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**Based On A True Story:
"The Gezi Film Poster Series" and the Role of Narrative in Cultural
History**

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**Based On A True Story:
"The Gezi Film Poster Series" and the Role of Narrative in Cultural
History**

by

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Dedication

For my parents and in honor of the penguins...

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Abstract

Based On A True Story: "The Gezi Film Poster Series" and the Role of Narrative in Cultural History

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Focusing on a series of hypothetical film posters titled the “Gezi Movie Theatre Poster Series,” commissioned by Istanbul’s independent magazine Bant Mag, this thesis is a multi-methodological, exploratory case study utilizing ethnographic methods, as well as visual, textual, and document analysis. The posters within this series narrativize and encapsulate instances that took shape on the ground during the Gezi protests in Turkey in the Summer of 2013. Embodying the confluence of larger contextual events through the micro-lens of a singular organization and cultural product, the series provides an instance in which key and complex factors regarding social structure, political activism, and cultural production come together in the form of visual narrative. This undertaken analysis seeks to bring together theoretical constructs of social structure, historicization, alternative media and cultural resistance, material culture, artistic creation, and the imaginary, and apply them, in order, to Turkey, Gezi, Bant Mag, and the posters

themselves, in order to create an understanding of how they each play a role within the series and its archival formation. Utilizing a critical analytical framework by focusing on the series as art, artifact, and action, after firmly contextually situating the film poster series within Bant Mag's own organizational framework, internal discourse, and history as a magazine, zine, and online resource, this study hopes to demonstrate the affordances of art, imagination, and subjectivity in the creation, documentation, and conservation of historical micro-narratives.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
List of Illustrations	xii
<i>Introduction</i>	1
Case Study and Research Questions	2
Literature Review.....	5
Methodology and Data.....	9
Conclusion	11
Personal Forward: “ <i>It was the worst of times / It was paradise</i> ”	13
Chapter I: “ <i>Turkey... is like an oddball relative, and understanding it a lifelong effort</i> ”	19
Literature Review.....	21
Structuration Theory and an Existent Duality:	21
Authored Histories and Imagined Communities:	23
Silent Cultural Traumas:	25
Contextual Analysis: Selective Historical Engagement	26
1. The Modernization Project at the End of History:.....	28
Media:	30
Architecture:	31
2. Globalization and Reclaiming the Ottoman Legacy:.....	32
Media:	35
Architecture:	41
3. “Everywhere is Taksim; Everywhere is Resistance”	43
Architecture:	48
A Çapul'ers Guide to Gezi's Many Mediated Faces:	50
Conclusion:	59

Chapter II: <i>Bant Mag</i>	61
Literature Review:	63
Systematic Reproduction in Culture:	63
Alternative Media as Process:.....	66
The Zine Underground:.....	68
Document and Ethnographic Analysis: “More than an East-West Cliché” .71	
Positioning:	73
Organization:.....	74
Landscape:	75
Form:.....	78
Content:	81
The Gezi Shift:	82
Conclusion:	84
Chapter III: <i>The Gezi Film Poster Series, A Month at the Movies</i>	86
Analysis: Art, Action, Artifact.....	89
The Poster: A Brief History	89
Poster as Art:	91
Visual and Formal Analysis:	92
Art and the Imaginary:	108
Poster as Action:	110
Poster as Artifact:.....	114
Conclusion: Poster as Archive	119
Conclusion: <i>Based on a True Story</i>	123
Bibliography	127

List of Tables

Table 1: Adapted from Türkiye'de medya sahipliği ve getirileri (Media ownership and its returns in Turkey), (Sözeri, 2013).....	39
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List of Figures

Fig.1: [Photograph of CNN & CNNTürk Coverage]. (2013).....	54
Fig.2: Yedi gazete tek manşet (One headline, seven newspapers), (Gezinrocker, 2013)	54
Fig.3: TV Kanalları (TV Channels), (5Harfliler, 2013).....	55

List of Illustrations

Ill.1: “Kahrolsun Bağızı Şeyler” (Güran, 2013)	95
Ill.2: “Redhack” (Güran, 2013).....	96
Ill.3: “Her Yer Taksim” (Dağlar, 2013).....	98
Ill.4: “Tomalı Hilmi” (Girgin, 2013)	100
Ill.5: “Biber Gazı Oley!” (Çınar, 2013)	101
Ill.6: “P.O.M.A.” (Bilgiç, 2013)	104
Ill.7: “Çare Drogba” (Bilgiç, 2013)	105
Ill.8: “Sık Bakalım!” (Çetinkaya, 2013)	106
Ill.9: “Üç Hüseyinler” (2013)	107

Introduction

On May 30th 2013, a minor demonstration regarding the preservation of Gezi, a small urban public park in Istanbul, Turkey led to a social movement much larger in scope and ambiguous in boundary, due to a combination of forceful police intervention, government policy, and media response. Initially, demonstrators had gathered to “protect” the park from bulldozers and security forces after trees were being uprooted prior to the finalization of the court ruling regarding the park's future. Now, almost two years later, these temperaments that briefly erupted into protests over 68 cities in the country continue to persist and complicate issues of political economy, public discourse, cultural expression, and democracy within Turkey.

Over the course of its establishing months, the Gezi Park protests broke out amidst heavily mediated discourse, as both the protests themselves and the official responses they generated were shaped by and situated within a growing dialogue; borne out of increasingly mutually exclusive public spheres. Thus, beyond the political intentions of those involved, however vaguely communicated, the Gezi events also functioned as a cultural catalyst, resulting in a proliferation of creative production and resistance, as participants created their own means of internal and external communication, narratives, symbolic codes, and knowledge. By opening up a discursive and expressive space characteristic of new forms of social movements (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Lievrouw, 2011; Downing, 2001), the creative realizations surrounding

Gezi began to constitute a new and evolving chapter in Turkish cultural history and media, encapsulating a turbulent moment in time that is still shifting in meaning.

In the midst of this proliferation of mediated expressions, an independent art and culture magazine, Bant Mag – based out of Istanbul and now published in both Turkish and English – released its 21st issue. Placing themselves within a trans-national cultural landscape in contact with the “political” through their self-defined mission of “aiming to present local alternative movements and subcultures and ... destroy the geographical boundaries in the world of art and culture” (“Bant Magazine,” 2011), their Gezi issue, published within a month of the protests' initiation, marked Bant Mag's first explicitly political venture from cover to cover. Indicated by the introduction to their 20th issue, stating that, “on May 31, 2013, everything changed” and that “the next issue of Bant Mag will be different” (Bant Mag Ekibi, 2013), this special issue, featuring multi-modal documentation, interviews, artworks, and cultural guides, not only signaled a shift in the magazine's trajectory, but, became an artifact of its time. This is explicitly realized in the “Gezi Movie Theatre Poster Series,” a series of hypothetical film posters narrativizing and encapsulating instances that took shape on the ground, commissioned by the magazine and prepared by local artists (“Gezi Sineması Poster Serisi”, 2013) – the main focus of this study.

CASE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As such, I propose a multi-methodological case study, utilizing ethnographic methods, as well as visual and textual analysis that will look at the affordances of fiction

and the role of myth (Barthes, 1957/1972) in the creation of cultural histories by way of this poster series. More specifically, approaching these posters through the context of cultural resistance:

- What is achieved through the presentation and perception of the physical world as an imagined one?
- Using political art outside of the intention of direct documentation, how do these posters function as cultural, historical, social archives?
- How do these particular posters approach and complicate our understandings of narrative and audience?
- What are the allowances of the movie poster form and how does it engage concepts of visual material culture in creating these potential micro-histories? (Benjamin, 2008; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011)

Acknowledging the role of the individual, in addition to and within the collective (in shaping creative production), this study will also map out some of the underlying systemic factors and biases found within emerging patterns of global and local dissent within a specifically Turkish context. In order to designate the actors involved and how their roles have been negotiated within larger social, economic, and political structures, the deployment of individual agency through the utilization and prominence of various forms of capital (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1984) will be explored. Summarily, this poster series embodies the confluence of larger contextual events through the micro-lens of a singular organization and cultural product. Narrowing the focus on this multi-authored work by tracing exact creative processes through this one organization, this study will seek to delineate the multitude of systems at work and their effect and influence on the resultant outcome.

In order to maintain a contextually feasible scope of study, this study initially sought to isolate this work from certain historical and political contexts regarding both Gezi and Turkey at large – namely, the history of democratic organization, political demonstration, and military intervention in Turkey. Though arguably relevant, this omission was primarily be feasible due to the fact that Gezi's main participating demographic has also been disengaged from such prior experience and political history (Konda Araştırma ve Danışmanlık, 2014). However, even though disengaging from this context of national political history may have allowed this study to more immediately focus on the social and cultural contexts of media within Turkey, affecting Gezi and its discursive outcomes, as well as the magazine itself, the contextual importance of Turkey's engagement with its larger historical narratives, the evolution of these narratives over time, and their pervasive influence eventually lead to its inclusion. Thus, as the first chapter of this study will seek to succinctly present such context, the following chapter will additionally utilize and situate Bant Mag's own backlog and ongoing evolution in organization, content, process, and positioning as a parallel discursive historical context, so this study can then position the film poster series as a physical, visual, and aesthetic manifestation of these said environs.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the potential for personal bias and influence inherent within this study, due to my experiences throughout the initial months of Gezi, as well as my involvement with Bant Mag: Working and living in Istanbul at the time, and as a native of the city, I have had first-hand experience in witnessing both the physical and mediated development of said events. I have also been a contributor and

staff writer for Bant Mag since the Winter of 2012 and an avid reader of the publication since the age of fifteen. While all of the above provides a unique opportunity for observation and removes certain barriers to access and of language, almost as a native ethnography, as well as providing familiarity with a greater national discourse and the magazine itself, they also complicate attempts at objectively disassociating with this content. However, the positive disposition (Bourdieu) of these personal observations will hopefully be tempered by the utilization of a partial first person ethnography and this acknowledgement of my shortcomings as an observer.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical concepts that will be utilized to position this study and construct the main analyses include Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined communities, Keith Jenkins' approach to history as narrative, and Jeffrey Alexander's writings on cultural trauma, the philosophy and emancipatory possibilities of political aesthetics as outlined by Jacques Rancière and Crispin Sartwell, Pierre Bourdieu's framework of cultural production and cultural intermediaries, Manuel Giddens' theory of structuration, as well as alternative media literature by John Downing, Chris Atton, Stephen Duncombe, and Leah Lievrouw relating to new social movement theory. Additionally, Roland Barthes' conception of mythology, Walter Benjamin's work on cultural production, and Carolyn Steedman's study of archives. While each chapter will reference the relevant works in greater detail, below is a review of the larger theoretical frameworks that will inform the study as whole:

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson embarks on his work by approaching nationalism as a construction, a fiction in line with modern biography, and by defining all communities as imaginary. He states that these communities can be visualized through their manifestation in geography and space, while being conceptualized through discourse. Focusing on the “visual and aural” (1982/1991, p. 23) nature of such creations, Anderson goes on to trace the evolution of the role of cultural codes in establishing continuity between social realities and the imagined. He then exemplifies the medium of print, “which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves and to relate themselves to others,” to demonstrate the required acquisition of distancing in order to critically engage with such content (1982/1991, p. 36). Though in Anderson's work this conception of community is utilized to depict the hegemonic imaginary of nations, it can also be applied to the counter-hegemonic “community of Gezi,” concretely visualized within Gezi Park and on the city streets – a community engaged as an audience in solidarity for Bant Mag's Gezi issue and one whose place within the greater evolving national imaginary is still taking shape.

This understanding of community and the role of imagination in history is also echoed in Keith Jenkins' piece “Rethinking History,” which focuses on the ideological nature and narrative structure inherent within any history, defining it as a series of shifting discourses of meaning (Jenkins, 1991/2003). Positioning the practice of history as one of identity creation determined by and dependent on its author, Jenkins provides a distinct possibility for agency within the domain of history, a notion that is also present within Jacques Rancière and Crispin Sartwell's conceptions of political aesthetics. French

philosopher Jacques Rancière, defines both politics and aesthetics as inextricable systems of dissensus, egalitarian “redistribution(s) of the sensible,” of what can be experienced, and of what is intelligible (2010, p. 2). Similarly, in his book, *Political Aesthetics*, Crispin Sartwell argues that, “systems of both power and resistance... are aesthetic environments” (2010, p. 99), reiterating this mutually informed positioning. Addressing the emancipatory potential of political aesthetics posited by both Rancière and himself while discussing the symbolic dominance of hegemonic powers and institutions, Sartwell then states that, “these institutions leave[s] fissures” and that, within these breaks, “the arts provide a mode of individual expression, collective solidarity, and commentary” (2010, p. 100).

The field of alternative media is also firmly positioned within these fissures. Though a conclusive definition of alternative media is yet to be achieved, it is a body of work representative of counter-hegemonic power structures that are participatory, potentially “reactionary as well as constructive” (Downing, 2001 p. 34), and a subset of which is associated with new social movement practices. Differentiated and defined as “loosely organized” movements that utilize both “established institutions and innovative protest actions,” with communicative and cultural aspects that focus on “the expression of personal experience... and the creation and negotiation of images” (Lievrouw, 2011, p. 153), they have also been directly interpreted as “moments in the reconstitution of culture,” where “modes of cultural action are redefined and given new meaning as sources of collective identity” (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998, p. 6). According to these readings then, even if intended political change does not take place and movements are

eventually reabsorbed into social structure, what does take place is cultural change (1998). These characteristics, all applicable to Gezi, aid its definition as a new social movement, especially while its outcomes are yet to be fully seen, and comfortably seat the poster series within the realm of alternative media. One “genre” (Lievrouw, 2011) of alternative media in particular that can directly be applied to the film poster series, is the formal strategy of culture jamming. With a historical trajectory reaching back to the Dada Movement, as well as the Situationist Internationals' notion of *détournement*, culture jamming can be defined as an aesthetic intervention that re-appropriates the tools of the “spectacle,” of mass media to create oppositional symbolic discourse, which is exactly what these posters are (Debord, 1967/1994; Wettergren, 2003).

Finally, Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural production provides an avenue for the incorporation of the social structures and power dynamics inherent within any form of media or art, and any claims of agency. While accounting for “the capacities of human agents” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 6), Bourdieu's analytic framework concurrently accounts for the social structures and relations that form and inform their dispositions, and the cyclical reproduction of such structures. Through the concepts of “habitus,” “fields,” and “cultural intermediaries,” Bourdieu argues for contextualization within the study of any form of culture – an extremely important component when noting the reliance of any kind of cultural production and, in particular, culture jamming on cultural capital and literacy in order to be realized and understood. Anthony Giddens' sociological theory of structuration also takes into account the underlying interactions between societal, cultural, and political organization, as well as the role of human agency within them, and

stresses the interaction of and necessity for both micro and macro-level explanations (Giddens, 1984). Thus, this study's examination of larger structural actors will be supported by the incorporation of Bourdieu's and Giddens' frameworks in tandem with the above provided literature and will allow for a broader contextualization, acknowledging certain structurally inherent limitations and restrictions related to cultural production in driving agency and social change.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Bridging this inter-disciplinary literature with the series at hand, I propose, as stated above, an exploratory case study consisting of multiple methodologies, including key elements of ethnography, alongside the visual and textual analysis of the film poster series. The format of an exploratory case study has been selected, as the study intends to present an analysis of a cultural work, situated within an extensive and in-depth description of a contemporary social phenomena in which the boundaries between context and [said] phenomenon are difficult to isolate (Yin, 2014). Thus, the ethnographic method was chosen to support accompanying methods, in order to, hopefully, provide a direct account of the observations, experiences, perceptions and interpretations of those who were involved in the conceptualization and realization of the studied poster series and organization, to provide a greater understanding of the intent, dynamics, and structures at work (Weiss, 1994). As such, after mapping an ecology of related media by looking at other instances of cultural production from the Gezi movement, as well as the independent media landscape within Turkey in the first chapter,

the data utilized in the following ethnography section will include personal field notes gathered as a participant observer at Bant Mag, as well as excerpts from conducted online correspondence with the magazine's editors and illustrators. These field notes and interviews were used to gather information regarding the publication's organizational structure and modes of distribution, as well as individual actors' conceptualizations of the magazine's intended audience, who they see themselves in dialogue with, their own articulations of their evolving trans-national positioning, what field of action they see themselves operating within, and their specific roles in the commission, creation, and curation of the poster series. Additionally, as previously mentioned, Bant Mag's backlog and the special Gezi issue will be included in the cultural material to be analyzed, while the film poster series (along with its textual introduction) will provide the study's main focus in Chapter 3.

After firmly contextually situating the film poster series within Bant Mag's own organizational framework, internal discourse, and history as a magazine, zine, and online resource, I will be creating an organizational analytical framework by focusing on the series as art, artifact, and action (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). While these categorical articulations are by no means meant to be exhaustive or exclusive from one another, each section will provide an opportunity to engage with specific bodies of literature and forms of analysis: Approaching the series as “action” allows for the utilization of literature on new social movements, culture jamming, citizen's media, and political participation, and ties the poster series to the physical world beyond narrative; viewing the series as “artifact” allows for engagement with work on material culture,

archives, and the transformation of discourse into mythology; lastly, approaching the series as “art” allows for the visual, formal, and textual analyses of the individual and collective posters and their accompanying introductory description, while providing a look into the movie poster form and the role of the imaginary in artistic creation.

As this study is dependent on ethnographic method in its framing, its organization and theoretical frameworks have inevitably been shaped and developed in line with participatory responses. Some other potential challenges and limitations that may be present within the scope of the study are as follows: to what extent elements of power, such as class and capital, can be isolated from the poster series and how they affect(ed) the reach of the series and the magazine itself; the undetermined parameters and outcomes of Gezi - a movement that can most cohesively be defined as reactionary and is currently still palpable despite being less agitated; and the ambiguous nature of the aesthetic and critical value of the poster series, which as with any art, remains open to interpretation. The greatest challenge, however, lay in the contextual containment of the study, as some relevant elements would be more suited to further studies and projects regarding organization or a wider study of Gezi's cultural production and utilized platforms over time, rather than within the one at hand.

CONCLUSION

The “Gezi Movie Theatre Poster Series” provides an instance in which key and complex factors regarding social structure, political activism, and cultural production come together in the form of visual narrative. Focusing on the patterns of new social

movements and their associated media strategies in relation to larger theoretical frameworks regarding political aesthetics, cultural production and intermediaries, and imagined communities, this collaborative series will be analyzed in order to demonstrate the affordances of art, imagination, and subjectivity in the creation, documentation, and conservation of historical micro-narratives. These movie posters, ever familiar in their chosen medium, present their viewers with the choice of potential engagement, a choice that is inherent in their form. Though they are not advertising a film to be seen and what they depict and reference has already come to pass, these posters represent a choice of narrative – a potential historical repository of lived experience that can either be acknowledged or left behind.

Personal Forward: “It was the worst of times / It was paradise”

(Chinawoman, 2013)

On May 30th, 2013, we woke up to a slightly different world in Istanbul. A now familiar burning sensation in the back of our throats started to naturally accompany daily routines and a flurry of flags and banging pots and pans began to line the roads on the commute back home. As the complex and somewhat perplexing protests that started in Istanbul and spread over the course of the following months began to form an elusive, yet relatively loud voice of discontent, with varying levels of intensity, it seemed to instigate a subtle change in or declaration of how a certain subsection perceived, consumed, and understood their environment. Though relatively small and inherently plagued with disorganization, for a certain group, for some of us, Gezi was a chance to start participating.

My own words, adorning the introduction of an academic paper at the late end of 2013, now ring with the same poetically distant echo as Canadian band Chinawoman's musical declaration of solidarity quoted above that had come from miles away. Taking place in the summer of 2013, the Gezi protests that took place in Istanbul had sat like an amorphous heap of information on my chest – seemingly impossible to articulate or parse, yet an undoubted source of change – as I undertook my graduate studies in the months after. Starting on May 30th, the demonstrations that began in and within the vicinity of Gezi Park in Taksim had escalated throughout the following, while eventually easing back into a persistent discontent by the end of the summer. From afar, Gezi unfolded as if an almost theatrical series of events involving local, national, and global actors laying bare systematic confusion and abuse, the ultimate satire had it not been taking place, and how it played out on an individual level appeared to be just as complex.

Just as Stephen Duncombe states in *Notes From Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*, I too am “of the world I write,” hopefully, “a conscientious observer and a careful listener” (2008, p. 20), seeking to identify and delineate the various actors, structures, domains, and practices at work within a completely interconnected release of culture and politics, bearing the traces of a long history; a history whose more recent years remained mostly unknown to myself and, arguably, the better part of a generation. I do not wish to over-simplify or claim to share the exact same experience, or speak for an entire generation. However, in a country with a k-12 education system where state-sanctioned national history ends in 1938, without more than a passing mention of World War II, recent history, inevitably, remains a subjective one. It has left a younger generation to contend with a vague socially perceived sensory understanding of a complex and fragmented history that has been experienced in many contrasting and deviating ways and has remained as such in its narrativization. A popular refrain during Gezi, reinscribing its youthful nature, was of an anonymous encounter involving an older man asking the Gezi protesters where they had been, where their outrage had been, during one of the numerous preceding political upheavals and mistreatments in the country (Crowley, 2013). Though the referenced instance changed as the exchange spread, the answer remained the same: “I was not born yet.” Even though temporal positioning of one's lifespan does not preclude one from knowledge of a certain history, as history remains open, such knowledge does become solely dependent on personal interest and access. Gezi was directly indicative of that break, a gap in available historical narrative on a much larger scale.

