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Street Art

And

Outdoor Advertisements

The Relationship between Street Art and Outdoor Advertisements in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues, in Istanbul

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Abstract

STREET ART AND OUTDOOR ADVERTISEMENTS:

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on Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues in Istanbul"

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This thesis focuses on both street art and outdoor advertisements in Istanbul. Specifically, we chose Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues as our fieldwork areas to conduct our research. With its cosmopolitan structure Istiklal Avenue and high-standard lifestyle Bağdat Avenue together represent Istanbul to understand the multifaceted nature of social, cultural and political identities of the society. In relation to variations, working in two different districts is a crucial reference to discover various perspectives of citizens of Istanbul regarding our subjects: street art and outdoor advertisements.

Since this project is conducted from a cultural analysts' point of view, we aim to analyze the cultural reflections of the society from visual materials on the streets. At that point, in addition to the desk research about these subjects, we were out-of-home as well. We aim to gain a "subjective" perspective of the understanding of street art and outdoor advertisements from citizens' narratives on the basis of one of our research questions: "how do we react to space and its contents."

Our main inspiration for this research is the power of invisible, hidden codes to discover taken for granted inclusionary and exclusionary definitions of cultural elements. For us, street art and outdoor advertisements are visible, part of our visual memory but they are not "visible" in everyday routines. One is accepted as "normal" within capitalist system; the other is accepted as one of the alternative ways of people's self-expression who are excluded from this system. We analyze these stereotypical understandings through structuring both of them on the same scene; on streets. We questioned the existence of relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements; and their possible legitimization ways; and their place in people's minds through our two case studies. According to our cases' advertisement campaigns, which combines advertisement with street art; we chose Vodafone "Free Mobile" campaign as a global brand and Alpella "Ole" campaign as a local brand.

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Istanbul, 2010-05-24

Melike Kıratlı & Mürvet İrem Şirin

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background, Aims and Objectives

Our decision to study the relationship for both between street art and advertisements has started four years ago. In 2006, when we were sociology sophomores at Boğaziçi University in Turkey, we arranged our internships for summer-term. İrem worked as an intern in an international advertising agency; and Melike in a local newspaper agency. During our internships, we gained an ability to criticize the power of communication strategies over people. Following the advertising agency and media experiences, we have learned the back stage of the representations of brands; political movements; and social actions. The interaction and communication with society are backbones of these different representations. In reference to this key purpose, we started to question the complex messages of the advertisements and the already defined presentations of social codes by the media. On the basis of the popular media of this modern society, we looked for different ways of communication that reflect society and reveal the representations of the space diffused into the everyday life.

In 2007, we attended to a summer school program called "Culture, Conflict and Concord in Europe" in the Netherlands to develop our understanding of the multiplicity of cultural signs. In that summer, we began to develop our street art collection during our trips in Europe. By focusing on the pieces of life on the streets, we noticed that cultural differences are present in visual presentations. We collected these street ornaments as alternative forms of inhabitants' self-expressions.

In 2009, we had a chance to analyze, in a detailed way, street art and its relationship with society, specifically in the Skane Region, in Sweden. We discovered the cultural elements of 3 different cities (Helsingborg, Lund and Malmö) and Sweden are reflected on the street art examples. In addition to our internship experience, in our specialization course "Media, Culture and Identity", we chose to analyze the effects of outdoor advertisements and political posters in Istanbul on the citizens through personal narratives. We enriched our literature-based knowledge with the citizens' subjective point of views. Also, from our own-experiences, we realized that we are heavily influenced by commercial messages. We prefer to buy specific

products to which we are attracted by advertisements. We tried to capture the street art examples on the streets where we walked with our cameras to compare these commercials with non-commercial ones as required by our field of study.

Finally, in 2010, we clarified the details of our thesis' focus. As Istanbul is the European Cultural Capital of 2010, we defined it as our main fieldwork area. It is really exciting to work in our hometown with a familiar culture. It is impressive to objectify the cultural processes underlying the intertwining of social and cultural changes in Turkey. Within such a crowded and multi-facet city as Istanbul, we believe that the main roads are "open-air exhibitions" of the city life. We wanted to focus on Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues in Istanbul as our specific field areas in which we could pick up the pieces of citizens' everyday life practices on streets. As we are familiar with those places, we can do a double-sided-analysis: researching the role of visual elements as traces of transformation in urban spaces, and the effects of them over the individuals with reference to people's narratives and our observations. It is a challenging and also motivating process to examining familiar cultural points from a different perspective. During this process, Melike mainly focused on street art and İrem on (outdoor) advertisements. In relation to our main themes, the specific parts are shared and written by each of us separately. All other parts of the thesis are written together; we wrote each part by ourselves, and then as we wanted to expand our topics (street art and advertisements) hand in hand, we combined our different and similar ideas at the same page. As this project required a real group work, we spent many hours together to be interactive as much as possible from the beginning of this thesis to the end.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions:

Our principal concern in this thesis is to trace the relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements in Istanbul, specifically in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues. "The urban space is, instead, a living space, which needs to be read at multiple levels and with regard to multiple relations among multiple actors" (Baykal, 1997, p.93). Within this multiplicity of social, cultural and political elements, we want to analyze the ways in which our two actors, street art and outdoor advertisements, affect each other and the common and challenging issues of the relationship between

them on "the streets that are the terrain of social encounters and political protest, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety" (Malone, 2002, p.157).

How do space and its contents affect the mentality of those experiencing it? These questions are the basis of our research perspective because the lives on the streets reflect the visible or invisible codes of our culture. It is important to know the inhabitants' perspectives towards our field of analysis. They lead the focus of our thesis with their own perspectives. At the beginning, the first minutes of our meetings, our informants are really skeptical about our main purpose. None of our topics are visible or recognizable parts of people's daily routines. Advertisements are so much taken for granted in their everyday lives. People do not notice that they are looking at billboards while they are driving or walking on the streets. Especially, the street art as an issue that they never question; didn't make sense to our informants.

These two differently oriented activities come together on the same stage. Street art emerged from the suburban areas of New York produced by young people from a sub-culture as a counter cultural movement to the dominant culture and its properties in the twentieth century. Advertising has reached its popularity during the 20th century and has become a manipulative means of hegemonic powers within the hegemonic discourse. From their points of origin, street art and advertisements differ in terms of their target group, appliers and ideologies. We explored how their target groups are met in the same basket; what are their similarities, differences and interactions to enrich and/or dilute each other.

As Lefebvre remarks, "in the contemporary city we have consuming displays, displays of consuming, consuming of signs, signs of consuming" (Molina, 2006, p.103). Without ignoring the effects of capitalist system; we chose two different topics that rise from different backgrounds but interfere with each other; street art and outdoor advertisement on the street. The new power mechanisms redefine what is important in social life. With the enormous expansion of material culture, the expanding world of goods and the ways these goods are used by people in everyday life create a complex image of the market. Even if street art is accepted as a non-commercial expression of sub-culture or excluded group; on the other hand the advertisement is accepted as commercial from the hegemonic class; they both appear at the same place, streets; and use the same channel, visual media. Besides, we want to explore how street art and outdoor advertisements start to be seen in the same area:

"the market"[1]. In our thesis, we also discuss different ways of legitimization that are used by the advertising industry and by the street artists in public space. In addition to their physical appearance on the streets, it is important to understand their motivations for their existence in public spaces. From a Foucauldian perspective, these political approaches can help us to expose and identify the control mechanisms and hegemonic discourses within the society. [i]

1.3 Overview and Thesis Structure:

In the following sections, we aim to conceptualize the framework of the research with the analysis of previous works related to our subjects and theories. For the fieldwork, we have a special part with our empirical materials like our informants' thoughts, pictures, and common facts about our key points. To develop our main findings, we organized an analysis-discussion section to give more detailed knowledge in terms of local background and understanding of street art and outdoor advertisements. Finally, we concluded our thesis with a general view of our findings, our concluding remarks with reference to the additional information that we found during our fieldwork and our recommendations about our thesis.

II. STATE OF THE ART

During our literature analysis, we have been inspired by some of these sources and, some of them have had a big impact on our attitudes. However, as we started to study street art and outdoor advertisement and their interrelations, we were going to be in the field, on the street. We conducted our research by using qualitative methods to build up our subjects through narratives and personal interpretations.

In approaching the question based on "the relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements" in Bağdat and Istiklal Avenues, in Istanbul, it was essential to begin by researching the literature related to our subjects. Specifically the studies about outdoor advertising were highly related to the issues like globalization, marketing strategies, consumption practices and the use of space in the capitalist

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[1] http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/market.html

society. But on the other hand, we could not enrich our analytical knowledge adequately as we prefer to use qualitative methods in the outdoor advertisements area as well.

As *"How advertising works: the role of research"* (Jones, 1998), Slater pointed out "the importance of researches that offer insight into consumer unknowns, and help narrow the range alternative creative decisions". In the advertising industry, the quantitative research is described as market research that is prior to the determination of the identities of consumers for the specific campaigns. But as our main point of analysis, the qualitative researches are important to understand how consumers behave and why they behave as they do. They are all about the consumers' attitudes, beliefs, motivations and behaviors. In addition to this view, as our main purpose is not to create a piece of research for the advertising industry or street art; but we want to add to our qualitative research the interaction process of the outdoor advertisements existence with the space, the city, alternative modes of communication like street art. Our perspective is beyond the consumer behaviors in which we should focus on domains like city streets, public spaces and cultural resistance or acceptance in which social and spatial values are constructed.

2.1 History of Street Art and Advertisement:

First of all, we searched for street art and outdoor advertisements themselves during our research. The history of street art gave clues to identify the perpetrators of street art and the social class to which they belong, the hometown of street art and the ideologies which are important to analyze the works and demographic remarks of street art and artists.

"Today's graffiti developed towards the end of the 1970s in New York and Philadelphia, where artists such as Taki 183, and Julio 204 painted their names on walls or in subway stations around Manhattan. The unique make-up of New York City –in which the Harlem slums and the glamorous world of Broadway stand side by side –seems to have been a breeding- ground for the first graffiti artists, bringing together many different cultures and class issues in one single place. This environment fuelled an artistic battle against the power brokers in society, and a breakaway from poverty and the ghetto" (Ganz, 2004, p.8).

"The idea of subcultures being a representation of a moment in history, therefore we can see that as street art were born out of a feeling of being left out by society, they will continue to survive as subcultures for however long any one person feels neglected or excluded" (Rose&Strike, 2005, p.200). "Street art and graffiti in this period gave people from marginalized areas of society the opportunity to 'be somebody', if only on their own sub-sect. You could literally make your mark in the world, be a creative individual, be cool, and most importantly, be a star." (Lewisohn, 2008, p.43)

Initially graffiti artists often used either their real names or nicknames, but soon the 'first pseudonyms' started to appear. "The glut of new graffiti artists brandishing their names across the whole city inspired writers to find new ways to make their work stand out. Tags got bigger and bigger. Many artists sought recognition, either by spray-painting the most trains or the best pieces. Stencil- and street artists, meanwhile, wanted to communicate with the passer-by or shape their environment without any constraints. Stenciling was widely used in France during the post-war years, and the walls in Paris are a testament to that, especially during and around the May 1968 riots" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.43). Most were politically centered and included mainly slogans and some images. The spray can itself is not a new tool for those ends, as it was used to write slogans and propaganda for decades before it acquired its artistic status.

"The majority of graffiti in Europe was based on the American model, which remains the most popular to this day. With hip-hop, graffiti entered almost every western-influenced country and then started to edge our further afield. Asia and South America caught on later, but their graffiti culture is now growing at a phenomenal rate and has already reached a high standard, particularly in South America" (Ganz, 2004, p.8).

"For an informed look at subculture, we must first identify what is meant by this word. The dominant culture is a collection of rules and codes that are followed, whether consciously or unconsciously, to create the illusion of an ordered and peaceful society, the 'aesthetic of authority'. However, when a certain group is in opposition to this culture, they pose a threat to the leaders of this society" (Rose&Strike, 2005, p.197).   Once a new subculture has announced itself, it is only a

short time before the ruling classes, the leaders of the dominant culture, react to try and restore harmony (ibid).

We come up with the advertising as a way of "neutralizing a subculture is to take its style and signs and reinvent them as commodities. Once this occurs, the ability to shock or disquiet has been removed from the subculture; the subversive element thrown open to the general public." (Rose&Strike, 2005, p.203) Just like, "punk culture was appropriated by the fashion world, their innovations reproduced for mass consumption. When this happens, the subculture becomes codified it is made comprehensible, rendered at once public property and profitable merchandise" (Rose&Strike, 2005, p.203).

From the beginning, street artists and graffiti writers gain a certain power through their anonymity. "They are able to comment on social issues or even make nonsensical joke-like statements, without any fear of reproach" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.100). However, as "certain advertisers also use graffiti writers and street artists to fly-post and stencil their adverts on the street for them this kind of guerrilla marketing is an attempt to appear hip to certain demographics. Now that graffiti and street art are such recognized symbols of rebellion, we might well ask if they will simply become institutionalized shells, detached from their authentic self when appropriated by advertising" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.112). We wondered if it is actually possible for art or culture to be opposed to anything in a system dominated by commerce with the engagement of advertising and street art.

From an historical perspective, as Nixon (2003) mentioned in *"Advertising Cultures: Gender, Commerce, Creativity";* "advertising has occupied an important place within the diverse accounts of economic and cultural change and represented a particularly visible marker of the dynamism of commercial society" (p.3). For our thesis, we aim to understand the historical development of both of our topics for having a critical point of view for today and having assumptions about the future. From a sociological perspective, "advertisements turn into a key factor for the understanding of the reproduction process of capitalist social relationships" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&/Botterill, 2005, p.162).

"Outdoor advertising is one of the oldest forms of promotion and it can trace its lineage back to the earliest civilizations. In early stages, with the developments in movable type printing, the illustrated poster became a reality. The second half of the 19th century was a period of increasing numbers of new publications, and magazines

and newspapers that previously had not accepted advertisements began to do so at this time." (Outdoor Advertising Association of America, 2010. Retrieved from http://www.oaaa.org/about/HistoryofOutdoor.aspx) Specifically, in reference to the Outdoor Advertising Association of America (retrieved from www.oaaa.org), "in 1850, the exterior advertising was first used on street railways. In 1890's, outdoor advertising was institutionalized in US in the name of: Outdoor Advertising Association of America. In 1900, the standardization became apparent in the structure of billboards." "Also, a slow growth in new product types entered the advertising arena. The result was a moderate but steady growth in advertising volume up to the end of the century. The beginning of the 20th century was a major turning point for advertising. The revolution in the newspaper industry, which linked the increasing productivity of the press with income generated predominantly by advertising, coincided with a period of dramatic growth in advertising volume. The expansion of the magazine industry, too, in conjunction with a whole new range of products, seemed to accentuate the growth of advertising. The first 25 years of this century was the period of advertising's most rapid growth" (Leiss & Kline & Jhally & Botterill, 2005, p.116-117). Between 1925 and 1945, with the professionalization of the agencies, advertising gained its role of influencing public policy. After the 1960's, with the rapid growth of capitalist- based relations, the market segmentation took attention of the brands for their products. As the final stage, after 1985, the transformation of all kinds of influencing clues is the main purpose of this industry. Also, outdoor advertising became more popular with the rise in importance of creativity, play, diversity and metaphoric-emotive themes in the ads (Leiss & Kline & Jhally & Botterill, 2005, p.160). As in the book *"Social Communication in Advertising Consumption in the Mediated Marketplace"* with outside of the home media, advertising has colonized key spheres of the city (ibid, 2005, p.365). "The idea of outdoor media was replaced by the idea of out of home media referring to any media opportunity enabling advertisers to connect with consumers once they leave their homes" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Botterill, 2005, p.366).

2.2 Our Aim through Preliminary Literature:

We wanted to develop our thesis through the subjective consequences of commercial and non-commercial processes upon the inhabitants of Istanbul.

Advertising does not manipulate needs; rather it produces signs used in the new war of status competition and cultural consumption. Advertising is like the city, it creates a spectacle of desire, while connoting competition. "Consumer society is propelled by a continual competition in social standing and the city is the site of the greatest spectacle of competition." (Baudriallard 1998, p.65)

Our main topics are visible on the streets of the city. Outdoor advertisements use out-of-home places and they turn those places into their representative spaces. At this point, it is important to understand possible perceptions of public space of our informants but before focusing on the subjective interpretations, we analyzed different explanations of public space in the literature. *Molina (2006),* in her thesis, questioned the differentiation of public spaces or private places by focusing on outdoor advertising and the commercialization of public space in Christchurch, New Zealand. This thesis is an important milestone for the development of our thesis because there is a limited literature about the impact of outdoor advertising on space related issues. Molina (2006) mentioned that "Public space is central to a critical discussion of outdoor advertising because it is the rhetoric of what constitutes 'public' that pervades the medium's history. The problematic distinction between 'private' and 'public' is well documented and can shed light on why outdoor advertising takes its current form in culture" (p.13).

"Advertising is about all of us- our ideals and dreams, our worries and anxieties. No matter how it represents reality, it always reflects the shared dimension of social life we call culture. As such, it is truly fascinating. Advertising, however, also reflects itself as a system of messages" (Hansen&Hansen Y., 2001, p.351).

This system of messages contains important clues for understanding society, its practices and their reactions towards the capitalist culture. While we were analyzing the relationship between street art and outdoor advertisement; it was important to look at the citizens' lives and how outdoor advertisements communicate with its inhabitants of Istanbul in the daily routine. As Chaney (1996) discusses in his book *"Lifestyles",* "the force of the idea of a consumer culture is dependent upon the possibility of mass marketing with its concomitant mass advertising" (p.17). Also, he creates a relationship between the consumer culture and its key element advertising with the city life.

"As urban life has become the determining precondition of everyday life for national culture in modernity, so visualization has become the central resource for

communicating and appropriating meaning. And flowing from this, to the extent that lifestyles are one of the main frameworks for organizing and manipulating social identity, then lifestyles are primarily articulated through the constantly changing spectacle of surface appearances" (Chaney, 1996, p.101). Also, as we focused on two "different" aspects of the city life, we could not ignore that "although lifestyles are public practices, they are after all ways of discriminating social inclusion and exclusion; they are also invested with private meaning" (Chaney, 1996, p.120). In reference to this information, we tried to focus in detail the different meanings of lifestyle practices as they reflect the subjective impressions for the so-called invisible side of urban life, street art; and inescapable side, outdoor advertisements.

Molina (2006) observes to the use of regulatory discourse of the advertising industry that has continuously sought to improve its image in the public eye. Advertisers legitimize themselves by reinforcing hegemonic conceptions through the use of stereotypes to promote constructed images of the self. Through this blending of commercial and political speech, we want to discuss the people's insight about the power mechanisms operated in public spaces by focusing on street art and outdoor advertising. One of the examples has a bearing the critical part of our topics is Rosewarne's perspective. In her article *"Visual Terror: Graffiti and Outdoor Advertising as Street Harassment",* she discussed graffiti and sexualized outdoor advertising as the kinds of socially exclusionary activities that constitute harassment in public space (Rosewarne, 2004, p.4). This work is crucial for our thesis because her references about how power and control of space operate through public space. Even if she argues the gendering issues on which we do not deeply focus, it is crucial to point out those outdoor advertisements and graffiti create a space to construct a visual image.

As one of our research questions is "how do space and its ornaments affect the subjective point of views of inhabitants and how do inhabitants react?" our primary source is people's narratives about these two issues and their relationship. We questioned the power of both of them in terms of transmitting their messages. As Mackay (1999) pointed out in his book *"The Fundamentals of Advertising",* "the success of the message is related to how people respond" (p.24).

Street art and outdoor advertisements come together to give their messages. For instance, *guerilla marketing* examples, like our case studies, using these two methods in an innovative way. As we have learned from Guerilla Marketing

presentation about this marketing strategy, it is important to discover creative and different tools for presenting products (Biz/ed, 1996. Retrieved from http://www.bized.co.uk/educators/16-19/business/pazarlama/lesson/guerrilla.htm). This non-traditional way of marketing is used for getting maximum benefit with unexpected methods. In *guerilla marketing*, there are more than '100 alternative methods' and most of them are present in our daily lives. These tools are easily accessible like streets, and street art.

All in all through the literature analysis we had, we wanted to further all these inspiring articles, books and thesis to another step which contains both the street art and outdoor advertisement on the Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues in Istanbul; and their impression on lay-people to get the idea of increased-relationship between street art and advertisement for our research.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 'Where there is power, there is resistance'[ii]:

As we have direct experiences on the street in our everyday lives, we have indirect knowledge of reality; the reality which comes with the knowledge; the knowledge which comes with the power as Foucault argues[iii].

