GRAFFITI AND URBAN SPACE IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

GRAFFITI AND URBAN SPACE IN ISTANBUL

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The aim of this study is to uncover and discuss the spaces appropriated by graffiti writers in the European side of Istanbul and to reveal out the possible resistances involved in the act throughout the writers' motivations, characteristics, spaces they produce and all over process they are entering into together with the specificities of graffiti in Turkey. It demands to unfold the possibilities sheltered in everyday practices looking through graffiti and subsequently revealing out possibilities in graffiti looking through everyday life.

It sees the urban space as a social product, which is incomplete without the tactics of the inhabitants and redefined as a result of appropriation. It looks through the history of graffiti, graffiti writers, their motivations and descriptions, working mechanism of the act, spaces chosen and their overall relations to power placed upon urban space in regard to its pre-described theoretical framework reaching out an integrated explanation on play/game theory and resistance it describes. It claims graffiti as a game of the juveniles acting in urban space as their playground becoming to be a resistance in personal level considering the motivations and spatiality of the act and its output.

Keywords: Graffiti, İstanbul, Social Production of Space, Resistance, Game/Play.

ÖZ

İSTANBUL'DA GRAFİTİ VE KENT MEKANI

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Çalışmanın amacı Istanbul'un Avrupa yakasindaki grafiti yazarları tarafından uygunlaştırılan mekanları ve eylemde içre olası direnişleri Turkiye'deki grafitinin ozellikleri ile beraber yazarların motivasyonları, karaktestikleri, ürettikleri mekanlar ve geçtikleri tüm süreçler vasıtasıyla açığa çıkarmak ve tartışmaktır. Bu çalışma, grafiti vasıtasıyla gündelik pratiklerdeki olanakları ve akabinde gündelik yasam vasıtasıyla grafitinin olanaklarını açığa çıkarmayı hedefler.

Bu tez, kent mekanını, kentlilerin taktikleri olmadan eksik olan ve kentlililerin uygunlaştırmaları sonucunda yeniden tanımlanan toplumsal bir ürün olarak görür. Daha önce ortaya koyduğu kuramsal çerçeve bağlamında grafiti tarihine, grafiti yazarlarına, onların motivasyonları ve betimlemelerine, eylemin çalışma mekanizmasına, seçilen mekanlara ve tüm bunların kent mekanındaki iktidar ile ilişkilerine bakarak, oyun teorisi ve tanımladığı direniş üzerinden bütünleşik bir açıklamaya ulaşır. Calışma eylemin kendisinin ve sonucunun motivasyonlarını ve mekansallıklarını hesaba katarak, grafitinin gençlerin kent mekanında, mekanı kendi oyun alanları kılarak eyledikleri ve kişisel düzeyde bir direnişe dönüşen bir oyunları olduğunu iddia eder.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Graffiti, İstanbul, Mekanın Toplumsal Üretimi, Direniş, Oyun

To Rakel Dink,
"Bir bebekten bir katil yaratan karanlığı sorgulamadan hiçbir şey yapılmaz kardeşlerim..."

To Hrant Dink
"Evet, o büyük oldu..."

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is uncovering the spaces appropriated by chosen graffiti writers in İstanbul and revealing out the possible resistances involved in the act and the product. Their tactics will be searched through in-depth interviews and field observations. The way they look to and through their work will be the main standpoint of the research. The theoretic framework of the study will be woven around Michel de Certeau's space, urban space and spatial story definitions in his work "The Production of Everyday Life"[1].

Considering space as a social product, the study will analyze graffiti in relation to its space, making the socio-spatial analysis of the significant spaces chosen by writers. The processes, which spaces pass through together with writers' own descriptions, will be our main standpoint. These writers, chosen considering their writing locations, will be searched through their relation to spots chosen by them. We will describe both the physical and social texture of the spots in order to contextualize graffiti and writers within these significant points. Possible resistance means of writers will be searched considering the relation of the qualifications of these spots and appropriation.

This use of *appropriating* places is manipulation of the urban space, which is the production *of* and *in* everyday life. The inhabitants are not passive in the practices in their everyday lives; instead, they have their own means of resistance, *ways of doing*: "…users make (*bricolent*) innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules." (De Certeau, 1984: xiv). This study looks for keywords of the resistance shown to being reduced to a numeric item in the gridded streets. It looks for marks of intervening in the public via resisting and its relation with space and the very inhabitants.

[1] De Certeau, 1984.

Everyone has the right to express own self in the most appropriate medium chosen by her/him. However, as it might easily be observed in both the surface and details of our daily life practices, that is not the fact. Each day, both the medium and so the ways of expressing are concentrated in the hands of a smaller percentage: "Marginality is becoming universal. A marginal group has now become a silent majority" (de Certeau, 1984: xvii). This 'marginal group' is indeed changing from workers to hawkers, from students to fiddlers. And the link attaching or binding them is not always their action but the power that oppresses them and so the power-relations in between. The reaction given by different groups or individuals vary, so to say, the central strategy always does not come out with similar tactics. Graffiti will be considered as one of these tactics in de Certeau's descriptions (de Certeau, 1984).

With the supposition that graffiti, besides being a means of resistance, transforms the place it is on to a space of resistance; we will evaluate the act as a temporary appropriation where the output is a *permanent* one merging as a resistance means for youngsters in the city. It is the "rejection of the ideals and values placed upon them [young people] by their particular upbringing and culture"[2] (Dennant, 1997: 26). We will follow the paths of this distinctive rejection of the young people living in the city and its relation to their demand of being the shapers of their own representations and meanings individually or as a group. In this regard, we will search for the motivations of the participant writers in regard to their personal attitudes in life and graffiti. Besides we will try to figure out the effects of space on this appropriation and the possible resistance these appropriations supply within the limits of the resistance the study describes.

> In its medium, graffiti is resistance to public control of space. In the letters and words, graffiti is both a group and individual identity. In its vibrant color and vivid imagery, graffiti is a statement about the strength of diversity and a uniform system of symbolling. Graffiti universally speaks for both the individual artist and the crew of affiliation. (Bradley, 2001: 37-38)

The research looks through everyday life "because everyday life is the supreme court where wisdom, knowledge and power are brought to judgment." (Lefebvre, 1991b: 6);

[2] Quoted from Walsh, 1996: 11.

because "everyday life is defined by contradictions: illusion and truth, power and helplessness, the intersection of the sector man controls and the sector he does not control" (Lefebvre, 1991b: 21); because the subject matter of the research is graffiti taking place in urban space where a continuous *war* is going on between *designers* and inhabitants. The thesis aims to uncover these tactical doings and their ways of operating in everyday life through the case study, graffiti in İstanbul.

Furthermore, using the rhetoric of spatial practices structured by de Certeau, we will examine how the writers through graffiti express themselves. Young people, at any time of history, had conflicts with the built-up environment and rules it imposes. They always had resistance and revolt in different levels whereas the realm they had got smaller and smaller each and every day, places letting them exist got more consumer-oriented each moment and what lays beneath for them now is to "search for identity in a timeless, seamless, boundless, and flowing society, which unites the masses, but squashes the individual."[3] (Bradley, 2001: 34). The places are all covered by the power-holders and what is left to the young inhabitants are strictly walking in the allowed tubal-paths of routine instead of wandering around to wonder; being in obligation of seeing the advertisements on every step they make instead of having right of freedom of expression; and being left in a situation of not having "enough space for vast and varied people although the urban space is defined by social space" (Ferrell, 1993: 78).

Within the above-mentioned framework, in the second chapter, we will briefly, put down the history of graffiti and its roots coming from North America in late 60s. We find it critical to take the roots into consideration as graffiti all around the world including our case study, İstanbul, is deeply affected by North American graffiti. Besides, we will define some terms used in graffiti world in order to supply a background for the reader. This also carries importance for observing how it was where graffiti was born and how it became reaching out here, in order to unfold the relation of participant writers with authority throughout specificities in Turkey later on. Furthermore, the approaches in graffiti research up to now will be described in the second chapter; going deeper in some those also demonstrate the large variety of understanding of graffiti. Mentioning these approaches will also show us the flow of

[3] Quoted from Anderson, 1983

change in graffiti scene bringing us the reasons of relating graffiti with urban space.

History of graffiti is not so old in Turkey when many other countries are considered. It starts in the mid 80s in İstanbul with the writer REZ. Before REZ was seen in the scene, there were also graffiti on walls but writers from abroad passing-by Turkey did them. Writers usually bring up themselves by the help of older writers that might be called as breeding off: *Old School* method. He *bombed* the streets of İstanbul alone for around a year. He was both the first *tutor* and the builder of the first crew S2K. REZ, a.k.a. TURBO, had a great role in extending and familiarizing graffiti in Turkey via writing graffiti and writing *on* graffiti. It was his period, which still continues indeed, that made young people get into the scene.

The acceleration of graffiti in the last 5 years, though, seems critical listening to the history of graffiti from someone who acted as a writer since its very beginning in Turkey. This research is so, one of the first pioneers attempting to create a written history of *writing on the city* in Turkey. This became possible by in-depth interviews, field observations, the great help of writers, and the irreplaceable archive and knowledge of TURBO, *the writer of writers*.

In our research, we will be following the paths of the writers taking their spatial facilities into consideration. According to that, we will be focusing on writers acting in the European side of İstanbul, concentrating on their acts in an indoor arcade located in İstiklal Street, Atlas. We will make analysis of the writers' descriptions and definitions of these different or common spots in order to reveal out the relation of spaces and possible resistance the act and writers carry. As it is an illegal scene in general, it was not easy getting in touch with them but snowballing technique after getting the necessary respect and confidence supplied us the essential subjects for the study. This research, so, is the output of the interviews and the participatory sessions of a 3-years-period whose 1.5 years concentrated in İstanbul.

In the third chapter, sailing from space's being a social phenomenon; we will exhibit the social space conceptualization of Lefebvre in order to get a broader understanding of the subject and to designate the study accordingly. Later, we will portray the power relations on urban space in order to reach to the tactics of everyday life. This study

suggests that space is deficient without the inhabitants so goes to the ground and searches for the ways the users make it complete and possible. The study draws graffiti and writers parallel to the discussions on social space as a social product and everyday life following the portrayal of tactics in different levels described by de Certeau. Consequently, we will designate graffiti as a tactic of the writers parallel to and referring to the concepts described, and accordingly settling writing in that context. This described theoretical frame will be our guidance throughout the study.

The spaces created by the writers in the city are neither the parts of a grander strategy nor have hegemonic demands. Writers define the space via their own lived experiences. What makes them different from people experiencing other media is the way they operate in the city and they relate themselves with the audience and the act itself. They are in the streets mostly expressing the enthusiasm coming with the adrenalin the act brings and the chance of yelling themselves to a wider audience more freely without being closed in defined borders. It is indeed the outcry of young inhabitants for *open* freedom as "when freedom is experienced in a closed circle, it fades into a dream, becomes a mere representation of itself"[4] (Sadler, 1998: 151).

In the fourth chapter, putting down the methodology improved for the study, we will describe our way of unfolding the spaces of users and the resistance of the writers, their ways of operating. The case will be searched with many aspects with its description, questioning, and interpretation looking for significances and dilemmas writers carry within the urban space and power relations they are a part of. The research, so, works with categorized questions prepared after a series of meetings with the participant group, with their contributions and comments. Here, we also describe the steps of the study going to an integrated theory together with inputs. The questions and the participatory field observation help us gain further knowledge about the case; the expressions, processes and reflections of writers. This part is in a way, the story of building up a network of writers by someone who is not a participant. The findings of the case study will be evaluated in the following chapter.

The spaces writers make possible in the city are not determinable within strict

[4] Quoted from Debord, 1978: 30.

categorization. They might choose to *place* themselves anywhere changing from writer to writer; crew to crew; and time to time whereas they have similarities in tending to some spots. Writers most commonly spend their time in the streets, instead of gathering in closed places. They, at these times, wander around the alleys of the city looking for proper targets and time on one hand; and *bombing* on the other. Taking the stories and experiences of the writers into account; we will try to figure out their existence in the city and their approach to the urban space differing from an ordinary inhabitant. Besides that, we will be looking at the differing approaches of these writers both during their everyday lives and writing.

We will describe the case in the fifth chapter by combining the theories and the lived formations of the case. The observations made through the process and the expressions of the writers will be analyzed within the pre-mentioned theoretical framework together with the new descriptions and frame developed throughout the research period. Personal experiences of both the author and the participant writers will be the main core with quotes from writers in this chapter.

In the first part of this chapter, we will describe the significances of the chosen graffiti writers looking for differences or similarities in order to draw a general picture of who they are and who they think they are. Later we will take a look at the motivations and descriptions of writers in order to reveal out the working mechanism of writing that will guide us further in the study. At that point, these motivations will open us a new way on play/game theory introduced by Caillois. The general picture of writing in Turkey will be expounded together with the history and the specificities of Turkey in this chapter too, which will give us a broader understanding on the case.

The study first portrays the game/play in terms of Huizinga (1950). Graffiti in that juncture is framed as "a free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious', but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly" (Huizinga, 1950: 13). After asserting that graffiti is a game showing the characteristics described by Caillois *being voluntary; delimited in time and place from other activity, uncertain, unproductive, governed by their rules and guidelines, creators of a fictive reality, a fantasy world* (Caillois, 1961: 9f); it takes its steps through the classification of Caillois within a parallel description with his 4 different types of games: *agôn, alea, mimicry* and *ilinx*.

Considering the motivations of writers, the study puts down graffiti in İstanbul as a game of the young inhabitants appropriating urban space via transforming it to their own playground. This all together help us understand graffiti and writers in their context taking reference from participant writers' own definitions, descriptions and overall stories in means of graffiti opening a new perspective for the study.

We will continue with the relation of graffiti and its spaces in order to unfold the appropriations there. Spaces gathered and spots chosen to write will be our guidance here together with the relation of writers with urban space. The way they see urban space, their reasons of choosing to be there; their descriptions on how they change it; and the ways we see it will be stressed considering "that which changes our way of seeing the street is more important than that which changes our ways of seeing a painting."[5] (Sadler, 1998: 69). Further in the chapter, we will portray the differing power actors in the rivalry relations writers enter into. The way they look through these relations will be exemplified coming to the resistance definition of the study.
Subsequently, we will go deep into own experiences and expressions of writers on their act in order to reveal the hidden expressions and working mechanisms of possible resistance of graffiti considering the effects of significant spaces. We will try to convey their relation with the space they produce. This study will try to figure out if graffiti has resistive quality in the ways it is practiced in İstanbul or not and how. To put it again, we will try to unfold these appropriated spaces and thus possible resistances sheltered in graffiti. One more aspect has to be mentioned here as a critical input for the approach of the study. We prefer to look at and through graffiti not as a complete project together with all its defined limits but rather as a tool, a method, a way of thinking, a conduct and attitude in existing in urban space serving as an explanation for the gap it has related to market economy, which is tough, quite new for Turkey.

When the researcher started getting into graffiti as a film-maker and later as a researcher of a master thesis; she was not -to be honest- aware of either the richness of the subject in its non-affluent environment or the excitement it would bring as a thesis subject. Her first motivation point was –literally- running across an amazing piece (painting as called

[5] Quoted from Guy-Ernest Debord, "Rapport sur la construction des situations et sur les conditions de l'organisation et de l'action de la tendance situationniste internationale", preparatory text for the Cosio d'Arroscia conference, July, 1957.

it then) on a wall in Montréal and insisting on speaking with the writer (painter as called it then) with a *Middle-Eastern English* accent although he was quite snob (as perceived then) in speaking with her. At that time, she did not even know that there were writers in Turkey too. Meanwhile she got more clues on the subject matter on participating many activities of high school students here and there, on listening to them, and on reading what has been written up to now. With the ambition of contributing to the increase in the tolerance to graffiti –that we have seen as a possible means of resistance in our daily lives- she decided to write this thesis.

The author, personally, aimed to pull attention to the importance of resistance and resistance opportunities we have in our daily life experiences via re-defining the determined spaces, via appropriating their habitats and figure out the critical necessity of writing on the city by ourselves not to be the ones completely written *on*. Even though the writers' intention on writing is not fully being the defenders of what we actually own; the study aims to help to turn our eyes to having our own ways of *resisting* by our very own media of expressions via making spaces possible. Though it has to be stressed that graffiti is vandalism, and vandalism is against laws and this research by no means encourages doing any of these. It is, eventually, *about asking questions about art, about the democratic aesthetic of shared public space, about centralized governmental authority, about the place of youth in the urban landscape and about the social obligations that blind urban resident together into a shared human city*[6]: about our right on our own city.

Last but not least, the study might be seen as the research of an act mentioned in *Sound Of Silence*[7]: "The words of the prophets are written on the subway walls / And tenement halls / And whispered in the sound of silence" as just one of the infinite ways of resisting against the silence of the *silent majority*[8] that is *growing like a cancer*[9]. But besides all, we will not hesitate pointing out that graffiti history in Turkey has to be written by the very real practitioners, which indeed has clues of realizations in a short period of time.

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[6] Italics from Austin, 1957: 6

[7] Simon and Garfunkel, Sound of Silence in *Sounds of Silence*, 1966

[8] De Certeau, 1984: xvii

[9] Simon and Garfunkel, Sound of Silence in *Sounds of Silence*, 1966

CHAPTER 2

GRAFFITI: DEFINITIONS AND HISTORY

Looking at the dictionaries for the meaning of the word graffiti, it is possible to see that the roots go up to mid 19th century. It is the plural form of the Italian word *graffito* meaning "to scratch"[10] on one hand, and the Greek word *graphein (*ραφειν) meaning "to write"[11], on the other. The history of *writing,* in regard to the larger meaning of the word, might be brought up to Ancient Pompeii for some authors[12] supposing that the scratches on the walls of the caves are the first examples. But within its relation to vandalism, which we will call as "modern graffiti"; the first examples are seen in Ephesus, Turkey, and are claimed to advertise prostitution: "Sited near a stone walkway it consists of a handprint, a vague heart shape, a footprint and a number: supposedly indicating how many steps it takes to find a woman (the handprint means payment required)" (Joel, 2006: 2). It is also still possible to observe the clues street life of Pompeii via the *Latin insults, magic, love declarations, alphabets, political consigns, and quotations from famous literature written on the walls*[13].

Coming today, people still write *illegally* on almost every kind of surfaces to express themselves. From its very beginning -however it is defined- graffiti "represents man's desire to communicate." [14] (Wilder, 1996: 2). The era when our subject graffiti emerged, on the other hand, is around late 60s, mostly seen as one of the four elements of the hip-hop culture. Starting in Philadelphia, USA and getting popular by moving to New York City, graffiti became to be a *movement* apart from hip-hop, which we will mention in a broader sense ahead in this chapter.

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[10] *Dictionary Thesaurus* (a software dictionary)

[11] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Graffiti#Etymology

[12] Cavan (1995), Janson (1991), Lang (1974 and 1976), Lindsay (1960).

[13] Italics from Wikipedia

[14] Quoted from Wechsler, 1974: vi.

Nowadays, the limits between the forms appraised and/or judged as graffiti show a large variety: Stickers and wheat-pastes used for political campaigns, tags thrown on the mailboxes, pieces on the hardest chimneys of downtowns, vulgar dialogues realized on public toilet walls, political organizations' slogans in alleys, bombings on the metros, *l'amour* scraps on the benches and trees, stencils done under bridges, murals in the museums, commercials on billboards written in *wild-style*, and so forth. What Paul 107, a graffiti writer and also the author of a book[15] on graffiti, expressed in one of the interviews we have made with quite a comprehensive definition: "Every shit illegal is graffiti" is roughly the common opinion of the *old school* writers, leaving the legal ones aside. In sum, it is true that, writers do not have a consensus about the definition of graffiti and outsiders care more about how it is defined. As Celtic, a writer from New York, clearly puts it: "If a writer thinks it's graf[fiti] then it's graf[fiti]. Like to me a picture done in spray paint of say Andy Warhol isn't graffiti. I don't think I could really describe what makes something graffiti but it just has to have that flavor. I could tell you in a second if something is graffiti or not, no problem." (Farrell, 1994; 5).

2.1. GRAFFITI AND TERMS OF GRAFFITI

Although graffiti definitions vary, what we will take into consideration in the limits of this study deals with what spread out from New York in early 70s via a young Puerto Ricon boy's throwing his tag TAKI183 on differing surfaces in his neighborhood. There are a series of attributions we will betray to define graffiti which this thesis will describe. Graffiti is writing of the name taken by the writer, the nick. Whereas this study takes into consideration some other sorts, like cartoon characters, which are usually done with spray can by writers signing with their tags each time. This is indeed an evaluation in some writers' careers writing solely their names for a while and continuing with both later on. But to start with, it is an application of typographical pursuit of reaching out the flow; it is about letters having no meaning except for being the name of the writer insistently written on every surface chosen and carries a calligraphic value as a beginning rather than graphic.

[15] All City: The Book about Taking Space, 2000.

Graffiti does not have an agenda like the propaganda texts on the walls, or it doesn't have to be understood like the phrase "John loves Lucy". Though the only agenda it has is *writing,* and writing *in* urban space. Furthermore, it is about making one's name more famous. Keeping the identity is a critical point too as it gives a sort of freedom. Besides, being understood mainly means being understood by other writers.[16] (Scheepers, 2004: 4). Moreover, although it was usually related with Hip Hop due to graffiti's being also one of the four aspects (MCing/Rapping, DJing/Spinning, and Break-Dancing) of hip-hop culture and owing to its reflection in mainstream media; graffiti writers *do not* have to be hip-hoppers. "It was rarely obscene. This graffiti was all style"[17] (Scheepers, 2004: 3), and/or about *all city, about taking space*[18]. Graffiti we mention is for fame amongst other writers or inhabitants. It is the illegal writing of this chosen name via this chosen identity *on* the city.

After this extended qualification of graffiti in the limits of this study, we will describe a few terms used in graffiti literature. The terms we have chosen are the ones used with the similar meaning in English speaking countries and in Turkey. Besides the similar denotation; words are used without a translation but by their English pronunciations. This is a significant sign demonstrating us the momentous effect of North American graffiti in the scene in Turkey.

The definitions are composed via glossaries[19] formed on the net, the observations and interviews done throughout the study. Furthermore, they are chosen among the ones used in the same pronunciation and meaning here.

Blackbook; is the name used to define the sketchbook writer use to practice writing. It carries great importance for the improvement of skills and gumption of the writer. Having a high number of blackbooks is a respect-source meaning to be active for a longer while. Writers also share their blackbooks for learning from others' works.

Bombing: It might mean to go out writing but for more professional writers, it

[16] Quoted from Cresswell, 1996: 32

[17] Quoted from Cresswell, 1996: 32

[18] Paul 107, 2000

[19] Graffiti.org; at149st.com.

means prolific writing. It is writing for taking *all city*. It relates to illegal rather than legal.

Burner[20]; is used to define a technically and stylistically well-executed wild style piece on a train, in USA. Burners are generally done in bright colors. Coming here to Turkey, the word is used for the pieces not only on trains but also on other surfaces.

Cap: It is the plastic closure on a spray-can letting the paint go out when pressed. It is important to have a good cap as it plays an important role in the strictness and flow the writing. Fat caps are the ones letting more paint so it is good for filling-up the tags whereas skinny with smaller hole is used for lines those have to be straighter and for the detailed works as it presses in a smaller diameter. In Turkey writers having chance bring their caps from abroad where some of them even convert worse caps to better ones by mending them in their own methods.

Crew: It is an organized group of writers. Although the reasons these writers feel a sort of cohesion differ; it implies a group of people who (like to) go writing together. It is something like a club of writers. A crew is most commonly a status symbol for the writer. Crews are often composed of people who have a great deal of mutual respect and trust in one another and work towards a common goal. The benefits of a crew are clear: protection, the pooling of ideas and supplies, an identity, a belonging and fame. A writer writes his/her name and later tags the crew's name or abbreviation somewhere below the piece in general.

King: It is the best writer of the whole scene though both the criteria and the name change from interpreter to interpreter. King might be chosen according to number of tags, to call a bombing king; according to the aesthetics, to call a style king; according to judicial norms, to call king of legal or illegal; or according to line or district name.

Old School: General term used to refer to the early days of writing, more specifically, the mid 70s to '82 or '83 in USA. It also means a sort of series of rules considering respect to other writers as the most important element. Old school also donates an adept and pupil relation in learning. The last two

[20] Examples are given in Appendix A.1.

meanings are used in Turkey.

Outline: The drawing done in a sketch book in preparation for doing the actual piece. In Turkey, it is used with the second meaning, which is outline put on the wall and then filled, or the final outline done around the piece to finish it.

Piece[21]: It is generally used to define a masterpiece. Most of the writers consider that it at least has to consist of at least 3 different colors. Coming to Turkey, it *also* means a more time-taking work than a tag.

Tag[22]: It is the most basic form of graffiti, a writer's signature with marker or spray paint. It is the writer's logo, his/her stylized personal signature. If a tag is long it is sometimes abbreviated to the first two letters or the first and last letter of the tag. It takes short time, is written on every piece done, and realized widely.

Throw Up[23]: Subway Art says it is "a name painted quickly with one layer of spray paint and an outline", although some consider a throw up to be bubble letters of any sort. They are either quickly done bubble letters or very simple pieces using only two colors.

Toy[24]: An inexperienced writer or a writer who is not so keen in writing.

Wildstyle[25]: A complicated construction of interlocking letters. A hard style that consists of lots of arrows and connections considered as one of the hardest styles to master. Besides, pieces done in wildstyle are often completely undecipherable to non-writers.

Writer: It is basically the practitioner of graffiti. Some writers, besides, think that the name writer is used, as that is what they do, and all graffiti practitioners do not paint but just write their names.

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[21] Examples are given in Appendix A.2.

[22] Examples are given in Appendix A.3.

[23] Examples are given in Appendix A.4.

[24] *Çaylak* is also sometimes used in Turkey.

[25] Examples are given in Appendix A.5

2.2. MERGING AND EVOLUTION OF GRAFFITI

Graffiti started in Philadelphia towards the end of 60s with two writers', COOL EARL and CORNBREAD, writing their tags everywhere in the city. It was the first bombing act giving an identity to graffiti gaining a significant attention both in the press and community. But the real onrush started when it moved its center from Philadelphia to New York in the beginning of 70s. The first and most known writers were TAKI183 and JULIO204 where the names represent the streets they live and which became a tradition for the coming generations of writers. In 1971, an article in *New York Times* pulled attention to what this Puerto Rican boy, TAKI 183, has done. He was the first *king* of the scene and more and more young people started writing not only on New York but also on other cities with their chosen secret names in the following years.

The merging of graffiti in early 70s, in New York, was also matching to the period when the city was living both an economical and social decline. There was not a great move of the unskilled workers to the city but the jobs they could find were going away, replacing with jobs demanding professional skills.

> Although there always existed people in society with varying economic and social categories, the 1970's gave birth to new magnitudes, dividing the gaps sharply "between an affluent, technocratic, professional white collar group managing the financial and commercial life of an international city and an unemployed and an underemployed service sector, which is substantially black and Hispanic.[26] (Dennant, 1997: 13).

Although the city was maybe the greatest metropolis of the world where everyone could find the similar, the breathing realms of the lower classes were getting smaller and smaller, parallel to the disastrous economic fall. The first practitioners of graffiti were usually considered to be the members of the low-income families generally having observable-differences whereas others think that the middle class white children were more active in the scene (Austin, 1957: 10-24). Eventually, as Stowers notifies (1997: 3): "When asked, 'What sorts of kids write graffiti?' police officer Kevin Hickey of the New York Transit Police Department's graffiti squad replied, 'The type of kids that live in New York City' ".

[26] Quoted from Daniel Walkowitz in *Rose*, 1994: 49.

Although we would be drawing a general frame of history of graffiti, it should always be remembered that it is not possible to be sure about an exact linear history of graffiti as it is an underground act. HAZE describes it: "There's no one history of graffiti. It depends on what borough you lived in, what year you were born in, and what lines you rode...The best you will ever get is a personal history of graffiti." (Dennant, 1997: 4).

Despite the fact that the history changes from source to source, we will be portraying a picture taking some touchstones. Comprehensive history might be reached through out the net though, as the writers mean to form a more and more exhaustive history of themselves via the help of the elastic nature of publishing on the net.

Writers started changing location from their neighborhood or downtown to subways a few years after TAKI. Nevertheless subways have always been the most attractive and competitive realms for writers. During that period, it was mostly tags; and *bombing* concept settled itself upon the writers' exploring train yards where they could do more tags in a shorter time. This was also when the competition among writers sped up resulting with an increase in the number of both the writers and the works.

That tremendous increase in such a short time forced the writers to search for new factors in order to be distinctive beyond others and make fame. Here came the style. The meaning of being a king started changing its allusion in various ways. Writers were now spending more and more time for designing the way they write their names using calligraphic letters and original visual elements. Change did not stop here, though. After, the scales of the tags got bigger. Writers started exploring the limits and possibilities of spray-paint for pressing on a larger scale. And eventually, a second color came; writers started making an outline with a second color around their tags. Aim was making the name look more appealing to catch the sight and to be the king at the end. At this point, the masterpieces emerged: whole trains from top to bottom. When the end of 1974 was coming, both New York graffiti scene and all New Yorkers were ready to witness actual styles giving birth at the peak point and the best-to-spectate *style wars* of all times.

The aesthetic roots of these graffiti styles, naturally, cannot be thought without the effect of other art movements prior to it, although we do not mean to say that graffiti is

a result of them. The way writers expressed themselves aesthetically has tracks of some American artists coming from the beginning of the 20th century, and the rebellious side of graffiti *art* carries clues of the anti-war posters realized during World War II according to Element (1996: 4). It is possible to say then American pop, minimalist and conceptual art have effects although the closest movement might be seen as The CoBrA Movement merging in Germany and reaching out to United States "representing an alternative of spontaneity, rage, violent and poetic fantasy that seemed to be out of place with its time."[27]

The economical crisis in New York City naturally affected the subway transition system. The City was broke and because of the shortfall in its budget; the Metropolitan Transit System could hardly maintain itself. Period between 1971 and 1974 was an unstoppable epoch of bombing with an unbelievable increase in number of pieces on Metropolitan Transit System trains. Besides, this period was when graffiti set its rules and standards quite well where a new school was coming to use the benefits of the artistic foundations founded by their pioneers. This is also when style and bombing started going apart from each others as two different *disciplines*.

It was not until 1978, when another war of styles began after bombing wars of the previous era. This wave of creativity was indeed heralded by some crews in 1977, which lead to the most important era stylistically. It was 1980 when quicker throw-ups started a second period of tremendous bombing on the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA hereafter). This year was also when the MTA was getting ready for an overall and harsh anti-war starting with mending of the fences around the train yards. Writers started entering to official art scenes and making legal works to make money via their creativity, talent and passion during that period. European accomplished art scene did not wait much longer and many North American writers were invited to exhibit their works in the galleries of the old continent.

Graffiti writers after being accepted to the art scene also started to have relations with the advertising market. Many of them sold their products, designed and wrote for commercials whereas other writers harshly protested that. Some writers commented it

[27] Quoted from www.thecobramovement.com/then2.html (recently unavailable)

as the selling of the culture whereas many would possibly run for that. *Tatscru* was founded 24 years ago by 3 writers claiming that "their work has changed perception of graffiti as art"[28] with the mission statement of "TATS CRU [Inc.] furnishes advertising and design services to business reaching out to young urban consumers and companies seeking new and innovative ways to promote their services and products."[29] Many writers followed this first example for corporatization of writers later on. This was one of the attempts of the dominant culture of taking the *undefined* into its limits, the *Recuperation* (Bartolomeo, 2001: 56) [30] of graffiti.

The first half of the 80s might be described with devouring decline in graffiti due to the internal problems of the scene but moreover due to almost total refusal of the society based upon the anti-propaganda started by New York Mayor Lindsay in 1972 and continued till 1989 by Koch. It was the biggest war of all times against graffiti taking all mainstream media to their side considering that the social decline in the society was caused by graffiti. With an incredible budget, both Lindsay and later Koch became the symbol of *graffiti-aggrieves* trying to cure the so-called *side effects* of graffiti on them, which can be described solely as a graffiti-nausea. It was true that *The Concept City*[31] was in decay. Despite the attacks to all representatives of the State, "they transmute the misfortune of their theories into theories of misfortune" (De Certeau, 1984: 96)

The streets were already in alarm due to the crack cocaine epidemic and it was not so hard changing the legislations on graffiti. Sales of spray-paints were legally limited and they were sold in iron cages, which made shoplifting terribly hard, and penalties for writers became eminently severe. Train yards were now protected with electric-barbed-wire and *wild* dogs in between. It was almost impossible to enter to train yards and MTA had new and expensive techniques in fast cleaning of cars resulting with the quitting of many writers from the scene. The ones insisting on staying in the scene have seen the circumstances MTA created as a challenge and crew members had tighter

[28] http://www.tatscru.com/tats.html

[29] http://www.tatscru.com/tats.html

[30] Quoted from Hebdige, 1979: Recuperation is described as the process by which the dominant culture "absorbs" and "exercises ownership" over all aspects of a subculture .

[31] De Certeau, 1984: 96.

relations where different crews had tough physical struggle in-between. This era was when territorial graffiti of gangs were at its peaks.

In the beginning of the second half of 1980s, MTA was getting ready to declare that it won the war officially. The colorful pieces on trains left its place to the marker-made primitive tags of the beginning due to the lack of material and harsh conditions. The declaration did not wait so long as it might easily be guessed. May 12, 1989 was when MTA announced its victory over graffiti. Any train with even a tag was not going to be let ride. Although, in this *Clean Trains* called era, some writers insisted on writing on trains considering that real graffiti *has to be* on the trains; many turned their faces to downtown, alleys or abandoned places, depending on the writer.

One of the main targets, other than MTA trains, were the freight trains, which have taken its roots with the increasing popularity of hip-hop culture in the early 80s. Freight trains covered the movement need of the writers especially after the Clean Train Era, being more secure in nature. A tag was now possible to be seen by the dwellers walking by freight-train-roads starting from a small town in United States going to a festive city of Argentina. This still stands as an important part of the scene in Canada and United States having the ability of carrying a writer's name all over the continent.

Highways were also highly visited by writers, due to the danger of drifting around MTA yards. Their names were not moving around the city or the continent but thousands of passer-by in the cars was seeing them. The rooftops in downtown city were also charming for some writers who would especially like to open their names and the scene to public. It was then fame for all, via being on the most dangerous spot of the city. But some writers did not think the same. There was this tendency towards closing graffiti in the core circle of writers against the approaching risk of commercializing of graffiti. They were the ones choosing to write on abandoned places like hundreds of meters long highway-columns, or abandoned factories. Another reason for choosing abandoned places was making a party of writing with some friends, "staying alone in peace of silence"[32] or training.

[32] GIVER, Montréal nased writer, interview by the author

Looking at what is happening now in the homeland of graffiti, New York subways, is not so exciting or motivating. MTA seems to win the war it opened against graffiti. Although "in reality, subway cars still receive between 3,500 and 4000 small 'hits' each week"[33] (Dennant, 1997:27), it is not possible to see these pieces as MTA puts these trains out of service till they are cleaned. But bombing with tags continues on the windows scratched by sharp tools, which is most probably the hardest and most expensive to clean.

Graffiti, merging from New York, spread all over the world in the early 80s. The first reason was its relation with hip-hop culture as we mentioned earlier. More and more young people getting into hip hop scene got in touch with writing. Graffiti became inextricable from the video clips of rap songs, concerts or hip hop shows where writers were writing *live* during shows. Although this gave rise to a wrong correlation of graffiti and hip-hop; graffiti, by time, released itself from that though it never could totally.

Besides, the ascending interest to graffiti in European art scene supported the circulation of graffiti in Europe and other continents helping it find different styles. Although having many similarities, writers either in Germany, France or in Spain succeeded kneading graffiti with their own culture and social conditions; and they created their own graffiti via expressing themselves in their own ways. Though, nowadays, some people even think that European graffiti is much better than North American. But it has to be remembered that even after 35 years it is possible to find New York inspired graffiti style all over the world.

Furthermore, films and books accelerated the European youth's falling in love with the street life of NY. The book *Subway Art*[34] became the bible not only for North American writers but also all abroad. The prolific effect of two films has to be mentioned too. First one was *Style Wars*[35], which is probably still the best film ever done on subway graffiti. It was a work of 10 years time, going into the lives of best subway writers of 80s New York, very successfully reflecting the way they work and relate themselves

[33] Quoted from Henderson, 1994: 44.

[34] Chalfant and Cooper, 1984.

[35] Silver and Henry Chalfant, 1983.

with graffiti. A second film, *Wild Style*[36], capturing New York hip hop culture before it was commercialized, let new hip hoppers all around the world learn about the mechanisms and styles of hip-hop centered graffiti of New York. All these cultural products allowed graffiti to spread to the world around New York codes but take their own shapes in their homelands. Later on, the book *Spray Can Art*[37] going out of limits of New York graffiti looked for the early scene of worldwide graffiti. It was an augmenter of interest and knowledge on graffiti too.

Around late 80s, second generation of writers in Europe started visiting their friends, indeed idols, in New York. It was like a divine mission for many writers from Europe going to the motherland of their dedication. The movement was two-sided though. It was possible to see the tags of New York writers in streets of Spain or Italy. It was so important writing with a New Yorker for a European writer that they could even cover the whole expenses of their visitors. That made many North American writers travel across Europe more commonly then they could ever imagine. This interaction in-between started here and continued in different forms via extending of Internet.
Another catalyst of graffiti was let by the extended accessibility of the photocopying technologies. The writers started writing their own history this time via making their own documentation. The fanzines, *published* by the members of the scene, have filled an important need that was trickily closed by outsiders. Writer ZAKE did the first zine, named *International Graffiti Times* in 1980. Zines, later on, became very popular amongst graffiti writers' internal interactions and self-improvements. Writers were discussing about pieces, colors, locations, kings of the scenes, legality versus illegality, sharing experiences and sketches or fighting literally in these fanzines. Although some writers used to think that it wasn't being a real writer writing on the zines; it has to be accepted that writers could communicate by fanzines in a different way than they could communicate via writing on the walls.

These zines especially in early 90s are followed by another form; CD-zines or videos. By the help of the cheapening of recording technologies and pervading of editing technologies; writers could film themselves on act and distribute in CDs. On these

[36] Ahearn, 1982.

[37] Chalfant and Prigoff, 1987.

videos, it is possible to see writers climbing on rooftops, breaking the locks for opening fences of yards, moving a heavy grill to enter to the tunnels, walking in subway lines, or even escaping from police. These on-act-videos are absolutely the most internal and probably the most actual images an outsider might see on graffiti. This wave of videos still continues today.