It is as part of this fissure that I experienced Gezi. I was at home working. There had been a gathering at Gezi Park in Taksim the night before, an almost celebratory event that was to end with volunteers camping out, standing guard, awaiting the court's verdict regarding the park's fate. I knew a few of my friends would be there; I had intended on going myself; but hastily working towards a deadline, I had forgotten. A flood of images, posts, text messages, and phone calls later, it became all I could remember. It can sound hyperbolic even to my own ears now, two year later, but the continuous negotiation of personal involvement and delayed emotional processing coupled with a ceaseless mining for and sharing of information is what remains clearest in memory, while the rate of normalization and adaptation remains the most jarring. Starting on the 31st of May, my days entered a repetitious cycle: Experiencing an almost complete media blackout concerning something that was happening twenty minutes away turned our efforts to collect accurate information into an almost 24-hour occupation. Living on the Anatolian side of the city, an area which remained relatively calm due to an opposition-run municipality, I'd hastily awake, checking all sources available to see what had happened during the last few hours, check in with friends and family living in the area to make sure they were alright, then the rest of the day would be a blur: Either checking the daily reported list of needs for those at the park and carrying over supplies or flipping through channels, constantly updating online streams and feeds, glancing at international news outlets, ending with an almost nightly march down the main street, seeing which businesses were being boycotted or had decided to stay closed, while my mother diligently joined in with a chorus of pots and pans at 9 p.m. every evening. As the

decision between leaving my window open at night in order to hear if something were to happen or closing it in case the neighborhood got laden with tear gas became a regular predicament, I slowly began to reject the internalized silent approach to recent political history entrenched in Turkish society, asking my seemingly calmer parents about what it was like when they had left the country right before a military coup. Did this look familiar to a different generation, or a different part of the population? In a way, it did.

What was immediately left behind from that experience was a looming feeling of exhaustion; simultaneously witnessing the best and worst of humanity, a strange combination to digest. However, as the requisite distancing began to settle, beyond the emotional and psychological, it was seeing the demarcation of the tipping point, where political action began, how long reactionary action was physically, if not emotionally, sustainable, and what that reaction looked like that began to engage me intellectually. For many, visible brutality had erased any need for familiarity with the situation or its contextual complexities, but so much of the resistance and solidarity was simultaneously playing out through mediated platforms and cultural expression. My own interest in cultural resistance was firmly linked to musical and artistic interests that had slowly developed as a way of understanding a certain notion of political participation and change. Punk, grunge, zines, Riot Grrrl, experimental and independent cinema were all decidedly political genres, yet, for the most part, consistently bound within the cultural realm, one step away from direct or, rather, “traditional” political engagement and organization. Their creativity and personal expression seemed to minimize a threat, where the product was decidedly co-optable, but surprisingly persistent. While

negotiating Gezi's residual implications, untangling personal reflections, and political potentials, it was in these forms that I began looking for answers.

As time has past and studies have been conducted, Gezi's actual scale, scope, and importance have slowly begun to clarify, as the experience distances from those who bore witness. Rather than an emotional declaration of staunch positioning or evaluation, I hope this first-hand account of proximity and familiarity will offer a point of entry into the complexities inherently, even if invisibly, present within Gezi, as well as the interest and motivation behind this study. Exactly one full year after the Gezi Park events, an unfathomable number of bookmarked articles, and a steady continuation of smaller political restlessness later, I was back in Istanbul showing a friend around the city. It felt like there was an inescapable bitterness and a tension resting right below the surface, waiting to be let out; the remainders and reminders of Gezi everywhere: Crossing the Bosphorus by ferry, in light of a remembrance march most public transportation would be abruptly cancelled; I began to regularly happen upon large protests and marches with new levels of tension; and hoards of police officers just waiting in formation lined the streets in almost all crowded areas, the park itself now perpetually occupied and its perimeter surrounded by an alarming number of police forces. Then one night in June, attending a crowded Massive Attack concert, the band managed to effortlessly tap into that lingering collective vitality, now so easy to trigger. Relayed through the affordance of aestheticized distance, the stage screen backdrop started to spell out references, the names of those who had been killed during the protests, media responses, political events... In unison, the entire crowd erupted into its now familiar chant: "Taksim is everywhere. Resistance is

everywhere.” Silently walking out of the venue my visiting friend turned to say he had never experienced anything quite like it before, and before Gezi had started, neither had I.

Chapter I: *“Turkey... is like an oddball relative, and understanding it a lifelong effort”*

(Şafak, 2013)

Forever situated in a historically, politically, and geographically unique position, Turkey has been one of the fastest growing economies in recent years, with a highly young and increasingly urban population (Xylopa, 2013). Boasting upwards of 76 million inhabitants, Turkey is run as a secular representative democracy, albeit one with a long history of political unrest, military oversight, and protest. However, it has become “very hard to track the skirmishing amid the military, judiciary, and the government” (Çakmur & Kaya, 2010, p. 534). Built on a history of attempted and fractured projects, at times not so clearly delineated, stretching back to the latter days of the Ottoman Empire, “the intricacies of Turkish politics may seem mind-boggling to an outsider since the Turkish media cannot [even] agree if the country is shifting toward a true democracy or a civilian tutelage” (2010, p. 534). The country's projects, realized across space (geography) and time (history) have been systematic incarnations that were, inevitably, variations of the same structural components utilizing different combinations of similar tools in the diffusion of power into everyday life. However, presented as new modes of government, they have fed and benefitted from the resultant confusion.

This first chapter, focusing on three distinct phases in Turkish history and defining them in terms of their modes of historical engagement, will provide a brief historiographic overview of the trajectory sociopolitical and cultural structures and the

utilization of identity politics in Turkish society. Specifically focusing on Atatürk's "modernization project," the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) still continuing ten-year reign, and, mainly, the Gezi protests themselves, with an analytic emphasis on the systematic use of cultural representation, expression, and/or embodiment, the following analysis will particularly delve into the realms of architecture and the media industry. Each of these historical phases, as well as the emphasis on selected cultural arenas of architecture and media, have been selected due to their relevance based on historical patterns identified within recent academic literature regarding the Gezi protests, providing a direct link into Gezi-related media, and, thus, into the proceeding chapters focusing on the afore-mentioned referential film poster series.

By approaching each of these historical iterations as a site where social structures sit as reactionary in relation to those previously realized and idealized projects, I will, thus, not be situating or claiming Gezi as a 3rd phase in modern Turkish history, but rather, as a new form of engagement with that exact history. Since attempting to overview Turkish sociopolitical history, however briefly, is a tall order, rather than relay a detailed historical timeline, this chapter is intended to create a brief (and by no means exhaustive) contextual foundation for understanding the Gezi protests and the structural echoes that lie beneath it. By utilizing literature regarding structuration theory, imagined communities, historiography, and cultural trauma, the following analysis will draw attention to and try to identify the larger underlying structures, as well as the role, development, and lack of macro-historical narratives and patterns implicated within the protests and the mediated cultural forms of expression relating to it.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Structuration Theory and an Existent Duality:

Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration provides a relevant theoretical basis on which to ground both Turkey's and Gezi's structural underpinnings. In its inception, structuration theory takes into account the underlying interactions between societal, cultural, and political organization, as well as the role of human agency within such a framework, stressing the interaction and necessity for both micro and macro-level explanations. Summarily, it can be seen as an “effort to reconcile the effects of structures and institutions on society with the existence of agency exercised by individuals and groups, which often seems to go against the determining effects of the structures” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 9).

In his book *The Constitution of Society*, Giddens clearly conceptualizes this theory of “the structure and the functioning of social systems” (1984, p. 1) by defining structure as “recursively organized sets of rules and resources” (1984, p. 25) that are simultaneously constraining and enabling, while situating “social systems as reproduced social practices” that “exhibit structural properties” (1984, p. 17). As such, “the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (the duality of structure)” (1984, p. 19) and these resources are utilized by actors, which in turn produce and reproduce said structures through every day actions (Turner, 1986). Thus, according to Giddens, agency “refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things

in the first place” (1984, p. 9) to the “transformative capacity” of “being able to intervene in the world ... 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events” (1984, p. 14). So when describing cultural agents, Giddens “include[s] both producers and consumers of cultural products” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 11), making this theory applicable to the potential of an active audience, even if only via consumer preference. Thus, while structuration posits the inevitability of duality, of both sides of the argument, it also harbors an inherent historically conscious potential for change.

Hence, within this theoretical structure, power becomes not “an obstacle to freedom or emancipation, but their very medium” (Giddens, 1984, p. 257) and the “engendering of power, the storage of authoritative resources” (1984, p. 261). According to Giddens that storage container is “community” and each actor or agent within a community displays “features of system integration which increasingly relates the minor details of daily life to social phenomena” (1984, p. 85). Consequently, bearing traces of larger structures within everyday recursive actions, “the self cannot be understood outside of 'history’” (1984, p. 36). This notion of time and continuity, both individual, communal, and structural, eventually brings Giddens to an understanding of “making” history, or rather, “cutting into history, identifying certain elements as marking the opening of a sequence of change” (1984, p. 244). This understanding leads right into the study of historiography, and also the notion of authored histories, as he goes on to state, “human history is created by intentional activities but is not an intended project” for “human beings ... operate under the threat and the promise of the circumstance that they are the only creatures who make their 'history' in cognizance of that fact” (1984, p. 27).

Authored Histories and Imagined Communities:

Mirroring the emergence of the field of historiography, or the study of histories, the collection of academic essays compiled by Lynn Hunt in *The New Cultural Histories*, focuses on the increasing “blurring of genres” (Biersack, 1989, p. 73) between literary studies, anthropology, and history. Moving through such developments chronologically, the collection collectively posits all histories as authored, drawing attention to “the active role of language, texts, and narrative structures in the creation and description of historical reality” (Kramer, 1989, p. 98). In this approach, the historian comes to be seen as effecting “a disciplining of the imagination,” as “any attempt to describe events (even as they are occurring) must rely on various forms of imagination” (1989, p. 101). However, the work effectively and clearly emphasizes the difference between narrativism and relativism, strictly stating that the fact that “we cannot narrate the past with *absolute certainty* does not mean endorsing the arbitrariness of every narrative’,” and that history, thusly, becomes ‘a form of understanding that is neither absolute nor relative, but something in between’” (Gratton & Manoussakis, 1989, p. 117).

Echoing both Giddens's sociological, as well as Hunt's anthropological and literary concept of authored and structured histories in his historiographic work *Rethinking History*, Keith Jenkins claims history not as the past, but as a narrative about the past with a purpose, a construction rather than a discovery or a “truth” to be found. He then identifies history as a series of shifting discourses that do not constitute the world, but give meaning to it, its inherent narrative structure a source of potential multiple readings

that are always in flux, and inherently under the influence of power dynamics. Thus, positioning the practice of history as one of identity creation determined by and dependent on its author, Jenkins also provides a distinct possibility for agency within the domain of history (Jenkins, 2003), whether it be on a micro or macro scale.

Bringing a parallel understanding of history in relation to the notion of nationalism in his work *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson approaches this concept as a narrativized construction borne out of a break or disjuncture of historical consciousness, a fictionalized amnesia akin to modern biography. According to Anderson, “all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristics of amnesias,” out of which “spring narratives” (1982/1991, p. 208). Working in tandem with Giddens' notion of community as container, Anderson defines all communities as imaginary inventions that can be visualized in space and gain meaning, thus power, through discourse over time. Anderson goes on to attribute the source of such meaning and power to the production of culture, thus simultaneously situating nationalism as a “cultural artifact” with “emotional legitimacy” (1982/1991, p. 4). He then goes on to position nationalism within a historical context of “gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialized” cultural systems and modes of understanding realized via “visual and aural” representations (1982/1991, p. 19).

Hence, Anderson tasks cultural codes with creating continuity and/or stability between the gap of social reality and the imagined, a continuation exemplified through the medium of print. Namely, the novel and the newspaper made it possible “for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves and to relate themselves to others”

through mass consumption, while enabling of a simultaneous of engagement with history/time in the present. As such, linking together “fraternity, power, and time” (1982/1991, p. 37), as well as social, cultural, economic and political structures, “print-capitalism,” and modern technological documentation enables the development of the notion of “belonging” intrinsic to nationalism, through the required acquisition of distancing in order to critically engage with such narrativized content in its imagined continuity.

Silent Cultural Traumas:

Utilizing the same concepts of nationalism, narrativity, as well as the reflexivity of human action, Jeffrey C. Alexander's theory of cultural trauma refers to narrativized social constructions and processes that relate to the recuperation of events that create communally negative effects based on abrupt and “unwelcome” shifts in environment. According to Alexander, these recuperations are realized through the collective remembrance of “symbolic residue,” which can be materialized by way of literature or the claiming of space, such as “monuments, museums, and memorials [that] are... attempts to make statements and affirmations [to create] a materiality with a political, collective, public meaning [and] a physical reminder of a conflictive political past” (2004, p. 6-8). Stressing the role of the “imaginative process” in the creation and manifestation of these narrativized references and experiences, Alexander defines the creation of cultural trauma as an act of human agency, albeit one highly affected by “sociocultural processes.”

In his chapter on the “Trauma of Social Change” within the same book, Piotr Sztompka characterizes society as “*becoming* rather than stable *being*” (2004, p. 155), a continuous process of change that when, at times, defined as trauma leads to the individual agents' perception of

The similarity of their situation with that of others... start to talk about it, exchange observations and experiences, gossip and rumors, formulate diagnoses and myths, identify causes or villains, look for conspiracies, decide to do something about it, envisage coping methods... those debates reach the public arena, are taken by the media, expressed in literature, art, movies. The whole 'meaning industry' full of rich narratives focuses on giving sense to the common and shared occurrences... (2004, p. 160).

This, in turn, may create the potential for collective action. Sztompka posits the cultural plane as the most “sensitive to the impact of traumatogenic changes,” injurious experiences that are rapid, collective, and wide-reaching, “precisely because culture is a depository of continuity, heritage, tradition, identity of human communities. Change, by definition, undermines or destroys all these” (2004, p. 162). Also stating that if not defined, represented or made visible, in other words, if not uttered, without discursive meaning, trauma does not exist.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS: SELECTIVE HISTORICAL ENGAGEMENT

Giddens' theory of structuration provides an oft overlooked mutual ground in which neither structure, nor agency is discounted, but rather occupy equal, albeit contending and mutually informing grounds. This body of work allows for the analysis of the historical and long *durée* structural fragments still persisting within institutionalized

patterns in Turkey, thus, also informing the everyday, and framing any reactionary instances. Benedict Anderson's imaginary of communities is, then, important in giving shape and imbuing meaning to the community of Gezi, in addition to its multitude of accompanying cultural expressions, while simultaneously defining the hegemonic narrative of the nation-state. While the emphasis on the role of narrative, echoed within historiographic work focused on the constructed nature of histories, allows for an examination approaching these three distinct phases as (potentially problematic) instances of selective historical engagement, it also allows for a focus on the problematic of what happens when, as mentioned previously, the grand narrative, the “objective” macro-history of a nation-state has been given an official end. Finally, the literature regarding cultural trauma, though only partially applicable, provides an avenue for approaching this disjunctive end to history and the repeatedly silenced narratives over-run by larger political projects, potentially utilizing Gezi's platform as a means of voicing such narratives to a larger audience, for the first time.

Episodically speaking, the initial period under analysis dedicated to Atatürk's modernization project will begin with the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and cover the period until his passing in 1938. The second AKP period will cover the trajectory and development undertaken within the last ten years (2003-2013) of AKP's majority rule, simultaneously engaging with the remnants of the four military coups experienced since the establishment of multi-party rule in 1946. The final section and major focus will then culminate in a close examination of the Gezi protests, starting on May 30th, 2013. These historical phases, each mainly identified by their large reactionary

political projects all embody an unresolved, however shifting, problematic at the basis of Turkish social structure that unlike purely cultural systems, can not embody or fully co-opt contradiction or ideological binaries without fracture. This problematic is borne out of partially realized projects being superimposed on top of one another, rather than building on what came before, directly inheriting and ignoring previous failures and shortcomings, rather than solving, ameliorating, or even recognizing them. Focusing on these social fractures and their realization within the cultural realm, each section will, in turn, provide a brief summary of the underlying ideologies and goals, and the relation to prior structures inherent within each period, followed by an account of their actualization through architectural and urban projects, specifically the historical trajectory of Gezi Park as a public space, as well as developments and structural changes within the media industry. Hence, concluding with Gezi's cultural turn and its mass of alternative creative expression in the face of structural censure, the following sections will seek to provide an inclusive and complex, yet in no way holistic account of contextual understanding leading into a narrow study of one of these instances of historically informed cultural expression and resistance.

1. The Modernization Project at the End of History:

“The modernity project is one of both fact and fiction. Its facts lie in the tremendous cultural and political power concentrated by leaders with like-minded notions of how society could (and should) be organized” (Migdal, 1997, p. 252). Just as in different geographies, Turkish “leaders have used modernity's steamroller to create [a] nation out of the remnants of ancient empires” (1997, p. 252). Built on the remains of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic, established in 1923, was the ultimate project of

modernization helmed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who, as the (literal) Father of the Turks, became the embodiment of the new nation. Employing the seemingly contradictory notion of enforced democracy, the Turkish Project cut into history and everyday life, severing the continuity of personal as well as communal “histories, beliefs, identities, and cultures” (Kasaba, 1997, p. 16), transitioning an entire nation, from the top-down, into a Western model of life by utilizing a coupling of modernity and nationalism, two concepts with contradictory impulses, “one parochial and exclusive, the other cosmopolitan and universal” (Migdal, 1997, p. 255).

According to Reşat Kasaba in the book *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, initially, “social scientists often heralded Turkey as one of the most successful models of a universally defined modernization process... and Ottoman and Turkish modernization was seen to be succeeding as an elite-driven, consensus-based, institution-based process that took its inspiration exclusively from the West” (1997, p. 3). However, as modernization fell out of academic favor and alternative histories were sought, the Turkish Project came to be criticized, questioned, and defined as a “patriarchal and antidemocratic imposition from above that has negated the historical and cultural experience of the people ... a historical failure that undermined the normative order in Ottoman-Turkish society” (1997, p. 4) when viewed from points of view contingent upon non-grand narratives. It was viewed as a direct Western import with a constitution based on Swiss law, with enforced voting rules, and even a new “modern” sartorial code complete with a new and official type of hat. Eventually embracing a middle ground, wherein, regardless of disjuncture or the superficial preoccupations

within Turkey's “civilizational shift' from Islam to the West,” the undeniable fact that the “institutional, ritual, symbolic, and aesthetic manifestations of modernity have become constituent elements of the Turkish collective consciousness since the 1920's” (1997, p. 5) was acknowledged. As such, this collective consciousness manifested within and through the everyday, over the course of ninety plus years, can be traced throughout the realm of culture. This is particularly the case, as the Turkish Project included a detailed program in areas such as architecture, literature, and apparel, a program strengthened by the use of the fictional, stylistic elements of modernization.

Media:

One of exemplary instance was the establishment of the Turkish media industry, which was initially kick started in the 19th century with the Young Turk movement's foray into journalism. Demonstrating a high degree of political parallelism from inception, the republican era's institutionalized school of journalism was “rooted in the world of politics from the outset,” their press simultaneously anchored in politics and literature, contrasting its Western bastions (Çakmur & Kaya, 2010, p. 521). However, built upon a “patrimonial structure of political controls” (2010, p. 522), the system excluded any form of private ownership, completely mirroring the country's single party rule, devoid of the notion of a free press – an initiative framed by the intention of upholding and strengthening social acceptance towards the new republican rule. As such, when the “new Press Law [was] enacted in 1931, oppositional views became... tolerated by the single party rule” (2010, p. 523), with most oppositional writing featuring a traditionally technically conservative, yet inherently comparatively liberal approach, by virtue of sheer existence as opposition or an alternative choice. Yet, as literacy rates

slowly started to climb with the newly instated Latin alphabet (established in 1928), circulation of journalistic publications by contrast remained small throughout the era, until the commercial press started to emerge alongside the multi-party rule in the late 1940's.

Architecture:

Similarly, another cultural arena through which the state exercised its power was architecture and urban planning. In his overview of Turkish modernization, Joel S. Migdal defines urban planning and architecture as realms which “urban planning and architecture can delineate and define public and private space in ways that promote the new social relationships” (1997, p. 254), a notion directly recognized in İlay Roman Örs' article on the history of Gezi Park and Taksim Square. Örs notes this function, alongside the understanding of public space as the geography of the diffusion of power from both below and above, citing “public space, as the physical subset of [the] public sphere, becomes reinstated as the site for democratic performance” (2014, p. 2), “a theater ... a physical representation of political power” both by the state and its constituents. As such, public squares are not only representative of “dominant national authority” (2014, p. 4) by their very design, but they simultaneously represent alternative ideologies. To trace a brief history of the city at the dawn of the republic, while Ankara, the new capital, was a blank architectural slate, Istanbul came to symbolize the problematic and corrupt past of the empire, trying to negotiate the complications of housing a non-Muslim majority including Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Levantines, as well as other Muslim minorities, all of whom faced the challenge of sustaining their place in the new nationalist Turkish democracy and its ultimately biased policies (Singer, 2013). Taksim Square itself was located across from the old city, adjacent to the cosmopolitan neighborhood of Pera, “the

side where the others lived” (Örs, 2014, p. 4). While the Square was soon to become the heart of the new and modern Istanbul, what was about to become Gezi Park had gone from being an Armenian cemetery to an Ottoman military barracks which had been the site of a violent anti-modernization uprising resulting in the “massacre of Christian army officers” at the reformist tail end of Ottoman reign (Örs, 2014, p. 4-5). In the early years of the republic, as the square's centrality solidified, the commemorative Republic Monument was erected in honor of the country's fifth anniversary in 1928 (Zimmerman, 2014) and the square itself was fully redesigned by Henri Proust in 1939, framed as a project celebrating independence and a manifestation of the modernization project. As such the square came to embody the ideological “development of a new subject that had no visual form before then; ... a representation of a represented society” (Kortun, 2013). However, directly imposing the new in place of the old, this project solidified

An alternative narrative of a republican kind of modernity and nation-building, at the expense of a more cosmopolitan, culturally pluralistic imperial legacy [associated with that part of the city]. The public square was left to scream the vision of a monocular, unified, specifically defined, dominant, bold, strict, definitive order, amid the previous overlapping spaces of cosmopolitan, controversial, tangible, marginal, multiple, fluid shapes, existences and experiences at the time of Pera (Örs, 2014, p. 6).