Foucault's aim is to discover "how men govern (themselves and others) by the production of truth. He continually demonstrates how power operates through discourse and how discourses are always rooted in power: power produces knowledge. Power and knowledge directly imply one another. There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."(Storey, 1993, p.92)

What concerns Foucault is the double question: 'how power is exercised and what its effects are'. This is posed against the more traditional double question: 'what is power and where does it come from?' For Foucault, power is not the property of, say, a ruling class; power is a strategic terrain, the site of an unequal relationship between the powerful and the powerless: 'where there is power, there is resistance'

(Foucault, 1990, p.95). Moreover, power should not be thought of as a negative force, something which denies, represses, negates; power is productive, which enables to the "re-ordering, re-defining, and re-contextualizing" as subversive and resistant.

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. (Storey, 1993, p.92)

In legal rational political system and abstract morality, the individual is a representation of society, who has to behave according to current norms. Otherwise, society drops him/her out until they are corrected according to the Foucauldian perspective. These norms and rules are moved to reclassify people and manufacture deviance. And advertisements use the visual power; they have to stabilize these norms in people's mind according to the system. Therefore, Michel Foucault sees this rationalism as dangerous and people have been trapped in their own history in the struggle for a new subjectivity (Foucault, 1982, p.329). The concept of identity situated in place therefore does not accommodate for the fact that, in graffiti, a multitude of identities are manifested into public place. Many identities, however, are rejected as representing one homogenous graffiti identity: the antisocial.

According to Manuel Castells[iv], identity is people's source of meaning and experiences. They are both crucial to understand how identities are constructed but also how they are lived. To expand these definitions, identity requires an 'other' to create itself. Being able to create one's own identity, one needs the other to compare itself; hence one separate the 'us' and 'them'. In this 'us', there is inclusion, solidarity, and a kind of a unity. On the other side, in 'them', there is exclusion, through which one can create a sustainable community, 'we'. As Derrida[v] maintains words are mutually defining. And for Foucault, rather than analyzing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through the antagonism of strategies (Foucault, 1982, p.329).

"Gramsci's strategy for resisting and eventually overcoming the power of the capitalist class in its most advanced nations, and thereby for deeply democratizing those nations, rested on his conviction of the need to challenge and displace the cultural dominance and leadership (=hegemony) of their ruling classes with a coherent and convincing alternative vision of how society might organize itself. He argued that over the two centuries of its expansion and consolidation, capitalism

maintained and organized its leadership through agencies of information and culture such as schools and universities, the churches, literature, philosophy, media and corporate ideologies, that are all silently and anonymously informed by the representation the bourgeoisie transmits of the relations between human beings and the world" (Brandenberge, 2002, p.14).

Gramsci, Hall and others have offered tremendous insight into the nature and relations of power and the manufacture of consent in societies. (Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 1975) Hegemonic discourse and assumptions limit what is imaginable while these hegemonic powers ask for consent. This is exactly what advertising companies aim to do as a powerful media. Any form of production outside of the hegemonic system is regarded as either trivial or a threat to established consent. As such, these forms of productive resistance are considered counter-hegemonic practices (Hall, 1975). In this understanding of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic practices, graffiti falls into a counter-hegemonic characterization primarily because vandalism of public and private property, through street art in our case, violates the hegemonic respect for property and ownership. Street artists, graffiti writers or "vandals" defy hegemonic codes and stir up a considerable displeasure and discomfort for the form and for the writers themselves. Through Gramsci's theory street art can be understood as a way to challenge dominant ideological frameworks and to supplant them with a radical alternative vision too.

3.2 "You cannot have postmodernism without modernism"[vi]:

According to the modernity, art's function is to organize and influence the human psyche -the totality of man's spiritual life i.e. his/her thoughts and feelings, his/her consciousness and sub-consciousness-through the medium of his/her senses. John Fiske sees the access to art, as a branch of the media, is a means of exerting power and social control and so believed of the relationship between mass media and revolutionary forces (Fiske, 1990).

"The modernists loved clean white walls, and put forward the view that new is beautiful and therefore for the benefit of society as a whole. The idea was a noble one, but by the time it trickled down to the masses it translated to concrete jungles, cheaply made and badly designed housing projects, places of exclusion and isolation. Those involved in the pioneering graffiti of the 1970s were part of the first generation to

grow up in this social architecture...the tags and images of those working in direct reaction to their architectural surroundings, fighting for a sense of individualism and territory in the face of an ever-expanding metropolis, can be seen as a by-product of the system that they are attacking." (Lewisohn, 2008, p.87)

Modernism sets up a way of seeing which is authoritative, privileged, and masculine (Massey, 1994, p.232), noting that vision objectifies, hence controls, more than other senses. "It's easy to see how a generation of restless teenagers growing up in high-rise and low-rise ghettos doubted and eventually rejected modernism and its oppressive reality. For them, modernism represented systemic irrationality, negativity, half truths, poor education, and limited access to economic empowerment."(Klausner, A., Retrieved from: http://www.core77.com/development/reactor/04.07_klausner.asp) "In retaliation they shaped an honest reflection of their lives from a fundamentally post-modern lens that pitted them against larger forces that had denied them individual value and cultural identity. Adventurous teens did this with no capital and no organizational power. They fought back with one of the few things they could control, words," (Klausner, A., Retrieved from http://www.core77.com/development/reactor/04.07_klausner.asp) and visuality with street art.

Post-modernism may be construed as a reaction against the ideals of modernism, "as a return to the state that preceded modernism, or even as a continuation and completion of various neglected strains within modernism. But whether the relationship is defined as parasitic, cannibalistic, and symbiotic or revolutionary, one thing is clear: you cannot have postmodernism without modernism" (Heartney, 2001, p.6).

"Post-modernism, with its distrust of universal judgments and hostility toward hierarchies of value, reflected a shift away from the establishment toward the pluralism of an increasingly global society. The interconnections of globalism not only increased communication, trade, and overseas manufacturing but also decentralized accepted political and commercial power bases as well as their centers of intellectual production. They allowed for cultural pluralism to succeed where previously it had not and exerted further pressure on the concept of stylistic unity. Wide-spread sharing resulted in a democratization of taste where the values of struggling social classes could survive and thrive in micro-economies that performed outside the well-oiled machine of mass commercial markets. Contemporary graffiti's

connection to post-modernism certainly began as a response to the flaws of modernism but it was able to establish itself as an independent discipline that understood how to manage and employ meaning within a cultural context. Time and times had inevitably changed. The freedoms of postmodernism gave way to a technological and information revolution. It was inevitable that new tools and a dose of cross-fertilization would force the complete pliability and subversion of letters and language as part of a wave of deconstructive thought. Deconstruction, as it relates to philosophic applications, was posited by Jacques Derrida who challenged existing theoretical texts by exposing them to the innate ambiguity of language. He suggested that words have different meanings based on each reader's past experiences, cultural connections, or social influences. Under these circumstances absolutes disappear and an author's original intent is open to infinite subjectivity." (Klausner, A., Retrieved from http://www.core77.com/development/reactor/04.07_klausner.asp)

To understand postmodern culture, we need to read not just the signs but look at how the signs are used by figurations of people in their day-to-day practices. (Featherstone, 1991, p.63) As Baudrillard (1998) mentioned that "while postmodern societies are organized around simulation and the play of images and signs, denoting a situation in which codes, models, and signs are the organizing principles of a new social order where simulation rules. In the 'society of simulation', identities are constructed by the appropriation of images and codes and models determine how individuals perceive themselves and relate to other people. Economics, politics, social life and culture are all governed by the logic of simulation, whereby codes and models determine how goods are consumed and used, politics unfold, culture is produced and *consumed* and everyday life is lived" (p.52). The introduction of modern living first called for the deconstruction of established routines: "there is a time and place for everything" had to be changed into "let's find new places and times for everything, from breakfast habits to leisure plans." (Friedman, 1994, p. 64)

"Marxist theory applies to cultural production in that all forms of production, material and cultural, are determined by a society's economic means of producing goods and services. Thus, artworks are not independent and autonomous but are highly influenced, some say determine, by the society in which they are produced" (Barrett, 2008, p.68). Regarding mutual dependency, globalization affects people's everyday lives and the (re)construction of habits. Through the power of the visual representations, a different kind of knowledge is created that people experience this

knowledge from different ways. Visual signs became an influential part of the interpretation of this promoted reality within the process of the people's construction of identities. [vii]

"All kinds of visual things aim to impose their way of thinking to people, ads for consumption, political posters for ideology, art posters for art itself, graffiti as self-expression..." (Man, 60)

3.3 Transformation of everyday culture:

"Adorno critiques "the culture industry" (popular culture, popular media and culture that produce commodities for mass consumption), which he believes dampens innovation by promoting passive viewers and deadening political awareness. The culture industry objectifies people as politically apathetic, passive consumers; it seeks only profit and exploits the masses (think of globalization and the entertainment industry). "True art" is the antidote. It is autonomous and resists commercialization and preserves subjectivity, protecting it from objectification. It is a debatable topic if street *art* is an art form or not. The appliers of street art use this creative and visual method as a tool for expressing their ideas. Art can provide genuine happiness rather than the fleeting sensations that popular media provides. Art offers true content that can offset popular media and transform society. Art challenges conformity and passivity" (Barrett, 2008, p.150).

"At the end of the 20th century, capitalism has become the dominant economic and cultural social formation in many, but not all, parts of the globe. Even in those countries which do not have large productive capitalist industries, many of the people living in them are hooked into desiring to consume the goods of capitalism." (Bocock, 1993, p.53) According to Friedman (1994), with the transformation from the industrial society to the consumer society; the consumer society has been defined as "a system where wants are satisfied through a market or as a society with mass production and mass marketing of goods; it can be based upon the role consumption plays in identity formation or a pervasive element in the society studied" (p.50). "Modern consumerism also depends upon a set of symbols becoming comprehensible to potential consumers. These symbols cannot be simply imposed upon customers by capitalist companies advertising their products; they have to tune in with the potential customers own ways of life if they are to be effective. There is a complex interplay,

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therefore, between labeling and design of products, the advertising of them, and the shifting sub-cultural values of potential consumers of various products" (Bocock, 1993, p.55).

"Consumption is the articulation of a sense of identity. Our identity is made up by our consumption of goods. And their consumption and display constitutes our expression of taste" (Mackay, 1997, p.4). Symbolic goods function as signs, and are used to signify prestige, status and social standing. "Culture is about the processes of identification and differentiation, with identities produced through practices of distinction: we distinguish ourselves by the taste distinctions we make. We bring our cultural capital, our taste, to bear on objects, and consumption involves the consumption of signs and symbols of meanings and works like a language in that it is rooted in a system of meaning. But more than such structuralism, Bourdieu points us towards the active nature of consumption practices" (Mackay, 1997, p.4). As Bourdieu mentioned, people actually learn things through the practices that are determined through "different kinds of existences". According to the production of the individual and collective practices throughout the history, the socially constituted system appeared within the "habitus" concept in which we can analyze how people live and how their life situation change (Hojrup, retrieved from MACA Theories 2008). "Concepts are the important tools for the creation of the everyday realities that are permeated by both social relations and material objects" (Hacking, retrieved from MACA Theories 2008, p.25). "Habitus is a framework for cultural propriety and personal identity. A habitus is a structured set of dispositions which provides a framework for our exercise of judgment and taste. So, although diverse and varied, consumption practices are socially structured." (Mackay, 1997, p.5) "One important factor influencing the use of marker goods means that the struggle to obtain 'positional goods', goods which define social status in the upper reaches of society, is a relative one. The constant supply of new, fashionably desirable goods, or the usurpation of existing marker goods by lower groups, produces a paper chase effect in which those above will have to invest in new (informational) goods in order to reestablish the original social distance" (Featherstone, 1991, p.18).

"In this context knowledge becomes important: knowledge of new goods, their social and cultural value, and how to use them appropriately. This is particularly the case with aspiring groups who adopt a learning mode towards consumption and the cultivation of a lifestyle. It is for groups such as the new middle class, the new

working class and the new rich or upper class, that the consumer-culture magazines, newspapers, books, television and radio programmes which stress self-improvement, self-development, personal transformation, how to manage property, relationships and ambitions, how to construct a fulfilling lifestyle, are most relevant" (Featherstone, 1991, p.19)

"The new tastemakers, constantly on the lookout for new cultural goods and experiences, are also engaged in the production of popular pedagogies and guides to living and lifestyle. They encourage inflation in cultural goods, constantly draw upon artistic and intellectual trends for inspiration, and help to create new conditions of artistic and intellectual production by working alongside them. 'The new cultural intermediaries' can be found in market-oriented consumer cultural occupations- the media, advertising, design, fashion etc" (Featherstone, 1991, p. 35).

"Mass culture is an instrument of democracy not only because it allows us to be in contact with one another, to share views, and to deliberate, but because it gives shape and specificity to our images of 'the people'. The popular media therefore become responsible for our sense of how close we are to social norms and majority values. They provide and understanding of what qualifies as mainstream information, argument, and image, against which we measure our own views and aspirations" (Levine, 2007, p.20). Any practice transcending what is deemed 'normal' is captivating, mysterious, secret and that public perceptions are shaped by how such groups are represented to them symbolically. For example, Cohen refers to these alternative groups, such as punks, street artists, skin heads; as folk devils in that they are "visible reminders of what we should not be" (Cohen, 1980, p.10).

3.4 "The production of space"[viii]:

Street art and graffiti are uninvited public expressions and forms of resistance to the visual status quo. In our culture "we pay for the right of propaganda" (Culture Jam, 2001) through advertising. "The poor, disenfranchised and alienated are excluded from the dominant, commodified symbolic exchanges. Whether street art is defined as art or vandalism, creative or criminal, it adds to the symbolic dialogue of the city, not with messages of production and consumption but with messages of uncensored presence, creativity, and ego. The street is 'democratic, visible, and accessible'."(Noble,   C.   2004.   Retrieved   from

http://www.graffiti.org/faq/noble_semiotic_warfare2004.html) participation is being eroded.

We questioned in our thesis the relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements that are visible on the streets, in public spaces. It is important to understand and analyze the production of space. One of the important spatial theoretical approaches is derived from the analysis of space of Lefebvre. In *"The Production of Space",* he mentioned that a city space which is fashioned, shaped and invested by social activities during a historical period (Lefebvre, 1991, p.73). "Within the common language of the city, in their natural conditions, space is unique in the sense that these conditions are always and everywhere endowed with specific characteristics." (Lefebvre, 1991, p.110)

Also, for him, "the space is a social product and an organic aspect of emerging social relationships" (Şenoğuz, 2004, p.4). In Lefebvre's words: "the study of space offers an answer to the question what the mode of existence of social relationships exactly is according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process of producing that space itself" (Lefebvre, 1991, p.129). Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues as locations for our research have gained their specific characteristics through the citizens that go these places. The inhabitants became a part of these places and they interact and turn these places into spaces in which people act and create a "diversity of knowledge" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73).

"Istiklal or Bağdat became alive through the people who go to these places. These streets gain their identity through their frequent visitors. People create these places through own stories." (Woman, 19)

In addition, within this diversity, the space is a medium of flows and exchanges of goods and commodities, but also of written and spoken words, signs and symbols. Space became a research area in which the everyday world's meanings are represented. At this point, it is not surprising that we are questioning the different forms of sociality and meanings which are constituted in relation to the alternative using of space.

For de Certeau, "the practice of walking in the city is a matter of telling one's own spatial stories, drawing on a mobile and private language of the streets." (Tonkiss, 2005, p.128) He focuses on the everyday users' routes that are taken through the city. We are mostly interested in local people, the inhabitants of Istanbul

to learn their subjective stories about our own specific spaces: Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues. Not everything shows up on the map. "It has to do with the texture of everyday movement in the city, the urban crowd, the tricky and momentary ways in which people make space" (Tonkiss, 2005, p.128).

"The blindness of everyday practice (unthinking, routine, minor or private) cuts through the will to see and to represent urban space that is typical of government and police systems. Where spaces are heavily policed, the desire for transparency becomes very clear." Tonkiss, 2005, p. 129). Or in our thesis, the "cleanliness" of the walls is the symbol of the dominant power structure. Within the visibility of people's use of space, outdoor advertisements are under control but street art is out of this order. As de Certeau mentioned that "the experience of walking in the city, so central to the conception of the everyday, will be very different depending on which city you are walking in, why you are walking in, and who you are" (Tonkiss, 2005, p. 129).

On the basis of the relationship between people and space, "commercialization is another important phenomenon in regard to public spaces. De Certeau highlights the commercialization of public space through advertising." (Molina, 2006, p.13) Also, the commercialization process is important for understanding the power practices in a place.

IV. EMPIRICAL MATERIALS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Methodological Approach:

In our thesis, the study tool is a qualitative approach with its focus on aspects of the interrelationship between the street art and advertisements. After an initial 2-month period of fieldwork in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues in Istanbul (February 2010-March 2010), a methodology employing a combination of qualitative survey techniques, specifically content analysis, focus group and personal interviews (narrative analysis), was devised.

"Qualitative surveying can be limited by the time required to prepare and undertake the study. It also relies on participants' honesty, and raises contentious issues of mis-communication and ambiguity of meaning, particularly in a cross-

cultural setting such as this study. It is important to keep in mind that an interview emphasizes personal experiences, which are affected and constructed by a person's habits, and interpretation of the researcher and the informant. We should be aware of these personal narratives in what kind of discourses and what kind of –already constructed- language and meanings, and of course the way of interpretations and the interpreters. Researchers might still need to offer multiple readings of particular words and phrases and silence" (Ellis, 2007, p.13).

Meaning-making is used by everyone as far as possible under already constructed language. To overcome this to some extent "Altheide recommends that the researcher be as close as possible to the setting where the research is being undertaken." (Butcher, 2003, p.37)

As our geographical area of research we chose Istanbul as we are both from Turkey; we both studied and lived in Istanbul. We are familiar with the city's dynamics but also as we were away from Istanbul from August 2008, we had a chance to step back from the normalization process of its unique living conditions. Another reason is that Istanbul is an important city for discovering the changes and the developments in terms of culture, society, economy   as well as politics in Turkey. Metaphorically, Istanbul can be accepted as the heart of Turkey with its heterogeneity According to Harvey (1989), "space can express a multiplicity of qualities; it is socially constructed, and distinctive modes of production or social organization will display distinguishing spatial practices and concepts." (p. 203)

As we live in Istanbul, we have adequate information about the field. We organized our own city maps through checking the possible places that we could find street art and ads. We knew where to look to find examples of street art and advertisements, which can be seen as both positive and negative effects for our research. Even if we were abroad during the last two years, we already have local knowledge about the city, the streets we have chosen, and the practices. Therefore, we might have missed the importance of the first impressions about the street art and advertisements in Istanbul. As Haniff (1985) mentions "insiderness and being 'native' are difficult concepts to define because there is so little 'distance' between the researcher and the researched" (Labaree, 2002, p.102). So, we chose to talk with foreign and local tourists to get their new-born views about our subjects.

We claim that advertisements started to use street art as a method to attract their target group which is youth as popular as street art gets. Since our main topics

are street art and outdoor advertisements, we considered that the visualization has become the central resource for communicating and appropriating meaning within the urban environment. According to this view, Istanbul, a metropolitan center, is one of the most changing and expanding areas for street art and outdoor advertisements.

We preferred to use different methods for our research during the project: (participant) observation, walk-and-talk, individual and group interview methods. We have done 15 individual, 6 group, and 27 walk-talk interviews. Focus group and personal narratives provided the primary materials that allowed for an analysis of identity noting points of value sharing and attenuation, that is, elements of continuity and discontinuity; and pointed to correlations between the street art and advertisements.
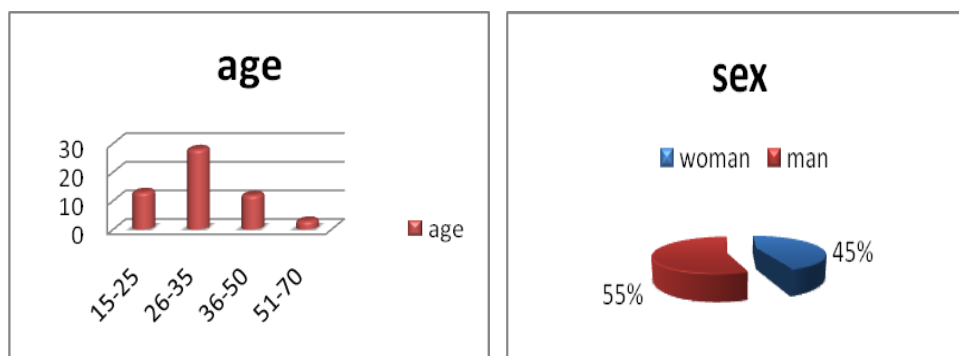
We kept an internship diary because every time we were in the field, we discovered new things about our subject; street art and advertisements. Hence, we took notes about our observations, future appointments, places that we discovered and general thoughts for our interviews before analyzing them. We arranged appointments with our informants; from municipalities, advertising agencies, Istanbul Museum of Modern Art, and the people we made contacts through our personal networking. While reaching people, we used snow-balling technique to find them.

