded in Genoa in 1998, and the world social forum launched in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001. Writers and intellectuals from Mexico and other parts of the world said Zapatiss was "leading the new language of this century" (Montalban) and was the bearer of "the greatest hopes by which man can satisfy the soul" (Saramago). “The whole world – the left world – is in search of a new language,” he would say. Alain Touraine, “And no social movement has contributed so much to the creation of this language as Zapatism”.*

The ability of the Zapatistas to influence these large audiences was the source of the claims for the first postmodern revolution. *“21. It has been claimed to be the ‘prototype of social network warfare in the 19th century’.* (Cleaver, H., 1999)

“Hundreds of anonymous supporters around the world posting, circulating, and translating their words on the Internet have, in a sense, ‘disappeared the author’ (Wu Ming); It broke the dominance of parties, politicians and media conglomerates over politics, turning an “electronic opposition structure” (Henry Cleaver) into a kind of “open source struggle.” (Kaufman, M., 2016)

In 1994, such broad networking and organizational strategies and web server networking, which were not yet fully developed, were just entering the popular world of image shaping, and everyone was just beginning to explore e-mail.

“In the early stages of the Zapatista Movement, it was able to benefit from a widespread and wide presence in the virtual environment, both as a tactic of organization, subversion and disobedience, and as a strategy for creating independent or free media, which in many cases developed around the struggle and, according to many, developed within the Zapatista-inspired movements movement. It was the work of a network of solidarity. The activities of this solidarity network extended to new forms of action such as “Hacktivism” on websites set up to translate and circulate information.”

The most important example of these was the hacking of the web pages of the CIA and the Mexican Government in 1996, and the crashing of the web pages that thousands of people entered at once, by clicking at the same time, was called *“virtual occupation act or electronic mayhem theater”*.

The side-by-side protests of civil disobedience in public spaces have now been moved to a global form of action around the world at the initiative of the Zapatistas. Social actions that governments could prevent with law enforcement turned into creative actions on digital platforms; Activists in public spaces were joined by digital activists. (Kaufman, M., 2016)

3.4.9 Seattle Events and New Strategies for Action

Critical social movements against the globalization of corporate capitalism began in 1999 with actions to protest the World Trade Organization summit, known as the "*Seattle Gathering*". In these actions, the internet environment was used for opposition organizations. Before Seattle, there were small groups of demonstrations against globalization in different places. In 1995, ten thousand Papua New Guineans protested against the structural adjustment prescriptions that the World Bank wanted to implement in their countries. In addition, People Global Action started their action against globalization in May 1998 by protesting the G8 meetings at the headquarters of the World Trade Organization in Genoa, England. In New Delhi, three hundred people occupied the local representation of the World Bank and covered it with posters and slogans. (Tağ, Ş., 2013, S:143-195)



Figure 30. Presented by Seattle City Hall, Community Alliance for Global Justice and UFCW 21.

(<https://townhallseattle.org/event/another-world-is-possible/>)

Other than the ones mentioned above, many groups have come to Seattle to integrate for the same purpose. Among the groups; People from all parts of the world who want international capital to be taxed, third world debt cleared, rainforest protection, low-wage workers' rights advocates, environmental activists, human rights, animal rights advocates, workers, peasants, pro-democracy, anti-capitalism and neo-liberalism. has. The protests of this mass, whose numbers are estimated to be between 50 thousand and 100 thousand, caused a state of emergency to be declared. The first day of the World Trade Organization Meeting has been cancelled. In the meetings held in the other days, the representatives of the third world countries, who were empowered by the outside activists, did not participate in any decision that would be against them, and no consensus-looking resolution came out of this meeting. In addition, promises were made that steps would be taken in the direction the activists wanted on issues related to the economic structure of the Third World.

Thus, Seattle has become a symbol of global resistance. With Seattle, an international movement has emerged, which sees that the source of every problem in the world is global capitalism and directly struggles against this situation. (Uzun, T., 2020)

As we can see from now on, although anti-globalization movements have local roots, they soon moved to an international dimension. This has been achieved thanks to new communication technologies and their use of the internet.



Figure 31. WTO protesters in Seattle on November 29, 1999. (Seattle Municipal Archives, Flickr, CC 2.0)

“During their conference in Seattle, more than 200 activists dressed as sea turtles to protest the 1999 World Trade Organization made and wore these costumes in response to the WTO's decision that banning the use of a certain style of shrimp net was an impediment to free trade. Nets were responsible for the drownings of sea

turtles. The WTO protests were nicknamed the "War in Seattle" in 1856, a name given to the one and only "war" ever fought between indigenous peoples and new settlers on Seattle land." (Millennium carnival on the streets of Seattle, 1999)

This massive anti-globalization action as non-violent direct action can also be described as an alternative globalization, as it establishes a horizontal network of organizations.

The common point of these activists, who came from various geographies and gathered in Seattle for the same purpose and did not even know each other's spoken languages, was their creative ideas in their actions. These masses participated in the movement that covered the city in a carnival atmosphere with their costumes and ingenious shows, sabotaging the daily life of the city by turning the city into a cabaret stage. They stated that they were involved in peaceful and non-violent action, especially when confronted with law enforcement officers, and they carried out their struggle with the police through the dialogue they tried to establish with them. With the non-violent aesthetic actions reflected in the world press, they revealed the face of the law enforcement officers that created the main violence. Although there were arrests during the protests, the governor's office, which could not stand the increasing pressure, especially with the threat of a collective strike by the workers, released all the prisoners.

Seattle events have changed the habits of social protest in world history, and have taken a new form with online organization, carnivalesque formations and strategies to interrupt daily life. In its most classical form, the forms of action shaped by photography, burning flags and puppets, dancing or shouting slogans at the same time

have changed, an alternative daily life formation has been built by modeling the collective life in spaces, and this has been shaped as new forms of mass actions.

Also, thanks to Seattle, new types of activist identities have been defined. Organized on the Internet, these activists met by declaring mass actions in different parts of the world by following global-scale problems instead of local ones. These activists, whose experience increased in every action, achieved more aesthetic success.

Another change thanks to Seattle is the increased sensitivity of global problems and the emergence of activists who propose solutions to these problems.

To put it briefly, the Seattle Events have taken their place in social history as a common language, by interrupting daily life, highlighting the aesthetic projects that everyone can participate in, focusing on global problems, and also creating a new definition of activist identity.

3.4.10 A New Type of Digital Platform, Wikileaks and Changing the Scenes in the World

Julian Paul Assange (1971), an Australian computer programmer and internet activist, is also the editor and press spokesperson of the website Wikileaks. In 1987, he entered the hacking business with the username Mendax and working with various groups, hacked institutions such as the Pentagon, the US Navy, NASA, and Citybank. “*Julian*

Assange, in his article titled “Conspiracy as Governance,” explained how, thanks to the leak of information, the administrations that maintain their power and do not represent their people can be overthrown by keeping the information secret. He also advocates the concept of radical democracy.” (wikipedia.org)

Julian Assange is one of the nine-member board members and press spokesperson of Wikileaks, which was founded in 2006. Since Assange has the last word and approval in the documents to be uploaded to the site, his name is mentioned together with WikiLeaks. It has revealed the secret correspondence of almost all world governments with its documents. The American base in Cuba showed the world the treatment of prisoners in Guantanamo, the extrajudicial executions in Kenya, the civilian deaths in the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars, revealed and published the records of the American army.

These documents, which were announced on the site named WikiLeaks in 2010, aroused great repercussions in the society. Despite the increase in donations, a large smear campaign was started, especially in the media. An international arrest warrant was issued for sexual harassment in 2010. Assange was caught in London, later released on bail, and the investigation was dropped in 2017.

Social mobility and forms of action that interrupt daily life and aim to change society could only be established with the creative models they developed. The internet option added to these creative models has revealed the horizontal proliferation of the new type of globalism and an anti-capital-power structure. The dissemination of information via internet technology, which can be considered very common today, has led to very surprising and extraordinary examples since the beginning of the 2000s.

The deciphering of the criminal documents of the world powers together with Assange has created a great shock among the powers on a global scale. Even today, we see the effects of this tremor.

Thanks to Assange and internet technologies, the big system on a global scale, which operates with the balance of relations between capital and power, has been transformed into a theater stage, and the secret actors who turn the wheel have been exposed in front of the public thanks to Assange. Thanks to Assange, the hidden actors behind the scenes of the play in the big stage were brought to the main stage, and the fiction of the representative play was distorted, and thus the emergence of the real ones created a great surprise and excitement.

This time, the interrupted daily life is not that of the people in the street, but of capital and power. In the process of such a wide-ranging interruption, the person in the street has become a spectator, transforming into a spectator position instead of being watched.

Showing the world as a theater stage and revealing the big game thanks to the WikiLeaks Site caused Assange to be remembered as a hero. However, this organic structure established by Assange is still developing and continuing with the transfer of documents by many volunteers around the world.

Thanks to Assange, the world had turned into a global stage, and this stage that the activists in Seattle could not even dream of expanded the boundaries of a world struggle where everyone could be equal. For this reason, this event has been associated with aesthetic forms of action.

4. Social Movements and Formations in Turkey After 2000

The greatest struggle in the history of thought in the 20th century is western modernity. It should be noted that it was a period in which rational solutions and methods, which were put forward by global developments, were imposed on the existing cultural and political regimes. Various abstract models created, thought, and put forward as ideas, argued that art and politics can always be intertwined, and tried to explain that the boundaries between the two could be blurred and uncertain. In the continuity of this, it reveals that art, as an important public issue, is an effective tool in the identity construction of nation-states, apart from forming the agenda of individuals. In the article written by Lev Kreft for the presentation of his book *"Art, Politics, Cultural Politics in the Age of Culture"*, he explains this situation as follows:

“We can talk about three successive art-politics regimes: Nation-building, autonomy and avant-garde. It is possible to trace them historically; but this does not mean that the old regimes have disappeared with the new one. The art-politics relationship model, which is based on nation building and absolutism, has its roots in the 17th century and its full development in 18th century Europe; artistic autonomy flourished and spread in 19th century France; The avant-garde, on the other hand, emerged historically just before the First World War and was influential throughout the 20th century. However, this does not mean that the models in question were not applied in a mixed and hybrid way, they existed in different geographies of the world with different combinations or as rivals to each other. They are still on the agenda today, even in the 21st century.” (Lev Kreft, 2008, p.20)

While evaluating the relationship between art and politics, Toby Clark (1963): *“Does the message push aesthetic concern into the background in every work where art is used for propaganda? To what extent can the criteria evaluating aesthetic structure be separated from ideological values? If propaganda aims to influence art, how does it do it and to what extent does it succeed?”* He legitimized the relationship between art and politics with the discussions he started with these questions, and established a structural relationship with the history of thought. (Clark, T., 2004, P:16)

Toby Clark's question is pertinent if, as Kant states in his *"Critique of Judgment"* (1790), art means nothing but itself. If art is used for propaganda in line with an ideology, the question 'How much is art?' should be asked, since it will be a function of the output obtained. In addition, the relationship between the values created in line with the concepts of fashion and aesthetics, shaped by ideologies and central governments, with everyday situations is a subject that needs to be solved theoretically.

Political propaganda through art produces the language of power; Despite art and politics, propaganda interferes with the language of power. The power wants to see the artist on its side and feeds the artists for this. Because in the established and nurtured system, art has been defined as the showcase of institutions, politics and everything.

On the other hand, in most political movements and regimes of the 20th century, art is seen as a field that creates strong and direct political influence. Totalitarian regimes, in line with their political aims, have made the society believe that they are intertwined with art by glorifying art. In this direction, they created art models suitable for their own political ideologies and often punished those who were outside

of these models. They supported them to shape artists for their own purposes and to produce "art" within that ideological framework, and they used this in the construction of their own structures. Particularly, nazi art and Socialist Realism in the Stalin period are prime examples of these. In fact, during the Socialist Realism period, all the works produced in the government of Lenin were kept in warehouses for years to be hidden from the society. (Artun, A., 2015)

Collaborating with this type of administration; located in the center and feeding the infrastructure of its own works with the language and ideology of the center; Even some artists who used their artistic skills for popular issues argued that their artistic creativity should not be subject to "outside" political pressure, interference, or censorship.

4.1 Activist Art Actions

4.1.1 Movement Theater for the Revolution

Movement Theater for the Revolution was founded in September 1968 by a group of theater artists. Some of these theater players are Mehmet Ulusoy (1942), Işıl Özgentürk (1948) and Ali Özgentürk (1945), Sadık Karamustafa (1946), Doğan Soyuev, Sabahattin Şenyüz. *"We know that the revolution will be achieved under the leadership of the working and peasant classes, and we help it through our art,"* he said in an interview a year after its establishment. They said that they made art with a

perspective that *"makes those who live humanely, those who are exploited, think that they are human and that they should fight for their own class"*. (Motion Theater for Revolution as Turkey Branch of 1968, 2018)

The Movement for the Revolution advocated making theater with the people with plays created from the problems of villages and poor neighborhoods. Noting that, "A theater that can be watched for 10-15 liras on comfortable seats, even if it has revolutionary characteristics, cannot go further than being a consumption commodity of the bourgeoisie", stating that the exploited masses of people live on the streets, in slums, on the land, and in factory areas; They argued that the street was the most suitable place to do theater with these people and to reach them.



Figure 32. Movement Theater for the Revolution, in a street play (Ali Özgentürk in the middle) 1996

“To call Movement Theater for the Revolution a theater in the conventional sense means ignoring the function of this theatre. Because in a conservative society like Turkey, it was very new and impressive to be able to stage the street and to come into contact with a public, the theater, who had never encountered anything other than cheaters, dice throwers, ring throwers, and bingo players. Today, it is possible to come across examples of this theater in Avignon, Edinburgh and at the famous theater festivals of the world. But in terms of content, Theater of Movement for Revolution is different. Today, street theater performances held in the squares of big metropolises are more like a show of ingenuity. However, the Theater of Movement for the Revolution was not a theater of ingenuity, it was a theater of problems. It was a theater that involved young people presenting their world view they believed in problematically to the public.” (Üzümkesici, B., 2016)



Figure 33. Movement Theater for the Revolution, Poster of Bridge and Strike Games.



Figure 34. Movement Theater for the Revolution, Poster of Bridge, Strike and America Games.

The activism of the 1968 movements, which affected the whole world, was supported by acts such as playing street plays in the streets, in public, and even involving them in the play. The reflection of this situation in Turkey was realized with the Theater of Movement for the Revolution.