2. Globalization and Reclaiming the Ottoman Legacy:

While the years following Atatürk's passing in 1938 saw the realization of his intended multi-party system plan, they also brought forth four military coups (in 1960, 1971, 1980, 1997 respectively) (Aljazeera, 2012), each with differing modes of enforcing structure and values. This established a tradition in which the military became (or

claimed to become) the protective guard of the nation's democracy, the last stand in case the newly minted system failed in the hands of individual politicians, a position still entrenched in the identifiable point of view of the population's secular elite. Formed by the former members and ideological remnants of the radical Islamist Welfare Party (RP), which emerged and dispersed in the late 1990's, AKP came to power after the 2003 election (Zimmerman, 2014). Having ideologically disassociated from their previous politics and histories, the party engaged in a complex identity politics, portraying “itself as a conservative party that advocated a liberal market economy and EU membership... reclaiming the territory of the center-right” (Çakmur & Kaya, 2010, p. 531). However, while this neo-liberal, globalist, yet simultaneously conservative turn brought about economic growth that resulted in a fast recovery from the financial crisis of 2001, steady privatization, urbanization, the development of a new consumer society, and the instigation of negotiations for full EU membership, it also, over time, began to display elements of authoritarianism and a historically familiar pre-occupation with the control of everyday life, demonstrating a specific interest in “acceptable” social mores (Tahir & Yiğit, 2014; Abbas, 2013), such as designating the appropriate number of children each woman should have or with restrictions on alcohol consumption and public displays of affection.

AKP's mode of identity politics, much like in Giddens' structural duality, embodies and continually re-produces the contradictory and fragmented nature of the Turkish state and society. The party's ideological approach, described as a minoritarian politics functioning via “domination based on 'inclusion'” makes it “possible to affirm

more ambiguous identities” since it “does not have or recognize a corresponding field of opposition” or an exterior akin to Deleuze & Guattari's understanding of the erasure of difference (Eken, 2014, p.433-434). In doing so, however, it posits an identity politics based on unacknowledged difference: Appealing to the widest possible demographic, managing to “reproduce the consent of the peripheral/marginalized segments of society” (Nas & Yel, 2013), yet inheriting and keeping all historical social and cultural schisms intact. It is, in turn, the “discourse of memory and the politics of minorities ... [that] in the domain of culture... function as a way for the state to mobilize social desire,” monitor, sustain, pacify, and also control (Eken, 2014, p. 428), forming a regime that, when viewed collectively, is the “result of a convergence with the forms of political control organized in the privileged realm of culture in contemporary global capitalism” (2014, p. 428). Perpetuating the “perspective which depicts a state continuously struggling to confront the dark episodes of its political and cultural history as if the question of its [current] power were irrelevant” (2014, p. 428), AKP's structures and values of governance, while situated oppositionally in relation to the Kemalist agenda or the modernization project from within the democratic institution of the nation-state, simultaneously harbored and utilized that same project's modalities of power:

AKP behaved in a manner more associated with their Kemalist predecessors... 'Overweening, in the sense that they claimed to know the right way of life...in the sense that they saw all political opposition as the manifestations of an organized plot... authoritarian, in the sense that they wanted to impose their views on society by using state power and even the media' (Abbas, 2013; Akyol, 2013).

As such, cutting back into a different episode of history for selective historical engagement, AKP began to redefine the Turkish nationalist project and its remembered legacy in their own name by claiming a neo-Ottoman, pro-Islamic, and pro-democratic future for the nation, portrayed as the descendent of the great and glorious past of an empire (Tahir & Yiğit, 2014).

Media:

Tracing the trajectory of the Turkish media industry in their piece “Politics and the Mass Media in Turkey,” Raşit Kaya and Barış Çakmur classify the media landscape inherited by the AKP government as adhering to the “polarized pluralist model” which they state is to be found in most countries in Mediterranean Europe and indicative of “the integration of the media into party politics, weaker historical development of commercial media, and a strong role of the state” (2010, p. 522). In the early 2000's, the Turkish media industry still carried traces of the bursts of regulative reform including measures regarding unionization, press freedom, and journalistic protection that were periodically revoked and re-instated throughout the 1950's and '60's, as well as bore the effects of the market-based expansion and unregulated commercialization and privatization of the 1980's and '90's. While print circulations were up with the advent of weeklies and monthly journals boasting increased content specialization that had developed unencumbered by the advent the of television until the 1970's, the early 2000's saw a move towards conglomeration, accompanied by a heavy increase in production concentration. Broadcast media had developed at the hands of state monopoly TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) which was initially established as an autonomous

institution and held onto its control until 1993 when the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Their Broadcast was put into law and “licensing supervision authority RTÜK” was established, spurring on a mass increase in available broadcast options (Çakmur & Kaya, 2010). However, though “a quantitatively rich media environment had emerged in Turkey... it was not accompanied by a commensurate development in qualitative terms, and through [the] parliament-appointed [supervisory] Supreme Council (RTÜK), the government could still exert strong control over (the) electronic media” (2010, p. 528).

Also documenting these initial changes in the media landscape starting with the beginnings of commercialization in her article *Packaging Islam: Turkish Commercial Television*, Ayşe Öncü states that “in the context of the Middle East, Turkey is the first country, so far, to reconcile itself to domestic private broadcasting” and that “Turkey has moved from a scarcity of images directly controlled by the state, to an abundance of them, fueled by competition” (Öncü, 1995, p. 51). Accordingly, as early as the mid-90's, Turkish television started to embody a plurality of representations with the proliferation of channels and an increasingly competitive marketplace. However, taking a less optimistic approach, Çakmur & Kaya position this “almost crude commercialism” as resulting in a general preference for “sports, scandal, and popular entertainment” (2010, p. 528) that, when combined with the concurrent culture of historic engagement, corresponds to “retro incursions” and “clumsy attempts to atone,” restore, adapt, and imitate through the genres of “popular history and biography [that were] virtually nonexistent fifteen years ago” (Eken, 2014, p. 429), as well as a loss of the “distinction

between hard news and editorial comments,” and a general homogenization of content (Çakmur & Kaya, 2010, p. 528). They state that deregulation and commercialism not only increased the influence and hold of business interests on the media industry, correlating this with a “low level of journalistic autonomy” (2010, p. 528), weak journalistic standards and a complete lack of self-regulation or unionization, resulting in systematic auto-censorship, as well as the obliteration of local or regional presses. Öncü does, then, agree that while television still appears to be the reported dominant preference for media and, especially, news consumption within the country (Tunç and Görgülü, 2012), the past 20 years have, indeed, seen an increasing domination of conglomerate media companies and consolidated media ownership within this competitive landscape.

Echoing both of these approaches, a report conducted by Ceren Sözeri (2013) for The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), provides a fairly comprehensive, consolidated, and oligopolistic view of media ownership within Turkey. Stating that the number of major media groups within the country has now decreased to four (those being Doğan, Çalık, Doğuş, and Ciner holdings), Sözeri points out that each group possesses major investments in various industries outside of their media businesses, ranging from energy, mining, finance, and construction, even including the ownership of one hydroelectric power plant each. Sözeri also focuses on how the groups' investments in construction have become increasingly noteworthy, as each group has repeatedly successfully bid for large government contracts for comprehensive, municipal infrastructural undertakings, linking the media and the government's aesthetic project in urban renewal to the same financing and modes of control. It is then interesting to see

that amongst their various business ventures, media seems to be the least profitable investment for these large groups. However, more importantly than profit, this industry, as stated above, creates an avenue in which to consolidate and strengthen favorable relationships with those in power, while also controlling the flow of mainstream information and transparency (Sözeri, 2013). Below is a translated sample of the comprehensive table included in Sözeri's report, specifically focusing on the pervasive media ownership of each group:

Conglomerate	Media Companies
Doğan Group	<p>Newspapers: Hürriyet, Hürriyet Daily News, Radikal, Posta, Fanatik, TME Gazeteleri (Iz Ruk v Ruki, Aviso, Expressz, Oglasnik)</p> <p>Magazine-Books: Doğan Burda Dergi, Doğan Egmont, Doğan Kitap</p> <p>Publishing: Doğan Printing Center (DPC), Doğan Ofset</p> <p>Distribution: YAYSAT (Doğan Dağıtım), Dergi Pazarlama Planlama (DPP)</p> <p>News agency: DHA</p> <p>TV (national channels): Kanal D, CNNTürk, tv2</p> <p>Radio: RadyoD, CNNTürk Radyo, Slow Türk, Show Radyo</p> <p>TV and Music production: D Productions, InDHouse, Kanal D Home Video, Doğan Music Company (DMC)</p> <p>Digital TV platforms: D-Smart, Doğan Teleshopping</p> <p>Europe: DMG International, TME, Kanal D Romania, Euro D</p>
Doğuş Group	<p>Television: NTV, Star TV, CNBC-E, NTV SPOR, NTV SPOR Smart HD, Kral TV, e2,</p> <p>Radio: NTV Radyo, Kral FM, Virgin Radyo, Radyo Eksen</p> <p>Magazine: Vogue, GQ, National Geographic Türkiye, National Geographic Kids, Robb Report, CNBC-e Dergi</p> <p>Publishing: NTV Yayınları</p>
Ciner Group	<p>Newspaper and publishing: Habertürk, Ciner Medya Yatırımları, Ciner Gazete Dergi (dergi yayıncılığı), Habertürk Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık, C Yapım Filmcilik, GD Gazete Dergi (dergi yayıncılığı)</p> <p>Television: Habertürk, Bloomberg HT, Show TV</p> <p>Radio: Habertürk Radyo, Bloomberg HT Radyo</p>

Table 1: Adapted from Türkiye'de medya sahipliği ve getirileri (Media ownership and its returns in Turkey), (Sözeri, 2013).

Finally, a brief look into systematic regulations reveals that while RTÜK, which is still the main regulatory body governing commercial television, is heralded as an “impartial public legal entity” on its website, its board members continue to be selected by and appointed through the National Grand Assembly (“About RTÜK”). RTÜK possesses “extremely broad powers to sanction media organizations which it deems to have violated 'general morality,' 'the protection of the family,' and 'the national and moral values of society',” powers that can be categorized as a direct extension of governmental reach (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012, p. 3). It is also a frequent and important occurrence that access to websites are blocked by authorities in claims of protection, a famous example of which was the two-year YouTube ban experienced from 2008-2010. As such, it is important to note that, “principal obstacles to freedom of press and freedom of expression in Turkey stem from the criminal legal system” (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012, p. 4). Examples of this system can be found on both micro and macro levels, such as the in the case of Doğan Media group, which, though being one of the four heavy hitters, after falling out of favor was heavily fined “for alleged tax irregularities – all [of its] companies banned from bidding for state tenders for... one year ... [and] finally prison sentences were demanded for the publisher” (Çakmur & Kaya, 2010, p. 532). Also, Turkey currently continues to hold the highest number of reported journalists incarcerated in the world, ranking 154th on Reporters Without Borders' “Press Freedom Report” for 2013 (Freedom of the Press, 2013).

Architecture:

This systematic control exercised over information and its dissemination has also been simultaneously translated into a project of aesthetics that challenges the “official historiography set up by the republican period” (Örs, 2013, p. 7) and is entangled with the same business interests as the media industry. Locating “Ottoman classicism as the singular site of Turkish identity” and, thus, selectively re-engaging this legacy by “promoting a romanticization of history rather than a critical engagement with it” (Singer, 2013, p. 51), the resultant social system has been characterized by the same bout of nationalism, alongside “a deep amnesia ... [coupled with] a tone of nostalgia on the cultural or aesthetic plane, ... where the loss of the sense of history correlates with the predominance of memory” (Eken, 2014, p. 429). As such, this nostalgia, isolated from its actual temporal historical and spatial contexts, has been channeled into an endless real-estate project; eliminating “tracts of history, culture or various existing ethnic groups through a process of gentrification, replacing them with corporate steel” (Abbas, 2013). However, undertaken without the involvement of experts or local inhabitants, this top-down construction, mainly aimed at transforming Istanbul into a global capital (Aksoy, 2012), has generally been perceived as a representation of “the all too obvious bottled-up conflict between the modernist impulse of [the] historicization of power and neoliberal contemporaneity” (Kortun, 2013) and as such, its aesthetic project has mostly been declared a failure in related academic scholarship (Örs; 2014, Kortun, 2013; Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997; Singer, 2013).

In a scathing review of the AKP's aesthetic project, Vasıf Kortun characterizes these governmental attempts in search of a conservative and “authentic” visualization as contrived because it suffers from “an [inherent] inimitable disdain for cultural production that he [PM Erdoğan] has come to believe is elitist, exclusionist, and/or Western,” unabashedly asking “Does the AKP understand that culture is not an efficient and quantifiable form of production? It is authentic and unannounced. It produces a surplus from a gap—one that wasn’t known to exist before” (2013). Kortun emphatically concludes his argument with the assertion that the last “ten years [were] spent plagiarizing the past, but not producing an archive of the present” (2013). This statement is then directly correlated with the AKP's purportedly greatest architectural undertaking, the pedestrianization of Taksim Square. In addition to the pedestrianization aspect, resulting in the partial closure of the square for months, the project focused on the “restoration” of Gezi Park, meaning, in particular, the reconstruction of the Ottoman military barracks in the name of reclaiming and restoring historical heritage. However, sources have stated that “the primary mission of this new Taksim plan is to destroy the vestiges of a particular time” (2013); “a move to change the outlook of the square, and by extension, that of the republic;” and “shape a new social identity from the pieces of anti-secular, Islamist, neo-Ottoman ideologies” (Örs, 2013, p. 6). Aesthetically speaking, Kortun situates the Prime Minister as

Stuck between the sixteenth-century Ottoman Classicism, that can be neither replicated nor revisited, and the late-eighteenth-century self-orientalizing Ottoman architecture ... : A stately one, that was never meant to be a spectacle, and a later one that displays the clumsy integration of the capital city into a world that it could not avoid (2013).

With an inherently distrustful view of contemporary or new creations, he advocates the realization of a “neo-Ottoman dream” (Örs, 2013, p. 6), albeit one that never really existed, over an aesthetic representative of contemporary Turkey.

3. “Everywhere is Taksim; Everywhere is Resistance”

As Sean R. Singer states in his article “Behind Gezi Park,” regardless of gaps in national macro-narratives, “history did not begin anew in 2002” and Gezi's reactionary politics, part of a demonstration that was the longest of its kind in Turkish history, was a manifestation of that ignored and idealized contemporary Turkey, successfully highlighting systemic and narrative continuities within governmental control (2013, p. 54). As one opposing regime had rapidly replaced the other, inheriting the limitations and fractures that came before rather than instituting and enforcing cohesive social systems or national narratives, “the Turkish experience appeared to be culminating in economic backwardness and social flux, with Muslim and secularist, Turk and Kurd, reason and faith, rural and urban – in short, the old and the new, existing side by side and contending with, but more typically strengthening, each other” (Kasaba, 1997, p. 17). Set upon this social context, in 2012, reactions towards the Taksim project began to increase as neither “architects, urban planners, sociologists, academics, nor the inhabitants of Taksim and Istanbul were allowed to participate” in its planning. As traditional forms of organized political action were engaged via protests, letter writing, and signature campaigns, and the project was halted briefly by the Higher Preservation Committee, in-place socio-cultural structures were eventually ignored, as the was project finally approved

(Zimmerman, 2014, p. 34) along with Erdoğan's statement: "Do whatever you like. We've made the decision, and we will implement it accordingly. If you have respect for history, research and take a look at what the history of that places called Gezi Park is. We are going to revive history there" (Singer, 2013, p. 49). Clearly, however, this statement did not refer to the Armenian cemetery that was once there, but the Halil Paşa Artillery Barracks built from 1803-1806," and in 1909 "were the site of a mutiny against the Committee of Union and Progress, the ideological predecessors of the nationalists who founded the Republic of Turkey" (2013, p. 50).

As such, on 27 May, 2013 "a small number of activists united under the name Taksim Solidarity decided to be on guard inside" the park (Zimmerman, 2013, p. 35), an occupation that eventually expanded from a local demonstration to a "national outburst against government policies" (Abbas, 2013), triggered by excessive police violence (Örs & Turan, 2015) and further inflamed by polarizing rhetoric. The park itself was home to demonstrators from 1-15 June, 2013, "becom[ing] a site of daily pilgrimage for the residents of Istanbul" (Eken, 2014, p. 427). According to reports by the Minister of Interior, as well as the HRA, approximately 2 million, 500 thousand people in 79 different cities had participated in the Gezi demonstrations in June 2013, with 12.1% of the country's population over the age of 18 self-reporting participation, eventually resulting in nearly 5,000 taken into police custody, 119 arrests, 8,000 injured, and 6 killed, with solidarity demonstrations taking place across the globe, including cities such as Greece, Brazil, Australia, the United States, and Sweden (Örs & Turan, 2015; Etem & Taştan, 2015).

Arguably, however, one of the most distinct aspects of the Gezi protests was the overall demographic composition of its participants. Ethnographic research and polls conducted within the park indicate that the full and central engagement of its main demographic, one that was middle class, well-educated, mostly under 30, politically unaffiliated and previously inactive, is particularly noteworthy, as it represents a demographic that had benefited from the political and economic climate leading up to the uprisings (Konda Araştırma ve Danışmanlık, 2014) as well as one that had been socially labeled as politically disinterested and apathetic. In fact, “the new emerging middle class has seen its living standards rapidly increase during the AKP's time in office” and “new generations of a young and educated [populace] with expanded expectations as citizens constitute[d] the vast majority of participants” that felt “restricted by authoritarian politics and rigid morality” (Xypolia, 2013, p. 36). However, what was at work was “not the termination or even limitation of religiosity, but rather, independence from it in daily life” (Atay, 2013), accompanied by a generational divide resulting in a sharp shift in collective memory and identification. Gezi's participants formed a population that, for the most part, did not remember, and, thus, did not engage with political upheavals of the recent past (since the 1940's), resulting in a clear social break in historical narrative, leading to alternative notions of what it means to be Turkish, which exposed inadequacy of the previously offered narrative binaries, such as conservatism and secularism, localization and globalization, and nationalism and majoritarianism, all of which are remnants of a previous project. Parsing through this multitude of offered identifications, Abbas & Yiğit argue that, “in many ways, what is being witnessed in Turkey is the

development of a post-secular and a post-Islamist identity politics,” where “it is theoretically possible to be liberal but not secular, Islamist but not liberal, secular but also Islamist. It is further possible to be conservative and liberal but neither Islamist nor secularist” (2014, p. 71), contributing to the exceedingly complex portrait of Turkish politics.

Embodying such politically, socially, and culturally embedded contradictory impulses and, thus, rejecting a clear ideological organization, the Gezi participants reflected an appropriate (if unexpected) mixture of political views, while simultaneously making efforts to bridge the digital, political, and geographic divide amongst them as a collective. This pluralistic collection was essentially comprised of leftists, rightists, secular and socialist Muslims, secular Kemalists, young urban sophisticates, older mothers, environmentalists, football fans, academics, workers, artists, LGBTTTQ, Kurds, feminists, animal activists, students, Kurds, Armenians, Turkish nationalists, street children, investment bankers, blue and white collar workers (Abbas, 2013; Örs, 2013); a diversity that was not only seen and utilized as a claim to legitimacy, but also a space in which to engage in a “meeting with the other” (Örs & Turan, 2015, p. 41). Even though larger social and ideological divides persisted within the group, a collectively perceived disenfranchisement or minority positioning took precedence, as they were all “protesting the political exclusion that less fortunate members of Turkish society... have long known” (Singer, 2013, p. 53), rejecting the “cultural regime of memory,” and “confronting the hegemonic discourse that states, from a diachronic and evolutionist perspective that the AKP's conflict with the tradition of the republican state in Turkey... turns it into a

democratizing force almost by default” (Eken, 2014, p. 428), just as had been the case with each Turkish project that had come before. Another enabling factor of such a mixture of political views could be the participants' main cited reason for gathering – the mistreatment of the initial demonstrators (Konda Araştırma ve Danışmanlık, 2014), inevitably positioning Gezi as an issue of democracy and human rights, rather than any political ideology, or as an issue of policy or economy. “Embodying, in its barest form, a desire for liberation to which the government showed no tolerance” Gezi’s discourse “exposed the current discourses of the political regime as the means of a new form of social domination” (Eken, 2014, p. 428).

Though parallels drawn between Gezi and recent unrest and social movements both in the Western world and the Middle East, have been found to be limiting in scope and at times problematic (Abbas, 2013), comparisons are, indeed, apt when focusing on new social movements' (NSM) non-hierarchical organizational structures and their utilization of primarily cultural modes of resistance. Characterizing it as an intrinsic aspect of modernization, Karl Deutsch situated social mobilization as process, wherein “major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour” (Deutsch, 1961, p. 494). Thus, just as “every society has a salient emotional culture” (Zimmerman, 2014, p. 21), at the micro level, “each movement has or creates its own culture” (Zimmerman, p. 19), which functions as a mediated representation of these new patterns, through which to negotiate, express, and archive collective identity, values, and experiences, while overcoming their persistent divisions (Melucci, 1980, Eyerman &

Jamison, 1998). Similarly, in related literature, Gezi's culture and its adopted code of conduct have been characterized as historically reflexive, with participants described as having a “sense of being agents acting on a stage of history” and making “conscious efforts to display the manners in which such an alternative political state of existence can be maintained” (Örs & Turan, 2015, p. 457). In his theorization of social change, Giddens engages literature discussing the development of systems of value and codes in critical situations, and argues that these systems are based on a scheme of interpretation and are “invoked in ways that implicitly formulated rules cannot be... form[ing] a 'vocabulary of motive'” (Giddens, 1984, p. 88-89). The Gezi community and communes' internalized code of conduct was one built on notions of exchange, politeness, non-violence, with no reports of theft, fighting harassment or bullying, simultaneously creating an environment of creativity and learning, as performing the alternative “significantly entails a process of unlearning dominant discourses and learning resistant discourses” (Örs & Turan, 2015, p. 8).