First, we prepared a questionnaire for our individual and group interviews, within the subheadings of the city and the street; the street art; advertisements; the relationships between street art and advertisements; the future of these two subjects and we showed some pictures to get their impressions about our specific cases: Vodafone and Alpella ads. We changed some parts of our interview questions for our walk-and-talk interviews to adapt them to the speed of the street. During our interviews, we gave general information about our research before the interviews. We informed them about how we would use their testimony or for whom we prepared this project and the details of our subject.

As for the subcategories of our fieldwork, the supportive elements are pictures and literature analysis. Indeed, the literature analysis is very crucial to understand the background of the street art and advertisements; and to form our critical point of view through theories like about the everyday life practices, cultural, sub-cultural analysis and consumption. We started to do our literature review at the end of September, 2009 with our previous internship project that was about the street art and graffiti for Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg, Sweden. Since literature reviewing is important to compare the theoretical views and the practical elements that we found on the street, we are still continuing to review to catch the lately news about street art and advertisements besides the theoretical analysis. We searched for literature sources that may help us for our project in Malmö, Lund (in Sweden) and Bogazici University (in Istanbul, Turkey) libraries.

We took around 500 pictures including graffiti, tags, (mainly) stencils and outdoor advertisements. We used two different cameras because we also wanted to discover how far we catch the same and different materials from two different points of views. We both had a chance to take pictures when we were in the car on Bağdat Avenue, because it is a main artery for both vehicles and pedestrians. However, we mostly walked on both of the streets, Bağdat and Istiklal (a pedestrian street).

The final method of our fieldwork that we used is the auto-ethnography for both in the process of observation and the analysis of the findings from the pictures and the interviews. It was important to be outside to have a point of view through our observations. We were also affected by the relation between people and the visual materials. Hence, it was impossible for us to be unaffected by our research and we, ourselves, became conscious of ourselves as an auto ethnographic source. Street art and advertisement are integrated into our lives through symbolic meanings. We have a chance to analyze our own views and how they are shaped according to the experiences and changes in our daily practices.

We created different folders for 2 different streets and also sub-folders for each day that we were in the field. Besides, we checked the websites like street art blogs or daily updated virtual galleries; moreover, the websites that we found on the street as stencils; the web-pages of the advertising agencies, the brands' pages and advertisement blogs.

We were on the streets with our informants:

During our 8-week-fieldwork-period, we walked on two chosen streets of Istanbul. We gained many different experiences in our two specific locations. Firstly, specifically, we wanted to consider what happened during the field research. What are the changes, surprising points what we observed in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues?

For both of us, Istiklal is part of our everyday life where we go to meet with our friends, follow artistic events like exhibitions, concerts or workshops. For being there, we do not need to have a reason. This is a double sided situation. It is an advantage to discover our visual materials, communicate with people and also notice the changes during 2 months but on the other hand it is a challenging situation as we have a risk to take details, interesting points for granted as we are highly familiar to them and we are used to see them. All the time, we questioned ourselves, as to whether pictures and observations are necessary for our project or not. To overcome this obstacle, we tried to enrich our point of view with local and foreign tourists' insights in this area. For instance, there is a café in Istiklal called Urban whose outside area is full of stencils. As we are used to going there, we did not even remember that this place could be helpful for our thesis. When one of our informants, during the interview, mentioned that he did not take the pictures of these stencils because he thought that they are used by this café as tools for advertising; we realized that we had missed this place because of our familiarity.

It is important to go Istiklal as much as possible because each time that we were in the field, we added new examples to our folders or noticed important details that we missed. As Istiklal is the main area for all kind of protests, there is always the police force. For our discussions about the (il)legality of street art and outdoor advertisements, the construction of power relations or public space, this police presence is important but as we are so familiar with it, we noticed that at the beginning this image.

In terms of familiarity, Bağdat Avenue is like a new place to discover for us in comparison to Istiklal. We did not think that Bağdat can be a case study for the analysis of street art but we were keen to challenge ourselves; we needed to challenge our constructed knowledge. Like other inhabitants' of Istanbul, we have also prejudices about this avenue; but as cultural analysts, we have a power to go beyond the stereotypical images.   That's why we chose this upper class street to find the

answers to some questions like: Do outdoor advertisements differ according to the characteristics of places or does street art become part of the alternative ways of life (here, as many people accept that Istiklal is the house of all kind of alternative lifestyles)? For our first question, the answer is yes. The outdoor examples in Bağdat have a different profile than Istiklal. They refer to luxury products, different food experiences, upper class brands like Lacoste or Beymen. But in Bağdat, ads mostly focus on the communication tools, technological innovations or jeans. For this question, we were not really surprised about our findings but for the second one, we discovered that street art is also present in this avenue too in addition to our Alpella case outdoor ads. Also we noticed that our informants could remember the specific examples of street art from Bağdat.

Interviews:

In addition to our visual examples, in Bağdat, it is harder to do walk- talk interviews. We felt an invisible distance between people and us as researchers who walk on the street. That's why; we prefer to do observation rather than interviews in this location. We follow people's reactions towards to 2 big graffiti examples.

These ads are aimed at drivers, not walkers. Even though this street is not as crowded as Istiklal, many people do not even look at them. They draw the attention of children, all of whom touch them. But during our individual and group interviews, these 2 examples became really popular. In their minds, they challenged the constructed image of Bağdat as it is isolated from all kind of "against" issues in the society.

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[2] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010. 'duymak senin elinde' (it is your choice to hear).

[3] Kör değilsin ama görmüyorsun: You are not blind but you don't see; On Bağdat Avenue, 2010. As one of informants told us the artist of this one, he wants to shake people and awaken them to look and see what is going on in Turkey and in the world. He wants people on Bağdat Avenue to orient to think and question something.

In Istiklal, it was easier than Bağdat to stop people and ask questions even if people look always to be in a hurry. For our walk-talks,   an important point is that many of our informants wanted to talk to us. They quizzed us to find out what we did, why we took their pictures, if we were students and so on. These were crucial experiences for us because we had a chance to observe their reactions. They shared their opinions before discovering our purpose in being there. Two Italian tourists started to talk with us when they saw that we had waited for them to take a picture of graffiti on the street. Their comment about the graffiti of Istiklal:

"They are part of the mysterious image of this street. You cannot expect what will happen in 2 seconds. We do not understand the language but the feeling that we got is enough. We smile!" (Woman, 23)

Employees of parking places were curious about why we took pictures, or waiters in Asmalımescit asked us what we interpreted from these stencils or graffiti. In general, our conversations started spontaneously.

We also overheard what people said to each other about street art and outdoor advertisements. For instance, we spent hours in front of Vodafone shop in Istiklal and Asmalımescit specifically. We tried to catch observers' first reactions. Interestingly, even though Vodafone's ad focuses on young people, mostly old people looked at the window and foreign tourists talked about it. People above middle age did not understand that it was just a campaign's advertisement and tourists were curious about the meaning of this "protest message". Another important point was that, no one was really surprised to see this sprayed message. We thought that the reason could be related to the political status of this street throughout the history in Turkey. The windows of the shops are important tools to show people's anger in Istiklal. During the demonstrations against the 'establishment', they can be broken or sprayed by the protesters, especially the global brands ones.

Finally, at the end of our research we gave our own subjective views. After all, we, too, are inhabitants of Istanbul and as such the publicum of both the advertisers and the graffiti artists.

We were at home with our feedbacks:

During our field work, we didn't expect to get similar answers to our questions especially about street art. As street art is seen something illegal, it is actually an

illegal activity, we thought that lay people might not like it, some is impossible to read, some of it is dark colored, some of it depicts disgusting monsters, in short, it can be irritating and thus repugnant.

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[4] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. This scary-cute character says 'rhh' ('hrr' to make the viewer scared).

[5] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, at the entrance of a building, 2010. The character looks like Robert Smith –member of a famous rock band; The Cure's vocal-. The band name is The Cure, and it is written: 'This isn't truth this is a lie' and 'the cure doesn't cure. Yalan' (The cure doesn't cure. A Lie.) The image is kind of irritating as its real appearance of Robert Smith. The person who paints this may look for the cure of his/her pain, but obviously s/he couldn't find it at the lyrics of the cure and s/he shows her/his ideas to others, by this drawing.

[6] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. It says 'Fişlenme!' ('Don't be marked!') and there is a finger print to symbolize the idea of being marked. It criticizes the unfair political attitude towards people in Turkey and warns people to be aware of these unjust applications so it is an opposed and a political stencil.

[7] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. These flies are everywhere especially on Istiklal Avenue. As our interview with Sinasi Gunes, we were informed about the story of this fly stencils and its creator. The creator of this stencil wants to emphasize the ugliness of some unrealized things in our everyday lives. He applies these flies on some billboards of ads as well. He wants to awaken people from their unquestioned life styles.

[8] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. They can be found on black or green colored as there are 3 aliens –which are supposed to be green-. 'Oy vermek istiyorum.' (I want to vote.) is written on this

However, our walk-talk informants –even if we did not have a chance to choose them according to our own benefit and discourse, as they were picked randomly on the streets- mainly have a positive attitude to street art, and graffiti on the walls. Surprisingly, they did not see street art as an illegal, criminal activity unlike they ruined the functionality of the places they are applied on.

"It is not an illegal activity unless it deforms the place and the functionality of it; such as a bench, if one doesn't break it but write 'Yalın loves Deniz' on it, it is OK. Besides, I think the owner of the place can warn or ask street artist to clean what s/he has done, if the owner doesn't like graffiti or stencils, because the place belongs to her/him. However, it is too much punishing with a jail sentence." (Man, 28)

When we went to the municipality of Beyoglu; the employees of municipality were not against street art per se. They personally prefer to have colorful walls instead of plain or dirty walls in nearby the streets. They told us about a teenager who came and asked for permission to paint a wall in Beyoglu, and they showed him a place to paint. On the other hand, they were aware of the legal punishment of street art; however, they did not think that police apply these fines on street artists unless they give a political message, leftist or rightist. Even if they write something related to left or right-wing politics, they probably unofficially just beat them up but they do not apply the official punishment. Of course the situation changes if these political messages are created by some organizations, or another political party; then everything had to be done officially and followed by the laws.

It is weird to be aware of these unofficial, individual punishments according to this kind of activities in Turkey. Everybody knows that, before the police, the owner of the store can scold or beat you if s/he catches you while you are painting on her/his window, or wall. On the contrary you can be friends and make a deal to paint her/his store by their own will. These actions, which are based on exactly that moment, and individual's emotional conditions, are very much taken-for-granted in Turkey; anything can be possible. Because of these relationships the police may see, for example, street art issue in our case, as a detail which can be solved between the applier and the owner, to avoid imposing an official punishment. This attitude can be

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stencil. As Turkey has a huge population and there are people who still live without an ID, and who doesn't believe the power of public opinion and so the voting system. This stencil calls people to vote whoever, and wherever they are. It is still a political stencil. Or it can be seen as a critique of the system and the government, so even aliens want to take the power to rule this country, who claims that they can rule Turkey better than the present government.

interpreted as both negative; even if it is a small issue, not a murder or smuggling, the law must be applied, and positive; as a civil person you are not officially punished, may be just warned, due to their petty nature At that point another debatable issue comes on mind, i.e. according to what and whom petty crimes can be defined. Moreover, what if some unwanted consequences arise because of unofficial punishments? Who is going to be in charge?

For example there are some stencils for people who were killed at police stations by unknown people/police. Nobody knows what their crimes were, how they were treated or why they died. Therefore there are some organizations that want to uncover this unknown information. Here are some examples of stencils try to take attention on this problematic issue of Turkey.

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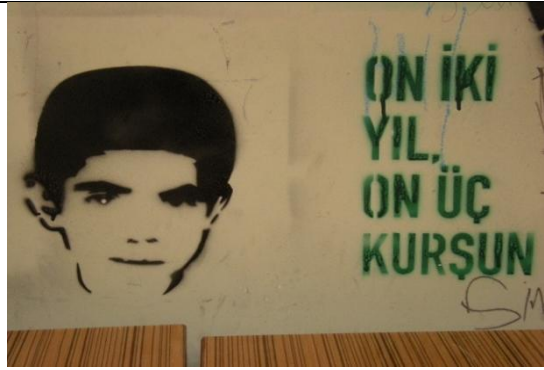
[9] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. There is a web site; http://duvarinisiyatifi.blogspot.com that criticizes the police fascism as they explain at their page. They made stencils to talk instead of people who died at police stations in Turkey. This one says 'Ben Abdurrahman Sözen, Karakolda Öldürüldüm' (I'm Abdurrahman Sözen, I was killed at police station)

[10] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. It is written 'On iki yıl on üç kurşun' (Twelve years, thirteen bullets). This twelve-year-old child has shot by police with 13 bullets in Mardin, locates southeast of Turkey, in 2004. His father and he were accused to be terrorists by police forces. Of course, this case was criticized by human right organizations, non-governmental organization, civil organizations and people. This stencil stands for him and against these kinds of inhumane, unfair situations in Turkey. It can be seen on many places in Istanbul as a memorial to not to forget and to stop these things.

They would create their own definitions as we asked them to feel like tourists in Istanbul; they were able to be critical or sometimes they themselves felt like a street artist. They had a chance to speak freely between their dreams and their realities. Sometimes they challenged themselves under the pressure of their taken for granted knowledge about the power of advertisements, "normal" ways of communication or the limits of their freedom. For instance, at first, our informants who work in art gallery, advertising agency or communication agency spoke within the limits of their job-language. But later they would start to say "I do not know, maybe this does not have to be like this. Do I have a corporate language?" This awareness was crucial for us to discover their challenges between their professional and inhabitants identities or from a sociological perspective; this represents an obvious presentation of the relationship between power and knowledge, which we will examine in detail. While we were doing our transcription we realized that every one of our informants asked us "Does it make sense?", "Are these going to be helpful to you?", "Is it correct what I said?", "Am I right?". They sincerely tried to help us and give *useful information* – whatever that might be- for our research. They needed to be approved of by *experts*, by us. Even if informants have known that they are going to be studied by the researchers, it is impossible to get rid of this power relationship during the research. As they knew that we were working on street art and outdoor advertisements, they thought we already knew the correct answers and so (unfortunately) tried their best. Hence, they may have changed or revised their words and even their ideas; they might have tried to be moderate while they were answering our questions. "How can the truth are ensured in any research scenario? How do you know, for instance, if someone is being honest in an interview, and for that matter, how someone ticks boxes on a survey questionnaire?" (Hookway, 2008, p.8) As there is no correct information, and we just wanted to tell our story from others', all of our informants were more than welcome.

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[11] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. 'Festus Okey huzur içinde yat' (Rest in peace Festus Okey). He was from Nigeria and was a refugee in Istanbul. He was beaten by police and died in 2007. Again it was criticized bymany civil and non-governemntal organizations. It was a stencil for him as a reminder of inhumane attitudes of official forces. On Festus Okey stencil, there are some writings; 'Meczup' (crazy), WSON (street artist's tag), 'Şairin Cehdi' (Poet's try).

4.2 The sites of interest:

Istanbul:

"Istanbul is located in north-west Turkey with an area of 5,196 km². It is the largest city in Turkey and fifth largest city proper in the world with a population of 12,915,158" (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istanbul) Istanbul is a megacity, as well as the cultural, economic, and financial centre of Turkey. "It extends both on the European (Thrace) and on the Asian (Anatolia) sides of the Bosporus, and is thereby the only metropolis in the world that is situated on two continents. In its long history, Istanbul has served as the capital city of the Roman Empire (330–395), the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire (395–1204 and 1261–1453), the Latin Empire (1204–1261), and the Ottoman Empire (1453–1922)." (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istanbul)

"Istanbul has been the capital city for 2000 years. It doesn't need to be told, its culture is like that, history is that… It has seen 3 empires, sounds like a capital of the world."(Man, 48)

"Throughout its long history, Istanbul has acquired a reputation for being a cultural and ethnic melting pot. As a result, there are many historical mosques, churches, synagogues, palaces, castles and towers to visit in the city. Some of these historical structures, which draw millions to the city every year, reflect the heart and soul of Istanbul. Its geopolitical significance since ancient times brought representatives of ethnic groups from all over Europe, Asia, and Africa. The urban landscape of Istanbul has been shaped by many communities. The religion with the largest community of followers is Islam. Religious minorities include Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenian Christians, Catholic Levantines and Sephardic Jews.

"It doesn't make you feel lonely." (Woman, 26)

Apart from being the largest city and former political capital of the country, Istanbul has always been the centre of Turkey's economic life because of its location

as a junction of international land and sea trade routes. Istanbul is also Turkey's largest industrial centre" (Retrieved from www.worldturkey.com/cities/istanbul*).*

"I don't like Istanbul to be told with the same images and words… It is more than just one place, one word. It contains many things in itself, with its history, the seaside, its neighborhoods…" (Woman, 30)

Each city has an identity or different identities that come together within its personality according to its established characteristics throughout the history. Specifically, Istanbul is a "metaphorical city". Its identity can be defined in different forms with well-known characteristics like the bridge between Asia and Europe or the endless transition between two images: one is the nostalgic symbol of Ottoman Empire and the other is a global metropolis in the process of modernization for the "multicultural politics of European Union". (Istanbul Biennale, 2009, p.39)

"Istanbul is maternal with its nature and sea. It is surprising with their streets and corners; sharing with its bridge that loves communicating. Istanbul makes me happy that's all…" (Woman, 36)

Istanbul is reflected as a fairy-tale city by local literature with its history, imperial lives under sultans; wars that made for this beautiful city; secret roads under the city, hidden doors; emperors' love stories; foreign princess, princesses; and later on, with the republic it started to be reflected as a modern, global city with 13 million population and international organizations in it. However, the mystical and exotic characteristic of Istanbul has always been protected both by local and foreign literature. Therefore it has been portrayed as a 'coy bride' who is aware of her beauty and worth, but proud at the same time; and wise with all experiences it has; and now, open to all kind of activities, stories, trends as a metropolis in a global world. Therefore, it is seen as a melancholic city that experience all these glittering and abundant times in imperialism and all the period of transitions of modernity, post-modernity, globalization and migration with all their troubles… There is a saying about Istanbul, 'the streets, even rocks of Istanbul are paved with gold'[12] which attracts local migrants to live in better conditions of a big city, so 13 million people can live in Istanbul with both positive and negative sides. All kind of problems in Istanbul are increasing, such as crime, deceit, smuggling… because of unemployment, high prices, luxury style of life and of course with the difficulties of adaptation to this

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[12] İstanbul'un taşı toprağı altın.

kind of life in big city. However, through our interviews we didn't get any information about the melancholia –and problems- of Istanbul. Instead, they gave us their daily-identity-of-Istanbul, from the heart of the city, they did not step back and define Istanbul, they stayed in the middle of the city and they defined Istanbul as a living being with them in this lively city.

Our main fieldwork area, Istanbul enables people to reassert their sense of identity by organizing and manipulating their lives in relation to the multiplicity of experiences in such a metropolis. The dynamics of the city come alive according to the people's experiences.

"It is just the same with other metropolis. The negligence rises with the population…It is absurd to think cynically in rural areas; so it is quite absurd to romanticize the city life… However, to me, as an Istanbul-born person, it gives me a feeling of belongingness. If I were born in Ankara, Izmir or in Athens, I would feel it for those cities. It just gives me the familiarity and security even if it sounds oxymoron using the metropolis word with the familiarity and security…" (Man, 25)

"Whether you're getting your bearings in the heart of a city, or staring at its skyline from miles away, you can usually tell where you are by looking at the unique landscape of any city. The common threads that run through so many urban environments – tall buildings, crowded sidewalks, and street vendors- are always interwoven with the distinct features that come with a city's geography, architecture, and most importantly, its residents." (Gastman, 2007, abstract)

"With its nature, sea, streets, shanty houses around, old historical houses, modern buildings; with its ability to keep the ugly and the beauty together, it breaths, and full of joy." (Woman, 36)

"Cities become epicenters of culture when their hippest citizens get together and create grassroots movements that eventually become the trends that spread to their suburbs and beyond. Eventually, the efforts of those people all come together to give each city its unique character. After all, what is a city, if not a manmade creation?" (Gastman, 2007, abstract)

"My friends, my family, the magical trio (tea-feta cheese-simit), my house, Turkish coffee, Besiktas, Caffe Nero, Bebek, Rumeli Hisarı, Adalar, Sezen Aksu… my home" (Woman,25)

People's beliefs, attitudes or their insights are crucial in the "production" of the specific values that should be fit on the developed and also developing identities,

cultures and trends. The changes in the cultural environment of Istanbul and its urban space are crucial points for the analysis. A metropolis city contains many different meanings in itself which can create a more detailed fieldwork to us.