Burak Üzümkesici's article titled *"Against a Rootless Aesthetics: Movement Theater for the Revolution"*, published in the 11th issue of the scope magazine, talks about the street theater that was active between 1968-1971 as follows. *"For DİHT, the street symbolizes any place where there are elements that will establish a new life: whether it is a football field or a closed room. Ultimately, the important thing is to change the audience and change with them so that he can get rid of the chains that alienate him and force him to be the audience of his own living conditions. The mutual interaction, the dialogue they have with the workers and the peasant masses, and the awareness that they have something to learn from each other are the strength on which the DİHT*

experiment is based, and this is what keeps them from falling into a “rootless aesthetic” in their own words.”

At the stage of creating and writing the plays, whatever the problem of the chosen village, town or region was, they were created together with the people living there, by talking and discussing, that is, with the people who were also the audience. Therefore, while everyone was holding the edge of the business on one hand, change was inevitable on both sides. (Üzümkesici, B., 2016)

“Someone has just come from a walk, someone is out of the movie Jules and Jim that shook him for the third time, someone is reading Kafka's Letters to Milena for perhaps the fifth time. Who knows how many times Engels' views on art, Brecht's, Lukacs's view of art have been revised. [...] Aşık İhsani, on the one hand, sings Sharpened His Ax, on the other hand, Joan Baez sings We Shall Over Come. Picasso's dove of peace is in all the books, in all the fairy tales, in all the teacups... The year is 1968...” (Özgentürk, I., 1988: S.2074-2075.)

Since the first word they would say would be on the Bosphorus Bridge to be built in Istanbul, their first play was "The Bridge". The second game, "Strike", was held at the Magirus Assembly Factory. In 1967 the Disk (Revolutionary Confederation of Trade Unions) was formed and the labor movement was on the rise. Later, they played the play "Slum", which deals with the problems of the people living in the slums, and "America", which was written against imperialism, on the street, in coffee and union halls, on the stage, in inns and in front of factories. (Üzümkesici, B., 2016)

4.1.2 “We Are Not Men” Initiative

Italian artists Pippa Bacca (1974-2008) and Silvia Moro, who started the project "Bride of Peace" in March 2008, set out from Milan to give a message of peace and love to countries dominated by violence. This artist action, which would end in Palestine through Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Israel, attracted a lot of media attention with its activist stances. The artists, who were hitchhiking in their wedding dress costumes, placed small objects they had collected from the countries they visited between the skirt layers and showed them to the people they met. This project, which provides inter-geographical communication, which is seen as a metaphor for a gallery environment, changed shape when two friends suddenly parted ways in Istanbul. The allegation emerged that Pippa Bacca disappeared while hitchhiking through Kocaeli-Gebze and was subsequently raped and killed. This situation, which caused great sadness in the society, also caused indignation among the artists. The following leaflet was distributed during the march performance of the artists who called themselves the "We Are Not Men Initiative" while wearing black veils on Istiklal Street.

“WE ARE NOT MEN!

Pippa Bacca's horrific but not very unusual way of death, namely the rape murder, created a sensational situation this time. The reason for this sensation was that she was a female artist and a 'foreigner' who started her march on March 8 on a route characterized by wars or unsafe. Perhaps the conscience was shaken by the fact that he was the victim of the prejudices he tragically tried to draw attention to.

But it also exposed the hypocrisy. As if women are not killed every day in this country in the name of honor, custom, chastity; As if there was no prime minister who gave speeches like "we did not take the immorality of Europe", as if harassment-rape-attack and killing against women were not ordinary events, the media and authorities immediately cleaned our honor. 'A scoundrel who disgraced us was immediately arrested.' Immediately diplomatic apologies were made, headlines were made, and the vile rapist was exposed in the news bulletins. As if the harassment and rape of 'lewd' European women has almost become a national men's sport, the fact that women can be harassed on the streets at any time, being killed in a nook or in front of everyone, being forced to commit suicide are facts from another country; It is as if an incest research, which a female AKP member of parliament is afraid to even explain, was conducted in another country.

The hypocrisy is obvious now, it cannot be covered by any veil. A few days ago, a police officer again in Gebze denied the act of hiding the hypocrisy by raiding the house and being a partner in the rape of the woman in the house.

As men who are aware of these, we no longer want to remain silent with our shame and guilt.

We don't want to live in a third page country.

We do not want to play the gender roles that are imposed on us and that we fulfill from time to time. We reject these roles.

If rape is masculinity, WE ARE NOT MEN!

If guarding honor and customs is manhood, WE ARE NOT MEN!

If killing is masculinity, WE ARE NOT MEN!

If being homophobic is masculinity, WE ARE NOT MEN!

If it is masculine to narrow life and streets to women, WE ARE NOT MEN''

(If Violence Against Women is Masculinity, We Are Not Men, 2011)

This performance was organized by men and women who do not accept the "male" judgment that is unique to our society, just like the prejudices Pippa Bacca wants to destroy. Men who reject the concepts that are accepted as the necessity or content of being a man in various ways, therefore, wanted to destroy these judgments by saying "We are not men".

The performance, which was made by wearing these black veils, aimed to create a massiveness different from any mass march, and turned the walking areas into stages. He also organized a revolt against sexist judgments.

4.1.3 Direnistanbul Culture Commissioner

The conceptual framework of the Istanbul Biennials, organized every two years in Istanbul by Iksv (Istanbul Culture and Art Foundation), is created by selected curators and organized by inviting artists in line with these concepts. These biennial

exhibitions, added to the popular agenda of Istanbul, are followed with great interest. In general, the curators, who form the conceptual framework, create their texts with the political references on the agenda and make the biennial promotions at their meetings in this direction.

The conceptual framework of the 11th Istanbul Biennial, which took place in 2009, is also the *"How Do People Live?"* It was created with reference to a work called. Ivet Curlin, Ana Devic, Natasa Ilic and Sabina Sabalovic, members of the curator collective WHW, which has been working in the city of Zagreb since 1990, gave a performance full of references to Bertold Brecht's "alienation effect" at the press conference where the conceptual framework will be announced. This performance, in which four curators read a written text on the stage, and the meeting where the following questions were answered, announced that the biennial would be shaped around topics such as neoliberal policies, war, gender oppression, and Marxism. Emphasizing that they especially wanted the biennial to be entertaining and educational, the curators received a great response because they embraced Brecht's stance and words. A group of artists took action by criticizing the underestimation and neutralization and hollowing out of this concept belonging to Brecht, which contradicts the structural and institutional aims of this exhibition, supported by sponsoring international companies and the government. The artists who call themselves the *"Direnistanbul Social Realism Committee"* wrote an open letter to the Istanbul Biennial:

"11th. An open letter to the curators, artists, participants and all artists and art lovers of the International Istanbul Biennial:

We must now understand that political art, which has become popular in museums, magazines, and the marketplace over the past few years, has nothing to do with truly changing the world. We need to see that taking risks within the framework of art, pushing the boundaries of form, disobeying the rules of culture, making art about politics doesn't change anything. We can no longer pretend that art is an autonomous and free space independent of capital and power relations.

It's time to become invisible for artists. Being mixed into life and disappearing...

We read the conceptual framework of the 11th International Istanbul Biennial with great interest and with a smile on our faces. We have also known for a long time that the Istanbul Biennial aims to be one of the most relevant art formations on political issues.

Look at the coincidence! This year, the Biennial quotes our comrade Brecht, talking about neoliberal hegemony and stopping global capitalism. Although we share similar problematics, we think that art can never exist as a separate category from life. Therefore, we are writing to you not to cooperate with arms dealers like Koç Holding, who are trying to clear themselves in the hot waters of global art, to invite you to join life, the life of resistance.

Curators Brecht's "What Man Lives By?" They ask whether the question remains urgent for those of us living under neoliberal hegemony. We Are Human, What-You Can't Live? we add. We clearly see what we cannot live without today, when we do not have the right to work, the right to free healthcare and education, our cities, squares and streets are taken over by companies, our land, seeds and water are stolen, we are dragged into an unstable and insecure life, we are killed while crossing

the borders or we are left alone in an uncertain future full of crises. . But we are fighting. We are fighting in the public sphere, on the street, not in sterile and institutional spaces where consciences are relieved by tame criticism. "Those who try to throw us out of our neighbourhoods, our homes in Sulukule, Güleusu, Ayazma, those who want to find cyanide in the soil with gold prospecting in Bergama and Kaz Mountains, those who victimize hazelnut producers in Giresun and cotton producers in Çukurova, those who make denim grinding workers unhealthy. Those who put their lives out with silicosis by working 12 hours a day in workshops under these conditions, those who turned the shipyard into a death camp by not providing safe working conditions to the workers at Tuzla Shipyard, those who risked the lives of the people of the region by wanting to establish a nuclear power plant in Sinop and Akkuyu, joined the union in Desa and Yörsan. We also fought against those who caused workers to be fired because they signed up. Our struggle and hope keep us alive.

The curators also state that one of the most important questions of the Biennial is how to liberate pleasure and restore its revolutionary role. We liberate pleasure in the street, in our streets. In Prague, Hong Kong, Athens, Seattle, Heiliegendamm, Genoa, Chiapas and Oaxaca, Washington, Gaza and Istanbul ... The revolutionary role of joy and pleasure it manifests itself right here and we feed this pleasure everywhere; because we know we have to survive and we change the world and ourselves with our words, our actions and our laughter. And life itself is the most basic source of this pleasure. We are now getting ready to welcome 13 thousand delegates who came to represent the IMF and the World Bank in Istanbul, as we have done elsewhere. We declare that we will not be hospitable. We will be on the streets at the carnival of resistance between October 1-8 and we will prevent this meeting. We invite you to the

rebellion of resistance and imagination! Leave corporate spaces and free your business! Let's make production together, not within the four walls, but on the streets, in the squares, during the resistance week! Creativity belongs to all of us, not to the sponsors.

Long live the global rebellion!

Direnistanbul Social Realism Committee” (What can one not live without?, 2009)

In this letter they wrote, the artists mentioned that the works done as if to change life under the name of art actually do not work at all. They called on all artists to oppose on the street, in the public sphere, in public, that is, in the very heart of life. They did not call the aesthetic actions performed in this way as works of art. In this case, it is emphasized that the main point is to interfere with the flow of life.



Resim 35. Week of Resistance to IMF and World Bank, 2009

4.1.4 Public Art Lab

The Public Art Laboratory (KSL), which was established in Istanbul in September 2011 under the leadership of Ezgi Bakçay and Niyazi Selçuk, gathered many artists and people from different disciplines under its umbrella. He organized many meetings based on the problems of every field of art. Censorship was their main concern. Emphasizing that it was established against the disorganization of artists, especially against the policies of the government, KSL discussed the problems of opening the distance between art and politics. The lack of involvement of artists in the face of social events, the fact that the oppositional art made in art institutions remained in the art circle and could not establish a relationship with the social area was highlighted as an important problem for KSL. KSL, which organized various meetings about the loss of its social function as a result of the commercialization of art, addressed the attendees as laborants. In the meetings of twenty-thirty people, the decision process was carried out on various issues.

KSL, which is seen as the first example of the continuous evaluation of the concept of artist in this type of structure in Turkey, said, *“We make sense of art with creativity and from this perspective, no one can monopolize artistry. In other words, we do not believe in the existence of a separate group called “artists”. We believe that creativity should be in the hands of all people. What we do is to build bridges and open channels between the field of art and the field of politics.”* (Public Art Lab: We produce by saying 'how should it be' instead of 'how not', 2012)

In the manifesto they prepared during the establishment phase, they state that the siege of capitalism around art workers and that the most important thing to fight should be to break this siege.

“Public Art Lab Manifesto:

- *The anger created by the suffocating violence against people, nature, culture, science, art and different lifestyles brought us together.*
- *The burning need of an organization open to everyone who wants to produce “concrete ideas” to change the space, time, working conditions, human relations and life shaped by the nightmare of capitalism brought us together.*
- *The desire to establish a collective, public art laboratory that will create the tools for freedom of expression brought us together.*
- *The desire to prove that we are not condemned to the art market that turns art into a useless pastime and the artist into a palace jester brought us together.*
- *The idea that there is nothing to wait for to start and that the first step is to change yourself motivated us.*

Our aims:

- *Producing actions, works, processes that are candidates to change the habits shaped by capital, instrumentalized social relations and the destroyed human-nature relationship in daily life...*
 - o *Utilizing the strategies of art to create social relations, experiences, emotions, moments, spaces through temporary or permanent practices...*
 - o *Creating public spaces with evaluative, criticizing, opposing, rebellious performances, ironic images, rebellious inventions, seductive voices, forms that haunt us, mysterious words, traces of hypocrisy, anonymous shadows...*
- *Instead of trying to make art a tool of politics in order to shape life with "art", redefining the relationship of art with politics and society...*
 - o *Rethinking art for this...*
 - o *Trying to understand not what art is, but what it does, what it can do...*
- *Able to produce both reflex actions and long-term activities;*

o Able to work with local and international organizations, unions and platforms in line with their principles,

o To be able to create a structure that produces actions that question the relationship of art with society and life...

• Considering the problems of art together with other problems in social life...

o To identify the problems of culture and arts,

o To draw attention to these problems and propose solutions when necessary...

We, who have come together for this purpose, have an attitude towards labor, freedom, organization, life, nature and people;

We believe that creativity is vital in establishing a humane life. We think that a new life proposal cannot be made without creating a new language and expression. In our opinion, art is the way to defeat the lie "in the heart, in the book and on the street". Art is the possibility of establishing another world in emotion, thought, dream and reality. This is exactly why art is political. We define the "concrete ideas" we will produce as political actions as well as artistic.

Our dreams are about the future, our journey will continue until we meet the unconditionally integrated person of the future.

Public Art Lab'' (Public Art Lab Manifesto, n.d.)

The subjects that KSL mostly includes in its production areas are the culture and art policies of the state. Emphasizing that İKSV is one of the leading institutions that ensure the continuity of these policies, they stated that İKSV works like the Ministry of Culture. İKSV; The privatization of culture, holding connections, and the order it established in line with its relations with capital formed the basis of a structure that manipulates and puts pressure on art. According to KSL, art management departments established in this direction are the result of a counter-organization that legitimizes the commercialism of art.

Emphasizing that there is no art sponsorship law in Turkey, KSL sabotaged the opening of the 11th Istanbul Biennial in an action they carried out to expose the chaotic nonsense and the troubles of arms and tobacco manufacturers sponsoring art.

They produced copies of the opening cocktail invitations distributed by the biennial management for the event held on 14 September 2012 and distributed them to the guests at the opening. When the guests, who took these fake invitations, scraped them with a small 'scrape' direction on them, they encountered a letter coming out from the bottom. What emerged was the letter written by Vehbi Koç, the founder of the Koç Foundation, one of the biennial sponsors and owner of İKSV, to Kenan Evren during the 12 September period, containing the offer of cooperation. With the September 12 coup process, the collaborators' organization of events that took over the culture and art policies, as an issue that should be questioned and criticized according to KSL, came to light with this interactive performative aesthetic act and was written in many places.