Architecture:

Gezi's participants “rooted the debate in the physical space of the square... claiming its trees, communities, historical trajectories within a globalized framework” (Örs, 2013, p. 497). Diverging from the discourse and narratives that were offered to them, the protestors held “a different memory map for the same place” (Eken, 2014, p. 430), a memory map they performed throughout their occupation of the park, manifested within their daily routines, as well as the tent city they built. It is the above-mentioned

element of learning and performance that İlay Örs draws attention to in his article focusing on the utilization of public spaces in recent movements of resistance:

If the concept of democracy is intimately connected with the concept of the public, then public space, as the physical subset of public sphere, becomes reinstated as the site for democratic performance to a surprising extent even in the allegedly digital world today... It is the street that enjoys live reporting ... the street that develops a new language of resistance, the street that voices a crisis of democracy as creative destruction – the very gist of modernity. The street is global; it is real and as physical as it is virtual (Örs, 2013, p. 490).

As such, the Gezi protestors were not only staking their claim to democratic representation and expression, but also their right to one of the few spaces open to them to do so. “Featuring an infirmary, a playground, an organic vegetable farm, a botanical garden, a mobile transmitter for free Wi-Fi connection, a speaker's corner, a performance stage, a fire station, a free library, a revolution museum, open lectures, and a wish tree” (Örs & Turan, 2015, p. 495), Gezi Park grew to be a self-sustaining community, representative of their values and DIY-ethos both aesthetically, as well as structurally, holding events such as “music concerts, poetry recitations, tango dances, whirling dervishes, theater plays, yoga sessions,” and workshops (2015, p. 495) every day.

Gezi echoed and, at moments, embodied the concept of Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ), which Hakim Bey describes as inherently temporary utopias, a denial of the Spectacle and its imposed historical narratives, and “thus a perfect tactic for an era in which the State is omnipresent and all-powerful and yet simultaneously riddled with cracks and vacancies” (Hakim Bey, 2002, p. 117). Although Gezi “can of course be theorized in differing ways depending on the selective consideration of the diverse

conditions associated with the equally diverse expressions that constitute it” (Eken, 2014, p. 427-428), its pluralism, both politically and culturally, manages to move beyond our daily social relations, where individual social positioning “limits the knowledge... of other contexts which [we] do not directly experience” (Giddens, 1984, p. 91), engaging the hidden pluralism present within the city and across its history. In this manner Gezi's participants became “conscious bearers of their Ottoman past and their republican present, demanding a change to a brighter future that is at the same time cosmopolitan and democratic” (Örs & Turan, 2015, p. 496), and it is this claim to their own past and present narratives that resulted in the polarized fissures of Gezi's mediated discourse.

A Çapul'ers Guide to Gezi's Many Mediated Faces:

To summarize briefly, almost fully penetrated by mobile technology, Turkey has been a steadily increasing adopter of digital technologies with an almost 50% rate of internet penetration, and one of the highest uses of social networking sites in the world (4th in global usage of Facebook and 8th for Twitter). However, the country simultaneously has the highest number of imprisoned journalists and has been steadily tightening its laws regarding internet censorship, recently passing an ordinance that would allow shutting down websites without a court order and periodically banning popular social networking and media sites such as YouTube and Twitter. While television remains the dominant medium for news and newspapers still enjoy wide circulation, the consolidation of media ownership poses a threat to information transparency and the diversity of available sources, as previously stated (Sözeri, 2013;

Tunç & Görgülü, 2012; Türkstat, 2013; Aljazeera, 2012). Since Gezi, however, the use of SNS's and online media for the purpose of political activism has been increasing in visibility and frequency, while political unrest has continued and initiated patterns of online media use have started to take root and normalize. Mostly making use of readily available and widely popular tools such as Twitter, Facebook, Google, and Ekşisözlük, intent and skill development have been geared towards securing access to information in the face of censorship – such as the sharing of wireless internet passwords, explaining proxy servers and DNS codes – as well as the digital production of creative alternate modes of documentation, communication, and original programming. It is an instance bridging both new and expansive understandings of citizenship, including daily and interest-driven practices, as well as more traditional forms of engagement, such as voting and volunteering; utilizing the visual language and platforms of networked distribution that are dependent on new digital literacies.

In *The New Public Sphere*, Manuel Castells theorizes the possibility of a system of global governance including the constitution of a new global civil society and public sphere. Castells maintains that our current “network society organizes its public sphere... on the basis of media communication networks” (Castells, 2010, p. 37), and defines this potential emergent public sphere as a “multi-modal communication space” consisting of “mass self-communication... that bypasses mass media and often escapes government control” (Castells, p. 44-45). As a representative instance of highly-digitized and user-created content looking to not only respond, but better and correct official channels of mediated information, Gezi can be seen as a potential realization of this proposed public

sphere in the realm of media, a demonstration of agency seeking to engage outside the inherent political and economic structure that revolves around the available determinism and malleability within them. The available and viewed coverage of the Gezi protests engages arguments of political economy, through the proliferation of related issues such as media ownership, self-censorship, corporate global partnerships, as well as government and independent regulation. Meanwhile the potential role of agency, especially in terms of an active audience, is not only realized, but taken full advantage of, through publicized changes in consumption preferences (Boykot Listesi, 2013), in addition to mediated content production and physical actions that were taken by participants and supporters. The interaction of these two different aspects of media culture and their unavoidable interdependence will guide the following attempt to trace Gezi in both mass and alternative media.

All of Gezi's mediated discourse, regardless of source, could be separated into the interacting categories at “participatory,” “national,” and “international” levels. While the international level of coverage, harnessed a potentially global though mainly Western audience for its output through channels such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, BBC News, CNN International, AlJazeera, Russia Today, France 24, the Guardian, the Telegraph the New York Times, Der Spiegel, the Economist, the Huffington Post, Vice, Dazed & Confused (Occupy Turkey, 2013) (to just name a few), this specific category of content worked in favor of the international legitimization of the demonstrations and provided a clear contrast with most nationally available coverage. This notable contrast, I would argue, aided by the extra time provided by relevant time

zone differences, helped address issues of information reliability taking place within Turkey, as well as earn the trust of protest participants and supporters, resultantly playing a surprising role in the “blame-game” taking place within government circles (Butler, 2013).

This national level of mediated discourse can be split into two, occasionally overlapping subcategories within itself, those of “pro” and “con,” depending on a given channel's openly adopted stance towards the demonstrations. The available national coverage was not necessarily surprising in its partisanship, as multitudes of channels have been associated with particular alignments and censorships in content, facilitated by the treatment of journalists and market inclinations of media conglomerates, historically and currently at work within Turkey, detailed in the previous section. However, it was the openly displayed degree of non-reporting that began to draw initial attention to the state of media coverage in the country. As stated in the article “Turkish Media's Darkest Hour,” “in the wake of the Gezi Park protests, the censorship seems to have become too blatant, too offensive to tolerate” anymore (Zalewski, 2013). While there are a multitude of examples relevant to these practices they can be briefly summarized through *Fig. 1*, *Fig. 2*, and *Fig. 3* below, all published in early June, during the days that saw the most violent clashes between police and protestors and went highly underrepresented on the majority of Turkish mass media:



Fig.1: [Photograph of CNN & CNNTürk Coverage]. (2013).



Fig.2: Yedi gazete tek manşet (One headline, seven newspapers), (Gezginrocker, 2013)



Fig.3: TV Kanalları (TV Channels), (5Harfliler, 2013)

This first image provides a comparative snapshot between two CNN channels, CNN International and CNN Türk, taken early in the morning on June 2nd. While the international news channel was providing live coverage and interviews from Gezi, its Turkish affiliate was airing a scheduled penguin documentary. The second and third

figures, on the other hand, both openly display the scale of the media blackout experienced that same day. While *Fig. 3* depicts what was being shown on a number of popular television channels, it also demonstrates the reason for viewer's increased preference for smaller television channels, such as HalkTV or CemTV (CanlTV, 2013), throughout the month, and until a few days later, they were the only national channels providing any coverage, and *Fig. 2* does the same for print news media, also representing the lack of diversity in content, showing seven national newspapers all bearing the exact same non-Gezi related headline. Taken together, these images directly speak towards experienced issues of information availability and reliability, as well as the polarization in content experienced at the beginning of Gezi, with the lack of any middle ground.

Moving on to “participatory” media, it is important to posit Gezi as a unique articulation of dissent through the utilization of mediated self-representation, user-created content, and heightened self-awareness. This core participating demographics' chosen form of mediated sharing throughout the initial month Gezi protests, as reported, was heavily digital. According to the survey conducted amongst over 4000 participants by Konda Research and Consulting, 77.6% of participants had first heard of the protests online and 84.6% of them had shared related content online (Konda Araştırma ve Danışmanlık, 2014). The Twitter study conducted by the Social Media and Political Participation Lab at New York University, which stemmed from the collection and analysis of over 22 million tweets at the time of its publication, concluded that tweets were posted primarily in Turkish and 90% of all geo-local tweets were coming from within the country (Social Media and Political Participation Lab, 2013). This preference

for web-based sharing can be partially attributed to the lack of coverage that was being experienced through official media channels within the country, and can also be seen outside of social network use, in the proliferation of web-based content throughout the protests, such as the creation of archives, interactive maps, websites, and databases for evidence preservation. However, even though this group possesses easy access and high levels of new media literacy skills, evidenced by their proliferation and continuation of online activity and presence throughout this process, these active participants' multi-modal approach to discourse, utilizing both face-to-face interaction, built-in social organizations such as unions, as well as mediated communication meant that other citizens were able to communicate and engage with events regardless of issues of access, be they geographic or socio-economic.

Gezi participatory media is comprised of various categories within itself, namely media created for the purpose of utilization within the park or parts of the city experiencing demonstrations, such as informational pamphlets, signs representative of the various groups, as well as the different areas within the park, and a mass flurry of graffiti, possessing a heightened degree referentiality and reflexivity, marking their presence onto physical space. Gezi's mediated language was “contemporary in its synthesis of diverse referents,” utilizing the “language of video games, high poetry, popular culture, as well as the revolutionary epic” (Eken, 2014, p. 432). Also, in its meeting and acknowledgment of the other, giving voice to previously silent voices and narratives within the parameters of its carved out utopia. For example, a simple reference to the Uludere / Roboski Massacre, utilizing the province's Kurdish name, scribbled and hung from the branch of a tree,

would become a “powerful rebuke of both the AKP and its Kemalist predecessors, [with] the[ir] emphasis on unity and nation above all else, especially above individual and minority rights” (Singer, 2013, p. 53), an allowance and instance of narrativization of present, yet silent cultural traumas.

Aimed externally, however, were instances of mediation geared towards documentation and creative expression. One of these was protesters' immediately established online television channel named ÇapulTV: Direnişin Medyası (Media of the Resistance), which broadcasting from inside the park, co-opted the insult “çapulcu,” an insult meaning looters and marauders, that had been used to describe protestors by Prime Minister Erdoğan (HalknSesiTw, 2013). Mainly consisting of live interviews, first-hand footage, and portraying a dominantly ethnographic approach, this television channel was created to openly provide an alternative to official broadcasts that would allow for the free flow of information unthreatened by government intervention, and to put a face to the participants of Gezi in response to opposing media coverage (ÇapulTV, 2013). In addition to a flurry personal creative cultural responses spread across the internet that would be impossible fully identify, but have since been slowly collected into documentaries, gallery exhibits, etc. throughout the city, since the end of the protests Gezi-inspired instances of creative expression have also engaged the small, albeit existent, alternative and independent media landscape within Turkey. Exhibiting a directly experienced and felt change as a whole, potentially as a result of the overlap between creators of such media being protest participants, Gezi found expression in small publications, geared towards art culture, both in print and online (e.g. 5harfliler,

hafifmuzik, Bant, Babylon, etc.). It also found its stronghold in humor and satire magazines, a persistent and continually contentious tradition, small in scale that has been present within Turkey since the late 1800's (Güler, 2014).

CONCLUSION:

This initial chapter aims to present a detailed contextual introduction with a particular focus on the utilization of architecture and media in the identification, actualization, and imposition of fractured historical narratives throughout the trajectory of the Turkish Republic. While an emphasis on architecture helps trace the symbolic remnants of memory associated with a space, in this instance Gezi Park, as well as engage with the function of each aesthetic project engaged by those in power at a given time, an emphasis on media not only ties this context in with the film poster series at hand, but also helps carve out the field of cultural production it is situated within, as well as the degree of its alterity and emancipatory potential. Together, both areas of focus also give voice to the importance of the narrative and the imagined, as depicted by Benedict Anderson, in the establishment of social control and organization. Embodying a trajectory built upon reactionary and exclusionary impulses almost impossible to isolate, this attempt at familiarizing what could be described as Turkish political history hopefully iterates the presence of fractures and continuities, collectively housing contradictory intentions. Most importantly, however, by situating Gezi as a source of alternative narratives and imaginaries, this analysis embrace the potential for such discursive and creative mediation to “open a space of contestation and a poetics of the

possible... challenge the hegemony of identity and raise the ethical question of alterity,” “in order to challenge the bounds of what we once thought was possible” (Gratton & Manoussakis, 2007, xxiv).

The polarized discourse around Gezi seems to harbor the hybrid nature of the country’s inherent and ever-shifting cultural identity, leading to fractured, confused, and potentially antagonistic responses towards opposing views, reinforcing macro-narrative binaries that have been rejected by protest participants. However, I would argue that in between the levels of supranational governance, the nation-state, and private spheres, Gezi’s participants carved out a space for themselves, by creating a multi-modal, sub-national, rhetorical public sphere, highly dependent on mediation in its organization and striving for an independence from government regulation. “Narratives are the collective spaces in which we take responsibility for past and present actions,” (Rundell, 2007, p. 111) and through Gezi, a particular fragment of the population was able to do so, by claiming independence from governmental control in the historicization of their experience. Gezi’s mediated representations simultaneously utilized and transcended industry structure, and it is in this landscape of culturally focused and inherently politically positioned independent production that Bant Mag came to be.

Chapter II: *Bant Mag*

Gezi's mediated representations simultaneously utilized and transcended the structure of Turkey's media industry, taking root in a flurry of individualized expression coinciding with the country's network of limited, culturally focused, and inherently politically positioned independent production. It is within this landscape of small-scale production that Bant Mag has been persisting for the past 10 years. As an arts & culture magazine/zine based out of Istanbul, Turkey, Bant has been one of the longest running publications in the alternative media ecology it situates itself within, and while it has evolved in form, content, organization, it has remained consistent in intent and spirit. I first came across Bant Magazine (in its original form) on my fifteenth birthday. It appeared to be an aesthetically slick publication that looked idiosyncratically toiled over, with its preference for illustrations over photographs that turned it into an unusual print gallery. While its content, with a general focus on music, film, and the arts, could be counted as fairly traditional by the standard of Western cultural norms in "alternative" print or online publications and magazines, for me there was something unmistakably and unusually approachable and personable in its style and representative of the geography it came from: Its pages were filled with examples and details of an interconnected cultural underground, both local and global, its pieces well-researched, and its delivery honest and direct with a self-reflexive and deprecating turn, sharing cultural observations and secrets that fell through the cracks of mass mediated delivery worldwide.

In order to construct and better understand the processes leading to the creation of the multi-authored film poster series which will be at the center of Chapter 3, this chapter will focus on the ongoing evolution of this singular organization and its cultural products, creating a parallel micro-historical discursive context to accompany the larger structures introduced in the first section. Undertaking a document analysis aided by ethnographic methods, the following study will utilize data gathered from personal field notes and online correspondence with the magazine's staff of editors and illustrators, in addition to those collected from past issues from Bant Mag's catalogue (both print and online), their web content, and organized events, aiming to provide an understanding of Bant Mag's self-definition and positioning, organizational structure, form, and content. While collecting information regarding individual actors' conceptualizations of the magazine's intended audience, who they see themselves in dialogue with, their own articulations of their evolving trans-national positioning, and what field of action they see themselves operating within through their own testimonials, the examined documentary materials will provide accompanying evidence, simultaneously forming a foundation through which to approach the experienced and exhibited shift within the organization and publication during and after the Gezi events.

Utilizing literature on the sociological structures of cultural production, as well as alternative media and zine culture, the following analysis will seek to function as a detailed and contextually grounded overview, rather than a comprehensive reading, of Bant Mag as an organization or publication. Thus, initially focusing on Bourdieu's conception of cultural production and its inherent reproduction of social structures, in

partnership with conceptions of power and the everyday previously laid out within Giddens' theory of structuration, will allow for the theorization of an understanding of cultural production that is structurally bound, yet not fully static or inevitable; a framework within which to articulate the publication's restrictions and possible affordances. Following this, a look into media and cultural studies literature, particularly through the work of Chris Atton and Stephen Duncombe, will aid in the categorization of Bant Mag as alternative media and creative cultural resistance independent of its relation to New Social Movements as a concept or the specific Gezi protests. Thus, by providing both a macro and micro-level understanding of Bant Mag's own organizational framework, internal discourse, and history as a magazine, zine, and online resource within the larger field of cultural production and social construction, this chapter will construct a platform for acknowledging both the allowances for and limitations of cultural agency, in order to position the film poster series as a physical, visual, and aesthetic manifestation of experiences within the intersection of these boundaries.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

Systematic Reproduction in Culture:

Though undertaken with a clearly defined Western model in mind, Bourdieu's "theory of society," can nevertheless be seen as a call for contextualization and historicization within the realm of cultural production. Utilizing a set of mutually informing concepts throughout his work, Bourdieu calls for the recognition of the reproduction of social structures within the actions and preferences of individual agents,

an internalization of external structures perpetuating a subconscious continuity echoed within cultural production across time/history. In his work *Distinction* Bourdieu goes on to define the notion of the *habitus* as a “a set of dispositions,” a “ structuring structure” which both generates and “organises practices and the perception of practices” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170); a psychological and social system attempting “to account for the creative, active, and inventive capacities of human agents, but without... attributing it to a universal mind” (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993, p. 5). As such, functioning as an internalized system of classification through tendency, disposition, and taste, a set of relations that designate exclusions and exceptions through which positioned individual agents create meaning, Bourdieu's conceptualization, though seemingly potentially static, is nevertheless dynamic, as “habitus is created and recreated” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170) continuously.

It is this understanding that comes to define “action” as a “context for the constrained and principled invention that habitus' 'conditioned and conditional freedom' allows – a relation, then, between convention and innovation,” designating “structure and event [as] inextricably linked” (Biersack, 1989, p. 90). This notion of action is also based upon Bourdieu's conception of *fields*, “a set of social relations in which action is grounded” (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993, p. 2), a collection of “social and institutional arenas in which people express and reproduce their dispositions” (“Bourdieu and ‘Habitus’”). There are a variety of fields, some broad and overarching, like the general field of power, and others more specific, like the field of cultural production, or even subfields within that. The designated field of cultural production then runs on the

accumulation and utilization of cultural and symbolic capital, the former “an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition... [of] empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts” (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993, p. 7), and the latter, a framework of external and institutional legitimations, both of which function as a social mode of power. Such a definition results in the placement of the field of cultural production and the meaning of the works it encompasses “neither in the text[s] themselves], nor in some sort of determinant social structure,” but within the structure, its history, and its relation to “the broader field of power” simultaneously, and provides it with an economy based on a “belief concerning what constitutes a cultural work and its aesthetic or social value” (1993, p. 9).

Hence, Bourdieu's conceptions do not designate or limit the potential of a particular work, but acknowledge the inherently present structural influences within it. Whether it be one of distinct and declared resistance or not, they do not discount intention or spontaneity, but reveal the macro traces at work within each. While agents cannot be independent of their broader context, they cannot be fully bound by it either, “as the ever-shifting conditions of the field enable different interactions” (Haluza-DeLay, 2008, p. 208). Thus, in the field of cultural production claiming and fulfilling the role of cultural producer exerts a form of power as “the creator of value” (Bourdieu & Johnson, 1993, p. 164), which when engaged with reflexively and for the purposes of transparency becomes emancipatory. The cultural field possesses “a relative autonomy,” as “a universe of belief” (1993, p. 15), and its creators inhabit a dominated position within the dominant class, which is “objectively, therefore subjectively” ambivalently defined – both

internally and externally – as a form of “weak power” (1993, p. 165). The formal properties of the produced works themselves are both “socially and historically constituted” (1993, p. 11), their value bound to changes within the field itself at the moment of its creation and by intertextuality. “Works have significance for certain groups and individuals based on their own objective position, cultural needs and capacities for analysis or symbolic appropriation” (1993, p. 21), making aesthetic disposition a form of cultural capital and designating both “art and cultural consumption [as] predisposed... to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences.... contribut[ing] to the process of social reproduction,” unless otherwise enacted (1993, p. 2). However, as this gives value to cultural works only so far as one can understand them, it also calls into action the affordance of utilizing the “pop” form within the realm of alternative media, rejecting the cultural field's hierarchy and relationally erected boundaries that restrict access to meaning.