"Istanbul is everywhere close to the Bosphorus. It is Tünel, Beyoglu, and Yenikoy… The sea you can see from unexpected places. It is the two sides; European and Anatolian the city which the sea penetrates. It is deep, female, didactic, and secure; it tells and teaches you how to live. It is my best friend."(Woman, 35)

The relationship of cities to social values is proposed from various disciplines, sometimes using cultural metaphors: sociologist Rob Shields writes that 'the city itself can be treated as a representation of the society which constructed and used it'. (Miles, 1997, p.25)

"It is difficult to live and so to give up. I like the idea that you can reach the sea from every slope. I like walking nearby the seashore, the sellers of simit on the road, the bridges, and the traffic even when it is busy." (Woman, 35)

With reference to the idealization of every part of our life, the image construction process is an important stage for acquiring a stable position within the worldwide arena. The specific identity of the cities are formed through a mixed exploration; containing the history and attractive events. Economics, investments, innovation and also the citizens and the visitors are keywords for describing the city. On the other hand, the city's appearance came alive according to the people's own experiences. We wanted to focus on the multiplicity of experiences of the people in Istanbul and their own city language formation for Istanbul.

On the basis of the experience of "walking in the city" (Rantanen, 2005, p.54), we asked questions about the role of the city into their living practices and so to understand the streets that we are examining within the relationship of street art and outdoor advertisements. For instance, one of our questions is "how can you define your 'Istanbul'?" It is important to know that how Istanbul became a part of people's everyday life and how they construct and reconstruct their physical or social environments in relation to the special cultural codes of this city.

Unfortunately, we do not have a single definition of Istanbul. We are unable to create a dream or an ideal image of the city as we got different answers from each of our informants. There is one common point in that everyone refers to Istanbul as a living being. They live, feel, talk, listen, hear, and share their lives in Istanbul and with Istanbul itself.

"The Bosphorous! I admire it. Also the shopping mall Kanyon is a part of my Istanbul as it is more than shopping place for me. I do my sport here, thus it is a part of my identity. Istanbul is also the place where I live, Bakırköy. The Grand Bazaar also has an important role for this city but it is not a part of my Istanbul. In my everyday life, I do not go there. The spaces that construct my life, my Istanbul, are different from the classical definition of this city. There are many places that I do not know or where I do not prefer to go. For the construction of my identity, Istanbul can be defined as the common point of everything like my family space, my schools, and my social environment. Everything, that I have, is shaped within this city."(Woman, 25)

How can I tell? It is crowded. In my Istanbul, there is sea, sun, and breakfast at the Bosphorous… My soul is connected to this city, I can find everything… Even if I am alone, I never feel like this. It is a surprising city! When you turn the corner you can come to the shantytown area from an upper class neighborhood. It is being updated all the time. But sometimes, I feel that I am tired to live here, but in general I am happy to be here. (Woman, 36)

Besides the accepted characteristics of the city, like its multicultural image, huge population, irregular urbanization, the Bosphorous, the Golden Horn and so on, in our thesis, we aimed to find invisible Istanbul within its visibility. The inhabitants of Istanbul, our informants, focused on where they live. Firstly, they mentioned the areas of their work, their house and their favorite places. All of the words that they used to describe their city are part of their everyday life. One place does not have to mean something to another person. We were enriched with their absolute subjectivities.

"Where I was born, where I am living, where I want to get older…" (Woman, 26)

"There are many faces, many different lives…" (Man, 23)

"Gayrettepe is my home and work place. In relation to my current situation, it is also where my boyfriend lives, Istinye. Nişantaşı… On the other hand, when I go to abroad and return here, Istanbul is the image of Eminönü or the view from the Bosphorous but in my daily routine, I cannot catch the symbols of Istanbul's beauty. We are always in hurry. We do not have time to stop and look… (Woman, 26)

13

As we have learnt from our literature analysis, street artists prefer to work in crowded and popular areas to be known and get fame with their works. It seems similar in Istanbul, where you can find street art and ads in whole city, but these two main neighborhoods are the most attractive parts for street artists and of course for the advertising agencies as these areas are both crowded, popular with their wide range of socio economic, and cultural population.

Therefore, we decided to conduct our research in two main popular districts in Istanbul; Istiklal Avenue, in Taksim; and Bağdat Avenue, in Kadıkoy, neighborhoods in Istanbul. Istiklal is one of the most popular, crowded and multicultural street in European part of Istanbul; and Bağdat is one of the most popular, and crowded street in Anatolian part of the city.

Istiklal:

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Istiklal Avenue is one of the best-known places in Istanbul. It is located in the historic Beyoglu Municipality as it is also the first municipality of Istanbul. According to the official information that we got from the Beyoglu Municipality, this pedestrian street is 1,337 meters long. This, one of the most famous avenues in

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[13] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. Istanbul zone is bounded with barbwire on this stencil as a dangerous place to enter or to flee away.

[14] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. 'Taksim Caddesi, Kocatepe Mahallesi, Beyoglu' (Taksim Street, Kocatepe Neighborhood, Beyoglu), is written on that signboard; and there is a sticker on that signboard writes, 'Yök'ü kaldırıyoruz. Devrimci Gençler Briliği' (we are abolishing Turkish Council of Higher Education. By Revolutionary Young Union) as they want to change the system.

Istanbul, Turkey, is visited by nearly 3 million people in a single day over the course of the weekend. "It is surrounded by shops, houses, exquisite boutiques, music stores, bookstores, art galleries, cinemas, theaters, libraries, cafes, pubs, night clubs with live music, historical patisseries, chocolateries, restaurants; historical places, consulates and also many advertising, production and organization agencies in terms of the business area. Istiklal Avenue's starting point is Taksim Square and ultimately it leads up to the medieval Genoese neighborhood around Galata Tower and Tunnel as the references for the historical character and importance of the street. As a central city square, Istiklal is the stage for diversity of political, cultural and social expressions and actions. It is a meeting point for the inhabitants of Istanbul.

During the Ottoman period, the avenue was called Cadde-I Kebir (Grand Avenue) and was a popular spot for Ottoman intellectuals, also becoming a center for European foreigners and the local Italian and French Levantines who referred to it as Grande Rue de Pera. When 19th century travelers referred to Constantinople they were mentioning the Grande Rue Pera and its half-European, half-Asian culture. With the declaration of the Republic on October 29, 1923, the avenue's name was changed to Istiklal (Independence) for commemorating the triumph at the Turkish War of Independence" (Retrieved from http://www.pointsfromturkey.com/taksim_and_istiklal_street.html).

"Istiklal Avenue has a different and special mission for Istanbul, even for Turkey. Galata has been one of the financial centers of the world throughout two centuries. Also the multi-cultural characteristics of the Ottoman Empire could be discovered easily around Istiklal. With the aim of the developing and enriching the culture and lifestyle in the Ottoman Empire, many foreigners, especially Italians, came and settled down here. Now, we have a chance to see their signatures all around this district." (Man, 48)

"The cosmopolitan avenue is surrounded by an array or historical and politically significant buildings, such as Cicek Pasajı (Flower Passage) where small, intimate restaurants and taverns are found; Balık Pasajı (The Fish Market), the Roman Catholic churches of Santa Maria and S. Antonio di Padova, the Greek Orthodox Haghia Triada, the Armenian Church (among many other churches), several synagogues, mosques, academic institutions established by various European nations such as Austria, France, Germany and Italy in the early 19th century, consulates (former embassies before 1923) of several nations including France, Greece, Russia,

Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom." (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%B0stiklal_Avenue)

Istiklal Avenue is a host for every demonstration, international and local festivals and meetings. Because of all these activities, the presence of religious temples, consulates, schools, houses and café-bars on the same street, there are many police on the street to control the street with its 3 million visitors every day and to intervene as soon as possible in the case of an emergency. 27 of our informants directly recalled Istiklal Avenue when we asked them the meaning of the city, Istanbul. It is a meeting point for them. There is special language for the arrangements like "see you on French Consulate or Galatasaray". They all said that they prefer to go there to enjoy themselves and have fun; to meet and chat with their friends.

"Istiklal Avenue contains all postmodern properties of Istanbul within itself" (Man, 27).

"Istiklal lives 24 hours a day. Its style differs every hour, but it is always full of people. You can find action all the time, drink, have fun, watch a film" (Woman, 36).

"You can find every kind of people, from every part of the country, even abroad, that likes to be in a crowd. Otherwise, you can feel the soul of the street by walking along (Woman, 36).

"It is not only a meeting point of people, but also of local or national and global signs that are continuously interaction with each other." (Baykal, 2000, p.84) One of our informants supported this heterogeneity by saying '*how cosmopolitan it is'*. Another one criticized 'Istiklal Avenue' for being unrealistic with all its fests, activities, cafes, and tourists.

"At that point, the awareness turns to unawareness; marginality turns to simplicity; traditionalism turns to marginality and meaningless turns to a meaning in Istiklal." He continues, *"In Istiklal Avenue, there is a chance to question the reality, truth, and all constructed terms. In Istiklal, there isn't one and only truth and one kind of life. Istiklal is small Istanbul, even small Turkey with all meanings."* (Man, 25).

Even in Istiklal Avenue, there are many risks to be aware of such as robbery, and drugs, which come from the nearby neighborhoods of Istiklal. It is surrounded by many different kind of little streets such as; in Cihangir, mostly the intellectual people and artists live there, and the real estate rates are quite expensive; in Tarlabası, mostly gypsy, drug dealers and students live there and real estate rates are low; in Galata,

mostly artists started to move in there so the real estate rates are increasing. All these streets intersect on the Istiklal Avenue, and so all the people from different ethnicities and socio-economical backgrounds. One of our informants said:

"Istiklal Avenue is a diverse district by all means; everything is 'multi' in there; multi-cultural, multi-ethnical, multi-lingual… 'Multi-difference'… It has an ability to reflect everybody, and everything. Just one place can do that, it is amazing. You can feel that you are alive, and so is everybody and you are not alone, but you are not one of the homogeneous community because such a thing does not exist." (Woman, 25)

"Istiklal Avenue is a place that you can never know what is next. It is full of surprises and adventures. It serves every taste; you can find a place to listen to türkü (Turkish folk music), pop music, rock music, or jazz… It gives you a sense of freedom but it is questionable in Turkey, because for example if you are a girl it may not be a good idea to be outside at 3 a.m." (Man, 26).

"I go to Istiklal to think, to walk, to learn, to surprise, to live and to follow the final trends and changes in intellectual world." (Woman, 26)

This space is for everybody but it is still going to be private. One of our informants' metaphorical definitions is really crucial.

"Istiklal is like my home's corridor." (Man, 28)

The symbolic power of Beyoglu becomes more evident when we examine its potential to form the stage for a diversity of political expressions and actions. "Different social and political actors appropriate the place for their own agendas and in order to communicate their respective messages. These messages can attain public visibility and meet with a wider audience." (Baykal, 2000, p.56) Within alternative modes of communication in Istiklal, it is still a space for representation of individual actions that can be political, social, cultural and also economic. It is defined by our informants as an *essential* place for the identity of Istanbul.

"You can reach out to Istanbul. You can perceive the whole city while you are on Istiklal Avenue". (Woman, 26)
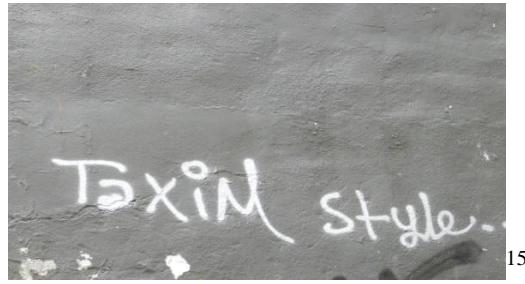
People, who experience Istiklal, create their style that we called Taksim style with its musical preferences, fashion and specific language. It is like an image-maker for people, especially for the young population. Within this style, there is a role of the global positioning of Istanbul that commercial interests are key elements in the formation and usage of public spaces. In relation to the construction of new city space, there is a highly visible transformation of Istiklal. This avenue is longer than before. The social life, the business area extends beyond the high school Galatasaray as can be accepted the center of this avenue. Now, Asmalımescit district is structured as a space in which you can go to the pubs or cultural houses to listen classical music; find design shops or work in advertising agencies.

A socio-economically, culturally and politically wide range of people obtain a specific area to express themselves. In addition to its highly local character, it has also a global positioning that is a continuity of its history. In relation to "the global positioning of this avenue, we cannot ignore the dilemma between the highly flexible capital and solid character of architecture. The structural change in the capitalist relationship changed also the geographies that we live in. Capital carries its own culture."(Aykan, 2008, p. 33) Within this transformation, one of the oldest cafes of Beyoglu, "Markiz" became "Robert's coffee". Or many of the oldest buildings became popular places for the clubs, high-level restaurants.

Another critical point is that some local brands that are the examples of collective memory are turning into the global ones.

"The store of Vakko, a Turkish textile brand, turned into a Mango store on Istiklal. I don't like it. There are many other Mango stores in Istanbul; but please don't change the soul of Istiklal!" (Woman, 26)

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[15] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

Bağdat:

Bağdat Avenue is a high street located in the Anatolian part of Istanbul within the borders of Kadıköy Municipality. It can be seen as the counterpart of Istiklal Avenue on the European side in terms of importance and glamour. "The construction of the long, wide and elegant Bağdat Avenue, with its rows of upscale shops and restaurants, contributed much to the initial urban expansion in the area. The fact that these areas were largely empty until the 1960s also provided the chance for developing better infrastructure and a tidier urban planning when compared with most other residential areas in the city. It runs 6 km from Bostancı to Kızıltıoprak, almost parallel to the coastline of the Sea of Marmara. It is a main street in an upper-scale residential area. The one-way avenue with old plane trees is flanked with shopping malls, department stores, and fashion garment stores, elegant shops offering world famous brands, restaurants of international and local cuisine, pubs and cafés" (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagdat_Avenue).

In contrast to the official information about this avenue, our informants perceived here as a street that people can walk. It is not merely asocial hub a couple of times a day. People create their own limits within this street as the living area and the activity area. In summer time and on weekends, the sidewalks of the avenue are crowded with people window-shopping and youngsters lingering around.

"Bağdat is a great shopping area. It is uniformed for the upper class people. I think that it is smaller than Istiklal. The walking area is limited. You can walk this street twice a day. It is a family place." (Woman, 26)

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[16] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010.

In addition to its contemporary definition, from an historical point, "Bağdat Avenue's name came from the Ottoman Empire period to celebrate the victory of Bağdat in wartime. Also its high level status is based on the same period. There are many old villas of the important people who were close to the Sultan Abdülhamit II. Some of these houses are still present as the first living areas of this street." (Kadıköy Municipality Strategic Plan 2010-2014). Even if it has a history, this street is accepted as the reflection of the modern, elite image of Istanbul.

"This Street has a different mission. It is a special case that is constructed by the modern urban citizens for an example of the modern lifestyle. It is planned for the image of "shopping and hobby street" (Man, 48).

All of our informants said that Bağdat Avenue is newly constructed in European boulevard style. On the other hand, our informants for several reasons criticize this constructed avenue with its multiplicity of shopping alternatives or restaurants. T they primarily see it as the center of consumption rather than the center of the Anatolian part of Istanbul. In relation to this perception, they defined here as a place for "*the war of brands*". It is "*uniform*" and "*artificial*". One of our informants summarized this perception with these words:

"*We are living in a consumer society. Everything is idealized by the hegemonic powers. We have to follow the signs of this so-called unique lifestyle image*". (Woman, 25)

Thus, Bağdat Avenue is the best example in Istanbul for this elitist approach with its "*ideal street*" image.

"Since the 1960s street racing has been a sub-culture of the avenue, where young wealthy men tag-raced their imported muscle cars." (Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagdat_Avenue) As our informants mentioned, Bağdat Avenue is known as a snobbish style of life center because of these young and rich visitors and upscale shops that addresses wealthy part of the population. The demographic characteristics of the 'avenue' is such that as the visitors of Bağdat do not care and think about the world issues, politics, and the real life; they just pretend to be celebrities and do shopping on the street. Some of our informants see the avenue as monotonous; the street just for the consumption and pleasure; artificial and parvenu as it was constructed lately. Conversely, though, it is still seen as elite and special.

"*As Cadde (Avenue) is open to vehicles too, there are other alternatives that you can feel the street and its soul deeply than Bağdat Avenue.*" (Man, 27)

Only one of our 56 informants recalled Bağdat Avenue when we asked them the meaning of the city, Istanbul.

As a space of living, people have crucial power over the process of shaping the image of this specific place in time with their experiences. With the effect of the modernity, capitalism, there are inescapable changes in the urban environment. "According to Sennett, these changes are not only related to the production process, but also transformed the relations between the city and its users, the inhabitants" (Aykan, 2008, p.33). The relationship between the citizens and Bağdat Avenue is structured through their daily routines. Local people called it "Cadde" (Avenue). This nickname is normalized through time. It has its own street culture, and own style that are defined through our informants.

"It is accepted as "a street" in the world by the well-known brands, construction companies." (Man, 48)

The living area and the shopping area are intertwined in Bağdat Avenue. When people go out from their houses to buy bread, they suddenly become a part of the crowd at the street. Also, the neighborhood-feeling and the highly modern metropolis codes are intertwined too. The local people of this area do not want to lose the intimate image of this neighborhood that they experienced for years.

"There are 2 different pictures of this street. In the weekdays, it is more like a neighborhood with its middle age population, and a calm atmosphere. But it is transformed into a high level street on weekends with its upper class young population, crowd and the never ended traffic." (Woman, 26)

The transformation of the city space is ending up with stereotype urban images like Starbucks that there are more than 5 coffee shops in the same avenue or "the monotype consumers surviving like "Cadde Girls" with their similar hairstyle, same shoes as the only kind of consuming citizens" (Aykan, 2008, p.40). In Bağdat, there is transformation from the small local boutiques to the big shops of famous global brands like Louis Vuitton or Burberry because "new elites became attached to this space through its new style of life." (Aykan, 2008, 36) With all of these changes, Bağdat has a standardized image as a part of this century.

4.3 Re-definitions:

Street:

"*Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets…*" (Malone, 2002, p.1)

We conducted our research on the relationship between street art and ads on the streets. As street art seems to be done on the common area; the streets, for the doer's own will and non-commercial aims; the other subject, advertisements are done on the same area, but through ownership, or renting these parts of the streets by private sectors for commercial aims. We thought that the street art and advertisements are the visual powers. This kind of power mechanisms are (re) presented for people and interpreted by people within the everyday life activities on streets.

"All boundaries whether national, global or simply street names on a road map are socially constructed. They are the products of society. They create a mark between social relations and the landscapes" (Malone, 2002, p.3). But in our thesis, we want to focus on how the people who operate in it classify street space.

According to the Cambridge dictionary, street is defined as "*a road in a city, town or village which has buildings that are usually close together along one or both sides*" (Retrieved from http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/street). And avenue means 'a wide street or thoroughfare'. When we continued to search for the definition of the word, street, we come up with these:

- *A thoroughfare (usually including sidewalks) that is lined with buildings;*

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[17] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010.

- *The part of a thoroughfare between the sidewalks; the part of the thoroughfare on which vehicles travel;*
- *The streets of a city viewed as a depressed environment in which there is poverty and crime and prostitution and dereliction;*
- *A situation offering opportunities;*
- *People living or working on the same street.*

In addition to street's physical definitions, we prefer to re-define and transform it. Hence we asked what street means to our informants, they gave quite far definitions from these above.

The playground:

"Children discover the street, students miss it, young people get lost on it, and old people look for the past, old times, memories on the street."(Woman, 25)

"Street reminds me of freedom, memories, playing games, and discovery." (Woman, 35)

"Street is my playground." (Man, 26)

The reality of street:

"It means reality; real people, real stories, real communication on the street." (Man, 27)

"Energetic, complex and it is the mirror of the society." (Woman, 35)

"Street has an identity with its shops, buildings, corners and sidewalks. Also it reflects its identity, its mood, and makes surprises to the people." (Woman, 37)

"Street is a place that the majority can feel free and at the same time they can feel limited because of other people's thoughts about them." (Woman, 25)

More than a path

"Street is more than a distance to walk over." (Man, 25)

"Street is the life itself. It goes deep. You can experience everything on the street that you lived in your life." (Man, 48)

"Street is a stage that is constructed through lively, active and different sounds." (Woman, 36)

"My streets can be divided into four: where I walk from home to work; crowded streets; where I passed my childhood; and streets that I walk freely." (Man, 27)

Street Art:

Street art is a wide term that includes street musicians, actors, painters, posters, pantomimes, stickers, stencils, graffiti, knitting, and all the activities you can see on the street. We are continually exposed to these symbols and activities that the street offers us. From these performances and materials, we want to work through objects that cannot talk for themselves but tell stories if you intend to listen; artifacts that can be experienced after they are completed by their creators. Therefore, we focused on graffiti, stencils on Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues.