There is the last but not the least to be mentioned as both a period of graffiti and effect on graffiti: Internet. Magnificent network Internet supplied amongst writers and non-writers helped graffiti to create an incredible connection amongst every sort of followers. The boundaries that distance put between got lost in a way. The first organized web site was *Art Crimes*[38], founded by Susan Farrell in 1994, started its journey with a few photos to becoming the most known and visited site today. In a few years, almost every writer and crew had their own site including photos, forums, information, and articles and so on whereas it is not possible to squeeze these sites in one category. Some have chosen to stay in the safe margins of Internet where others have blamed them of being *chicks*; some tried to show their best works on the net to be the king whereas some used it to learn making graffiti; some tried to make money out of selling graffiti related products whereas some looked for essays on the net to start a thesis. Bombing cyberspace is for sure, shouldn't be compared with bombing physical space but however it might be used, graffiti on the net effected graffiti history letting millions connect and learn about graffiti, and this will continue.

2.3. APPROACHES ON GRAFFITI STUDIES

Graffiti is a multi-faced subject so it is not surprising that there have been many different approaches in studying graffiti up to now. Another reason of the richness in the approach must be the elastic descriptions and definitions of graffiti changing from arts to crimes, especially giving its peak points in numbers around 70s. We will describe briefly the approaches to graffiti taking reference Gadsby's (1995) categorization. According to Gadsby there are 9 main approaches to graffiti although this might be increased. These approaches are compiled as; cultural, gendered, linguistic, folkloric, quantitative, aesthetic, motivational, preventative and popularization.

[38] www.graffiti.org

Cultural Studies; take graffiti into consideration as *a representation of a specific community or ethnic group* where *the individual is seen as less significant than the community*[39]. Considering graffiti a subculture it was even figured out as a gangs' game where graffiti is described as a way of gangs' defining their territories.

Gendered Studies; are usually based on the comparison between female and male writers instead of looking through similarities. Furthermore they usually isolate graffiti from its environment and social conditions it is found in. Even though there aren't so many studies from this approach, the substantial ones usually try to make a difference between being a man and woman expressing that women have phallic expression ways (like smoking in the toilet) whereas men are told to fulfill this need by graffiti.

Linguistic Approach; focuses on the subject via looking at it trough the language used and the way language is manipulated or destructed. This approach takes into consideration the effects of location on writers' acts.

Folkloric Approach analyses graffiti via documenting it as accurate as possible whereas it sometimes carries the danger of becoming archival. According to Gadsby, the photographs archive of the writers might be evaluated in this category considering that they would be lost otherwise.

Quantitative Approach; looks at the numbers of graffiti according to some predefined specifications. This approach most commonly detaches graffiti form its context.

Aesthetic Approach; evaluates graffiti as art or compares graffiti and works of established artists. It tries to express the artistic qualities of graffiti considering graffiti as an aesthetic movement born in the SoHo district of New York; as a branch of Pop Art; bethinking the freedom of expression; as merely the carrier of the art to the streets rather than museums; or as a visual artistic expression medium of hip hop culture, sometimes, via demonstrating the photographs of the most *beautiful* master pieces on colored glossy paper.

[39] Italics from Gadsby, 1995: 3

Motivational approach; searches for the reasons of the writers of writing graffiti trying to find out common points of the answers. Psychology or anti-graffiti institutional researchers use this approach by and large.

Preventive Approach; looks ways of recovering the graffiti thinking that a *broken window* in a neighborhood that's not fixed calls for other breaking downs. These sorts of researches are usually done by institutions trying to find ways of preventing graffiti seeing it as a disease of the city in means of aesthetics, crime and money it need to be cleaned but by taking into consideration that it has some artistic aspects too.

Popularization Approach; although it might not as well be considered as an approach, deals with collecting humorous writings on the walls to entertain the reader.

Herewith and beyond these approaches, we have chosen to look into the lives of the writers as everyday individuals appropriating urban space in their everyday lives considering that their context has to be firstly defined via urban space. We see it critical to mention these studies in order to start describing the reasons lying behind our choosing to study with grounded theory with in the frame of urban space.

CHAPTER 3:

SOCIAL CONCEPTUALIZIATION OF SPACE VIA EVERYDAY LIFE

It has always been in that way: people dreamed about making their environment, their life in the way they dream. Many have acted on that way, many have written, and many got tired and left themselves to the flow of the river after so many bankruptcies. Space has always been an important element in the realization of these dreams turning out to be plans at some points. It, so, has always been important for the ones demanding to control. That's why it has never, indeed, could isolate itself from the struggles on it, so to say, of power relations.

The first studies, dealt with space as an element apart from the subjects of social sciences; isolated within itself or as Urry (1994: 61) puts it "the sociological classics dealt with space but in rather cryptic and undeveloped ways". These studies, more or less, tried to break the lack of space organization of particular societies in particular time whereas Saunders (1986: 88) claims that "a distinctive urban sociology cannot be developed in the context of advanced capitalist societies" was a quite dominant attitude. In that way, the relation of power or dominant ideology and space was becoming invisible. Every act on the shaping of the urban space looked like an innocent *facility* apart from the general plans of the power-holders. When some were building up their utopias on 'no property'; the others were shouting "all property" *for* dominating space *by* dominating space. Dominating, first, includes defining the codes, later; making the others accept your codes, and finally resulting with people's producing your codes again and again without any manipulation: this is the final victory. But things do not work in the ideal way. For every action there is an equal and opposite reaction: the third law of Newton.

"It was the transport and communication revolution of the nineteenth century that finally consolidated the triumph of space as a concrete abstraction with real power in relation to social practices." (Harvey, 1985: 177). Henri Lefebvre in his work *The*

Production of Space wrote for rethinking space within its social relations. When it comes to urban space, relation of urban space and property became worthy to search and space started to be evaluated as a product, a produced space. City was now, indeed since the beginning of cities, a realm for the balances between forces.

> This city [the Greek and Roman antique city from which are derived societies and civilizations known as 'Western'] is generally an outcome of a *synoecism*; the coming together of several villages and tribes established this territory. This unit allows the development of division of labor and landed property (money) without however destroying the collective, or rather 'communal' property of the land. In this way a community is constituted at the hearth of which is a minority of free citizens who exercise power over other members of the city: women, children, slaves, foreigners. (Lefebvre, 1996: 87)

City, although changed itself according to many variables, is based on that relation to hegemony. So it was important to hold the urban space in the dominant definitions symbolically too. And a great symbolism has emerged from these images confronted against each other (Lefebvre, 1996: 87). Thus, the realm of representations has been an important area for the struggles of ideologies or utopias. But this was hidden from the eyes or maybe eyes did not want to deal with this fact anymore. Lefebvre sails from Hegel's describing social and philosophical not as external elements anymore, coming to the point of social space. Philosophy demands the real to be ideal trying to build up a link between real and ideal in order to achieve the rational. The real and rational tends to each other then. The rational is basically philosophy, the philosophical system. The real is society and law and the State, which cements the edifice by crowning it. The thinkers on the city, philosophers of today, are demanding to effect planners and architects of the city dealing with it as a subject or abstract system. Firstly, thinkers on city have to reclaim its relation with the social, says Lefebvre. (1996: 90-93)

In this chapter we will portray the conceptualization of urban space as a social product by Lefebvre, as a result of property ownerships and power relations upon the city. Besides, we will be focusing on de Certeaus's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) framing out everyday practices and their relations in a larger spatial context considering our case study, graffiti, in order to look for relations of the everyday practices and their relation to the individual resistances they include. Throughout the resistance description of this

study, graffiti will both be a tool to search resistance in urban space and also social space theories will be a tool for searching graffiti.

3.1. SOCIAL SPACE

Lefebvre in his work *The Production of Space* suggests a third way of thinking about space other than political economy or collective consumption theory (Gottdiener, 1985; 157). He emphasizes the relation of social and political actions with space or the spatiality of society and politics, in other words. According to Lefebvre, spaces are connected with each other in a series of 'historical modes of production of space' where every space has its own identity and affects the other's identity.

Different than approaches up to then, Lefebvre does not merely look at space as a mathematical term or an abstract subject apart from the real experiences but his space is *l'espace,* "the space of spaces", in definition (Lefebvre, 1991a: 2).

> The philosophico-epistemological notion of space is fetishized and the mental realm comes to envelop the social and physical ones. Although a few of these authors suspect the existence of, or the need of, some mediation, most of them spring without the slightest hesitation from mental to social. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 5-6).

The problem considering the inhabitants as passive elements wandering around the space is estranged via looking at spatiality as a changing concept in differing societies, in different times of the history. These spaces defined by Lefebvre are not only defined by the order of the things already there, let's say the allover-designed concrete city, but also by all the movements in it, physical or mental, called as *spatial patterns* by Lefebvre. Space, for Lefebvre is a realm of expressions: a new way of looking to our everyday lives, which can never be thought apart from the hegemony.

> Space is a medium – and the changing way in which *we* understand, practice and live, in terms of our space provides clues to how *our* capitalist world of nation-states is giving way to an unanticipated geopolitics – a new sense of our relation to our bodies, world and planets as a changing space of distance and difference. (Shields, 1999: 147).

Lefebvre's social space concept is formed of *physical*, *mental* and *social* where he looks for a way of uniting all spaces and managing that under the concept of *the production of space*. To reveal out the roots of the phrase; *(social) space is a (social) product*, he first points out the two-folded illusion in front of our eyes up to then. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 11-14)

Two faces of the mentioned double illusion reinforce and hide one behind the other: *The Illusion of Transparency* and *the Illusion of Opacity (The Realistic illusion)*. In the former, space is seen as *luminous, intelligible and giving action to free rein* where the designs are seen as concrete outcomes of thought *mediating the mental and social*. It was suggested that a clear communication was possible where this was the suggestion of an ideology *identifying knowledge, information and communication*. The second, *The Illusion of Opacity,* is the illusion finding its description in naturalness and substantiality, in common sense, rejected by philosophy in general. These illusions oscillate in-between; including one another via transforming and being transformed one by another. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 27-30).

It is important for us to see that; these illusions make the individual turn the eyes to an illusionary working mechanism. Every power creates its own space and this space determines that power. And when our conscious determines our acts, every act we do shapes our conscious. The more we ignore this illusion in means of our relation to the space and its relation to ideology, politics and culture; is the more we get further from our own wills on shaping our everyday lives.

> Practices and experiences within these spaces provide the grist for consciousness formation. Forbidden spaces, feared spaces, ignored spaces, redundant spaces contain the material of our own ignorance in the same way as shared spaces, comfortable or challenging spaces, needed spaces, become the providing ground for defining who or what we are. (Harvey, 1985: 249)

Lefebvre continues with 3 implications he describes in order to reveal the roots of his former phrase; (*social) space is a (social) product*. He starts with affirming that *(physical) natural space is disappearing,* waiting for *its ultimate void and destruction* although all of our utterances are favorable for preserving it. Lefebvre continues with the second implication advocating that *every society produces space, its own space*. He describes that every mode of production has its own spatiality and appropriation of space. Eventually, space, in late capitalist society, becomes to include; *biological reproduction, the reproduction of*

labor power and *the reproduction of social relations of production* and their complicated network of relations. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 30-32).

According to Shields (1999: 154) "Lefebvre's '*l'espace*' is a term that always makes one want to complete it: 'the space' of everyday life; of geometric concepts; of the city. Each is completely different". Urban space, in that sense can never stay isolated from the inhabitants' mental or physical movements related to or beyond their wills. In order to build a theory of *l'espace* with all the complexities, to conceptualize it from all levels; Lefebvre constructs his famous triad via describing *spatial practice*, *representation of space,* and *spaces of representations*. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 33)

Spatial practice (l'espace perçu); is the perceived space. It is "the production and reproduction of specific places and spatial 'ensembles' appropriate to the social formation." (Shields, 1999: 162). It, thus shelters all aspects related to a specific mode of production. "Spatial practices guarantee the continuity of a specific dominant ideology and its derivatives supplying cohesion." (Lefebvre, 1991a: 33).

Representations of spaces (l'espace conçu); are the conceived spaces; they are "the logics and forms of knowledge, and ideological contents of codes, theories, and the conceptual depictions of space linked to production relations. These are the abstracted theories and 'philosophies'" (Shields, 1999: 163) which make them "the spaces of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artists with a scientific bent-all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived." (Lefebvre, 1991a: 38).

Spaces of representations or *representational space (l'espace vécu)*; are the lived spaces; they *are the complex symbolism of linked to the clandestine of underground side of social life and art* in Lefebvre's words. They are the "'discourses of space' in the sense that this aspect of his triad forms the social imaginary, the presuppositions that often structure problem definitions and thus influence the sort of solutions that are thought of as being possible and achievable." (Shields, 1999: 164).

Lefebvre, by his triad, evaluates space consolidative in all social acts, which makes it a tool for analyzing society. Stressing that the lived spaces have always been neglected for

the sake of the conceived making the unconscious level of life invisible, Lefebvre comes the third implication he describes: "If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production." bringing the authority and also the inhabitants to a different level than before. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 36). On account of the power's persistent will to control all the products and production, "control over spatial organization and authority over the use of space become crucial means for reproduction of social power relations." (Harvey, 1985: 187).

The relation built here is not a basic process but a process of complex relations. The space created and produced is an outcome of all social relations where the individuals, specialists and power-holders play roles affecting each others within a dialectical relation. So, social space is not a static concept containing merely the things but it is a dynamic process being constructed by these complex relations and constructing them on the other hand. This gives 'hope' for releasing from the *slavery* of the absolute because establishment is not one-sided; appropriation goes ahead.

> Space thus produced also serves a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination of power, yet that, as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 26)

Understanding this triad helps the individual move amongst these realms without confusion. "The crisis in the urban cannot be resolved by 'urbanistic' means. The problem is socio ideological, not ratio-technical." (Shields, 1999: 148). It has to be remembered, though, that these three aspects contribute to the production of space, affecting the others and being affected by the other two. "Their effects are neither negative nor positive; nor this process can be assumed strictly as conscious or unconscious" (Lefebvre, 1991a: 46). The assumption that individuals have their own spaces where they can *free* themselves makes it more important to be aware of these illusions.

> Representational space; is "space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of he 'inhabitants' and 'users'. But also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the dominated –and hence passively experienced– space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. (Lefebvre, 1991a: 39).

The realms and tools of struggle for the inhabitant are not limited to what it has been supposed up to then, but it has dispersed itself. "The system of space is not just spatial practice, in the sense of its social construction, but equally the representations of it and discourses about it, and it is also equally its reflexive effects, promoting here, limiting there." (Shields, 1999: 154). Releasing the mind from the *double-illusion* makes the individual a subject in the construction of the city and throughout that, in constructing the very life of one. Working, walking, shopping, cooking, taking care of children, watching TV, reading, writing, namely all everyday activities construct the city for one's own self because in any way "we all help to build a city and its way of life through our action without necessarily grasping what the city as a whole is or should be about." (Harvey, 1985: 241).

These everyday practices of inhabitants, that is to say, their socio-spatial practices, relates differently with the urban space than the ones of the specialists, designers or philosophers. Inhabitants do *not dominate* but *appropriate* and the will to liberate *our* urban space from any sort of hegemony and construct it in our own dream is a necessity. Appropriations are the possible spatial revolutions; spaces made possible by revolutions and revolutions made possible by spaces. This is the "spirit of revulsion and revolt against the dull, colorless, but seemingly transcendental powers of money in abstract and universal space and time"; and this is where "most of the vivacity and color of modern life, in fact, arises precisely out" (Harvey, 1985: 184).

3.2. POWER RELATIONS ON SPACE

We can mention two points of looking at the city: First, looking from inside it, being down; and second, a god-like vision looking from up which is "'won' for the pries of loosing being a part of the city" (De Certeau, 1984: 92). First group walks around the city as an ordinary inhabitant where the second draws out plans to be oriented through. Nevertheless, "both perspectives, though different, are real enough. Nor are they independent, in fact or in mental construction." (Harvey, 1985: 1). How and where we look from determine the way we are structuring the relations and making out a mental map of the city. Thus, our relation in a larger context of social system seeing urbanization as a process strictly determines how we deal with the question of space.

The city has always shaped itself differently through out changing modes of production. It is a part of *the nature* of the ruling class through situating its hegemony as an untouchable god-hand upon all society. Lefebvre (1991: 11) asks if it is "conceivable that the exercise of hegemony leaves space untouched?" answering with a no that is already included in the question. Coming to late capitalism, consumption plays an important role in the designing of the social and physical spaces in the city. That division in space is an outcome of division of labor and separation of the producers from their means of production, which leads to a "hegemonic form of production". (Harvey, 1985: 26). Hegemonic forms of production of late 20th century drew their urban policy around redefining the class differences and later around a more space oriented distinction. Late capitalism, formulated strict differences between professionals and *ordinary* citizens, also showing up itself in production and consumption of space. The overall design of the urban space became more and more part of the grander strategies of designers popping up as cooperation, states or institutions.

In order to reveal out the processes between forces of power; the place–space duality, has to be described as our subject matter structures itself within these descriptions.

> Place is the order (of whatever kind) with accord in which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (*place*). The law of the "proper" rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are *beside* on another, each situated in its own "proper" and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus and instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability. (De Certeau, 1984: 117)

Different than a place, space consists of mobile elements; it shapes itself with every movement in it; it is structured by the variables taking roots from both modes of production and ways of uses. "*Space is a practiced place"* referring to the *lived spaces* we have mentioned before. Graffiti writers transform the *grand* designs of the city to *their own spaces* where they can breathe, even it is temporarily.

Urban space we are living in is strictly dominated by the authority according to its ideology, mode of production, and its flexing politics and needs. Consideringly, it is an identifier in the lives of inhabitants. Besides, everyday life activities are shaped by the ideology and also shape the ideology of one. Our basic needs, demands and the way we

perform for them change in time and place supplying us a tool and a realm for thinking for a new theory constructing ourselves via our everyday activities. A new theory, which will supply as a new approach to turning our faces to our daily lives, has to be constructed, then.

> We have to get behind the surface appearances, unmask the fetishism of commodities in the market place and build a general theory of how commodities are produced, traded and consumed in order to better appreciate the technical conditions and social relations which put our daily bread upon the table. (Harvey, 1985: 8-9).

It carries great importance for us, the inhabitants of the city, figuring out the reasons and outputs of our activities because what we are facing today -whenever we go out walking, shopping, working or whenever we are sitting peacefully in our houses- is indeed the "physical and social landscape capitalism builds in its own image" (Harvey, 1985: 162), which it needs in order to continue itself. What we have to do to start is first, removing the gauze in front of either the working mechanisms of the larger economical and social system *or* in front of our eyes. Because, "the understanding of urban experience through the use of spatio-temporal contrasts and counterfactuals is not only an epistemological device for gaining knowledge of urban experience but itself a feature of modern urban experience." (Caygill, 1998: 316).

Understanding our conditioning in the urban space will supply us a background for building up our own dreamed cities or *taking back* our own cities. We have to deal with the fact that all spaces we act are dominantly affected by the symbols of the dominant ideology shaping our lives. It might be defined as in the words of Kotányi and Veneigem: "All space is already occupied by the enemy, which has even reshaped its elementary laws, its geometry, to its own purposes." (Sadler, 1998: 47) where this mentioned society is capitalist society for our case in which "we know that social life is reproduced through the circulation of capital, which implies class relations and struggle, accumulation and innovation, and periodic crises" (Harvey, 1985: 163). Though, we will be keeping the further input that there are in-between spaces or spaces beyond the authority in mind to be mentioned in the 5th chapter.

Seeing space as a product, it becomes possible being more flexible in the realms of the struggles for the space. Because it is now on every step we realize, each and every day forcing us to give decisions on our lives.

> Even when we are playing or above all when we are playing, we have to make decisions. To play is to transform our point of view into a decision by confronting chance and determinism in the absence of adequate information about our opponent's game. (Lefebvre, 1991b: 17)

These decisions taken during everyday acts help us in diffusing the struggle realms, as the realms of everyday life are realms of political life:

> Everyday life includes political life: the public consciousness of belonging to a society and a nation, the consciousness of class. It enters into permanent contact with the State and the State apparatus thanks to administration and bureaucracy. But on the other hand political life detaches itself from everyday life by concentrating specialized activities. Thus *the critique of everyday life involves a critique of political life, in that everyday life already contains and constitutes such a critique,* in that it *is* that critique. (Lefebvre, 1991b: 92)

Looking for ways of a 'different' space, for a space of a different socio-economic life "straddles the breach between science and utopia, reality and ideality, conceived and lived." (Lefebvre, 1991a: 60). It might show itself in different sorts of resistance shown to this working mechanism where space is reduced to a commodity and where "all space [is brought] under the single measuring rod of money value." (Harvey, 1985: 177). Resistance against given definitions forces the limits looking for the "dialectical relationship between 'possible' and 'impossible', and this both objectively and subjectively" (Lefebvre, 1991a: 60). This is a permanent tension between domination and appropriation bringing us to looking for clues of these appropriations in everyday life.

3.3. EVERDAY LIFE AND GRAFFITI

As we have mentioned earlier, the researchers tend to look into the means of production in analyzing the societies generally ignoring the ways they are consumed or used. De Certeau, in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, mentions these studies suggesting us looking through the ways the products are used. Considering the

assumption of Lefebvre already described in relation to our study, that is, *(social) space is a (social) product*; we will be looking through writing on the urban space in order to find clues about the ways different writers relate themselves with urban space.

> The latter [consumption] is devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere, silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its *ways of using* the products imposed by a dominant economic order (De Certeau, 1984: xii).

The inhabitants of the city, us, turned out to be the consumers using the city in defined limits. In a city defined as a product, naturally, the users would be consumers, in the mentality of *abstract space*[40] created by late capitalism. Authority needs to balance the forces on it with differing means in order to continue its existence. The ways we are using it might either stay in the limits or at some cases extend these limits. Urban space as a consumer product gives us a way, thus, to understand the relations upon it, the ways power is imposed and the ways it is lived. Consequently, what we do with it also determines it.

Changing acts cause different damages on differing surfaces of the system itself; where the illusions created by the system from time to time play an important role in the perception of the everyday actors in their own acts. So a revolutionary called act might work for the endurance of the system whereas an organizational resistance shown towards it might manipulate it from the hearth. That might be an illusion too though, where the system itself made the author a *dreamer* in her small room about the clues of the coming 'good times'. Being aware of this fact, we will try to find these clues and ways of resistance in our case study. Graffiti, from point of view, is a *making-do* of the inhabitants in that frame; what the young people do with the urban space they produce and live in.

The representations are critical for the continuation of the authority. That is why the power-holders insist on imposing their own codes trying to gain a general acceptance about them. But these codes do not tell us all about the society. In order to understand the inhabitants' cultural structure we need to understand how they use the given instead

[40] Lefebvre, 1991a: 49.

of how it is given. This will be our discourse throughout the study in differing occasions and keeping it in mind during all process.

> The presence and the circulation of a representation (thought by preachers, educators, and popularizers as the key to the socioeconomic advancement) tell us nothing about what it is for its users. We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then we can gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden on the process of its utilization (De Certeau, 1984: xiii).

Graffiti is a way of *consuming* or *using* urban space by its inhabitants and this way is not determined by the *designers* of the city, which make it a way of appropriation. Graffiti is a medium for many who cannot find any place for themselves in the billboards, streets, schools; city in general. They go, find and appropriate a place for themselves. So this study concerns the ones who use the *designed*; the ways of their usage; the difference in-between; and the possible resistance hidden in this "false" called usage.

Our subject study, İstanbul, besides all others in Turkey is being "raped" each day in the name of unbelievable transformation spiels with the great will of making it a globally touristy city through an understanding of tourism coming from whatever; history, art or natural beauty does not matter but centralizing the economic income is necessary. So the city is designed so quickly and insatiably where most of us as -the city habitants- are left like spectators having no ability to intervene the decided flow; having no action to *write* on our own city. Graffiti writers are like "the children scrawling and daubing on his schoolbooks; even if he is punished for that making a space for himself and signing his existence by signing on it". So instead of escaping or accepting the given paths of doing; graffiti writers chose to divert these paths for the sake of doing it, metaphorizing the dominant order, making it function in another register, remaining other within the system which they assimilated and which assimilated them externally. The intention, we will argue, by and large, does not mean determine the outcome. (De Certeau, 1984: 31-32)

If a society has its own spatial practice, Lefebvre claims, then, "It forges its own – appropriated – space." (1991: 31). This approach, we guess, will help us handle the appropriation of urban space by inhabitants in the light of this assertation. We will be

focusing the subject within an analogy drawn by de Certeau on the language spoken and written that can be observed in many other everyday practices too. De Certeau talks on the manipulation of the language operating within the field of a linguistic system Considering the realm where graffiti takes place, the place of the other, and so in a way, the linguistic system of the other, it becomes possible to suggest that writing has the capacity to manipulate the place it is playing in. Writers and their work use urban space quite far from supposed to be, but as they demand; they manipulate the codes of the designed city. The given rules of the urban space by authority effect an appropriation of the system it is in. Furthermore, graffiti is mobile, it does not belong to a specific place or time, it is boundless that it can place itself anywhere anytime in regard to opportunities; "it establishes a *present* relative to a time and place" Last but not least, graffiti positions itself in urban space where complex relations are included within places, power and spaces assuming an audience and interlocutor (1984: xii).

De Certeau looks for a logic in these resistances shown to the order, in this *art, 'way of making'*, looking through their attributes and mechanisms (1984: xvi); because the reactions given to similar actions may vary according to many aspects. Although there might be the same strategy designing a place, the manipulations on it might change considering the history, social-cultural sphere and even individuals one by one because it is not possible to talk about a homogeneous society. Considering that different reactions need a versatile understanding of culture to be analyzed, we will be focusing on the differing discourses and relations of different writers throughout the study trying to reveal the *logic* of graffiti, if it has one.

> Although they are composed with the vocabularies of established languages (those of televisions, newspapers, supermarkets, or museum sequences) and although they remain subordinated to the prescribed syntactical forms (temporal modes of schedules, paradigmatic orders of spaces, etc.), the trajectories trace out the ruses of other interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop (De Certeau, 1984: xviii).

We mean to see the traces of the expressions of the different writers within relation to their everyday act and space. Dealing with their discourses, the study aims to reveal the opportunities included in the possible resistance of the act looking at the writers within their starting points, motivations and ways of doing. Furthermore, the significances of

the chosen spaces will guide us in finding out their effects on that resistance within a comparison of the realms and descriptions of strategy and tactics in De Certeau's terms.

De Certeau sails from modes of production determining the production and products in describing the strategy and tactics. The definitions are put in regard to hegemonic relations describing dominances or minorities in all realms of our socio-cultural spaces. A strategy needs a will to power in demand of isolating itself from an "environment" generating all relations within an assumption of the places' being proper. Whereas tactics do not belong to a specific place and they do not have their own places like the strategy either. Because, it is already *on* other's place belonging to authority. A tactic, when appropriating spaces, appropriates itself according to its needs; it does not take the place entirely but places itself on it fragmentarily. Thus, our study will base itself upon the effects of these appropriated spaces on the resistance against predetermined urban space in their fragmentary acts (De Certeau, 1984: xix).

> The 'proper' is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time – it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing'. Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into "opportunities"' (De Certeau, 1984: xix).

Everyday activities are tactical in character as De Certeau asserts. Graffiti is one of these tactics being implied by characteristics defined by De Certeau where the frame of this thesis contains the possible possibilities created in the framework of graffiti as a tactical medium and instrument. There are many "ways of operating", victories of the "weak" over the "strong" in every realm all over the history. These might not be significant though. Writing on the city oppose neither to a specific power nor to an authority it defines, though, by ceaselessly using opportunities to take other's place, it merges as a ways of existing, silently shouting for the displaced (De Certeau, 1984: xix).

Though we will make a broader description of graffiti in case chapter throughout the ground study, it would be critical to portray our point of view here. What we call resistance finds its meaning in the description of de Certeau. Resistance is the small tricks habitants put on the dominant order via detaching themselves from it; because they cannot escape from it but rather try to outwit it. Resistances shown against the

working mechanism of the dominant ideology and politics demonstrate themselves in different forms changing according to the socio-cultural situation, identities and spaces they are in. Graffiti, in that sense, represents the struggle against the unseen "siege" around us -the outcomes of the strategy constructed and continued by different sorts of dominants and power relations- by means of everyday struggle. The writers create cracks on the siege of boredom of everyday life letting us or giving us a means to escape from the routine. This resistance then might carry clues of other resistances depending on whether it can obtain its own consciousness placing itself on a wider sphere or not (De Certeau 1984: XXIV).

This does not mean tough, that every illegal act is a sort of resistance against power. In the frame of this study we will look for possible resistance means graffiti produces throughout its presence and process taking into consideration the possible tricks we might call as illusions. The way it appropriates the spaces permanently or temporarily will be the core question of the study to be revealed by the help of different writers' discourses on urban space, their works and their processes. We will be searching if it is *just a game* for the enjoyment and time-consuming of the youngsters closed in the limits of the hegemony or whether this game "makes it possible to live in them by reintroducing into them the plural mobility of goals and desires – an art of manipulating and enjoying" (De Certeau, 1984: xxii).

Tactics individuals apply on the urban space might subvert the dominant ideology by subverting its dominant language. The appropriation of urban space by graffiti speaks out of a different language than the language of the dominant ideology or at least, it attempts to do so. It puts itself on the places it should not be, "re-employing a system that, far from being their own, has been constructed and spread by others". Nevertheless, what makes it different than, let's say, breaking a rule in traffic, is its continuous agenda; its conscious will to *appropriate* urban space; its insistence on subverting the dominant ways of operating by fracturing them; its manipulating the given by putting the dominant order and the *"reason" behind power and knowledge hierarchies* into question; its "implying a *logic of the operation of actions relative to types of situations"*; its permanency. If individual resistances are not isolate and if they once persistently *publicize* themselves, they become to be socialized. Graffiti finds its meaning in that socialization processes and periods (De Certeau, 1984: 17, 21).

Popular cultures create their own spaces within the borders of predetermined strategy. These created spaces turn out to be resistance means because the "powerless" side of the "unequal war" is "good" at transforming the established space with their lack of equipments. Writers are the inhabitants trying to play within the rules of the order but having their own *tricks* in getting along with the spaces of the others. This game, as we will call later, might involve ignorance without rejection. *The Order* forces the individuals to be part in its game where every release might be a mark for further resistance. Resistance to the orders, so, must be meaningful as much as it gets itself around its insisting decisiveness in refusing the *status quo* (De Certeau, 1984: 23).

Every group or individual use their own *ways of operating* in order to take back what is indeed theirs, in order to resist to the given. Graffiti writers write on the surfaces which belong to the public but which are, on the other hand, allowed to be used by the capital owners having enough to provide it and be a part of decision making processes of using the public spaces. On getting out of our houses for going to work as usual every morning, seeing a piece of graffiti on a wall -that does not indeed belong to anyone- means more than 'individualizing' that space for one's own name's sake; it is "protecting the weapons of the weak against the reality of the established order. It also hides them from the social categories, which "make history" because they dominate it" as for the "fabulous" stories de Certeau describes. Writers, being defined by its rules, act in the realms of the dominant with the tools they have, the tricks, creating a popular *art of speaking* (De Certeau, 1984: 23-24).

Appropriation against domination appears here as contradictions of strategy and tactics. Every appropriation has the potential to give new ways of using the established space for other inhabitants. Characterizing a new way of expressing one's own self via writing on the wall result with creating own meaning and so putting small stones on the walls of collective "urban" memory created by the very inhabitants. What is seen in the streets of everyday life is not exactly what the designers or decision makers intend but how the inhabitants comment the given: the order of things is an outcome of interpretations. Here both sides might be in illusion of that trickery game though, depending on the permanency of the appropriation produced and its relation to its practitioners and space. We might be betraying ourselves seeing so much *hope* calling graffiti as an art of resistance or maybe really "order is *tricked* by an art". This, we suppose, will lie as a question to be revealed throughout the study though we suppose

there can never be only one answer (De Certeau, 1984: 26).

All sorts of activities have their own "types of operations" and "the role of spaces". Take, for example, billboards and graffiti reciprocity, which will put us one-step forward in describing the relation of dominancy and appropriation. They both use the urban space for a sort of manifestation. These manifestations have something in common as they both want to make the "advertisement" of a "product"; to make a name known in order to make more "profit" of it. But the concepts in quotations turn out to be different concepts. An international company put its name on the most crowded boulevard of the city to sell more and it *pays* for it; whereas a graffiti writer buys some buckets or steals them (as he does not have money or as he thinks this must be that way) and writes his name or his crew's name to be more popular. The relations with urban space, thus, differ critically (De Certeau, 1984: 30).

The difference lies in the very beginning of the two activities. Billboards are let by decision makers –let me say strategy builders in a way. They are as if they are a part of the ever-existing city without any suspect, they are designed for the city and moreover city is designed for them, so they are producers of urban space and imposers of an idea on habitants; whereas graffiti is a wound, it is an unforeseen attack on urban space. As a tactic graffiti diverts the space created by billboards and manipulates its impositions. So to say; "strategies are able to produce, tabulate, and impose these spaces, when those operations take place, whereas tactics can only use, manipulate, and divert these spaces." (De Certeau, 1984: 30).

Most of the writers we have spoken were in need of having spaces to express themselves with the tool they had. But in our city of 11 million there seems to be no wall for them to write. Besides that they somehow get more excitement in illegal cases or some even think that the nature of this work/art is illegality. Demand for illegality carries us to the two-faced resistance we will describe in consideration with the writers avoidance from direct-opposition to authority. Having no place for expression leaves an individual dumb; in order to continue speaking by his own language and to continue living by realizing minimum burdens; habitants finds some cracks to flow to their own language from the official language.

> He [here the graffiti writer for us instead of the North African living in Paris] superimposes them [the instructions for use] and, by that combination, creates for himself a space in which he can find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place or of the language. Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and in which lays down for him, he establishes within it a degree of *plurality* and *creativity*. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation. (De Certeau, 1984: 31)

He starts writing on the walls that he is not allowed to; so he is a passer-by in the morning experiencing the city in a fully different mental mapping and he becomes an actor at night *advertising* his name, expressing himself, and manipulating the framed sentences in the minds of the everyday passer-by and the urban space itself. The creativity he has is the main tool for plurality that carries a writer into the very core of showing resistance to being left to isolation; his *speech act* is his resistance. Resistance shown towards a rule or order is enunciation of one's own self. It is the manifestation of a non-acceptance, an indisposition, but not a total rejection though; it transforms what imposes on it. The sources of this unacceptance, as we will be portraying later, bringing them to the ignorance to the rules they claim right, should be searched through the motivations and acting of each actor. We will be looking at the ways the spaces are transformed by writers throughout the act itself, the writers' discourses and audience in revealing the relation of their resistance and space they are in.

Going one more pace through the enunciation within the speech act de Certeau describes would give us more indication on the appropriation via graffiti. Graffiti hides enunciation in regard to the act itself in relation to space, but besides that, it implicates an enunciation related to the act of writing literally. Writing on the wall is, firstly, the realization of the *speech* act of the writer in its specific own medium. Later, the tags thrown are not the 'legal' names given and the texts written on the walls are not legitimate texts of the history books; they are the results of appropriation by the writer. In the first sense, graffiti appropriates the place it is on and second appropriates the language it is supposed to be working in. Furthermore, in the literal meaning of the text, namely the tags, there is one more level of enunciation. Writers use the letters of the dominant language where their names are totally meaningless in the sense of the established language; and they are illegitimate by the transformation of the aesthetics of the letters via ornamentative style. (1984: 33).

Thus, the normative text still stands there but it is not itself anymore after the appropriation. The calligraphic value a piece carries is beyond the value of the determined writing. Neither the meaning nor the visuality of a tag is the base itself anymore. When the subject is the urban space, there is a parallel appropriation. The place graffiti uses is still standing there, however it is not itself anymore after the appropriation it has been subjected to. This calligraphic value coming with visuality transforms the everyday streets to a festive site or a museum of *street-arts* according to writers helping them socialize both their act and the inhabitants.

The enunciation within the speech act needs four elements according to de Certeau: Realizing, appropriating, being inscribed in relations, being situated in time. Graffiti, appropriating on realizing itself, puts itself in a series of relations as the third implication shows. It has its own audience that is presupposes. That is why it is not like making a painting on your sketchbook; why writers choose persistently writing on public space. It is a part of the series of relations in the urban space, effecting and being effected by them. The relations, graffiti is in, are indeed the main source of it, whereas, they are, on the other hand, outcomes of it. Graffiti finds fourth mark of enunciation in its relation to *present* and the writer. Writers appropriate the places temporarily by the act itself and permanently by the output of the act. This appropriation is built throughout the fractured establishment of *present* by the very own act of the 'I' where the establishment of these *presents* are associated. Graffiti is, thus, at the same time use *of* urban space and an operation performed *on* it. (De Certeau, 1984: 33).

In a world of the defined producers speech activists are *unrecognized producers* so the *trajectories* opened by them are not definable. The paths to be followed and ways of using each sort of consumer product have to be pre-decided and predictable. Writing on the wall includes another facet that is different than these predictable acts. Its trajectories are out of the definitions of the defined because its meaning categories are not drawn by others but themselves. This facet of the story is indeed what makes graffiti such a terrorized act by governors in the lands it was born. Its unpredictability causes anxiety. Because, unknown is uncontrollable or a symbol for the uncontrollable.

The demand to supply an allover control needs to be drawn out by strategies, which make a strategy the *calculation* of power relations with an isolated subject willing to

power. It so needs a place where it can manifest itself and distinguish its power delimiting the places of exteriors, the inhabitants. Strategy builds itself upon the interaction of the 3 places: *a place of power, theoretical places and physical places*. This needs a *property of a proper* for placing the power first of all, and *a system and totalizing discourses* in order to decide the settlement and working of all physical spaces later. So a strategy gives eligibility to spatial relations demanding to turn all temporal relations to spatial ones. (De Certeau, 1984: 35-38).

Opposite to strategy's relation to power, where it bases itself on the postulation of power, a tactic constructs itself on the *absence of power*. Writers work on the places of the others, so, they do not have any means to keep it on these places; they use every opportunity, working case by case instead of a general plan. Graffiti does not own a place; it does not look and perform as a whole. It is limited in the borders already drawn, so it uses the possibilities of in-between and beyond spaces. This gives graffiti mobility in time and place. It has an agenda that does not refer to a general plan of the activity. Every mark on a place changes the way it works, thus, a writer *changes the organization of a space* (De Certeau, 1984: 35-40).

In between these spaces delimited by organizers, inhabitants look for constructing their "lived spaces" via the tactics they have. It is true that ways of doing have spread itself vastly getting mobilized and finally transforming consumers into *immigrants*. Strategy follows the same route with tactics though, in means of extending itself. "It [strategy] was by definition based on the definition of a 'proper' distinct from everything else; but now that 'proper' became the whole" leaving no where for those immigrants to escape, even as *exile*. In the light of this relation, it will be critical throughout our study, remembering 'the horizon which they proceed from' and 'the horizon which they are likely to go', which is what we will try to reveal out by the help of the discourses of the writers (De Certeau, 1984: 40-41)

In that scope of impossible exiles, where *gods* are watching from above all the time, ordinary people continue their lives drawing their paths on the city through their own ways of operating where the Concept-city becomes to be "a place for transformations and appropriations, the object of various kinds of interferences but also a subject that is

constantly enriched by new attributes, it is simultaneously machinery and hero of modernity." (De Certeau, 1984: 95). The paths drawn by the acts of these bodies write a text on the city that they cannot read. Every body writes one another concluding with a 'manifold story; that has neither author nor spectator, shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces" (De Certeau, 1984: 93).