Alternative Media as Process:

In his work theorizing alternative media and focusing on zine production, Chris Atton begins by acknowledging the problems of definition experienced within this particular field of study. Conceptualizing alternative media as a set of processes enabling “participation and reflexivity,” he designates its resultant material products as embodying and engaging varying degrees of alterity (Atton, 2002, p. 4). Placing content as only one element within this larger set of relations and procedures, Atton distinguishes alternative media “as much by their capacity to generate non-standard, often infractory, methods of

creation, production, and distribution,” while requiring an accompanying democratized redefinition of the role of the producer to include those who are regularly excluded from such cultural and symbolic agency (2002, p. 4). Atton thus imbues alternative media with “transformatory potential” (2002, p. 7), both within the realm of individual experience and social relations beyond the mediated text, as well as in the constructed and utilized principles of organization, production, content, presentation, and intention (2002, p. 9-10) relating to such works. He argues that, “if the personal may be political, the personal may be of social consequence” (2002, p. 18). Thus, contextually situated, alternative media is tasked with providing and making visible an alternate set of values and meanings (2002, p. 12), becoming a site of “cultural contestation” (2002, p. 15) and resistance as a “heteroglossic (multiple-voiced) text” produced by those who would also consume it (2002, p. 9). Subsequently delivering a summary definition of his model for alternative media as “an area of cultural production that... enables us to consider its various manifestations and activations as part of an autonomous field (in the Bourdieusian sense) that is constituted by its own rules,” Atton engages the concept of *fields*, finding its structure of cultural production inherently limiting and “inhospitable to certain notions of radicality” (2002, p. 29), which he associates with alternative media's demotic and hierarchically opposed practices.

Examining the zine form itself, Atton defines them as a medium “monological in practice yet dialogical in intent,” inwardly focused on the study of the self rather than the constructed other (2002, p. 67). Zines “do not simply use the object of their writing and reading as symbolic capital with which to communicate to others... zines are created

precisely for people to communicate through them – they are multiple objects created by different producers to reflect and construct a complex of social realities” (2002, p. 67). Placing an emphasis on their de-professionalization of production, Atton comes to define said producers as autodidacts, in possession of a “relation to legitimate culture that is at once 'liberated' and disabused, familiar, and disenchanting” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 84) refusing fixed definition, and thus domination. However, in his attempt to propose a semi-independent field of cultural production for alternative media, tangentially existing as a “a demotic avant-garde” (Atton, 2002, p. 30) in possession of both cultural and journalistic practices, Atton declares Bourdieu's conception to be too structurally entrenched, in turn claiming larger emancipatory capabilities by reducing the unit of social change to the individual experience in the realm of culture. And while the true boundaries and freedoms may realistically lie somewhere in between, Atton's model of alternative media does similarly require the positioning of alternative media and its producers within a socio-cultural context of broader structures, calling for a mode of study involving a full set of processes that allow for a malleability in classification.

The Zine Underground:

Stephen Duncombe's own study of zine culture in the American alternative underground mirrors Atton's definitions in terms of individual emancipatory potential and cultural resistance, as well as the creation of alternate systems of value and meaning, while openly acknowledging its inherent shortcomings through the observed positioning

of said culture as directly oppositional to capitalist mass-consumer culture alongside the social placement of its mostly middle class creators. Offering a view of its structural influences and limitations, if not potential perpetuations, Duncombe outlines such inherent problems and contradictory impulses in his politics of alternative culture at the end of his study, which designates the power of culture as a

Space where radically different ways of seeing, thinking, and being can be experimented with and developed... Culture helps us account for the past, make sense of the present, and imagine the future. That is why it is so deeply political. Yet... the politics of culture never announce themselves as political... they become part of us, get under our skin, and become part of our 'common sense' (Duncombe, 2008, p. 184).

This is where their power resides, a power infused with habitus, but which can also be claimed or opened up through creation. Defining zines as “a radically democratic and participatory ideal of what culture and society might be,” carrying the “variegated voices of a subterranean world staking out its identity through the cracks of capitalism and in the shadows of the mass media” through a networked community of creators and producers (2008, p. 7-8), Duncombe ultimately sees zines as creating imaginary worlds through cultural discourse, a posited political potential through the redefinition of experience. A medium whose formal elements lie “somewhere between a personal letter and a magazine” (2008, p. 14), zines are “noncommercial, nonprofessional, small circulation magazines, which their creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves” (2008, p. 10). In turn, said producers are, for the most part, “young and the children of professionals, culturally if not financially middle-class,” pursuing downwardly mobile careers of deviance, inhabiting the role of “what used to be called bohemians” (2008, p.

12). However, according to Duncombe, “what gives bohemia its love and rage and creativity,” in essence, its language and inchoate politics, “is its uneasy embrace with the enemy” from within (2008, p. 203).

Offering an almost parallel sub-notion to Bourdieu's *fields*, Duncombe utilizes the idea of a diaspora of bohemias in his formulation of The Scene: “the loose confederation of self-consciously “alternative” publications, bands, shows, radio stations, cafes, bookstores, and people that make up modern bohemia,” (2008, p. 58) locating community, and thus social context, at the heart of the zine's resistance, one which is not necessarily fully unique within the historical trajectory of cultural resistance. Such a community is “based not in common understandings, but in shared dialogue” (2008, p. 75), and finds itself preoccupied with the everyday in terms of content. “What is considered newsworthy is what is out of the ordinary... (what zines honor is) the everyday” (2008, p. 27), redefining and assigning new meaning and value through a personalized public and political discourse, disintegrating the distance between them, creating “a shadow map” of an otherwise discursively invisible world (2008, p. 66). Devoid of the notion of financial profit, “the dominant justification for production and creation in our society,” zines then inherently “embody a critique” (2008, p. 101) in creating an alternative. However their precarious social positioning is again acknowledged, as Duncombe states, “The bohemian – stripped of all criticism of capitalism – is the model consumer citizen” (2008, p. 134).

DOCUMENT AND ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS: “MORE THAN AN EAST-WEST CLICHÉ”

Constructing a contextual framework in which to position cultural production, the above literature introduces larger structural concepts and modes of power in which to relationally position Bant Mag, alongside smaller formal elements, alternative systems, and individual actions to locate within it. While Bourdieu's ideations offer an acknowledgement of the role of a wider mediated cultural landscape and its limitations influencing both creator and creation, Duncombe and Atton's works in alternative media propose the emancipatory potential of its processes, small in scale, but able to embody great difference. As such, systematically moving through the above-mentioned elements, such as production, organization, distribution, etc. the following analysis will initially trace Bant Mag's history via the publication itself and its organizational structure and constitution, followed by a look into Bant Mag's own self-definition and trans-national positioning, as well as the alternative and independent media landscape it places itself within. Finally focusing on the various affordances and implications of the mediums and forms utilized by the publication, as well as its content, this chapter will conclude with a brief examination of Bant Mag's special Gezi issue as a whole, locating its embodied shifts within the publication's trajectory, approaching it as the magazine's own framing to the Gezi Film Poster Series.

In their own words, “Bant Mag is an independent magazine,” established in 2004, out of the remnants of the failed “youth” magazine *Forward*. The resulting Bant Magazine, as detailed in their first anniversary issue, was, initially, a commissioned

venture by Mobimedya, a for-profit Turkish publisher that is no longer in existence, forming a partnership that lasted until the magazine's 66th issue. After a brief hiatus, however, the publication came back in late 2011 now re-named Bant Mag, produced by the same group of core creators and, this time, as a completely independent online entity – both a monthly online magazine and a web resource for daily cultural news – accompanied by an also online thinner English addition, and a print and free “taster” zine. This transition in production and distribution methods was affectionately detailed through an anthropomorphized account of the current zine in their celebratory 100th issue: “During my first years they would line me up along the windows and displays of newsstands and bookstores. Then they just started leaving me at different places, left and right. Then I found out I was now free of charge; whatever that means. Isn't what matters getting into someone's bag, someone's room...” (“Merhabalar, nasılsın?”, 2015) In addition to the created publication itself, Bant Mag has also been increasingly involved in event organization, cultivating a fully realized community from their co-creators, producers, and readers through planned concerts, film screenings, exhibits, parties, and workshops in conjunction with local and international outlets and venues; an undertaking that was initially “just a well-intentioned idea of meeting in a social setting” (Güngör, 2005, p. 02). Most recently, moving into their own office space in Istanbul, Bant Mag has also created an open venue, further manifesting the notion of community through a space in which to exist and collaborate, independent of any outside actors or interests, a space to physically inhabit and display their values and work.

Positioning:

“Since the first day of its existence, Bant Mag has been aiming to present local alternative movements and subcultures and has been chasing after young talented artists to take them along the way, and together, destroy the geographical boundaries in the world of art and culture” (“Bant Magazine”, 2011). This openly stated motivation based in local identification and positioning implicates an inherently perceived duty of representation. Acknowledging the industry-oriented limitations of independent production within Istanbul and Turkey, “a place filled wrongs,” as a whole, Bant defines such creation as an urgent and pressing local need (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014). However, also describing Istanbul as the “massive cultural center of Turkey,” Bant Mag openly tasks itself with introducing the creativity that the city has to offer not only to the local and national community, but to a global audience, as well. As illustrator and Illustration Editor Sadi Güran states, “as an independent magazine we research and put out the things that we really want to discuss and share. Our readers follow what we do knowing this. And following the format change, ever since we started existing in the digital world, we've had the chance to reach a wider and farther-reaching audience” (Sadi Güran, personal communication, April 9, 2015). While the zine's current distribution is heavily focused in the Istanbul area, it also includes most major cities in Turkey, including Ankara, Izmir, Eskişehir, Antalya, and Balıkesir. Having organized events in cities such as Stockholm, Berlin, and Luxembourg internationally, Bant Mag also sees itself “showing there is much more to experience to the city [Istanbul] artistically rather

than the east-west synthesis clichés and ideas stuck within the traditional stiff walls which are long being surpassed” (“Bant Magazine”, 2011). Bant seeks to move beyond binaries or definitions offered within specific fields, be they cultural or social, by simultaneously cultivating trans-national network of independent creative production. Discursively represented through the publication's name, this implied political positioning, is paralleled in the publication's accidental nomenclature, *Bant*: A title suggested by a friend who happened to pass by during the magazine's first official meeting and selected due to its succinct bi-lingual possibilities in Turkish and English, as well as semiotic associations with the concepts of “recording, documentation, and the closure of wounds” (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014).

Organization:

The magazine's founding and core staff describes their organizational structure as one based on friendship and interest-driven networks, sharing and mobilizing the intellectual and artistic tastes and talents of a tight-knit environment. “Bant Magazine was formed through our trust and interest in and wish to share one another's musical, cinematic, and other intellectual interests” (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014). In line with Duncombe's categorization of zines, the Bant Mag contributors “instead of relying upon sanctioned mediators... assert their own right to speak authoritatively” (Duncombe, 2008, p. 114); “while constantly admiringly looking at music, film, and fashion magazines from overseas, we were aware that the same intelligence and talent was swarming around us” (Güngör, 2005, p. 02). This core staff, though differentiated by traditional editorial titles such as publisher, creative director, editor in chief, and with section editors for illustration, cinema, web content, etc. in addition to their staff writers and contributors,

create an organizational system that is by no means limiting and is, rather, mostly utilized to designate those who are permanent or founding participants. Thus, actually devoid of a truly hierarchical structure within their organization or of any financial interest, they find themselves in an environment potentially limiting in financial opportunity and reach, but one which simultaneously strongly fosters creative praxis. Within this set-up, the group of contributors, a growing entity that shifts on an issue-by-issue basis, mainly consists of readers with a desire to participate in the creation and production of the publication, readers who are then initiated within this network, and similarly encouraged to contribute in a variety of ways and through a variety of topics. Mainly getting in touch and meeting with the skeleton crew via e-mail (field notes, 2012; Sedat Girgin, personal communication, April 9, 2015; Ethem Onur Bilgiç, personal communication, March 20, 2015), this increasingly youthful group lends “a lasting dynamic” to the publication (Sadi Güran, personal communication, April 9, 2015), exuding “an excitement in terms of renewal and creativity” (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014). As such, while organizational titles and core creators do exist, the structure of participation is in the form of a malleable and collaborative network that is independent of compensation. In their own words, its creators wanted Bant to feel as if it didn't have a specific owner, so that “those who get into it can feel like they own it” themselves. (Buksur, 2005, p. 03).

Landscape:

“How can we have a chance at living, when no precedent has survived.” (Solmaz, 1993)

Bant Mag openly position themselves within an ecology of independent publications, both local and international. An extension of this network, Bant Mag itself has defined the parameters of its creative and persistently shrinking landscape of peers.

While tracing the history of independent presses in *Notes from Underground*, Duncombe underlines this ever-present element of impermanence, stating, “the editors, like the movement leaders, simply burned out” (2008, p. 146). A testament to this impermanence as experienced within the field of Turkish independent magazines, Bant itself says, “In the days that Bant came out, in addition to mainstream magazines within the “youth and music” stands at bookstores, there were publications appealing to the reader seeking an alternative as well... When the 2010's started, almost all of these publications withdrew from the shelves” (“Merhabalar, nasılsın?”, 2014). Some of these magazines, both local and global, are listed in the 13th issue of Bant's old incarnation offering a special story on Independent Magazines which came out in 2005. Interviewing writers and founders of other similar publications out of Turkey such as Roll, Basatap, Level, Rec, and Altayazı, only two of which still exist today, the magazine also included a list of inspirational publications that were already out of commission. While the featured publications' focuses ranged from music to film, literature, photography, comic books, gaming, and recording technology, what each of its creators' had to say was the same: Difficulties with funding, the cost of printing, lack of access to distribution channels, a high turnover in volunteer staff, a national cultural resistance to reading, and adapting to technological developments were causing problems of continuity, permanence, as well as circulation. “The only advantage left for magazines is that they can come into the bathroom,” an advantage that now no longer holds true (Yeniyurt, 2005, p. 06). However, each interviewee, including Bant's own writers, call for the formation of community, stating

that “if independent magazines in Turkey could come together, they would form the biggest group in terms of influence,” at least at the time (2005, p. 06).

Within the same story Bant also positions themselves within in a larger, international network of independent publications, listing a group of magazines and zines from Europe, U.S.A., and Canada that have influenced their work, interviewing some of their members as well. What is intriguing about this list of alternative publications, which includes the likes of Plan B, Juxtapoz, and AdBusters, ranging in topics from political activism, to hip hop culture and fashion, is that in contrast to their previously listed Turkish local counterparts, most of them remain in publication, displaying much more continuity, albeit currently with an increasingly online presence. Though part of a much more entrenched culture of such publications within their respective countries and dealing with much higher numbers of circulation, this continuity mirrors Bant Mag's own trajectory: “The shape, content, and reason of existence for magazines today and those from 10 years ago are very different. We strangely changed shape, but inwardly stayed the same, our aims and feelings are quite similar to those we had on the first day. Only our quality quota increased a little, of course” (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014). It is this trans-national network, obviously increasingly active as the magazine moved online, that was engaged as the publication organized an exhibition and concert night in Stockholm under the title Young Istanbul, and another in Berlin called Destroy Istanbul (Güngör, 2005, p.02). This local and international reach and ecology then directly correlate to Bant Mag's content, forming bonds and creative partnership amongst its participants across the globe, creating an interwoven network of readers and participants, all potential creators.

Going back to the anthropomorphized account mentioned at the beginning of the chapter to summarize,

Like I said, the same team prepared, packaged, and sent me off to the presses for the 100th time this month. It is unknown how many more times they'll do this again... Sometimes when I encounter my other magazine friends in settings, we chat and have a heart to heart. The state of the country, industry problems, etc... We wonder if we should run away. We are aware that our numbers are increasingly dwindling (“Merhabalar, nasılsın?”, 2014).

Form:

A good portion of those dwindling numbers, as well as a simultaneous, inherent, yet seemingly contradictory widening of audience and network can be attributed to technological developments. Shifting from the medium of a magazine to an online publication and free mini-zine, the various forms that have been utilized by Bant Mag's creators each align them with differing processes and communities, while highlighting different elements and degrees of alterity within. Bant Magazine, the publication's first iteration, could still be considered within the realm of alternative media, even though its form and distribution were indicative of the publication's partnership with Mobimedya, seemingly placing itself into a more traditional mode of production, appearing visually and aesthetically professional, and thus presenting an image of higher entry barriers, regardless of its openness to participation. As such, this incarnation located Bant's source of alterity mostly within the realm of content, highlighting their approach selected topics, as well as the shape and format said content took. Highly self-reflexive, especially regarding the history, potential future, and implications of their selected mode of

communication, older Bant's 13th issue also acknowledged and embraced the coming of online innovation, as well as the affordances and limitations of “the magazine.” Describing it as the “most personal medium” in a world that constantly connects and propels us, the story stated “with its arrested and arresting content, the magazine leaves you alone with yourself and its content.” Calling attention to its “document”ary properties as a monthly tactile archive of unchanging information, the piece places an emphasis on substance, relegating form to only embodying the capacity to carry a message, simultaneously highlighting the potential of those in power to co-opt that message, and utilize “the magazine” as a form of transmitting or imposing a point of view (Buksur, 2005, p. 03-04).

As the zine and web iteration of Bant Mag places the publication directly into a tangential network of participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006) bearing traces of de-professionalization, externally appearing to lower their entry barrier while simultaneously allowing increased aesthetic possibility, freedom from cost, and an inherent political positioning independent of its content, it also directly breaks its access from the above mentioned institutional or governmental powers. Though the printed Bant Mag zine appears aesthetically and stylistically closer to a traditional “alternative” magazine layout, forming a material continuity between the publication's previous form, the utilization of the zine medium itself carries a liberatory freedom from any formal restrictions (Duncombe, 2008). Taking a closer look into fanzines within that same 13th issue story, the zine is presented as a network, providing and accelerating communications that mass media outlets could not. Embodying a complete disregard for

formal conventions, the aim of zines, mirroring Duncombe's approach, is seen as dialogue, however fleeting and limited in reach. "Those who didn't listen didn't understand what fanzines were saying, but fanzines continually talked to people, told them what no one else was saying, what no one wanted to hear" (Güngör, 2005, p. 19). As such, the selection of the zine form, its goal of critical dialogue, and its accompanying acceptance of limited reach, all imbue Bant Mag's taster zine with a new critical and political leaning as a medium alone.

The publication's full online form, however, embodies what Bant itself has called "the most radical transformation" and a new chapter in magazine publishing. "Mediums providing electronic interaction, such as the web, harbor many positive and democratic characteristics by decreasing their cost, and creating, more participatory, instantaneous content" (Buksur, 2005, p. 03). However, this 2005 article tasks the online form and its screen transmission with finding its own codes, moving beyond a "photograph/a copy" of the original in the post-paper world, also noting that given Turkey's low rate of internet connectivity, such transformation may not be likely (2005, p. 04). Yet making that full transition only six years later, Bant Mag is not only a response to and acknowledgement of a changing audience, but also a publication that, in light of its consistency, had embraced the alternative values of independent and participatory publishing from the beginning: "We came into existence and distinguished ourselves as a platform open to participation, a place where everyone could share something" ("Bant Mag Cevaplıyor", 2014).

Content:

All of the elements and processes just described and examined above directly influence and are visible within Bant Mag's content. "Our motivation was our belief that we could do something different than the magazines... that were already in the market. Actually, our goal was to show everyone how talented our group of friends and their friends were, and it worked" ("Bant Mag Cevaplıyor", 2014). As such, "taking a product that is bought and sold as a commodity in the marketplace and forcing it into an intimate relationship" (Duncombe, 2008, p. 114), Bant Mag's content represents the interests and creations of an immediate network, bestowed with personal values. While the publication's general focus can be categorized as arts & culture, with a special emphasis on music, film, and the visual arts, they have also repeatedly included and studied more traditionally political topics with an almost academic diligence, publishing articles ranging in topic from internet censorship and modes of cultural resistance, to gentrification, neoliberalism, and militarism, making room for the works of authors such as Lefebvre and Baudrillard (*Bant (1-66); Bant Mag (1-38), 2011-2015*).

Currently, Bant Mag's content can be split in two by platform: Their website, where they take limited advertising, functioning as a daily-updated resource links them to a larger world of alternative culture and immediate consumption, sharing news items, concert ticket giveaways, and daily features, while the monthly magazine provides a more consistent output, utilizing traditional formats such as interviews, topic-based reviews, lists, and gallery features, alongside less formal formats such as impromptu

chats/discussions, culture jamming strategies, historical investigations, and various platform experiments (“Bant Magazine”, 2011). However, one element of Bant Mag's content that has remained consistent is their heavy utilization of illustrations in place of photographs. This trait that initially caught my own eye as an avid reader, helped Bant to carve out a more artistically representative and imaginary space, garnering great attention since their first issue and setting them apart as “for the first time, a magazine was providing such space for local and young illustrators” (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014). All of the content included within these formats is directly linked to personal tastes and interests, as the staff gathers ideas, suggestions, and tips from a growing community of creators and participants (“Bant Mag Cevaplıyor”, 2014), utilizing and taking advantage of embodied as well as increasing access to cultural capital, while forming a relatively continuous trajectory throughout its various incarnations. “Fortunately, the team hasn't played with my content much, it's almost the same as when I first came out... Maybe it's because they can't do any better; but that's not really my concern” (“Merhabalar, nasılsın?”, 2014).

The Gezi Shift:

It is within this context of production processes and discursive trajectory that Bant Mag's response to Gezi resides. While the demonstrations and retaliations within the park started to take place at the tail end of May, the magazine staff and its contributors were putting the finishing touches on their 20th issue for the month of June, an issue which was released belatedly and silently, “left behind” in the office, on their way to

Gezi Park: “It happened in an instant. Speaking for myself, I don't remember with what motivation I found myself in the middle of the park. First the instinct to claim and protect your friend, then the geography you live in, and then having woken up, never wanting to go back to sleep again” (Sadi Güran, personal communication, April 9, 2015). The 20th issue's opening letter to the reader directly acknowledges changed perceptions and a changed future, now armed with the knowledge of “how beautiful we are when we stand together.” While this open declaration of positioning and its accompanying series of tree photographs places the publication alongside protestors as an entity, it also explicitly acknowledges the role of “communication, creative power, [and] sense of humor” within this demonstration of resistance (Bant Mag Ekibi, 2013). It is here where Bant Mag's 21st issue, as a cultural artifact, is tasked with representing this experience and change through content and format. Opening with a letter similar to the one opening their previous issue, the special Gezi issue, Bant's first explicitly political issue from cover to cover, expresses confusion, uncertainty, hope, and solidarity, while claiming a place within a long and large historical trajectory:

There is a great weight on all of our shoulders... The weight of a country in which so much has been going wrong for so long; a weight that is not just limited to the past 10 years; a weight that's been ongoing since before this magazine's team opened their eyes to the world. And add to that the weight of the Middle East and the World... Is it left to those who took to the streets with the Gezi events to solve? Who knows, maybe it is, may be it isn't, but it needs to start somewhere. In as much as bonds of peace can't be built without changing hearts (Bant Mag Ekibi, 2013).