"Graffiti, music and every kind of activity that occur on the street are examples of street art. Besides, there is a street fashion these days, people organize fashion shows on the streets, and it is becoming a trend. However, street art is painting, caricature, musicians…" (Man, 26)

"Today's graffiti developed towards the end of the 1970s in New York and Philadelphia, where artists painted their names on walls or in subway stations around Manhattan. A tag can be defined as a stylized, encoded signature (with or without a numerical element) based on the street name or pseudonym of the writer (or that of his crew- quite simply a small group of writers who write the same crew-name). With the proliferation of tags, it became increasingly difficult to make an impact and gain recognition and as a result names soon developed into giant, colorful pictures. Finally, stencils are popular among artists and are considered by many to be the best street technique" (Walde, 2007, p.102).

*"When I think what street art is **stencils** come on my mind these days." (Woman, 25)*

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[18] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

Besides this information we wanted to get some ideas from lay people about street art and its meaning for them.

*"I think people do street art because of the **aesthetic concerns, need for self expression and the desire to make a difference and a protest.** I remember the yellow fists graffiti on the walls and shutters on Istiklal Avenue. For the stencils, I remember the Festus Okey stencils on Istiklal, they are for protest."* (Man, 27)

*"It reminds me of the **exhibitions** on the street, in Nişantaşı and Istiklal and nowadays outdoor advertisements are a kind of street art."* (Woman, 35)

*"Street art is a sign of **development**. It is a proof of self expression."* (Woman, 36)

*"It is one of the methods of **self expression** that enables one to **reach more people**, on the street."* (Woman, 36)

*"If it is overdone it **pollutes** streets."* (Man, 27)

*"When one thinks the street, it takes you to the world of **sincerity**. And street art creates a **massive effect**. However, I am not sure what kind of traces they leave on people two minutes after being seen."* (Man, 25)

Advertisement:

In our thesis, we tried to discover the discourses of outdoor advertisements and street art that use the public space. From the outdoor advertisement part, it is important to understand the nature of its existence in people's everyday lives. "In a physical sense, outdoor advertising is undoubtedly a 'taken-for-granted' aspect of our visual lives, but it is the less tangible chorus of discourses which support and sustain

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[19] It is taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. Nikahta esaret var: marriage is enslavement. It criticizes the marriage as one of the constructed and taken-for-granted rites of passages and rituals of life.

its control of public space" (Molina, 2006, p.7). It is defined '*as picture; short film, song etc. which tries to persuade people to buy a product or service'* (Retrieved from http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/advertisement).

*"The advertisement is used to form an emotional connection between the already constructed images, customs, signs and the presented products. The main aim is to increase the level of the awareness of brand, and to push people to **buy** it."* *(Man, 28)*

"Advertising has become a great vehicle of social communication and one of the most important institutions of social, economic and cultural life of the modern society because it is the intermediary through which many current social changes came together" *(Kaya, 2005 p.59)*. It is important to know how people react, feel towards outdoor advertisements to discover the relationship with the society.

*"The advertisement is a clear thing. It is formulated to sell something. It is a **process** as if there is an emotional or conceptual consensus between society and brands. They use people's common sense to **manipulate.**" (Man, 25)*

From our interviews, we got many different answers but they all used specific words to define the (outdoor) advertisements. Even if their expressions are different, their perceptions toward this subject are almost the same:

*"The advertisement is for the promotion, convincing the client to buy even if there is no need and marketing the **products**."* (Woman, 38)

*"The advertisement is a process to convey the **message** of the service or the product for target group."* (Man, 26)

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[20] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. It is the outdoor advertisement of one of the well-known newspapers of Turkey: Hürriyet. "Herkese daha fazla Hürriyet" means that "more freedom to everybody". They prefer to meuse their brand name's metaphorical meaning that can easly evoke the lack of freedom in Turkey.

[21] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

*"The advertisement is just trickery. It is the institutional way of conveying the specific message to the **client**: Buy me!"* (Woman, 36)

*"The advertisement is a way to sell the product to the **target group**. Its aim is to stick in the mind of clients and to attract attention."* (Woman, 26)

*"The advertisement is for **reminding** the viewer of the product and increasing the desire to buy it."* (Woman, 25)

*"The advertisement is a process of the **branding** and remembering." (Woman, 35)*

4.4 Demographic Remarks:

Using the information that we got from our informants, we created the demographic structure of the street artists. This structure is not a definite result. It is based on the association that our informants' perceptions when they saw the examples on the streets and also according to their previous knowledge about this subject. Therefore, this part is not a demographic analysis that is constructed on statistical information.

Our informants mainly agreed on the motivation of street artists, which is a feeling of exclusion, being misunderstood, and the will for self-expression, to show their own feelings and ideologies.

"Street artists are people who think that they are disregarded so they want to show their own ideas and presences." (Man, 26)

All of our informants thought the street artists are part of the youth culture. Specifically, the age range is 15-23. Besides, we expected to find in street art, a considerable degree of gender role differentiation. "For graffiti and stencils, however, a relatively small number of girls have nonetheless found their way into, and become respected within this male-dominated social sphere" (Shannon, 2003, p.18). During our fieldwork we never managed to discover a graffiti writer who was a woman, but we were informed that there are some female street artists who work with spray cans in their handbags. From a gender perspective, when we asked about gender role in street art, our informants referred to the masculinity. They guessed that they are mostly male in Turkey.

"It can be anybody who wants to share something with other people but I think that they can be young, between the ages 16-20, male, university students, middle and upper middle class people." (Man, 27)

Our informants' perceptions about the educational background and the economic condition of the street art people are surprising:

For the educational background, they thought as the street art requires a level of questioning and point of view; they should be educated or at least they should be open-minded people. They can be *university students* who want to express themselves, their difficulties, and their protests to other people to make them aware of what's going on in the society that we live.

"In Istanbul, people who are interested in the street art want to share their feelings, their anger, their love and their beliefs with people. They should be young." *(Woman, 26)*

For the economic conditions, our informants thought that those people should have time to think, to create. They also need money for the materials like the sprays, metals and so on. They might be part of the *middle class or upper middle class*. We need to mention there are only 3 informants thought that street artists are part of the lower class of the society.

"I believe that they are all well-educated and middle class young people, not older than 30. However, I am talking about the stencils and nice graffiti… not about the writings on the wall 'bunu yazan tosun'[22] and, they probably have free time to search for places to write, and to write; and they have money to buy spray cans and all equipments. Globally it doesn't have a gender difference; but in Turkey, females lack the courage to be a street artist because of the danger and social pressure." *(Man, 48)*

"They are young and people who want to express themselves. They want to talk about something and create an area to discuss. (Woman, 25)

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[22] 'bunu yazan tosun, okuyana koysun': 'this is written by bullock that fucks the reader' it is a common slogan on the walls in Turkey, it has just rhyming beyond its meaning; hence easy to say and likeable to write.

4.5 The Place of Street Art and Outdoor Advertisements for our informants' life and for the city:

Street Art:

We wanted to know the role of street art for the city and its effects. While we asked what street art is for the city, our local informants did not see street art as an essential part of Istanbul. They mentioned Turkey has a long way to improve street art and the ideas about it.

"I've seen many street art works in the ghetto, in New York. It is coming from the hip-hop culture in there, and they are incomparable with works in Istanbul." (Man, 27)

"Street art has to be improved. With some multinational companies' advertisement campaigns that use street culture, it is becoming better." (Woman, 35)

"Istanbul is on the beginning. It may be unfair to say that but I think, street art is done as art-work in Paris, Amsterdam, and Barcelona; but in Istanbul it is very limited." (Woman, 36)

"They are very colorful abroad, in Turkey they mostly use stencils for street art, and so they are in one-color, which is black, red or blue." (Man, 27)

"In Europe, streets are more colorful with graffiti; but in Istanbul or in Ankara, it is more common to see a sniffer around." (Man, 48)

While we asked what happens if we delete all street art on the streets, one of our informants said;

"If you delete or clean all street arts, it doesn't affect me because they do not have any part in my life. However, if you delete my high school (Galatasaray High school on Istiklal Avenue), it affects me! Not only because of I studied there, but it means a lot for Istiklal, everybody meets in front of the high school, it is more than a school. As for street art, I really don't care, and I don't think that I would notice its disappearance." (Woman, 26)

"Of course the meaning, the soul of the street (she mentioned Istiklal Avenue) changes when you delete street arts. If you do that, you take the heterogeneity of Istiklal and so it becomes a definable place, then it will have a proper definition; which is not Istiklal." (Woman, 30)

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[23] It is taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. The stencil contains three men; Fethullah Gülen, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül. They all have religious views. The one on left side is kind of a –unofficial-religious leader; the second one is Prime Minister of Turkey and a president of Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, and it has a 'moderate Islamist' character); the one on right is the President of Turkey, and from Justice and Development Party. There are some writings in Arabic. Just under of three-faces-stencil 'Göz Var' (There is an eye) writes on the wall. And a crying-child-stencil. On the down-right corner of this picture, there are two 'Que Se Vayan Todos' (Go to hell) stencils. It was a famous saying from Argentina in 2001, after the collapse of the economy because of the bankers, businessmen, and capitalist. It was said by lay people against capitalist system and its *members*. The one who makes these stencils might have used this slogan as a self-expression against the same system in Turkey, in its original (Spanish) way, or a global way.

[24] Kardeşimsin Alexis: You are my brother Alexis. (Alexis is teenager who shot by Greece policemen on 2008 and gave start civil uprising in Greece) / siktir yalancı: fuck you liar, Istiklal Avenue, 2010. as walls belong to everyone, everyone can reflect their own ideas. One is saying 'you are my brother Alexis' and the other one doesn't believe him/her; or s/he doesn't agree on this brothership with Alexis, so adds 'fuck you liar' part just under Alexis' stencil.

[25] Vicdani ret: conscientious objection (against 'obligatory military service' in Turkey); on Istiklal Avenue 2010.

[26] Fransız mısınız!: Are you French!; Bağdat Avenue, 2010.

One of our street artists explained the effects of the city on street art and vice versa:

"When I went to the countryside for summer vacation, I went out to paint something on the wall, do some street art with all my equipment… But, I couldn't paint, I just couldn't. It is so lovely you know… streets, the seaside, there were amcalar, teyzeler (older people) all walking slowly… They looked so peaceful… I thought it is so meaningless to disturb them and their pleasant lives. Hence, I couldn't do my monsters on the walls, they do not fit there; but in the city, Istanbul, it fits perfectly. City life, and miserable faces, they are compatible with my ugly monsters." (Man, 26)

Finally the city has meaning with its street art for our foreigner informants:

"A tourist couple from Italy was taking pictures of street art and they wanted to know Istanbul with all these micro-realities, micro-signs on streets." (Woman, 26)

Except our street-artist-informants, the rest of our informants do not write on the walls, or paint them, and they have never tried it so far. Therefore, their relationship with street art is limited to being an audience. On the other hand, as a trend, they are mostly aware of street style. For example the fashion shows on the

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[27] It is taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. 'Muz Sesleri' (Voices of banana), with a *left-fist* holds a banana. It refers to the 'Banana Republic', so it is a political critique of capitalist and colonial system. Besides, there is a book on that name 'Muz Sesleri', in Turkey, by Ece Temelkuran. A girl stencil inside of a star; 'Biz direniyoruz: Cinsel taciz & homofobik şiddete karşı' (We are resisting against sexual harassment & homophobic violence). On the top-right corner of this picture, 'Direnişistanbul: IMF ve Dunya Bankası'na karşı direniş günleri' (ResistanceIstanbul: Resisting days against IMF and World Bank). (Look at websites part)

[28] Istiklal Avenue, 2010. There are many small-sized stencils, and a brand name on the top-left of this picture; 'akçalı boya ve kimya sanayi' (akçalı paint and chemicals industry), it is a local brand that has spray-colors street artists use.

streets, some fests with a theme of street and attending them with your-own-*do-it-yourself* Converse or Adidas brand hand-painted sneakers and with a Banksy-stencils-printed t-shirt are quite trendy activities in Istanbul as a global city that reflects the other global ones in the world such as New York, London, and Paris.

"Street art reminds me of every kind of artistic activity on the street. What is street style, who wore what, in some popular magazines? There are some mini-fashion shows in Nişantaşı, like a street style show." (Man, 26)

It is mainly on Istiklal that people see any examples of street art. Some of our informants do not notice the paintings on the walls unless there is something to worth to look and see.

"I don't mind if you delete them all, they are already ugly."(Woman, 26)

"I think being from inside and outside differs a lot. When I went to visit my boyfriend in Barcelona, street art attracted me as a tourist, but here in Istanbul I am not attracted to it, as a local person." (Woman, 26)

Street art has no part in our informants' daily lives. Except for one, they all aesthetically like it. And they mostly think that, street art is a way of self-expression, and lends a special spirit to the city, just like living with many different ethnicities together in the same city; having many different kinds of *art* at the same city makes the majority of our informants happy. One of our informants is interested in street art and he follows the latest applications on the walls, as he likes them. He takes pictures of street art both in Turkey and abroad. In his daily life, he is searching for graffiti and stencils on his way to home and work.

"I started to be interested in street art in Europe, namely Amsterdam. But in Istanbul, I don't walk around trying to find out something, because I live in here, I am not a tourist… Then, I mean, now, my friend reminded me that I'm looking for street art examples! The numbers of photographs that I collected increased so I decided to put them in a Facebook-album." (Man, 28)

As he mentioned street artists and even lay-people start to use blogs, and web-pages to show and share their findings, their materials with other people in an easiest way, through Internet.

Even if they don't follow all new paintings and stencils on the walls, they can recall a few examples –mainly from Istiklal Avenue- of street art when we asked them their ideas about it. On the other hand, all of them are exposed by outdoor advertisement in daily lives.

Outdoor Advertisements:

The brands, the advertising agencies use streets or in general 'out-of-home' places to convey their message. They transform places into their spaces for their own purpose. Billboards, mobile ads or 3D ads are allowed   outside. Private companies rent all billboards, bus stations and buses from the city council. At this point, codes, symbols or icons "talk" to the people in their daily routines. We cannot deny the power of our social world in influencing our decisions. The physical environment and people's experiences are correlated. One of the important aspects of our thesis' purpose is questioning this correlation and the manipulative side of these decoded visual signs. What is acceptable on inhabitant's mind in terms of using of outdoor places? What are the reactions of people towards those taken-for-granted polymorphic message-boards?

This picture was taken on Taksim Square, the beginning of Istiklal Avenue. We can see 5 different outdoor advertisement examples in one picture. The outdoor advertisements can be seen everywhere, on every corner or even on the top of our houses. Istanbul is an important place to reach many people. The advertisers use every possible place as their branding spaces. They create them for the people who live in this city. It is important to question the place of them in these people's life. Our informants have an ambivalent view of the outdoor ads. From a professional point of view, the advertisers are aware that advertisements have a powerful mental effect as a tool of manipulation. On the other hand, from a personal point of view;

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[29] It is taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010. There are a local bank ads; Istanbul Municipality ads; and UEFA ads at the center of Taksim.

"They should be more visual and impressive! The photos should be more attractive and the message should be shorter!" (Woman, 36)

"They are all boring! They are all the same! I always see them when I am on the road but I do not remember them. I only notice that they change all the time." (Woman, 36)

"I try to be away from the brainwashing for shopping but I do not know in what degree I am successful. I feel that these "things" choke me!" (Man, 27)

From a citizen point of view;

"I do not like billboards. They are not elegant and innovative. I cannot make them look good in Istanbul. I am opposed to the message that brands have: We can use every wall as our billboard!" (Woman, 35)

"I feel that the outdoor advertisements do not desire that people should turn their faces towards them; their goal is to capture the already turned faces. They use all kinds of tricky ways to attract people like the colors: red and blue! Istanbul is just like a huge billboard. They are everywhere that people can have an access; the squares, the streets are colored from beginning to end. I cannot remember any example because I forgot them. But I believe that the advertisers do not aim to be remembered, they just want to catch the involuntary incentive for buying. Also we do not need to remember them!" (Man, 25)

"I want to make a comparison between Istanbul and the other cities or country towns. We have to be exposed to the global or powerful firms' campaigns in Istanbul. But in other places, we can see much more local ads or announcement type things." (Woman, 26)

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[30] It was taken on Taksim Square (beginning of Istiklal Avenue), 2010.

From a customer view; outdoor advertisements have a place that they cannot ignore. Even if they insist that they do not decide what to buy through advertisements; they accept that outdoor advertisements create a connotation between their needs and the brands.

"If I need, I can buy. For instance, I saw the billboard for Dove shampoo that is special for my hair style; I liked the ad, I went to market and I bought it. I also follow the outdoor ads of new cell-phones, cars and Mango. If I like the clothes on the billboards, I absolutely check the shop." (Woman, 26)

"If the outdoor ad is related to my own interests, I can remember it. For instance, I can tell you the details of Beymen (local and luxurious textile brand) billboards. I like to fallow Vogue's billboards as they are really successful to locate them in relation to their target group."(Woman, 36)

"I changed my phone when I saw the new model on the billboards." (Man, 27)

The reaction of our informants to the guerilla marketing examples is different from the classical ones. They thought that these kinds of advertisements are much more innovative, attractive and effective over their decisions. They could remember and they liked to explain where they saw or which brands prefer to use this strategy.

"I remember the Coca Cola's bus stations and IKEA's mobile home as the examples of outdoor advertisements. They attract me! (Woman, 25)

"Turk Telekom! They use the bus stations as the interior of our houses. They create an image of a living room. This guerilla approach is really interesting and new! (Woman, 34.5)

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[31] Ev gibisi yok!: there is nowhere like home!; on Bağdat Avenue, 2010. It is a brand of Turk Telekom (Turkish Telecom)

4.6 The Relationship between Street Art and Outdoor Advertisements:

The visualization has become the central resource for communicating and appropriating meaning within this urban environment. "The reason why visualization has come to dominate the hermeneutics of everyday life, the metropolitan culture is that the landscape scale in which people reasserts their sense of identity by the organizing and manipulation of frameworks." (*Chaney, 1996, p.102*) "The interpretation of this reality became alive through images and these visual representations became one of the most influential institutions of socialization in modern society" (*Jhally, 1990*).

The processes in city-life increase the awareness of style and the need of consumption within a repertoire, which is distinctive to individual preferences. We can discover the ways of representations of visual signs, material objects and the specific language for the construction of an image between the self and the society.

As we worked with street art and advertisements on the street, we wanted to get some ideas about both of them and their relationships. We showed pictures of our examples if we were not able to see them with our informants; then asked for their feelings, and ideas. For the relationship between these two,   they all agreed on there being a connection between street art and advertisements. However, they gave different explanations for their connection.

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[32] Islandık: We are wet; On Istiklal Avenue, 2010
[33] In Kadıköy, 2010. a work of Charlie Chaplin and some tags of street artists.

In addition to the visual relationship between street art and outdoor ads, there is also a sociological connection. Both of these have different identities. As we wanted to explore the challenging points between them, we could not ignore the effect of the creation of "other" from their own perspectives. As we discussed in our theoretical part, in reference to Derrida, both of them gain their meanings from each other. From street art perspective, advertisements became the other and from ads perspective is vice versa. This situation is a backbone of our power relation analysis for this project as we had a chance to go and back between these two visual mechanisms of expression, and discover the challenging points of taken- for- granted definitions. As in our case, street art is accepted as an alternative vision of art and advertisements are the representation of bourgeoisie. But, in our project, the most important source for us is the personal thoughts of citizens of Istanbul in order to find absolute answers to the question "what are common and challenging issues of the relationship between them?" through our informants sentences.

*"There is a strong relationship between street art and advertisements. As I said before, stencils are used for **ambient media tool** by advertising agencies."* *(Woman, 25)*

*"Street art and advertisements are mingling. Advertising agencies started to use graffiti that **addresses youth**." (Man, 27)*

*"Advertisements that use street art give me the **sense of living-streets**. They adapt to the natural structure of life itself. They are from inside of our lives." (Woman, 35)*

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[34] Yürür 6-45: It walks six fourtyfive. (altıkırkbeş: six fourtyfive is the name of an alternative publishing house); on Bağdat Avenue, 2010

"Using street art in advertisements is a good idea to lend an air of realism, because it is very obvious that they are written by a human-being, by one of us." (Woman, 36)

*"I think street art is much more **sincere and familiar** because it is far away from the institutional. At the same time, it is a perfect field to be exploited by advertising agencies till they consume it. And day-by-day, as street art grows up, advertising agencies start to use it. When street art starts to lose its sincerity, ads that use street art continue to be deceptive. At the end of this story, the first user of street art in ads will be the winner just like all the other innovations."* (Woman, 36)

*"Street art is an individual activity; but advertisement is supported by the system as an institutional form. They both use **creative ideas** but they cannot be rivals."* (Man, 27)

*"Using street art in ads seems like a grueling job. Unfortunately, it seems like artificial reality, the ads are going to beat the sincerity of street art. This is very dangerous; I call them '**dangerous team'.''** (Man, 25)

The advertising imagery is so constructed within our environment that we are always faced with its visual clues. This specific communication strategy, the advertising, has become much favored in this era, because the visual materials convey the message more easily and quickly to people. Also it is easy to remember as one of our informants said that "*the visuality decreases the importance of the content.*" *(Man, 26)* We focused on people's everyday experiences on the streets. At this stage; the advertisements and the street art are our two headliners to discover the economy of the perceived. Also, the relationship between these two points is very crucial that in what ways and how they affect each other. For discovering these questions' answers, we preferred to determine 2 different cases.