However, these stories written on the urban space exist with the absence of the passerby bringing us to forgetting of the act and the subject of the act. We pass by from the streets of the same neighborhood hundreds of time a lifetime, but our existences are never written on there. So the subject of the paths and modifications in the city are never seen, as the city is already the anonymous subject itself. Nevertheless, graffiti leaves a mark.

On basis of the mark graffiti leaves we will be portraying the 3 characteristics of a speech-act, walking, drawn by de Certeau based on the enunciative functions, we have mentioned before, sheltered in everyday spatial acts. They are *the present, the discrete,* and *the 'phatic',* distinguishing the act at the outset from the spatial system. When a writer writes on a wall, when he is tagging especially as it is totally illegal, what he deals with is the present and it *is* the happening, taking place in the present. It merges to use possibilities; it transforms; it is improvisational and selective. The writer transforms the elements of the city to something else than determined. The city becomes to be his blackbook full of improvisations and attempts to be better, a *blackboard* for drawing the pieces merging from his *blackbook*. (1984: 98)

Besides, these transformations result with discreteness by choosing where, when and how to write; a writer anyway has to make a series of choices despite and/or in concur with the restrictions, which make his act discrete besides his creativity and style. Both the way act is realized and the way it is situated in urban space draw that discreteness. "He condemns certain places to inertia or disappearance and composes with other spatial 'turns of phrase' that are 'rare,' 'accidental' illegitimate." (1984: 99) Furthermore, writers' tags and pieces on the walls assume an audience with the supposition of communication via their act. They are the greetings of the inhabitants to other inhabitants where this audience might change from a small writers group to all inhabitants according to them.

Turning back to the structure de Certeau builds coming from the *act of speech* to the *pedestrian speech act*, we will put one more level claiming that writing on the city has its own rhetoric too, in assumption that both the styles and uses of graffiti demonstrate themselves as elements of rhetoric. *Style*, which specifies, "a linguistic structure that manifests on the symbolic level", "an individual's fundamental way of being in the world" is included in graffiti as a fundamental element, even representing being the king according to the way of existence of the work. *Use*, defining "the social phenomenon through which a system of communication manifests itself in actual fact", represents the norms graffiti structures itself in. Style and use described in graffiti determine the ways of operating of the act where "style involves a peculiar processing of the symbolic, while use refers to elements of a code" (De Certeau, 1984: 100).

> 1. It is assumed that practices of space also correspond to manipulations of the basic elements of constructed order; 2. It is assumed that they are, like the tropes in rhetoric, deviations relative to a sort of "literal meaning" defined by the urbanistic system. (De Certeau, 1984: 100)

De Certeau (1984: 100) assumes that the styles of rhetoric furnish models and hypotheses for the analysis of ways of appropriating places. This will be our question throughout the study to be revealed out via the styles used or spoken by different writers. We will be using the postulate that de Certeau sees as validating the application. Graffiti, as a *practice of space*, manipulates the basic elements of the constructed order as observed in the application and its relation with the property. Furthermore, it is a deviation defined by urbanistic system, as it is an urban act merging *in* and, *from* urban.

Cities are designed in that rational order trying to close itself by those geometrical shapes to any manipulation. Designers of all stages of the processes try to create a meaning of their own power relations but graffiti comes there and merges as a faceless, improper 'proper' rewriting the city via writing on it. The writers are not allowed to realize their act and even punished for that, which forces them trying to keep themselves away from the eyes of the panoptical view as much as possible to continue playing games in their *own* urban space. Graffiti manipulates the "spatial organization" as an ambiguous act, which forces the *designers* to be more suspicious about it. It offers another choice that is different than the ordinaries and thus exciting; it gives us new styles, expressions and inspiration for finding our own ways of operating. Graffiti let

me be freer as I see more tactics each day in the street by the ongoing resistance it shows giving clues for a possible resistance.

But, different from other *acts of this stylistic metamorphosis of space*, graffiti is a *permanent* mark –although the definition of permanency is not determined within terms of authority– referring to a different consciousness. In search of a place, it lacks the places via continuously being absent. By fragmenting the city space it is a manifest of the individual on the urban space, and a resistance shown against the city's manifestation as a whole of propers. Writers build up *a dreamed space*: the parts from the dreams of the writers as city dwellers. Graffiti, *renting* a place in the city appropriates the urban space temporarily, which means *taking back* the city symbolically (De Certeau, 1984: 102-103).

> They transform the scene, but they cannot be fixed in a certain place by images. If in spite of that an illustration were required, we could mention the fleeting images, yellowish green and metallic blue calligraphies that howl without raising their voices and emblazon themselves on the subterranean passages of the city, "embroideries" composed of letters and numbers, perfect gestures of violence painted with a pistol, Shivas made of written characters, dancing graphic whose fleeting apparitions are accompanied by the rumble of subway trains: New York graffiti. (De Certeau, 1984: 102)

Writers, as the inhabitants squeezed in the apathy of the everyday life, look for cracks of the system in order to produce spaces of breathing. Graffiti opens areas for the "free play", like the stories mentioned by de Certeau where different identities might take place differently but together. However, "totalitarianism seeks precisely to eliminate these local authorities, because they compromise the univocity of the system". It leaves nowhere *special* in the designed city except for the very homes of the dwellers. When the totalitarian rumors are propagated everywhere, it carries importance socializing the diversifying stories which are getting lost. Writes in a way make the city possible via making the urban walls their own and spreading their stories; they are the exits making the city habitable (De Certeau, 1984: 106-108).

There is almost no room for the inhabitants to move in and out in urban space in the rational design of the city. There is a strict trajectory that the inhabitants are told to follow, as de Certeau describes within trains and the everyday life. The train moves in the decided path; the schedule is strict and the elements around are fixed. The outside

life is indeed immobile whereas we have no right to touch or manipulate them as ordinary citizens. Like a passenger in the train whose "vision alone continually undoes and remakes the relationship between these fixed elements"; inhabitants are bottled up in the lantern of the given possibilities including hobby called repetitions producing the decided path again and again. These realms are forbidden zones for inhabitants where they have to find out gaps of the system in order to breathe. Writers touch the city space although they are told not to; although what is demanded is "a dispossession of the hand in favor of a greater trajectory for the eye". Seeing is let as much as the level of the allowed transparency whereas touching is a sin (De Certeau, 1984: 112).
Graffiti is an act of writing stories on the city and helping create spatial stories in the city. It supplies a back and forth movement of changing place to space. The borders of the determined narratives are delimited in their borders. The borders are not only physically drawn lines here, but also the acts we are allowed to make practically and theoretically. Writing on the wall is producing stories. Pieces on the walls found spaces. Thus, attempts to erase the writings on the walls are indeed attempts to erase the stories built up by the inhabitants. And, "where stories are disappearing (or else being reduced to museographical objects), there is a loss of space" (De Certeau, 1984: 123).

Going into the functions of stories, defined by de Certeau will supply us an understanding of the loss of space. The first function of (spatial) stories in urban space, as "operations on places" is "establishment, displacement or transcendence of limits"; they continuously destruct the border between the already constructed and individually constructed. Stories authorize, or more exactly, found. Writing on the wall, the act itself within its working mechanism, "opens a legitimate *theater* for the practical *actions*" via letting the 'illegal" places to the inhabitants; via turning out these properties to commonplaces of expression: It turns out the places to spaces in an unending struggle creating "a field that authorizes dangerous and contingent social actions" (De Certeau, 1984: 125-126).

The second function de Certeau describes for stories finds its meaning in "actuating by a contradiction that is represented in them by the relationship between the frontier and the bridge, that is, between a (legitimate) space and its (alien) exteriority." Graffiti increase the number of interactions in urban space. It carries importance for the study in looking at the relation of graffiti and the resistance it carries as a spatial story because

the "limits are drawn by the points at which the progressive appropriation and the successive displacements of the acting subjects meet". Inscribing on the forbidden places, which means manipulating the *great* narrative of the city, helps us shake the given borders both physically and mentally considering the ones in the minds. This study, thus, looks for the writers' discourses and acts in revealing out the limit forcing of graffiti via appropriation it produces (De Certeau, 1984: 126).

Graffiti writers put themselves in "danger" both physically and conceptually. Physical obstacles do not need much expression as the legal contradictions those beleaguer the writers might already be guessed in general lines. Physically putting their work on the un-allowed limits is in fact putting *themselves* on the limits. That oscillation between these delimitations and their mobility has to continue in order to open new realms for the act. The relation between these two facets indeed decides the actual borders. That is why the writers have to struggle with the officials they face in everyday life as the representatives of authority. The officials are in a sort of illusion as de Certeau puts for the architect closing the gap in the wall, "without knowing that it is working toward the political freezing of the place and there is nothing left for him to do"

On the contrary, the writer, supplies different sorts of interaction oscillating between the decided limits and demands of people passing by. Inscriptions on the walls "turn the frontier into a crossing and the river into a bridge." A bridge is an attack to the given limits by showing resistance; it is not destroying it though. It is a struggle against the *status quo*, which makes it both a metaphor and a tactic for resistance. Disobeying the rules and *resisting* in order to determine one's own limits is a transgression of the limits. "As a transgression of the limit, as disobedience of the law of the place, it represents a departure, an attack on a state, the ambition of a conquering power, or the flight of an exile; in any case the "betrayal" of an order." (De Certeau, 1984: 128).

Most of the writers we have spoken complained about the lack of the places for writing. They mostly consider that they found their way of expression. Illegal side of the story is important for excitement, which, we think, gives clues about the internal characteristics of their writing. Even though they choose writing legally from time to time, illegal writing always carries a specific importance which demonstrates us the limit-forcing demand of graffiti, intentionally or unintentionally. This unintentional face will be

portrayed within game/play theory later on, though. Aside of the illegal 'soul' of writers and their act; their expressions show that the general lack of the outlets for expression and looking for a way to be different in the society play a role in young people's starting graffiti. In a society that "no longer offers to subjects or groups symbolic outlets and expectations of spaces" social or individual illegal acts starts to merge. (1984: 130, 131).

Considering the city as a body comprising of texts; the struggle on writing on the city never ends. The general design of the city comes from an Order to organize an order; so everything besides that order's definitions and demand is called 'junk' or a 'sickness'. Graffiti is not a part of what is planned; that is what makes it a mark of giving signals of going out of order. Graffiti on the walls have to be removed because the dominant power "seeks primarily to *remove* something excessive, diseased or unaesthetic from the body, or *add* to the body what it lacks" in order to keep everything squeezed in its own norms. However, graffiti is not normative in their norms. The reason of all those attempts by the decision makers is indeed having bodies reproducing their own codes again and again. This 'carved out' city has to follow or repeat the same discourses like the "individual body made to tell the code" (De Certeau, 1984: 147-148).

The authority's discourse does not demand any kind of manipulation on the places they own either public space or our bodies, physically or symbolically. They order us not to touch the designed places like the art-pieces in their *high–art* museums. Writers very slowly play their own games in the city, but this is no way an attempt to dominate it. It is a form of resistance; standing silently -but not mutely- against being merely an object of writing hands on us an on our city. So revolt is the writers themselves including their work and ways of operating: "far from being a local, and thus classifiable, revolt it is a common and silent, almost sheep-like subversion –our own." Graffiti extracts their own meanings from the meaning given to the spaces they wander everyday. Although the designers try out to maintain the order of the designed spaces; spaces never stay as they are intended to be (De Certeau, 1984: 200).

One-layer-supposed order, indeed carries and contains many unwanted layers in it; "there are illegibility of the layered depths in a single place and historical accidents." Graffiti is the leakage in the cumulative progression barrage of the Order. It is much easier for the authority to keep its order when there is only one layer. Graffiti puts

another layer that does not belong to its codes and "it rejects the relevance of places it does not create." (De Certeau, 1984: 201). Graffiti is not relevant to its *neaty* and *clarity* because it doesn't work with the same references, though sometimes with the same tools.

Furthermore, writers refuse to the time given by others. They merge in places unexpectedly, which makes them and their works 'dangerous' in sense of the foreseen possibilities branch of the other. "Everyday practices, based on their relation to an occasion, that is, on casual time, are thus, scattered all along duration, in the situation of *acts* of thought. Permanent practices of thought." (De Certeau, 1984: 203). Graffiti exists in the streets but not occupies it. It doesn't have a master plan, and so a schedule but different than any other vandal act it has an agenda. It is on the place it demands to be forcing its limits. It is surprising with its stationing most of the time.

> Thus to eliminate the unforeseen and expel it from calculation as an illegitimate accident and an obstacle to rationality is to interdict the possibility of a living and "mythical" practice of the city. It is to leave its inhabitants only the scraps of a programming produced by the power of the other and altered by the event. Casual time is what is narrated in the actual discourse of the city: an indeterminate fable better articulated on the metaphorical practices and stratified places than on the empire of the evident in functionalist technocracy. (De Certeau, 19 84: 203).

Afar, we tried to portray why we have to look urban space as a product within the power relations placed upon it considering that from where we look at the urban space determines our acts. Besides, in the light of the theoretical frame, we have drawn a picture of graffiti settling it as a tactic in everyday life appropriating urban space. We tried to strengthen our base applying the characteristics de Certeau describes for an enunciative act, walking, to writing on city together with the ignorance instead of a total rejection. Later on, the spatial relations of graffiti were drawn within spatial stories and their relations to dominant language. The tactics and strategy relation has always been with us though, throughout the process within consideration of the effects of the act on inhabitants and urban space.

This study, thus, suggests that it is necessary to spread those "permanent practices of thought" (De Certeau, 1984: 203). Going out of your house early in the morning and

seeing a (possible art) piece in your front yard's wall as a "good morning" message is like the writer's undermining the walls of the museums and creating a new way of interaction between inhabitants. The question stands here so nude asking whether the interaction it carries and conducts is *resistive* or not wondering if graffiti is moving just in-between predetermined limits or not. This might not be easy to answer though. Whereas we suppose that it is critical looking inside the act and the *acters* in relation to our assumptions in theoretical ground.

CHAPTER 4

A GROUNDED STUDY ON GRAFFITI

Everything started wondering in a city for the very first time and the very first day. It was a place gone to explore new possibilities those were supposed to be narrow in the before-habited city where these possibilities would possibly mean not exporting but *interpreting* some tools on coming back. Coming across a graffiti piece triggered so many thoughts appearing with excitement and related questions on urban space, and the researcher decided to go deeper in the *writing on the wall* to follow the paths of possible resistance in it, starting with the idea of a film and extending to a masters thesis later.

This thesis goes into the field to understand the lived experiences, to get to know the subject instead of merely resting upon theories where it aims to weave a new perspective, a conceptual frame to handle the relations of inhabitants with urban space and possible resistances sheltered there looking through graffiti. The study aims to draw the map of the case in Turkey, specifically European Side of Istanbul with the inputs coming from the very participants, specific to this country. It does so, as it supposes that theories should be fed by lived experiences. Furthermore, on seeing the lack of the perspectives in expressing Turkey and the relation of the act with urban space, it tries to approach the subject with a grounded theory merging from the participants, specific to the study itself.

4.1. CONSTRUCTION OF THE CASE

On coming back to the habited-city, the researcher has seen the first seeds of a new graffiti *world* in Turkey. It was possible to observe the pieces and tags increasingly taking place around city centers and train lines coming from Ankara, demonstrating its novelty and *childhood period* in its lines, styles and rarity. The excitement, increasing with following the first steps, made the researcher try to follow its paths in the city where it merged here, Istanbul. Although it is not thousands when the subject is the number of

the writers, we thought that it is worth exploring within the relation of urban space trying to understand the writers and possible resistance here.

This thesis, first, looks into the roots of graffiti in order to understand it and make its description, later, mentions the approaches of graffiti studies up to now in order to both be fed from them and also fill a gap modestly that it sees in the field. It sees graffiti as both an act and a practice trying to find out the relation to urban space and power by the help of the writers. This lays a *must* according to its approach to urban space, which was already described. When the subject is graffiti it is not possible to speak about constructed spaces but the lived spaces as a result of the experiences of the inhabitants. It tries to understand the appropriation via re-defining urban space using graffiti both as a tool and an *aim* to be familiarized.

In that sense, this study needs to look into the experiences of the *re-definers*, the participants, the motivations, working mechanisms, and understandings. Accordingly, it finds main categories and topics in order to understand that appropriation starting from theories framing urban space as social phenomena, and later on focusing on a theoretical frame about struggle, the power relations ceaselessly going on in urban space. On seeing that writers are not against the power or the symbols of it in their discourses but stand against it in their act; it tries to understand their stationing with their act. When the reasons and the motivations start to fade in and on observing that we need to find out different concepts for their working mechanism of graffiti in Turkey, the study tries to follow a new conceptual frame embracing the participant writers, their motivations, the practice and their act.

The main aim of the study is reveal to the appropriated spaces and resistance in the actual application of the practice, merging in its appropriation of urban space in the light of the resistance definition it makes. It goes to ground in order to *test* the assumptions it makes in the theoretical framework related to urban space and comes back with new inputs bringing it to the game/play frame with an integrated understanding of urban space as *playground*. This oscillation continues during the whole study period letting new interconnections to understand the issue. Briefly, it looks for possible resistances in graffiti in Istanbul merging as a significant frame of its own self to understand what this resistance –if exists- corresponds to in the context of Turkey.

Last but not least, in time, it sees familiarizing the act as a role of it supposing a tool might best be used via knowing its possibilities.

This study, thus, starts with appropriation. Later, it inquires how appropriation takes place through graffiti thinking it as a tool. It, in accordance, quests the association of writers with urban space and power on it within the frame of play/game analogy structured. Its objective might be described as gaining other *hopes* on varying possibilities of resistance without denying other descriptions.

4.2. INVESTIGATION THROUGH GROUNDED-THEORY

4.2.1. WHY QUALITATIVE METHODS:

We decided to work on graffiti with its relation to urban space on seeing a gap in the literature both in sense of urban space in general and the gap here in Turkey as the subject was quite new. Furthermore, the assumption on the resistance possibility it includes made us look for another perspective necessary for the subject. As a result, we aimed to get to know graffiti through the writers' very own process in relation to urban space and power placed upon it. Theories claiming graffiti resistive were standing up there but we felt in need of inclining to the experiences in the ground in order to see the lived juncture of it where working qualitatively seemed a necessity supposing that "all qualitative research seeks understanding of data that are complex and can be approached only in context." (Morse & Richard, 2002: 43).

Research needs qualitative techniques, moreover, because we think we need to listen to the stories of the writers in a realm that is not investigated a lot and quantitative data would not be elucidative. Besides, the aim could not be achieved without an interaction, a *corporal touch*, removing not only quantitative but also tools like distributing questionnaires from its agenda. The question of the study cannot be gained such but via meeting writers, passing a lot of time, gaining confidence and respect and being in the ground with them both to observe the relations, and the relation between what they say and what they do. It is not only the question but also the data to be collected which demanded a qualitative method.

> If we purpose to understand an area where little is known or previously offered understanding appears inadequate (thin, biased, partial), you need research methods that will help you see the subject anew and will offer surprises. Put bluntly, if you don't know what you are likely to find, your project requires methods that will allow you to learn what the question is from the data. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 27).

We demand to get to know the ways the participants experience the act instead of what merely theories say about them in order to *invent* new ways of seeing graffiti. Furthermore, the question of the study needs exploring "central themes and analysis of core concern" which would not be possible without a qualitative study. Besides, we believe that the data coming from lived experiences generally show an alteration in time demonstrating a series of complex relations whereas the risk of destroying this complexity of their interpretations lies in front of the researcher in managing process of all the gathered data and "qualitative methods are highly appropriate for questions where preemptive reduction of the data will prevent discovery." (Morse & Richard, 2002: 27-28).

Separately, the purpose of a new understanding on the subject where unstructured data was supposedly waiting made us choose this path. Qualitative method is proper for the prospect of the study in "constructing a theory or theoretical framework" in order to achieve "the discovery of theory in data". (Morse & Richard, 2002: 28). The main reasons forcing us to work qualitatively might be summarized as above, later on bringing to search more deeply on the right methodology and carrying us to grounded.

4.2.2. WHY GROUNDED THEORY?

Instead of phenomenology or ethnography as the working way, the reason we have chosen grounded theory lies within the questions of the study; it is not the core, essence or the meaning of the act solely but looking for that in the practice itself; and it is not the behavioral patterns or values, believes of a cultural group but to get to understand the dimensions of the practice and the act together. We wanted to see what is going on there in the ground, examining a process, which seemed to be understandable with grounded theory. Another reason making it appropriate for the study came with considering the tools, the interviews, participant and non-participant observations

besides personal experience as the secondary tool (Morse & Richard, 2002:31-55).

We have, in a sense, been *in* graffiti for quite a long time. Starting with the scene in Montréal and later coming here, we have been to different cities and to Istanbul in order to get a broader idea about subject. We had the chance to observe the individual differences in time and the variety of the scenes reaching here via differing negotiations of writers leading us to an active inquiry. We felt in need of not only asking "'what is going on here?' but also 'How is it different?'". We wanted to go deeper in the subject beyond the surface refusing to accept a report at a face value, seeking "characteristics, conditions, causes, antecedents, and consequences of events or responses as ways of drawing them together in an integrated theory" (Morse & Richard, 2002: 56).

Another effect in choosing grounded theory, in regard to *methodological congruence* as named by Morse & Richards, was taking its basis from the demand of a new perspective on the subject, deriving "a new theory - theory derived from, and grounded in, the data." The study, thus, developed itself around urban space theories later on integrating them with the framing of Caillois being brought here by the methodology itself. Of course, it is beyond the limits and capacity of this study to create *a new theory* but it would be important to say that it searches for new approaches to graffiti within the data gained from the field, which we prefer calling integration in that sense. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 57).

> The concept of *theoretical sensitivity* is crucial in grounded theory. The researcher seeks theory, constantly works with data records and records of ideas to tease from the concepts and the linkages that might generate theoretical insight. Those emerging concepts are also in constant interlay with the data as the researcher seeks integration and synthesis. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 56).

That aim shall be betrayed as one of the main motivations to stand all the political and ideological oppressions during the research in the field; at the end where we can fairly say, the researcher could manage to isolate the very own standing to get the most healthy data. Data sources and types in grounded theory, and fit between the problem, the question, the method, and handling data are the other effects inclining us to grounded theory. Despite the awareness of the fact that a grounded theory is mostly discussed, the passion on the subject matter and the excitement coming with the new

concepts, merging as a newer perspective to graffiti in Turkey is worth it. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 33).

4.3. THE PROCESS

4.3.1. DESIGNING THE PROCESS

At the beginning of the study, we have read other sources related critically in order to gain a broader knowledge, and accordingly set the right approach for us counting on the concepts and contexts we are curious about. There was a scope, which was quite ambiguous at the beginning and changed in time as the nature of the chosen methodology already foresees it. The purpose of the study, by time, made us define the actual scope. We tried to figure out the questions we were asking, getting more confused and refining at the same time. The reasons of asking these questions were mostly concentrated on their relation to urban space and writers' motivations related to it in order to reveal a possible resistance. Seeing the gap in the literature related to these questions together in the context of Turkey, as we later could openly answer, boosted us to the study. Foreseeing a possible small contribution to the realm, we decided to follow it.

Later on, for the reasons described above we tried to decide and walk according to a methodology seeing it suitable. It was, though, hard to decide on the scope, taking a lot of time as the topic was quite new for us, and the act was illegal. So, in order to determine the final samples and scope, we made a preparatory field work instead of a pilot considering that we should now go into the ground after getting enough knowledge about both theoretical and some practical examples for a while. It was graffiti what we knew about but not graffiti in Istanbul or Turkey actually. The first step for getting into contact was made via sending e-mails to different forum groups in Turkey, whereas, unfortunately we got no answers. Later, hearing *Simurg Istanbul Hip-Hop Festival* in Kadıköy, organized by *Barikat,* on October 15th-16th, 2005, made us follow it with the hope of getting into touch with some writers possibly. This was indeed the first step of meeting with a graffiti writer in Turkey, later on extending with three other springboards, which we will mention further in the chapter. It has to be added, though, that the first interview with a writer was realized in September 2004.

The first sets of interviews were realized between April 14th and May 5th, 2006 working with snowballing technique merging from the first writers. Other *first* contacts were supplied from a street-art web page, which we decided to preclude later on limiting the subject matter; third, from a contact given by *Mustafa Abi* of Atlas Wall after long hours of persuading attempts; and fourth from a journalist covering a story on youth who was met by chance in Fatih. Those 4 different points helped us being more secure in choosing the scope most proper to our study, focusing on some or precluding others. The interaction with participants continued during all the process, as breaking off the connection was seen as a break in the relation, which might have damaged the study. All this process, coming back home and continually trying to analyze the data within the theoretical framework and the problem of the study relieved us in deciding the scope.

Accordingly, considering the writers we have already chosen and after deciding on graffiti in the European Side of the city, excluding the broader sense of street art, but using the data as input for our background; we realized the last series of interviews between January 19th and 29th, 2007. It was when the approximate relevant data was designated, passing through what sort of data was available and what sorts of participants we had and their boundaries, but still not being sure about the ways of handling them on theoretical integration, which we hoped to get after getting the whole data.

4.3.2. GATHERING DATA:

We used many tools we had accessibility to and many materials we have in hand to increase the data, considering that "for understanding process and theoretically constructing models based on the stages and phases of phenomena over time, the researcher's stances and approaches to data must maximize the recording of the process." We started with the literature followed by the data from the ground. The first series of interviews together with the observations turned us back as ideas on exploring "similar incidents, events and experiences that recur and begin to develop concepts". (Morse & Richard, 2002: 156).

The first steps of data gathering period in ground drew a variety in order to get the broadest idea about the subject. Showing slight changes from participant to participant,

the paths usually showed similarities in interviews though. It would be important to tell formerly that all the interviews and some observations were recorded via video-recorder, using a Sony PD150 camera. All the participants have given permission after gaining confidence in the period we will portray below where 2 of the writers wanted to use masks, or to be filmed their faces off-screen or some wanted to talk off-the record on some critical issues according to them.

First of the 2 main motivations making the researcher use a video-recorder was the demand of writing visual memo to be used later in the study. We thought that the analysis of the statements might be made more clearly without much loss of data especially in means of gestures, exclamations, and visual behavioral signs. It does not, though, point out a visual analysis of writers but a tool to remember more by using visual memory. Moreover it was quite helpful in observation process in that sense. Secondly, the demand of the researcher on making a documentary film about graffiti paved the way to a video-recorder. Although we had anxiety about using a camcorder at the beginning, it would be important to say that participants were quite *relaxed* in front of the camera. This might lie in the prevalence of recorders whereas we have, besides, closely observed that hearing about a documentary *on* themselves made many of them more ambitious in speaking. But en passant, we have to stress that the limits of video recorder as a technique is out of the limits of the study and being ambitious in speaking does not mean that data gathered is free of error.

Before deciding the actual participants, we have made interviews randomly in order to get the actual scope. Prior to going into the details, common issues have to be described. Accordingly there were 4 different starting points walking from 4 different channels in snowboarding technique but later all 4 colliding into each others at specific points. As the junctures got more into each others, it got easier to get in touch with more writers and also gain more respect both as a researcher and moreover as a filmmaker who is really interested in the issue, according to them. After a while, which is indeed not less then 6 months, it became possible to get news from the scene without asking for it and following not only the activities but also the courts and changes between crews where we do not naturally mean being friends but balancing a relation between a *passer-by* and a *habitant*.

Although it would never be clearly understood as being the only one in all interviews and not having the chance of looking afar; gender of the researcher together with her age have surely positive and negative effects together. Many behaved quite respectfully as the traditional rules demand for an *(elder) sister*; trying to protect at dangerous spots or giving clues about some writers whom they know as bad-tempered reaching up to stealing the wallet or the video-recorder. It is though important to say that relation built with all writers were out of this scheme but rather a well-going one in many senses. Gender and age also helped us balancing the relationship avoiding them not getting angry or aggressive on some critical issues and finding a way more easily in dealing. Nevertheless, being from the other gender, they sometimes tried to be more *polite* in their relations when the researcher was around making us less capable of getting the data required. Although we cannot say that they stopped that totally and became being as they are, by time, they even started talking with swears.

> A study may commence with an observational phase in the field or with interviews –narratives abut the event, told sequentially from the beginning to the end. Such interviews are much more able to support the method than are semi-structured interviews or brief accounts. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 56).

The first technique accordingly might be named as *unstructured interactive interview*. This befits to the first meetings with the nominee writers to be participants for the thesis. These interviews, from time-to-time off the record, supplied us getting into the scene and confirming the right participants for the study. These conversations have taken place in the places chosen by them; usually merging as cafés around Taksim or places they hang around. We, each time, told the subject of the study starting from the beginning, and the aim of the research motivating them on *doing it together*. In those sessions, we had relatively few prepared questions letting us listen to and learn from participants. These were unplanned, unanticipated questions, which were also probes for clarification. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 91).

Those sessions usually took more than 2 hours as writers are keen to speak on graffiti and it is not so usual that people speak to them on graffiti. Telling the participant that it will take at least 2-3 hours hindered the possible annoyance. As the interview would take long time, we chose a comfortable place proposed by them. It was drinking tea in a

café or going to their neighborhoods where they supposed theirs, as they say, or for two cases to their houses. At the beginning, the researcher was not showing that she knew the subject and let them go with their personal experiences and approaches. This allowed them to become more willing to tell and after a while it became to be more than a tutor-pupil relation as we got inside the story. They could tell their stories with minimal interruption by that way. Instead of asking many direct questions we preferred asking open-ended questions letting the participant tell his experience and partial life story via adding questions from time to time when there was a lack. Seeing our stationing not only as a good listener but also as an in-depth researcher in the subject they were more keen to speak, sometimes even laughing up their sleeves after a while on getting the hook-questions used demonstrating the degree of interest, which was making the researcher quite privileged amongst other listeners.

Another technique we used was *informal conversation*. We had a more active role than in interactive interviews in those sessions, which let us discuss our concepts and questions regarding graffiti and street art. Indeed, we could apply this technique twice at the beginning of the study with a couple of street artists in Istanbul dealing with urban theories but not making graffiti. Later on, we had the chance to realize the same technique where some street artists and a writer met. These three sessions in total, were incredibly helpful for the study to see the borders of graffiti for a writer and the difference of a street artist's view on her/his work. They both helped us in describing graffiti and later on the limits of the study bringing us leaving the street-art aside. (Morse&Richard,2002:91).

After making the individual interviews, writers most commonly wanted to come together to write *for* the camera for a better film as they *were* already in it. We, then, had the chance of making *group interviews* after finishing doing graffiti and gathering in their common corners or in cafés they demanded to be. The interviews were not structured ones; we had a few open-ended questions, decided beforehand, on writing sessions or in the sessions themselves. The researcher tried to stimulate dialogues between participants using the video-recorder as a sound-recorder on the table and sometimes motivating the writers to ask questions to each others. These questions merging from them were more internal ones, which could not easily be determined by an outsider and gave us the opportunity to have a broader understanding. Besides, these sessions with

the high discussion capacity and provocative atmosphere let writers come out with the data we could not get via individual ones. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 91).

In many occasions, we could make and record some *observations* as another technique nurturing the research. We have been a non-participatory observer when they were writing on legal or illegal walls; were asking for permission from some property owners; encountered psychological or physical abuse; were escaping from State Railways security guards; were having chat with passer-by; came together in festivals; were drinking tea with their friends; were hanging around Atlas, Taksim or their neighborhoods; and walking around in the city from one side to the other to find a good spot. These experiences were from time to time recorded with the camera to be used as field notes, trying to diminish the fears that participants change behavior when a video camera is around. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 96).

We have also collected some documents changing from previous interviews realized by differing journalists or their friends, photographs of works they have taken, and some videos on the act done by them. They were useful in gaining background and going into detail. Besides, we have taken photographs of some pieces and let them take photographs considering that the way they take their photos might give clues on the way they want to see their works later on; within the context or not, detailed or not, etc. Photographs of some pieces are considered to be used as data in portraying some terms in the thesis, and as insight gleaned during the process of analysis. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 156).

After all these different techniques applied, it was time to chose the actual participants within the limits of the scope. It would have been the writers precluding the street-artists first of all. It had to be the writers coming from different locations but gathering in Atlas usually, or wandering around in the European Side of the city. Furthermore, to get a variety of data we would have chosen writers from different crews and more than one writer from each crew. In addition, after getting enough knowledge on who is who and what we can get from each writer, we focused on the ones we rather call as 'expert' and those we thought we could get the most productive data appropriate for the problem and the aim of the study.

> Those we choose to interview must be 'expert participants' wit much experience with the phenomena of interest. We must deliberately and purposefully elect a setting or context where we will best see what we want to study we do not usually choose a place or a sample randomly, for we would then have to rely on luck to see what we are interested in; we do not shoes an 'average' experience, as then the characteristics of the phenomena are dilated and less evident. (Morse & Richard, 2002:34)

Besides all these considerations, participants were also chosen in regard to their possible contribution to strengthening the knowledge and also the theory inquiry. So after the randomness brought with the rich variety of snowballing, we could decide on the right participants. Because design of the research is an ongoing process, it differed its shape as deeper understanding on the subject is gained. The number of the participants was not determined at the beginning of the interviews, but as the data gathered started to repeat itself, and on seeing the adequacy of the taken for the study we decided to stop, limiting ourselves finally with 19 writers.

We prepared 110 questions[41] divided to specific categories that would probably designate the frame of the thesis as we could get to know up to then. The main qualifications we tried to follow in forming questions were indeed both taking its basis from former experiences on differing occasions and the ones in the field considering the writers and their attitudes. Besides, we kept in touch with the described style of questions described in sources related to methodology. Accordingly, we made attempts on preparing questions those are easily understandable, focused, and open-ended where necessary, avoiding orientation, biases, or multi-directional at a time and questions from different sorts. At that point, we prepared alternative questions in order to foreclose a possible lack of data. (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005: 127-137).

We, furthermore, tried to draw up the questions in a logical line in order to avoid any concentration lost meanwhile. We showed the questions to the writers for a glance providing us feedback about some possible confusion before starting the interview and avoiding any interruptions of concentration meanwhile. The number of questions might had been also a freight source for participants where we had the opportunity in each case to talk about the number talking on the repetition and its reasons. This

[41] The questions are given in Appendix B.

introduction furnished a better relation for the interviews besides the one we had built till. The interviews have taken place in the locations chosen by the participants, generally around Taksim and Cihangir and one in Beşiktaş. Time wasted on waiting for a call, or waiting for the latecomers and even worse, sometimes waiting for un-comers resulting with postponing to another time cannot be regarded. However, we tried to encounter all these with patience, with the attempt of keeping motivation and confidence.

The first questions were selected as easier questions starting the interview with data on the identification plate and the demographic information of the participants. We chose to start with their definitions and descriptions trying to motivate them to tell their experiences, as we had already observed in prior interviews that they speak more openly on getting excited after telling their adventurous stories. We asked questions related to knowledge and talent both directly and indirectly. In indirect questions we tried to relate to experiences or motivations in order to fulfill the demanded data. It was not possible asking some questions directly for the sake of the relation, so we tried to find their answers in differing questions leaving some sensitive and risky ones to the end. As a result, in-depth interviewing permit us an in-depth exploration of the subject being quite useful for interpretive inquiry and getting the interpretation and everyday experience of each participant. (Charmaz, 2006: 25).

It was a field where *bad data* was quite possible so we tried for the best collaboration with the participants first of all. We shared the topic of the study not only for ethical reasons but also for the presupposition of contribution it would add to the study. The film was also an important element here motivating them more than a thesis but it would not be forgotten that they appreciated the acceptation of graffiti in academy too. Telling the study caused them to send us to different friends although there was a sort of jealousy in some cases. We suppose that we could manage to guide the participants other than leading them letting enough space to present their own perspectives; and could be capable of confirming each interview with the repetition of data coming from other participants, which prevented us using possible exceptional cases as general issues. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 90).

4.3.3. ANALYSING GATHERED DATA:

On ending the interviews, we transcribed and checked them for accuracy with taking notes, as visual makes the researcher remember more easily, avoiding some possible lost in data. Besides, we had the chance to re-go to participants via keeping connection until the end of the study on messengers or telephone. So, our diaries were both visual and textual. After all, we decided to construct a set of tables according to some topics with their subtitles later on. Demographic information was the first sets of information sheet we had. By the help of the tables we prepared according to gathered data, we had the opportunity to see all information together giving us chance to compare and see the common or distinct points easily giving a way to new concepts or categories.

> The researcher identifies the course or *trajectory* of each participant's story and compares and contrast major events. Although the stories may not be identical, ant the participants may not use the same labels for important events, this comparison should make it possible for the researcher to identify common patterns. The researcher then examines data for events in common among participants and similar emotional responses or behavioral strategies of responding to these events. From this comparison, the researcher can develop a rich description of these events and look for common antecedents and consequences. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 157).

All participants did not fulfill all the keywords or subtitles described, and concentration in some issues and thinning out at some others were important to see the general pattern and compare the entire participant for all the subtitles forming the pattern. The main titles were chosen to build up the theoretical frame of the study where subtitles were usually chosen as arguments on it. Subtitles in the tables were decided according to the questions of the study, related keywords and answers coming from the participants where direct language of the writers were used here as data too. This helped us in abstracting and conceptualizing the gathered data according to our beforehand drawn framework. Though, this titles and subtitles differed and sometimes merged into each other as the writing process begun. (Morse & Richard, 2002: 158).

Furthermore, it was easier to handle the data, see the relations of different topics, and also insider relations under a title with an analytical thinking. This turned back to us as structuring "resilient links between data and ideas, link that we can trace back to find

where particular ideas came from and what data were coded there, to justify and account for the interpretation of the ideas". What we prefer to call *coding*, lead us from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the all data pertaining to that idea. It so helped us being both *up* from the data (to abstract ideas or categories) and *down* from the idea to all the materials we had linked it to. Coding helped us abstracting the data and the subject eventually making new categories and conceptualizing. It supplied broader understanding "to identify a goal category and theory grounded in the data." (Morse & Richard, 2002: 115, 135, 151).

This tabling helped us a lot not to lose the data and go back and forth during writing, easily giving chance to compare continuously. Indeed, the process of the study was surprisingly and hugely teaching for the researcher when the degree is considered. Research did not finish until the last day, as it considerably has to be. After all these tables and organizations of them, theory development began. This process was quite exciting as new linkages were found bringing us to game/play theory drawn by Huizinga and Caillois. Many gaps were also filled by exploring the specify of Turkey on finding basic clues and the game/play frame describing the working mechanism.

So this thesis looks through urban space theories where space is a social phenomenon; inquires how graffiti works there and try to see the possible resistance sheltered in this appropriation. It starts with conceptual assumptions; goes and tries them in the field; comes back to synthesis to interpret the internal side of the story with the categories coming from the participants and theoretical frame related to the questions of the study. Eventually, to interpret the relation of writers in urban space it adds another theory, game/play, as it sees this theory appropriate for the gaps. And the result is an integrated theoretical frame. Consequentially, we wrote for familiarization of graffiti and wanted to look for possible resistances sheltered in the appropriation of urban space together with understanding the entire process from our integrated perspective.