Stating that this issue, as a whole, did what they liked to do best and housed as many different voices as possible, the Gezi special issue featured multi-modal

documentation, interviews, artwork, and cultural guides, offering an outlet to creatively voice experience (Sedat Girgin, personal communication, April 9, 2015), while creating an expansive and in-depth overview of Gezi's mediated landscape. Housing a specific emphasis on the impact of media throughout the events, it details the essential roles played by the foreign press and citizen-reporting, through first-hand accounts and interviews, openly presenting their effects as the result of the failure of Turkey's mass media institutions. One featured interview even sees a journalist working for a major paper decrying the system directly: "If we had a transparent and objective media, the Gezi period would not have been this way, it would not have grown this much!" ("Bant Mag Soruyor", 2013). Connecting Gezi to a larger culture of global resistance and also tracing its developments in Turkey's other cities, the issue creates a critical cultural continuum, interviewing both local and international journalists, artists, publishers, activists, cartoonists, radio broadcasters, authors, actors, dancers, academics, photographers, psychologists, and musicians, rescuing Gezi from becoming an isolated incident, linking it both to what came before and after. Thus, it provides a space for Gezi's narratives to survive outside of memory, a place where direct documentation and action start to collide with imagination.

CONCLUSION:

As seen above, each of these analyzed elements come together to form a whole in which to situate the magazine's 21st issue as a continuation echoing the publication's persistent interest in cultural resistance, a shift in trajectory rather than a re-definition or

re-alignment. While none of these processes of form, content, or positioning can be approached as entirely independent, as each mutually informs and shapes the other, they collectively depict an ever-growing creative community, hoping to reflexively utilize its inherent limitations and privileges, aiming to represent itself, as well as where it comes from. Placed within the country's cultural center, the product of middle class creatives, part professional, part amateur, Bant Mag's claim to inclusivity lies in its permanent openness to participation and its free circulation, regardless of the scale of agency it may actually galvanize. It also lays claim to a cultural memory that does not necessarily belong to one selective past, real or imaginary, but engages with the intertwined and contradictory fragments of what is actually present and becoming within their surrounding geography and personal experiences, instead of one that is defined for them or in their name. Tied to an older form of production embracing physical permanence and stability, in addition to an immediate, democratic, participatory, and flexible digital presence, Bant Mag's Gezi issue in particular is a visual and material artifact encapsulating a transformatory historical, social, and cultural experience, mythologized through creative discourse, utilizing the mediated language of its participants.

Chapter III: *The Gezi Film Poster Series, A Month at the Movies*

The resistance movement that began at Gezi Park spread from a few trees to the entire country, even to the four corners of the world. While resisting we kept traveling from one emotion to another; while what we experienced, witnessed, and heard strained the limits of reality. Sometimes it was like we were in a film. So to encapsulate those film-like days we lived through during this one-month process housing every kind of possible emotion, we prepared various posters commemorating the past month, with all of the resistance's heroes, unforgettable slogans, inconceivable events, and exuberance.

Melikşah Altuntaş (“Gezi Sineması Poster Serisi,” 2013).

The Gezi Film Poster series is a multi-authored work consisting of nine hypothetical film posters within Bant Mag's special Gezi issue. Utilizing various styles and mediums, each of the posters within the series reference narratives and narrative elements native to the Gezi events, the series as a whole devised as a piece with which to encapsulate, engage, and preserve fragments of a shared lived experience. Real characters, conflicts, settings, both large and small, figure into these imagined films, simultaneously narrativizing a history both personal and national, and potentially re-imagining them through the form's inherent property of suggestion. “We organized the works for that series as a team. We compiled the slogans from the Gezi events that had stuck to our tongues and thought up film posters from a specific genre for each of them. Then we distributed those to our contributing illustrators whose lines would best suit each genre” (Sadi Güran, personal correspondence, April 9, 2015). These intertextualized titles, culled from Gezi's deluge of referential graffiti directly nod to a specific in-the-

know audience, while functioning as the starting point for the creation of “the[se] missing films of real stories” (Ethem Onur Bilgiç, personal communication, March 20, 2015). “Really, the actors within the posters we drew, were us” (Sedat Girgin, personal communication, April 9, 2015).

As such, the Gezi Film poster series directly utilizes the imaginary in presenting the actual experience of Gezi, a brush with the hyper-real, due to an inability to process reality and its bounds of absurdity. Or in the words of couple of Bant Mag’s contributing illustrators, “We only actually realized how terrifying [and] real things were much later” (Ethem Onur Bilgiç, personal communication, March 20, 2015).

Events that were experienced during that time really were like fiction. I had never been left in the middle of an event so much like an action film before. Naturally, as I was preparing the posters, these scenes kept coming to my mind. This was the aim of the work, really. It was as if what was lived was fiction and we were creating the posters of that fiction. I think that viewers probably felt the same things when looking at them (Sedat Girgin, personal communication, April 9, 2015).

The series fulfills this dual embodiment by making use of the “movie poster,” a choice in form directly correlative with a familiarized mode of perception that suggests possibility, a form simultaneously viewed as artistic creation and tradition, inherently material as physical product, while also a potential politically active and subversive cultural strategy. The medium this form traditionally represents and is directly bound to, film, bears internal institutional structures and interests within the field of cultural production, while seeking to individually and collectively activate both visual, analytical, and emotional engagement as artistic expression. As Downing states, “by considering art, media, and

communication together we 'do not fall into the trap of segregating information, reasoning, and cognition from feeling, imagination, and fantasy'" (Atton, 2002, p. 22), a potential harbored within the filmic experience itself, as well as its representative posters. While housing and embracing the constructed (edited) nature and element of the imaginary within its reality, film can still simultaneously function as a mode of preservation of any given experience and event. As such, the film poster, inevitably an advertisement, a collision of art and commerce, remains the representation of an experience one can choose to have, a non-prescriptive suggestion, as well as an indication, as evidence of existence.

It is all of these functions and various engagements, each inter-related and tied to various facets of the poster form that this chapter seeks to delineate and analyze. Arguing that the Gezi Film Poster series in its entirety functions as an archive of micro-narratives and histories, a proposed repository of experience, the following sections will utilize an analytical framework (based in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). in order to uncover how said function is realized, as well as articulate its advantages and affordances as a form of preservation. As such, examining the artistic and aesthetic, socio-political, and material cultural aspects of the film poster form, the chapter will approach the series, in order, as art, action, and artifact. Embarking on this analysis with a brief historical overview of the film poster form in order to engage in a brief visual analysis of the series and the formal codes it utilizes as artistic creation, this first section will conclude by referencing literature regarding the functions of art and the imaginary, focusing on the series' embodiment of each. Transitioning into the second section of

“action” through conceptualizations of political aesthetics, this second framing will present and analyze the series as a realized strategy of cultural resistance, a mode of subversive communication functioning as political participation. Finally, the series as artifact, a material manifestation and tangible memory, will engage implications of reproduction and permanence, the creation of myth within, culminating in the creation of archive.

ANALYSIS: ART, ACTION, ARTIFACT

The Poster: A Brief History

The film poster as art begets a cultural ground in which utility and aesthetics, and creativity and commerce collide. Categorized as popular art, the form's history is one influenced by developments within the film industry, as well as aesthetic and artistic movements, and technological developments, “the ongoing story of the link between cinema and society” (King, 2003, p. 6). Defined as “a composition of pictures and words – or words alone” (Halldin, 2012, p. 1), the form of the poster as advertisement dates far back into history, while the film poster specifically, can be traced to the late 1800's. Following the period's development of lithographic technology and mass production, the first use of the poster as a means of film promotion can be attributed to Jules Chéret in France in the 1890's, replacing the placard and aiding in the form's “transition from Victorian graphics to the art nouveau style” (Meggs & Purvis, 2006, p. 195). The form's second widespread shift then took place following the emergence off-set printing and

photography post WWI, “the new storytelling device of civilization” (Moholy-Nagy, 1923/1970, p. 2).

Throughout this historical trajectory, however, the film poster has been seen as fulfilling various inter-connected functions. The first and most consistent of these is advertising and commerce, a utilitarian view tasking the poster with informing the customer base, grabbing attention and publicizing in order to draw as many people into theaters as possible (Agrasanchez Jr. & Berg, 2001; Halldin, 2012). The second, places the film poster within “a long and rich tradition of popular folk art,” its creators mainly anonymous, the form itself mostly overlooked (Branaghan, 2006, p. 281). Echoing this approach, Rogelio Agrasanchez Jr. and Charles Ramirez Berg argue for “the appreciation of the poster as an evocative art form and an important medium in its own right” (2001, p. 9), while also reflecting that its utilization of the popular allows for the uncovering of its socio-political role “in shaping national identity” as well (2001, p. 10). This third function of social representation tasks posters with preservation and the maintenance of memory as historical resources (2001, p. 9), “extraordinarily clear reflections of the values, trends, and important events of their time” (Halldin, 2012, p. 2). As such, the poster instigates both collective and individual identification and engagement with the personal, the communal, and the political at large, simultaneously a material object decorating bedroom walls (King, 2006), a beckoning call into the theater, and a representation of a national and international imaginary. “The images' seductive magic” (Agrasanchez Jr. & Berg, 2001, p. 22) is tasked with communication, “connect[ing] with the people on the street” (King, 2003, p. 6).

Poster as Art:

When approaching the form as art, all of these functions directly translate into developed and utilized visual codes and creative processes. “The interaction in the graphic expression between picture and text is what many believe in the modern sense is the unique characteristic of the poster,” appealing to the viewer's imagination and emotions, while catching their eye (Halldin, 2012, p. 3) through “the shock effect of new typefaces and brilliant colour effects, depending on the desired intensity of the message” (Moholy-Nagy, 1923, p. 2). “Philosopher and art critic Eugenio d'Ors once said that a poster was 'a shout glued to a wall'” (Agrasanchez Jr. & Berg, 2007, p. 18). Changing and evolving in tandem with artistic movements of the 20th century, the film poster form slowly began to standardize and develop a set of visual codes and parameters, initially circumventing high illiteracy rates through the utilization of images promoting a scene from a film or the act of movie going itself (Hawes, 2015; Novin, 2014), while eventually growing to accommodate an increasingly media literate audience, transmitting its message through the establishment of suggestive mainstay elements such as the tagline and the teaser logo throughout the years (Branaghan, 2006, p. 266).

As such, film poster styles are said to have grown into two distinct categories, the minimalist print, in which a “collection of images, symbols, and fonts represent key elements from the movie,” and the interpretive poster “forgo[ing] literal representations of the film for illustrations that captured the movie’s biggest moments or its emotive essence” (Hawes, 2015). Such categorizations have been increasingly influenced and

blurred by the development of technology, allowing for a distancing from pragmatic decision-making in order to curtail cost constraints, internationally influential artistic movements increasingly engaging abstraction and expressionism, as well as the institutionalization and vitalization of star power, eventually resulting in today's teaser and advance visuals, film posters, and viral campaigns, all strategically engaging a now built-in fan base (Hawes, 2015; Novin, 2014). However, such developments, technological as well as institutional, slowly eradicated the local film poster in favor of either globally distributed artwork or the “international” poster (King, 2003, p. 9). They also simultaneously saw the slow, yet steady decline of the illustrated film poster, a dramatic form of visual representation, adding an element “that wasn't there in the film still. So something got put into it in the process of doing the drawing that wasn't there in the first place” (Branaghan, 2006, p. 266).

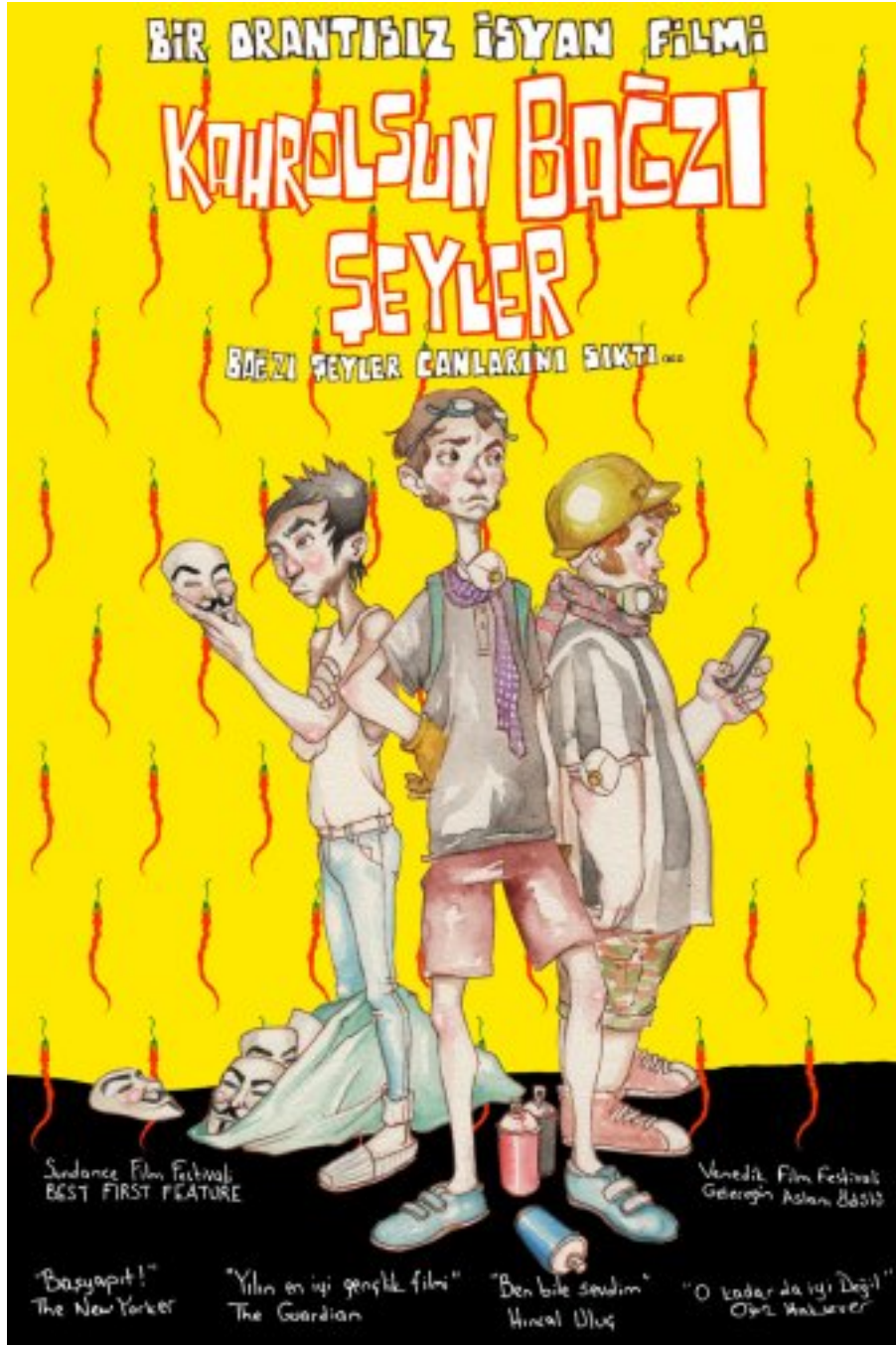
Visual and Formal Analysis:

Interestingly, in addition to engaging well-known themes and familiar visual codes, the Gezi Film Poster Series also recovers both of these above-mentioned practices. Though generally adhering to the international standardized form of the movie poster in shape and orientation (some more than others), these posters are imbued with an intrinsic locality and designated community, its intertextual references dependent on familiarity and media literacy, revealing depth and additional meaning for their target audience, the participants of Gezi. As such, while the series can appeal to and communicate with a wide demographic just by virtue of its form and its utilization of certain film poster codes and genre tropes relating to both image and text – the titles, tag lines, production credits,

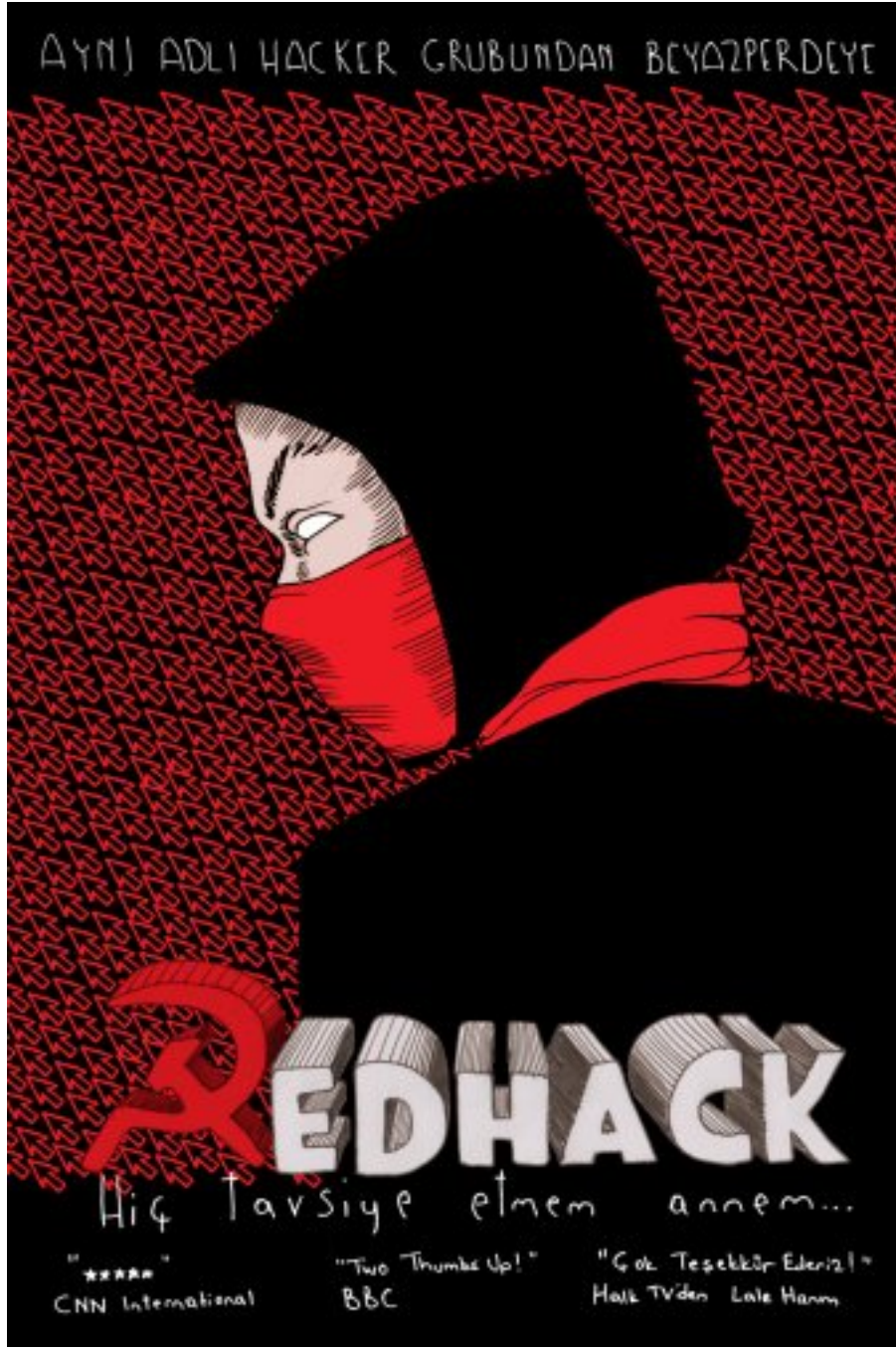
and reviews that each poster carries in addition to the protagonists, antagonists they clearly depict – all of these elements, based in reality, assign the posters with specific functions and meanings as a work of art, at once aesthetic, political, and imaginary. Hence, I will now conduct a brief visual analysis of the nine posters within the series, addressing their similarities, as well as the unique approaches they use in mobilizing aesthetic elements of layout, color, medium, and characterization, in order to better understand how art and its form, in this instance, has been utilized to evoke those specific functions.

Each of the posters prominently display a title, as well as tagline and production credits, directly referencing Gezi's graffiti slogans, as well as specific lived narratives, groups of actors, and publicly displayed sentiments in relation to their central visual depictions. While not all of them include hypothetical reviews, a mainstay of the current movie-poster form intended to garner anticipation through institutional legitimization, the ones that do, directly display a critical approach to such legitimizing structures within the field of cultural production, as the so-called reviews are made to look like they come from the mouths of trade publications, specific critics, news outlets, and film festivals, both local and global, and through a heavy use of puns and irony. These reviews are also where the posters exhibit a heightened intertextuality, with direct quotes from and references to events, actions, and actors, enriching their available meanings and documentary potential for a specific audience. Clearly depicted central characters are a feature in most of the posters as well, while value judgments defining antagonist and protagonists vary within each, depending on the utilized style and specific film genre. All

of the posters make reference to a sub-genre of the action film, the visualized tropes appropriately varying within each. Finally, before moving onto specific posters and examples, it is important to note that the pieces within the series can also be categorized according to their utilized media, either created by fully digitized means and made to look as such or made to artificially evoke a hand-made quality, or created by the direct use of analog mediums. This analog hand-made quality, of which traces can be seen in most of the posters, inherently comes with an allowance, a forgiveness in precision, a potential distance from reality, and “a powerful dramatic and romantic quality... [present] even for the lowliest examples of the form” (Branaghan, 2006, p. 280; “Gezi Sineması Poster Serisi”, 2013).