Meetings and actions that lead to discussion on the question of how a cultural policy can be associated with the cultural capital or financial center and the Istanbul Metropolis, which is free from labor and workers, emphasize the importance of KSL in this sense. If TOKİ's produce (Mass Housing Administration) is planted on the lands on which the artist lives and is thought to be fed, the artist's right to be involved will emerge in this direction.

In addition to issues such as the autonomy of art, KSL has also carried out actions emphasizing its environmental sensitivities. The most important of these was made against Şeker Bank, which announced in advertisements that HEPPs (Hydro Power Plant) would give loans. This protest action, which was carried out in cooperation

with the "Black Sea is in Revolt" platform on September 20, 2012, had a great impact. A series of showcase exhibitions were created with the concept of environmental content, curated by Ali Akay. While supporting HEPPs on the one hand, Public Art Laboratory, the institution that gives environmental problems to artists to produce, on the other hand, made a real-size HEPP pipe from chipboard and put it on the door of a Şeker Bank branch. Later, KSL, which Ezgi Bakçay left due to internal disagreements, turned into a personal platform in line with Niyazi Selçuk's actions.



Figure 36. Open Screen Inside View, Public Art Lab. 20 Eylül 2012.

(<http://kamusalsanatlaboratuvari.blogspot.com/p/ack-ekrana-icten-baks.html>)

4.1.5 Public Resistance Platform

Since the 13th International Istanbul Biennial will start right after the Gezi Park Protests in June, the collective sensitivities of the Gezi Movements inevitably led to the organization of anti-Biennial criticism. The curator Fulya Erdemci, quoting the

poet Lale Müldür's (1956) book of the same name, *"Mom, am I a barbarian?"* That's why the title he chose was very controversial. Firat Arapoğlu, in his article in Sol Newspaper on 13 August 2013, stated that this title covers the aim of 'how to make a language that will include the marginalized of the society visible through art. He emphasized that the concept of “publicity” should be considered under a broad umbrella and on sub-titles such as market relations.

At that time, it was already emphasized in the debates on the functions of the biennial for a long time that the most important implication was that metropolises should have international biennials in order to survive. It was known that biennials were used as tools to legitimize the negativities experienced especially in metropolitan processes by including them in the biennial issues and then to familiarize the masses with the situations. Urban Movements, Açıkalan Art Collective, Public Art Laboratory, ArtHack, Homur Humor and Cartoon Group, Student Collectives, Gündoğansu Art and Think Society, Karadeniz is in Rebellion, Red Photograph, Independent Artists and Independent University Students in order to disrupt plays such as biennial beautification and aestheticization of humanity They came together under the name of the Public Resistance Platform (KDP) and developed a stance against the biennial, which would portray the other and aestheticize the grievances at various meetings.

"During the 'Public Alchemy' session within the Biennial Public Program in the ITU conference hall on March 22, 2013, a group of protesters protested the presentations organized by the biennial team by reading Constantin Kavafis's poem 'Waiting for the Barbarians' in unison. Later, during the performances of “Vermeir & Heiremans, “Art House Index” at the session titled “Public Capital” at The Marmara Hotel on May 10, 2013, the protesters silently lay down on the floor, covering themselves with

blankets with various company logos. The activists were brought out by the crowd pump hotel security and the action ended.” (13th Istanbul Biennial curator attacked the artist!, 2013)

The situation that the Public Resistance Platform tries to draw attention to is that although urban transformation investors (Zorlu, Eczacıbaşı and Koç Group, etc.) are among the sponsors of the biennial, the biennial team and Fulya Erdemci's main subjects (sponsors) while constructing the opposing policies of the city and public space. They were producing and proposing questions and criticisms as if they were excluded. The sponsors that the question should have been asked were hereby bypassed, and the public was asked who the barbarian was (pointing to seek elsewhere) in reference to it, frankly confusing the target. For this reason, although Fulya Erdemci did not embrace the criticisms by saying *"I am an independent curator"*, the biennial was tried to be rendered dysfunctional thanks to the KDP. Open Space Art Collective, one of the KDP associates, opened the “<https://antiistanbul2013bienal.blogspot.com/>” page and collected all the documents written in the local media against the biennial, translated them into English, and sent an e-mail to those on the list of Beral Madra²⁶ (1942), who shared the e-mail list of artists abroad. sent by post. (Open Space Art Collective founder Prof. İnsel İnal, personal communication, February 22, 2021)

In addition, the Public Resistance Platform published a statement simultaneously with the 13th Istanbul Biennial protests. (See, this statement and other details on the subject can be read under the heading Gezi Park Protests.)

²⁶ She is a Turkish art critic, writer and curator of contemporary art.

4.2 The Relationship Between Art And Politics And The Reflections Of Aesthetics In Action (Urban Transformation In Struggle, Feminism, Environmental Movements, Child Rights, Disintegration Such As LGBT, The Effect Of Non-Governmental Organizations)

4.2.1 1969 Istanbul Bosphorus Bridge Protest

In 1969, when the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul came to the agenda, a group of revolutionary youth from Istanbul Technical University started protests.



Figure 37. No to Bosphorus Bridge. Gündüz Taner ve Metin Eşrefoğlu. Taksim, 1969.(Milliyet Newspaper 10 April 1969, Abdullah Kutalmış MIZRAK/Emlakkulisi.com)

A group of students from Istanbul Technical University decided to build a bridge over the Zap Water in Hakkari, saying that there are other urgent needs in other parts of the country before the bridge to Istanbul is built, and almost the same bridge planned to be built on the Bosphorus, which took the lives of many people from the local people. They build on Zap Water.



Figure 38. Revolutionary Youth Bridge, Hakkari.

The bridge, which was built in honor of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends, was named "*Revolutionary Youth Bridge*". After it was bombed and destroyed by counter-revolutionaries in 1999, the 70-meter-long suspension bridge, which was rebuilt with the money collected under the coordination of Author Cezmi Ersöz, was reopened in October 2010 with the participation of various artists, intellectuals, students from universities in various provinces of Turkey and many people.



Figure 39. Revolutionary Youth Bridge Entrance.

In an interview with Bahriye Kabadayı, who made a documentary film called "*A Great Zap Poet: Revolutionary Youth Bridge, 2007*" about the construction process of the bridge in 2006, it is mentioned how the people living there remember the people who built the "*Deniz Gezmiş Bridge-The Bridge of the Seas*" with enthusiasm. ("Bahriye Kabadayı Dal", n.d.)

This group of young people, who are not artists and act only with common sensitivities, have concluded their protests, actions and what actually needs to be done with a collective work. (Revolutionary Youth Bridge standing, 2010)

4.2.2 Tekel Business Resistance and Occupy Movements

Tekel Workers' Action is a workers' action that started in Ankara on 15 December 2009 by Tekgıda-İş Union workers registered with Türk-İş and spread all over Turkey on February 4, 2010, with the biggest collective quitting decision of the post-1980 period. (Wikipedia.org) After Tekel was privatized in early 2008 and was taken over by British Tobacco, in December 2009, the government announced that the monopoly factories would be closed and workers would be transferred to other public sectors as temporary personnel. There were cuts in both the wages and social security rights of the workers. On December 15, more than ten thousand workers from different parts of Turkey marched to Ankara to claim their jobs and protest the government. The workers, who gathered first in the AKP headquarters of the government of that period and then in front of the Türk-İş Headquarters, carried out an occupation action that lasted for 78 days on Sakarya Street in the center of Ankara.

American poststructuralist philosopher Judith Butler (1956), who contributed to feminist philosophy, queer theory, political philosophy and ethics, emphasized that bodily needs (feeding, shelter, medical care, protection from violence, etc.) are essential for politics in a text she wrote on the Occupy Movement. *“What we need to do is not just bring the material urgency of the body to the fore, but put these needs at the center of political demands.”* he stated. (Butler, J., 2012)

Monopoly Resistance started with the physical needs being brought to the square and placed at the center of political demands. In a short time after the workers gathered and started the sit-in, many people came and joined the group to support and show

solidarity. Within a few days, tents were set up on Sakarya Street and everywhere was filled with banners and posters. The resistance, which continued until the beginning of March, ended when the Council of State decided that the one-month period granted to Tekel workers to get 4/C status was against the law and persuaded the workers to return to their homes, promising that Türk-İş would continue the struggle. When the workers did not get what they wanted, they returned to Ankara a month later, but the city was completely surrounded by the police. The workers, who started to resist again on Sakarya Street, were dispersed by the police within two days. Some smaller groups continued to struggle, but gradually most workers either signed up to 4/C status or left their jobs.

Monopoly Resistance is an occupation movement. Occupy is a social and global protest movement that started around the world due to the 2008-2012 "*Global Economic Crisis*". These protests first started in the USA and spread first to Europe and then to the whole world. Capitalism and big corporations and governments are the centers of protest. Unemployment, unjust life, war and post-modern colonialism are shown why. In these social movements supported by students, retirees and groups from all corners of society, "*Changing the world, building a new life*" was among the intense discourses of the demonstrators. (Monopoly Worker Action, n.d.)

While the world is shaken by occupation movements, it is inevitable that Tekel workers will emerge with similar problems and a similar revolt. The relationship that Tekel workers have established with each other and with the place has grown and created new lifestyles, new practices and new social contexts. This new formation of time and space was realized by the creative affirmation power of political action.

(Firat, B.Ö., Kuryel, A., 2015)

Workers gathered on Sakarya Street first held a sit-in for three days and then stretched tarps between the trees to protect them from the rain that started. In an environment shaped by extremely human needs, linoleum covered the entire street, tents were formed, stoves, kitchens, places where music was played, and they slept in the corners they formed by hugging blankets. In Begüm Özden Fırat and Aylin Kuryel's article titled *Creativity at Work: Counter-Demonstrations and Affective Collectivities*, they evaluated this situation as a new social and aesthetic texture. They stated that the pleasure felt with the ideals of common life within the created collective structures turned into an aesthetic structure-fiction spreading towards the shopkeepers and outsiders. Aesthetics has become a feature that has merged with daily life, has gone beyond a work of art that is now shown with promises, embraces every body in action, heals the individual and increases his resistance as he lives. These resistances, which are the most fundamental of the functional transformation of aesthetics, have not become a momentary representation, but have become the daily life itself, which includes elements such as "*feeding, shelter, medical care, protection from violence*", just as Judith Butler stated.

Sakarya Street in the middle of the city has turned into a tent city. This city has houses separated from each other by linoleum, rooms, wardrobes made of suitcases, and even a school where open lessons are given. Some tents are communal gathering places, while others are private areas. The tent city has become an area where public and private concepts are questioned, the existing space is destroyed and reconstructed. In addition to the Turkish Pharmacists' Association, which distributes medicines, and the hairdressers' association, which provides free haircuts, many local people rushed to help, bringing stoves, blankets, oilcloths, chairs, food, and hosted the insurgents.

The Monopoly Resistance created a platform where political, social and economic demands were discussed together in tents for 78 days. It has caused people from different cities to experience learning in an alternative life model in which different lives and cultures come into contact with each other. The sense of pleasure gained by providing justice, equality and fraternity in collective and sharing situations has made this historical social movement important as a typical indicator of the existence of aesthetics in life.

4.2.3 THY Employees' Protest over the Draft Law

After the bill imposing a strike ban on the aviation business line was brought to the agenda of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Grand National Assembly of Turkey), Hava-İş Union attended on May 23, 2012 with the participation of employees to protest against the blocking of the ongoing collective bargaining negotiations with Turkish Airlines and against the draft law, which was prepared to prevent the strike ban. He made a press statement in front of Turkish Airlines Joint Stock Company.

Hava İş Chairman Atilay Ayçin has expressed a prohibitive mentality against the Law Proposal given by AKP deputies, which imposes a strike ban on the aviation industry, which is a joint initiative of all airline bosses, which is clearly a planned game, not

just against the employer's blocking of the collective agreement of THY (Turkish Airlines). stated that he was against it. (There's Action in THY!, 2012)

One week after this announcement, on May 30, 2012, Turkish Airlines flight attendants, who are members of Hava-İş Union, staged a work stoppage. This strike led to the cancellation of 179 flights that day. More than 200 Turkish Airlines Teknik A.Ş. employees also supported. In the following days, for example, THY employees, who were dismissed on September 8, 2012, protested in front of the Taksim Turkish Airlines office.

Workers who are members of Hava-İş Union, who were expelled from Turkish Airlines for exercising their union rights, carried the action they took every Saturday in Taksim to Kadıköy as Taksim returned to the construction site on the week of November 18, 2012. Various political parties, democratic mass organizations as well as the Petrol-İş Union also supported the workers, who announced that they would take action in different places every Saturday during the action. (THY workers protested in Kadıköy this week, 2012)



Figure 40. THY Strike. 5 June 2013

Continuing the strike they started at Turkish Airlines on June 5, 2013, the personnel of the Hava-İş Union held a different theatrical action in the area where they continued the protest. Activists adapted the message read by cabin attendants for flight safety to their actions. About 100 personnel lined up in the field at regular intervals. While the message was being read with the microphone, they raised the necessary banners in front of them at certain times. *“Dear our strikers and supporters! We would like to draw your attention to some technical issues in our strike...”* The message started with the criticism of Turkish Airlines management, as well as the media that did not give sufficient support to their actions. (Awesome Action by THY Hostesses, 2013)

4.2.4 Nuclear Deal Protest Between Turkey and Russia

On 14 July 2010, with the news that an anti-nuclear group would hijack the Kadıköy ferry from Beşiktaş, the Istanbul police and the press took action. Police teams made a large pile of riot police on the pier since morning hours. Not satisfied with the checkpoints on land, the police took precautions with boats belonging to the police from the sea. In the meantime, the press was waiting at the pier in order not to miss such a news. When the clocks showed 11.40, the ferry from Kadıköy approached the pier. While everyone was waiting for the protesters, the ferry made its final preparations to go to Kadıköy. Some gas holders who thought that the action would take place in the middle of the Bosphorus got on the ship.

After the movement of the ship, the tense wait on the shore continued. While the ship was leaving the pier, a group of activists came running to the pier. The truth came out when the activists shouted 'we missed the ship'.