CHAPTER 5

GRAFFITI: THE RESEARCH

In this chapter, we will put down a description of graffiti starting from writers themselves, their own descriptions, and definitions on their act and ways of working. Later on, we will portray the spatial relations woven around the theoretical discussions made up to now within the light of the case study. Furthermore, we will make a broad picture of the power relations around both graffiti and writers and their understanding and approach to power and its derivatives in order to "test" the theoretical assumption on resistance we have drawn up to now.

5.1. A DESCRIPTION OF GRAFFITI

In this part of the chapter, we will describe our case graffiti starting from writers themselves; their definitions and descriptions with their motivations and working mechanisms; later on portraying the play/game theory considering the mechanism and organization of writers here in Turkey, coming to specific case of Turkey in relation to the historical background.

5.1.1. THE PARTICIPANT GROUP: WRITERS

As it has been described up to now, this study looks into the "lived spaces" seeing the urban space as a product of the everyday users of urban space; the inhabitants. Henceforth, it gives importance to going deep into the writers themselves, relations they build up with city, their definitions, understandings, ways of working and motivations in order to reveal out the hidden expressions and actual working mechanisms, possible tendencies to change the city, and their relation with power derivatives.

First, we move from the general profile of the participant writers in the light of the chosen method, which was described in the previous chapter. Later on, we look into the own definitions and descriptions of writers on various aspects trying to be revealed out. The ages of the writers vary from 16 to 35 with an average of 20 all of who are male. The reason of having no women participants is not intended but rather a consequence of the snowballing technique considering an urge to *find* a woman writer would have been out of the inputs of choosing the participants mentioned earlier. Although we came across some women writers and especially street artists during the process, they were out of the decided scope of the study. As it has also been cited in the interviews, conversations and observations throughout the study; young people, mostly students up to 20, less to 25, do graffiti. This picture will be clearer as we go deeper into the personal information and personal explanations of writers.

Except for one writer, all writers continue or have continued their educations in public schools. According to that, 4 writers attend in high school; 7 continue university where 1 is in private; 1 is university graduated where 1 has left university education; 3 graduated from high school where 3 has left it without getting a graduate degree. 11 of the participants are still students according to that information. Majority of the writers, which is 15, still stay with their family where a greater majority, which is 18, mostly depend economically on their families although they do part time jobs or get small income from writing on legal walls like *painting* for private property owners especially cafés.

Most of the writers, indeed except for one, come from middle class families. This outcome merges not from directly asking on income levels but from districts they live, their attendance in public schools, their general discourse on either materials, their families or their lives and besides all, personal relation developed during the study. They mostly dwell in Fatih (11), Güngören (4) and rest in varying locations (2 Zeytinburnu, 1 Beşiktaş, 1 does not want to tell) around the European side of the city where we look at. These similar locations take its roots from the general organization and personal stories of writers and give clues on writer groups.

All have relation with the broader sense of hip-hop culture starting from earlier stages of their lives going back to the end of secondary school, declining but still continuing

today with listening to rap music or taking part in parties and following the rap scene in Turkey. Although they tend to say that they listen to a large variety of music changing from Turkish Folk to Turkish Pop, but pointing out that it is not jazz or rock what they listen to; all listen to rap music in English and especially in Turkish having deep information on both the history and culture. Though, we cannot portray them under a category of *hip-hoppers*. Even though their description on writers usually outcome as anyone *even* listening to rock music and they are against pre-conception that every writer should be a rapper; they mention the correlation of graffiti and hip-hop even yet it is not a necessity.

All, at some period, took part in differing groups, whereas now, except for one, all belong to a group that is called a crew. According to that, there are eight different crews subject to the study whose names and meanings of names will be given later on. Differing from 2 to 4 writers are chosen from each crew. Except for these crews, three of the subjected crews come together and form a bigger group called a *clan*[44] that is specific to the graffiti scene in Turkey.

After that exposition of who they *are,* it is important to demonstrate whom they *think* do graffiti carries importance for us. They persistently point out that everyone might do graffiti changing from rich to poor; from educated to non-educated; from Turk to Kurd.

> PEACE: Everybody does it, I mean. You know the ethnical structure of Turkey: Arabs, Kurds, Turks, Ottomans, etc. Everyone from every layers/segments does it.[45]
>
> TAB: I mean there are so many people I know; so many we speak face to face. There are people from good economical situation, from worse economical situations. There are people from every layers/segments. There are people from every culture too, for example.[46]

Although it is possible to observe a general picture of writers both seen in our

[44] Word *clan* is used to cover the Turkish word *Klan*.

[45] "Herkes yapıyor yani. Türkiye'nin etnik yapısını biliyorsunuz. Arabı var, Kürdü var, Türkü var, Osmanlısı var, cartı var curtu var.. Herkesten, her kesimden insan yapıyor yani graffitiyi."

[46] "Ya benim tanıdığım bir sürü insan var, yüzyüze konuştuğumuz bi sürü insan var. Hani böyle maddi durumu çok iyi olan insanlar var, maddi durumu çok kötü olanlar var. Her kesimden graffiti yapan insan var. Her kültürden yapan da var mesela."

participant group and their descriptions; writers we have spoken to even get angry when "who do graffiti" is asked considering that *graffiti is an art for everyone*. CHOMA expresses: "I mean, in my opinion, that 'which layer' thing differentiation is nonsense. Everybody unites on the wall. Like after-death… We all are equal there and so on the wall."[47]

Despite their generalizations, they start describing graffiti writers with a series of keywords within different sections of the interviews. Although they have differing aspects, it is not hard to draw a rough picture of who a writer is according to what they told and what we have observed. "Writers are not rich people" as SCOUT says. They do not live in Cihangir, where street-art is more common, representing a higher income level or intellectual *statue* as TAB points out. They are people from ghettos, which represent indeed the middle class dwellings in their descriptions, who are better in that sense as SED and SIDE ONE mention. Furthermore, they are young people, students, having more spare time and less responsibility as GAS, BYMOR, HURE, MASK and PARS stress.

They mostly believe that writers are people like them, emphasizing their ambiguous difference from ordinary-called habitants as they describe. Finally, yet important, is the close relation of writers with hip-hop culture, although they insist persistently that this is *not* all. What DOSE and HURE says summarize both the disturbing and the must correlation of hip-hop and graffiti for Turkey:

> DOSE: Graffiti is known as a part of the hip-hop culture around the world. I mean, you do not need to get the hip-hop style or listen to the rap music; rock music listeners also do that, everyone might. Nevertheless, it accords with hip-hop eventually, from the lines to styles. Therefore, it is in hip-hop, I cannot say more; it is a part of hip-hop.[48]
>
> HURE: I assume graffiti as a branch of hip-hop. Because graffiti... Let's think of a tree whose content is hip-hop. We have graffiti in one of the branches of hip-hop. Now most of the children around the age 18-16 are

[47] "Yani bu hangi kesim olayı ayrımı saçma bence. Duvarda herkes birleşiyor. Ahiret gibi.. Orda da hepimiz eşitiz, duvarda da."

[48] "Dünyada hip-hop kültürünün bi parçası olarak biliniyor grafiti. Yani mecbur değilsiniz hiphop tarzını kapmaya veya rap muzik dinlemeye; bunu rock müzik dinleyenler de yapıyor, herkes yapabilir. Ama hiphopla bağdaşıyor eninde sonunda, çizgilerinden tut tarzlarına kadar. O yüzden hip-hopun içinde, başka bir şey söyleyemem; hiphopun bir parçası bu."

> engaged with graffiti, I mean they are really into it. However, there are not so many people [/writers] in Turkey elder than 25.[49]

When they are describing the rich variety of writers they mainly show the demand of expression, the cultural plurality of Turkey, the diffusing of hip-hop culture to smaller ages, increasing accessibility to materials and surfaces used, Internet, graffiti's becoming trendy or fashionable in the last 4 to 6 years and familiarity not as pure vandalism and even sometimes as art. It is on the other hand obvious that although graffiti is not as pervasive as they think as the members of the scene; it is getting widely known and applied by their high efforts to familiarize it and rising competition for fame in-between.

5.1.2. MOTIVATIONS AND MECHANISM

The increase in the number of writers at the end of 90s and beginning of 2000s shows itself in our participant group too. The effect of the visibility and increase of graffiti around the neighborhoods are explicit, especially in the earlier writers, whereas friends doing graffiti in early years of secondary school is also effective in getting into the scene. Another reason is clearly the interaction with hip-hop culture changing from rap itself to break-dancing youngsters in the meeting places like parks or parties around different locations throughout the city İstanbul.

Entering into the scene as a first path starts with coming across graffiti on the walls and getting curious about what it is for the ones having no information about hip-hop. Coming across might be triggered via a friend in the same class or basically bumping into it in the street. The basic motivation seems here the curiosity on the unknown seen or perceived as different, weird or enigmatic. Story of MET, who started graffiti in 1999, is indeed a brief story of starting for the writers following the first path:

> MET: I was out with friends one night. Two mysterious types had come when we were sitting in front of my house. They looked mysterious as no one was wearing baggy pants and hooded [sweats] then. Two boys had come and scrabbled the garbage can. After they had left I have taken a

[49] "Grafitinin hip-hop'un bir dalı olduğunu düşünüyorum ben. Çünkü grafiti.. Bi ağaç düsünelim, bu ağacın kapsamı hip-hop. Hip-hop'un bir dalında da grafiti var. Şimdi 18-16 yaşlarindaki coğu cocuk graffiti ile uğrasıyor, yani gercekten merak sarıyor. Ama buyuk yaşta pek yok yani. Elle sayılabilir. 25'in uzerinde Turkiye'de writer cok az."

> look saying how interesting it was. Later at home, I made exercises copying what they have done, writing their names. Thereafter, I gave a name to myself and repeated it.[50]

Coming across graffiti with the help of a friend eventually carries the same clues of searching of the youngsters for the *mysterious*, *unknown*, *different* and *cool*, which are indeed the most common keywords describing graffiti. Friends seen as doing graffiti usually described sometimes directly often indirectly as *cool boys* having leadership qualifications affecting the friends around to with the desire of resembling them. Most of the first effecting friends are mentioned as leaders or with respect if they are continuing graffiti.

The second common path is merging from the followers of hip-hop culture. These writers have taken part in different branches or activities of the culture trying break dancing, MCing and later graffiti. Nevertheless, for the participant group of our study, writing is the key aspect besides others. It is easier to see the traditional respect of graffiti scene mixed with Turkish nationality in the ones merged from the hip-hop scene. The effect of the Turkish juveniles living in Germany is significant especially in the early starters like the effect of the mentioned on the hip-hop scene in Turkey. SCOUT is one of them: "I started listening to rap in 94-95 but got to know graffiti in 97. Our elder brothers coming from Germany had shown it to us. Later on, I started drawing in the year 2000 and drawing continuously up to now."[51]

These two paths mentioned, on the other hand, are not so distinctive from each other. They go side-by-side sometimes getting into each other taking into consideration the juveniles looking for difference, being cool and being a member of a group. Writers continue their paths with showing great effort to learn about graffiti and improve themselves anyways to get to prove themselves. It might be harder for the first group to get broader information until getting into the scene or meeting up with other writers. Internet and Blue Jean Magazine of Turbo carry great importance here. Blue Jean Magazine, besides being an igniter of the formation of a scene in Turkey, was the first

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[50] "Geceleyin dışarı çıkmıştım. Arkadaşlarımla kapının önünde otururken iki tane esrarengiz tip gelmişti. Böyle, o zamanlar esrarengiz gelmişti tabi, o zamanlar kimse bol pantolan filan giymiyor kapşonlu giymiyor. İki tane çocuk gelip böyle kapımızın önündeki çöp kutusunu karalamışlardı. Onlar gidince gidip baktım ne ilginç yazı filan diye. Sonra evde onların yaptıklarını kopyalaya kopyalaya yine onların ismini yaza böyle alıştırmalar filan yaptım. Sonra kendime bi isim koyarak onu tekrar ettim."

[51] "94'te 95'te rap dinlemeye başladım ama 97'de grafitiyi tanıdım. Almanya'dan gelen grafitici abilerimiz göstermişti bize. Sonra 2000 yılında da çizmeye başladım ve bugüne kadar da sürekli çiziyorum"

steps of getting to know the term graffiti for some writers like the story of SIDE ONE, who started graffiti in 2001;

> SIDE ONE: I was writing but did not know what graffiti was. I asked my elder brother if it is a metal group. He said 'no, it is ambiguous what it is'. I was reading Blue Jean Magazine. Thanks to Brother Tunç, I mean, I was involved such. One day I have seen graffiti in Blue Jean Magazine. Next to graffiti was Tunç Dindaş, *a.k.a.* S2K TURBO –I thank him from here. That's how I started graffiti.[52]

Another consequential element in learning to write and getting into the scene is Internet. The first writers, as TURBO tells, were not lucky in means of accessing information but as Internet and consequently World Wide Web became increasingly accessible, new writers had the chance to get to know each others. Once you search the word *graffiti* on the web, the result you will get is enormous (around 40.400.000). It is possible to find thousands of pages telling how to do graffiti, forum pages where writers share experiences and get to know each others and millions of images of different style work from all over the world, which will ultimately help new learners improve themselves. Besides that, writers in Turkey mostly had the chance to meet each other and write together meeting on local forums sharing their messenger addresses and later entering to the scene. Internet, on the upshot, was a momentous school for the *toys* before really entering to the scene.

Once a writer enters to the scene, name taken, *the nick,* gets to be more important. Although the writers usually write different or specific names before entering to the scene, they usually change it on really getting into. Because it becomes obvious for them that nick is the starting point of the graffiti *art* since its very beginning, because nick signifies how they will be named later on their graffiti lives, because nick might determine if they can write well or not and even how they will be *judged* unofficially or officially when they are caught, because nick might represent their identities in some cases, and eventually because nick is the main attribute on the way to *fame.*

Although writers have to choose nicks instead of using their *real* names partly because

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[52] Yazıyordum ama graffitinin ne olduğunu bilmiyorum. Gittim abime sordum bu metal grubu mu. 'Hayır' dedi. Ne olduğu meçhul dedi. Blue Jean dergisi okuyordum Sağolsun Tunç abimiz; ordan bulaştı yani. Bir gün baktım graffitileri gördüm Blue Jean dergisinde. Grafitilerin yanından Tunç Dindaş nam-ı diğer S2K Turbo –burdan teşekkür ediyorum ona da. Grafitiye böyle başladık.

of legal issues, we assume that for a young person building up his own characteristics very newly, rejecting *status quo* might mean opposing the given. It might mean resisting *for* his own self via expressing who he is and what wants to say as him and for himself, which might start via refusing the name given and calling himself with the name taken. Taking reference the intimate expression of a Canadian writer SEAZ, "This allows me to choose my identity, I fully decide who I am with my own attitude"[53] (Scheepers, 2004: 22), we have looked for the reasons of the participant writers in choosing their nicks and relation they have with them to look for clues for our assumption. .

We will start with citing a few personal stories told by our participant writers on choosing their names. Here we might find clues on the relation between their nicks and their understanding of graffiti; how they see themselves as a writer; their personal statue in their very own lives; or what they want to express with graffiti. SCOUT, for example, is a name given by foreign writers he was working with, as he is already a scout. Similar is also valid for PEACE. His nick was given by his friends with the claim of befitting his personality where he is proud of writing that name as he is supporting ease and peace although peace is something impossible according to him.

> PEACE: Peace is an improbable thing, totally a product of illusion. Indeed, such a thing cannot take place anywhere in the world. Exactly! Because, there is money, sex, religion. I mean peace cannot take place as long as they exist. There is war. That's why it is nice. It is nice to write something that cannot occur.[54]

Although it is not usually easy for the writers to tell the meaning and motivation of their nicks at once, nicks sometimes might represent their basic motivations of doing graffiti; the way they approach to it; their keywords on graffiti; perception of themselves as writers or even individuals in the city:

[53] Quoted from Rahn, 2002: 65, 66.

[54] "Olamayacak bir şey barış, tamamiyle hayal ürünü. Aslında dünyanın hiç bir yerinde öyle bir şey olamaz yani. Kesinlikle. Çünkü para var, seks var, din var. Bunlar oldukça olmuyor yani barış. Savaş var. O yüzden de güzel yani. Olamayacak bir şeyi yazmak güzel."

> HURE: HURE is sort of gagging. As it means prostitute in German... I thought it would be both nice and different. Everyone uses the good meanings. I said I should be different.[55]

> MASK: MASK is a sort of psychological name, I mean. As we are hiding from something… It is as if we have put a mask on our face, I mean. Nevertheless, I love this name.[56]

> ESIR: Captive/slave, I mean. I am sort of jailed/captured, I mean. It is as if I am bored of the environment. I do not know. Sort of. How to tell.. [57]

Besides that, as the act is illegal, a nick taken might go far beyond the intention or the motivation of the writer putting him in really dreadful situations especially because of the *misunderstanding* of graffiti in Turkey taking its roots from the political wall writings of political organizations of late 70s, according to them. This is indeed a specific case for the writers in Turkey making them choose *meaningless* names in any language they might have accessibility. Experiences make them move in that way in common because when they are caught on act, a misinterpretation of a nick might carry them to even being judged for being possible members of an illegal political organization, within terms of "terrorism" as they call it, or *item* 301, with its trendy face nowadays.

> DOSE: You are being caught. The police ask for the expert report. Experts investigate all dictionaries. For example, a very different meaning might come out. A meaning that really should not merge and police might perceive you as someone writing in different aspects. I guess having no meaning is comfortable for you too.[58]

Despite some exceptions, participant writers' main motivations in choosing their nicks do not have much to do with the above though. Besides, even the writers having a specific reason, eventually talk about the following common motivations. The key answers mostly have concordance with their motivations of doing graffiti: pleasure and

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[55] "HURE işin biraz makarasına kaçmak. Almanca'da fahişe anlamına geldiğinden dolayı.. Hem güzel olur diye duüşündüm hem de farklı olur diye işte. Herkes iyi anlamları kullanıyor. Ben farklı olayım dedim."

[56] "MASK biraz da psikolojik bir isim yani. Biraz da birşeyden saklandığımız için.. Maskeyi suratımıza geçirmiş gibi birşey oldu yani. Ama bu ismi seviyorum.**"**

[57] "Esir yani. Buraya hapsolmuş gibiyim yani. Ne bileyim. Ortamdan sıkılmışım da sanki. Ne bileyim. Hani. Nasıl anlatsam."

[58] "Yakalanıyorsun. Polis bilirkişi raporu istiyor. Bilirkişi de bütün sözlükleri araştırıyor. Mesela bir bakıyor, çok farklı bir anlam çıkıyor. Gerçekten olmaması gereken bir anlam çıkıyor ve polis seni başka yönlerde yazı yazan bir insan olarak algılayabiliyor. Bence hiç bir anlamının olmaması senin de rahatına kaçar."

enjoyment. Almost all the writers choose their nicks randomly in regard to indistinct affection they have with the letters and their combinations. Here, the nicks become to be abstract *paintings* but not meaningful texts giving us clues on the understanding of graffiti in the participant group. These nicks do not say more than what they are on the walls in that sense. It becomes to be calligraphic instead of being denotative; it is visuality what is important. TAB's expression; "I was trying letter combinations. I just liked A next to T and B next to A. That's it. Really..."[59], summarizes the first motivation, which is the most common answer we have received.

Another fundamental motivation in choosing the nick has to do with the illegality of act. Time a writer spends for writing his nick might be crucial for the sake of himself. Even 5 minutes might be a very very long time for an illegal piece on a dangerous spot. So the shorter the nick is, the safer it is. The length of a nick, namely the number of letters it contains, is also important for the number of tags thrown up around because the duration of a tag determines how widespread a writer might be, which will eventually bring fame. Therefore, the second group of basic motivations is practicality in that sense after the aesthetic motivations mentioned first. GAS steps one more pace expressively and continues what TAB portrays: "Because I enjoy the letters. Letter G and letter S are appealing as the letter A is in the middle. It is short, in addition. You have the possibility to run away quickly and immediately."[60]

These two motivations, namely visuality and practicality, in choosing a nick are basically depicted with a combination of tendency of tackling some nicks better than other writers might. So basically, you chose a name, whom you probably have come across *wandering* around in an encyclopedia or dictionary, because you like the letters; because the combination of letters are appealing according to your personal understanding of aesthetics; because it is short; and last but not least, because you can write it in a good way reflecting your own style. When we look at the general motivations of choosing nicks, they carry us away from our starting point of nicks' being a way of expression for writers as meaningful pieces, although there are exceptions. However, these exceptions

[59] "Harf kombinasyonlarını deniyordum. Sadece T'nin yanında A'yı, A'nın yanında B'yi sevdim. O kadar.. Gerçekten.."

[60] "Çünkü harflerini beğeniyorum. G harfi ve S harfi güzel oluyor A harfi ortada olduğu için. Kısa bir de. Çabuk, hemen yazıp kaçma imkanın var."

do not have the representative power to give a leg to our first assumption of nicks' being a first step of choosing own identity though.

Whereas, the names chosen for crews are abbreviations of a meaningful sets of words more commonly than nicks describing what they think about their crew or graffiti. This cannot be generalized though. Besides, one thing here is for sure: the names taken for crews contain traces of masculinity. Two of our participant groups claim themselves the *kings* like in BOK (Bad Of Kings) and KOAC (Kings Of Art Crew) writing their names on their *kingdoms,* the city. In S2K crew, in addition to a different motivation of choosing the name that we will mention later; a similar understanding continues in naming the crew. Its expansion is *Shot To Kill* or fucked[61] in Turkish. TURBO tells: "There was another reason of using the name S2K. It also means *fucked*. I mean. After we do something on the wall it becomes fucked. It includes in itself such an irony additionally."[62]

Gender is a social construction and language has leading role in the creation of this social construction. The names chosen by crews show traces of this social construction. It is not hard to say that, although we do not have the opportunity to compare the ways of speaking of women and men writers, our participants carry in their names the militarist language merging from masculinity. Eventually, writers are men wandering around the city writing the names of their *kingdoms* on the urban space, which is already belonging to the men. Moreover, when they mention the relation of women and graffiti, they express that girls might do graffiti too, but going deeper, they point out that it is not proper for girls because they are defenseless, and when a girl enters to scene environment is ruined and girls indeed deal with that as boyfriends do. So they might eventually do in legal walls only. Though that is not same for all, it is the dominant view. The praise to fearlessness, pugnacity and adventurousness carries that further.

[61] S2K is used to say *S iki K*, meaning *fucked.*

[62] "S2Ki kullanmamızın başka bir anlamı daha vardı; sikik manasına da geliyor. Hani biz duvara bir şey yaptıktan sonra o duvar sikilmiş durumuna filan geliyor diye. Böyle bir komikliği de var kendi içinde."

Coming to later motivations of choosing the crew names, it is possible to observe similarities with nicks. They are practicality merging from legality and the pleasure they get out of it.

> TURBO: The name of the group was not S2K then, it was ZBP, Zimbi Boys Pussy. However, they were making [political] party comparison because of the letter P at the end, like *Z B Party*. We decided to write something so that people would understand that it was not a party. Since 80s, people have perception that illegal political organizations [do] wall writing. When I was caught, I learned there was a crime of writing slogans on the walls. Police had asked me from which organization I was. We thought if we put a number in the name, it would be definite that we were not a [political] party. Of course, we were thinking English names. We would use either two or four like *to* or *for*. We made it S2K.[63]
> SIDE: We called the group DSK. I do not know why we named it DSK now. Why not something else, why not DOS? DSK merged. My group friend admired the letters. So do I. Briefly, let me say, we admired it.[64]

Once a writer enters to the scene and continues decisively existing there; he has to follow a series of criteria to be really accepted and respected. The first to mention is writing *well,* which has more to do with *style*. All of the writers, without exception, assume that style is important for being the *king*; even though they utter that *king stuff* is nonsense. A good style first, means being appealing clean and aesthetic. Later, a good style must be different from others'; it must be unique to the writer making him unique in other writers that will help him become known. Although you always have the opportunity to be inspired without stealing from other writers, it is still a *sin* to imitate exactly what others do especially after passing the stage of being a *toy*.

> HURE: You must have a different style. I mean you cannot get much pleasure if you do what the rest does. Though, if you do something

[63] "Grubun ismi de S2K değildi aslında o zaman. ZBP idi ismi. Zimbi Boys Pusy. Ama sonundaki P harfinden dolayı bize parti benzetmesi yapıyorlardı yani, Z B partisi gibi. Biz de şey dedik, hani bir şey yazalım insanlar bunun parti olmadığını anlasın. Hani insaların hep duvar yazılarına karşı hep bir yasak bir politik grup yakıştırması var yani, 80lerden beri böyle gelen bir şey yani. Ben de yakalandığımda duvara slogan yazmak diye bir suç varmış. Polisler hani hangi şeydensiniz örgüttensiniz diye falan sormuşlardı. Biz de dedik ki biz bunun içine sayı koyarsak hani bunun parti olmadığı belli olur. Tabi grup ismi de ingilizce düşünüyoruz herşeyi. Ya iki ya da dört kulanacktı *to* ya da *for* gibi. S2K yaptık."

[64] "Grubun adını DSK koyduk. Neden DSK koyduk bilemiyorum şimdi. Niye başka birşey değil, niye DOS değil? DSK çıktı. Belki grup arkadaşımın çok hoşuna gitti harfler. Benim de hoşuma gitti. Tabiri caizse, şöyle söylerler yani, hoşumuza gitti diyeyim size kısacası."

> different, others will perceive it distinctively too and will do [/imitate] your style. New guys might emulate you. That is nice.[65]

Another qualification for a well-done piece is its visibility. Visibility is more important for illegal pieces where style is mostly mentioned for legal. As you might take your time writing a legal piece as there is no risk and there is enough time to make sketch and work longer. Visibility comes with legibility of the piece, size, number of tags thrown or pieces written on as many places as possible, and last but not least the risk taken to be in crowded, dangerous and seen spots; because final destination is the fame it will bring.

> SIDE ONE: It is obviously number of places in illegal. Because, you have to gain recognition by doing on as many places as possible. You have a group and you have to gain recognition writing that group [name] everywhere. Besides, as I said before, you have to do in crowded places.[66]
>
> PARS: For me, good bombing should be big; it should be visible from afar, especially in highways. We do bigger in highways as cars pass faster. Moreover, bombing style most be simpler; must be legible from afar; it must not be style [stylistic].[67]

Although codes for a good piece for legal and illegal works show difference, it is possible to say that, eventually, what makes sense is the fame it will bring. The fame comes mostly by doing what others cannot. The more different a writer is the more he is known. This sense and desire of being different is one of the most important keywords of doing graffiti for almost all writers. This can be described or identified within the motivations of juveniles and their relation to play and games.

Fame might change its meaning from writer to writer and from time to time and even carrying in it different audience at the same time. The first audience for a writer is the small group of writers, and the second is what they call *ordinary people*. This *ordinary peopl*e, though, do somehow have a description excluding some social layers. It is

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[65] "Farkli bir stilinin olması lazım. Yani herkesin yaptığı birşeyi yaptığında yani pek bir haz alamazsın. Ama farklı bir şey yaptığında başkaları da farlı algılayacak ve senin stilini de yapabilecek yani. Senden özenebilir yani belki yeni çocuklar. Bu da güzel birşey."

[66] "İllegal yaparken kesinlikle en çok yer. Çünkü çok yere yapıp tanınmamız gerekiyor. Bir grubunuz var; bu grubu her tarafa yaparak tanınmanız lazım. Ve dediğim gibi işlek yerlere yapmanız lazım."

[67] "Bence iyi bir bombing büyük olmalı; Çok uzaktan görülebilmeli, özellikle otobanlarda. Arabalar daha hızlı geçtiği için otobanlarda daha büyük yapıyoruz. Ve bombing stili daha basit olmalı, uzaktan okunabilinir olmalı, style olmamalı."

possible to observe that looking where they write commonly and own descriptions on their acts. *The ordinary people* are not rich people as writers call it, first; they are not thieves, burglars or street children[68] either. They sometimes say that graffiti is good for rehabilitation, though. It is the middle-class in Turkey habiting, wandering or mainly continuing their lives in the places where the writers usually *live*; people like them, people they feel themselves a member of. It is so, possible to say that they write for the dominant population in Turkey.

The main two audience groups chosen determine if a piece or a tag is good or not. Graffiti writers write in the places where they habit; they write for their targets' vision and accessibility; they write in consideration to their pre-supposed aesthetics appealing; and besides, they write for their very own desire to write, to play in the everyday ground. Therefore, a good work oscillates in the thin line in-between. TAB tells: "It depends on what you want to do. It the tag is unreasonably illegitimate, it is bad. However, if it is as good as a writer might read but in that thin line leaving an ordinary person in hesitance, and if it is appealing aesthetically, it is good.[69]

The fame might eventually come with Internet too as there are actually many writers who are continuing their writing *careers* on the net via publishing their works on their own sites or on common pages or discussing in forums. Owing to graffiti's being a medium that is quite "temporary" writers working on concrete surfaces also use it for publishing the photographs of their works in order to render them "immortal" and increase their fame amongst not only local but national and even international scene. On the other hand, the *real* writers are uneasy with these *solely virtual* writers:

> HURE: Fame now comes via Internet. It comes with publicizing your name via brawling, but I mean, it has to come with graffiti done in city centers and squares. After doing graffiti, everybody talks about you, like, 'wow, who are they, how could they do that?' I create fame with such conversations. But nowadays Internet… Merely Internet…[70]

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[68] *Gaspçılar, yankesiciler, tinerci çocuklar* as a determination they make in many conversations we made.

[69] "Ne yapmak istedigine bağlı. Saçma sapan bir şekilde okutmuyorsan bence bir tagi kötü. Ama bir writer'ın okuyabilecegi kada iyi, ama normal bir insanın tereddütte kalacağı kadar da o ince çizgideyse ve gerçekten güzel br estetikteyse bence iyi."

[70] "Ün biraz şu an İnternet ile geliyor. İnternet ortamında laf atarak filan ismini duyurarak geliyor, ama öncelikle şehir merkezlerine, meydanlara yapılan grafiti ile gelimeli yani. Bir grafitiyi yaptıktan sonra herkes sizi konuşuyor, 'aaa bunlar kim' filan, 'nasil yapmışlar'. Bu tür konuşmalarla fame yaratıyorum. Ama şu an internet. Sadece internet."

Although the writers tend to say that they write for themselves but not for others, it is obvious that there are target groups. They are not as shallow-viewed as to assume that everybody is watching them, being quite aware of the fact that they are -sometimes even always- doing it for this small graffiti writers group. Writing on the most crowded places is not solely for the ordinary people called others then; it is still for writers because of the fame that the risk taken will bring amongst writers.

> MET: Only its own mass is interested in graffiti anymore. I mean, I do not think that someone in the street wonders 'what is writing here, MET is writing all over, who is he'; because there is too much writings on the walls. Only the people included in graffiti knows you.[71]

These writers give importance to being popular amongst their close friends first. This sense of *boys-club* gathered around the act worth describing adding one more aspect that has to be mentioned: the risk factor bringing along fame and respect, which is indeed type of plays/games, *jeux*, Caillois describes in his book *Man, Play and Games*. These are the boys having incredible risks according to themselves. The bigger the risk is, the greater the respect is. Taking risks on doing graffiti, besides bringing fame, is literally the core motivation of doing graffiti for unexceptionally all writers. GAS portrays: "Being the king means doing on really tough places; king is the one who has ventured enormous risks. To give an example, even if the police catch you, you will say, I wrote here and I was caught. That's it."[72]

It is not by chance then trains are thus the mostly desired places to write on. Except for being *mobile walls,* trains are the most favorite and most respected spots. A train writer is usually proud of writing on trains and despises the ones who do not, indeed *cannot* write on trains. Desire to write on trains is mostly associated with the greater excitement it brings, which is also the main motivation for unexceptionally all writers. Although most of the seizures take place during writing on trains or train lines and most of the physical violence is faced upon there; writers continue to their attempts of existing there. It is again being different via risking oneself.

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[71] "Artık grafitide sadece kendi kitlesi grafiti ile ilgileniyor. Hani sokaktaki insan 'aa burda ne yazıyor, MET işte heryerde yazıyor, kim bu acaba' diye çok düşündüğünü sanmıyrum. Çünkü duvarlarda artık çok yazı var. Grafiti ile ilgilenen insanlar işte sadece seni bilir."

[72] "Çok sağlam yerlere yapmak demek king olmak; Çok büyük riskleri göze almış insan [king]. Mesela polis yakalasa bile yazı yazdım buraya yakalandım diyeceksin. Bu kadar."

> SIDE ONE: It is like the excitement of diving into something. I mean, the people who really love action make an effort for trains. I mean, an ordinary person cannot go and paint the trains. [You have to write on trains] to reach to a specific point in Turkey, because painting the trains is the best position you can reach in illegal. You go and paint a wall but its difference with painting a train is huge.[73]

Though, TURBO believes that trains do not have the same meaning, where graffiti was born and here in İstanbul, taking into consideration the spatial aspects[74], trains continue to be used as the most exciting medium eventually. It is proving a toy's becoming a master; a boy's becoming a man. Manhood is gained through transcending the fear of being caught and subjected to harsh violence by taking greater risks. Traces of masculinity are observable in many aspects beside here though. The risk venturing coming by trains and its relation to masculinity is observable in SIDE's description of the excitement it brings too:

> SIDE: You absolutely do not think about what will happen if I am caught while painting a train. Let one come and I shall run away; let someone chase me and I shall run away. I am not for damaging state property. I mean I do not like it. I mean, I am profoundly against it but… But as I said action and excitement expends the people. A perfect level I mean… If you ask me [to prefer] the satisfaction being with a woman or painting a train brings… I mean the satisfaction I will get from being with a woman is not so important for me. The satisfaction I get painting the trains is perfect, I mean. It is trans-perfect.[75]

When writers talk about the effects of graffiti in their lives, they mostly talk about the friends-circle they could get in touch with the help of graffiti more than the problems it brings to their lives. The effects in life vary though. It becomes to be sort of a

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[73] "Sanki birşeyin içine dalıyormuş gibi öyle bir heyacan oluyor yani. Yani çok actionu seven insanlar genellikle trenle uğraşıyor. Yani herhangibir sıradan insan gidip tren boyayamaz. Veya Türkiye'de belli bir yere gelmek için, çünkü tren boyamak illegalde ulaşabileceğiniz en iyi bir yer. Gidip bir duvarı boyarsınız ama tren boyamak ile arasındaki fark çok büyüktür."

[74] TURBO pulls attention difference of train lines here and in New York. Lines are all over the city there wheras in İstanbul, there are only a few lines, which does not convey the need of visibility. It might be the buses here though, as he stresses.

[75] "Aa yakalansam ne olacak acaba.. Kesinlikle düşünmezsiniz tren boyarken. Birisi gelse kaçsam… Orası çok zevklidir yani. Birisi gelse kaçsam. Biri beni bi kovalasa da kaçsam. Çok devlet malına zarar vermekten yana değilim. Yani sevmem. Yani çok da karşıyımdır ama… Ama dediğim gibi o action o heyecan insanları bitiriyor. Mükemmel bi derece yani… Bir kadınla birlikte olursunuz, sağlayabileceği tatmin ve tren boyarken sağlayabileceği tatmin hangisi derseniz… Yani kadınla birlikte olmaktan alacağım tatmin benim için o kadar önemli değil. Tren boyarken aldığım tatmin mükemmel yani. Mükemmel ötesi güzel bir durum."

dependency after a while for most of the writers. They express that they cannot help doing it in anyways although they do not have a specific aim except for living that freight, excitement, adrenalin. Some try to quit it for a while especially after being caught by police and sent to the courts with differing sentences or being punished in different ways by the family. Nevertheless, as they name it is an addiction and it is not necessary that others understand why they do that.

> MASK: It does not have a/n [specific] aim but… Our aim is living fear, learning some stuff. We could have done good things in our lives but we do not know why we have chosen that either. How to say… It is a weird work. I quit so many times. I do not know how many times. I mean. I used to write and come back; I used to say I quit this work. Nevertheless, you definitely cannot give it up. Your hand somehow tends to pen or spray, I mean. It creates an addiction.[76]

Besides, there are positive effects of graffiti in their lives, which might be changing points of views or finding jobs with what they do. It is, though, critical to mention that very few evaluate graffiti as a job or way of making money in their future lives. They dream of doing that but they are aware of the facts of the country, as they name it. It is mostly a tool, or a hobby mixed with life style and affection.

> PEACE: It [graffiti] helped me look in a different way. People I met, as a result the people doing that work, are different people. You improve yourself when you meet with different people, I mean your thoughts develop and even change. If you ask someone dealing with that work or not, I prefer wandering, hanging out with someone who deal with that work, because you make an effort for something.[77]

The effects change on even one individual, though, carrying negatives and positives side by side. It is true that they face with harsh discussions in the family life or at school or be subject to physical violence but they insist on saying that they are persistently *in* graffiti without any regret. Patience, hard work and persistence carry a writer to the

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[76] "Pek de bi amaç yok ama.. Amacımız da korku yaşamak, bazı şeyleri öğrenmek amaç. Hayatımızda aslında daha iyi şeyler de yapabilirdik ama niye bu işi seçtik biz de bilmiyoruz. Yani nasıl diyeyim… Çok acaip bi iş yani. Defalaca bıraktım ben bu işi. Kaç kere bıraktım bilmiyorum. Yani yapardım, gelirdim; biraktım ben bu işi derdim. Ama kesinlikle birakamıyorsunuz. Eliniz kaleme, spreye mutlaka gidiyor yani. Bağımlılık yapıyor insanda."

[77] "Dünyaya daha değişik bakmamı sağladı. Tanıştığım insanlar, sonuçta bu işi yapan insanlar farklı insanlar yani. Farklı farklı insanlarla tanıştığın zaman sen de gelişiyorsun, yani düşüncelerin gelişiyor, değişiyor hatta. Bu işi yapmaya biri mi dersen yapmayan mı dersen; yapan biriyle gezmeyi, takılmayı daha çok seviyorum yani; birşeylerle uğraşıyorsunuz çünkü."

dreams, they suppose. MET, who is making his life out of a derivation of graffiti now as a t-shirt designer, sees that change as coming true of his dreams. After so many bankruptcies, he lived and still living in means of family, he thinks that graffiti saves them from a big gap.