III.1: "Kahrolsun Bağzı Şeyler" (Güran, 2013)



III.2: "Redhack" (Güran, 2013)

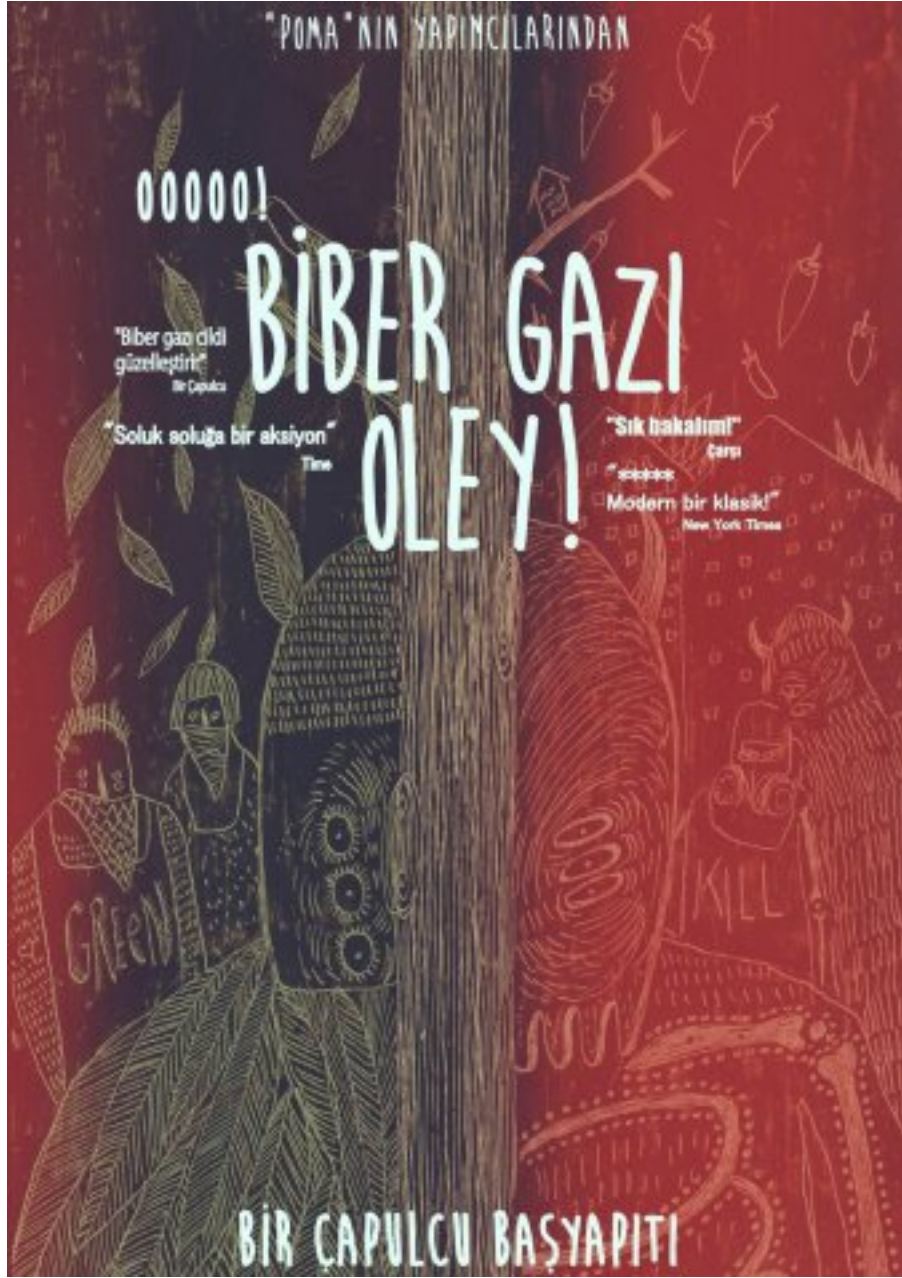
Illustrator Sadi Güran's two posters at the beginning of the series, both “drawn by hand and colored digitally” (Sadi Güran, personal communication, April 9, 2015) stylistically evoking traditional illustration, are for the teen movie “Kahrolsun Bağzı Şeyler” (Damn Some Things) (Ill.1) and the hacker film “Redhack” (Ill.2). Both of these posters make use of high saturation and contrast, the hand-written fonts enhancing their humorous, youthful, and playful impression; the featured small reviews littered on the bottom floor of each poster, as if scattered winks to their audience. While the teen movie poster utilizes a heavily saturated and vibrant background of primary colors; the use of yellow a nod to the colors associated playfulness and the red peppers creating a wallpaper background a humorous reference to the pepper spray inhaled by the imagined film’s cast of protagonists. The three centrally placed youths colored in pastel shades provide a contrast, as well as a play on the trope of disinterested youth, seen here in resistance attire and immediately identifiable. The hacker film, on the other hand, carries intrinsic political references through its high contrast color palette of red, black, and beige/white; its overall reference to the televised interview conducted with Redhack during Gezi; as well as the hammer and sickle in place of the “R” in the title, utilizing image as text in order to make note of the actual hacker organization's adhered philosophy. This emblem is then visually translated into the mouse icons decorating the background, not only directing the viewer's gaze along that of the depicted central yet anonymous protagonist (a singular focus), but also becoming the embodiment of the transformation in the group's mobilized mode of power.

Berkay Dağlar's highly cinematic poster for the thriller-action film “Her Yer Taksim” (Everywhere is Taksim) (Ill.3) features a multitude of images as utilized references and representations, littered visual cues for Gezi's actors and of experienced actions. Using a split-complementary color palette of cool and removed tones, utilizing contrast while embodying low visual tension through its use of red and diffused blue, the poster tasks its crowded background with carrying its implied intensity. While the resistance protagonist is placed centrally and perpendicularly against and on top of his backdrop, the lateral background images reminiscent of film strips and stills, his relational size engages and embodies the subjectivity of the Gezi experience, his anonymous face open to the audience's potential identification.

Sedat Girgin's digitally rendered poster for “Tomalı Hilmi” (Hilmi and his TOMA) (Ill.4), centrally featuring a police officer and his TOMA (riot control-water cannon vehicle), was intentionally informed by the film poster form and its “specific codes and uses” (Sedat Girgin, personal communication, April 9, 2015), carrying a more traditional layout of visual and textual information. The singular focus of its vertically placed central action shot implies the authority of its character, the limited color palette mirroring the colors of actual law enforcement while the dark hues of its protagonist almost function as a shadow. The high contrast set up with the tear-gassed background and high use of negative space enhances this effect, also implying a larger engulfing surrounding.



III4: "Tomalı Hilmi" (Girgin, 2013)



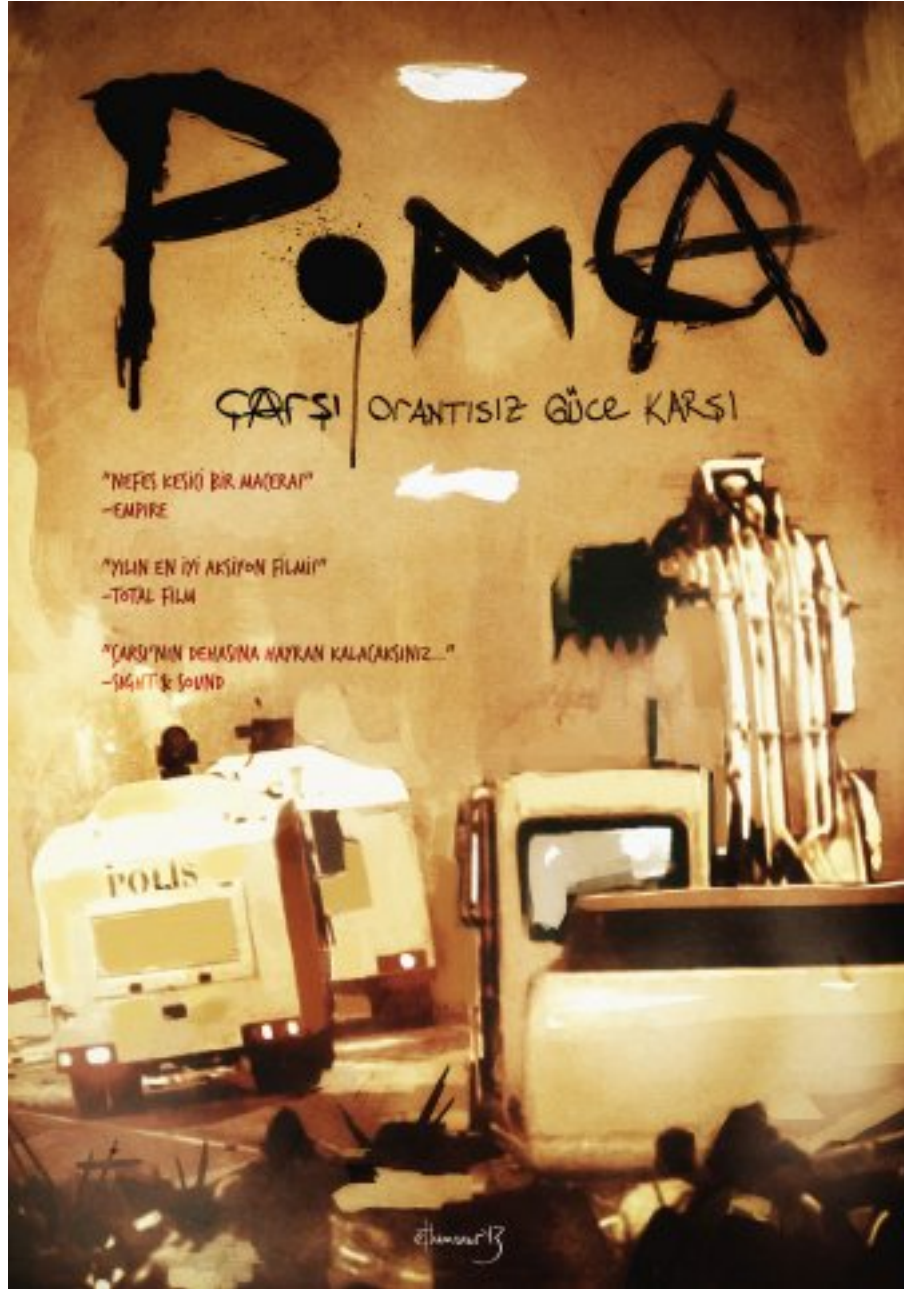
III.5: "Biber Gazı Oley!" (Çınar, 2013)

Following this, Selin Çınar's "Biber Gazı Oley!" (Hooray, Tear Gas!) (Ill.5) sits as the poster most divorced from form codes and aesthetics, the linocut print as medium working in tandem with the depicted fantasy adventure film. Creating an alternate world and species through her characters, Çınar 's allegorical narrative pits one group against the other, carrying an implied value judgment through the use of the complementary colors red and green. Directly dividing the piece in two by use of a symbolic tree, the poster allows equal space for both sides, while also potentially implicating each, removing the conflict from our life world, thus enabling a decrease in visual subtlety.

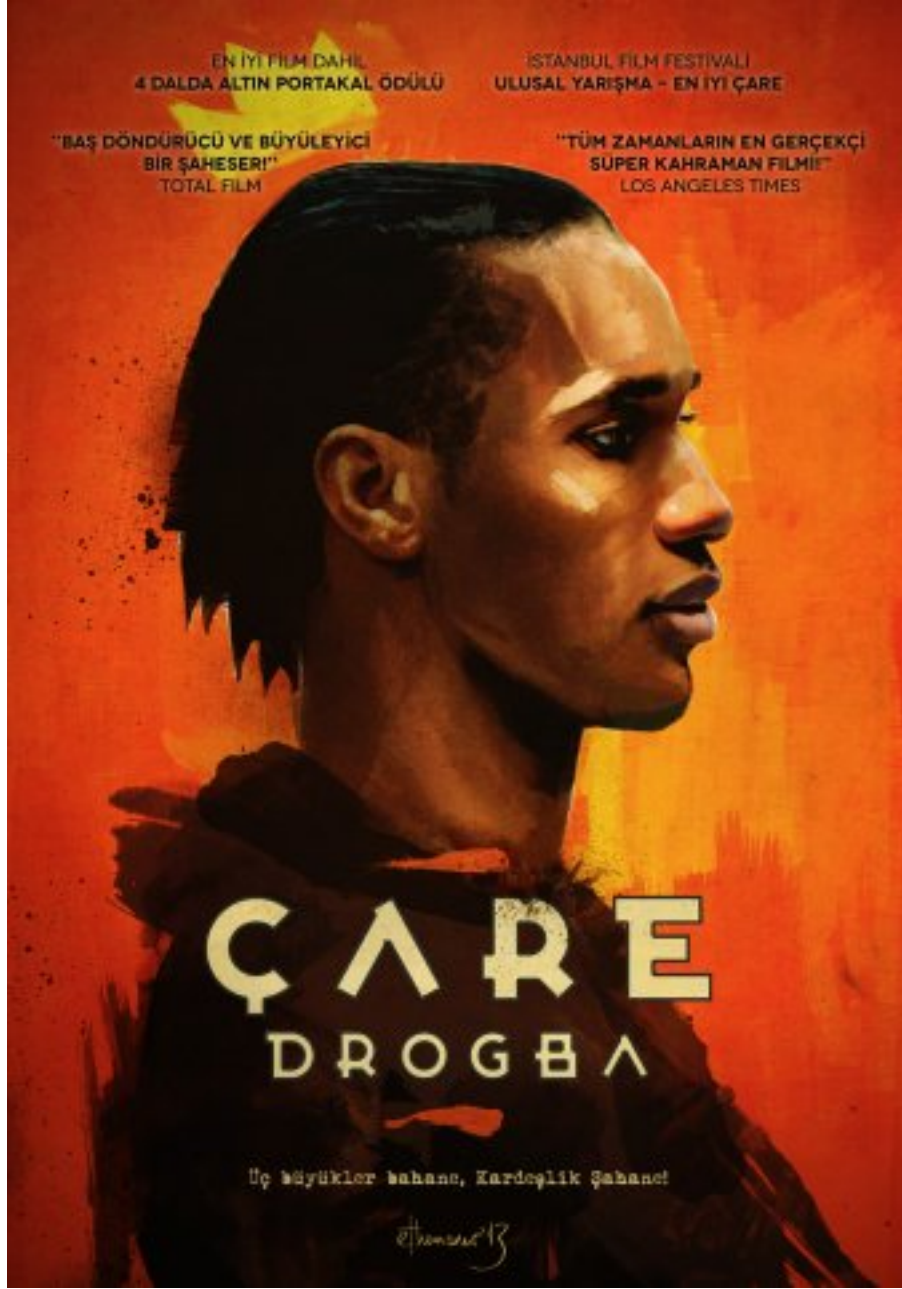
Ethem Onur Bilgiç's two works, the caper film "POMA" (Ill.6) and the superhero-sports film "Çare Drogba" (The Solution's Drogba) (Ill.7), both utilize the same style of realism through traditional painting, carrying traces of the human hand and deliberate, tension-creating brush strokes. "There are still darks, lights, and stains that I see from the Gezi Park events. These are what I used for the pieces" (Ethem Onur Bilgiç, personal communication, March 30, 2015). While the initial poster's title and typography are both in direct reference to the group behind the narrative it depicts, a nod to their DIY style and political leanings, the centrally placed action is well-lit, the sepia-toned wash creating the illusion of street lights at night, and an event taking place among the shadows. The depicted vehicles, characterized as central protagonists, lend a layer of anonymity and removal for those carrying out the action inside them, while the barricades grounding the poster add a secondary audience within this created world. The second poster, however, in the mode of traditional portraiture, solely focuses on its protagonist, a humorously offered singular solution to the Gezi conflict. Radiating warmth through its analogous

color palette of reds, oranges, and yellows, the piece portrays overall harmony and unity, utilizing its lighter tones and horizontal strokes for visual contrast, directing the viewer's gaze directly upwards towards the image's summit, the face of its proposed savior.

Coming in next, Can Çetinkaya's piece "Sık Bakalım!" (Go Ahead, Spray!) (Ill.8) is a work in line with the disaster movie, loyally stylized after the graphic novel and comic. While the style's traditionally static framing is subverted to imply movement itself, the central action of its two saturated main characters are highlighted against cool earth tones, the rich tetradic color scheme providing complements, as well as contrasts throughout the poster. While movement is accentuated through the use of horizontal lines, the depicted alien-monster antagonist is featured devoid of color and armed, this removal of its humanity in direct reference to the poster's tagline. The protagonist, however, warmer in tone and running towards the viewer at eye-level, is again anonymous and generic, easy to identify as "good" in relation to what she's being chased by, everything pointing towards the main focus of the film's title.



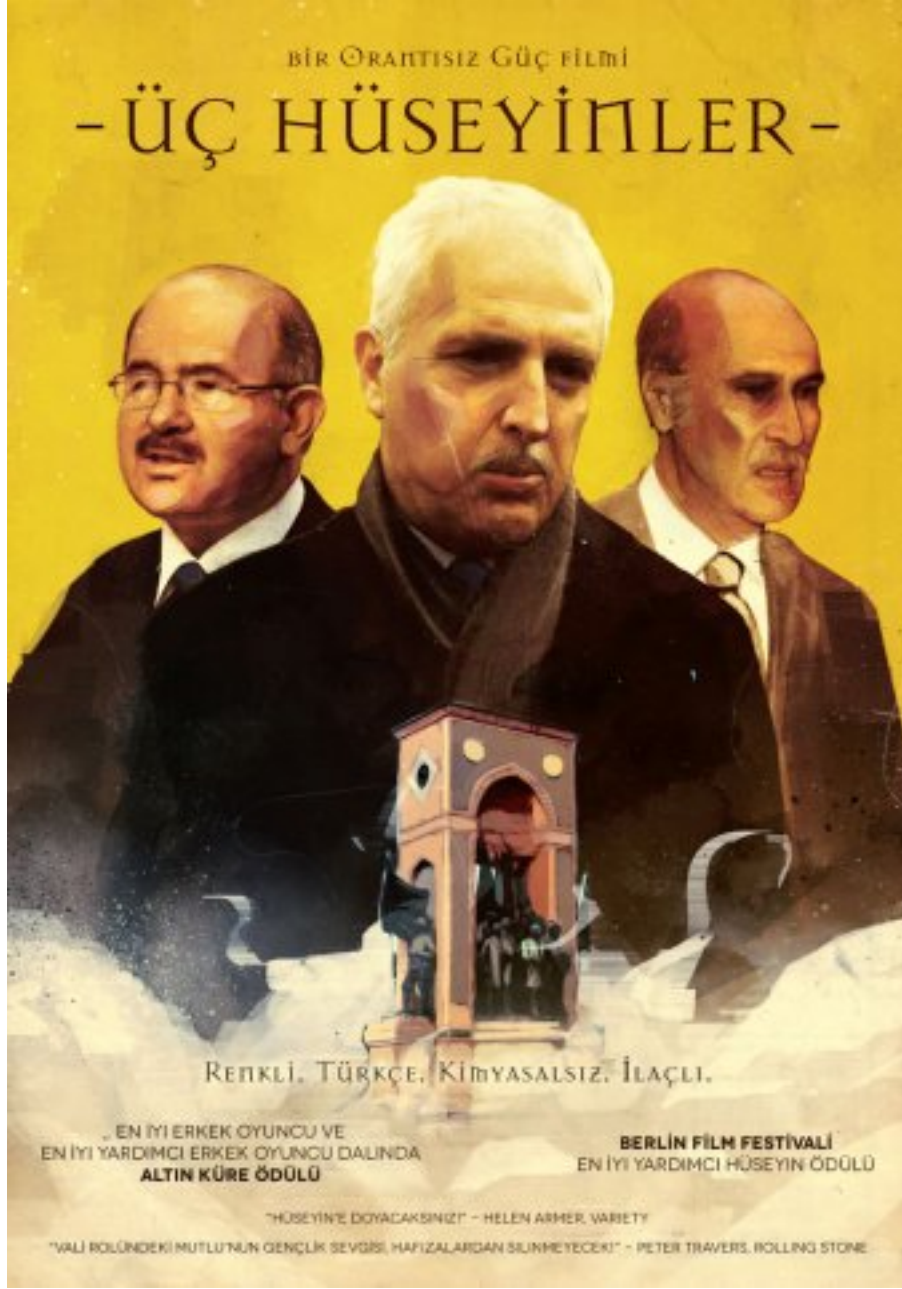
III.6: “P.O.M.A.” (Bilgiç, 2013)



Ill.7: "Çare Drogba" (Bilgiç, 2013)



III.8: "Sık Bakalım!" (Çetinkaya, 2013)



III.9: “Üç Hüseyinler” (2013)

Finally, *Üç Hüseyinler* (Three Hüseyin's) (Ill.9), the gangster film in direct reference to three similarly named government officials, closes the series. While this poster requires the most familiarity with its depicted subjects out of the entire collection, as none of said characters are specifically named, its utilized typeface is also in direct reference to Turkish soap opera title sequences. The poster's main characters, the architects of goings on, seem to emerge from and on top of what they've done, its gaseous effects unable to reach them. The high saturation of the yellow backdrop and the contrasting dark tones this time in symbolize images of hazard and danger, the three characters all looking out in different directions, dispersing the single point perspective that led the gaze up to their faces.

Art and the Imaginary:

Movie posters are advertisements – in other words, promises made to be broken. But what glorious promises they make! A great movie poster arouses expectations... that few movies can truly fulfill. They are invitations to a dream.... And although experience may seldom live up to expectation, we are always ready and eager to be seduced again (Kehr, 2003, p. 9).