Figure 41,42. Nuclear Deal Protest. (www.milliyet.com.tr)

After the action, about 20 members of the Anti-Nuclear Platform gathered in the park next to the pier and made a press statement. Asked why did you resort to such a path before the statement, Oya Koca stated that a law concerning the near future of children was wanted to be abducted from the parliament and said: *"We wanted to focus your attention here using the metaphor of an abduction scene. Such minor security situations are taken very seriously. A nuclear law that will endanger the agenda is on the agenda of the parliament. Today we wanted to convey information to the public and the press."*

After reading the press release, Koca read a long press statement describing the harms of nuclear, reminding that the nuclear agreement between Russia and Turkey is about to be approved in the parliament. The group dispersed without incident after the statement. (They missed the ferry, the police stared!, 2010)

4.2.5 Environmental Massacres Protest

The members of a group of non-governmental organizations, including cultural and tourism associations such as the Istanbul Environment Council and the Nature Warriors Association, gathered in Beşiktaş Square on June 5, 2015, protested the environmental massacres in the construction sector in Turkey due to the rent in the construction sector due to World Environment Week. Carrying various banners in their hands, the group took action by sitting on the toilet bowls they brought with them. Demonstrators scatter dollars and euros printed on paper to symbolize rent.

In the statement made after the action, *“We do not celebrate because of World Environment Week, we condemn it. Because you see the approaches of political parties. However, this planet is ours. We all have to find common ground. In Turkey, 2 million hectares of sea were filled. Areas are tried to be obtained by filling the sea. They say we planted 5-10 billion trees, but 2-3 million trees were cut down, but 5-10 million trees cannot be read. The city looting continues at its usual pace. Urban transformation is not possible. Therefore, we are experiencing a great mistake and*

confusion here. Istanbul has become uninhabitable. More and more cars. So we are in a total looting.” it was said. (Environmentalists Action with Toilet, 2015)



Figure 43. Environmental Massacres Protest.

In Bukunin's Beloved Cousins, Tactical Intervention Through Art, Scholl argues that “Art is not an object but a social relationship that has the potential to transform the way we see and act in the world”. It reminds us that it is an organized structure in which collective demands are expressed by giving messages to the masses, providing information flow and protest.

In this action, in order to ensure social change, it organized an alternative public opinion through social media independently from the center and aimed to create new awareness.

4.2.6 Black Sea Green Road Project Protest

Citizens opposed to the 2600-kilometer-long Green Road project, which will connect the highlands of 8 provinces in the Black Sea Region in 2015, came together in the Upper Kavrun Plateau to show their reactions. Hearing that officials would come to the region for surveys, the people of the region walked along with the transhumance women who came with sticks in their hands, singing folk songs and playing horon. Upon the reactions, the work machines were withdrawn again. Storm Valley is among the regions that need to be protected by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

ÇA week later, those who received the news that the construction machines, which could not start work on the Green Road route due to the local residents on watch, this time would be taken to the region via another route, via Samistal Plateau, this time in Şenyuva Village at the entrance of Kaçkar Mountains National Park, they began to wait with banners 'Take your hand from the bow'. After a short while, those who saw that construction equipment and law enforcement officers came, started to play horon in the company of overalls and closed the road to transportation. The gendarme, who saw the villagers who were kicking Horon, did not know how to react. Because they did not foresee that the peasant group they were facing would engage in such a struggle. Since the actions of the villagers in general resulted in hand-to-hand combat, the law enforcement officers were prepared and equipped accordingly. However, they were stunned by the activists who blocked the way and slammed the horn with great joy and energy.



Figure 44. Green Road Project Protest. (www.hurriyet.com.tr)

In addition, the residents of the region, 'Those who built the Green Way, cry for life' and 'Gavun machine, came to the mountains. There is no space left below, it's time to come here' banners and construction equipment operators expressed their reactions to the project with the verses they read with a smile.

In 2015, he applied to the Rize Administrative Court for the 'stop of execution and cancellation' of the 8-kilometer connection road under construction within the scope of the Green Road Project between the Upper Kavron and Samistal Highlands in Çamlıhemşin District and the 16-decare tree cutting permit on the road route between the Ausor and Huser Highlands. lawsuit was filed. At the end of three years, the court gave a 'rejection' decision for the cancellation case of the Green Road project. In its decision, the court pointed out that the Green Mile project is in the public interest. Meanwhile, the Green Road project, where the decision was announced at the end of 3 years, has come to an end.

Unfortunately, the cheerful and energetic horon-sounding juxtaposition of the villagers, who developed an alternative to violence-centered actions, did not affect the court that decided on the green road project. (Green Road protest in Rize, 2015)

4.2.7 Feminists Protest Against Women Violence

In 1987, when a judge in Çorum rejected the request of a woman with three children who wanted a divorce due to violence, on the grounds that "You will not miss the colt from the woman's belly and the stick from her back," women started to organize various actions. The first feminist action against beating took place in Kadıköy Yoğurtçu Park. Following this event, Filiz Karakuş started the Purple Needle Movement on the Kadıköy-Karaköy ferry on November 2, 1989. On the ferry, he raised the purple needle in his hand and said the following words:

“This purple needle you see in my hand is made of stainless steel, nickel-chromium alloy, and is 7 cm long. The purple ribbon on it looks like an accessory that you can use with all your clothes. We're going to show you now that this stylish accessory is also a tool in your defense against molesters. Here's the move... Sink it without pity, you don't have to be afraid, it doesn't cause tetanus. This needle is a product of the purple needle campaign. Our campaign group is made up of women and aims to develop effective and permanent measures against bullying made with hands, words and eyes.” (Karadağ, S., 2015)



Figure 45. Purple Needles. www.gaiadergi.com

The purple needles were prepared by women, they told each other about their bad experiences at various meetings and acted together. Women with purple needles in their baskets gather regularly and read the text above, *"Don't be shy, don't shout, don't be silent, stick the needle!"*, *"Clothing is not an invitation to molestation!"*, *"Nights and streets are women's right!"*, *"Nights and streets are women's right too!"*, *"Draining is rape with eyes, hands, words"*, *"The molestation of one of us is done to all of us"*, *"Do not cover up the molestation, expose it!"* They were marching on Istiklal Street with slogans such as (Purple Needles in Our Hands, 2013)



Figure 46. Solidarity March Against Violence, 17 May 1987, Kadıköy Yoğurtçu Parkı. Archive: Murat Çelikkan

In many respects, this movement has justified itself in the category of aesthetic forms of action. Apart from the fact that people who do not know each other come together to produce purple needles, to have a dialogue with other women they do not know and to ensure that women do not feel alone in the society is an unseen hidden purpose.

The purple needles, which were presented as a precaution against harassing and rapist men, also caused women to create a collective voice. Especially if it is accepted that we live in a patriarchal society, the fact that these women came together thanks to the purple needle made this movement very important.

4.2.8 Protests Related to the Killing of Hrant Dink

On April 15, 2007, the *"I Still Have Hope"* initiative carried out an action to protest the fact that the real instigators were not found in the murder of Hrant Dink. The members of the initiative, who came together for the action that took place at 13:00 in front of the Agos Newspaper owned by Hrant Dink in Şişli, thought of preparing a slogan that would be embraced by all the masses, instead of confronting the masses with any slogan or banner. This should have been such a slogan that it had to have a meaning that would demolish the concept of the other in this geography where minorities are the other. The slogan "We are all Hrant" was developed in order to ensure that an environment in which everyone feels other and even the other is eliminated.

With the slogan "We are all Hrant", this action aimed to show that this case cannot be covered up. In December 2013, a group gathered in front of the Istanbul Justice Palace in Çağlayan, where the Hrant Dink trial was being held, and took action to shed light on the murder.

This situation shows us how effective a slogan is on the masses. In addition to bringing the masses together, the creativity in the slogan has initiated a dialogue between all groups that are or feel minority. Afterwards, it was witnessed that the aggrieved masses expressed themselves with this slogan in the actions carried out based on this slogan. Slogans such as *"We are all Armenians"*, *"We are all gays"*, *"We are all prostitutes"*, *"We are all women"* were also used as the main slogans in the actions of the aforementioned aggrieved masses against the government. This

situation showed us how important a verbal creative state is beyond just formal creativity in actions; With this language, which was developed against the power of the power that manipulates the language in daily life, the importance of this reflex of being creative in the mobilization of the masses has been transferred to history.

After the Hrant Dink slogans of action, it has become clear that those who started the movement should at least find a creative word in order to mobilize the masses.

4.2.9 Protest against Cyanide Gold Exploration in Fatsa

In October 2014, a study was initiated to separate gold with cyanide in a 100-decare forest land, which was initiated by a private company with foreign partners in Fatsa District of Ordu. A tent of resistance was set up in the region by citizens and environmentalists who protested against the desire to separate gold with cyanide. 'I don't want to die of cancer' on the front of the resistance tent. They placed two coffins with the words 'Your cyanide for a moment'. (The villager established a resistance tent in Ünye Fatsa against the search for cyanide gold, 2014)



Figure 47. Fatsa Gold Search Protest.

<https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/fatsada-cevrecilerin-siyanur-direnisi-213uncu-gununde>

Onur Güngör, who started an action against the miners searching for gold with cyanide in Fatsa on September 17, 2020, exactly six years after the action in 2014, took off his shoes and started reading for half an hour every day in the district center. In 10 days, 200 people participated in this action. Onur Güngör states that he sits barefoot and reads a book in order to be in touch with nature and to touch it. And *“Reading a book and protesting the massacre of nature with our bare feet must be the best activity that can be done under these pandemic conditions. I intend to continue this activity until many mines that are tried to be licensed in our region are abandoned.”* he said. (Support for barefoot reading is growing against mines seeking gold with cyanide, 2020)

While Onur Güngör was expressing his own sensitivity with a small creative act, he may not have planned that civil disobedience could turn into a social disobedience. However, it is a fact that now, regardless of environmental problems, spreading an

opposing idea, creating a social perception other than the main center-oriented official ideology, and reaching all the masses through these creative actions through communication channels is through creative action forms. It is known that standard violent struggles are no longer useful and are shaped by stereotypes and predictable results. It is an undeniable fact that an intellectual perception and an artisanal point of view spread the artistic vision to all masses at the same time with creative actions. Thanks to these actions and its derivatives, the pleasure felt when confronted with the aesthetics in the work of art spreads to the grassroots, mixes into life and creates a new perception and perspective apart from the facts manipulated by the central authority.

4.2.10 International Working Women's Day Protest

On March 8, 2016, International Working Women's Day, Eğitim-İş Antalya Branch held a broomstick action to protest violence against women. Non-governmental organizations, political parties and women's groups of trade unions participated in the broomstick action. The police took extensive security measures for the march that started from Aydın Kanza Park. Women marching with the banner 'Only Our Working Women Will Provide Unity in Family, Education, Country,' 'Don't sleep, shout, it's not destiny, it's murder' She chanted slogans such as "We are right, we will get our rights".

However, apart from these cliché actions, Eğitim İş Antalya Branch started a movement that would change the course of the action and be shaped by collective participation. They swept the streets. All of a sudden, the women, who started from where they were with the brooms they took out in front of the police, started to sweep the floors. The unusualness of the classic and consequent action transformed the audience, including the police as well as the men, into a spectator. Now the action has turned into a structure worth watching and has taken its place in the memories.



Figure 48. Broom Action. (<https://www.akdenizgercek.com/haber/14045-kadinlardan-supurgeli-eylem>)

While sweeping the floors, the women whistling at the same time changed the atmosphere of the environment with the dust cloud they lifted from the ground and actually added a metaphor of the aggrieved environment in which women lived.

This aesthetic creative action, in which male violence was protested, ended with applause by the audience, including men.

4.2.11 The Labor and Justice Platform and Anti-Capitalist Muslims' Protest for Drawing Attention to the Intellectual Disconnection of the Masses in the Common Struggle

Although the Labor and Justice Platform (EAP) and Anti-capitalist Muslims have adopted left/socialist discourses, they are basically Islamic inclined formations. The Platform is a social movement initiative that fights for social justice. Its aim is to contribute to the social justice struggles against all kinds of injustice and oppression, and to break the intellectual and practical contact between different individuals, groups and institutions that support these struggles. (Labor and Justice Platform Principles, n.d.)

As stated in the principles of the Labor and Justice Platform on its website, the platform wants every action to bring its own form, to carry its own color. It cares about shaping the action together by making it open to the participation of the masses, and for it to be of a character that can spread to the social sphere. The platform thinks that emerging doings now belong to everyone. The content of an action, at the end point, should transform the perceptions of the participants and the audience and enable them to take a stand. Rather than taking action on your own, it should be preferred to make room for the voices of the victims and to act together with them. It believes in the direct word and action of the street and the masses rather than the representation of closed hall meetings.

“The Labor and Justice Platform aims to break the hegemony of identity politics, which it tries to break in the theoretical field, in the field of action as well. In this

context, he did not accept the understanding of each structure to support its own action group, such as the leftists supporting workers' strikes or the Islamists organizing support actions for Palestine. Recognizing the fact that it is a social problem, he underlined the need for a social response to social problems.” (EAP, August 2, 2012). Protests or press statements in Istanbul Taksim Square or Ankara Yüksel Street were deemed unnecessary by the platform, because it was stated that taking action in such places could create a perception of "marginal left" in people. (EAP, 12 March 2012). The platform thinks that marginalized groups do not find much support in the eyes of the public because their discourses are perceived as extreme and not appealing to the society. In this framework, the platform is based on 'not being marginal' while taking action in order not to break away from the society and to get their support (EAP, 12 March 2012). Sabahattin Gökcalp, one of the activists of the platform, stated the following three points regarding classical types of actions such as holding a press release or marching;

"1. Which newspapers or news sites include the press release? Again, the newspapers you buy and read. People of the same environment. People who are close to your opinion and support you read it. 2. The area you built is Yüksel or Galatasaray Square. The passers-by always say there is something here. They don't even care what's going on. 3. You don't have anyone involved in the action.

Therefore, the platform aimed to take different, few but qualified and result-oriented actions. In addition, the fact that everyone has a certain chair and a certain action group was also criticized, and classical action patterns were tried to be broken.” (Koca, B., 2013)

In line with the statements of the Labor and Justice Platform activist Sabahattin Gökalp, it is clear that the purpose of the actions we examined was to reach wider masses. They made the rich iftar meals held in luxury hotels the main subject of their actions, which caused discomfort in conservative segments. By creating modest iftar tables, luxury hotel front iftars and fraternity iftars are the first actions of this platform. At the same time, another action, "*We've come to spoil your mouth*", was held with banners, and iftars were organized with the participation of an average of 600 people, including mothers, children and young people, and many people came with their hands full.

Afterwards, the Anti-Capitalist Muslims, whose names will be mentioned a lot during the Gezi Park events, became much more massive and received the support of people from all segments and ideologies with their discourses. Apart from the usual ideological-centered personal judgments, human-oriented discourses of rights and justice have transformed them into a common platform to meet.

Their most important act is the "*Earth Table*". Hundreds of people spread their newspapers along Istiklal Street side by side, sit facing each other, and share what they took out of their bag with their neighbors, and it took place both in social media and in the press. Especially in the world press, this action has been discussed a lot.