> MET: Believe me, I would have been nothing if graffiti were not [in my life]. Graffiti really has taken me away from so many bad things. Of course, there were things it left me deprived. Maybe I left my school because of graffiti. I left fine arts high school, as I loved graffiti. I left my school as I did not like drawing but as graffiti was more interesting for me. This was the bad side. I am not accusing graffiti; it is about me. It was about my being in search maybe. If I were not dealing with graffiti, I would today have been one of the juveniles gathering in slums; I would have been one of them smoking and swearing the girls and women.[78]

Besides the contributions narrated up to now, the most referred one is being included to a group that they claim different and suppose to render them different too. This *club* of writers is not solely the local group they are in but also a national network working via Internet or graffiti meetings strengthening the ties in between. PARS expounds: "I had a lot of friends for doing graffiti. It is great from that angle for example. I have many friends from all over Turkey, İzmir, Ankara, Adana and Antalya. They became friends with us as we are doing graffiti."[79]

This friendship-environment is also one of their main motivations to continue besides being important to understand the working mechanism of writing. They consider that graffiti has some specific rules coming from both *old school* and the structure of our society, which might, indeed, change by time. The main example they give is *crossing one's piece*. If somebody does that, this might cause a fight and a crosser is not respected much. In addition, the only exception might be writing better than the piece you cross

[78] "Grafiti olmasaydı inanın ben hiçbir şey olmazdım. Grafiti beni harbiden çoğu kötü şeyden alıkoydu. Tabii bana kaybettirdiği şeyler de oldu. Ne bileyim ben okulumu belki de grafiti yönünden bıraktım. Grafitiyi sevdiğim için güzel sanatlar lisesini bıraktım. Yani resim çizmeyi sevmediğim için, bana grafiti daha ilgi çekici geldiği için okulumu bıraktım. Bu bana bir kötü yanıydı. Suçu grafitiye atmıyorum aslında bu benim kendimle ilgili aslında. Arayış içerisinde olmamla ilgiliydi belki. Bugun belki grafiti ile uğraşmasaydım şu anda mahalle köşesinde işte toplanıp oturan gençlerden bitanesi olacaktım. Sigara içen gençlerden birisi olacaktım, karıya kıza lafatan gençleden birisi olacaktım."

[79] "Graffiti yaptığım için çevremde bir çok arkadaşım oldu. Bu açıdan çok iyi mesela. Türkiye'nin her yerinden bir çok arkadaşım var; İzmir ve Ankara'dan, Adana'dan Antalya'dan. Grafiti yaptığımız için, bizle arkadaş oldular."

as CHOMA describes. They carry a respect to the elder writers supposedly as they also expect a respect from younger ones too, which results with a sort of hierarchy.

They work with crew as they think that it is safer (although some think that it is more dangerous being many), more entertaining, and cheerier, less boring, more instructive, supplies solidarity and feeling of confidence. Furthermore a crew is preferred as it means a friend-circle to hang out. They highlight the importance of crew with brotherhood, confidence and being like a family. Furthermore, a term specific to Turkey is what they call a clan (coming together of many crews). These together demonstrate the paths of the games described in Caillois.

Despite high risks and danger it contains and usually no actual input in means of their future, it is critical to inquire why these juveniles do graffiti. Here motivations of doing it and meaning of graffiti for our participant writers come into charge. They persistently say that they do graffiti for no specific aim but just for the sake of doing it. Nevertheless, this sake of doing contains its own motivations in itself. We might classify the motivations starting from their demand to express themselves. They do not mostly tend to say that they express a definite message but solely themselves: to scream silently that they exist mixed with the demand of being known and proving oneself.

> DOSE: Sometimes I pass aside what I have written in order to see them for example. It is nice to see something you have written. It is nice, I mean. Seeing all I have written gives me happiness.[80]
>
> CHOMA: That's an instinct. I, for example, do illegal graffiti in order to demonstrate myself everywhere. When I do in the places where people can see I am satisfied, I satisfy myself. I prove myself to people because when I write there they look and ask who has done that. I mean I write it and they wonder. I like arising curiosity in people.[81]

TURBO goes back to reveal the possible expression demand hidden beyond related to existence and fame:

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[80] "Bazen yazdıklarımın önünden gidiyorum onları görmek için mesela. Güzel bir şey yani yazdığım şeyi görmek. Güzel birşey yani. Her yazdığım şeyi görmek mutluluk veriyor."

[81] "Bu bir içgüdü. Ben mesela illegal grafiti yaptığım zaman heryerde kendimi gösterebilmek için yapıyorum. İnsanların görebildiği yerlere yaptığım zaman tatmin oluyorum, kendimi tatmin etmiş oluyorum. Kendimi kanıtlıyorum yani insanlara, çünkü ben onu oraya yazdığım zaman bakıyorlar aa kim yapmış bunu. Yani, onu ben yazıyorum, merak ediyorlar. İnsanlarda merak uyandırmak hoşuma gidiyor."

> TURBO: When you look through history, in caves era, in pyramids, in roman age, etc., people have always written on walls. They are still writing. Thus, this must be something coming from inside, I mean. Feeling of existence maybe... It is like the dogs' pissing of to mark. Some people, scilicet, have it more. Besides, there is a hidden feeling of becoming famous as if I shall write that and everyone shall speak of me and not know who I am.[82]

This demand of expressing their existence is usually hidden in between their words, as most probably fame seems to be a disgraceful will. Writers sometimes express that asking for fame or doing graffiti for fame is nonsense where the only thing is friendship. They even despise the ones running for fame whereas this does not withdraw any of them from looking for the most crowded spots claiming that it is not fame but excitement. TAB portrays the way they exist in the most prolific way also betraying the dilemmas included.

> I never wanted to display myself but somehow I do something nobody understands and people know that I am doing graffiti. I mean, on one hand, everyone knows, I say I exist; but on the other hand, I do not say that I exist as a pop star does. That is the only meaning for me. I do not know its meaning. It is something coming from inside. I feel restless when I do not do. I do not want to think why I do it either. I am afraid of quitting on finding an illegible reason. I will not quit though…[83]

These young boys are usually complaining about the boredom and ordinariness of everyday life and the city. Like every other juveniles playing games, they have their own methods of getting away from that boredom emptying their everyday life stress where their game has a *slight* difference: somehow intervening the urban space with a permanent mark.

> PEACE: I am getting rid of my stress. I usually get bored for example, really bored, I mean. I draw some stuff walking somewhere, I mean. You relax then. I mean you relax when writing. Oh, what have I done, [you

[82] "İnsanlığa baktığın zaman mağara döneminde, piramitlerde, roma döneminde, bilmemnede, duvarlara hep yazmış insanlar. Hala yazıyor, demek ki bu bizim icimizden gelen bir şey yani. Varolma duygusu belki. Hani o köpeklerin bir yere çişini yapıp da işaretlemek gibi.. Demek bazı insanların içinde daha fazla oluyor bu duygu. Bir de gizli meşhur olma duygusu var; hani böyle bunu yazayım da herkes beni konuşsun ama kim olduğumu bilmesin."

[83] "Graffiti yaparken ben kendimi hiç bi zaman önde tutmak istemedim ama bir şekilde de kimsenin anlamadığı bi şey yazıyorum falan, insanlar benim grafiti yaptığımı biliyorlar. Yani bi yandan herkes biliyor, varım diyorum; ama bir yandan da bir pop star gibi varım demiyorum. Benim için tek anlamı o. Anlamını bilmiyorum. Benim içimden gelen bir şey. Yapmadığım zaman zaten huzursuzum. Neden yaptığmı da düşünmek istemiyorum. Belki mantıksız bir sebep bulurum da vazgeçerim diye korkuyorum. Bırakmam da."

> think]? It is great. You draw, you draw. You are getting rid of apathy. It becomes to be a tool, I mean.[84]
>
> GAS: I do not like empty walls; I say I wish they were full. I fill them somehow and wish people to see [them filled]. That's why I do. Why would there be empty walls? Let them be colorful. It will be less boring for sure then.[85]

Adrenalin and the excitement it brings or vice versa, are other critical motivations of doing graffiti describing what they do against boredom. In addition, we believe that it is really worth listening to their depiction of the pleasure they get out of it in detail.

> BY: It has a pretty pleasure. As I said, the emotions on walking when we go to trains, beating of the heart, shaking of the legs, sticking and leaking of spray when you press it… These are distinctive tastes. Smelling its odor there, the sound of the spray… These are perfect. It is not really easy to tell. Horning cars or shouting [passerby/drivers]… All these stuff… Merely for pleasure, nothing more; adrenalin I mean.[86]

It would be important to mention how the writers draw the borders of graffiti between other media, as it will give us a broader understanding of both graffiti and writers. The first aspect they describe is its free style to expressing its borders between street-art that is most commonly mixed with graffiti. They accept that graffiti is a subtitle of street art but they draw the borders with two aspects: freestyle of graffiti and possible mission of street-art. What they mean with street-art is mainly stencil-art and sticker, which is quite trendy with the increasing number of graphic designers, the accessibility of graphic tools and the wave coming especially from Europe. Our participant writers sometimes deal with the tools of street-art whereas they draw the borders too, from time to time underestimating it.

> HURE: Well… There is a difference between ready-made style and free style. You prepare stencil at home and do anywhere you wish, but

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[84] "Stres atıyorum. Mesela bir yerde sıkılırım ben, çok sıkılırım yani. Bir yerde yürürüken birşeyler çizerim yani. Rahatalarsın. Yani rahatlıyorsun çizerken. Ooo ne yaptım ben.. Çok güzel oluyor. Çizioyorsun, çiziyorusun. Sıkıntını atıyorsun yani çizerek. O bir araç oluyor yani."

[85] "Duvarların boş olmasını hiç sevmiyorum, keşke dolu olsa diyorum. Dolduruyorum bir şekilde ve insanlar görsün diyorum. Bunun için yapıyorum. Neden boş duvar olsun ki? Renkli olsun. O zaman kesin daha az sıkıcı olacak."

[86] "Çok hoş bir zevki var. Dediğim gibi, trene gittiğimizde o yürürkenki hisler, o kalbin atması, bacakların titremesi, sprey sıktığın an oraya yapışması ve akması… Ayrı bir tat bunlar. Kokusunu orada almak, o spreyin çıkardığı ses olsun. Mükemmel bunlar anlatılacak gibi değil. Caddeleri boyarken arabaların sana korna çalması, bağırmaları falan.Onlar yani. Tek zevkten dolayı, başka hiçbir şey değil; adrenalin yani."

> graffiti… When you do something illegal, maybe it is skewed but you even like that irregularity because you do it instantly. Everything is pre-determined in stencil. There are determined sections; you do them. They are different, I mean. I mean, if I see an illegal graffiti and a stencil; I prefer illegal graffiti, its beauty. How beautiful the stencil might be… It does not matter.[87]

One more difference drawn between street art and graffiti is political side of the story. All of them give great importance to that. There are indeed two reasons for staying away from political texts. First is the internal quality of graffiti, as TAB, who also makes street art, says. He supposes that street art deals with political issues claiming that communists are the best street artists in Turkey even though they do not do it for arts: "Well… I do not do stuff like that [/political writings]. I guess it is possible to do things on socioeconomic conditions and politic issues. However, I do not have a medium of that sort. I just write my name, I am not interested in them a lot."[88]

It is not though only the *nature* of the medium that takes them from doing political graffiti. They persistently point out what they do is not political even being afraid of being perceived such. Here it is important to mention again the differing side of writings in the streets in Turkey after 80s. The depolitization process of 80s shows itself in our participant group too making them quite *sensitive* about anyhow being included to politics and in every occasion reminding that they are not against representatives of state. MET describes that side adding one more point on graffiti's being art.

> MET: The difference [of graffiti] from other text is initially its exckusion of an ideological logic. It is O.K. that sometimes our friends write on the walls what they want to protest but the essence, the aim there [in graffiti] is making fame in illegal. On the other hand, other wall writings either use a quirky gag or are protests including political aims like *revolutionary right* or *revolutionary left*. In graffiti, illegal is done for fame. Legal is totally artistic, aiming art.[89]

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[87] "Ya hazir seyle freestyle arasında fark var. Stencili evde hazırlarsın, onu gidersin istediğin yere yaparsın; ama grafitiyi.. İllegal birşey yaptığında belki yamuk olur ama o yamukluk bile senin hoşune gider çünkü bir anda yapıyorsun. Stencilda herşey bellidir. Belirli kesitler vardır onu yaparsın. Farklı yani. Yani ben bir ilegal grafiti göreyim, bir stencil göreyim; illegal grafitiyi tercih ederim, güzelliğini. Ne kadar iyi olursa olsun stencil .. Farketmez."

[88] "Ya ben mesela öyle şeyler yapmıyorum ama. Herhalde, ne bileyim, sosyoekonomik durumundan tut, şu andaki bütün siyasi olaylarla ilgili işler yapılabilinir. Ama benim öyle bir mediumum yok. Ben sadece ismimi yaziyorum, pek onlarla ilgilenmiyorum."

[89] "Herhangi bir yazıdan farkı bir sanatsal olması iki ideolojik bir mantık içermemesi yani. Tamam grafiti yapan arkadaşlarımız grafiti yaptıkları duvara bazen protesto etmek istedikleri şeyleri yazarlar ama asıl olan

Despite high risks and danger it contains and usually no actual input in means of their future, it is important to inquire why these juveniles do graffiti. Indeed, it is now time to say maybe that the risk is the reason of doing it. Whatever the reasons of doing graffiti is called to be, it is possible to summarize them in a few subtitles all indeed colliding one another in finding its roots in the play/game descriptions and motivations Caillois describes which will be our sailing point to understand the young writers.

5.1.3. MAN, PLAY AND GAMES

It would be critical to mention the *game-play* (jeux) theory to analyze the motivations of writers described up to now and their relation with the act for the further steps of the study, before talking on the specificity of graffiti in Turkey. The relation graffiti with urban space might firstly be described within the theoretical framework put earlier as expressed through appropriation and tactics. Though, bethinking the motivations, appropriation becomes to be a game played upon urban space turning it to a playground; appropriating it *for* a playground. The ambiguity about games described by Sutton-Smith brought us to this theory considering the ambiguities both in writers and the act in its actual form in urban space:

> For example, classical scholar Mihail Spariosu (1989) calls play 'amphibolous' which means it goes in two directions at once and is not clear. Victor Turner (1969), the anthropologist, calls play 'liminal' or 'liminoid' meaning that it occupies a threshold between reality and unreality, as if, for example, it were on the beach between the land and the sea. Geoffrey Bateson (1955), biologist, suggests that play is a paradox because it both is and is not what it appears to be. (1997, 1)

We later on, sail from the definition made by Huizinga in his profound work *Homo Ludens; a Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1950) where he claims that culture derives from play/game. The description is as follows:

> Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious', but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It

orda illegalde fame amaçlı ün yapmak amacıdır yani. Öbür türlü diğer duvar yazıları sadece ya ilginç bir espiriyi kullanır ya da protesto, işte dev-sağ dev-sol falan tarzında siyasi amaçlıdır. Bu grafitide illegal olanı fame içindir. Legal olanı ise tamamen sanatsaldır yani, sanat amaçlı."

> is an activity connected with no material interests, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an ordinary manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means. (13).

The keywords described in this definition shows parallelism with the keywords of our participants. Writers tend to draw strict borders between their everyday lives and graffiti waiting for no material interest, though some might transform this activity to a work which is very rare and which is no longer being a *player* for us. Staying out of everyday life is also determined by the pseudo-dilemmas they have, their ignorance of the laws, which they suppose to protect in their ordinary lives. Furthermore, they tend to say that they are addicted to graffiti each time more eagerly being pulled into the act, even making them forget about all risks or ignore them basically. The drawn-boundaries by the writers to play the game *writing on urban space* determine their playground. The borders point out an urban space, which is different from the one other inhabitants use. So, *ordinary* urban space becomes to be the urban space appropriated by the act to play the game. The rules, although elastic, stand there where writers know they have to follow. They continually stress the importance of coming together where it does not connote a sub-culture but a grouping around both secrecy and the difference coming with the game itself later turning out to be a friends' *club*.

Huizinga indeed looks for an exact definition for play and tries to explicate the role of play in culture. We will put one more step to that definition merging from Caillois (1961), which will be our guide in describing writing as a game. Although we will not go deeper in the critics of Caillois on his work taking reference from Huizinga, portraying out two differences is important. He thinks that *Homo Ludens* is both too narrow and wide. First objection is related to the secrecy and mysteriousness Huizinga puts to define *jeux,* because, although it is important to see the affinity between play and secrecy it cannot be a part of the definition of play: "Without doubt, secrecy, mystery, and even travesty can be transformed into play activity, but it must be immediately pointed put that this transformation is necessarily detriment of the secret and mysterious. On the other hand, when the secret, the mask, or the costume fulfills a sacramental function one can be sure that not play, but an institution is involved." Secondly, Huizinga's definition related to no material interest is what Caillois counters

as it excludes the games like gambling. We will, though, assume that graffiti as a game distinctively shelter mysteriousness and no-material value besides the definition of Caillois tending to Huizinga's definition in that sense. (1961: 4).

Portraying graffiti in the categories of games having no materialistic value gained; we will illuminate a few characteristics of play within our concern in order to describe our basis. The first is about its temporality. As a tactic in urban space the act creates both a permanent and temporary appropriation according to us. It is temporary as it does not have its own place, and it is permanent different than described tactics as it leaves a mark. This is the ambiguity of graffiti. This is what makes graffiti a game and also differentiates it from other games. Graffiti, as play, exists in urban space as an *art-piece* with its permanency. Nevertheless, the wealth or goods created by traditional arts are not nestled in graffiti because of its relation to urban space, its temporality, which carries us the first aspect of play in Caillois. There is nothing gained at the end, it is done for the sake of doing it, or seeing and exposing it for an indefinite duration which cannot be determined by the writer; or best taking photographs of it, as writers express, which is not itself anymore. The description goes by as Caillois depicts:

> At the end of the game, all can and must start over again at the same point. Nothing has been harvested or manufactured, no masterpiece has been created, and no capital has accrued. Play is an occasion of pure waste: waste of time, energy, ingenuity, skill, and often money for the purchase of gambling equipment or eventually to pay the establishment. (1961: 5-6)

Here, we had to add the professionals of the game; the writers making money or differing materialistic benefits out of graffiti whom have to be described as 'workers' instead of players anymore, as the "play must be defined as a free and voluntary activity, a source of joy and amusement. A game which one would be forced to play would at once cease being play." (1961: 5). Forcing a player ends the game being a game; writers freely choose writing as they can cease it anytime they wish to such as in the relation of the play and player.

Our participant writers speak about the boredom of everyday life and apathy it brings and expresses the joy graffiti brings to it as the act and the output. Writing gives pleasure and so does the pieces at the end. They will and choose to play "in order to

find diversion, escape from responsibility and routine. Finally and above all, it is necessary that they be free to leave whenever they please, by saying: 'I am not playing anymore." (1961: 6). Play is to get away from routine of everyday life and is completely separate from the codes of *ordinary* everyday. This is the source of the ignorance without rejection though. Despite the same physical places used in writing graffiti, urban space graffiti uses and authority's urban space are not the same anymore because appropriation takes the *defined* without domination. Writers use the urban space as the playground whereas the way it is used transforms it to a new space. The way writers experience urban space makes it a *chessboard* during the act.

We can thus find 6 criteria, defined by Caillois, distinguishing play from other cultural forms befitting graffiti both as act and output. Play is voluntary, non-obligatory; it is delimited in time and place from other activity; uncertain, without advance knowledge of the outcome, giving a way to spontaneity; unproductive, in the sense that the play itself is the end; governed by their rules and guidelines, different than those of everyday life; creators of a fictive reality, a fantasy world with the assumption that graffiti as an appropriation game in urban space and of urban space. (Caillois 1961: 9-10).

Merging from the 6 criteria listed Caillois exemplifies 4 different games. Instead of categorizing graffiti in one of those listed; we will apply the qualifications to graffiti. Caillois claims that the described categories are not always encountered in isolation whereas associations produce different games. Although he makes 6 pairs where every two comes together one by one, and adds that a triple pairing might merge, whereas the third is not affective in the character of the game, we claim that graffiti show a quad pairing. This does not point out that writing shelters all qualifications of one category but rather, sticks out some features or draws off some criteria of. The oscillation, indeed, observable in comparison to what we have portrayed up to now besides the features we will stress more detailed below. (1961: 71-72).

So, accordingly the categories are *agôn, alea, mimicry* and *ilinx*. First is the *agôn*, the one including competition, where finding a winner and being the best are important. Writers give importance to exercising a lot for improving the quality of work, the *style* as much as they give importance to *talent* where these are the qualifications described for *agôn* too. They always compete within themselves in making better and better and

harder and harder; though always pointing out that the friendship and fun coming with the act is more important than all, which befits the boundary transcending of the *agôn*. Writers express that they do not admire stencil as for it represents the cliché and that graffiti lets spontaneity. Agôn develops itself through improvisation too. They persistently mention enjoyment, pleasure as the main motivation whereas it is the same for agôn. Agôn might have a hierarchy in it whereas writers point out that they compete with their own selves for strengthening friendship keeping a hierarchy aside. Furthermore, the respect to elder ones or better ones coming with talent and techniques, the style is also the fundamental identifier of the hierarchy. The group of players sets the rules of agôn games, whereas they might always carry the possibility of changing; graffiti has its own sets of rules, which are not known by the outsiders but accepted and practiced widely by the writers. Writers become to be a *club* of friends hereafter, strengthening their bonds with also other elements like rap, parties, festivals and competitions, increasing the main motivation of the game, the enjoyment. (1961: 14-17, 36).

The second game is the *alea*, representing the chance factor inhabiting in the game, the risk taken. One of the main motivations of the writers is the risk taken. The greater the risk is the more enjoyment taken. Although they are aware of the possible outcomes, the pleasure forces them to forget about everything leaving themselves to their fate eventually. Different than agôn, in alea "will power is of no significance for the result". The chance factor taken into consideration in writing changes from the security, possible violence, passer-by, quality of the surface used, and many other risks waiting aside in the dark. The game is played never being sure about the certain outcome that is where the improvisations in graffiti work too. Risk taken both increases the excitement gained and helps proving the traditional codes of manhood. A writer is said to be crazy as he is not afraid of anything, even standing against the police with his weapons ready. One, first, has to be courageous to be a good, a *real* writer. . (1961: 14-36).

The third category, *ilinx*, "is based on the pursuit of vertigo and which consist of an attempt to momentarily destroy the stability of perception and inflict a kind of voluptuous panic upon an otherwise lucid mind," Writers run after adrenalin, letting them forget the lucidity of everyday life on the period of writing even making them name that period as a trans-perfect one and calling themselves addicted to that. This

adrenalin represent the never-taken excitement in everyday life, supplying an escape from the routine taking into consideration the writers' depictions on boredom in everyday life. A writer forces his limits to get more adrenalin all the time. Nevertheless, here, the most important thing is that: in *alea* the magnitude of the risk you get is important where in ilinx that only a player *dares* to do it becomes to be critical. A writer in virtual area or someone only doing legal is not respected. However, once you prove that you can exist in the limits; this gives you the right to be in legal too. Showing the dare to write on a train is getting the permission to be on legal too, still keeping the respect in the pocket.(1961: 23-24).

The fourth type of game is the mimicry, finding its definition in simulation, observable in the nicks chosen, in their guise, in the isolation of the writers from the real life and the king concept and resemblance to the kings. "The most central features of play are enacted in mimicry; freedom, consensus, suspension of reality, and the annulment of restrictions of time and place. All these take place by escaping oneself and pretending to be different person". The best aspect of mimicry in regard to graffiti is observed in becoming an illusionary character. *Mimicry* also connotes passing from the childhood to adulthood, where the codes of being adult is important which is represented by being 'a man'; although it is not pronounced such but observed in keywords. Urban space in regard to mimicry is transformed to a closed, conventional, and in certain respects, imaginary universe. The roles writers disguise when wandering in urban space as writers and ordinary inhabitants are, thus, different. Desire to resemble a writer model, like a king, is a part of that mimetic game which is especially observed in the beginning period of writing. Many characteristics involved in the act make them different or feel different in the masses, also strengthening their ties of friendship around the act. Mimetic game, the suspending of reality for a while, is another expository for the pseudo-dilemma of the writers. (1961: 19-23)

The motivations writers have, the working mechanism, expectation in differing stages, relations of writers in-between, borders drawn during the act, relation with everyday life, importance given to companionship and leadership, sheltering an ambiguous hierarchy and homology at the same time, correlation with reality show traces of the game categories described by Caillois in differing levels. Furthermore, with a variety of aspects, it is possible to find out the reasons lying beneath their relation built with

urban space in regard to *not rejecting* but on the other hand *ignoring* the rules of authority. Urban space becomes to be a playground where different writers come together to form a *body* for graffiti, having tight bonds, knowing each others quite well and deciding the rules all together.

5.1.4. A UNIQUE CASE FOR GRAFFITI: TURKEY

Graffiti in Turkey has quite a new history. The starting point might be considered as 1984 when REZ, *aka* TURBO, started bombing all over the city alone. Before him, there were some tags or pieces around but done by writers from abroad passing by or visiting Turkey. REZ later on, has founded the first crew in Turkey ZBP taking JEMY as his first pupil tutoring many writers in the following years amongst who are some famous writers of today's scene like TAB, VIGO and HOMER. ZBP, later S2K, kept growing in the following years taking some Turkish writers living abroad like TAXIM and KAIM. Meanwhile HOMER and TAXIM bombed the fist train in Turkey.

This was basically how graffiti in Turkey started to settle itself as a scene drawing its borders and searching for its path continuously. It is most probably quite hard for someone to improve himself and even get interested in a medium where there is no one around working on it. How TURBO got interested in doing graffiti is critical in understanding graffiti in Turkey throughout the effects as shapers of it. The main attributes might be called as hip-hop and cultural products that we have mentioned in the second chapter, which have been quite effective all around the world too. Thus, story of TURBO is the seeds of story of graffiti in Turkey.

> TURBO: Break-dance disks were sold; there were no CDs and stuff going that time [80s]. I used to see the first graffiti on break-dance disk covers. I had drawing talent already. I got interested in them and used to imitate. Finding spray paints was a serious job, of course. But it was 1984 when I really accelerated on seeing a film called *Beat Street*. I watched that film. I was oddly accelerated after that film I mean.[90]

[90] "Break dance plakları satılıyordu, o zaman cd filan da yok. Break dance plaklarının kapaklarında görüyordum ben ilk grafitileri. Kendimin resim yeteneği zaten. Merak sarıp onları taklit ediyordum. Sprey boya bulmak o zaman acaip dertliydi tabi. Ama asıl görüp gaza geldiğim 84'te Beat Street diye bir filmle… O filmi seyrettim ben. O filmde de bir grafiticinin hayatını anlatıyordu. O filmden sonra bana gaz geldi yani acaip şekilde."

There were naturally material problems then, which is quite limiting for the writers. They had to work with only one color, called 'refrigerator-paint', for a very long time forcing them to work within the borders of white merely. It was a few years later when they could eventually got more colors adding black and red. He talks about all that times within a sort of *nostalgia* sometimes showing sort of a soft reproach to the writers of today for being ungrateful for the *benefactions* coming from past. There were some writers then coming to Turkey and writing or tagging around but not so many living in Turkey. Around 1987 or 1988s, TURBO depicts, there were also RAMON from Bağdat Street, where we cannot see many writers or much graffiti now, and NESTY from Kocamustafapaşa whom also he tutored.

He was the first one to be caught in Turkey too when he was writing on Zeytinburnu Bridge in 1989. The court continued 1.5 years sentencing him to 1.5 years of imprisonment. It was then where he learned that there was a crime of 'writing slogans on the walls and damaging state property'. Fortunately, he was not imprisoned as he was younger than 18 and could get rid of it paying the tangible equivalent. There, he stopped writing around a year getting bored and keen, and continuing later on.

His first crew then was ZBP whose name he had to change to S2K after being caught and sentenced, for practical reasons that we have mentioned before. S2K of TURBO with JEMI and HOMER is the longest graffiti crew in Turkey still continuing today with differing members and giving birth to new writers and being the most respected. The roots of S2K actually were woven around the break-dancing juveniles in a few spots in Bakırköy where TURBO was habiting too. These groups were gathering around definite places usually break dancing and meeting up each others as small friend-groups. There were many of these meeting corners in different boroughs of the city usually staying local, having little connection in between.

The first news on graffiti in media was also the starting point of its broadening in a way. Media pulled attention to what graffiti was on seeing the drawings of TURBO who went to show his cartoons as a young boy to get critics from the cartoon artists in *Gazete Pazar* under the structure of newspaper *Hürriyet*. They were more interested in his graffiti that he brought to describe the background of the cartoons more than his cartoon works. And they started asking questions about what they were, how he did

them, so on and so forth, eventually deciding to cover a story titled "Graffiti Writers in Bakırköy ask for their freedom"[91]. Following that, a TV program, *Alkışlar*, communicated with S2K making a program on graffiti writers asking for a legal wall in Carousel, a shopping center in Bakırköy, which still continues to be one of the most popular legal walls in İstanbul.

Gazete Pazar follows this short-time popularity for a while encouraging TURBO to go and ask Blue Jean Magazine for preparing a graffiti-page periodically. In July 1997, he started with a demo-page inspired by international magazines, which continued up to today receiving really bad works at the beginning but improving each month since then, as he says. These were the first steps of broader interaction of the pre-mentioned local corners carrying hip-hop and eventually graffiti scene in Turkey to a new face. Blue Jean, for the very first time, gave the local groups the chance of being aware of each other via massaging in Blue Jean and turning out local parties to general ones supplying a real interaction in between.

> TURBO: People dealing with hip-hop culture all over Turkey, like break-dancers, graffiti writers, rappers started to interact with each other on my writing in Blue Jean. As Turkey started to hear the party news I was making there, Blue Jean magazine suddenly became to be a place where hip-hoppers, graffiti writers gathered. I mean, they were messaging, getting into contact, getting informed about the parties, meet up, and stuff.[92]

This first printed material was followed by a graffiti fanzine of 2 issues changing its name from *Black Book* to *İstanbul Style* in the second issue. That was important in a time where accessing to graffiti examples, information about the scene and history of graffiti was quite hard. All these new communication methods of writers and hip-hoppers resulted with the first *Turk-based*[93] break-dance group, and biggest party of all times

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[91] Bakırköy'deki Grafiticiler Özgürlüklerini İstiyor; *Gazete Pazar*.

[92] "Dergide yazmamla beraber Türkiye'nin her yerinde hiphop kültürüyle uğraşan insanlar, işte break dansçılar, grafiticiler, rapçiler birbiriyle temasa geçmeye başladı. Benim ordaki yaptığım parti haberini artık Türkiye duymaya başladığı için, böyle bir anda o Blue Jean dergisi hiphopçıların, grafiticilerin de toplandığı yer haline geldi. Yani mesajlaşıyorlar, ordan bağlantıya geçiyorlar birbirleriyle, partilerinden haberleri olup buluşuyorlar falan filan gibi şeyler."

[93] There used to be other break-dance groups but they were comprised of juveniles living in Germany. That is why TURBO calls *İstanbul34* as the first Turk-based group meaning the habitants of Turkey.

where around 1500 hip-hoppers gathered, *Apocalypse Day* organized by S2K. These were the first steps of graffiti scene merging from hip-hop and in İstanbul.

We should talk about a few aspects triggering the period of getting wider of the culture. Before the hip-hop and graffiti page prepared by TURBO in Blue Jean Magazine, merging of *Cartel* -a rap group- was the main trigger of hip-hop culture. Eventually, the real explosion of graffiti is parallel to the explosion of rap music with Cartel familiarizing the making more juveniles enter to the scenes. The birth of hip-hop in Turkey might be easily drawn with Cartel although there were a few DJs and groups earlier. Cartel did not supply an overall interaction but an incredible increase in rap listeners and hip-hop followers in Turkey, which indirectly fed the writers scene.

> TURBO: It [graffiti] accelerated with the coming of Cartel. When Cartel exploded in 95, I understood that rap is in Turkish hereafter. People liked it. Cartel used to show graffiti in their promotion films or [music] videos and stuff. It was like putting graffiti into people's eyes with rap.[94]

It is important to put down the characteristics of hip-hop culture in Turkey woven around the rap groups settled in Germany, more precisely Cartel, to show the distinctive face of both hip-hip and eventually graffiti in Turkey, pointing out that the broader sense of hip-hop history and organization is out of the limits of this thesis. Cartel was a group comprising of both German and Turkish juveniles living in Germany, sheltering a few different groups. After one album, group members continued working solo. It is possible to say that, thus 2 years far, rap has never reached to a wide audience except for that flash in the pan period of Cartel and the shadow of Cartel was never lost upon the rap scene in Turkey.

Turks living in Germany disseminated the basis of rap in Turkish starting with the song of 'Life of a Stranger'[95] describing the problems of Turks living in Germany accelerating many others later on. But it is important to tell that, although Cartel is presented as the first example of *oriental-rap,* 'Islamic Force', founded in 1986, is the first creators of this

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[94] "Cartel'in gelmesiyle açıkçası bir hız kazandı. Cartel '95'e patladığında ben de şunu gördüm ki rap artık Türkçe. İnsanlar beğeniyor. İşte Cartel'in tanıtım filmlerinde, videolarında grafiti gösteriyor falan filan. Yani böyle bir hani insanların gözüne bir sokmak vardı raple beraber."

[95] *Bir Yabancının Hayatı*; in the 'The Word is Subversion' album of King Size Terror, dated 1991

music, never reaching the commercial success Cartel could[96] though (Kaya, A., 2001). Rap done by these differing juveniles in different points of Germany used Turkish pop, arabesque and Turkish folk as light motives or samples in their music. When Cartel first released an album in 1995 in Turkey, for the very first time, a rap album reached to a number of 100 thousand being claimed ownership by both the right and the left wings in Turkey. In order to understand the two-faced quality of Cartel and the culture it brings we need to search the immigrants in Germany going from Turley, first of all.

Özgün (1995) covers the story of Cartel starting with the effects of metropolis life on individual described in the essay *Metropolis and Mental Life* of Georg Simmel. He continues with the specificity of immigrants in metropolis reaching to the distinctive quality of the *Turkish workers working in Germany*[97]. Immigrants eventually might create their own islands via creating the land they think they belong to, which are different than the land they live on, and exist in metropolis areas. In that means, they are different from the exiles; as, however far they are from it, they eventually have a land. An immigrant both creates a habitat for oneself and continuously stays a nominee of becoming the other. The first generation of most of the Turks going to Germany became immigrants before living the very own metropolis experience obstructing the integration to metropolis life. So the real tension was between the identity desire of these Turks and the relation of metropolis with identity.

Cartel was a result of this tension representing the 'Otherness' described in the Turkey-based immigrants living in Germany those could not define themselves neither in terms of Germany nor Turkey; squeezed in between, in nowhere, different than an immigrant supposed to be. Cartel, as Sabine von Dirke emphasizes (2004), is one of the affiliates of the *Oriental hip-hop* categorized for the benefits of the market mainly. As von Dirke cites, this is in a way expounded by Cartel in an interview done after the releasing of the song "Life of a Stranger': "Rapping consistently in Turkish was not necessarily a choice but rather the result of being defined by mainstream culture as different, more precisely

[96] The reasons might be described within publicity, the discoursive form of the group and the political athmosphere when the group merged (Arıcan, 2003). Contrary to its name, *Islamic Force* was using universal values in their songs showing an anti-racist approach different than Cartel.

[97] *Almancılar*.

defined within the framework of Orientalist discourse as the exoticized other and marketed as such."

This discourse carries importance to reveal the difference of Cartel, or Turkish rappers in Germany, and other minorities' groups. Usually, *Kanaktas*[98] making rap stand out with being anti-racist, legitimizing being immigrant or stranger. However, when the subject comes to Cartel, it is possible to observe a tough nestling on a faraway-land and its derivatives. Cartel. As result, it is supposed one of the anti-racist rap groups in Germany whereas its audience is also the Turkish juveniles living in Germany trying to cling tightly on their nationalistic values. Indeed, what Cartel means saying "Turks and Kurds are brothers, ones separating them are treacherous, bring up the new-comers in that way! Do not unite the cold-blooded but warm-blooded. My brother, if we unite, no one can smash us, pass us, defeat us, beat us, never defraud us" in their song "Isn't that Enough?"[99], still points out an *other* to be defeated, a full nation; Germans. Hereafter, the reflection of this discourse becomes to represent a distinctive audience group when it comes to Turkey; the conservatives, more precisely the ones reproducing the term Turk not on ethnicity but similar to the understanding of Turkish Republic's definition; grabbing all ethnicities under one single umbrella. (Özgün, 1995)

The rap scene in Turkey and so, graffiti scene indirectly, is an extension of this frame in common, never of course forgetting the exceptions that might eventually increase each day[100]. It has been possible to observe the effects of that frame throughout the participant writers during the interview process. They are in favor of improvement of graffiti scene in Turkey claiming it Turkish graffiti, and sometimes including the Turkish-origin writers living in Germany too. They are in favor of preserving history starting its beginning from Ottoman Empire in general, seeing it the beginning of the

[98] As von Dirke (2004) describes, *Kanaktas* is a word used by many immigrants grown in Germany, especially Turks, to define themselves. It is a combination of words 'gangsta' in English and the German slur for immigrant –*Kanake*-.

[99] "Türk ve Kürt kardeştir, bunları ayıranlar kalleştir, gelenleri böyle yetiştir! Sakın ha soğuk değil, sıcak kanlıları birleştir. Kardeşim beraber olsak kimse bizi ezemez, geçemez, yenemez, dövemez, hakkımizi hiç bir an yiyemez."; in the song *Yetmedi mi?* in the album *Cartel*, 1995.

[100] *Barikat* of *Jön Türk* should be mentioned as the leading example.

tradition and maintaining specific cultural values causing us to name them as a conservative[101] group.

They all have high demand on representing Turkish graffiti all over the world to prove that there *is* graffiti in Turkey, in a way to mean that, *they* exist too. Most of them give importance to the increase in visibility of *Turkish* graffiti in international web pages like *graffiti.org*. They usually mention some values related to their own identity claiming it Turkey's general ethical understanding: They do not affirm a writer who steals, because defrauding is a sin not fitting this country's ethics. Almost all, persistently tend to say they do not indeed want to damage historical artifacts; they receive their elder-brothers in Germany with open arms respecting them; and they even use the term essence of *Turk-hood* in means of graffiti describing free style.

> PEACE: Besides, there is freestyle improvisation in the essence of Turk. It is Turk when you draw letters. I mean this will make us distinctive abroad. We have COWBOY69 already. He is demonstrating/proving us, he is representing [us] there [in Germany]. He is representing the Turk there, I mean. There, they call him the king.[102]

Eventually, what is more interesting than all is that; except for the very first generation, *the other nation* when they talk in regard to graffiti is the Germans, an inheritance from their *expatriate brothers*[103]. This might even carry them to writing some slogans against Germans and even to insulting them. This fight in-between starting in, let's say, Cartel's generation is carried out to juveniles in Turkey throughout both virtual and concrete spaces. Although it is very seldom that they write slogans on the walls, they are specifically against German, except for *the war of Bush or Israel*, as ESİR calls it.

> ESİR: We write 'no war' or do against America too. As Germans are already a bit against Turks, we sometimes write against them too.[104]

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[101] Conservatism, in this thesis is used in regard to cultural conservatism. As Çiğdem (2003: 13-18) describes in *Muhafazakarlık*, conservatism in Turkey basically points out a cultural conservatism turning social and political categories to cultural ones, transformed especially after 1920s.