One is a local brand, Alpella, that is one of the sub-brands of Ulker, and the other is a well-known global brand, Vodafone. We used their campaigns' visuals to get people's feelings or thoughts about them.

When we walked on the Istiklal Avenue to find some street art and advertisement that uses street art, we came across with Vodafone store on the street that has a white-spray-writing on its window: "*Özgürce Konuşmak Hakkımız*" (it is our right to talk freely).

It looks like someone doodled it on the window personally, while   passing Then we researched this advertisement campaign for *Cep Özgür* (free-mobile), and discovered its target group is people under twenty-five. We talked with the employee inside *this store*, because there is no other application like that on other Vodafone stores' windows in Turkey. They have done this only on the store on Istiklal Avenue. That is not a coincidence; they chose it because Istiklal Avenue is the most important place to reach young people, and the most effective place to use this kind of style.

Then we came across other street-artist advertisement from Vodafone, this time on billboards and they have been put in many different neighborhoods of Istanbul. On the official billboard-advertisement of Vodafone's *Cep Özgür* campaign, there are black scribbles as if someone crossed out the first-written-words (*one of them: yeni cepözgürle 20 dakikası 2 kontöre konuş - talk 20 minutes per 2 –prepaid minutes-units with new free-mobile tariff*) and changed them according to their wishes, which is cheaper (*talk as much as you want per 2 prepaid minutes-units with free-mobile tariff*). Now, they look like someone has protested the prices and the campaign, and so altered these written-prices with their own board-markers. However, in reality, the advertising agency wrote these additions on the billboards themselves. Moreover, they filmed the process of people writing with their black markers on billboards and running away from policemen. They then published these videos as though to show some unknown people changing the original text

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[35] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.
[36] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

(Çatalkaya, C., 2010. Retrieved from http://www.pazarlamablogu.com/vodafone-cep-ozgur-ve-gerilla-pazarlama-calismasi/).

Our other example is Alpella's advertisement that can be found on the top of the kiosks in the streets in different neighborhoods of Istanbul. They look like graffiti on brick-walls. From the beginning of Istiklal Avenue till the end, they use all the kiosks, just like on Bağdat Avenue. However, Vodafone advertisements are very rare on Bağdat Avenue. Indeed, their store on Bağdat is very elegant, and they are all clean, unlike other Vodafone stores on Istiklal Avenue. Our informants are mostly aware of Alpella's advertisement, as they are located in more places than Vodafone's ad's; and they use the same advertisement in everywhere. Vodafone chooses and changes the method and the campaign according to neighborhoods.

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[37] It was taken on Taksim, 2010
[38] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.
[39] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010

Vodafone "Free Mobile":

We knew the brand before listening to our informants' narratives about their visuals. In relation to the innovative marketing approach, Vodafone's marketing communication strategy focuses on youth. Their target group and its relation with the social networks occupy the company's attention.

The keyword for this campaign is "*FREE*". This campaign is created for youth who are under 25 and especially for the students. They define themselves as Vodafone realizing young people's dreams. They listen to them and then speak for them. The campaign is specific to youth 'active and busy lifestyles'.

The mission of the campaign: It is an answer for young people's real needs. Joint CEO of Vodafone, Gökhan Öğüt, said that:

"*The focus of our decisions is always our client. We listen, understand and discover our clients' needs. The latest example of our approach is the free mobile campaign. It is for the youth and satisfying their needs*" (Retrieved from http://web.dha.com.tr).

In this campaign, Vodafone refers to the youth culture and their interests. The street culture and the endless wish for expressing themselves freely are essential for the brand. They focus on tagging and street art on their campaign commercials. On their website, visitors can create their own stencil and walk through the wall (Retrieved from http://www.cepozgur.com/).

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[40] Retrieved from http://www.trgy.org/vodafone-cep-ozgur-tarifesi/

Alpella OLE/ONE:

The brand mission is defined as Alpella means the youth. Briefly, it defines people who are out of the format (Retrieved from http://www.ulker.com.tr/alpella.aspx).

Alpella's new mission is adding joy to life through creating its own rules. It focuses on young people who are defined by play, the positivity, the nature and the self-confidence. These are the keywords of their format. On the website of Ulker, Alpella OLE's commercial film is one of the most watched commercials (Retrieved from http://www.ulker.com.tr/en_cok_izlenenler.aspx). The keywords of this commercial are the street culture, graffiti and skateboards.

On 8th of April, 2009, their press release was about Alpella Ole's difference. It said "The first one in Turkey: this chocolate is for young people who bring life with them." It reflects different kinds of reality on the streets. This chocolate is defined as a new trend for the youth.

On 8th of December, 2009, Ulker announced the launching of Alpella Ole on their website: "*Alpella Ole is an extraordinary, different experience. It is a part of young people's lives. It is integrated into their lifestyle. The excitement that starts from the streets continues with the energy of the youth.*"

On their website, there is a free wall that visitors can write their "message" and share this "wall" with their friends. Secondly, visitor will be faced with a shutter that has become a canvas for Alpella.

At the third stage, visitors can watch a video-clip about the finger performance and a hip-hop song (Retrieved from http://www.parmaklaragel.com/index.html?splash=1).

These two cases are important examples for our thesis. It was important to learn about our informants' awareness of these two campaigns. For group and individual interviews, we showed the visuals and for the walk and talk interviews, we

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[41] Retrieved from http://www.ulker.com.tr/alpella.aspx

tried to get information in two different ways. We asked direct questions in one, and in the other we tried to catch their feelings, their first impression on the basis of their physical interaction on street.

Vodafone "free" campaign	Alpella One/Ole
■ aware of the ads ■ unaware of the ads	■ aware of the ads ■ unaware of the ads
63% 37%	42% 58%
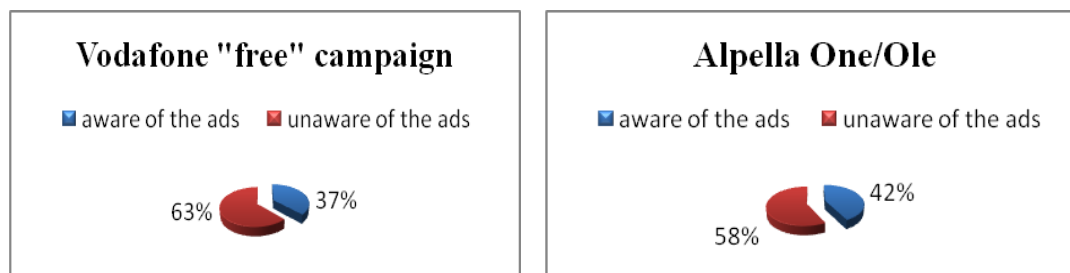
On the basis of our informants' first reactions, most of them were not aware of the Vodafone campaign or they only remembered when we showed the visuals. It is a really surprising result for us, because this campaign is for the youth and our informants' age range is within the campaign target group. But even if they did not remember or did not know, when they looked at the visuals, they started to comment in a positive way. Most of them thought that the billboards' movement is an innovative idea.

"The Vodafone advertisements on billboards look like as if somebody took note on a paper." (Woman, 35)

"I know the Vodafone advertisements on the window of the store on Istiklal Avenue and I like it. It is easy to remember the information of the statement. Besides the window advertisement, the billboard advertisements are successful too, but you have to look at them carefully." (Woman, 25)

"The window ad looks like really aggressive and it is not compatible with the corporate identity. But on the other hand, the billboard idea is really innovative. Both of them can be defined as one shot activity." (Man, 48)

For Alpella's advertisement, there is not a big difference between those who were aware and those who were not but their reactions are more passive than those concerning the Vodafone's ads. They remembered, but they said that they did not think to taste or buy it. All of our informants said that this ad is done for the youth but also it does not mean anything else.

"Both Alpella and Vodafone ad's are done to attract young people. By eliminating an intense message, they promote themselves and so draw the attention of youth and thus, these ads are successful." (Man, 27)

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"I think the Alpella advertisement is weak regarding reaching young people. You cannot just do that by pretending to be cool and underground momentarily. It is a good idea, but immature. It needs to be something more deep and real." (Man, 25)

Web-sites:

Street art has a scarcely visible image in the eyes of people. Street art connotes back streets or dangerous places. But street art has become part of everyday life on the street and also the virtual life on the Internet. Street art culture has become more and more visible. There has been a transition from being more closed to being more open. The Internet is becoming more like the street. It has become an important part of people's daily routine. There is a transition in public space definition with the emergence of the technology.

Websites have begun to use stencils and other features of street art to relate to life on the street. Stencils are used as vehicles of communication, as conduits of information. In our spatial focuses, Bağdat- and Istiklal Avenues, we have found many examples of this practice.

On Bağdat Avenue, there are mostly stickers   about consumption. This result is highly compatible with the general image of this avenue. As Bağdat is a part of the modern urban lifestyle, it is not surprising to find an advertisement about shopping. It is one of the centers of luxury consumption in Istanbul. The sticker for the website called http://www.mark-ha.com/ is one of the examples of this kind of an advertisement.

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[42] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010.

However, on the other hand, on Istiklal Avenue, we have found many stencils of websites that attract attention to the social issues not in Turkey, in the world too. We preferred to focus on three particular websites, because their repetitions are really noticeable on Istiklal district. You can find them on every corner of the streets, or on the walls of well-known places like pubs and clubs frequented by the locals. Also this result is compatible with the general image of Istiklal in which people are always faced with the representation of different activities like political protests or alternative lifestyles. These web pages have common features. One is their indifference to the capitalist system. These movements are not institutional. They only celebrate different subjects. The other is; these websites are for spreading information. They are free or NGO activities that are created with the will of people. The first one is http://www.criticalmassistanbul.org/.

43

This website is about the global bicycle event in different cities of the world.[44]Their message is *"We do not block the traffic, we are the traffic."* Thus, the image is of the clenched fist of radical solidarity combined with the two wheels of the bicycle.

The second one is http://direnistanbul.wordpress.com/.

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[43] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.
[44] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_Mass
[45] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

It is a website about the activities against capitalism in Istanbul. They aim to create a network for the social movements against control mechanisms and power relations that determine how people should live in this society, in this world. They also support using innovative channels for the creation of awareness and solidarity. The third one is about a created person: Seyfi Solukal (Seyfi Breathing). [46] One of the global NGO's, Greenpeace in Turkey, has created a fake campaign and a fake candidate for the elections. It is done to gain attention for environmental issues and human rights and other similar problems in Turkey.

[47]

4.7 Future Assumptions about Street Art and Outdoor Advertisements:

"The future rarely turns out as predicted. The reason is that most predictions are driven by the same conventional wisdom that drives the daily consensus around us, and are usually based on the big, easily spotted observations like the spread of the global economy. But as you dig deeper, you see a world teeming with lesser-known, harder-to-spot developments that really are the small forces that will drive tomorrow's big changes" (Penn, 2007, p.368).

Street art has a unique ability to communicate with the lives of everyday people. Street art is bringing mainstream artistic thought into life and the reality of mainstream life into art (Retrieved from http://www.ammocity.com/artman/publish/article_72.shtml).

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[46] http://www.greenpeace.org/turkey/campaigns/enerji/komur/solukal/seyfisolukal
[47] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

We wondered whether street art is to be seen as a trend or a permanent movement and an art-form. Hence we asked for our informants' future predictions of street art and advertisements.

*"We are going to see advertisements in the form of street art. **This is going to kill street art.** After advertising agencies benefited from street art, they are going to search for new methods to use." (Man, 27)*

*"Their relationship is going to improve. There is **a risk of losing credibility** for street art, and then it negatively affects the striking effect of street art itself." (Woman, 36)*

*"As advertisements and capital exploit the street art and artists, **street art is going to expand and develop.** However, it may lose its sincerity." (Woman, 36)*

"If street art is financed, it will expand and develop. I am suspicious that it may lose its integrity." (Woman, 36)

*"In the future, the integration of street art into the market will destroy its status. Besides, this integration gives more power to advertisements to manipulate the individual. What else place do we have? Nearby of our beds? **Are they going to use even our bedrooms? Clever! (Sarcastic) it doesn't sound absurd…"** (Man, 25)*

*"In the future, and even now, the advertisers have started to **take advantage of street art**. I believe that street art commercials look sincere, close and warm." (Woman, 26)*

*"It is hard to be sure. But it is clear that street art can be used for the advertisement. It is present in the ads nowadays. Maybe in the future, **we will see street art on boulevards, crowded avenues**." (Man, 27)*

*"I think that street art will change. But this change cannot happen for the advertisements because there are a lot of alternatives for the ads. But street art can change its **space of existence**. It can be turned into videos, be part of the virtual world. But street art, used for the ads, are just one of the tools of advertising strategy." (Man 27)*

V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Globalization:

With the rise of the worldwide production activities, the technological developments and flow of goods, we cannot ignore the effect of globalization on our lives. We can say that there is a global consumer. The global consumer buys coffee from Starbucks or shoes from Nike. These are popular global products, global tastes. "Everywhere, everything becomes similar but they are not same. There is global advertising to manipulate this superficial cultural standardization" (*Giddens, 2002, p.xxiv*). But as Bourdieu mentioned, people actually learn things through the practices that are determined through different kinds of existences. The socially constituted system appeared within the 'habitus' concept, in which we can analyze how people live and how their life situations change. "Concepts are the important tools for the creation of the everyday realities that are permeated by both social relations and material objects." (*Hacking, retrieved from MACA Theories 2008, p.25*)

"*Globalization is important to follow the contemporary or daily changes in the world. Even if we do not ourselves practice every popular thing in the world, we know what has happened and, if we want, we can take it and then adopt it according to our norms.*" (*Woman, 38*)

"Everyday categories also reveal a great deal about how consumers conceive their consumption environment" (Hansen& Hansen Y., 2001, p.203). "They work as a set of expectations which act as a form of ordered control on the emerging mass society" (Chaney, 1996, p.11). "Localities are quite simply the places where people live their everyday lives." (Tomlinson, 1999, p.7) "Culture refers to all mundane practices that directly contribute to people's ongoing life-narratives" (Tomlinson, 1999, p.20) Cultural categories are particularly important for international marketers. When international products and brands enter a foreign country, "they not only enter the market, they enter the established categorization system of that society." (Hansen& Hansen Y., 2001, p.203) As in our Vodafone case, all of the key elements of their free mobile campaign are based on Turkish people's social, political and economic background. It is important to 'use' the pressured feelings like freedom of speech, refer to the so-called individual wishes rather than top-down strategies. These

are categories of our daily routine but also they are invisible ones such that people cannot 'freely' practice them. "The use of these particular vocabularies is an artificial creation of local knowledge through marketing strategies." (Chaney, 1996, p.12) "The violation of reality attracts attention; on the other hand, the image's metaphorical dimension gives rise to an emotional response." (Messaris, 1997, p.13)

Globalization has another effect over people in terms of language. With the rise of international marketers' products in Turkey, the outdoor advertisements' language is changing. The power of worldwide language, English, has become more visible on the streets. In both of our field areas, not only global brands, but also the local ones   use the image of belonging to the world through English. For instance, a radio channel uses "harmony" as a key word, a bank's slogan is "I love bonus" or a shopping mall's special card is called "benefit". We are all the victims of this language invasion. From an ironic point, stencils use the same technique for questioning this situation like "ya türkçe ya never" (Turkish or never) or there is a distortion of language like "merhum ceksın" (the deceased Jackson).

As we mentioned before, in our theoretical part, in relation to the "audience" past experiences, words gain different meanings. On the background of words, there is the background of the person who read it or the social and cultural positions of the place that the reader saw it. These specific interpretations are crucial tools for the local identity. For instance, there is a stencil that we found   mostly in Bağdat Avenue, "BOYA!" (Paint!) One of our informants explained this simple word through connecting the collective identity of Turkish society.

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[48] On Istiklal Avenue, 2010. Merhum ceksın: deceased Jackson with one of his favorite dance figures.
[49] Ya türkçe ya never: Turkish or never; On Istiklal Avenue, 2010

"This is like a call for a collective action. I paint, you should paint too. 'We' should paint together." (Woman, 26)

In addition to the visibility of international brands in Istanbul, there is the sign of international streets artists in Istiklal Avenue.

"Yellow fists! We can see them everywhere in Istiklal. They are done by a German couple. The globalization in street art can be defined as a visual self-realization or adding a meaning on life. They left their names by their visual symbols. I think that it is related to the discussion of finding a reason for performing art. Even though they cannot make money, many people talk about them." (Man, 28)

There are stencils completely in English or Spanish. We cannot see these examples in Bağdat and this is one of the main differences between these areas. From a consumer side, it is more global than Istiklal but on the other hand, from the visitors' side, people who prefer this avenue are mostly local.

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[50] It was taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010. We thought that it is ironic because the stencil and the cleaning car of the municiplaty are on the same picture.

[51] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

5.2 Political History of Turkey:

Mikhail Bakhtin and Vladimir Voloshinov pointed out that; "Signs can arise only on inter-individual territory. It is territory that cannot be called 'natural' in the direct sense of the word: signs do not arise between any two members of the species Homo Sapiens. It is essential that the two individuals be organized socially, that they compose a collective (a social unit); only then can the medium of signs take shape between them" (Tietelbaum, 1992, p.106). Therefore the meanings govern the effects, and forms of self-expressions, if it is an art-form or as advertising, differ from society to society, culture to culture.

Turkey had seen 3 coups up to 2010. There are ongoing struggles against to the political regime, international relations, capitalism, poverty, the wide gap between classes in society and being a part of the western world and/or eastern world. Because of its tempestuous political history, that affects the social and cultural lives of people. Freedom of speech, democracy, and equal rights are debatable issues. People experience these problems in their daily lives. Hence, they feel the need to express their own ideas, and wishes to change and/or improve these problems.

"After the 80's, there has been an apolitical process in Turkey. The 80's is the most important period in Turkey to understand the rules of the standardized lives that we live. Because of the fear from the moral and psychical violence that happened in the 80's, youth live according to the given codes. Even the words that we use to speak are already determined. Within this situation, the most effective tool for this manipulation is the advertisements." (Woman, 37)

From a cultural point of view, in Turkey, people act according to their emotions. If someone gets angry in Turkey, there can be a fight in a moment. If someone wants to say something, and nobody cares it, for example s/he can start to tag something on the walls in the school, on the street, in the bus. Even if it is a declaration of love, one can write it down anywhere without hesitation.

It is meaningful to remember the illegality of street art among decision-makers, official workers such as police. For example one of our street-artist-informants told us an anecdote *"One day my friend and I had just started to paint when the police appeared. There were 2 police and 2 plain-clothes men who were a*

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[52] It was taken on Istiklal Avenue, 2010.

little drunk. They took us to the police station because we were painting on the wall. They asked some questions and wrote an official report, as it is a crime. We were laughing because there was nothing to clean, as we had not started. Then one of them asked me if I have a white-color-spray, I said yes… he took my friend and me to the breakwater at the shore. He showed me writing: 'Özge seni seviyorum' (I love you Özge) on that breakwater. Then he said "it is readable this peddler's name but mine isn't. Now you and I are going to make it readable with your white spray." I was shocked, a policeman asked me to paint a slogan for him! It was kind of a street art you know… We started to write 'I love you Özge' again, in bigger and more readable form. No need to say nothing happened; I mean the official report or any penalty. It was funny…" (Man, 26)

Within our habitus, as the idea of viewing pictures is a learned experience through social contextualization and historical context; the 'eye' of the viewer is capable of making different attributions and finding different meanings. In our case, since we know the culture, the country and the city as well, we found graffiti and stencils that reflect the resistance or feelings against these local and global issues more than the colorful, big tags on the walls. Therefore, we mainly focused on stencils. This is an historical reflection. Our middle age informants pointed out that there were more ideological tags in the 80's than today. One of the interesting comments for the Vodafone window is;

"They do not know what to do, where to write anymore. Are we going back to 80's?" (Man, middle aged)

However, it may be surprising, having political stencils in Turkey. This has a huge problem with freedom of speech as most of our informants mentioned. Conversely, it may be interpreted that it is because of the pressure on people from 1960s –the first coup- which attract them for transgression.