This situation shows that action strategies are considered in order to increase participation by the activists, and reveals that the aesthetic pleasure of the structure created with the developed strategies and the desire to be collective and the concern to bring the masses together are planned.

4.2.12 Antalya Mines Protest

In November 2006, villagers protested half-naked against the mines to be opened in Yumaklar and Tongüçlü Villages of Serik District of Antalya, just like in Bergama. Villagers gathered in front of the mine took off their coats, shirts and sweaters and shouted, "*We don't want a furnace in our villages.*" The fact that 38 mining exploration licenses have been issued in these villages creates the danger of ending olive cultivation, which is the main source of income of the region.

A group of about 50 people from the two villages gathered in front of the quarry to be established, made a brief statement to the journalists, and took off their clothes. The villagers, who said, "*We don't want a hearth in our village,*" claimed that they would walk half-naked to Ankara if necessary.

After the half-naked protest among the mountains, the villagers marched towards the hill where thyme, basil and sage were grown. On the hill dominating the region, 85-year-old Bayram Danyel and 80-year-old Osman Yilmaz, the oldest of the two villages, were stripped. Activist Danyel, showing the mountains of the region with the walking stick they hold in their hands, said, "*We will not let anyone plunder our mountains.*" (Naked action from the villagers, 2006)

The most basic common feature of aesthetic action forms is the view that creativity is more effective than violence or hand-to-hand combat. This view can both juxtapose the masses with the pleasure of being collective, and inform them in line with the creativity in actions in social media and digital environments.

Another important advantage of aesthetic actions at this point is that the more successful the creativity of the action, the wider the announcement circle will be.

Bayram Danyel and Osman Yıldız, at the age of 80 and over, raised their sticks on top of a mountain reminiscent of the stage of the ancient Greek Theater when they undressed, and made their voices heard to large-scale masses with a tirade they threw saying "*We will not let anyone plunder our mountains*". The pastoral image that emerged at the end of this action is engraved in the memories.

4.2.13 Bergama Gold Miners Protest

The first reactions to the cyanide gold exploration activities started in 1992, when Eurogold Madencilik Anonim Şirketi, which was founded in 1989 with the partnership of companies based in Germany and Australia, obtained a mining exploration license in Bergama. Although there have been gains from this long-term resistance, which has lasted until today, the mine has not been completely closed yet.

Eurogold was founded by Australian (Normandy Poseidon) and German (Metal Mining Co.) companies in 1989. In 1994, French and Canadian partners entered. In 1999, when the other partners withdrew, the firm moved entirely to Australia-based Normandy; It was renamed from Eurogold to Normandy. In 2001, the American Newmont Company, one of the world's largest gold companies, bought all the shares.

In 2005, the company was transferred to Koza Altın İşletmeleri A.Ş., founded by Koza-İpek Holding.

The mayor of Bergama, Sefa Taşkın, who organized the people against the mine in the first years. Sefa Taşkın organized conferences and panels to inform and raise awareness of the ecological damage caused by the cyanide gold mine. Explaining the risks of the use of cyanide and the damage it would cause to the soil, the scientists organized the villagers and convinced them to resist.

Participation in the demonstrations that started in 1992 was constantly increasing. After the company cut down thousands of olive and pine trees in November 1996, the villagers blocked the İzmir-Çanakkale road for six hours on November 15, 1996. About 10 days later, thousands of people from Bergama held a protest march in the pouring rain with coffins in their hands and the slogan of "do not dig our graves", accompanied by the funeral march of Chopin, played by the municipal band.

In 1997, dynamite began to be detonated in the mine and more than 50 actions were carried out that year. In the morning of April 22, 1997, around 4000 villagers occupied the mine site.

In the same year, when the decision of the Council of State to close was not implemented, an "apache action" was carried out, the villagers who painted their faces stood guard around the mine with axes in their hands.

On August 26, 1997, three busloads of villagers tied themselves to the railings of the Bosphorus Bridge, blocking traffic for two hours.

In the population census held on 30 November 1997, as a reaction to the non-implementation of the judicial decision, approximately 10 thousand people from 8 villages did not count themselves. They said, "If the government does not count us, neither will we."

Bergama villagers also took actions against Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant in 1997 and 1999. Inspired by the half-naked demonstrations of Bergama men, Akkuyu resistance fighters also started to protest topless.

Resistance to the gold mine was transformative for women as well. Rahime Özyaylalı explains that village women used to not even be able to go to Bergama on their own: "If I had gotten a license, they would have been condemned, the struggle has changed all that. Now male-female relationships are very comfortable." Explaining that the village women also took off the nimbles they used to cover themselves in the protests, Özyaylalı said, "The woman will talk to the gendarmerie, she will act nimbly on her face, is it a job? A shalwar, a shirt, a Yemeni... Everyone accepted us in their village clothes," he says. (Üstün Bilgen, R., 2003, p.171)

Since the mid-90s, the protests were organized under the leadership of former CHP District Chair Oktay Konyar. Konyar tells that he has been thinking about "non-violent but loud" forms of action for years and trying to adapt Gandhi to the 2000s. (Üstün Bilgen, R., 2003, p.59-79)

Ideas such as nude walking, which is very distant from the culture of the villagers of Bergama, came from Konyar. Konyar was nicknamed 'Asteriks', and Bayram Yıldız from Bergama, who participated in the protests in his striped pajamas, was nicknamed 'Hopdediks'



Figure 49. Bergama, Asteriks and Hopdediks. (www.turkiyecevreagi.com)

Lawyer Senih Özay, one of the founders of the Green Party, filed a lawsuit in İzmir Administrative Court in November 1994, on behalf of 652 citizens living in Bergama, for the cancellation of the operating license of Eurogold. Together with Senih Özay, the Environmental Movement Lawyers, who were born from the İzmir Bar Association Environmental Commission, carried out this legal struggle for years.

In 1997, the Council of State made a historic decision that cyanide gold mining is contrary to the public interest, based on the Constitution's 'Right to Live in a Healthy and Balanced Environment'. However, the company did not implement the decision and continued its activities at a faster pace.

The mine was closed only twice during the legal struggle that continued for 22 years. The first remained sealed for less than 24 hours on April 2, 2002. It was later closed on August 19, 2004 and reopened on May 20, 2005. Since then, the mine still continues to work.

Arif Cangı, one of the lawyers who has been fighting the legal battle since 1992, said that the failure to implement the judicial decisions intimidated the villagers and that the mass protests faded in the mid-2000s.

Sociologist Dr., who wrote his doctoral thesis on civil disobedience in Bergama.

Baran Alp Uncu stated that unlike many environmental campaigns carried out by NGOs, the fact that the local people are the main carriers of the movement and the nonviolent civil disobedience acts that introduce new forms of protest into Turkey's social movements repertoire are the characteristics that distinguish Bergama.

According to Uncu, another feature of Bergama was that it was the first time that an international solidarity network was formed, bringing together academics, lawyers, professional chambers and environmental organizations simultaneously with the local struggle. (News by Elif İnce, 13 December 2014, Istanbul Bia News Center.)

Koza Company took over the Ovacık Gold Mine in 2005 and the mine was reopened when its application with the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Report was approved. In June 2005, the villagers of Bergama started their protests again. Men from the villagers gathered in front of the Izmir Governor's Office in Konak, took off their upper part of their clothes and carried out their half-naked protests.

The villagers, who chanted slogans such as *"Leave Bergama, the cyanide company"*, *"Don't be afraid, your turn will come as long as you are afraid"*, stated that they have been protesting in the streets for 15 years in order not to live with cyanide, but they have never used violence; and they said that the governor was responsible for the opening of the mine. The group then returned to Bergama after chanting slogans such as *"Turkey should not be Africa"* and *"We do not want to live with cyanide"*. (Naked action by villagers from Bergama, 2005)

In June 2009, the villagers of Bergamalı and Munzur Environmental Association members took action by closing the Bosphorus Bridge to traffic. *"Munzur and Bergama are our identity, culture, land and honor. You cannot destroy it. Munzur Environment Association", "Police stop. Listen to them, then beat them."* They opened banners that read. (<https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/bergamali-koyluler-koprue-cikti-1103163>)



Figure 50. Bergama, Protest on the Bosphorus Bridge. Haluk Atalay news, Istanbul.

<https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/bergama-ve-munzur-el-ele-bogaz-koprusu-nde-1103390>

This action, which is one of Turkey's most popular aesthetic action forms and models, is still remembered and talked about despite 20-odd years. Pressures on the government increased, and it became more difficult for capital-oriented structures to

maintain their businesses during the period. Eurogold company, which has gold mines in many parts of the world, has experienced a great problem in Turkey and the possible damages they will cause to nature thanks to these actions have been heard on a global scale. What makes these actions most important is that they are peaceful and creative. While all the actions of these villagers, who were very concerned about the future, left a smile on everyone's face, Eurogold was also remembered.

These strategies of the villagers, who aimed to interrupt the normal course of daily life by creatively intervening in the public space, showed great parallels with the situation-building strategies of the situationists. These villagers, who set out with the victimization they will experience and cross the bridge like heroes from Asterix cartoons, reversed their situation shaped by victimization, despite the existing pressures, and engraved them in people's memories. In the opposing public space they created, they were organized with an aesthetic political consciousness, and within this organizational structure, they appeared in the public space just like the theatergoers prepared and took the stage; They had a great impact in Turkey, especially with the images they gave while they were crossing the bridge on foot.

4.2.14 Protests for Demolition of Emek Cinema

From 1924 to 2009, the premieres of Yeşilçam films and the opening and events of the Istanbul Film Festival were held at Emek Cinema for 85 years. Emek Cinema, Istanbul's urban culture and people; It is a memory, place and an important symbol. The shopping center project to be built in place of this unique historical landmark building has triggered an opposition in the people living in this city.

Emek Cinema is located in Beyoğlu Yeşilçam Street, inside the Cercle d'Orient (Big Club) Complex. The complex, which was leased to Kamer İnşaat for 25 years by the Retirement Fund in 1992, was planned to be demolished within the scope of the renovation project called Grand Pera and moved to the fifth floor of the new shopping center to be built. According to the statement of Kamer İnşaat spokesperson, the decorations in the cinema will be dismantled and moved to its new location on the fifth floor by the 'moving' method. (Emek Cinema is not demolished, it is being moved, 2013)

While the renovation process started in 2010, a stay of execution decision was taken as a result of the lawsuit filed by the Chamber of Architects for the cancellation of the project; In 2011, this decision was abolished. (Decision to stop the construction of Emek Cinema, 2015)

The Chamber of Architects filed a lawsuit, two of the experts did not approve the project, and the demolition of the cinema could not be prevented despite the public's great reaction. Although the judicial process continued on February 13, 2013,

Beyoğlu Municipality gave the building license to the project and protest actions started against the demolition.



Figure 51. Emek Cinema.

"Even if I enter my house now

I can leave a little later

Since these clothes and shoes are mine

And since the streets belong to no one's"

Orhan Veli

These lines of Orhan Veli were hung as cloth posters on the wall of the cinema building during the action days of Emek Cinema.

The struggle for Emek Cinema has spread over a long period of time, bringing different political stances to the fore, causing Emek Cinema to be remembered in the international arena with the symbols it has created within social movements. With the transformative effect of the resistance, new debates between art and politics affected the agenda with its dynamic structure established with contexts. (Firat, B.O., Bakcay, E.N., 2013).

The insurgents, who united against the understanding of the city of power, that various political stances come together and that the memory should be among the indispensables of the city, came together against the new urban culture (cultural destruction) that was tried to be shaped by neoliberal policies beyond the destruction of a cinema.

The sensory, bodily, perceptual and collective experiences of the groups formed by the masses gathered against the destruction of Emek Cinema have transformed Emek Cinema-centered spaces into an experience area. The insurgents, who do not obey the

system and decisions established by the government, have taken part in the actions with the belief and potential to transform the world politically.

In this direction, Jaques Ranciere's concepts of 'Aesthetic Political Action' and 'Aesthetic Collectivity' broaden the meaning of what resistance represents. The fact that people who cannot find a place for themselves in the order of power and administration stand side by side by sharing the same space, has caused them to produce creative images. The arrangement and reproduction of spaces and the shaping of these sensory partnerships with aesthetic political actions have made Emek Cinema one of the symbols of social culture, although it could not determine its destiny. Aesthetic collaborations that spread within the resistance created a model of everyday life by separating time, space and images or vice versa. Especially in social media, press and various internet sites, images have been created in parallel with those on the street. (Bakçay, N.E., 2019)

The resistance against Emek Cinema was initiated by a group called İsyambul Culture and Art Variety (İKSV). Later, this collective turns into Emek Bizim İstanbul Our Initiative.

Ezgi Bakçay, in her doctoral thesis titled "The Relationship between Aesthetics and Politics in 2000s Turkey", written in 2019, relates this naming situation, which the group created using the initials of the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts, to the Detournement strategy of the Situationist International. . The group also brought the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts into the subject and focused the discussion on the foundation. Targeting İKSV specifically with this strategy, the collective showed its reaction to the fact that İKSV, which built its existence on art and culture issues, did not react to the demolition of Emek Cinema. During this discussion, the

labor insurgents emphasized that İKSV is the protector of capital rather than culture and art.

Another action of İsyambul Culture and Art Variety took place on April 2, 2010 at the Lütü Kırdar Exhibition and Congress Center. The protest action he carried out by blowing toy trumpets at the opening of the International Istanbul Film Festival suddenly enlivened the hall. This action, which disrupts the peaceful and prestigious environment established by İKSV by reminding the realities of life, emerges as a representation of the sensitivities felt towards Emek Cinema. The discomfort it causes is equal to the discomfort of the resisters who came together against the demolition of Emek Cinema. This action, which is called 'conditioning', once again revealed the importance of the function and effect of aesthetic and political actions.

After the discussion topics opened by Varyete during the Emek Cinema process, various criticisms were developed for culture and art institutions. The policies of almost all culture and art institutions, especially İKSV, which are integrated into the system and try to establish the right relations with their superiors in line with the institutional structure, were brought to light.

Varyete satirized the 'Golden Tulip Award Ceremony' on April 18, 2010 by editing it under the name of 'Plastic Tulip Awards'. This event, in which the discriminatory and class approach in the distribution of culture through the privileged member system was openly criticized, aimed to reveal the cultural capital order.



Figure 52. Protest against the demolition of Emek Cinema, 14 April 2013. Photo: Muhsin Akgün.

The Emek Cinema Resistance had turned into a structure that questioned who the cultural structure and memory belonged to. The 'Emek Bizim, İstanbul Bizim Kolektifi', which was established later on, demonstrated its existence by developing various performative and satirical strategies. Emek Bizim İstanbul Our Initiative, which includes the Chamber of Architects İstanbul Metropolitan Branch and the Public Art Laboratory and other movement groups, cares about the relationship between the city and the individual, the individual's belonging to the city, and personal memories of the city.