[102] "Bir de freestyle doğaçlama vardır yani türkün özünde. Harf çizdiğin zaman Türk.. Yani bu farklı kılacak bizi yurt dışında. Zaten şu anda da COWBOY69 var. Gösteriyor yani bizi, orda temsil ediyor. türkü orda temsil ediyor yani. Orda kral diyorlar."

[103] Used for the Turkish phrase *Gurbetci Abiler*

> KEŞİF: There is a reaction to Germans. As this art has merged from Germany, they might dislike Turks or whatever. They are speaking against [Turks] in [web] sites, or stuff.[105]
>
> GAS: You have to develop Turkish graffiti. Germans do really well and they are humiliating Turks heavily in the [web] sites. You are adding a picture in a site and they swear immediately wherever they see the word Turk saying toy, hawk. I mean, you are being motivated in that way saying why not I should do when they can. We, thus, have to carry graffiti in Turkey to a position.[106]

In this regard, participant writers are aware of the fact that graffiti was born in U.S., but they know more about the European scene more specifically, German scene. When it comes to the history of Turkey, one and all note TURBO as the initial. Elder writers have broader and more detailed information on the scene where younger ones, by and large, let it go via counting the touchstones. Although, as we already described, they tend to draw strict borders between political graffiti of late 70s, they mention them, either for proving the difference or the improvement.

> SCOUT: The merging reason of graffiti in our country is political. There used to be so many events then. Everyone used to take to the streets writing on politics with oil paints and brushes on the walls. And because of that 70… Besides, graffiti arose around 70s, 80s. Many people know it as after 80s, but no, graffiti started around the beginning of 70s. Politics… If you look at its basis, it is elder, I mean. But what is made with brushes on the walls in 70s took on a lively note developing into what it is today. It is more colorful and beautiful compared to past. At least people are more familiar to it. Although they do not know, they have a slight acquaintance. We can, at least, tell people that we are not dealing with politics.[107]

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[104] "Savaşa hayır olarak da yazıyoruz mesela. Amerika karşıtı olarak da yapıyoruz mesela. Zaten Almanlar Türklere karşı biraz zıt olduğu için, biraz onlara karşı da yazıyoruz bazen."

[105] "Bir tepki var Almanlara karşı. Zaten Almanya'dan çıktığı için bu sanat, Türkleri beğenmiyorlar mı ne. Sitelerde filan ters konuşuyorlar."

[106] "Türk grafitisi ileriye götürmek zorundasın. Almanlar çok iyi bir şekilde yapıyorlar ve Türkleri acaip bi şekilde aşağılıyorlar sitelerde. Bir siteye bir resim ekliyorsun, adamlar direkt küfür ediyor Türk kelimesinin bulunduğu yerlerde, toy diyor çaylak diyor. İşte sen de bu şeklide gaza geliyorsun; onlar yapıyor ben niye yapmayayım diyorsun. Türkiye grafitisini bir yere getirmek zorundayız çünkü."

[107] "Bizim ülkemizde grafitinin çıkma sebebi siyasettir. Zamanında çok olaylar oluyor. Herkes sokaklara dökülüp sokaklara fırçalarla, yağlı boyalarla duvarlara yazılar yazarlardı siyaset üzerine. Ve bundan dolayı 70… 70-80lere doğru grafiti çıktı zaten. Çok insan bunu 80'lerden sonra bilir ama hayır 70lerin başlarında başlayan birşey aslında grafiti. Siyaset.. Temeline baktığınızda aslında daha eskidir yani. Ama 70lerde fırçalarla duvara yapılan ise aslında renkleniyor renkleniyor ve günümüzde grafiti haline geliyor. Eskisine göre çok çok daha renkli ve daha da güzel. En azından insanlar biraz daha alışkın oluyor. Hani bilmeseler de göz aşinalığı oluyor. En azından bir siyaset yapmadığımızı az-buçuk da olsa insanlara anlatabiliyoruz."

What SCOUT tells is not a general understanding on the roots of graffiti but carries a two-folded importance for the study: An excuse to mention the writing on the wall tradition of Turkey and writers' strict escape from politics and its reasons settled in 80s, observed in our participant group too. Political writings on the walls, which we tend to name as a tradition, especially merging from left, was a considerable field of struggle and even existence for the youth of late 70s, representing either dominancy or power in some territories or existence on the territories of the other side via writing slogans signed with the names of groups or parties. Going out for writing supposed to be a serious act done in the dangerous dark of the night, in general venturing so many differing risks. These writings started to decrease in numbers parallel to the changing political and cultural climate after the military coup, leaving its place to apolitical texts, as coup supposed it to be. Mustafa Yalçıner, who was one of the 4 who has written DEVRİM, meaning revolution, on the seats of the stadium of Middle East Technical University, deciphers the decrease[108]:

> Every era has its own tools and methods of struggle. They [political texts] do not exist now; but might exist in the future again. The reason might be the relative weakness of one side, the revolutionists. The other side might be feeling as powerful as not needing these tools. It is, on the other hand related to the depolitization in society.[109]

It *does* continue indeed. Despite the critical decrease in 80s and 90s, political texts, especially in the last few years, started to be more visible in Turkey. *DTO*[110], merged in İzmir at the end of 1995 and later on spread around Turkey, is specific as the organization announced itself via wall writing. The left wing though accelerated the texts in the last years especially parallel to the Death Fasts taking place, but usually limited within specific territories not becoming visible all over. There are certainly other examples though but usually coming from right wing attacking with swears. Last but not least to continue the decrease in Turkey, we have to mention the general decrease

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[108] Quoted from Dolmacı (2007)

[109] "Her dönemin kendi mücadele yöntemleri ve araçları vardır. Şu anda yok; ancak yakın bir gelecekte yine olabilir. Şimdi olmaması bir tarafın, kendisini devrimci olarak ifade edenlerin, henüz görece zayıflığıdır. Belki bir tarafın da böyle araçlara ihtiyaç duymayacak kadar kendisini güçlü hissetmesidir. Öte yandan toplumdaki depolitizasyonla da ilgili bu."

[110] Dünya Türk Olsun, made by a group calling themselves *Buduncular*, advocating the excellence of Turks based on ethnicity, claiming all other nations, especially the Kurds, the abject race.

all over the world in regard to the political texts. It is not *interdire est interdit,* writing on the Paris walls anymore but Banksy traveling there cutting-out his stencils singing out against capitalism via his rats and it is true that *every era creates its own tool to struggle.*

Going back to our participant group, leaving the relation of the tradition -as we call it- and graffiti -as we describe in the limits of this thesis- an open question for another study; it is critical to say that most important problem of the participant writers is not what they will say with their work, but what they have in their hands as material. When asked about the differences of graffiti scene here and abroad, they demonstrate the lack of material as the first input describing graffiti sort of a luxurious art, as DOSE puts it; because better material means more appealing work for the eyes of the ordinary audience. Catching on others is important as it eventually makes people understand that *this is not political.* They are, on the other hand, happy that this prejudice about graffiti is changing via their hard work, more appealing pieces on legal walls, better and better writers each day, familiarity within the supports of local governments, sponsorships of companies, and their careful acts on not insulting the values of this country. They think that there is no reason to be hopeless for the future of graffiti claiming that people here will eventually understand that they are not terrorists, or against government or the state. Eventually graffiti will be perceived as arts like it is in Europe, as they claim it. Consequently, violence they face up during act decreased indeed resulting with a serious market on graffiti.

> TURBO: Graffiti is known now. There is also a difference between police then and now. I was treated as a terror group or political group when I was caught then. But now, they know that hip-hop kids write graffiti. Paints were improved in time, new foreign paints came constantly. Paint factories abroad are aware of the fact that there is a graffiti scene in Turkey and they can make money out of it.[112]

This is of course what is supposed to take place where every group claiming itself alternative has the risk of being defined within the limits of the dominant market economy. These groups, as Gürbilek (2001:37) refers for subcultures, might either steal the symbols of the dominant culture or create their own codes to form a divergent symbols system whereas it is the continuous attempt of consumption society isolating the same symbols from their historical or class-bound context to give them back to the market. An expected outcome merges then. Within the limits of the this relation of

graffiti and market in Turkey, writers think that graffiti in Turkey is going quite well and will be better on condition of ending the fights in-between and clinging together, increasing the familiarity and legal walls. Whereas, they do not believe that it will become an occupation; and as TURBO says will never be as much as New York as İstanbul is living 24 hours everyday and smaller cities are still quite reactive to it. Though, Turkey might turn out to be something like Basel in the future, as PEACE calls as a continuance of the graffiti dream.

5.2. GRAFFITI AND ITS SPATIALITY

We have been talking on the general description of graffiti throughout the writers' definitions, motivations and working mechanism in general. In this chapter, we will try to portray out the relation of our participant writers build up with city, urban space and places they gather and chose to write on.

5.2.1. SPACES OF GATHERING: SPATIALITY-TEMPORALITY

This study looks at graffiti in its environment, as an output of both the designers and the users within its relation to urban space considering that what ties the writers together is the urban space itself. Appropriation of the urban space via inhabitants, texts written on the city by the walkers, tags thrown by writers are searched as everyday tactics of releasing ourselves from the map-drawers, extending our limits far from the given, considering that "maps are made by the ones who want to '*impose power upon the city*'" (Sadler, 1998: 82). In the light of this assumption on the appropriation of spaces, it is, first, important to describe the specificity of İstanbul as a metropolis before drawing out how our participant writers describe and relate themselves with the spaces they gather; how these places come out; and how these created spaces affect them: a reciprocal relation included.

With a 5.512 km² of an area, İstanbul is divided into two parts with Bosphorus that is also dividing the continents Asia and Europe and bonding Black Sea and Marmara Sea. Plating the 9.7 % of the country in regard to survey, the city is the most crowded one in Turkey with an approximate population of 11 million according to official numbers of 2000, where the unofficial one is mainly guessed to be much higher. The city might

easily be claimed as the hearth of Turkey in many senses including business, culture, history and crime all together. Subsequently, it is possible to say that both the cultural and the natural heritage are not protected considering especially the recent overall practice in the city. İstanbul is also the mostly *immigrated* city where the distribution of income becomes more and more unequal in parallel to the increase in spatial and social resolution on the basis of class, ethnicity, political or religious axis.

But the importance of the city İstanbul is not just fed by its being economical and cultural center of the country but its being the unique member of the country for having a *world city*. Gentrification lived especially in the last years is a result of this organization where everyone whose economical, ethnical or cultural statue do not fit to the planned city, who are not wanted eventually, are step by step being estranged and removed from the city. That eventually means being attached to global economy resulting with the globalizing İstanbul and facing us with an irregular urbanization in each and every aspect: A deviant *spectacular* city culminates within a continuing process serving all its possibilities prodigally to market economy turning out the city to an enormous vitrine erasing all the individual stories hidden. This is indeed much or less the story of all metropolis and İstanbul is the only metropolis Turkey has ready with all its elements sheltered to serve/sell. And the merging of graffiti in İstanbul rather than any other city in Turkey must not be a coincidence in the mentioned sense. It is the center of Turkey, as our participant writers also choose to name it and thus the center of graffiti in Turkey as graffiti already can take place in city, in metropolis. Parallel to all, the European side of the city, where we are looking, is where overall economical and cultural circulation is mostly concentrated. Taking reference from what our participant writers describe it: as İstanbul is the center of the country, European side of the city, more clearly Beyoğlu district and eventually İstiklal Street is mentioned as the center of the city.

As we described former in the chapter, the spots where writers gather are important in their entrance and existence in the scene. They might have the chance to meet with others, communicate on their interest and finally come up with different friend groups, merging as graffiti crews in our case. These spaces of gathering eventually are not designed for that sort of gatherings, though; they turn out to be such throughout the appropriation processes users apply. But how do these spaces evaluate and become as

they are, and before that, why are these spaces and not somewhere else are chosen, what are the specifications of these spaces before and after?

Our participant writers mention two different main spaces of gathering; first the parties and second the *walls*. The first is basically the gathering around music and entertainment proving rap music as the catalyst in the coming together of groups. In these parties, taking place seldom or more often according to season, juveniles doing graffiti, break-dancing, DJing or fundamentally having any relation with hip-hop culture come together. In this regard, "music is more than a working object; it is a form of perceiving and explaining the world." (Attali, 2002: 4). Our writers are attendees in this regard rather then being participants.

The second space is described throughout the graffiti written walls. These are the walls of fame in general where many writers go and write on differing occasions or at any time as it is already a legal wall. These spaces are created as a result of the appropriation period in time. Some of the examples might be given as the Yeşilçam (Atlas) auto park wall, given by a private property owner; Carrousel Shopping Center Wall; and Güngören Municipality Wall of Fame, a public property. It is possible to count many other small walls mentioned by the writers but we will portray out the stories of two of these walls concentrating on Atlas within its location and later outcomes, as it is the specific meeting place of unexceptionally all writers in İstanbul.

It is true that writers write illegally and prefer illegal writing in a wide range. However, writing on an illegal wall is an act, which has to be done as quickly as possible because of the differing risks waiting aside. For this reason, writers need legal walls to exhibit their talents and improve it firstly, and to make graffiti understood better and accepted via well-done works in the eyes of the public. They, thus, search for legal walls where it might be a public wall like in the example of Güngören Municipality. MET, the organizer of the wall of fame in Güngören, tells that he had been thinking on having a legal wall where he lives and decided to ask it to the municipality when they were together one day with his friends. Although he lives in Fatih, he decided to go to Güngören, which he heard about some further relation with writers beforehand. They have asked and it was accepted kindly, as he says, by the municipality governed by an AKP (Justice and Development Party, the governing party in Turkey) mayor. They

supplied all the materials necessary starting from the music system to the ladders, from spray paints to its publicity.

The All-Stars Festival[113] was realized on a sunny Sunday, 27th of August, 2007, where we had the chance to observe too. It was around 100 meters long wall, in a middle-class settling area of Güngören but also a crowded street where especially services of workers from small and medium size enterprises pass quite often. There was loud music playing rap whole day only turned off during calls to prayer; there were many writers writing on the extension of the wall and watching invited writers, called as *VIP*. All the writers invited have written the whole day on the given area to them, side by side even if some had fights beforehand. At the end of the day, the wall was really colorful and appealing visually with the motley tags and characters aside. The specificity of the chosen spot indeed is suitable for what MET demands describing the motivation of the festival:

> Gathering of so many pioneer writers from all over Turkey.. Because, it might take place on media too… We will have fully expounded to the people the beauty of graffiti and what it is. Fully, because there is a judgment, a prejudice among Turkish People, in Turkey that graffiti [writers] are Satanists. I mean, if God wills, we will abolish that. Middle-aged people, elder than us, already started to accept it, bit by bit. They support, I mean. They say like 'do it everywhere'. We will do the best, I mean. That's the only importance, I guess. Gathering of so many writers really proves to Turkish people what graffiti is.[114]

The reactions taken both from the people living around, few passer-by and the officials seemed to be proving MET's motivation and experience. Many people came and congratulated them on getting information on what graffiti is even asking the writers to do it more often. The municipal's police waiting there for any sort of frenzy of the juveniles seemed to be having a good time as there was nothing wrong except for some small tags on their vehicles and on the pavements through the ends of the festival. The act is illegal in its nature, as the writers call it, and it is, eventually, not possible to hold

[113] A picture from the show is given in apendix D.1.

[114] "Türkiyede bu kadar çok writer'ın bir arada olması, Türkiye'deki öncü writerlar'ın… Çünkü şu anda şurda belki basında da yer alacak bu.. Graffitinin tam manasıyla güzelliğini, tam manasıyla ne olduğunu halka açıklamış olacağız. Tam manasıyla çünkü Türkiye'de, Türk insanında böyle bir yargı var, önyargı var satanist yargısı var. İşte inşallah bunu kaldıracağız. Yaşları bizden büyük olan orta yaşlı insanlar da artık yavaş yavaş zaten kabullenmeye başladılar. Teyzeler olsun amcalar olsunlar destekliyorlar yani. Heryeri yapın filan diyorlar. Biz de elimizden geldiğince yapacağız işte. Bence tek önemi bu yani. Türkiye'de bu kadar writer'ın buluşması gerçekten Türk insanına grafitinin ne olduğunu ispatlar."

writers especially when so many are together. The approach of the police was quite similar to the municipality's seeing graffiti perfect visually; good as juveniles were expressing themselves in open air via their talent; and important as letting them empower themselves and gain self-confidence. The general atmosphere was positive as the city was becoming more beautiful. There was nothing negative, in total.

> MUNICIPALITY POLICE: It is, of course, great that people are dealing with such a work in their congregation. It is also great that municipality and the environment support. It is colorful, environment is becoming colorful. People are usually pleased. It is pleasing in general. There is something related to the acceptance of their [existence?] in society, expressing themselves. There is nothing negative according to me.[115]

The municipality now even thinks of organizing a series of workshops and courses for the writers on traditional crafts, like marble and calligraphy, so that they would able to apply it to graffiti, which will eventually give opportunity to create a *Turkish Style,* because "they [writers] are painting anyways. They will continue painting even if you wrap them, they will break the chains and do it."[116], so, why not let them do it gaining an essence? Here hangs a question to be understood by time: Must this attempt be seen as a part of a strategy of the continuous attempt of consumption society isolating the alternative symbols from their historical or class-bound context to give them back to the market (Gürbilek, 2001:37); or might it be used as a tactic in wandering more freely in the realms of the dominant culture as it helps many illegally- writing writers go and write there too to improve their styles and gain familiarity and increase the number of illegal writers too? These question hanging aside, it is important merely to say that the struggle on representations continues in urban space ceaselessly.

Another location is the Yeşilçam Autopark of a private property owner at the backside of Passage Atlas, which we will call as Atlas later on. Atlas is located in İstiklal Street, in İstanbul which carries a specificity for the writers too. İstiklal Street, one of the most crowded and kept under surveillance streets, is both the entertainment and

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115 "Tabii insanların kendi, ne diyelim, camiası içinde böyle bir çalışma içinde bulunmaları çok iyi. Yani kendilerini ifade ediyorlar. Yani tabii belediyenin ve çevrenin de desteklemesi çok iyi. Yani renkli, ortam renkleniyor. İnsanlar genel anlamda hoş bakıyorlar. Yani görüntüler genel olarak hoş. Genel olarak toplumda şeylerinin kabullenilmeleri ile ilgili birşeyler var. Kendilerini ifadelendirmeleri var. Yeni bence olumsuz bir yön yok."

116 Press Advisor of Güngören Municipality: "Bunlar nasıl olsa boyuyorlar, bağlasan da zincirini kopartıp yine de boyayacaklar."

demonstration site of the city, starting from Taksim Square going to Tunnel. In this respect, we consider İstiklal as a space where the conceptual and lived merge into each others all and every moment. The main street and its alleys are mostly used for commercial purposes where after the closing of the street to traffic in the end 1990 (Kocabıçak, 2003; 38)[117], the commerce turned out to be entertainment and cultural centers replacing private areas with public areas (Kocabıçak, 2003; 39)[118]. İstiklal lies between two differing districts socially and economically; in one end lays *the drug and crime center-called* neighborhoods Tarlabaşı Boulevard, Tarlabaşı and Kasımpaşa districts and on the other side lays *the intellectual-artistic-luxurious faces* of the city, Sıraselviler Street and Cihangir district. This rapid change is observable in the alleys of the street too; it is not rare entering to a street with a café of all kinds of world coffee and resulting with laundry put out line out to dry. *Gentrified* and *not-yet-gentrified* areas exist together where none never the less; all are the inputs both describing and determining the district.

Passages, where the important ones might be followed as Alkazar, Atlas, Avrupa, Aznavur, Beyoğlu, Narmanlı, and Terkos, are the main sites of wandering, hidden in-between alleys and hiding different consumer-groups in themselves. Our participant group, taking its basis generally from the passages it includes code Beyoğlu district with being different and marginal. Our subject matter Passage Atlas -located between Taksim and Galatasaray squares, which is relatively a more crowded location- welcomes you with Cinema Atlas. Passing the main entrance you feel the deep odor of different sorts of incense gospelling the visitor on the Far East taste of the bazaars inside.

Passage Atlas, rebuilt on the ruins of an older building around 1920s, was used as a horse stall transformed to a half-time stall half-time horse-acrobat show place in the coming years. It became *Cinema Kozmografya* later on taking the name *Moulin Roug* and *Çağlyan* in 1938 working as one of the most famous nightclubs of the city. It later served with operetta and revues. In 1945, it is renewed totally opening its doors as Cinema and Theatre Atlas. (Koçu, 1958: 1306-1307). This never-stopping change Atlas has, by time, carried itself in the last 10 years or so, which we could observe too. It used

[117] Quoted from Aru, 1995.

[118] "*This research was appointed to Mimar Sinan University Department of Urban and Regional Planning in November 1984 by Beyoglu Municipality via Association for Improving and Preserving Beyoğlu.".*

to be a place where the scarce posters, discs and books or cheap second-hand clothes were found. But in the last five years or so, it turned out to be a passage full of *authentic* giftware; *alternative* clothes bought from Terkos and sold twice expensive, as our writers call it. It became to be a place where dandies and geeks hang around, according to our participants. Leaving the old shiny days aside, it now shines with spots, full of tourists and shoppers selling the same *similar differing marginality*.

Our study's Atlas begins after entering from the main entrance; passing from all these sold stuff without idling there but just taking a short-look; climbing the stairs for the second floor trying to reach the gate between the crammed stacks of *on-sale* punk or hip-hop styles; accepting the disturbing eyes of the shop-keeper machos and coming out at the back-door eventually. There lies the cheapest tea of all İstiklal not with a scene of sea but probably the most beautiful scene of graffiti scene in Turkey[119]. It is the wall of auto park of Brother Mustafa, which indeed transformed this location to a space of gathering of the young graffiti writers. The difference between main gate and back door is considerable though.

The beginning of the story lies beneath the keywords on the identity of the passage for the writers of that time. KOPIKSTAR, a writer friend of TURBO, goes and asks the owner of the park being afraid of having a negative reply, where eventually, Brother Mustafa reacts quite positively. S2K makes the first partial writing in 2002. Later on Mustafa admires both the view and the positive reactions coming, such as people taking photographs or asking to rent the park as Plato for filming video clips. It is not possible to say which motivated him more but he decided to open all the walls to writers later on. One thing might give clue though. On our first and long-time taking conversation trying to persuade him to give the contact information of the writers; he was blessing the ones *working with him* whereas he has chased and sworn the ones tagging around, our younger writers. But why KOPIK has chosen this location to write on? TURBO tells:

> There was a wall there only. Young people were hanging out there as there were music-shops, bouquiniste selling second-hand books, magazines, and the teashop where you could drink the cheapest tea. It was a place where young masses go and come in circles. For that reason KOPIK was hanging out there too. And he has seen the wall there and asked for

[119] A picure of Atlas autopark graffiti in appedix D.2.

> permission from Brother Mustafa. There is indeed no concept such as young people hang out here so let's do graffiti here.[120]

The main motivation lying beneath, as TURBO tells, was their already hanging out around Atlas. The reasons of being already there might be explained with a couple of reasons. DOSE gives one reason of going to Beyoğlu: "I guess there is a cultural variety there. There are some places were every cultures meet. That is what Beyoğlu is."[121] Our participant group describes Beyoğlu district mostly within terms of multiculturalism and marginality supplying more freedom of movement in general. Juveniles tend to go to places where other juveniles go and for describing this district they tend to name it the center of the city where everyone goes and is quite easy to access. ESİR describes his first motivation with his description: "Because Beyoğlu is a place where everyone comes. We see Taksim the center of İstanbul just like İstanbul is the center of Turkey. You write here as everybody comes here."[122]

Earlier significances of the district and these motivations together made Beyoğlu the center of graffiti in İstanbul. It is easier to write there because of the dense flow of people and elasticity coming from its multicultural structure. Related to that, its being the center and being very crowded support the visibility, which is also the main motivation of writers. Last but not least, that Atlas is there and it became a center of meeting, collecting all writers around. It, though, has to be stressed that Atlas became Atlas as it is today because it *is* in Beyoğlu; and Beyoğlu became Beyoğlu as it is today for graffiti because Atlas is there. Writers, although do not know quite well when the wall was made first, they tell that it is a tradition gathering in the Atlas auto park. As they all came up in Atlas and write in the same neighborhood; that is what would eventually happen; an explosion different than any other location as MET says. So an appropriated space *by* act supplied improvement of the act itself. Atlas becoming a *writer*

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120 "Sadece orada duvar vardı. Atlas Pasajı ve arkasındaki pasajlarda müzik shop gibi dergi kitap satan gibi sahafların olması, işte en ucuz çayı içebileceğimiz çay ocağının orada olması gençlerin orada takılmasını sağlıyorrdu. Genç kitlenin döngü halinde gidip geldiği bir yerdi. Bu sebepten dolayı KOPIK de oraya takılıyordu. Ve orda duvarı görüp Mustafa Abi'den izin aldı. Yoksa öyle vay burda gençler takılıyor biz buraya grafiti yapalım diye bir kavram yok."

121 "Sanırım orda da kültür çesitliligi yaşanıyor. Bazı yerleri vardır ya bütün kültürlerin birleştiği bir yer vardır ya Beyoğlu'nda öyle.."

122 "Çünkü Beyoğlu herkesin gidip geldiği bir yer. İstanbul nasıl Türkiye'nin merkezi ise İstanbul'un merkezi de Taksim olarak görüyoruz. Herkes gelip gittiği için buraya grafiti yazarsın."

corner, as they call it, transformed the alley to the *space of graffiti writers* transforming the whole district by time.

> TURBO: I mean if you go there [Atlas] towards evening, you would certainly see a couple of writers. There was not so much graffiti around Taksim before we have done graffiti there, for example. After we painted there the children started to come and this resulted with the explosion of graffiti around Taksim and Cihangir. There is nowhere unwritten in Taksim, İstiklal Street now.[123]

The difference in *post-Atlas* period carries significance for transforming both the district in means of graffiti and the perception of people on graffiti, as unexceptionally all writers say. Atlas is sort of a *stock exchange* as PEACE names it, where writers from different districts, cities and even countries meet and get to know each others. There were not centers before as he continues, which used to make things harder for writers. Although there are different spaces of gathering around the walls making these neighborhoods more close to graffiti and pulling the writers to themselves as MET mentions, there seems to be a hierarchy between different locations. As CHOMA says, for instance, everybody cannot paint on Atlas whereas they might write on Güngören wall. The hierarchy here seems to de defined both by specificity of property and writers themselves. A more respected writer, an old-school one, might have the chance to write everywhere he wishes whereas it is critical to say that this distinction is never mentioned as something disturbing by anyone. Besides, if a wall belongs to a private person, this eventually means that whoever has taken the permission has the right to write, whereas if it is a public wall everyone might use it once permission is taken.

5.2.2. SPACES CHOSEN

This public private differentiation does not, on the other hand, show itself in choosing spaces for illegal writing. We first have to mention that writers do not make distinction between public and private walls, whereas it is in common easier to write on public property. What makes them tend to a spot is suitability to motivations we have

[123] "Yani akşam saati oraya gittiğinizde muhakkak bir kaç grafiticiyi görürsünüz orda. Mesela şey de komik, biz oraya grafitiyi yapmadan önce Taksim'de o kadar grafiti yoktu mesela. Biz orayı boyadıkta sonra o çocukların oraya gelmesi bir anda Taksim, Cihangir taraflarında grafitinin patlamasına neden oldu. Şimdi Taksim, İstiklal Caddesi'nde yazı yazılmadık yer yok mesela."

mentioned before. Eventually the keywords of choosing a spot to write on are difficulty, own neighborhoods, crowdedness, visibility, and dirtiness or cleanness depending on the writer. Visibility works here again together with the risk the chosen spot includes for bringing fame at the end. Besides, cleanness or the dirtiness of the surface depends on the quality of the paint or the cultural values of the writer. A surface should be clean so that the paint stays longer. Nevertheless our participant writers mostly express that they are respectful to the right of other people and so want to give as little damage as possible and thus try to choose dirty places. General choice did not demonstrate that though according to our observations. We can thus say that, even writers try to be careful about some historical artifacts; they write on every surface they have accessibility and they think will bring fame.

Besides the motivations we have mentioned, there is another effect of choosing the spot determined by the neighborhood writers live. Very basically, writers usually without any plans take their materials and go out to write on whatever they see suitable on the way, maybe, going to a possible target. This concentrates graffiti in neighborhoods where more writers live besides the writer corners we have mentioned. Furthermore, this might represent a demand of determining territory; of saying 'it belongs to me' and persuading people around accept graffiti.

> MET: You naturally also want to see it where you habit. You want it around yourself. For example, all over my cabinets in my room are fully scratched. In the regions belonging to me, at least in my neighborhood, if I have the means I paint, I mean. I mean I begin with establishing it in my neighborhood. We mostly paint where our friends are, in the places belonging to us. I do not mind going so far and writing Etiler or Ortaköy.[124]

In this regard, Fatih is worth mentioning. It is one of the central boroughs and keeps the quality of being the oldest one in the peninsula as it is the core where the old city was built. It has always been a historical center with the rich variety of artifacts in it, especially in means of religion, still preserving that attribution today. Many interplant transportation pass from the borough making it even more crowded in daytime.

[124] "İnsan oturduğu çevrede de görmek istiyor tabii. Böyle etrafımda olsun diyorsun. Mesela benim odamda dolabımın hertarafı karalanmış durumda yani. Kendime ait olan kısımlarda, en azından kendi mahallemde eğer imkanım varsa boyarım yani. Yani ilk başta onu mahalleye kabul ettirmekten başlarım. Kendi arkadaşlarımın bulunduğu, kendimize ait olan yerlerde boyuyoruz daha çok yani. Gidip de taa şöyle bir Etiler'i boyasam ya da Ortaköy'ü boyamak gibi bir derdim yok yani."

Banlieue line connecting the district to the West side of the city, and also Turkey to European countries go parallel to its shore of Sea Marmara together with Kennedy Street connecting Sirkeci to Bakırköy. With all these qualifications above, Fatih is most commonly described as a conservative or indeed the center of the radical Islamists but becoming more and more cosmopolite each day. It is one of the few boroughs where the most number of writers habit, making Fatih our concern.

The first time we have been to Fatih so detailed with many neighborhoods in it, befits this study. The density of the tags and the pieces around was really surprising most probably because of the bias we had. Our participant writers count a few reasons when asked about this intensity. Firstly, as they describe, better writers from old times trained new ones resulting with an accelerating increase in neighborhood. Secondly, our participants mostly mention the multi-cultural structure of the borough. Though different than Beyoğlu, Fatih includes many cultures and social levels at the same time: There are neighborhoods of the Laz, the Kurds, the Armenians, the *hajjis and imams* (radical Islamists), the professional thieves; a borough where you can feel yourself in Iran or in Europe by moving in-between very close districts, as DOSE expresses. MET interprets the change quite bluntly:

> MET: Fatih is a district where Islamic sections are intense, stuff like religious congregations. People are conservative. They do no accept things easily, but they are fine. They are sort of ones who can understand things if you tell it logically. I mean, if even they could accept graffiti…[125]

Furthermore it is important to stress that Fatih is one of the most bombers-sheltering borough with a few others. TURBO thinks that maybe the perception that there are many writers in Fatih is because of the intense number of bombers, illegal writers. Even this might be true; the intensity is inescapable from observation. The increase in small legal walls around is another reason described by writers. Legal ones increase the illegal, as they experience. As a result, visibility brings familiarity and familiarity brings acceptability, as they express. The more the graffiti is around, means the more acceleration it will bring. Thus, appropriated spaces give a way to new possible spaces.

[125] "Fatih islamı kesimin yoğunlukta olduğu bir bölgedir yani. İste cemaatlerin filan. İnsanları tutucudur yani. Çabuk birşeyi kabullenmezler ama çok da iyidirler yani. Birşeyi mantıklı bir şekilde anlattığın zaman anlayacak tipler. Yani şu anda grafitiyi bile kaldırabiliyorlarsa.."

Moving from one neighborhood to all neighborhoods, enlarging your borders physically, for sure, means more fame because each name put on city starts to mean that it belongs to you in a way. Furthermore, writers who write out of the limits of their neighborhood are respected, because it is more dangerous being in others' land. TURBO illustrates:

> You know your neighborhood. [You know] where you can escape and pass from, if police comes. You have the environment in hand; you know everything, I mean. You might even know that a woman is up there looking out of window at night and so say 'let's not do here'. It is more precious for me if a crew goes out of their neighborhood, not even other neighborhoods, but further. He knows his business, he is fearless, I mean. Graffiti is also being fearless, I mean.[126]

Trains are chosen as we have mentioned before, for the high risks they contain and for being source of respect. Mostly written spots are the train lines between Sirkeci and Halkalı, because walls are easier to access and many writers pass by there. Trains correspond the need of mobility of the writers representing going as far as possible with the decided nick. They want their names stay as long as possible, so they improve their own tactics like writing on merchandise trains. They gain somehow the chance of being admired by the people they will never see, passing from towns they will hardly go. Writing your name lets you be in these places as some portray it.

In time, these motivations in choosing spots change, keeping the essence of visibility. Writers usually assert that they used to do more illegal works and in more dangerous spots when they started because of 'the excitement and illegality in the blood"[127] as BY says. It is, as they tell, a general perception at the beginning that all the writers are doing illegal, making the new beginner tend to illegal. But as the style establishes, more legal works start to merge. However, illegal never ends; they mostly find a balance for themselves changing according to many variables. Some of them, especially the ones living in Fatih, imply that they changed their faces from Fatih to Taksim because of the higher risk in the neighborhood, though they carry on writing there too.

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[126] "Kendi muhitini bilirsin. Polis gelse nereye kaçarsın, nereden nereye çıkılır. Ortama hakimsin yani biliyorsun herşeyi. Burayı yapmayalım karşıda teyze var gece çıkıyor bakıyor diyerekten bilebileceğin bir şey. Ama bir grup kendi yaşadığı semtin dışına çıkıp da hatta daha da uzaklara, yani semtlere bile değil, daha da uzak yerlere gidip yapmaya başladığı zaman ben kendi açımdan söyleyeyim benim için daha çok değeri var. Daha işi biliyor, daha korkusuz yani. Graffiti biraz da korkmamak yani."

[127] "İlk başladığında kanında biraz daha çok heyacan oluyor, biraz daha illegalim oluyor."

5.2.3. URBAN SPACE

Their relation with empty walls is worth mentioning to get clues on their relating with urban space and city. Their eyes start shining on speaking about their sentimental-bond with walls. They express enthusiasm with differing phrases, the need and will to fill the empty walls, sort of deficiency and lack felt on *emptiness*, the feeling of willing to speak with the wall and attacking it using sexual connotations. SCOUT summarizes indeed:

> I desire strongly when I see an empty wall. I sometimes feel like speaking with wall like 'hey, how are you, what's up?' I say like 'wait, I will come and paint you at night we are together at night'. Jokes like that… but it is really such, I cannot stand when I see a wall, I feel like painting, attacking the wall. Love, it is because of the graffiti love we feel inside.[128]

All the writers accept that they have a different relation with urban space naming it variously though. First difference is what we prefer to call sort of a *professional disease*. TURBO describes it taking writers' gaze into consideration. He tells that writers look into city as series of spots; spots where they can do graffiti. It sometimes even becomes to be sort of a disease as he describes, even hindering the everyday activities as a *normal* person, such as being stuck or causing terror in traffic because of being hooked by walls when driving or perceiving the shadows as graffiti. This spot-searching cause them think that they are different than other people as they are continuously thinking to change city somehow instead of reaching to their houses as PEACE says. They start seeing a city full of graffiti after a while; filling empty walls in their dreams first and actually later on.

> TURBO: When I look at a wall, I anyhow see it with graffiti, I mean; I want to do something on it. That is why perspective of a normal person and a writer upon city are different. Writers always see the places to attack, stick or write on city. And I mean, he always works hard on these places. He sticks, writes, they exfoliate, wear off; he sticks again. He is in a continuous war with city. He always tries to exist, I mean. But other people stops in red [traffic] light and passes on green. Writer stops on red, sticks his sticker, writes with his pen, and passes on green. He has such a care with city.[129]

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[128] "Boş duvar gördüğümde hani içim gidiyor. Öyle, duvarla konuşasım gelir bazen; "aa n'aber, n'apiyon? Bekle", diyorum, "akşam gelip seni boyayacağım, akşam beraberiz falan gibisinden." Öyle espriler geçiyor. Ama hakikaten de öyle duvarı gördüğüm zaman dayanamıyorum boyayasım geliyor saldırasım geliyor duvara. Sevgi içimizdeki grafiti sevgisinden gelen birşey."

[129] "Duvara bakığım zaman artık orayı grafitili olarak görüyorum, yani artık birşeyler istiyorum oraya yapmak. Yani onun için bir grafitici ile normal bi insanın şehre bakış açısı farklıdir. Grafitici hep saldıracağı, yapıştıracağı, yazacağı yerleri görür şehirde. Ve yani hep oralarla didinir. Yapıştırır, yazar,

They have a different care and worry with city for sure, even though they do not want to reveal this at once. Except for seeing the city as spots, they go to differing places of city to search for new ones. The paths they follow are quite random when compared to that of an ordinary inhabitant limiting the borders of the city within, let's say, the defined territories of work, home and entertainment places. The paths followed might be passing from differing alleys each time to reach to a target or it might even result with getting lost without caring about it. Wandering for the sake of writing releases the relation with borders bringing them to saying "all city" at the end.

> BYMOR: You have to write till the end if you started writing once. You cannot stop yourself after a while. You all of a sudden realize that you have toured all İstanbul passing here and there. I am afraid of going out of city by and by.[130]

It is critical to put that writers believe graffiti can exist merely in urban space not only as it is crowded but also graffiti *belongs* to urban. They are all juveniles living in metropolis and all also was born there, of course most have seen but not really experienced rural life. What they have experienced throughout their metropolis lives, we supposed, might have caused them do graffiti, asking the relation of *urban* and graffiti. They unhesitatingly replied that graffiti belongs to urban, merges from it and feeds it: they are a whole together. They suppose that graffiti and urban can not be detached from each others; it is not possible to see a graffiti scene in rural area. Taking reference from their experiences, they tell that when they are on holiday in their villages or in coast towns, they do not want to do graffiti a lot, whereas, when they are in city they want to write each and every moment. Adding from TURBO:

> City is an odd thing I mean city is chaos. It is a weird system, I mean. Millions are in movement; everyone is marching in. Maybe the stress these people are emitting does something. I maybe cannot describe this scientifically. I mean, city is equal to graffiti; there is no other [explanation?] of that. So no one should ask its relation with city. There is

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dökülür, silinir gider; bir daha yapıştırır. Sürekli bir savaş halindedir şehirle. Hep varolmaya çalışır yani. Ama öteki insanlar işte gelir kırmızı ışıkta durur yeşil ışıkta geçer. Grafitici kırmızı ışıkta durur, stickerini yapıştırır, kalemiyle yazar, yeşil yandı mı geçer. Onun böyle bir derdi var şehirle yani."