We think that the conceptual frameworks and questions in this overview of the literature gave us important insights about understandings the social change especially after the 1970s in Turkey. "The post 70s period is characterized by an uneven penetration of global flows, which fragment and differentiate social life. The coup d'état of 1980 assured the transition to a differentiated consumer society. While lifestyles started to differentiate spatially, the new urban spaces contributed to the reinterpretation of cultural identities at the level of everyday life through the mediation of market." (Şenoğuz, 2004, p.15) "Cultural transformation in Turkey has

broken the repressive power of cultural identities led by modernist thought. Yet, cultural pluralization or fragmentation accompanies the aestheticization of everyday life and reinforces the detachment of images and symbols from their social and historical context, liquidating the collective memory" (Şenoğuz, 2004, p.15).

5.3 Politics of Street Art and Ads:

"During the twentieth century the economic needs of capitalism have shifted from production to consumption." (Strinati, 1995, p.235) Consumer society is the really existing world society since capitalism. Hence "consumption, in which it is hard to distinguish between compulsion and decision, side effect and intended effect, is a perfect example of 'side effect cosmopolitanization'. Cosmopolitanism has itself become a commodity; the glitter of cultural difference sells well" (Beck, 2006, p.40). Popular culture is thus, as Hall claims, a site where 'collective social understandings are created'. It is engaged in 'the politics of signification', the attempt to win readers to particular ways of seeing the world (Storey; 1993, p.5).

The culture of consumer society is mostly about forgetting, not learning. Branding, advertising, and marketing are all about 'persuading, seducing and trying to manipulate people into buying products and services' (Peterson, 2006, p.200). "The main political purpose of the advertisements is challenging dominant values, dominant ideals and offering dramatic alternatives. Ads are playing with dominant conventions of narration and representation" (Hansen& Hansen Y., 2001, p.52). Consumption served the interests of manufacturers seeking greater profits, and citizens became the passive victims of advertisers. Processes of standardization were accompanied by the development of a materialistic culture, in which commodities came to lack authenticity and instead merely met "false" needs.

"The outdoor advertisements increase the brand awareness and integrate those products into our everyday lives. And those products are transformed from the advertisement element to a real need that we cannot deny." (Man, 28)

"These needs were generated by marketing and advertising strategies and, it is argued, increased the capacity for ideological control or domination" (Mackay, 1997, p.3). Material objects produced for consumption in the marketplace not only satisfy needs, but also serve as markers and communicators for interpersonal distinctions and self-expression.

"Through use of the objects or the choice for not to use them, we construct our images. We include or exclude some of them in relation to our subjective preferences or experiences." (Woman, 24)

"These symbolic markers are the mediating communicational elements that connect people and the consumer goods they use to satisfy their wants. In a market economy, too, goods are communicators, symbolic markers that embed consumption practices in daily social interactions and exchange." (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Botterill, 2005, p.5)

"Even if the popular life styles are not suitable for us, we cannot ignore their representations, the advertisements in the city. Because of the density and different varieties of this specific way of communication, we have to be known them and in some ways they became a part of our routines." (Woman, 27)

"The personalization of the goods through packaging, marketing techniques soon caught on to the way that particular products could give expression to consumers' self-perception of personality" (Peterson, 2006, p.206).

In relation to the discourses of legitimacy around what is visually 'acceptable' in the city, are intimately bound up with the power relations of the city: what is allowed to be seen and what is constructed to be invisible and work invisibly to maintain the social order. "Graffiti is delegitimized as a form of political or social protest through the rhetoric of 'vandalism' and hence commercial speech is given the power of legitimacy because it has been paid for" (Molina, 2006, p.142). "In inscribing their own messages on outdoor advertising, however they may be, members of the public are refusing to accept the one-way-flow of advertising messages" (Molina, 2006, p.143). "Commercial enterprises -be they advertising agencies or retailers- can be thought of in this sense of articulating cultural projects or missions every bit as transformative in their ambitions towards specific populations as those pursued by social reformers and policy makers" (Nixon, 2003, p.36).

"The representational codes of mass advertising (power, desirability, spheres of competence) are clearly relevant to the marketing of forms of social identity" (Nixon, 2003, p.105). At the out-of-home places, there is more space that is occupied by advertising; less space is available for other voices, particularly noncommercial speech. It is inescapable that there is an increase of ads in Istanbul. The billboard's number around 3000 is incorporated into everyday life. This "commercial speech" is turned into the dominant voice. We can say that it is the visible voice. "The brand

images and their messages have a power over the system. This commercial system makes the rules" (Molina, 2006, p.44). On the other hand, "through creating a language of democratic possibilities that rejects the enactment of cultural difference structured within notions of hierarchy and spatial dominance; the role of streets as sites of collective culture would enable concepts of democracy and difference to be reconstructed. Young people are the producers of these diverse identities or multiple perspectives that intersect within the cultural capital" (Malone, 2002. Retrieved from http://eau.sagepub.com, p.167). From a critical point of view, a city cannot be limited with the system of commodification with its malls, superstores. There is a need for the symbolic spaces for the production and transmission of local identity. Here, the urban streets are the stage for this representation of local identity.

5.4 Youth Culture:

The transformational function of advertising is to change "consumers' attitudes" toward products and brands. "The new approach of the industry was far broader and more radical: the consumer, not the product, was to be henceforth the key ingredient in the message system" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Botterill, 2005, p.87). "In the modern world, where maintaining identity and individuality is an ongoing struggle, commodities are more often offered as a means of standing out from the crowd than standing in it. There is a contradiction in that, to feel unique, consumers have to believe, that they have discovered their own style, not simply followed what is offered by advertisers. The most important act is always to desire to stay unique, the most defiant act is the ability to do so; the most conclusive act is that you make it right" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Botterill, 2005, p.538)

For many young people, the street is the stage for performance, where they construct their social identity in relation to their peers and other members of society. Many of the identities young people adopt within the public domain are contradictory and oppositional to the dominant culture. "Visible expressions of youth culture could be seen as the means of winning space from the dominant culture, to construct the self within the selfless sea of city streets; they are also an attempt to express and resolve symbolically the contradictions that they experience between cultural and ideological forces: between dominant ideologies, parent ideologies and the ideologies that arise from their own experiences of daily life" (Malone, 2002, p.163). The visibility of

youth and their competing use of street space positions create a tendency to use "ordinary" elements in the outdoor advertisements. The "ads' scenarios" create a reference to the reality. The advertiser is in touch with youth culture through the so-called reality, the understanding their inner world (Hansen& Hansen Y., 2001, p.60)

"The use of street art in outdoor ads is the key weapon for capitalism. Ads bought the change, the transformation. Street art makes ads more surprising than the traditional ones. It helps to create a change in people's perceptions of classical advertising and make it more believable" (Man, 46)

"This is a realism trying to express and take seriously the real feelings of youth, that is, intimate, private, scarcely expressible feelings, in contrast to the social, outer-directed feeling dealt with in conventional advertising" (Hansen& Hansen Y., 2001, p.61). Both of our outdoor advertisement examples are constructed through the heterogeneity of the sub-market. They are based on what this submarket requires in their wishes and needs to create a relationship between the individual and the product. Here, as Vodafone and Alpella insist, the most important thing is to identify possible factors for a "real sub-market image" (Hansen& Hansen Y., 2001, p.158)

The ideas behind youth cultures have evolved into powerful forces that are changing the world. "Owing to the fact that youth culture is ever expanding and constantly evolving in meaning, street art also manages to reflect the local dialogues of the cities that produce it. These paintings are part of our culture. Look how creative we are." (Lewisohn, 2008, p.89) "We rebel through youth movements because we recognize that things don't always work the way they should." (Mason, 2008, p.5) As rebel economist E. F. Schumacher observed of the damaging effects of the systems that govern us: "to deny them would be too obviously absurd, and to acknowledge them would condemn the central preoccupation of modern society as a crime against humanity." "But as teenagers most of us aren't reading Schumacher. Instead we protest with youth culture, social experiments—informal studies in the art of doing things differently that have given us good music, bad haircuts, and new ways to operate." (Mason, 2008, p.5)

"If you criticize the system and if you do not want to use your gun; you will use the other weapon to affect people: art" (Man, 46)

Perhaps the most unifying trait of all the artists in this new generation is a strong sense of the 'DIY' (do-it-yourself) ethic. "They come from a background where there are few rules and anything is possible" (Rose&Strike, 2005, prologue).

"The values youth cultures promote often end up as empty gestures in corporate graveyards. Since capitalism emerged, culture has been rebelling against it and figuring out ways to improve it. For more than a hundred years, capitalists have been marketing youth culture back to people, attaching cultural significance to goods and services through advertising" (Mason, 2008, p.23).

"The realm of consumption –what we buy and what determines what we buy- is increasingly influenced by popular culture. Consumption is increasingly bound up with popular culture because popular culture increasingly determines consumption" (Storey, 1993, p.224). Consumption is a significant part of the circulation of shared and conflicting meanings we call culture. We communicate through what we consume. "Consumption is perhaps the most visible way in which we stage and perform the drama of self-formation. In this sense, then, consumption is also a form of production. When we meet someone sooner, or later, in order to get to know them better, we will ask questions about matters of consumption: what books do they read? What films do they watch? These all questions are which connect consumption with questions of cultural identity. On knowing the answers to enough of these questions, we feel able to construct a cultural and social pattern and thus to begin to locate the person in a particular cultural and social space – to think we know who they are and what they are like" (Storey, 2003, p.78).

In this sense, young people who use Vodafone and eat Alpella should have felt a part of this street style, and street culture. The companies can gain clients by that way of thinking. Or, young people who already feel a part of street culture should have preferred to use Vodafone and Alpella as they reflect their life style on advertisements which enable to familiarity. Identities are clearly about 'who we think we are' and 'where we think we came from' also, 'where we are going' (Storey, 2003, p.80). However, our choices are limited by dominant culture. Jean Baudrillard writes that ''all of our values are simulated in the consumer society. What is freedom? We have a choice between buying one car and buying another car?" (Barrett, 2008, p.167)

"The public keeps itself sedated with popular culture, the most sophisticated piece of propaganda ever invented. Young children are usually the target group most swayed by advertising with the 'nag' factor increasing consumer spending." (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985, p.73)

One of the assumptions underlying their strategic work is that advertisements should work on each reader's need for an identity, on the individual's need to expose

himself/herself to lifestyles and values which confirm the validity of his/her own lifestyle and values, thereby making sense of the world and his/her place in it. "Correspondingly, images of an in-between world; 'people see marginal people as trendsetters" (Beck, 2006, p.41). Just like street art is seen as a trend for advertising companies to attract young people, according to their target group. In our cases, Vodafone and Alpella's target groups are young people because of that they chose street art and street culture in their campaign. Advertising has played a decisive factor in the formation of graffiti in two major ways. Ideologically, it manifests itself in the form of fame. Competition among a wide variety of writers and artists is to contend for respect in the form of sub-cultural capital and perhaps financial capital. The other influence is the visual manifestation of the company through the word and image and consequently becomes the visual factor.

5.5 Art Discussion:

On the basis of our fieldwork, there is a double-sided discussion that the relationship between "art and street art" and "art and outdoor advertisements". And so, street art becomes an occupation that leads street artists to earn money, through advertisements and art galleries. However, artists associated with galleries and museums have to think about their careers when they make exhibitions as sanctioned public art is shown in galleries. Unsanctioned activities such as street art or subvertising send out the message of an individual who has chosen the location s/he desires without having to seek permission or make any compromises.

Besides, since the government often funds museums, we have to consider them as voices of the state. More than ever before, they can be seen as part of the political apparatus –as tools of regeneration, educational vehicles and arbiters of taste. Art on the street has a different position in comparison to the art inside the walls. The "art" on the walls offers a far more direct viewing experience, but is no less valid. It could in fact be argued that looking at art in the street, with its speed and real-life context, is a more accurate reflection of the world in terms of the way we process information today.

Therefore, street artists are for the most part outside of that system. "Their art comes direct from the maker to the viewer; there's no curator in between, dictating what is good and what is not" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.131). Now, the viewer has the right

to say something about this kind of art, (whether it is an art form or not), and interpret it as s/he wishes. In 1968 Roland Barthes announced the "death of the author", by which he meant to destabilize the sole authority of the author as the meaning-maker for a passive reader and to encouraged the reader to be an active maker of meaning. Barthes conjoined the death of the author with the "birth of the reader" (Barrett, 2008, p.152). The anonymity of street art strengthens the birth of the reader/viewer.

Baudrillard talks of a Postmodern ''implosion'' that collapses boundaries between meaning and media massages that ''flatten'' each other out in a constant stream of information, entertainment, and advertising. Baudrillard maintains that "the masses become bored and resentful of constant solicitations and become apathetic" (Barrett, 2008, p.169). Street art shows one way that language is being altered and created, one with particularly anti-authoritarian implications. "But like hypertext too, it is constantly being re-appropriated into essentially authoritarian systems such as the avant-garde art-world and corporate design culture. It is also undermining these worlds." (Sartwell, C. Retrieved from http://www.crispinsartwell.com/grafflang.htm).

 "Postmodern adverts are more concerned with the cultural representations of the advert than any qualities the product advertised may have in the outside world, a trend in keeping with the supposed collapse of 'reality' into popular culture" (Strinati, 1995, p.233). To get over this boredom, advertising uses street art until such time as a later trend comes into prominence and grabs attention away from street art. "Advertising is a parasitic craft: it borrows from any subject it needs to, and if it borrows from a subject that is considers too raw for its purpose, then it sterilizes it" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.111).

"As Harvey mentioned, the advertisement is the art of capitalism. It is creative, and done for marketing the product. The main purpose is to attribute a visible value to the specific product." (Man, 27).

Advertisements use the artistic values for the anesthetization of the visuals. Traditional understanding of art or the alternative modes of art are not different for this industry. They are all the tools for the successful manipulation. But in addition to this general view, some of our informants thought that outdoor advertisements have some artistic features.

"Outdoor ads are created by people for people. Like the other art forms, they require some level of talent, creativity and difference. Even if they are not classical

art pieces, they have artistic background. Also some of them are really aesthetic and beautiful; important to remember." (Woman, 26)

"Outdoor ads are a kind of art, from my point of view, because they also require a level of creativity and talent. They are created for the people, for us". (Woman, 19)

"In art circles graffiti and stencils are often not recognized as art forms; and despite having made some headway with the general public, many people continue to perceive it as vandalism. People tend to see street artists as representatives of a youth culture that likes to vandalize, rather than serious artists. The average rage of writers whose career frequently begins at the age 12 and ends as early as 20 could be a reason for that. An adhesive artist generally approaches the scene from an adult perspective. The average 20 to year 35 year old has a greater sense of responsibility than teenagers, and is reluctant to run the risks associated" with street art (Walde, 2007, p.80). At this point, we ask "should art be serious?" or "what is the meaning of serious?" Surely, art is a crucial source for understanding social, cultural and also political identities; it is the reflection of society. Within it, there are multiplicity of feelings and presentations of actions. Hence art can be a protest, an expression of love or happiness or loneliness, proof of history or realization of the people's inside.

"In terms of classical understanding of art, it is not a fine art. But when I discussed "what is art?" with my friend as a curator; he/she said that art is simple, you prefer to create deep meanings from art. Art is enriched with the perception of the audience. If someone performs his/her work as a kind of art and the audience sees as art, we do not need to discuss it because it is art! Its place of existence does not change its value." (Man, 28)

"It depends on your definition of art. It is a relative notion. From my point of view, it is not fine art, but yes, it is post-modern art. We cannot relate street art to the classical rules of fine arts." (Woman, 26)

"Amongst the central features associated with postmodernism in the arts are: the effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life; the collapse of the hierarchical distinction between high and mass/popular culture; a stylistic promiscuity favoring eclecticism and the mixing codes; parody, irony, playfulness and the celebration of the surface 'depthlessness' of culture; the decline of the originality of the artistic producer; and the assumption that art can only be repetition" (Featherstone, 1991, p.7-8).

"The everyday life of the big cities is aestheticized. The new industrial processes provided the opportunity for art to shift into industry, which saw an expansion of occupations in advertising, marketing, industrial design and commercial display to produce the new aestheticized urban landscape" (Featherstone, 1991, p.23). Hence with "the parallel processes of the expansion of the role of art within consumer culture and the deformation of enclaved art with its separate prestige structures and lifestyle, a blurring of genres and the tendencies towards the deconstruction of symbolic hierarchies has occurred. This entails a process of cultural de-classification which has undermined the basis of high culture- mass culture distinctions." (Featherstone, 1991, p.25) "Design and advertising thus not only become confused with art, but are celebrated and museumified as art" (Featherstone, 1991, p.25).

5.6 Ways of Legitimization:

"In sociological terms, the use of this style of art by advertising only helps the art form become more popular, and gives it visibility and acceptance with a much wider and broader audience" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.113). "In a world where images govern reality, the important questions were: who represents whom? How and why are images of the other created? Can marginal groups regain control of their own representations?" (Heartney, 2001, p.68) What kind of methods street art and advertising industry use in the name of legitimization different than sanctioning art?

"Street art is placed in the street without the input of a sanctioning body; everything around the image becomes important: the social context and the political context. If you take the same work and put it in a museum, all this extra meaning is lost. For street art and graffiti, the wall and the frame are initially the exterior landscape. Street art, however, is defined by a different set of concepts. It's not necessarily product orientated; it's not so much about the finished piece. Street art is often more about the concept of the object, the making process, and the message that the object conveys "(Lewisohn, 2008, p.137). Therefore, we decided to explore the relationship between decision-makers, the meanings and limitations of sanctioning bodies and street art too.

Street art gains its power with continuity, repetitiveness and appearance from sudden and unexpected corners. However, it is debatable how much an *illegal* activity can be legitimized. Street art is called art in its name, but it is kept aside from

sanctioning art. Street art takes its power by coming from within the people and being applied by one of these people. There is no -professional- one to decide if it is art or not; or to debate its techniques, lines, paintings, colors as their artists are unknown. Also, it is difficult to follow the same street artist's works on the purpose and be aware of her/his style as they can be anywhere on the streets and they can be done at anytime –and be deformed or cleaned as well-; so it is difficult to criticize as an art form. Graffiti, stencils on the walls are touched by people, they can breathe, and they can live with people around. Two lovers may have leaned on that stencil and kissed; or two people may have had a bloody fight in front of that wall. There is nothing between the 'work' and life.

On the other hand, outdoor advertisements are mainly printed or in 3D forms; different than street art, they have a fabrication process in factories before ads meet people on the streets physically. One cannot touch the paint on these ads. Hence, street art gives people the feeling of sincerity; advertisements cannot. This can be a reason of having a 'tolerance' according to street art; but there is a need to be 'paid' by advertising agencies. The intimacy feeling and mercy are standing for street art that is from below; but not for advertising agencies from the top of capitalist system in –a developing country- Turkey. Again this can be a reason of having different ways of legitimizing for street art, advertisement and sanctioning art.

Companies who have money can access public walls, by advertising, in the interests of capital and capitalist state. Otherwise, the walls are blocked. As Luna continues with questioning what is hindering us from participating in public games of meaning; here we agreed on the importance of the meaning of public and private spaces in street art and outdoor advertisements. Daniel J. D'Amico in *'A Legal and Economic Analysis of Graffiti' (2003)* asks on what surface is the graffiti placed and who owns it? Why do we have taken-for-granted ideas about the limits of public and private spaces? (D'Amico, D. J., 2003. Retrieved from http://www.graffiti.org/faq/d_amico.html). Advertising agencies decide on which wall and where they put their advertisements according to their target group, the positioning of the place, the location etc. and then they pay for this place. Street artists do not pay for the street, which is a public space; they just use it and reflect their own ideas to other people.

In legal rational political system and abstract morality, the individual is a representation of society, and has to behave according to (contemporary) norms.

Otherwise, society excludes them until they are corrected, according to a Foucauldian perspective. The norms and rules are moved to reclassify people and manufacture deviance. Advertisement uses the visual power it has to stabilize these norms according to the system.

Therefore Michel Foucault sees this rationalism as dangerous and people have been trapped in their own history in the struggle for a new subjectivity (Foucault, 1982, p.329). The concept of identity situated in place therefore does not accommodate for the fact that, in graffiti, a multitude of identities are manifested into public place. *They are, however, rejected as representing one homogenous graffiti identity; the antisocial.*

5.7 Public Space:

We turned our attention to the space, in other words the streets in terms of street art and advertisement. Jeremiah Luna enlightened us with his article (1995):

"When we are in an urban environment, our spaces are largely defined by walls, whether they are the inside walls of our private dwellings or the outside walls that delimit and divide our public space. Before they are painted on by graffiti artists or claimed by commercial advertising, these walls are blank canvasses, typically white, ready for images to be created by those who dwell within or around them. Once marked with images and the meanings they suggest, these walls are 'consumed' by a population that interprets them. The craft of interior decorating, for example, is practiced by all of us to an extent when we put posters, photographs, and paintings upon our bedroom and living room walls. We exercise our ability to arrange images and create meanings on the walls of our private dwellings. Outside, however, we are denied this privilege. Although we are as much creatures of the public realm as the private realm, we find ourselves silenced whenever and wherever we might create meaning to share with others." (Luna, J., 1995. Retrieved from http://bad.eserver.org/issues/1995/20/luna.html).