“The labor acts turn the space into a playground with its ironic, improvised theatrical acts that break the anesthetic consensus: It transforms the axis of conflict, goes out of the game of power, sets up a new play to be demolished: Just like İsyenbul Culture and Art Variety's 'flickering' bugle act, on Yeşilçam Sokak such as the "fake" festival opening and the "plastic tulip award ceremony". Thanks to this imagination of the actor and ironic action, which has its counterpart in the new social movements literature, the street ceases to be a crossing place, but turns into a playground that creates its actors.” (Bakçay, N.E., 2019)

People from different structures who gathered against the demolition of Emek Cinema on Yeşilçam Street; transforming the street into a playground is the formation that best demonstrates the state of aesthetic collectivity. The street, which has been transformed into a living space where everyone can be an artist, actor, artist, writer, poet, should also be considered as a chat platform. of the city; The necessity of being a place to be lived, not imposed by being discussed in all its contexts forms the basis of these conversations. Unfortunately, this multi-faceted structure, in which the gray state of the administrations was denounced with a colorful system understanding, could not provide the salvation of Emek Cinema after various court processes. However, it has been an important memory in people's lives, albeit for a short time, that the streets, where the political approaches in which the aesthetic collective structure is experienced, are expressed in the direction of various intelligence and pleasure, should belong to the people, not the public space belonging to the power structure.

4.2.15 Gezi Park Protests

The Gezi Park Incidents, which started right after the actions to defend the Emek Cinema that lasted for years, started because a group of environmental volunteers and non-governmental organizations opposed the idea of a project of demolishing Gezi Park, the last remaining green area in Taksim, and building Taksim Artillery Barracks on it. Taksim Barracks or Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks, built in 1806 in Istanbul

Taksim Square, where Taksim Gezi Park is located today, was named after Henry Prost, one of the European city planners of Istanbul Governor and Mayor Lütüf Kırdar. With his advice, the decision to demolish it was taken, and Taksim Gezi Park was built in its place. When the government of the time announced that Gezi Park should be demolished in order to rebuild the barracks, protests arose.

Protesters criticized the situation by emphasizing the effort to gain a profit by destroying the park and green space of the construction in question and turning Taksim Square into a giant shopping center. The park occupation movement, initiated by a small group, has led to the gathering of various groups that have no common points other than that they think that the trees in the park should not be cut.

Non-governmental organizations, artists, politicians, students and urban people who do not belong to any voluntary ideological group started to live in the park. Tents were set up in the park, and all kinds of centers were created to meet the needs such as kitchen, infirmary and market. The people who came to support did whatever it took to cook, clean, or live together. During the disproportionately violent intervention of the police, they stood together against the pepper spray, the intervention of TOMAs (Community Incident Response Vehicle). The roads leading to Taksim Square were closed with barricades and turned into a time-space construction where new kinds of relations are produced, away from the power of the government, protected from the effects of neoliberal policies. The Gezi Park events showed that another world is possible against the government, capitalism and the system we live in.

People who coexist in a common feeling, do something together, share, have experienced a transformation and recreated their environment. With this creativity,

feeling the change and re-formation in the environment with a common perception and feeling is a purely aesthetic political action.

As emphasized at the beginning of the thesis, it is important to analyze this type of structure that Oscar Negt and Alexander Kluge define the public space in which power exists as the 'sovereign political public space', and that the opposing public sphere is aimed at capturing the dominant political public sphere.

People who oppose the commodification of their living spaces constitute the opposing public sphere with collective solidarity and reciprocity relations, as opposed to the dominant public sphere shaped by making money. The fact that everyone has a dream about the future as well as reality is the biggest trigger of the opposite public sphere. The network society created by the Internet has updated communication models apart from the usual organizations. Although the updated new forms of action created with such networks have often manifested themselves in city squares thanks to occupations and carnival-like street demonstrations, it should be known that their main platform is the free space of the internet.

Although a decentralized organization has unpredictable behaviors, internal and external coordination can be sustained very quickly. It can find support for itself by using global communication channels and can put a lot of pressure on the central authority accordingly. But more importantly, thanks to the internet, they have the power to cause transparency among the countries of the world under a cloak of invisibility. Just like in the Gezi Park Events, this type of organic organization that multiplies by division, organizes horizontally, and is constantly in motion, has no central, common ideology, victimization, form, gender and belief. This structure, in which everyone participates equally, can intervene and direct its course, can be

explained by the 'Rhizome Concept' (Rh) used by Guattari and Deleuze. The metaphor of the weed in the concept of rhizome, which is also mentioned at the top of the thesis, is very important in this direction. It is a kind of netting plant that cannot be attacked with chemical pesticides because it will harm other living things that cannot be removed from the garden despite being cleaned. It spreads in a net, it acts like a net. It is fully mobile and can travel from one place to another thanks to its networking features. Emphasizing the importance of horizontal diffusion in social movements, this metaphor reminds once again the importance of movement and dispersal ability in mass actions.

Gezi Park events The Gezi Park events that emerged in 2013 started with the removal of trees under the Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project. In a very short time, it was organized in social media networks and spread to Turkey. Afterwards, it received support from the world and established new networks with movements around the world.

"The Gezi Park events are important because they are not a protest against the financial crisis and savings, but a criticism of the economic growth model that destroys Turkey's nature and culture in the name of capital accumulation." (Castells, M., 2011)

What Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells (1942) meant here was not economic recession, an unjust and lawless society, unemployment or lack of democracy that caused these revolts. In this determination of the Gezi Park events, Castells saw the organization of the Gezi Park events as sharing the dream of a humanity that would open and propose a new path and be rebuilt from scratch. In other words, this structure, which was organized in and around the Gezi Park events, defended the

belief that another world is possible and aimed to erase the old and pave the way for the new. For these purposes, wireless communication networks have an undeniable importance. Wireless communication networks are new areas of action in which autonomous areas form their own power and opposing publics are shaped.

The oppositional publicity in the Gezi Park events has caused the change of the everyday language that continues to exist together with the dominant public spaces. The structures that ensure the continuity of the manipulated system were left out during the Gezi Park events, and the seeds of a new language were sown. It was like a dream come true to place all the features imagined in another life, such as basic needs such as food and medicine distribution, services such as books, movies and music, and the establishment of various workshops.

The Gezi social movement is the longest-running and mass popular movement throughout Turkey's Republic History. Efforts to aestheticize everyday actions have revealed models of collective creativity, aesthetics has spread to daily life, what is known as "real art" has become makeshift with the representational roles they have assumed, and have been criticized and humiliated in this direction. Apart from that, it is assumed as real art created by the collective intelligence of the people.

With the Gezi Park events in 2013, a communication and information distribution system that will spread to the whole society was established above the mainstream communication methods. Videos and images of the incidents were shared on Twitter, on Facebook and Instagram, the interventions of the security forces were documented, and people did the reporting that the mainstream media did not. *“Thus, for the first time in Turkey, self-mass communication with such broad participation and intensity was realized.”* (Avcı, A., 2013)

The Gezi Park protests, apart from self-centered mass communication, have also turned into a movement that develops the definition of democracy and the culture of citizenship. It has led its participants to a quest from respectful democracy to participatory/negotiative democracy. (Avcı, A., 2013)

Artun Avcı, in his article, emphasizes that, unlike the other revolutionary attempts of the subjects, the Gezi movement is a movement that aims to change and organize the structure it is in, not the government. He emphasizes that it is triggered by the intervention of individual living spaces and freedoms rather than the public's demand for change. Therefore, it is normal not to have a common political leader. The fact that everyone feels important makes Gezi Park movements different from others. This movement is more of a citizen's movement than a political ideology. For this reason, Gezi protests are also mentioned in an aesthetic category as individual sensitivities trigger creativity. Personal posters, slogans, murals and graffiti, painting workshops, composed songs, dances were shaped by the inspiration of the collective pleasure felt by the citizens who felt important, albeit momentarily, and were instantly popularized through the internet and social networks. The way and speed of self-expression and the way of perceiving the world of the young generation participating in the Gezi movement has exceeded the everyday language used by real politics and politicians. Because for them, the means of communication is not an atmosphere used for politicians, but an atmosphere that is breathed in. This generation (millennials), who grew up with humor magazines, showed themselves as a young generation who were alert to political environments by refining their expressions in daily life with ironic and sarcastic language. The Gezi Park movement, which went beyond the logical ordinary and usual concept of reality, which was manipulated and in which the culture of obedience was shaped, established its own universe with its aesthetic language

shaped around a new social reality. *“Humor is the only one of all arts that looks out for the general. The humorist's method is extroverted, he looks for generalizable results, brings the scattered data closer together, selects common strangeness by comparing similar situations and transfers them to his works.”* (Bergson, H., 1997, P:107)

“Penguin magazine cartoonist Bahadır Baruter also emphasizes that generations fed with humor magazines have refined Gezi humor over the years by using social media as well:

Children who had learned to make humor from humor magazines and had the same intelligence suddenly discovered those instruments. We had a pen, a paper, a magazine. They have Twitter and Facebook. With the click of a button, they can put two words together and make a great joke. And they surpassed us. They surpassed our humor. Now they are doing something that will envy even us humorists. It's an explosion of humor. Humor back to the street. The humor that Oğuz Abi [Aral] picked up from the streets years ago and transformed into it has returned to the streets after 30-odd years.” (Çamlıbel, C., 2013)

As Hannah Arendt put it, *“Laughter is the greatest enemy of authority and the surest way to weaken it”* is important to understanding travel. (Arendt, H., 1997, P:51)

Gezi, focused on laughter and shaped on a carnivalesque structure, brought discourses, gestures and practices into the public sphere and created itself with banners, slogans and graffiti. *“It has proclaimed a festive and cheerful disgrace to the dignity of authority. The hierarchies of the real world have been reversed, by humiliating the holders of authority, lowering them from their high positions, making*

them close and familiar, turning their positions upside down. Because you can't be afraid of a person you laugh at." (Sorensen, M. J., 2008).

The biggest aim is to temporarily ignore the pressure created by the disturbed hierarchy and to reflect the dream of a new world to daily life.



Figure 53,54,55,56. Gezi Park.

“Gezi humor has deconstructed the traditional political communication codes and constructed “ambiguous” categories in the ways of doing politics, as discussed above. In a world that has become “upside down” where everything is equal, there is no longer any difference between Mustafa Kemal and Mustafa Keser. Thus, the slogan “We are the soldiers of Mustafa Kemal” becomes “We are the soldiers of Mustafa Keser”; The slogan “Shoulder to shoulder against fascism” to “Leg against fascism”; The slogan “Down with Fascism” to “Down with some things”; To “Çere Sarıgül”, “Çere Drogba” or “Çere Morgül”; The motto of “Submit to No One, One Way Revolution” stands for “Do not bow to anyone, keep your spine straight, One Way is Pilates”; The slogan “Everywhere Taksim, Everywhere Resistance”, “Everywhere Maksim, Everywhere Casino”; The slogan of “Long Live Fully Independent Turkey” goes to “Long Live Fully Independent Kuru Kahveci Mehmet Efendi”; “Down with dungeons, freedom for prisoners” is transformed into “Down with slaughterhouses, freedom for chickens”. The slogan “This is my Zeki Müren who has braved the tomas” is like a public declaration of fearlessness and indifference towards masculine power. What follows after the “This place is full of petty bourgeoisie” is just as logical as before: “Wealthy activists have quality masks, we are jealous.” (Avcı, A., 2013)



Figure 57,58. Gezi Park.

The awareness of reintroducing the daily life issues through humor triggering the creativity of the Gezi Park resistance fighters has been compared with the works of art produced with artisanal concerns, and it has been determined that artistic consumption is more internalized within the social movements. Standing Man²⁷, piano concerts, songs and concerts sung together, productions that redefine the space, and the difficulties experienced by the resistance fighters during their confrontation with law enforcement were intertwined and evolved into a more tangible structure.



Figure 59,60,61. Gezi Park.

²⁷ Standing man action is a peaceful activity without passive resistance for the purpose of silently criticizing the victimization in any issue in an inactive static manner. Philosophy of pacifism as philosophy is fundamental. Erdem Gündüz, who became famous as Duran Adam on June 18, 2013, is in front of Atatürk Cultural Center. It stood still for 8 hours.

As mentioned above, the participation of various artists in the protests with their productions made in accordance with their own past in Gezi Park during the Gezi events has led to such in-depth discussion of art on social platforms.

The performance artist Şükran Moral, who is one of these artists, has been exposed to the negative reaction and criticism of the activists with her performance. The representation produced by morale remained hidden in the truth and emptied the situation in which the truth was satirized. In addition to the aesthetic production forms shaped by the realities of daily life on the street, the artistic action of the world-famous performance artist Şükran Moral has garnered reactions.

“Coming to the middle of the park at around 19.00 on the 17th day of the Gezi resistance, performance artist Şükran Moral first climbed onto a bench with a helmet and gas mask on her head. Then, taking off the mask and helmet, Moral opened his white cloak to the lower part of his chest and waited with a razor in his hand. Morale, who went to the top of a bench without paying attention to anyone, started to cut around his belly button with the razor in his hand. Despite the objections of the people present, he drew the letter 'a', the symbol of anarchism, on his navel with a razor for about five minutes. The artist's performance, which was described as 'let the blood stop now', drew reaction from those in Gezi Park.”

(<https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/moral-dan-jiletli-destek-1723214>)



Figure 62. Şükran Moral.

Anti-Biennial Actions with the Spirit of Gezi

At the same time, the fact that the 13th Istanbul Biennial was held at the same time as the Gezi Resistance has enabled the same type of criticism to be discussed. Gezi Park activists questioned that the works exhibited by selected artists in selected venues could not be more effective and realistic than the living spaces created behind barricades, and that the publicization of art could only be based on the relations it would establish with social movements. Fulya Erdemci stated that the aim of the biennial is to create a political and public discussion. *“I put forward a content about urgent issues that question today's democracy problematic and political rhetoric, especially the brutal urban transformation that Istanbul is going through.”* The sincerity in his statement has been discussed a lot since the Biennial is sponsored by companies that provide the financial structure, which are the main figures of urban transformation. He revealed that the biennial instrumentalized this period in which various artist collectives and activist groups took action against the biennial in order to legitimize the sins of capital.