[130] "Başladın mı yazı yazmaya sonuna kadar yazman gerekiyor. Durduramıyorsun kendini belli bir süreden sonra. Şuradan şuraya geldim, şuraya da gideyim bari derken bir baktın bütün İstanbul'u dolaşmışsın. Yakında korkuyorum şehir dışına çıkacağım diye."

> nothing of that kind. They are fully struck together; there is no connection. They are together, I mean.[131]

Does graffiti really belong to the urban, if so, why? Does it have its roots coming from there and for which relations? Leaving these and related questions open for a while, we would like to move how the writers relate themselves and graffiti with the streets, why they choose to be there instead of any other *surface*. Their first answer to the question 'why street' has a dogmatic answer indeed: It is there because it has to be there. They might even react to the question as if it is a weird one, and at that point yelling that graffiti is a part of the streets not museums or stuff. It is there and it reflects there, not nature or artificial articles. Here, it is important for us to pull attention to their description of city or street; it is neither natural nor artificial where they might possibly mean an ongoing relation of ambiguity because of being inside it. Street is beautiful as life goes on there, street is beautiful as everyone unites there, street is beautiful as it is social and last but not least, it is beautiful as everyone might claim right on it.

The sociality of the street is related to everybody's seeing what a writer does when he writes there. They, on many, occasions bring out that being in other places like museums mean being in front of the eyes of a small marginal group, artists or high-income people, as they say it. But 'everyone unites on the wall like after-death' as CHOMA already told, and streets hug everyone as PARS declares: "Every sort of people from every social layers, from beggars to businessmen, might see what you do in the street. But only specific people might see the works, for example, in the museums. For me, walls are always better."[132] This proposition hides more than the demand of a fame brought with visibility and the situation of ineptitude to enter to the museums. We do not mean that they do not want to be famous via TV, but they do not want to be that solely. They usually live the dilemma of declaring that they do it for themselves, where, on the other hand, they do not do it for themselves only.

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131 "Şehir bambaşka birşey, yani şehir kaos. Acaip bir sistem böyle yani. Milyonlarca insan hareket halinde, herkes biryerlerden biryerlere gidiyor. O insanların yaydığı stres belki de birşeyler yapıyor. Bilimsel anlamda bunu açıklayamam ben belki. Yani şehir eşittir grafiti, zaten bunun baska birşeyi yok yani. Yani kimse şehirle bağlantısı nedir diye bir şey sormasın. Yok öyle birşey. Tam birbirlerine yapışıklar, bağlantısı yok yani. Beraberler yani."

132 "Sokakta yaptığın işi her türlüsünden insan görebiliyor, dilencisinden tut, işadamına kadar toplumun bütün kesimlerinden insanlar graffitiyi görebiliyor. Ama, mesela, müzede belirli kişiler görüyor yani. Bence duvarlar her zaman daha iyi."

The knot starts to be undone as they continue to express their stationing as writers in the urban space. It is possibly the *post-80s generation* general attitude to beware of declaring that they do what they do for the others. TAB, who insistently told in every occasion that he does graffiti for doing graffiti, might be a little clue: "I do on canvas for myself. But, as I never do it for myself… I also do it for myself but I do not do it on canvas as I do not do it just for myself."[133] The pleasure of being in the street is also mentioned because of having as big canvas as they want, which makes the work more exciting and satisfactory. But this satisfaction also comes via its sociality. They in common use museums to compare streets as spaces of their art, emphasizing that they already turn the streets to museums. Street as a museum, thus, is both the main inspiration source as they commonly say, and it is turned into a museum by the act itself. Quoting from BY briefly: "Graffiti indeed transforms the streets to a museum and we are trying to compose that. We are successful in that means in Turkey. Though the people are against that, we believe that we do it well."[134]

They mean to change the city but not commonly name it intervention and they believe they do so, which we will be focusing on after adding one more reason of being in the street for the writers: claiming ownership on the city. It is about putting in on the street the existence of the writer as individual. Writing a name, tagging a street sign might mean claiming it yours basically. Writers usually abstain to *confess* that in general though, claiming it depends on what you do graffiti for.

> DOSE: If I tag street I feel like it is mine, I mean. I do not now. Because, I love it. It depends on if you do it for yourself or for people. If you do it for yourself you can think of such different things. You might even think that not only the streets but also the city is yours. But if you do it for people, for the sight of the people; it gives you a different pleasure too. But as I said, if you have your signature in the street, it is yours. That is normal, I mean.[135]

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133 "Ben kendim için tuvale yaparım. Ama hiç bir zaman kendim için yapmadığım için… Kendim için de yapıyorum ama sırf kendim için de yapmadığım için tuvale yapmıyorum."

134 "Graffiti aslında sokağı bir müzeye çeviriyor ve biz bunu düzenlemeye çalışıyoruz. Türkiye'de bu konuda başarılı oluyoruz. Halk buna karşı olsa da biz bunu iyi yaptığımıza inanıyoruz."

135 "Sokağa bi tag atsam benim gibi hissederim yani. Bilmiyorum ya. Seviyorum çünkü. O da kendin için ya da insanlar için yaptığına bağlı. Sen kendin için yapıyorsan öyle farklı şeyler düşünebilirsin. Yani sokağın değil hatta şehrin senin olduğunu düşünebilirsin. Ama insanları için yapıyorsan, insanlar görsün diye o da ayrı bir zevk verir sana. Ama dediğim gibi yani eğer sokakta imzam varsa o sokak senindir. Normal bir şey yani."

Claiming right on the urban space directly is indeed not so common amongst writers. It is possible to say that only two of our participant writers declare their right to intervene and exist in urban space in comparison with big companies on billboards or so on. The eldest crew, S2K, members are the ones declaring their demand to intervene city more than others and indeed quite directly. Whether this might be a clue for getting hope for the future of newer writers will lay just as a question here. It becomes to be a power-game on using and sharing urban space including already an opposition in it, according to TURBO. He, describing graffiti in relation to urban space, pulls attention to its demand of existence beyond demand to beautify:

> Whoever wishes, whoever has money can erect a building there, I mean. [These are buildings] sharpening human's life. These are buildings with no aesthetics, no beauty, no pleasure; so scraggly. There are concrete jungles. I mean graffiti is something trying to exist in that badness/devilry. Shall I say a soul or a style or a picture or flow? Something of that kind…[136]

It is, though, possible to hear that writers do not have assurance in changing the city they are living in with graffiti or indeed any other medium. What they do is mainly putting more colors on a city that is already colorful as CHOMA says. It becomes to be a motive; an ornament in urban space because what MET says is the general apprehension amongst participant writers: "I do not believe that we can make any change with graffiti in city İstanbul. There is a settled system and all we can do is just reflecting our corrects to a specific mass. It is anymore too hard to change something general in İstanbul."[137]

Despite their lack of faith in changing the city they do not hesitate to tell what they change one by one. Participant writers mainly think that when they *color* the city, this *makes* a difference and has a positive effect on inhabitants where it is important to mention that they mean legal graffiti or illegal graffiti as beautiful as the legal ones. This division, indeed, might represent our participant writers' approach. Legal graffiti is the graffiti making the city more beautiful, more appealing and different whereas, it has to

[136] "İsteyen, parası olan istediği gibi bir yapıp dikebiliyor oraya yani. Ve insanın hayatını böyle keskinleştiren yapılar… Bunlar hiçbir estetiği olmayan, bir güzelliği olmayan, bir zevki olmayan, garip garip çarpık yapılar var. Beton yığınları var. Yani grafiti de o kötülüğün içinde varolmaya çalışan bir şey. Ruh mu denir artık, bir stil mi denir, resim mi denir, flow mu denir.. Öyle bir şey.."

[137] "İstanbul şehrinde grafiti ile şuna inanıyorum bir değişiklik yapamayız yani. Oturmuş bir sistem var sadece o sistemin içersinde kendi doğrularımızı bir nevi belli bir kitleye yansıtabiliriz. İstanbulda genel bir şeyi değiştirmemiz atrtık çok zor ya.."

be accepted, as MET says, illegal adds pollution to the city. The positive effect they touch is mainly the inhabitants, their boring lives and routines as they call it, making a small change with graffiti. They mainly admire making surprises for people going out to work in the morning and seeing a colorful graffiti on the wall and taking her/him from routine for a while, even effecting the whole day. Small changes matter, as they say.

One more positive change they mention related to the beautifying the city is what we prefer to call rehabilitation. DOSE, for instance, prefers to illustrate this via the increasing number of tourists coming to Beyoğlu. He supposes that people coming and seeing the increase of graffiti around the city realize that there is a positive change in means of people with *artistic spirit* representing a development for our writers. One more effect under rehabilitation is illustrated by PEACE telling a spot they commonly write today, which used to be a *dangerous* spot.

> When I had gone there for the very first time, honestly speaking, there used to be drug addicts, glue-sniffers. There were not mercantile, I mean, but usurpers. Weird people… Men with guns on their waists were coming. We have hung out with them, I mean, we did not feel fear. This place started to be cleaned as we did graffiti. We cleaned there, I mean. I cannot see any usurpers or snatchers there now. There used to be a camera there, you know, but they have lifted it. Someone seeing something beautiful would not want to make iniquity.[138]

To sum it all, graffiti makes a positive change according to them even though it cannot change everything totally without an ideological approach, which they insist that they do not have. They believe that graffiti of Turkey distinguishes a calligraphic value to the city besides the visual one that is specific to every geography itself. Beyond all these concrete jungles and billboards pollution done without our permissions, beyond the decided green areas by governments; graffiti represents a contrast color, as TURBO expresses. And as they constantly and persistently designate: graffiti, indeed, demonstrates that city is living, that is it alive. For our participant writers, as for the above reasons they mention, graffiti belongs to the urban, merges from it and feeds it.

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[138] "Oraya ben ilk gittiğimde açıkçası uyuşturucu kullananlar vardı, hap kullananlar, tinercler vardı. Esnaf yoktu yani, gaspçılar vardı. Garip garip insan. Adam belinde silahla geliyordu yani. Ee biz de onlarla takıldık, şey yaptık, korkmadık yani onlardan. Grafiti yapmaya başladıkça temizlendi yani orası. Temizledik yani orasını. Orda gaspçı kapkaççı göremiyorum ben. Orda kamera vardi biliyorsunuz ama şimdi kamerayı kaldırmışlar. Güzel bir sey gören insan kötülük yapmak istemez ki orda."

5.3. GRAFFITI AND CITY: POWER RELATIONS

It is now time to discuss and see the actors and actresses taking role in the power relations related to graffiti. We will mention power in regard to individual relations of writers and also overall urban space.

5.3.1. POWER ACTORS

Metropolitan area is described with the variety it includes where it is impossible to cover both the needs and expectations of all at the same time. Urban space, as a *public property,* carries in itself the struggle of using it in the demanded limits of each individual. Any sort of limit-extension or boundary-movement might thus disturb different benefit-groups in regard to a possible damage on everyday lives, its mechanism, or future expectations. The attempts of extensions might be perceived as a threat on territories, properties or defined limits of everyday acts, which make the inhabitants become quite protectionist on their defined limits. Graffiti or writers merge here as a coercion trying to change these defined limits of inhabitants.

Writers, thus, have to face up with differing oppositions, either official or unofficial. Passer-by, inhabitants, property owners, families, police or private security guards, teachers and courts are the main parties to be mentioned. When the subject comes to the urban space, as we have already portrayed in the light of the social space discussions, it is not only the governmental institutions claiming right but also different users of the space appropriating it in different levels and ways. It is also the individual relations of the writers between themselves defining the competition or rivalry relations in general. It is, besides, the main motivation of doing graffiti, demand of being in crowded locations, which makes more players be parties.

Families are the first parties to be mentioned here. Our participant writers are mainly dependent economically on their families because of their ages. Besides, it is possible to say that they have strong emotional relations especially with their mothers and respect to the family institution. There are a few main titles making the families stand against their children's doing graffiti. First is the legal side of the story. Most of the writers have narratives with securities and many have courts continuing or resulting with abatement

of accuse. But, families, as it might be expected, are afraid of a possible conviction of damaging public property or even terrorism on their children's criminal records, which might eventually follow the juveniles till the end of their lives. Participants, thus, give right to their parents.

Another reason is the economical difficulties graffiti brings. Although there are not so many materials used in doing graffiti, just the price of spray paint becomes to be something when the amount of cans needed and the amount of their pocket money received from fathers are taken into consideration. As almost all the writers come from middle class families, their economic situations are much or less the same, making them always complainant about having just enough to keep body and soul together. They agree with their parents here too.

One more thing they live with their families is differing violence by different means. Younger ones mostly mention the emotional pressure coming especially from mothers. Many of them told us how sorry their mothers were when the police came to their houses on arrestment or called their families as a tactic to dissuade them from doing graffiti. Moreover, there is that physical violence they face up in the family. It might be being beaten by fathers, threats of breaking the fingers, hiding or throwing away the sprays bought so hardly, breaking the markers, so on and so forth. It does not work out certainly considering the fact that graffiti is already an addiction for them, as writers call it, even making them more ambitious.

On the above mentioned issues, unexceptionally all writer living with their families or dependant to them economically express that they understand the anxieties of their families, seeing what they assume is true. Nevertheless, they point out that they cannot stop doing it, although they know it is dangerous.

> BY: Families are justly against graffiti. We grant them right but you know; we cover the needs like joy of youth, satisfying the ego via painting the trains. But it is not such in legal. They encourage doing legal. They are justly against illegal.[139]

[139] "Aileler haklı olarak buna karşı çıkıyorlar. Bunlara hak veriyoruz ama işte gençlik zevki, egoyu tatmin etmek gibi şeyler onu da artık tren boyayarak karşılıyoruz. Ama legalde öyle değil. Legalde, yapın diyorlar. İllegalde haklı olarak karşı çıkıyorlar."

> PARS: They [families] are quite just on getting angry but… Spray paint is an economical burden for us. We are eventually students having no revenue, I mean. They are angry, as it is a financial burden for them too. We give all our pocket money to it [graffiti].[140]

Our writers mostly say that their families were more aggressive and fulminate at the beginning, but by time, they got used to it especially on telling them what graffiti is and seeing what their sons are doing is beautiful, and further benefits it might bring. Families of younger writers having closer relation with children, after a while, seem to accept graffiti according to writers, even encouraging doing legal graffiti. Writers gain sort of obstinacy in proving themselves to their relatives or families who usually oversee them for doing graffiti or leaving other more important things like courses at school or even school itself. MET, who had hard quarrels for a long time with the family and left fine-arts high school is a good example of that justification attempt:

> My mother… My relatives… I will prove them too. It is almost done. We will take place in books and stuff and I will put all in front of them. I will say them 'take a look, that's why I have tackled with all these'. They have always seen that pointless. OK, it might be such for some, having little or no use, but it is not such for me.[141]

Although it is not common that writers continue making their lives out of graffiti, they use this discourse in speaking with their families in order to balance the relation. There stands a conflict to be solved especially in regard to illegal graffiti, and they have differing tactics to persuade their families, which is usually convincing them on legal. These balancing tactics except for tactics they have in existing in urban space are applied in their relations with other power parties. The ones attended or attending in fine arts high school, on the other hand, having hardness in balancing the relation with teachers, as doing graffiti is not demanded on account of *spoiling* the drawing education. Being quite different disciplines, it is true that classical education does not go parallel to graffiti, even resulting with leaving the school in some exceptional situations. Not going deeper, it might be important to say that these writers suppose themselves superior to

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[140] "İllegal yapınca kızmalarında da çok haklılar ama. Hem sprey baya maddi açıdan yük oluyor bize. Sonuçta biz öğrenciyiz yani bir gelirimiz yok. O yüzden yük olduğu için oradan da kızıyorlar. Bütün harçlığımızı oraya veriyoruz."

[141] "Annem.. Akrabalarım.. Onlara da [ispat] edecegim. Az kaldı yani.. Kitaplar olsun şeyler olsun bazı şeylerde yer alacağız bunları gidip onların önüne koyacağım yani. Alın bakın diyeceğim işte, ben bu yüzden uğraştım bunla. Onlar hep boş iş olarak gördüler. Tamam kimisine göre boştur, olmasa da olur, ama benim için öyle değil."

other students for doing really good calligraphic works, which eventually supplies an escaping area for them.

Writers try to exist and appropriate urban space where a struggle of strategies and tactics continues. The second party to be mentioned here is the inhabitants whom we can divide into two groups: the passer-by and the property owners. The reaction taken from the inhabitants is critically different than any other country we know. The reasons beyond this is out of the limits of this study where the adjectives used to label the writers might give entrance clues, some of which we have briefly mentioned though. Unexceptionally all writers mention being subject to either Satanist or Terrorist tab from time to time, especially in the beginnings of their graffiti adventure.

Although writers are exposed to violence differing from oral to physical, they try to determine the reasons and modify their tactics accordingly. First reason they put is especially related to the traditional wall writing, as we cal it, coming from late 70s. They express that supplying a familiarity about graffiti will erase that misinterpretation via drawing the borders between political writing. One more reason they describe for unacceptance of graffiti, although it is not commonly spoken, is honestly described by PEACE, situating writers in a different position than ordinary citizens: "But the businessmen do not like it [graffiti]. Because, it is hindering them. Talented people in the streets do not work for them, for instance. That's why they do not like it."[142]. They eventually accept that they damage the rights' of people via writing, which demonstrates us that they see urban space as a property of everyone.

> MET: If you are doing that work illegally, it is already usurpation. You are usurping people's rights. There stands such a fact. You are standing against the laws, doing something undesired. Nobody consents that easily.[143]

Being quite aware of the reasons of unacceptance of graffiti, they are, on the other hand, quite sure that it is possible to make people admire it, and indeed it is not

[142] "Ama işadamları sevmezler yani. Çünkü kendilerini engelliyor yani onları. Sokaktaki yetenekli insanlar gidip onda çalışmıyor mesela. Bu yüzden sevmiyorlar yani."

[143] "Zaten illegal yapıyorsan bir işi bir nevi gasp. İnsanların hakkını gasp ediyorsun yani. Böyle bir gercek var yani. Kanuna karşı duruyorsun, istenmeyen bir şey yapıyorsun. Buna kimse kolay kolay razı gelmez zaten."

possible that someone would dislike it once one has the knowledge of graffiti, although the fact about impossibility of making everyone happy at the same time stands there. Here the tactics of familiarizing graffiti appear on the scene. The first things to do are drawing the borders, making more appealing works like using characters or multi-colored pieces. This indeed represents legal graffiti for them. They in many occasions point out the importance of legal walls for making people familiar to graffiti, which might eventually give a way to illegal. Although it would, of course, never be accepted totally. This continues with not using *bad words,* like swears, which would deepen the misinterpretation. Another thing to be done might be related to the spots chosen to write on. They assert that writing on disused spots would make people be less reactive to graffiti where disused do not have to mean unseen.

> DESW: I guess, graffiti will be accepted if visible but disused walls are used. At the beginning, characters should be drawn even they are legal. Then the people will like it. There should not be swears. People are disinclined by fuck and stuff.[144]
>
> MET: people like it too when good works are done. As it is a small environment, if you gain peoples' appreciation, I guess, the interest will increase too.[145]

This acceptance demand to carry on the act for a longer time and more easily bring them to looking for ways of appropriating themselves to the general understanding on legality and illegality, well-done and ugly, being political and doing for joy. Some even accept that it would not be great to see graffiti everywhere as it would cause pollution and as it would interfere to the uniqueness of graffiti coming from its rarity. Some others demand for legal walls saying that if they had more legal, it would increase familiarity. Though, this seems to be a discoursive tactics becoming to be discursive on unexceptionally all writers' expressing that they would continue doing illegal anyways. As a result, even though they accept that the act is *wrong*; the practice is right.

All these outspoken attempts of familiarity seem to be working well as they describe the difference in the reactions of people in the last 5 years or so. They are quite respectful

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144 "Biraz daha görünen ama kullanılmayan duvarlar kullanılırsa bence bu sayede kabul edilir. İlk başta legal de olsa karakter çizmeli. O zaman insanlar sever. Küfür olmamalı. İnsanlar fuck vs ile soğutuluyor."

145 "Güzel işler yapınca insanlar beğeniyor ya. Küçük bir alan olduğu için zaten insanların beğenisini kazanırsan ilgi de artar diye düşünüyorum."

when the inhabitants show tolerance or express their satisfaction on what they do, even trying to limit other writers to damage this ongoing process. That is, though, not self-control but a tactic merging from the demand to continue the act, as it is certain for all writers that illegal is a necessity. This is observable when forcing the limit between legal, illegal and legitimacy on using urban space best in the description of TURBO bringing us the opposition graffiti already includes:

> They might easily thrust an advertisement under my eyes. It they can do that; this means I have the right to thrust something under their eyes. It [graffiti] already has an opposition of that sort. Such a right starts to merge. Here stands an opposition already. Furthermore, we cannot decide on the form of the city.[146]

That unusually outspoken and commonly hidden expression already puts them in the list of unwanted by the police, securities or laws. Unexceptionally all participants have escape stories from security or police, which might result with harsh physical punishments besides a possible suit waiting to be brought.

> SIDE ONE: There is difference between punishments. There are two punishments indeed. First is the beating of the securities. Of course, punishment is necessary. A friend who was caught told that they amerced him for around 1.25-1.5 million TL. However, the thrashing he has taken had been more than 1.5 million. He has lined in the hospital for 3 days.[147]

This violence they face up to, instead of being caught according to laws and sent to courts, forces them to protect themselves taking into eye the possible risks; being violent against violence. Although it is not necessarily done by all writers or in individual sessions, they tend to go out writing 'armed' on some occasions. Story of BYMOR, experienced in TCDD (Turkish State Railways) territory when around 20 writers went there, portrays both their will to write and their *temetry* coming from their manhood. As stories become to be more *adventurous*, they are told in a cooler manner.

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[146] "Herhangibir reklamı benim gözüme sokabiliyorlar. Eğer bunu yapabiliyorlarsa benim de insanların gözüne bir şey sokabilme hakkım var demektir. Yani bu şekilde de bir karşıtlığu var zaten otomatik olarak. Böyle bir hak doğuyor zaten. Bir karşıtlığı burda var zaten. Bir de şey zaten şehrin formuna biz karışamıyoruz yani."

[147] "Cezadan cezaya fark var. 2 ceza var hatta. Biri verilen dayak güvenliklerin verdiği dayak. Yani ceza olarak tabii ki bir ceza vermeleri lazım. Yaklaşık 1,25-1,5 milyar civarında bir ceza veriyorlarmış böyle bir arkadaşım bahsetti yakalanan bir arkadaş. Ama yediği dayak 1.5 milyarı geçmiş yani. 3 gün hastanede filan yatmış arkadaş."

Directly as BYMOR tells continuing from what happens around dawn when they were getting ready to leave the territory of TCDD after finishing writing on the trains:

> 2, 3 friends were walking ahead. They had knives and stuff. I have suddenly seen someone laid them down, drew gun on their heads. I did not understand what was going on, I have looked at the back and saw 12 securities. We were left in-between. They captured us, I mean. They lied everyone down. They drew the guns on their heads. I had a lawsuit. I thought having another lawsuit would mean punishment. I had knives and stuff too. Security ran on me. I had to run on him too. He has taken out the gun and unloaded the clip on me. Nothing happened. I have taken the bread-knife too; he escaped. Two more had escaped, the rest [were sent] to court.[148]

This long description hides beyond so many about their experiences and motivations of doing graffiti. The main reason of going to trains and train lines is already greater risks they nestle. Although they insistently say that they do have no opposition to TCDD, any other institutions or individuals, writers' one of the main targets is the territory of state railways. At this point, it would be important to tell that TCDD is the only institution having an agenda to stop graffiti in Turkey. Because of the diversity of the locations, and so the property owners writers damage, it would not be possible that *the aggrieved* might act in an organized way different than many western countries where there are even specified police, cleaning-companies or civil-district-groups working against graffiti. TCDD might move more feasibly in that means trying to fortify their territory and defend it with all the materials that might be subject to *violence*.

On the other hand, Railways is the first central government institution proposing the writers a legal wall, a train indeed. In may 2006, after the copping out of GAS, there had been a series of news on newspapers and TVs, making him *the most famous writer* for a while and ending up with a proposition of TCDD General Manager, Süleyman Karaman. He –surprisingly, the brother of the only mayor hosting the writers in his chair and letting them write on the public walls under him, Güngören Mayor Yücel Karaman- proposed writers a train with the following words: "If juveniles demand, we

[148] "2-3 arkadaş da önden yürüyor. Onlarda bıçak mıçak filan da var. Bir baktım birisi bunları yere yatırdı, silahı çıkarıp kafalarına dayadı. Ben ne olduğunu anlamadım. Arkama doğru bir baktım 12 tane güvenlik. Tam arada kaldık. Sıkıştırdılar yani. Herkesi yere yatırdılar. Kafalarına silahları dayadılar. Benim mahkemem vardı. Ben de bir mahkeme daha olursa cezaya biner yani dedim bu. Ben de de bıçak mıçak vardı, öye gidiyordum. Koştu güvenlik üstüme. Ben de ona doğru koştum mecburen. Çıkardı silahı, boşalttı şarjörü üstüme. Birşey olmadı. Ben de ekmek bıçağını çıkardım. Bu gördü, kaçtı. Ben de ortadan kaçtım. İki kisi daha kaçmış; gerisi mahkemelik."

would prepare private wagons so that they might write their love messages as they wish and the trains carry them."[149](Durukan, 2006). Even though writers rejected the proposal of TCDD assuming it a trick to catch the writers and that it is nonsense to paint on a legal train; this seems to be accepted as a victory by many in the balance they are trying to furnish.

The reasoning of TCDD General Manager brings us back to the main freight source of our writers; being labeled as a terrorist. Although they are juveniles 'feeding no bad feelings to anyone', they might be supposed such, because writing a demand on the wall is a heavy sin and crime in this country. Consequently, the risk taken might increase according to some temporal or spatial consequences. What SED experienced writing on March 21st, befitting Newroz, is heavier than his ordinary occasions even it is just being followed by a police car after a panzer. MET, though, lives the result of this misinterpretation heavier in his second picks up.

> In the second [pick up] Anti-Terror [Team] had come from Gayrettepe. I mean, they had thought it was political as Fatih is conservative. They took us to the police station, shouted and stuffs but did not beat or so on. Police only pressed paint on our faces. I already had asthma. I have vomited in the station being already out of breath and having nausea. I have such a memory. Nothing else happened, I mean. The behaviors of the police are not bad anymore. They only speak like why are you painting or you would serve whatever the punishment is.[150]

Although the punishment they are taking from the police is illegal and quite harsh; they choose to compare it with heavier ones, still standing after the police. Though we might not determine the specific reason for that, only some assumptions might be done related to their possible ideology; their relation with state, its derivatives and cultural values related to their conservatism; a fear to be labeled as terrorist for speaking against police on-the-record; or seeing *the improvement* of the police after so many years of

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[149] Gençler istiyorsa özel vagonlar hazırlarız, sevgi mesajlarını diledikleri gibi yazarlar, trenler de onları götürür.

[150] "İkincisinde işte Gayrettepe'den terörle mücadele gelmişti. Yani onlar işte siyasi olduğunu düşünmüşler Fatih diye sonuçta hani tutucu bir kesim olduğu için hani siyasi zannettiler. İşte karakola çektiler bağırdılar çağırdılar ne bileyim ama vurmadılar yani dövme falan olmadı bi darp falan olmadı. Sadece polis yüzümüze biraz boya sıktı işte. Zaten bende de astım vardı. Zaten nefes nefese kalmışım midem bulanıyor falan, spreyi de suratıma sıkınca ben böyle kusmuştum karakola böyle falan. Öyle de bir anım var. Başka da bir şey olmadı yani. Polislerin tavırları atık öyle kötü değil. Sadece niye boyuyorsunuz cezası neyse çekersiniz gibisinden konuşuyorlar yani."

familiarizing attempts. Because according to their view, there is an improvement, as PEACE names it "even police have matured"[151]

Despite the partial justness this phrase contains in means of change by time, things are not naturally as *perfect* as PEACE describes. There is still too much violence they have to face up, which cannot be hindered without right information on what graffiti is, putting the borders between other writings as SED asserts. The legitimacy they have about the practice bring them to a point of assuming it *natural* where this might turn into *forgetting* the illegality and postulating what police does nonsense. They play their own games in the urban space, and as we stressed earlier, playing a game the playground loosens the normative meanings. The criteria usually merge from the act itself or the practice only. This is supposedly why some questions might sound nonsense to them, exporting the same mentality to laws later on. SED carries on; "We are normal citizens making art. We are not snatchers, dippers or thieves. Police must not treat everyone equally but according to the crime. People are siphoning money off the state; and police is tackling with us. This is bullshit."[152]

The ones judged usually result with abatement of accuses; or very little face up with a fine reduced usually around 100YTL. They are first investigated for an illegal organization connection, later, if not found, they are judged usually with item 152 of Turkish Criminal Code with the title of Qualified Circumstances of Damaging Property[153]. Usually Chapter A of 1st Article of Item 152 ordering the punishments in the cases of "damaging the places, buildings, establishments or other goods ordered to public service or separated for public benefit belonging to public bodies and institutions"[154] is the subject article used to judge them, whereas the prescribed punishment is reduced via other items.

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[151] "Artık onlar bile oldu yani."

[152] "Normal vatandaşız sanat yapıyoruz burda. Sonuçta biz bir kapkaççı, yankesici, hırsız değiliz yani. Polis herkese eşit değil yaptığı suça göre davranmalı bence. Sonuçta millet devleti hortumluyor polis gelmiş bizim gibi duvara bir tag atan veya grafiti yapan insanlarla uğraşıyor. Bu saçma geliyor bana."

[153] Mala Zarar Vermenin Nitelikli Halleri

[154] Kamu kurum ve kuruluslarina ait, kamu hizmetine tahsis edilmiş veya kamunun yararlanmasına ayrılmış yer, bina, tesis veya diğer eşyaya zarar verilmesi.

In this game of the men, the legality, illegality and institutional realities start to change face. The *torture* -as MASK names it- they encounter motivates the participant writers bringing excitement within the freight it includes. They do not deny being overtaken as for seeing the police a part of the game, forcing them find new ways of escaping and develop new tactics. GAS portrays: "Of course, being caught becomes to be a lesson. You start to mind stuff like where the police comes from and from where you can get away."[155]. This persistence becomes to be a real game, isolating the derivatives of the state from it; where some *loosing* point out learning to loose better each time, or the *winnings* connote a victory: "I mean I was chased. I mean we could not love each others with the police. The victory is still mine though. I escaped, they could not catch yet."[156], as SIDE ONE quite chummily and cheerfully depicts.

5.3.2. TWO DIRECTIONS OF RESISTANCE

We have, up to now, tried to understand what the writers experience throughout their practice. It would be now important to understand how they react and what they think about the power relations placed upon both urban space and their act related to it further to the ones we have mentioned. The first input might be their relation to the laws. There is an ambiguity in means of the relation they construct with them. They naturally do not want graffiti to be illegal knowing that it would never be possible, where, they at least demand slight changes in laws to be judged as writers instead of vandals or terrorists, as they call it, or merely want the laws to be practiced justly not to be subjected to physical abuse on being overtaken. The state should understand clearly what graffiti is and design the laws accordingly, as CHOMA suggests which represents an already-acceptance of everything coming up with writing. MET points out, on the other hand, what many writers say insistently, that laws are not against legal graffiti, but how ever the laws might change, they will still choose illegal.

> If you are doing illegal, you will prefer it howsoever the laws change, I mean. The aim of illegal is doing on forbidden places, I mean. The

[155] "Tabii [yakalanmak} ders oluyor. Burda yaparken polis şurdan gelmişti ben şurdan kaçarım gibi şeylere bakmaya başlıyorsun."

[156] (*Laughs*) "Yani kovalandım. Yani çok da böyle polisle sevişemedik ama çok kovaladılar. Ama zafer hala benim. Kaçtım, daha yakalayamadılar."

> exciting part is that, I mean. You are doing some things secretly, illicitly. That is already what makes illegal so attractive.[157]

This condition of doing illegal graffiti expressed by MET is indeed for all the writers the main principle of doing graffiti. All emphasize that there can be no writers merely doing legal even overseeing such, if exists. Though, doing illegal does not directly point out being theoretically against the laws or lawmakers, but basically the demand of adrenalin brought by illegality. This bed, seeming as a dilemma, will be our outlet in describing the resistant face of graffiti within the described resistance in the study. Taking reference the existence of graffiti in urban space and the motivations of writers, we will try to portray the resistance sheltered in the act starting with a fully opposing participant to resistance.

> CHOMA: There is no opposition. It does not have such an aim either against the state or the people. The only aim is making your advertisement. As a result, we are not doing that work feeling obstinacy or hatred to anyone. [It is] just advertisement. We are sticking our labels.[158]

The resistance writers have, thus, although not observed in their discourse, we assume, is found in their relation built up with the conceptual spaces. Besides, the motivations they have are further resistance keywords we will mention. Writing takes place mostly for the excitement it brings besides need of expression and proving oneself and belonging to a friend group. At this point, the relations built up with authority and its rules become to be the contradictory aspects for the writers, leaving the rules of the authority nonsense via continuously attacking it. This is where we call writing includes a resistant face. This pseudo-dilemma, as we foresee, is sheltered within the game/play theory we have framed earlier. In this regard, it is important to describe the resistance implied in this study for the further conclusion making us look for the traces of resistance in its very own context.

> The term resistance may become increasingly significant but only, we should argue if two conditions can be met. First, resistance needs to be

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[157] Sen illegal yaparsan yasalar ne kadar değişse de sen o illegal olanı tercih edeceksin yani. İllegalin amacı zaten yasak olan yere yapmak yani. Heyecanlı kısmı orası yani. Birşeyleri gizli yapıyorsun, kaçak yapıyorsun. Yani illegali çekici yapan budur.

[158] "Karşı çıkış filan yok ya. Öyle bir amacı yok zaten devlete karşı olsun insanlara karşı olsun. Tek amacı tanıtmaktır, kendi reklamını yapmaktır yani. Kimseye inat olsun diye ya da garezimiz olsun diye yapmıyoruz biz bu işi sonuçta. Sadece reklam. Etiketimizi yapıştırıyoruz."

> considered in its own terms, and not as simply the underside of domination or off all social relations –the inevitable outcome of any social relation of power. Second, it must be recognized that a spatial understanding of resistance necessitates a radical reinterpretation and revaluation of the concept: by thinking resistance spatially, it becomes both about the different spaces of resistance and also about the ways in which resistance is mobilized through specific spaces and times. (Pile & Keith, 1997: xi)

This brings us to a description of resistance drawn in spaces of everyday life. In the limits of this thesis, without denying the benefits that might come with other descriptions, we will approach with the one portrayed in *Geographies of Resistance.* (Pile & Keith, 1997). Pile starts with describing the understandings of resistance depicted with differing sources of political identities where they are concerning the political actions of structurally located groups, defining resistance within terms of structures of power and the spatial relations sheltered there. In that sense, resistance might take place only when organized in opposition to structured power relations, taking place only when a position of opposition is taken.

Although a resistance does not always necessarily have to be a class mobilization in the capitalist society because of other privileges of the resistant, and the people involved cannot be categorized easily; mobilization is consistently seen goal-oriented claiming itself *powerful* only in case of situating itself in the axis of authority. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that enemy is not always directly in front of us, it guises itself. These approaches portraying resistance "*under* authority's noise or *outside* tightly controlled places", though, give a way to the own spatialities of resistance. (Pile, 1997: 2-12)

> When geographies of resistance are examined, then new questions arise not only about the ways in which resistance is to be understood and about geographical expressions of identifiable acts of resistance, but also about the ways in which geography makes possible or impossible certain forms of resistance and about the ways in which resistance makes other spaces -other geographies- possible or impossible. (Pile, 1997: 2)

Concerning the above, geographies of resistance under different control mechanisms do not have to relate themselves directly with the power upon it "as an upside-down or back-to-front or face-down map of the world". Whereas this does not point out that resistance has nothing to do with domination or vice versa, but rather they have their own spatialities. This suggests that people have different stationing in power relations

and their own ways of "unfolding relationships of authority, meaning and identity". People try to create their own alternative spatialities in that sense. This -although we do prefer not calling resistance *occupies* but rather *deploys*- corresponds to what we described through urban space theories, the strategy versus tactics, or the planned city and appropriations on it. Graffiti writers, in that regard, create alternative spatialities from the defined ones, even though they do not directly oppose the power and the definitions related to it. (Pile, 1997: 2-4).

Both the authority and the inhabitants ceaselessly produce spaces. Whereas this does not refer that resistance is limited to the spaces of the power under its authority. Authority points out direct oppositions in the categories of resistance leaving the everyday tactics including that of writers out of that realm. Thus, though graffiti might be perceived as a resistance, the general discourse of writers in Turkey put it out of that category. It is not seen as resistance because participant writers in general do not directly stand against power, whereas it is still a way of *getting around* the power relations. Writers do not mean to change the urban space in relation to strategies placed upon it but want to make changes with graffiti in differing levels according to varying writers. They merely play their own games without fully rejecting the rules, but on the other hand, constructing their own rules, which carry them to the *ignorance* of the authority's rules at the end giving them right to put their names all over the city (Pile, 1997: 3, 4).

Pile, later, looks at the distinct spatialities of resistance different from spatialities of power, and possibly changing according to the different relations of power, in order to stress resistances involving spatialities lying *beyond* 'power'. The spaces produced by inhabitant do not necessarily have to describe itself domination, whereas, we assume that every attempt might have the capacity to feed other resistances while also being fed by them. Other resistances might merge themselves by "dislocation through, for example, frictions of distance, the blurring of boundaries, and hiding and coming out". He stresses that resistances may operate between the spaces authorized by authority. (Pile, 1997: 5, 13).

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[160] De Certeau, referring to Augoyard, talks about *synecdoches* and *asyndetons* as fundamental figures of spatial practices that turn the space into enlarged singularities and separate islands. *Synecdoche*, a figure of speech in which a part is made to represent the whole or vice versa, shows itself in "replacing totals by fragments", where an asyndeton, the omission or absence of a conjunction between parts of a sentence, "disconnects the parts".

> The material effects of power are everywhere. Or, maybe, one of power's most pervasive effects is that it seems to be everywhere –for better or for worse. It matters that power *seems* to be everywhere, but wherever we look, power is open to gaps, tears, inconsistencies, ambivalences, possibilities for inversion, mimicry, parody and so on; open, that is, to more than one geography of resistance. (Pile, 1997: 27)

These *in-between spaces* refer to the possible spaces outside power relations rejected by structural analysis we have mentioned. Nevertheless, we already know that, opposite to strategy's relation to power, where it bases itself on the postulation of power, a tactic constructs itself on the *absence of power*. Every mark on a place of power *changes the organization of space*. These discontinuous spaces where writers resist are divided into separate islands by the *synecdoches* and *asyndetons*[160]. Graffiti, takes a small part of the urban space and by manipulation, it tries to tell a whole; a writer hops in urban space via pieces. Furthermore, graffiti "opens gaps" between the parts of the geometrically designed urban space; "disconnects them by eliminating the conjunctive or the consecutive (nothing in place of something)" as it is already nothing for the urban-designers that is thus merging as a resistance to the discourse of the designed-city. (De Certeau, 1984: 35-40).