Street art may change this attitude towards public space. As we mentioned before, one can touch paintings on the walls, add something and so it regains a new meaning by someone on that street, on that moment as her/his will.

If we need to give brief information about public space, according to Mitchell (1995), there are two visions we can use: one is 'representational space'

(appropriated, experienced space; space in spontaneous use) and 'representations of space' (planned, controlled, and ordered space). He claims that, at the outset, public places are representations of space since certain claimant groups have planned them. However, as they are used by urban dwellers, they also become representational space. In his view, "what makes a place public and thus political, is this ongoing dialectic between those who seek order and control and those who need places to express their own agenda" (Baykal, 2000, p.21).

Public space is central to a critical discussion of outdoor advertising because it is the rhetoric of what constitutes 'public' that pervades the medium's history. "The problematic distinction between 'private' and 'public' is well documented and can shed light on why outdoor advertising takes its current form in culture. The notion of what is 'public' is always problematic because private interests are always involved" (Molina, 2006, p.43).

"Today, you can buy "street". It is unbelievable, you have money, and you can buy one of the streets of Istanbul! Everything is under the domination of 'someone'. Places turned into spaces through people's choices. They became subjects for self-realization process. Within this system, people see everything as a commodity." (Woman, 26)

Outdoor advertising can be seen as a homogenized form, standardization and organization in both industry and regulatory mechanisms, leading to a sense of 'familiarity' through the homogeneity of street furniture designs outdoor advertising is linked to an increased push to consume, creating a 'visual spectacle' of commercial messages so that no space is outside of consumer culture. "Cities become more like each other by adopting outdoor advertising as a money-generating mechanism for both property owners (through billboard leasing) and for city councils aiming to supply public amenities such as bus shelters. The commercial infrastructure/solution then becomes public policy and hence the 'public' becomes inextricably linked to the 'commercial'" (Molina, 2006, p.32). For instance, in Istanbul, billboards are rented from the municipality. They are called "wall". These "walls" are determined through the hegemonic power relations between the municipality and the brands.

What this 'public interest' discourse obscures, is the way outdoor advertising forces private values onto supposed 'public' spaces, with a one-way flow of discourse. "Billboards, posters and street furniture advertising hoard more than the physical space they inhabit – they hoard ideological space. The billboard is so

powerful that it falls outside of the critique because it has entered the realm of 'common sense' in a privatized, commercialized society. Despite a select group of subvertisers who 'talk back' to billboards, the general response to their presence is silence" (Molina, 2006, p.10).

"We always see ever changing advertisements on billboards in Istanbul. We cannot escape from them but I do not remember any of them. It's funny to discover this fact!" (Woman, 26)

"Through long-term commercial saturation, it has become implicitly understood by the public that advertising has the right to own, occupy and control every inch of available space. When hegemony is strong or increasing, cultural space is similarly homogenized." (Friedman, 1994, p.100) "The steady normalization of invasive advertising dulls the public's perception of their surroundings, re-enforcing a general attitude of powerlessness toward creativity and change" (Walley, M. 2010. Retrieved from http://mikeywally.wordpress.com). The commercialism of space by outdoor advertising has largely gone unquestioned. Outdoor advertisements are the pieces of a constant bombardment of a hegemonic truth that create an image of good consumer who is spatially constructed within the system. On the other hand, "streets are shared with a form of cultural resistance to the commercialization of public space: street art." (Molina, 2006, p.147)

"If we want to be realistic, we cannot ignore that people who have power in the decision-making process, they are not part of the street art people. That's why street art cannot go beyond to be channel of the hegemonic power: advertisement industry." (Woman, 26)

When we asked what street is, most of our informants were defined street related to childhood. Street is something unpossessed, as when we were children.

"Children do not have any possessions; you do not have anything and so you can share everything that you do not have! You can wait for your friend on the street when you are eating your bread and cheese sitting on a pavement. You don't hesitate to do that. When you grow up, you cannot do these things. Streets are the same, but you are now different. It is freer when you are a child, despite the expectations of greater freedom as an adult." (Woman, 35)

Because of the social pressures on people, especially on women, the responsibilities you acquire, the pace of life, the street becomes a space that one

cannot experience anymore. Just as one of our street-artist-informants sarcastically said:

"*Streets are not yours, they belong to us*! *You do not take care of them, we do."*

He sees streets as his playground, so he continues to play on the streets just like a kid. Street artists do not run after possessions, they just run after fame by doing graffiti or stencils on dangerous places, each time bigger. Unlike paid-places for advertisements, street art is done on unpaid-places; as streets belong to everybody.

Another interesting point about street is the gender of the streets. One of our informants said that "*we call every dog on street 'come here boy*!'."(Woman, 35) We refer to everything on streets as male. For example, it is not a good idea to be on the streets late at night if you are a woman in Turkey. As the criminality rises when it gets dark, the male population gets bigger outside. This can be a reason why street art is mainly applied by the male population in the world, and in Turkey too. When we talk about the construction of identity through street art we are talking about the creation of a decidedly masculine identity. It is the act of writing, the illegality and the risk involved, that confirms a writer's fortitude both to themselves and other writers. They write on walls, and prove to themselves and to other writers that by doing so, they are men, brave, strong and cunning, in control and out of reach of authority. The graffiti subculture is primarily made up of young men. Like most subcultures it has female participants but they are in the distinct minority. Macdonald identifies this gender imbalance when she says "an overwhelming number of subcultures appear to be dominated by men." (Scheepers, I., 2004. Retrieved from http://www.graffiti.org/faq/scheepers_graf_urban_space.html). It is seen as a dangerous activity. Besides, most graffiti and stencils are done on the back streets, that are more isolated and places that we are all warned by our parents "*Don't go there, it is dangerous.*" in Istanbul. Even one of our street-artist-informants said "*It is easy and feels good to do graffiti and stencil in places that you know. I feel more comfortable and safe." (Male, 26)*

Street art is a kind of an alternative media. The media that we hope to say something unspoken related to art, and life itself. Street art in Istanbul, especially in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues; criticizes the city and completes it with graffiti and stencils as new art forms.

The issue of street art as public expression, public art, in and on privately and publicly owned property, is a social phenomena produced by economic and political realities of city life. The increasing presence and ubiquity of advertising in our lives is forcing people to act against this imposition of images and messages. Street art is one of many forms of resistance in response to the increased presence of advertising, using its own techniques to either explicitly or implicitly resist promotional messages and to fashion its own message publicly and materially.

Street art is a protest against everything every successful ad agency stands for: "the commodification of public space, the standardization of the built environment, and the permission-based, central control of communication in the form of visual display." (Mcnichols, J., 2006. Retrieved from http://thinkingpictures.blogspot.com/2006/07/visualizing-dissent-art-as-graffiti.html). Street art contains all oppositional (to politics and, governmental and formal art forms) and subculture art forms on public sphere; on the street. Everyone on the street and every kind of people can use it. The street is an accessible area for everyone.

"Street is a public space. As Habermas mentioned that this public space is democratic and one in which everyone has an easy access to this place. It is difficult to say that street is this or that. For instance, even if you have free access, it is not so easy to have access to the small and "dangerous" streets around Istiklal." (Woman, 26)

It is something different than structured language, and structured form of art, because it is fed by life itself and lay people on the street. Street artists can 'talk' to the public by using a common language that will be understood by the majority. Street art is perceived as more human and genuine than commercial logos.

We experienced how the public places turned into self-expression spaces through the graffiti writer's styles, the repetitions of their names by tagging or specific graffiti characters; and how much the stickers or graffiti are visible; if it is easy to find or not; and what kind of subjects that these street art and graffiti people prefer to share with others. "All graffiti and street art is a battle over public space: who controls it and what it is used for. There is also something militant or anarchistic in the act of graffiti that seeks to destroy public property in a dialogue with the city."(Lewisohn, 2008, p.104) Also, the public places turned into self-expression spaces through advertisers. But this process is different from the street art way. Advertisers bought places and replaced their messages that are codified for people's identities. They

celebrate 'the uniqueness' through limiting the alternatives. They create an ideal one for everyone.

"As Ranciere, elaborating on Aristotle, has said, 'man is a political animal because he has the power of speech.' If we consider this in terms of street art, it could be argued that the general public, who never reply to establishment forces, are simply passive receptacles. They merely consume the visual language of the public realm – advertising and architecture- without ever answering back. There is no dialogue: it is a monologue delivered by the corporations and governing bodies to the public. When people take it upon themselves to speak back, no matter what they say, they become 'political animals'" (Lewisohn, 2008, p.104).

VI. CONCLUSION

6.1 Main findings:

Within the alternative platforms for the new sociabilities, in our thesis, we focused on the relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements in Istanbul, in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues. We analyzed both of them by qualitative research methods. Our main material was the narratives of inhabitants of Istanbul because we thought that both of these topics are part of the material culture of people's everyday lives. Their characteristics, their hidden signs affect people from different aspects. We asked the question of "how street ornaments affect the city itself and its inhabitants" as people are unconsciously exposed to these visuals in their daily routines.

"Advertisements affect us! Everything that we internalized is coming from ads; even our femininity! We learn how to eat, how to dress or to be good wife… At that point, as we knew that "Viewers make meanings"; I question what they dictated to me. For street art, it is like social media. Everyone can create something; everywhere is his/her canvas. It is enough to have a brush but for creating an ad, you need more than a brush." (Woman, 26)

We, as researchers, have come up with the essential difference between Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues built upon the information from our informants. They emphasized their different characteristics. Istiklal Avenue is seen as a place for

everyone, and created by everyone; it gains its character with its multiplicity of social, cultural and political elements. On the other hand, Bağdat Avenue is seen as an upper-class district. It has a specific snobbish character unlike Istiklal's multi-properties. Therefore the first one can be seen as a place for both an *alternative* voice of people, street art and advertisements; the second one can be seen as an area mainly for advertisements which is suitable with its visitors.

Street art and outdoor advertisements are part of the visual world as they are material references of cultural identity. We focus on 'how, where and for whom they are practiced on the streets'. "The city spaces turned into our research's stage for understanding how people experiences became alive." In what ways these two "alternative modes of communication" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Botterill, 2005, p.19) became milestone for the analysis of the relationship between everyday life experiences and unusual experiences of physical interaction with street art and outdoor advertisements; and how these alternative modes enrich and challenge each other.

"The role of the mainstream media, particularly new media, in fostering and sustaining democratic society has been widely debated. Media and their sources frame the new agenda, structure the debate and create what we perceive as the reality in which we live. In this sense, new media play a hegemonic role in our society –their perceptions and interpretations of the world become common sense. However, this process is continuous and creative, not static and rigid." (De Jong, Shaw, Stammers, 2005, p.6)

"*Ideologies are changing, altering day by day... The messages are changing and so the graffiti, street art. The most important thing, the people and the generation are changing, the receiver of these visual things, and so the meanings...*" (Woman, 25)

The advertising industry uses these changes and transforms them according to their agenda. New ideas are always entering our perception of the world, but there is 'the residue of absolutely basis and commonly agreed, consensual wisdom' (Gramsci, 1971, p.422). As we have found out through our interviews, advertisements use street art as a tool to attract youth, according to the youth culture's trends; until advertising agencies find a newer and a better 'trendy' tool for their products.

"It is this common sense that has to be both engaged with and challenged by those seeking to achieve social change" (De Jong, Shaw, Stammers, 2005, p.6).

Therefore, 'our time has its art; the art may be bad in all conscience, but may one say that we deserved to have a better, and 'could' have it if we only would? We have just as much art as we can have. Our art of today is the only art possible, and therefore real, at the time.' (Weir, 1997, p.171) Another finding that we have found: street art is seen as post-modern art form, but not as fine-art. With one exception, our informants believe that street art is an art-form of our time. The next finding is; stencils are more welcome than colorful graffiti. Stencils are seen as more elaborate and chic than graffiti that is seen as a '*gangsta*' style.

"In relation to the revolutions in communication and media strategies, the special significances of visual and iconic imagery change the classical formats of advertising. The discovery by marketers and advertisers that the personal or psychological and interpersonal domains of consumer -rather than the characteristics of goods- are the key point for the changes" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Bottrill, 2005, p.225); graffiti and street art is used to 'enhance' the brand of a company. Street art is a vehicle for advertising industry to increase the brand awareness. In relation to the consumer society characteristics; "advertisements represent people's experiences but in a distorted and artificial manner" (Leiss&Kline&Jhally&Bottrill, 2005, p.30). Because of these bombardments of false needs and propaganda of commodities, specifically in our case, inhabitants need to see "real" messages. That's why it is not surprising that within the urban market, graffiti, even as a word definition became a fashionable commodity[53] because they believe that street art is the reflection of feelings which they need to feel like reality, intimacy and difference. Street art styles, stencils and graffiti are used by the advertising sector to attract its contemporary target for contemporary product. In our cases, Vodafone and Alpella both prefer to use graffiti, the first one is in one-color writings; the second one is in colorful graffiti. Vodafone's campaign looks like a guerrilla technique. According to the information we got from our informants, Vodafone and Alpella both use street art forms, as alternative methods as fresh methods, to reach their young-target-group in these campaigns.

The public space is conceived as transformable by the practices created through people that live in these spaces. The outdoor advertisements have power to manipulate the society's values and priorities. As a challenging point, street art aim to

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[53] http://www.ammocity.com/artman/publish/article_72.shtml

make out-of-home spaces as a ground for self-expression rather than the one way flow of information through materiality, visual signs. "Graffiti and street art are now a common part of the endless flow of information and constant 'noise' of the world." There is always heterogeneity of conflicting ideologies concealed behind the dominant one (Silverman, 1984, p.31). Even if it is arguable if street art is legal or not especially with the comparison of paid-outdoor-advertisements, we found out that street art does not constitute an illegal activity unless it ruins the functionality of the place that is applied to. On the other hand our informants believed street art needs to be officialized to earn respect and to be accepted to end this debate; and advertising agencies keep going to follow the trends according to their target groups and products to exploit everything as a tool in this capitalist system.

"We cannot ignore the relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements, as we knew that high volume brands start to use them. Vodafone, Adidas… Street art will turn into a buyable channel, as it is a risky situation. Street art can lose its amateurism. This change can happen in 1-2 years as Vodafone discovered its power! I believe that street art needs something to be recognized like a street art museum, open-air exhibition. Now, we cannot define it as an advertisement, a product, and a kind of vandalism…" (Woman, 26)

Street artists define and create their own identities through the inscription and the repetition of their chosen word. They move through space, continually reinforcing their claim and comment upon it. These spaces are urban, dominated by walls owned by others. The names and brands of companies are slathered across the urban environment in order to produce a positive reaction in the viewer: to buy the product or support the cause being advertised.

Oscar Wilde imagines an artistic populace: 'now art should never try to be popular. The public should try to make it artistic.' (Weir, 1997, p.199) Who knows, street art may enable us to be artistic and transform our lives, the city, and of course public places, our streets.

6.2 Concluding Reflections:

In addition to the main findings of our fieldwork, as concluding remarks, our chosen examples are not the only ones. We preferred to focus on two outdoor advertisements examples: Vodafone "Free Mobile" and Alpella "Ole" to present the

relationship between street art and outdoor advertisements. But also, it is important to mention that there are other brands that use street art's advantages like its colorfulness, the ironic and metaphoric style for transmitting their messages and the feeling of uniqueness.

"The use of street art in the commercials especially on the streets will increase in relation to the need for innovative and different ideas in the marketing industry. Street art is like a treasury in which there is individualization, innovation and emotions. It is the mirror of life." (Man, 48).

Street art has its own culture, highly connected to the youth culture. It is seen as a shortcut to catch young people's interests.

One of the other brands that use street art in their ads is Penti that is a local foot and underwear company. Their colorful graffiti style posters and slogan: "Show your color" (Rengini Göster) are very attractive and compatible with their new strategy to catch the people who want to be different, young and lively.

Graffiti is visible on the commercials of young brands like Topshop or DKNY as a background. In addition to the interest of textile industry for street art, Algida Max (ice cream brand- Gb-glace in Sweden) uses also the power of the wall. In their website, the visitors can create their own wall.[55] Besides, there was a 'Street Party' sponsored by Adidas in Istanbul that invited street artists and young people; and contained graffiti workshops, street fashion shows. Another street art workshop has done for high-school and university students by Istanbul Museum of Modern Art.

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[54] Both of them were taken on Bağdat Avenue, 2010.
[55] http://www.aslanmax.com/

There are lately-opened student clubs for stencils at some universities in Istanbul, such as Boğaziçi University stencil club.

From the beginning of this project to the end, we noticed that there is an impressive change in our feedbacks. If we made a demographic classification in reference to our informants, the middle age people's interests increased day by day towards street art. They started to look at street art examples in Istanbul; they took pictures for sending to us. They collected news from Turkish newspapers that are related to our subjects like billboards, guerilla marketing strategies or alternative art platforms. They were curious about our results; they asked questions like how people can practice this new style of art. The most surprising part of these feedbacks was the recommendations that we got from these middle age informants. None of them thought that graffiti or stencils are illegal.

"These people do not damage anyone; they are not killers or thieves." *(Woman, 50)*

They motivated us to create a project for young people in the lower class living areas to orient them to the art through the collaboration with the municipalities. Another recommendation was the creation of special places for experiencing street art to change people's perceptions.

"Street art cannot be accepted by the society even if they do not come together and create some works officially. They need a somehow corporate identity."(Woman, 26)

Besides, young people who are part of our social network have started to take the pictures of the stencils in Asmalımescit and shared them through Facebook. Suddenly, they used stencils as "wall" pictures. One of our informants explained this situation through these words:

"The best way to reach people is internet. It is the new street that's why we share our experiences, feelings, self-expression tools." (Man, 26).

Before we started to our research, we didn't have any specific client to whom to present our project. We conducted it as an academic research, and a possible source for governments and art galleries interested in street art and ads, so called post-modern arts. However, during our research we obtained a client and we have been consulted about an alternative city map of Istanbul. The client we obtained is one of

our informants, a marketing coordinator of a shutter company 'Keypenk'[56]. As they prefer to upgrade visual appearance of shutters, they wanted to apply graffiti and stencils on them following our research. Since the street artists work on shutters when shops are closed at night, shutters are naturally transformed by street artists. Therefore, Keypenk wants to work with street artists to bring a new style in line with this trend and of course with the approval of the brands that they work with. This is going to meet street art and advertising at the same stage but this time, the stage is not streets, but shutters. The graffiti and/or stencils that are applied on shutters are not going to be illegal and probably not political.

We have been consulted for an alternative city map of Istanbul by an architect who has reached us through one of our informants. She and her teammate are working on a project to create a map of Istanbul. Their aim is to show the visual transformation of ruined areas by small touches; but unofficial touches. Hence, they want to reach places that are transformed by street art in Istanbul. For them, it is not important to make it better or worse; they are just looking for transformed areas by human-beings and of their own bat, without having received permission. They wanted us to show them the places are altered by street art, or by any human intervention in Istiklal and Bağdat Avenues. By doing this they will have an alternative to show the urban space of Istanbul from different point of views in the name of the inhabitants' presences and effects on the city.

6.3 Further Research Needs:

During our fieldwork, we watched two documentaries about street art: one is called "Roadsworth: Crossing the line" (Istanbul Technical University, workshop) and the other is "Exit through the gift shop" (Istanbul Film Festival 2010). The inspiration that we got from these videos leads us to think that we can expand our project with a documentary in which we can reflect the liveliness of our visual materials and also different perceptions about our subject. From a critical point of view, as we attended a workshop about the street art in Istanbul conducted by Şinasi Güneş, the writer of the book "Sokak Sanatı / Street Art" that is the only source about this subject in Turkish; we gained the insight that there is a need for more resources in Turkish based on the

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[56] http://www.keypenk.com.tr/engdefault.asp

people's narratives rather than only focusing on the street artists. As a final wish, we would like to create an alternative guide for the tourists that presents Istanbul from a different point of view. This guide might include a map that contains both street art and outdoor advertisements by referring to their common and different areas. Alternative ways of using spaces can give different insights to foreign people. They would learn to experience Istanbul not only important from a socio-political aspect, but with its people, their intimacy, emotions and thoughts, reflected through street life, smells and colors.

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