The conceptual framework of the 13th Istanbul Biennial, curated by Fulya Erdemci, is *“Mom, am I a barbarian?”* The title is taken from Lale Müldür's book of the same name. Stating that the biennial is structured around three axes, Fulya Erdemci explains the theoretical axis of the concept as follows; *“The conceptual title of the biennial addressed the concept of multiple publics in today's context, questioning how to rethink the public sphere as a political form. In this direction, he states that he aims*

to investigate how multiple conflicting worlds can come together and act collectively.” (Erdemci, F., 2014)

During the preparation and promotions of the biennial, curator Fulya Erdemci held many meetings and announced that she would announce the content of the biennial, which she created in line with the opposing publicity principles shaped during the Gezi Resistance. However, due to the fact that capital groups, the main architects of urban life in Gezi Park and urban policies shaped on rent, sponsored the biennial, Fulya Erdemci was accused of stealing a role from the Gezi movement and was criticized for creating legitimate grounds for disturbing transformations in cities.

ArtHack, Independent Artists, Independent University Students, Labor Youth, Gundogusu Art and Think Group, Güney Culture, Art and Literature Magazine, Homur Humor and Cartoon Group, participated in one of the meetings held in the conference halls of Istanbul Technical University under the moderation of Fulya Erdemci. People's Houses, Public Art Laboratory, Urban Movements, Student Collectives, Red Photograph, Socialist Democracy Party came together and protested against the ground that the biennial tried to legitimize.

The press release of the action is as follows:

“To the Press and the Public

In the first sentence of the announcement on the website of this event; “How are we, the citizens of the city, addressed?” they ask.

Look at the question guys? What do urban and non-urban citizens mean? Let's say it is discrimination itself,

Isn't this discrimination the basis of problems and struggles in public spaces? Of course, İKSV does not see these struggles? These struggles are everywhere, every day...

All fields, streams, forests, houses and streets are occupied in the cooperation of power and capital, don't you know what is being planted on them İKSV? While people all over Turkey are trying to protect their publicity in order not to starve, to shelter and to live with their surroundings, how will you know how they are addressed? The non-urban people are debating their own publicity outside. Does the structure established by your own market order allow you to see this? It doesn't. He can't.

The public sphere is where the interests of power and society collide. This conflict is one of the cornerstones in the political history of societies.

Therefore, the occupier does not discuss publicity. It just invades. In order to be able to discuss publicity, it is necessary to be independent of power and capital. İKSV, a collaborator of power and capital, does not try to steal a role from those who struggle, from the street. In which occupied areas, what can this biennial solve, and which area of resistance can it trigger to open? How can this biennial take a risk to be included in the order that it is connected to?

While every part of Istanbul is marketed to international investors, according to İKSV, the homes of non-urban citizens are legally occupied and plazas are erected in their place. Is this biennial for citizens of the city? A biennial for the citizen pollutes art. Stop making plans to showcase those who struggle with their art in the public arena in your circus-like biennial. You're funny at your circus.

What does İKSV want to activate with this mindset? What does it normalize? Where is he making beautifications? Who do you call us? Don't those who are not among you have the right to live in this city? Who gets the right to life? Barbarians? Who is the barbarian? Do they say "we"?

İKSV looking for the barbarians outside; We're here to show you the barbarians. We are here to show you that you are the barbarian, that the institutions you work with produce war vehicles, how they have polluted the country's past, and how they cooperate. You are not a biennial, you are a putschist. You are an invader, a barbarian." With a press release, he suddenly took the stage where the speakers were and asked, "Mom, am I human?" The activists who wrote the poster later sang the poem "Waiting for the Barbarians" by Constantino Kavafis in unison and put their sensitivities to the fore by

defeating the course of the meeting by performing a performative action.” (Name of the protest: 13th Istanbul Biennial, 23.03.2013)

Another group of artists opposed to the 13th Istanbul Biennial was the Open Space Art Collective. Dijital platform üzerinden bilgi yaymak için oluşturdukları “*Anti İstanbul 2013 Bienal.blogspot.com*”²⁸ blogu, kentsel dönüşüm, rant, sanat ve sermaye ilişkileri arasında oluşturduğu dokümanları veya yazılmış yazıları çeşitli dillere çevirerek yayınlamışlardır. Bienal öncesi yapılan bu çalışma tüm Avrupa ve Amerika küratör ve sanatçıların e-posta listelerine gönderilerek İKSV’nin 13. İstanbul Bienali tanıtım dosyalarının görünmeyen yüzünü göstermiştir. Fulya Erdemci tarafından bienale davet edilen çeşitli sanatçı ve küratörlerin bu bilgilendirme sonrasında çağrı tekliflerini reddetmesi, bienal sürecine dijital platformlar üzerinden yapılmış bir müdahale olarak gerçekleşmiştir.

2013 is perhaps a period in which artists are most active and interested in social events due to the effect of Gezi. The organization of the artists around oppositional ideas and their entering into discussions by embodying the structures that were opposed, led to the creation of many statements written under the name of urban transformation. The most prominent of these is the press release of the Public Resistance Platform:

“The statement below belongs to the Public Resistance Platform and was published simultaneously with the 13th Istanbul Biennial protests that took place yesterday.

Biennial Support for Istanbul's Killer!

In recent years, the city of Istanbul has turned into a construction site. These demolitions, carried out under the name of the gentrification project through legal occupations, especially in neighborhoods that have been receiving immigration for years, trigger a rebellion in every neighborhood. The "urban transformation" looting project, in which cities and their surroundings are reconfigured in line with the interests of capital and turned into an area of rent, seizes their right to shelter by liquidating the poor from the city centers.

²⁸ <http://acikalansanatkolektifi.blogspot.com/>, <https://antiistanbul2013bienal.blogspot.com/>

In this operation, in which natural resources are plundered, the history and culture of the city is destroyed, and cities are de-identified and branded under the AKP government, there is an ideological attack aiming at social transformation, far beyond providing profit areas to the capital. The secure estates and residences built in the living spaces of the poor reveal that the transformation is a "generator" project. On the other hand, natural areas, historical and cultural structures are usurped and shopping malls, luxury hotels and plazas are erected in their place.

Dust asbestos that will emerge during demolition will cause serious health problems in the short and long term. Excavations from the wrecks will be used to fill the sea in coastal areas and new rent areas will be opened.

In the preparations for the Olympics in 2020, the urban fabric will be destroyed, forest areas will be opened to settlement, and many neighborhoods will be included in the urban transformation for the flow of tourists. Of course, the economic bottleneck to enter is not to mention. Barcelona, Beijing, Seoul, Athens and many other cities, where the Olympics were held before, became living witnesses of these problems.

In the light of this framework, it is extremely ironic that the 13th Istanbul Biennial, organized by İKSV, an Eczacıbaşı organization, and sponsored by Koç Holding, is organized with the concept of "Public Alchemy". It is clear that the 13th Istanbul Biennial, organized by these two groups, who are also investors in the urban transformation loot, has no other function than to occupy public spaces and legitimize the attacks of power and capital. In this sense, capital-supported art events such as biennials, which are part of the tactic of marketing cities, turn into one of the tools the system uses to produce its own word.

The Minister of Environment and Urbanization declared that "those who oppose urban transformation are traitors" for this operation, which was initiated by the AKP in order to open new capital-focused profit areas and to intervene in social life. We continue to commit "treason" by resisting all kinds of pressure, harassment and unlawfulness of the government.

Istanbul is being slaughtered

Istanbul is being marketed to international capital

All biennial artists, designers, curators, thinkers, art lovers

Don't be a tool for the game!"

(Public Resistance Platform's Press Release, 2013)



Resim 63. Public Resistance Platform

The Public Resistance Platform participated in the biennial's event called “Public Capital” held on Friday, May 10, 2013, and protested with a performance. This time, they carried out a silent action, in contrast to the loud action of Istanbul Technical University. While the speakers, who were connected to a broker from America during the meeting, were getting information about the New York art market via skype projected on the wall, the protesters, who emerged silently from the audience, walked towards the middle a few minutes apart, lay on the ground in a shroud-like white jumpsuit with the Koç Holding logo printed on it. With the command of Fulya Erdemci, the security guards were immediately taken out of every protest crowd.

In an interview with the artist and academician İnel İnal, one of the founders of the Public Resistance Platform and one of the ideas and designers of the performance, she

tried to sympathize the situation by saying, *"Fulya Erdemci, young people do such things from time to time. But when the second protester, who arrived three minutes later, this time another sponsor, wore a shrouded overalls with the company's logo printed on it, and lay down on the ground, Erdemci understood the seriousness of the matter. The broker in the USA, who explained that the plazas were also equipped with works of art during the process of equipping the cities with plazas, also saw what happened on skype and tried to make sense of it. What the man said was confused. Another and another, the protesters who came out unabated, one after the other, were covered in sweat by the private security forces who carried crow pumps out. Fulya Erdemci, whose nerves were disturbed, unfortunately lost control and turned to Niyazi (Selçuk), who had documented the event with the camera, and attacked her saying, "This man is constantly harassing me with the camera", and then going to the police station with the police they called, it was the result of that hygienic, elite environment that the Biennial team tried to present. and caused the concept presentation to turn into an absurd theatrical comedy. Most of the young people were students of the theater department and we carried out this work as if we were designing a performance. In fact, it had become a lot of fun. The spectators had called out, don't interfere, let them lie on the floor in silence. That was our aim. Young people would lie on the ground in silence, wearing shrouds with the logos of companies that had roles in urban transformation, lying on the ground one after another. Erdemci turned a performance show into a crisis. Has it been more effective? Absolutely yes... Our word was shared in all media outlets and social media."* (İnal, İ., personal communication, 22 February 2021)

4.2.16 Mining Protest in Cerattepe

Despite all the objections of Artvin residents, the mining project initiated by businessman Mehmet Cengiz, owner of Cengiz Holding, has never fallen from Turkey's agenda thanks to the protests of Artvin residents.

The actions shaped by the intelligence of the people of Cerattepe, bringing aesthetics and political stance side by side, have always attracted their supporters. The entry of Mehmet Cengiz's Eti Bakır İşletmeleri into Cerattepe, where one of the world's one hundred natural forests is located, brought Artvin residents to the streets. The song "*Cerattepe is Bizumdur*" was signed to these protests, in which people flocked to support from many cities.

The lyrics of the song are as follows: "*The green of my Artvin is worth the world, those who do these things are infidels ahh cengiz ander cengiz, don't get in touch with my Artvin, cerattepe is ours, the upper part of artvin is richer than gold, if you do this, God will give trouble to my mountain, my green, don't get in touch with my Artvin, the people of Artvin are invincible, don't try for nothing.*"

In fact, Artvin has been the scene of a struggle for more than 25 years against those who covet its forests for mining. This resistance, which grows as a struggle for the right to life embraced by all segments of the people, carried out with an organic movement from the grassroots, not under the control of a certain political organization, naturally brings with it an experience in actions. This movement,

supported by the environmentalists' warning of destruction, announced that nature and soil carvings would trigger various landslides and cause destruction.

In this direction, Artvin residents, who have been organizing many events for years, have met with various levels of the state, and although they have blocked many companies, they have had to constantly deal with new companies. The joint struggle, whose legal ground was maintained by the Green Artvin Association, resulted in victory many times with the cancellation of the mining exploration license of the relevant company, but a few years later, the struggle started again with the licensing of another company.

The act of pouring a bite comes first among these fun and aesthetic actions that bring everyone together. Members of the Artvin Women's Solidarity Platform protested the mining in Cerattepe by spilling a bite on February 29, 2016. The women, who set out with the slogan 'We share our bite, but never our land', gathered in Artvin Halitpaşa Square. The women who poured a bite here and distributed it to the citizens said that they would not give Cerattepe. Announcing that they will continue their activities from now on, the women also chanted various slogans. Sevgi Önay, who made a statement on behalf of women, said, *"We realized that the heart of the whole of Turkey beats with us in this process. All of Turkey, whether Artvin or not, gave us a voice and added strength to our strength. We turned our ears to the biased and partisan media. With our belief that no one believes what they say, we are on the right path. We would like to declare that we will move forward with determined and confident steps on the way to claim our lives. We share our bread, but never our land."* said. The women dispersed quietly after the announcement. (Artvin Women Protest the Mining in Cerattepe by Spilling Bite, 2016)



Figure 64,65. Cerattepe Protest.

4.2.17 Protests of Saturday Mothers in Turkey and May Square Mothers in Argentina

Due to the frequent disappearances in Turkey during the coup periods and since the early 1990s, searching and finding the missing has become the new field of struggle for human rights defenders. In 1992, the Human Rights Association (İHD) launched its first campaign against the forcibly disappeared with the slogan "*Let the Disappeared*". This campaign subsequently evolved into the nationwide movement of Saturday Mothers in 1995. ("When and how did the action of the Saturday Mothers start?", 2018)

For the first time, a group of 15-20 people held a sit-in in front of Galatasaray High School on March 21, 1995. Since this date, mothers who are looking for their children lost in the hands of the state gather every Saturday in front of Galatasaray High School in Taksim.



Figure 66. Saturday Mothers.

The children of the Argentinian May Square Mothers, who inspired the Saturday mothers, were also detained in Argentina and were never heard from again.

The Plaza de Mayo, a square in Argentina's capital city of Buenos Aires, has witnessed the most important political events throughout its history. A group of women who went after their children who went missing during the military junta that reigned in Argentina between 1976-83, marched in a counterclockwise direction in Plaza de Mayo to protest the oppression of the Argentine junta regime against its

citizens when the ban on protests and gatherings was brought. (Arapoğlu, F., 2018, P:54)

Ayfer Genç Yılmaz, in her research “*A Comparative Analysis on Saturday Mothers in Turkey and May Square Mothers in Argentina*” conducted in 2014, mentions that Saturday mothers in Turkey were inspired by the May Square mothers in Argentina. It is an important reality that the citizens of these two countries acted with the same concerns at the beginning of the 1990s, when social movements began to globalize. (Yılmaz, A.G., 2014)

Despite the differences in language, country, culture and geography, the women of the two countries, acting with a common concern and feeling, show the same attitude and reaction in their struggles, revealing an international or supranational unity. How strong aesthetics, emotions, perceived and shared human values are in raising awareness and communicating, the movement of these women, who would not understand each other's languages even if they came together, took place in the memories as an indicator of collectivity in a different ground and time.

4.2.18 Chile Feminists Protest Violence Against Women

In Chile, feminists held a dance protest to protest femicide, abuse of women and sexual abuse. Named 'A rapist in his path', this dance protest took place on 25 November in la Plaza de Armas, the square in the heart of Santiago, and in front of the Ministry of Women's Rights and Gender Equality. (The world is talking about these women, 2019)

The Spanish name of the anthem, “*Un Violador En Tu Camino*” (The Rapist After You), composed by feminist women who are members of the Las Tesis movement, was interpreted for the first time at a protest in the city of Valparaíso, 120 kilometers from the capital, Santiago, on 20 November. A few days later, on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, women's groups gathered in front of the Chilean Supreme Court and performed the song again. Blindfolded, the protesters clad in party dresses lined up in rows, pointing their fingers at “the police, the judges, the state, the president” and shouting their song as a powerful 'war hymn' describing the exposure to violence due to the patriarchal structure.