> However, the suggestion that the power relations might produce discontinuous spaces, which resistance transgress or move between, implies that there could be other places in the map of resistance. One possible way to remap resistance, then, is to think about the ways in which power relations are incomplete, fluid, liable to rupture, inconsistent, awkward and ambiguous. Now, spaces of resistance can be seen as not only partially connected to, but also partially dislocated from, spaces of domination. However, even if the interactions within and between relations of power produce simultaneously fixed and fluid spatialities, and that resistance occurs as a rupture in the fabric of these interactions, consideration will still have to be given to the ways in which people take up, and practice, political identities. (Pile, 1997: 14)

In that sense, this study gives importance to jump between scales and relation of different resistance understandings, considering that the capacities of people in changing things are bound up with these definitions. Resistance, thus, have to be searched everywhere, in every tactics of everyday life against the dominant power where people look for ways of their own lives with their own meanings. Whereas this does not make graffiti, a resistance solely with its theory, but the context has to be searched, to test it in the ground. It is about searching the cases played in other's ground.

Consequently, we describe resistance in two levels in our case, the relation of the act with urban space and the motivations of writers. (Pile, 1997: 14).

We, though, have to move one more step adding the frame of de Certeau claiming resistance might take place in *out of places*. Pile claims that "tactics of resistance have at least two 'surfaces': one acting towards the act of power, the other forcing in another direction, towards intangible, invisible, unconscious desires, pleasures, enjoyments, fears, angers and hopes –the very stuff of politics". The keywords of participant writers are related to the 'dreamed city' merging with the keywords that the metropolis brings with its boredom and apathy. They, thus, resist through appropriation creating new meaning in urban space although they do say that they are not against the power. This appropriation carries itself to another level together with the motivations described. Although the opposed subject is not determined clearly, they assume to have one in some cases. (Pile, 1997: 15)

> PEACE: Of course [there is] resistance. Rebel… That is protest, I mean. Against the system maybe… To the Order... It might be against the unjust Order. Nobody does anything to a just system, I mean. One who is happy with the Order does not send a message to a president or anyone. One who is not happy with the Order will somehow reflect that. It would be such everywhere. The ones demanding an order for oneself... Just. I am for it. Where everyone works a lot and there is peace. [161]

The context resistance takes *place* comes here on scene. The persistency this thesis carries on grounding itself on theory and field, the lived experiences, is continued in its searching resistance where it takes place. The motivations and reasons for writers on existing in urban space without an exact definition of oppression source, that the act does not appear from innate political subjectivities and that writers do/will not have an interest in overturning the situation (whereas they eventually have) does not give enough clues for precluding writers out of resistance. It is the main motivations they have indeed, the excitement, pleasure, boredom and desire describing the other resistant side of graffiti writers.

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[161] "Direniş tabii ki ya. Başkaldırı. Direniş. Protest budur yani. Sisteme belki.. Düzene.. Adil olmayan düzene olabilir mesela. Yani adil olan bir düzene kimse gidip de bi şey yapmaz yani. Mutlu olduğu yerde gidip de bir tane, herhangibir başkana, ya da mesaj göndermez. Düzenden hoşlanmayan bi insan bunu elbette yansıtacaktır bir şekilde. Bu her yerde böyle olacaktır yani. Düzen isteyenler bir de kendine bir düzen isteyenler. Adil.. Ben ondan yanayım. Herkesin çok çalıştığı barışın olduğu."

> Resistant political subjectivities are constituted through positions taken up not only in relation to authority –which may well leave people in awkward, ambivalent, down-right contradictory and dangerous places- but also through experiences which are not so quickly labeled 'power', such as desire and anger, capacity and ability, happiness and fear. (Pile, 1997: 3)

This research, thus, demands to carry the conscious that intended and received meanings matter too, whereas this might hopefully point out a process where people become political. Pile suggests that "the effects of these geographies of resistance are multiple, fluid, dynamic and in some ways uncontainable or at least unintended". Resistance writers have, thus, though unintended, exists in described levels facing us up with similar attitudes in our participant writers too. "Spatialities of resistance imply a subject of change that is not necessarily coherent nor has an essential constitution nor a fixed goal, with clear direction." Graffiti merges here with no intention of standing against authority, with no goal to be reached in consideration to strategy, and no defined agenda except for an unclear statement of "all-city" representing fame. Nevertheless, it still stands *against* the authority as it already threatens the authority and its rules. (Pile, 1997: 27)

We have up to now, moved from the participants' expressions that graffiti does not include resistance. Nevertheless, although it is the main aptitude, some might claim right on urban space with a well-done expansion. At this point it is important to stress that, the reason we have not mentioned this attitude at the very beginning is associated to the demand to demonstrate the general picture and not base the study on exceptional cases. Participant writers do not explicitly mention their right on existing in urban space in general; however, even the ones insisting that graffiti does not include resistance very clearly situate themselves in relation to occupied urban space. TAB expresses frankly why he has the right to:

> A Coca Cola advertisement never has a place [limit], they can put wherever they wish as long as they pump money. That is my logic. I consider I can do everywhere I wish to as long as it does not harm historical artifacts and culture, because nobody asks me whether to put that add or not, whether it appeals me. In that context, taking the majority into consideration never makes me help doing something that I

> like to. I do wherever I suppose it would stay well, because nobody asks me if it would stay well and stuff, when advertisements are done.[162]

This discourse is quite a clear statement on one hand, whereas, on the other, it carries a dilemma, sheltering the denial of the rules of the game of the authority again. Whereas we assume that their constant confusion on the act and practice merging especially in public property or legality issues portray an ongoing internal-inquiry on urban spac, because we eventually know that they exist wherever they choose to be almost regardless of all borders they describe.

Most escape from the question regarding to damaging public property claiming that this is what they still could not answer. They, though, have differing solutions for the problem both to ease their conscience and to be accepted more widely by the inhabitants. They somehow put limits in means of the spots they choose here, where it might be not writing on historical artifacts; being careful on writing on surfaces representing *development and technology*, like choosing banlieue trains instead of *Taksim trains*; or writing on disused buildings. They might even ask for legal walls and trains although they already introduced that illegal will always exist. Urban space happens to be an isolated environment merging as their playground listening to them. They do not mean to be illegal, but they prefer it; they do not want to stand against habitants' rights, but they do it; they do not want to be judged for vandalism, but they have no other choice; last but not least, they sometimes express that they would like to work for the benefit of both state and the nation they define, but they damage public property.

This study assumes that looking for resistance not only in the opposition to structured power, but also in *the senses of remembering or dreaming of something better*, will give us new ways of perceiving and moving. Thus, these resistances will continue to take place as people dream about a city, a world, or a life belonging to them. Writers appropriate the urban space they live in by making new spaces possible. These possible places give a way to new ones. Therefore, not only the practice itself but also the output of the

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[162] "Bir koka kola reklamının asla yerinin şeyi yoktur, parayı verdiği anda istediği yere koyabilir. Ben de bu mantıktayım. Gerçekten tarihi eser ve kültüre zarar vermediği sürece istediğim her yere yapabilirim diye bakıyorum çünkü kimse bana o reklamı oraya koymak için sormuyor, göz zevkime uyuyor mu diye. Bu bağlamda benim yapmak istediğim şeyi, çoğunluğu düşünerek ben buraya yapmayayım demiyorum. Gerçekten güzel duracağını düşündüğüm yere yapıyorum Çünkü etrafta reklamlar yapılırken kimse bana sormuyor bu burda güzel duruyor mu falan diye."

practice is pregnant to change which might be described within resistance we have described. (Pile, 1997: 30)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study is based on a social conceptualization of urban space. It stresses that urban space is a social product changing with every act on it, official or unofficial, legal or illegal. It assumes that, although the power-holders who are the main designers of the city hope to *capture* and *lock* all the operating ways of the city in their defined limits, every walk, and every text written *on* the city writes another city and contributes for another city. This mentioned *another* city is not a sole creation within itself but a result of a manipulation of the *gridded-city* via the very inhabitants' *walking* on it. Consequently, the study has chosen to search through the inhabitants writing *on* the city, as we think that what the inhabitants do in and with the city has to be checked besides what is asked to be done by authority.

> Many, often remarkable, works have sought to study the representations of a society, on the one hand, and its modes of behavior, on the other. Building of our knowledge of these social phenomena, it sees both possible and necessary to determine the *use* to which they are put by groups or individuals. (De Certeau, 1984: xii).

The first point of the study was to reveal out the possibilities sheltered in everyday practices looking through graffiti and subsequently revealing out possibilities in graffiti looking through everyday life. With the assumption that urban space is incomplete without the acts of the inhabitants, we have searched through the graffiti writers in the chosen scope. Appropriation and tactics were questioned together with the conceptual framework, writers' own descriptions and approaches in order to come out with a theoretical frame giving us a broader understanding on the act and practice.

Consequently, the study was structured around that mentioned frame. The first aim was related to uncovering the spaces appropriated by writers. The spaces chosen and the working mechanism of writers, the product and the process, were our main outlets in

uncovering theses spaces. The lived spaces and potential included in everyday practices have described our first inputs hereby. The related aim, which is attached to te first, was revealing out the possible resistances involved in the act throughout the writers' motivations, characteristics, spaces they produce and all over process they are entering into. Firstly portrayed conceptual frame, our in-depth research and subsequent descriptions on play/game and resistance have been our guides at this juncture.

The questions study shelters and the subject itself needed a multi-dimensional approach within a prospect from the field. With the supposition that neither the theory nor the field would solely be enough, but needed to feed each other mutually; we have chosen to come out with an integrated approach to the subject. Circumstantially, we have developed our methodology in accordance to the above-mentioned needs considering the necessity of getting broader knowledge on the subject, discovering new possible interconnections and uncovering the relations in-between. As a result, grounded theory with its data collection, analysis methods and its approach to theory has been our guide in handling our main questions.

Following the same multi-dimensional understanding, the theoretical frame was woven around different discussions helping us reveal out the answers related to the study. Accordingly, we first drew out the social conceptualization of space through everyday life. We tried to portray graffiti and graffiti writers parallel to these discussions referring the concepts described and settling writing in context. Secondly, we drew upon the game/play theory in order to explain the motivations and mechanism of the participant writers within the frame previously portrayed. In the light of all above, we discussed resistance within a broader sense of the word in order to reach our frame in the study. The last two helped us in deeply understanding the chosen scope and find out our answers on the case.

The emerging of the theories used in undermining and understanding the case is worth mentioning here. Accordingly, it would be important to say that the chosen methodology has been quite critical at that point where we might say that having the opportunity to be in the field, making in-depth interviews and observations led us to new perspectives together with the theory. Thus, this study postulates a new approach to urban space, everyday activities in it, and faithfully to graffiti.

We have realized a large literature research on the subject trying to handle the outputs in our study. Graffiti has been analyzed in regard to the former studies first of all helping us gain broader knowledge in the subject and choosing our own approach within the limits of Turkey. Thus, the contributions of these studies cannot be underestimated whereas we are aware of the difference of our study in this regard. Consequently, the first descriptions merge from this rich literature on both history and its socio-cultural picture of graffiti bringing us here, to Turkey, together with the in-depth interviews realized.

Dependently, graffiti is a way of expression especially for the young inhabitants of the city. Putting down differing descriptions of graffiti, we portrayed it out in relation to its roots in United States in early 70s. Besides, we tried to outline the borders, not strictly, but as much the subject lets though, considering the elastic nature of the definitions made. Although it would have been quite possible to limit the subject with street-art, which consciously appropriates the urban space with such discourse and politically stands against power in general; we supposed that it would be more important to discuss the borders and possibilities of an everyday act that is not, with the discourses of participants, standing against power and its derivatives but practically doing that. This was the main reason of determining the scope, though leaving it open for another study.

Thus, the scope was chosen according to the question of the study taking reference the places they gather. Accordingly Yeşilçam Auto Park, at the back of Passage Atlas, in Beyoğlu was the main spot. We have observed similarities in the participant writers' descriptions of these spots and their act and also *themselves* in the act. Gathering places were the first inputs for the relation of graffiti with urban space, later continued with chosen spots. Besides, the prior and afterwards descriptions were giving clues on appropriation the act includes.

The participant writers were mainly members of middle-class families also having their *ordinary* citizen description from that context, and relating their audience accordingly. The relation with broader sense of hip-hop culture was significant too, especially in entering to the scene. Their demand to become and be enigmatic, weird and different together with their curiosity to unknown was distinguishable in relation to play/game

theory we have portrayed. This was also the main explanatory face for their demand of belonging to a group around an act that is out of the definitions of ordinary everyday life descriptions they had.

The desire for excitement and adrenalin was a specific issue throughout the case study. These motivations they had were distinguishable as they were letting the participants isolate themselves from their positioning in regard to power or more precisely State. Graffiti, in this study, thus, is portrayed as a game played by young inhabitants using the urban space as their playground. This framing helped us understand the writers and their act together with *who* they are, opening a new field of discussion for graffiti. Furthermore, it supplied us a broader understanding on resistance and everyday life together with the initial theoretical frame portrayed.

Who do graffiti in Turkey merged as a distinctive input for the study together with the short hip-hop history arising from Germany. Graffiti writers, by and large, represent being against State not theoretically but also in its lived aspects all over the world. Whereas, in Turkey, as we prefer to call them, conservatives -of course with the need of stressing distinct cases- tightly attached to their national values, do graffiti. Though roundabout reasons of this are out of the limits of the study, we could determine two main aspects briefly as hip-hop tradition in Turkey and depolitization period of overall society after 80s.

Writers, generally quite well doing with state and its representatives in their everyday life, have a contradictory relation when the subject is graffiti. This pseudo-dilemma, as we call it, is both understandable throughout the game/play theory and gives us feedback on the resistances sheltered in everyday activities, the ruses included in appropriation urban space as a trick of the weak over the strong. Besides, the market economy trying to integrate and make benefit of graffiti writers, although not so wide because of the size of the market, seems to enlarge its realm in a while together with the upsurge of the scene, as we can foresee now.

Throughout all the inputs, we followed the significances of the spaces of graffiti. Graffiti written walls determine the spaces at that point. Here, a two-directional relation has to be mentioned though, as in the case of Atlas. A multi-layered relations series

describe Atlas' becoming a writers-corner, whereas, its becoming writers-corner describe the act there again, totally changing the face of graffiti in Beyoğlu. This is observable for other neighborhoods where more writers inhabit like the case of Fatih. The effect of the re-defined spaces on the improvement of the act is most commonly mentioned giving a way to new possible spaces. It is critical according to our point of view, considering the merging of new possibilities as an opportunity both for the act and the urban space together. An appropriated space, consequently, gives a way to new appropriations.

The relation of writers with urban space when they are choosing spots is mostly based on their motivations of writing related to visibility, risk and fame. Besides, for some cases, it hides a territorial aspect on one hand and a familiarization demand on the other. Although the spaces chosen change by time, they always keep the basic motivations mentioned aside. Here, the demand of writing wherever possible seems to erase the conservatism inherited as keeping cultural values. In that game they play in urban space, the rules they assume important are left behind with the persistent will of appropriating urban space described as writing solely. Illegal acts become to be *normal* and moreover a necessity at that point.

Their excitement on seeing an empty wall and desire of filling it by their names distinguish their everyday wandering in the city. They start depicting their varying cares and worries on city different than an ordinary inhabitant as a writer, claiming that graffiti both is fed by and feeds the city. Their eagerness to exist and *solely* exit in urban space gives us a broader understanding about their demand to socialize and express themselves. Sometimes with unsteady expressions on claiming city theirs or directly pointing out that competence, right to be in the city starts to merge here, as right on the city. Although they mostly do not believe in change in a broader sense, they believe that they cause small changes in city. They eventually say that graffiti belongs to urban and it fosters it with entertainment and surprises it includes.

At that point it is important to put one more step describing the change graffiti causes in city together with the scope we have chosen. We do not mean to stress how graffiti *beautifies* the city whereas this is another input for some examples too. That is why street art, which consciously situates itself in urban space according to the surface mapping of

the city and manifests its existence in opposition to power, is out of the limits of this study, where it includes the rapidly done tags around downtown. The way it appropriates the urban space and the resistance sheltered is beyond the way it beautifies the city according to the study. *Ugliness* it is said to cause in urban space is trivial in regard to the possibilities it includes, claiming that "an era without ugliness is an era without progress" (Sadler, 1998: 72)[165].

Together with all the above, the produced spaces and the processes both these spaces and writers have passed, we tried to uncover the spaces appropriated by writers revealing out the possibilities these spaces and thus graffiti includes. The second aim of unfolding the possible resistances sheltered, essentially lays itself off in their relation to power. It is true that their persistent demand of writing turning out to be an ambition often times, carries them quite away from where they want to position themselves, especially according to state. Although they try to exist in urban space illegally coming out with multi layered opponents in the rivalry relations, they find out their own tactics in order to balance the relations. They eventually think that the act *might be* wrong, however, the practice is right. Here, the rules of their respected authority become to sound nonsense.

Consequently, in the light of above, the study makes a description of resistance considering what it has said up to that point on appropriation and tactics of inhabitants in urban space. It sails with spatial resistance reaching to a two-directional resistance description. The study claims that these new possibilities coming with appropriation are initiators of new possible spaces of resistance. They do not attack the authority directly, but could still create alternative spatialities than spatialities of authority, getting around it, not meaning to change urban space in regard to strategy placed upon it, but rather making small changes by making spaces theirs. Ignorance of an accepted authority is significant here coming with the assumption of game they play.

At that point it would be critical to open up the level of the resistance the study refers. Resistance, in this study, is not portrayed as a mobilization, as goal-oriented, as it is consistently seen, that is claiming itself *powerful* only in case of situating itself in the axis

[165] Quoted from Asger Jorn, 1957: 438-439 "Origine utopiqur de nos idées sur l'arcitecture," in "*Forme et Structure*," in Asger Jorn, Por la Forme (Paris: Internationale situationniste).

of power. But the study looks at the geographies of resistance produced in everyday life. Consequently, the resistance in regard to graffiti is not the one of a political formation but rather an individual one. It does not have an ideological orientation but a personal standpoint carrying similar traces regardless of the mentioned or observed ideology of the participant writers. In that sense, rather than sheltering a political representation, it might be portrayed within boundaries of cultural representation although it does not relate to a subculture. Thus, this mentioned individual level of resistance finds its meaning in the tactics described by de Certeau and the games of Caillois in the context of İstanbul.

Considering its described resistance in relation to other definitions, the study searches two levels of resistance in the described frame within relation to act with urban space, the appropriation and motivations of writers. First finds its definition in creating new meaning via new ways of using urban space, changing its normative structure by persistently attacking its defined order. It is about forcing the limits of the ways of existing in urban space. It is thus a direct attack to the authority both physically and symbolically within limits of its own playground. Resistance sheltered in graffiti is against given definitions forcing the limits looking for the "dialectical relationship between 'possible' and 'impossible', and this both objectively and subjectively" (Lefebvre, 1991a: 60).

The second definition finds its meaning within the motivations of writers, within "intangible, invisible, unconscious desires, pleasures, enjoyments, fears, angers and hopes –the very stuff of politics" forcing in another direction (Pile, 1997: 15). Participant writers do not determine an axis of authority for themselves; they do not attack the urban space in the sense we have mentioned for attacking authority; but the anger, the fear and demand to reach to a fractured dreamed city express the other direction, according to this study. Indeed, this second direction portrays the internal quality of the first phase. The demand of writing leaves all rules which they suppose they respect aside for it is being fed by the unconscious desires. Graffiti is both a tool and a layer in their dreamed city which eventually make them insist on it continuously.

Graffiti is a tactic of the young people against the strategy of the authority upon urban space. It is a way of expression, a tool to get rid of the apathy of everyday routine, a

silent attempt to write on our own cities, a small contribution to go to the dreamed cities for inhabitants, an implement to become namelessly famous, a means to form tight friend relations. Though participant writers might be described as conservative and in general tightly connected to state, we consider that their existence in urban space with their act is out of limits of this defined conservatism. The way they use the tools of strategy is here another input for us.

It is a new interpretation of the relation of 'writing' and 'speaking'. It is oral in the sense it operates and inscriptive considering its physical way of existence. It is, thus, an attempt against the demand of authority to "produce a text and producing society as a text". Writing on the wall is not immortal as a text what makes it sisters with orality. Texts demand progression; they *are* indeed for progression whereas orality is not mentioned with *straightforward* or linear advance. Graffiti writers write, but these are 'texts' those will die soon, they play with the meaning of writing act and its direct progression understanding. They use the tool of the *great systems empire;* yet ironically reverse it via sometimes using combination of letters having no meaning, via writing illegitimate tags or via making their immortality mortal. Graffiti takes a strategical act, writing, and transforms it to a tactic for its writer's daily life (De Certeau, 1984: 134).

Everything inscribed on the city without permission of the authority is accepted as the scribbles by a nasty child on a precise book, and these repeated codes of authority become to be the facts via continuous discourse of both the decision makers and the civilians by their everyday acts. Graffiti refuses to accept these codes both in the way it exists and it operates. In that way it shows resistance against the given. The authority by all means tries to write the city via writing *on* the city, which is indeed supported by the inhabitants of the city with their very own ways of acting. The citizens pick up a meaning chosen from the series of given choices according to the norms. Eventually, they "transform themselves into a unit of meaning" (De Certeau, 1984: 149). They do repeat this on their own city. They loose their own names for the sake of a "name that can be read or quoted by others" (De Certeau, 1984: 149). This relation between the Order and the individuals refuses the anonymity.

Graffiti is anonymous though. Being written by a specific individual does not make it private as the medium it conducts makes it no one's. Writers stand against their city's

evolving to a 'sign'. Graffiti escapes from the law in order to *be*. It is a cry then, as "the only force opposing this passion to be a sign is the cry, a deviation or an ecstasy, a revolt or flight of that which, within the body, escapes the law of the named." Everything outside the terrain of the inscriptive or normative is named wild which is the same in the case of graffiti too. Graffiti refuses "seeking to introduce the 'voice of the people' into the authorized language". That is why we are persistently seeking for the ways of possibilities appropriated spaces create and resistances sheltered in those everyday acts without detaching the participant writers and graffiti from its context, indeed trying to understand them as they are. (De Certeau, 1984: 149, 159).

Graffiti is the modern stories, legends of the cities. It transforms itself to be the murmur of the city spread by the very own inhabitants before it even finishes on the wall. As its application starts, the legend starts walking too. It very silently walks through the places of the authority. By transforming the places to spaces, it enters to the "field of the other" (de Certeau, 1984: 130). It makes the foreigner, the familiar. It takes back the space that indeed belongs to us. Graffiti after once applied does not belong to anyone. It is also timeless with its spontaneity, instantaneity, simultaneity and temporality. It doesn't attempt to dominate; it fractures and distributes the space what makes it belong to the people. It is 'democratic' as it demonstrates itself in the streets, *"the privileged site which unites the quotidian and the festive*" [166] (Sadler, 1998: 69) with no other channel than the publicly owned. What is written on the wall does not represent a sole-sonant; it resonates both in each writer's own self and on each reader's commentaries. It does not stop where it is; thus, is a multi-vocal act.

Turning back to the aims of the study, it is possible to say that we could uncover the spaces appropriated by writers seeing and explaining new possibilities, new possible spatialities throughout the spaces chosen, working mechanisms, writers and their complex relations together with graffiti as a product and process. The question related to the possible resistances sheltered in writing, we consider, could be widely portrayed according to its resistance description throughout differing tools. The firstly described theoretical frame on urban space, appropriation, strategy and tactics, spatialities graffiti creates, motivations of writers, their characteristics, spaces they produce and allover

[166] Quoted from Rigby, 1991: 20.

process both writers and these spaces pass through have been our tools in that sense.

Though it changed its meaning and possibilities as the study carried on, graffiti could be positioned in a different state for the researcher than the very beginning of this thesis. Honestly speaking, the main expectation of the researcher from the thesis became to be *gaining faith* in change *again,* looking through the *conjuncture* that is mainly resulting with broken situations. It would be critical at that point; once more stressing the assumption this study carries. Possibilities and resistances sheltered in everyday practices, tactics, and the games of the inhabitants might be varying. Resistance is not defined in relation to the position taken according to authority merely but also in the senses of remembering or dreaming of something better. This, we assume, instead of taking us away from resistance, will come up with new interactions together with the new perceptive and moving possibilities.

Graffiti thus, helped us understand the ways of appropriating of inhabitants, their tactics in opposition to the strategy and new possibilities included there. On the other hand, undermining everyday practices helped us gain a deeper understanding on graffiti and writers. It has been possible to see how urban space is appropriated and how new spaces become possible by appropriation. Both the process and the product merged as tactics of the inhabitants for creating new spatialities of resistance. It has to be remarked that this study does not reject other resistances whereas it gives importance to *confidence* in small changes in a world of places where all are supposed to be under authority's control leaving no gate for the change. Eventually it adopts the following manifestation of Potlatch reaching its destination in relation to descriptions it has done up to now. "GAMES ARE FORBIDDEN IN THE LABYRINTH. One could not seek a clearer summary of the spirit of a whole civilization,"[167] (Sadler, 1998: 51) claiming that "the biggest fear of the power is not opposition but sailing close to the wing"[168].

[167] Quoted from Anon., "Ariane en chômage," Potlatch, no. 9-10-11 (Paris, August 1954).

[168] İktidarın en büyük korkusu muhalefet değil, ciddiye alınmamaktır. Vassaf, 2000: 95

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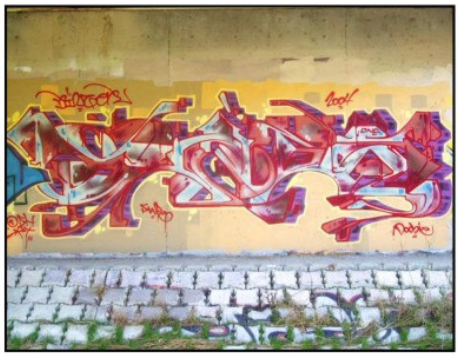
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A –DEFINITIONS

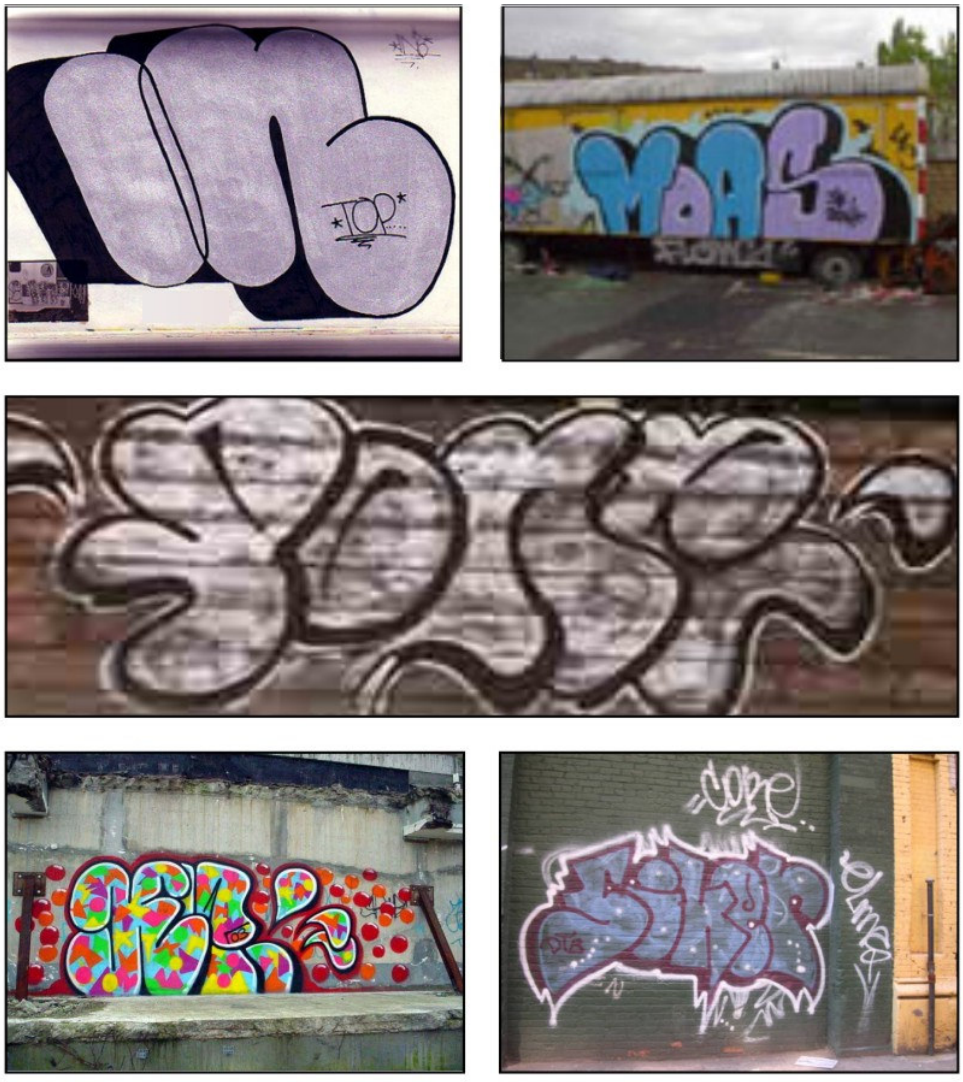
APPENDIX A.1 – BURNER



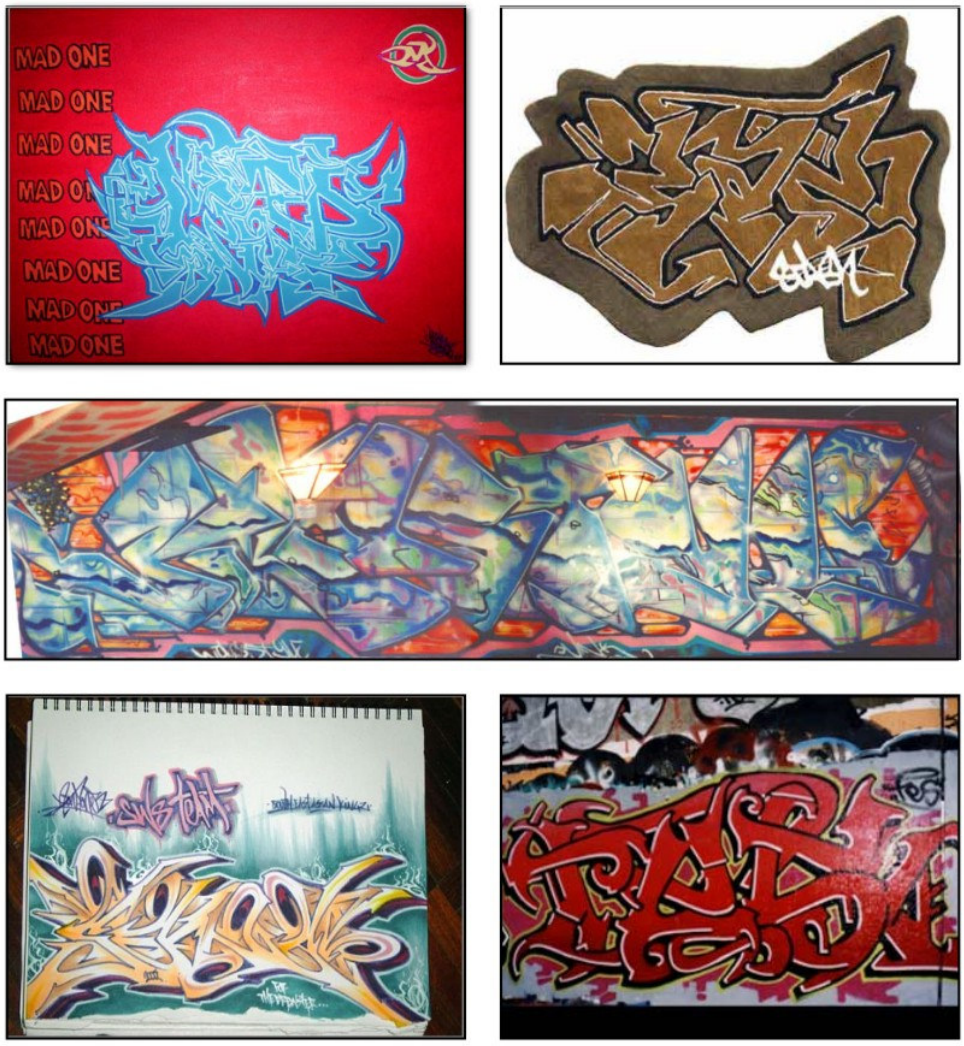
APPENDIX A.2. – PIECE

APPENDIX A.3. – TAG

APPENDIX A.4. – THROWUP



APPENDIX A.5. – WILDSTYLE



APPENDIX B – QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS

A. Personal information:

1. Nick:
2. crew:
3. Age:
4. Education:
5. Job:
6. Borough:
7. Residence (with family? Alone?):
8. Which music do you listen to?
9. What are your hobbies?

B. Definitions:

10. What is graffiti? How do you define it?
11. What is its distinction than another writing or painting in the street?
12. How do you then describe the borders of graffiti?
13. What is more important, as many spots as possible or the style? (How do you define a king here?)
14. What are the specific terms of the graffiti world you are a member of?
15. Can you tell about the history/the roots of graffiti? (United States)
16. What is a good work? (What determines a good work?)
17. Who do graffiti in general? (Is is possible to talk about a general frame)
18. (If there is a variety) What are the reasons beyond that variety according to you?
19. Can we talk about a common style of writers? (The way they dress, music they listen to, cafés they hang out…)

C. Turkey:

20. How has graffiti started in Turkey?
21. What were the reasons laying beyond its merging in Turkey? (The background

preparing that?)

22. How has graffiti changed since it first merged in Turkey?
23. In which cities graffiti is practices mostly?
24. What is making İstanbul significant at that point?
25. What are the differences of graffiti in Turkey than other countries?
26. Where do you think graffiti is going in Turkey?
27. How has the reaction to graffiti changed throughout time? What were the effects?

D. Personal History and Motivations:

28. How and why did you start graffiti?
29. Why have you taken this name?
30. How did you learn writing? (Old-school? Was there a mentor or by yourself?)
31. How did you pass from tags to pieces?
32. How long have you been in touch with the scene?
33. What is the position of graffiti in your life? (Together with its change in time)
34. Do you express yourself with graffiti? A tool? What is graffiti for you?
35. What are your inspirations when you are writing?
36. What is your relation with (established) arts?
37. Why do you prefer to write on a wall (what if I bring a canvas)?
38. What do you think or feel on seeing an empty wall?
39. How has graffiti changed your life?
40. Why do you prefer graffiti than another hobby?
41. Do you mind the reactions coming from inhabitants? Why?

E. Spatial Definitions - Spots:

42. What are the significant spots you gather as writers?
43. How do you describe these spaces? (Why these spaces?)
44. How did this spot(s) become to be such?
45. What changed before and after? (Effects?)
46. What are the significances for you to choose a spot to write? (What are the effects which make you tending to these spots?)
47. What are the reasons pulling you to those spots?
48. What do these spots represent for you? (How do you define there?)

49. Why there but not another spot?
50. What sorts of spots do writers choose in general? (effects in choosing)
51. How did spots you have chosen changed since you started?
52. What are the differences in reactions to graffiti considering differing locations? What do you think determines this?
53. How is it different before and after graffiti is written on a surface?
54. (If writing) what is the significance of writing on a train?

G. Spatial Definitions – Urban Space:

55. How do you think about the conditions of the city you are living in? (possible uneasiness)
56. Is there something you want to change in the city?
57. Do you want to change in cith?
58. What is the role of graffiti in that?
59. What is the meaning of being in the street for you?
60. How do you think what you do relates with urban space?
61. How does a writer experience city (different than an ordinary inhabitant)?
62. Why are there more graffiti in some locations while there are more in others? (What does determine that?)
63. How does graffiti change the city?
64. What sort of a mark does graffiti leave in the street?
65. (If there is a mark) How does it effect the environment?
66. What sort of a relation do you think you built with city (with graffiti)?
67. (How) is your experience (walking) in city different than an ordinary inhabitant?

H. Working Mechanism –Writing:

68. Can you tell the decision and application process of a tag and a piece?
69. Which materials do you use and why?
70. How do you get materials? (How do you sponsor yourself? Steal?)
71. Do you use stencil? Why?
72. How is it evaluated in general in graffiti world using stencils?
73. Do you use masks when you are painting?
74. How has internet your affected graffiti life?

75. How often do you go writing?
76. What time of the day or which days do you choose to do graffiti? (If there is a significance)
77. Can you talk about girls in graffiti world?
78. Why are there so few?
79. Can we talk about discrimination when the case is the girls in graffiti world?
80. Is graffiti a man's business?
81. Can a woman writer write alone? Why?

I. Working Mechanism – Crew:

82. What is the significance of mentor-pupil relation for the toys?
83. Are there own rules of the scene? If yes, what?
84. Do you go out writing alone or with crew? Why?
85. Do the people in this world know about each others? How? (Is it local or national?)
86. How is a crew founded?
87. What are the necessities/the process of entering to a crew?
88. What is the meaning of a crew for a writer? (Why do you choose to write together?)
89. How do writers in a crew decide to work together or separately?
90. How are the relations of the writers in the same crew?
91. Can we talk about some values sheltered in a crew?
92. Who is the king? What is the best crew?

J. Working Mechanism – Power Realtions:

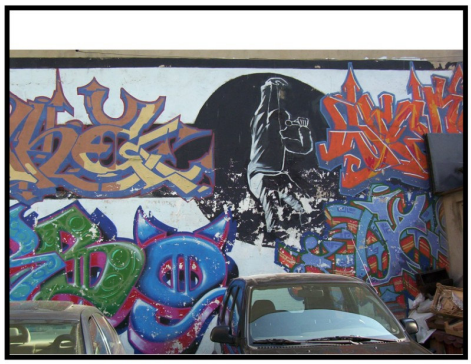
93. How do you think effect the passer-by?
94. What are the differing reactions for a tag and a piece? Why do you think?
95. Did you have any incidents with security or stuff? Can you tell it? (their behaviors, outcomes, your ideas...)
96. Have you ever been caught writing on a private property? How was it?
97. What about a public property?
98. What are the reactions of your family about your writing, if they know it?
99. Have you ever got in trouble with police? How? (The outcome, the effect on family relations..)

100. How are the reactions writing on TCDD trains or lines?
101. (For the ones who are still students) How are the reactions at school if they know that you are doing graffiti?
102. What is the significance of illegality for graffiti?
103. What do you think for merely legal doing?
104. What do you think on damage you cause on public property?
105. Could you define graffiti as a resistance means?
106. How do you think about illegality of graffiti?
107. What about the laws related to that?
108. What do you think about the legal walls like Güngören? (Legality?)

Last words;

109. Why do you do graffiti?
110. How do you think you affect urban space/the city?

APPENDIX C – SPOTS

APPENDIX C.1. – GÜNGÖREN MEETING OF ALL-STARS

APPENDIX C.2. – ATLAS FALL OF FAME