In the dance performance, which was prepared for 4 months in order to protest the murders of women, sexual assault and abuse, the women put black bandages on their eyes and danced and sang the anthem. After the images published on social media, the protests spread all over the world. In many countries, especially in Spain, France and Colombia, women performed dance shows by covering their eyes with tape in the squares. (Chilean women's dance protest was also held in Istanbul, 2019)

"It's not my fault, it's not my fault whatever I'm wearing: you're the rapist. You're the killer"

This sentence is the first couplet of an anthem that makes the voices of women facing sexual violence and sexism heard all over the world.

The anthem was not limited to Chile, but quickly spread around the world with a unique dance accompaniment, and hundreds of internet users shared their performances on social media platforms, making the world aware of this cry of women. At the call of the Women's Assemblies, women from Turkey also came

together and organized demonstrations in Istanbul Kadıköy and Taksim, Ankara and Izmir. Hundreds of women danced to the accompaniment of the anthem "It's not my fault wherever I am, it's not my fault what I wear", as is the case in Chile and other parts of the world. The lyrics have even been translated into Spanish sign language to make the song more inclusive and further spread its message.

Women have come together to make their voices heard on the issues that all state units of the state should be more sensitive to violence against women and that the laws need to be renewed accordingly. With the situation of gathering in these squares, the sense of aesthetic pleasure of creatures spread not only among themselves, but also to everyone who is in the square and watching, and even to the whole world through social media. Women feel obliged to be strong, and the lyrics, melody and anthem of the song they sing, in any language, evoked a war and an army ready to attack.

4.2.18 Protest Against Five Hundred Cameras Placed in the Streets

At the beginning of the 2000s, the technology developed and offered with the promise of making people's lives easier also started to change the framework of personal rights. Defined democracy; Although its promises did not change, it was gradually realized that a different system was being organized with the arrangements made and the possibilities offered by technology.

The adaptation of this technology, which became widespread in America and Europe in the 90s, to Turkey in the 2000s, created serious concerns in the society. Information technology and post-revolution; The transformation of the relations of the individual, society, administration and space brought with it surveillance, privacy and control. Supervisory practices changed traditional state structures and transformed people into objectified, digital bodies by coding with technology-oriented approaches. The combination of the watching eye with artificial intelligence brought along new concepts and applications. A new practice of democracy emerged as a result of monitoring the masses with applications like Mobese, accessing the private information of individuals through applications such as e-government, e-municipality, e-identity. In this direction, the debates and uneasiness in Turkey in the early 2000s led to the start of various protests. (Bozoglu, T., 2018)

Chief among these are the protests organized by the Surveillance Camera Players (GKO). GKO, which aimed at an organization called "*Nobese Against Mobese*", was demonstrating in the viewpoints of the Security system and cameras. They invited everyone who opposes the life with cameras to Beşiktaş Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa pier square, to the Nobese Festival, which will be held in front of surveillance cameras.

"As it is known, with the MOBESE project, which started to be implemented recently, cameras placed at 570 points in Istanbul monitor the streets for 24 hours. As individuals, we call the Surveillance Camera Actors, with the NOBESE festival, which we organized last week, to draw attention to the surveillance cameras, to create discussion and to raise everyone's mind. We want to keep you informed about this project." GKO made a statement saying, Every week, in front of a surveillance

camera in a different district, everyone who wants to "*have fun without violence and take action*" is invited to participate in this festival. (call to NOBESE Festival, 2005)



5 CONCLUSION

This work has been studied the relationship of art and daily life through creative actions on the street. Dissident actions organized by the masses in public spaces, were able to be permanent by being creative. The activists using their creativity, who thus infiltrated the daily lives of the masses, has expanded the limits of conventional art.

In this study, the concept of aesthetics; as a sensory, bodily experience, has been accepted as the social interaction of individuals with each other.

Public movements in the public sphere; aestheticized action contexts have been examined in this direction, and it has been examined through real and functional alternative models that are desired to be established between everyday life and art (even if temporary or instantaneous).

The tendency of the communities to rebel against their rulers was shaped by the freedom of thought and individual rights that started with the Enlightenment Period (1715-1789). The understanding of the necessity of organizing social actions with the mind emerged with John Locke (1632-1704) towards the end of the 1600s. John Locke, who is considered the real founder of the Age of Reason, argued that when the government becomes tyrant, the people's right to resist the tyrant arises. In this period, when people realized that they had the right to a better life, autonomy in art began.

In addition to its changing content with the autonomy of art, aesthetics also had meanings, functions and contexts that developed in various periods and in the context of various thinkers. The focus of this study is the processing method of all kinds of information that does not limit the basic value of aesthetics only to the perception and feeling of beauty, but is perceived as connected to the senses and emotions.

The conventional production and consumption process of art is defined by the viewing of the artwork by the audience in an institution. The hierarchy of audience, artist and institution was rejected by the pioneers of participatory art, and an understanding of art in which everyone in the environment was creative and receptive was put forward. In conventional art, the concept of aesthetics, felt only by the

viewer, has turned into a concept where everyone can stand side by side and act together in a collective structure, be equally involved and enjoy during the developments, in an environment where there is no class distinction.

With the effects of the social and intellectual structure that started with the French Revolution of 1789, people's seeing and expressing themselves as an individual, expressing their feelings, and reflecting the rebellion tendencies in the works, in which reactions to the cruelty of life, started with Romanticism. However, utopists, who saw that it would be possible to build a future with the reconstructing of daily life, produced ideas on aesthetic daily lives, believing that science and art should meet everyone.

With the contribution of these ideas, one of the most important organizations in history took place in Paris in 1871. After the defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian War, the Paris Commune was formed as a result of the actions of all revolutionary groups. While Guy Debord, Attila Kotányi and Raoul Vaneigem talked about the Paris Commune, which they called the greatest festival of the 19th century, Karl Marx said that *"the most important social criterion of the commune is its existence manifested in actions"*. Communities, which are no longer subjects, have begun to feel the freedom of being an individual with their operational stance.

(Debord, G., Kotányi, A., Vaneigem, R., 1962)

The changes in the daily life of the people who were pursuing equality, rights and freedoms in the early 1900s also affected the artists of the day. In particular, the impulses of change, destruction and rebuilding, which are at the center of avant-garde art, and the social revolution and the revolution in art are handled in the same parallel,

and it is imagined what kind of structure art can be with the people and popular movements.

Avant-garde art; He theorized the autonomy of art by navigating the realities of life, not by making use of representation. Futurists argued that it is necessary to break away from the past and the art of the past, with the idea of a new world and a new art. Art of the 20th century has been associated with daily life, thanks to futurists, by portraying movement, aestheticizing speed, and inspiring artists by the variability of daily life. Futurists have a great role in the artists' belief that another life can be shaped by a future they can establish in other avant-garde movements that will follow. It was believed that the oppositional and activist states of art would have an impact on society.

Dada begins with the Dada Soirees in Berlin in 1913, and each performance was seen as a stage of experimentation that could turn into a manifesto. They turned the stage into a laboratory with various experiments in order to blur the line between life and art, and went out to the streets to share their experiments, which they placed in the middle of the effect of daily life. Dada destroyed the object of art and replaced it with action. These new creative environments, where the signifier and the signified cease to exist, have begun to take on a festive atmosphere with the participation of everyone.

The Surrealists followed the path opened by the Dadaists and stated that the fundamental field for freedom, transforming the world, re-establishing the human mind is imagination. According to Cobra, who embraced the legacy of Dada and Surrealism; If all the desires for expression can be liberated, only then will artistic

production be able to find a place in daily life in line with everyone's expression processes.

Letrists also argued that the aims of changing the world can only be possible when creativity dominates daily life. They were the first to use the word "derive", which means the study of the effects of geography on an individual's emotions and attitudes. For this reason, they have pursued new perceptions through new routes by blending into life through the streets. They theorized the transformation of coincidence into an indicator of the transitivity between art and life, and organized purposeless trips based on chance.

The Situationist (International) Movement, which believes that it can change the world with the art movement, is the last of the Collective International Movements. According to the situationists, art should be shaped in every moment, everywhere and with a global practice as real as life. For this purpose, they created “established situations” in which individuals reveal their creative potential in daily life through games. Situationists, who emphasized action instead of art, claimed that social revolution could only be possible if activist movements were accepted as art.

Together with the Situationist International, the last of these six International Revolutionary Art Collectives, the concepts and contents of "activist" and "artist" are intertwined, just like the concepts of "life" and "art". Afterwards, activist concepts and phenomena were added to the contextual issue of daily life, which is desired to be established with art. The concept of aesthetics, which was monopolized by art and design, has now turned into a tool for the social. Aesthetics, in a sense, has taken on the organizer of the masses and has turned into a structural necessity that is considered in the creative actions of the activists.

Undoubtedly, all avant-garde art movements, including the International Revolutionary Art Collective, opposed the modernist and rational approach of the age. However, these six groups, unlike the others, believed that the system would be revolutionized by demolishing it, not improving it. They believed that it was not possible to improve the system, follow a conciliatory path and restructure it, as was the case with the fluxus and feminist art movements. For this very reason, the concept of aesthetics has been reconsidered. The autonomy of art and the autonomy of aesthetics showed a temporal parallelism. The process of reconstructing the definition of aesthetics through its relationship with society has been opened to discussion over the relationship between society and art. The concept of aesthetics; It should be removed from being an emotion felt by the noble, bourgeois class, and should be redefined for everyone.

According to this, the pleasure felt by creating different situations by coming together in public spaces under the name of carnival, people from different classes but with the same objections, coming together, having fun, establishing relationships and creating different situations, changes the flow of daily life and therefore the future, and the rise of society over the line of democracy and justice. could provide. This pleasure, which formed the basis of aesthetics, was the context that would reconstruct the society by organizing it.

In carnivals, theatrical performances were created together with music and dance, and temporary situations were created with the desired new life models created in the area. At the same time, daily life was interrupted, even for a moment, by actions developed with very different and creative ideas and strategies such as psychogeography, derive, detournement, and culture degradation.

Creative actions spread all over the world with the influence of counterculture movements triggered by the Vietnam War, hippies, May 68 events and situationists. The principle of relationality, the concept of relational aesthetics, and the transformation of the public sphere and publicity have always hinted at the realization of desires to change the world.

Towards the end of the 1990s, forms of gathering began to be organized on the internet, and digital spaces were added to public open space platforms.

The masses were no longer just gathering in the city centers, they were engaged in various activities in digital environments. The masses, who entered into a dialogue in these platforms, where there was no class discrimination, were thinking about what they could do for a better life, and they were implementing this by sharing, cooperating and developing strategies with each other.

In this new type of world order in which digital environments proliferated, world powers began to implement their own methods to increase the speed of money flow systems and the power of currencies. While governments developed international cooperation and strategies for the profit of international companies, poverty and miserable living conditions increased in the same parallel. As global capitalism increased its power, the opposition of the activists became massive in the same parallel. Now, another political opposition stance and resistance that emerged with social movements in the new liberal world order began to show itself.

With the creative and extraordinary actions of the social movements united against global capital transformations, the protesters became the target of the state administrations with the complaints of international companies that were disturbed by

the political crises, urban rents, environmental and animal massacres, climate movements, sexist and discriminatory policies, monetary policies. The activists, who defined themselves under the upper roof Occupy Movement, began to wither away due to the increasing pressures in the western world in the 2010s. The invasions were systematically blocked and dispersed by state forces. It is noteworthy that, precisely in this period, art institutions invited activists to creative aesthetic actions that interrupt daily life, into their own space and art practices.

Reminding that graffiti artists were invited to hygienic environments such as museum and gallery halls in the 1970s, especially in the open spaces of New York, to stop an alternative form of expression, Graffiti, these taming invitations caused activists to question themselves.

Particularly by being invited to the 7th Berlin Biennale and Documenta 13 in Kassel, it carried the discussion of the strong effects of these actions in the public sphere, which was presented as an art show.



Figure 67. Occupy Documenta. Documenta 13, June-September 2012, Kassel, Germany.



Figure 68. Occupy Documenta. Documenta 13, June-September 2012, Kassel, Germany.

Activists participating in these two art events were both supported and found very successful. However, they began to question themselves because of their approval even though they were taking anti-system action. Realizing that they legitimize these exhibitions, which are an extension of the order they oppose, the activists became a part of the society of the show, which they constantly criticized, outside of daily life. audience in Berlin; described the activists' action as kitsch. It was nicknamed the "human zoo". The art scene presented this show as a work of art, a performance, and the actions became a part of the art world. These examples show how the connection between the movements within the boundaries of traditional art and the movements that interrupt the flow of daily life differ from each other. This situation, in which the definitions of socially oriented art and aesthetic social movements became clear, brought up which one is real and changed the definition of art practices. (Loewe, S., 2015)



Figure 69. Occupy Berlin Biennial, April-July 2012, Berlin, Germany.

Ranciere says that art will not be political by conveying messages and feelings about social and political issues, but will be political precisely through the distance it takes to these functions. Art becomes political to the extent that it shapes a particular space-time sensorium, not just works or monuments; because this sensorium, together and separately, inside and outside, front and middle etc. defines forms. Art is political insofar as it shapes forms of visibility that reorganize the way that practices, lifestyles, ways of feeling and speaking are combined in a common sense, a "*sense of commonality*" embodied in a common sensorium. (Ranciere, 2014, P:208)

Just as art gets rid of mimesis and gains its autonomy, the content and intention of the actions move away from representation and transform into aesthetic political action. Artists who do political and social works only produce representations of politics and their environments, while activists make original and creative productions that relate to reality and create alternatives through creative, aesthetic actions. Actions are no longer shaped by the unique representations shaped by the subjects, but by events as real as life. The important thing here is to create a social memory by creating the political power that can provide the construction of the future and the effect of the sensory experience collectively experienced.

As a result, in this study, the definitions and functions of aesthetics, which change over time, in the common denominators of creative action forms and art's relations with aesthetics, were opened to discussion. It has been seen that aesthetics is not a concept that is monopolized by art and design, and that aesthetics can contribute more to social memory when it can be separated from art. In addition, although the political actions of activists in public spaces and the actions of artists share a common history and utopia with each other, the difference in their purpose and functions has been

revealed. People who come together are empowered to make life more livable.

Actions taken with the desire for change and transformation in order to make life a better livable for everyone, spread in the society as their creativity and aesthetic value increase and settle in the memories.

Hoping to increase the place of aesthetics in daily life in order to look to the future with more hope...

Istanbul, 1 May 2021 at 23:04



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