Each poster within the Gezi Film Poster series utilizes certain design elements and visual codes, as detailed above, in order to engage its viewers, not just referring to their recent pasts and histories, but allowing them to re-imagine it. Historians “effect a disciplining of the imagination” that relies on “narratives that display the coherence, integrity, fullness, and closure of an image of life that is and can only be imaginary” (Kramer, 1989, p. 101; White, 1987, p. 24). As such, each historical narrative structures its imaginary around its form, which in this case, through the movie poster, correlates to

the familiar formal and visual elements providing an anchor through which to construct it. “History... is made sense of in the same way that the poet or novelist tries to make sense of it, i.e. by endowing what originally appears to be problematical and mysterious with the aspect of a recognizable, because it is a familiar, form” (White, 1978, p. 50). This structural grounding, and the aesthetic distancing it provides through “the symbolic presentation of subjective reality for contemplation” (Freeland, 2002, p. 161), allows for art to function as a mode of communication, “a continuous examination of our perceptual awareness and a continuous expansion of our awareness of the world around us” (2002, p. 207).

As Kandinsky's *General Aesthetic* states, the main question regarding this communication then remains as to how and what. Describing the former question as the body and the latter as the soul; form and content, together making the whole, he then claims that if “understanding art is like understanding another person” (Freeland, 2002, p. 149), then the soul must hold a form of human truth within the confines of its body, and “the task of art” must be “to harmonize the whole” (Kandinsky, 1910/2010, p. 12). Whether it is the artist’s expression or the audience’s interpretation, art, within its physicality, creates the basis for a constant dialogue capable of outliving its own existence, and the harmonizing of each subsequent cognitive dissonance it silently gives voice to becomes realized in the study of aesthetics, the logic of the senses. As such, “when viewers follow the artist's efforts, [they] recreate the process of self-discovery, so [they] too become artists” (Freeland, 2002, p. 161), potentially transcending “the limits of current understanding by pushing the boundaries of imagination, in the most rigorous

sense,” giving rise to “an endless modulation, through present perception, between memory and the concrete past to imagination and the possible future” (Meskimmon, 2010, p. 6).

Poster as Action:

It is this modulation and inherent possibility within art that Jacques Rancière sees as potentially offering an alteration of “the realm of the possible” (2010, p. 14). Rancière positions both “political [and] artistic activities [as] always involv[ing] forms of innovation that tear bodies from their assigned places and free speech and expression from all reduction to functionality” (2010, p. 1). Hence these two inextricable systems of dissensus, harboring a potential disruption of power relations within them, “offer a challenge to the normal social distribution,” “reordering general perceptual space and disrupting forms of belonging” (2010, p. 2). Defining aesthetics as “the system of *a priori* forms determining what presents itself to sense experience ... a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience” (Rancière & Rockhill, 2013, p. 8), Rancière lays out the linkage between these two structures by stating that politics revolves around “what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time” (2013, p. 8) while aesthetics correspond to operations that establish “the visibility of objects and make them available to thought” (Rancière, 2010, p. 22). Tying such practices and operations directly to political action by stating that “the

freedom of the aesthetic – as separate sphere of experience and appearance – is based upon the (same) principle of equality that is enacted in political demonstration” (2010, p. 15), Rancière situates the aesthetic realm as the site of emancipatory battle, however, defining such emancipation as never realizable but only imaginable, as, in art, there is an inherent cut between intention and perception. Yet this non-prescriptive nature, the ambiguity of art allowing for multiple sites of identification through an unfulfilled promise, just as in the film poster form, becomes its strength.

Addressing this emancipatory potential of political aesthetics, Crispin Sartwell concretely situates such practices within the larger “context of power wielded over a culture or society” (2010, p. 10), stating that “if the state is always an aesthetic object, so is its destruction or rejection” (2010, p. 99). These institutions of dominant power, and this proposed resistance, directly carry traces of Guy Debord's notion of the “spectacle.” Writing from Paris in the late 1950's and 1960's, Debord, and the movement of the Situationist International, heavily influenced by Marxism, set to define the political economic structure of society and the role of media within it as “the society of the spectacle.” According to Debord, the spectacle is “a social relation among people, mediated by images” (1967/1994, para. 4); “a world vision which has become objectified” (1967/1994, para. 5). The spectacle is the source of false consciousness and social separation, as well as its justification, moving lived experience into representation. Stating that the ruling-class no longer imposes pure ideological hegemony, but perpetuates an ideology of confusion harbored within commercialism, co-opting “subversive discoveries” and safely incorporating them within the spectacularized system

(1957/2006, para. 6), Debord offers the “solution” in a system outside of capitalism and tasks the experimental avant-garde with leading it, while maintaining that it should have its roots in praxis, rather than ideology. Sartwell similarly echoes this notion, as “the gigantism of these institutions leaves fissures, holes, hiding places... arts provide a mode of individual expression, collective solidarity, and commentary on the situation,” offering the possibility of intervention and action outside of the unreachable political realm, by way of “interrupting the flow of imagery, sound, and text” (Sartwell, 2010, p. 100).

One such corresponding practice, often associated with consumer activism, is culture jamming, a creative critical re-appropriation and subversion of mainstream media with roots tracing back to the Dada movement, the Situationist International's above-mentioned conceptualization of the society of the spectacle, practices of détournement, and the 70's UK Punk movement. Culture jamming has been articulated as “symbolic protest” (Wettergren, 2009, p. 1), “citizen art” (Klein, 2009, p. 280), “meme warfare,” and “an investigation into the apparatus of representation in late modernity, as it relates to both images and discourses of the media and commodity system, and the expression of political will” (Carducci, 2006, p. 116). “Utilizing the power of one part of the power structure against another” (Klein, 2009, p. 281), the fundamental unit of culture jamming, the meme, attempts to “achieve transparency” through satire, actively “re-coding [alternative]... interpretations” by utilizing the hegemonic tools and vocabulary available to them (Schneider, 1999, p. 99). Wettergren states, fun and irony “in protest is by no means exclusive to culture jamming,” but “humorous protest forms are useful in oppressive regimes, because they dilute fear and may escape the severe repression of

openly political demonstrations.” Thus by positioning humor as one of culture jamming's fundamental elements, Wettergren emphasizes its loose yet collective nature, as well as the added benefit of allowing jammers to “violate the symbols of the opponent as if it were an act of innocence” (2009, p. 1).

The Gezi Film Poster series directly utilizes an exemplary form of culture jamming strategy, becoming political action as a mode of positive creation, as well as through its association with NSM's, independent of its content. The form itself constitutes an “instantly recognizable language” (Sartwell, 2010, p. 115), changing what is visible while becoming a material intervention that is “beyond [the] didactic in the sense that it is not made in order to teach lessons any more or any less than it is designed to be beautiful” (2010, p. 119). The humor and irony deployed within the film poster series, also emblematic of culture jamming, becomes a way in which to “assert control over a culture that is close to them, but impossibly distant at the same time” (Duncombe, 2008, p. 115), while requiring an audience of active participants to construct its message, creating “a shared meaning system [that] reinforces community” (2008, p. 154). “I think the most powerful event at Gezi was humor... I think that humor is the greatest, loudest, and fastest spreading among new media's tools” (Sadi Güran, personal communication, April 9, 2015). Taken as a mode of cognitive and cultural praxis overall, as defined by Eyerman & Jamison, the poster series essentially becomes part of “the process [of knowledge production] whereby social movements create identity and meaning for themselves and their members” (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, p. 55). This aesthetic collective identity, or “strategic essentialism,” is comprised of “narratives, professions,

images” (Sartwell, 2010, p. 151) as depicted, and given primacy, within each of them. “As ineffectual as this may be on a macro political level,” however, “on a micro level it demonstrates... [that] there is resistance” (Duncombe, 2008, p. 205) and this resistance “is an imperative” (Ethem Onur Bilgiç, personal communication, March 20, 2015).

Poster as Artifact:

If, as Duncombe argues, “we make sense of our world and construct our identities, in significant measure, out of the physical and cultural materials that surround us” (Duncombe, 2008, p. 113), then this political action of resistance, The Gezi Film Poster Series, is also inextricably bound to and by its materiality, and the collective identity it creates, similarly, by its material surroundings and their observed social and cultural values. As an art object, independent of its content or intention, the poster series exhibits a physical presence and constancy, embodying the inherent materiality of 'the poster' itself, as well as the printed zine it is a part of. Lindlof and Taylor characterize the analysis of material culture as a search for “evidence of how the material world evokes meaning,” with objects becoming a dynamic site housing a “complex duality of significance” (2010, p. 218). While this non-static existence implies an element of transience acknowledging the inevitable change experienced by any and all objects “as time or activity alters them, or as those using them come to “reinterpret” and see them differently” (Musello, 1992, p. 37), the proposed “duality of being” refers to an object's agency, positioning them as things that are both “acted upon and things that act upon us” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010, p. 220).

The poster series appears in two different mediums, in Bant Mag's online publication, as well as its printed taster zine. This online iteration, however, is still bound to the same materiality of the utilized and implied forms of zine and poster. While “we [have come to] operate within an environment in which” we encounter objects that are “made of code rather than physical materials ... [that] code still relies on material interventions; [as] we have not floated into a wholly abstract world” (Sartwell, 2010, p. 6). The two forms' inherited and implied functions of physical circulation and display continue to be embodied within its digital display. Being presented as part of a zine in its physical iteration, directly attached to a material framework, the series becomes a similar repository of media creation, carrying and transmitting the alternative value system associated with such processes of production. It follows, then, that the collection of posters, as a physical entity, also simultaneously inherit the meanings and processes associated with Bant Mag as a publication, an identifiable set of values linked independent cultural production, resistance, and participation, imprinted upon its existence. As such, this specific material articulation comes to derive additional value through scarcity taking its place as part of a lineage of collectibles, the dynamic fate of old issues of Bant Magazines, and becoming a limited tangible edition of its online presence, a portable artifact representative of and encapsulating an experience of Gezi.

Carrying “evidentiary value” as “enduring articulations of and about” a specific experience taking place at a specific time and place (in this instance Gezi) (Musello, 1992, p. 38), the poster series comes to give the impression of independent and anonymous continuous existence specific to material objects. However, though “material

culture may appear to be too unchanging, too uneventful, and lacking in intentionality” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010, p. 220), their subsistence also fulfills the social functions of “delineating culturally relevant distinctions, classifying people and events, and making and maintaining social relationships” (Musello, 1992, p. 39) – all malleable functions that are subject to change over time, characterizing these fixed entities as “fluid facets of human activity... malleable resources, formed and reformed again, within the events of daily social life” (Musello, p. 38). Thus, altering the series' inherited and initial meanings, one's personal experiences of and reflections on Gezi, their mode of acquisition or exposure to the film poster series, remembered associations of events, content, or interactions all come to form a multi-valenced and interconnected series of evolving meanings, both social and personal. As such, these material objects become elements of communication, “non-verbal signs” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010, p. 220) interacting with their consumers and adopters, “a device for the representation of fundamental cultural truths” (2010, p. 222), manifestations of mythology and traditions, perpetuating discourse, and “even spur[ring] the formation of community” (2010, p. 223).

Engaging this concept of “myth” as one that is dependent upon on discourse in his book *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes comes to define mythology as “not an object, but a system of communication;” a “social usage added to pure matter;” wherein every object can and has the potential to move from “silent existence to oral state, open to appropriation by society;” “anything conveyed by discourse can be myth” (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 109). Utilizing notions of temporality by emphasizing the transience of

mythology, Barthes then postulates it as being a “second order semiological system” (1957/1972, p. 114), re-circulating language, and just like any form of representation, dependent upon its reader for its existence and function (1957/1972, p. 127). Encapsulating this in the principle of transforming “history into Nature,” Barthes' unstable conceptualization grows independent of fact/truth, author, and intention. “The function of myth is to empty reality: it is, literally, a ceaseless flowing out, a hemorrhage, or perhaps evaporation, in short a perceptible absence (1957/1972, p. 155), within which “things lose the memory that they once were made” (Bennett & McDougall, 2013, p. 151). Calling out for a reconciliation of dualities at the end of his study, Barthes eventually situates myth in the spaces between, “reality and men, between description and explanation, between object and knowledge” (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 159).

It is this liminal space, in which the Gezi Film Poster Series sits. The key concepts that emerge from these pieces, namely those of temporality, change, intention, agency, and truth, carve out a space, however elusive, in which to view the series as artifact, each factor interacting and playing a role in the creation and perpetuation of particular mythologies. While the Gezi Film Poster Series' and Bant Mag's Gezi issue's meaning changes over time through relations, remembrance, and ongoing responses, they also come to reflect a certain separation, represent a period of adjustment, document an isolated and collective experience and identification, forming pieces of a puzzle of emotion, independent of what's inside. This manifestation of a continuous discourse, of what was witnessed and heard, is all exhibited in the care with which one interacts with each as material culture. It is this meeting where content and medium collide that

materiality's effect on content becomes visible in bestowing a representation with permanence, creating the myth of experience which is empty, an absence that becomes a physically preserved constant, and repeatedly dependent on those who interact with and articulate it.

Also theorizing in relation to the “physical component” inherent within all of the arts, Walter Benjamin's “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” focuses on the “abstract idea of genuineness” in relation to a piece's presence, “the here and now of the work of art – its unique existence in the place where it is at this moment” (1936/2008, p. 5), as well as the effects of replicability and mass reproduction, and our developing accompanying modes of perception. Defining the term aura to be “the genuineness of a thing [that] is the quintessence of everything about it since its creation... its material duration to the historical witness that it bears” (1936/2008, p. 7) Benjamin associates current modes of mechanical production and reproduction with the fading of aura, attributing both positive and negative value to it, as the work of art is removed “from the realm of tradition,” actualizing “what is reproduced” rather than the work of art itself (1936/2008, p. 7), while also expanding the original's reach and providing a closer experience (1936/2008, p. 6, p. 15). Benjamin further describes this phenomenon through the development of different modes of perception, one “maintaining a natural distance” (1936/2008, p. 25) inviting the viewer to contemplate and create “ a chain of associations” (1936/2008, p. 32), while the other mode invades the work as a construction and is marked by high transience (1936/2008, p.25, p. 32). These poles of perception are not necessarily negative or hierarchical, but they are two modes that

collide within the physical form of these movie posters. Utilizing the practice of culture jamming, one could argue that these posters are devoid of any “original” aura, set up as the construction of a physical dialogue made from the pieces of mass material culture. However, this construction allows for the creation of a “frame within which to express” these non-fixed narratives (Duncombe, 2008, p. 119), imbuing each reproduction with an aura of its own, placing them within Benjamin's definition of politically progressive culture, independent of content, but dependent on the position of its creator and his or her work within th[e] relations [of production of its time], and the utilized medium itself (2008, p. 133-134).

CONCLUSION: POSTER AS ARCHIVE

The form of the movie poster, as art, action, and artifact, in its content, visual aesthetics, strategy, materiality, and associated processes of production, embodies different modes of interaction with and perception of the Gezi Film Poster Series, altogether ascribing it with the characteristics of an archive.

It is often said that movie posters communicate the essence of the film. This is not entirely true. In some cases poster and film are tied closely together and speak with one voice, the former summarizing the latter. In others, they are utterly separate, created by unallied bodies and sending out related but not identical messages ... [and] in the fullness of time, the film poster takes on a life of its own (King, 2003, p. 6).

Defining archives as an “authorized repository” in his essay “Archives, Documents and Traces,” Paul Ricoeur draws attention to the inevitability of bias within them, while describing them as “an organized body of documents” with the “goal of conserving or

preserving them” (1978, p. 66). I would argue that The Gezi Film Poster Series' visual components and the content of each poster functions as an organized body of documentation, functioning, as a whole, and in relation to its wider context, to encapsulate and preserve a certain history. As such a repository of a certain unfixed, “unfolding” history (Sartwell, 2010, p. 242) communicated via visual discourse, a collection of subjective micro-narratives bound by material constancy, this series of posters, just like any artistic style, also carries “indexical elements ... [whose] meanings emerge only within the full context in which they are produced” (2010, p. 236). These indexical elements become traces of evidence, “the support, the warrant a document provides for a history, a narrative, or an argument” (Ricoeur, 1978, p. 67), in this case, a series of visualized narratives living within a collective memory, their authority and “truth” granted through that same community, potentially denied by another. “However difficult the notion of a collective memory may be... to reject it would be to announce the suicide of history” and “history has always been a critique of social narratives and, in this sense, a rectification of our common memory” (1978, p. 68-69).

Ricoeur argues that “the archive can never be the foundation of a definitive history... there can be no 'pure' or 'originary' representation of the past guaranteed by the archive, no documents that can ever do justice to the events that produced them, and no complete reconstruction of the past from the residual fragments left in its wake” (Meskimmen, 2010, p. 23). This fragmented collection, the documentary pieces of history, provide a continually reformable and revisable resource, dependent upon those who read it, and thus, make history out of it. Reading is a “creative practice... a response,

a labor” (Chartier, 1989, p. 156). Reading the film poster, its visual codes and representations, its political agency, its implications and meanings as a cultural product, all inextricably bound to its context of production and culture at large, not only utilizes and calls upon familiarity, but simultaneously becomes a process which “implicitly argu[es] that history is something created by us” (Duncombe, 2008, p. 118). Approached as archival matter, the film poster is then never prescriptive, however, it calls for judgment in its reading, to adherence or rejection of its featured representations, calling testimonial imagination, “the capacity to bear witness, even if this witnessing comes from 'exemplary narratives' that are part of our cultural legacy and tradition” (Rundell, 2007, p. 111), into action.

Archives are where the past and the present meet; they are mediated, imagined, and written, marked by both presence and absence; they are the “passage from private to public;” the place where history, an inherently political mediation, takes shape (Steedman, 1988/2001, p. 5). The Gezi posters function as archives within themselves, maintaining implied narratives tied to a specific event and period of time, while also, directly archiving a set of graffiti slogans, once physical reminders, that also no longer exist. “The graffiti from that period is no longer on the walls and if you say the internet, well, the life span of any topic there is at most a day. The posters in this issue, however, continue to keep those slogans.... When I look at this series, I get the chance to see the corner headlines from that time together again, it's a mode of archiving that's easy to digest” (Sadi Güran, personal communication, April 9, 2015). The archiving of Gezi narratives and experiences, however, functions in a way akin to memory. Just as every

recollection grows farther from any experience as we recall prior recollections instead, the poster series comes to function in the same way, constantly remaining dynamic, while, ultimately, archiving something that is not there. “The Archive is made from selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past and also from the mad fragmentations that no one intended to preserve and that just ended up there.” “And *nothing happens to this stuff, in the Archive* - But as stuff, it just sits there until it is read, and used, and narrativised” (Steedman, 1988/2001, p. 68).

Conclusion: *Based on a True Story*

“Reading any poster is a complex business, and a stress on one aspect seems to come at the expense of others” (King, 2003, p. 9). Hopefully without overtly giving precedence to any particular part of its framework, this study aimed to provide a balanced glimpse into the inter-connected machinations and relations at work within a small manifestation of creative history. The undertaken analysis of Bant Mag's Gezi Film Poster Series sought to bring together theoretical constructs of social structure, historicization, alternative media and cultural resistance, material culture, artistic creation, and the imaginary, and apply them, in order, to Turkey, Gezi, Bant Mag, and the posters themselves, thus creating an understanding of how they all play a role within the series and its archival formation.

It is important to note that this study is by no means meant to be a comprehensive account of Turkish socio-political history, the Gezi events, cultural resistance or independent media production within Turkey, or even a definitive reading of Bant Mag as a publication. Some of the study's inherent limitations also include the fact that not all illustrators that took part in the series were able to participate in the ethnographic process, the scattered alternative media landscape within Turkey, as well as the fact that the media ecology in which Bant Mag resides and their collective response to Gezi is only briefly introduced and articulated from the specific point of view of this singular publication. However, I do hope these present limitations will subsequently present opportunities for further study and more nuanced articulations in the future.

While the literature and theoretical frameworks utilized are culled from a large pool of inter-disciplinary work, thus allowing for only a brief foray into each, this attempted synthesis was intended provide a wide view into the inextricable and irreducible structures at work even within such micro-scaled cultural production, as well as identify what exactly is being resisted and claimed through these posters: The right to articulation. Focusing on the definition and diffusion of various modes of state power within the realms of architecture and media, the first chapter focused on the events leading up to Gezi in the summer of 2013, as well as the outcry which spurred the poster series into being, defined it, and continues to affect it. Providing an overview of Turkish political projects and their utilization of culture in claiming and maintaining power, each of the detailed historical moments, Atatürk's modernization project, AKP's capitalist embrace and turn towards the East, and even Gezi itself, displayed discontinuity and fractures. However, regardless of its shortcomings, Gezi found its strength in its open claim to multiplicity rather than an erasure of it, a crowded polyphony that also found voice in its created media.

Having situated Gezi's claim to space and mediated self-identification and definition within social, cultural, and historical structures, the second chapter then aimed to position Bant Mag as an independent publication and creative community upholding specific values and voluntary associations within this larger context, as well as within a specific landscape of small-scale alternative media.

There is no production or cultural practice that does not rely on materials imposed by tradition, authority, or the market and that is not subjected to

surveillance and censures from those who have power over words or gestures. Thus, a presumed 'popular' spontaneity cannot be simply opposed to the coercions imposed by the authorities; what must be recognized is how liberties that are always constrained... and disciplines that are always upset articulate with each other (Chartier, 1989, p. 173).

Thus, focusing on the processes of Bant Mag, such as its content, form, positioning, and self-definition, this chapter utilized the inherent social structures associated with cultural production that cause its constrained liberties in order to examine how this publication navigated them, as well as the changes they experienced in doing so, due to the Gezi events.

Keeping these consistently present, yet potentially invisible limitations and freedoms in mind, the final and third chapter, directly focusing on the poster series, approached it from multiple perspectives, seeking to articulate how each approach shaped and interacted with the others, and how they imbued the series with various characteristics, which in turn helped it function collectively as an archive. The visual codes through which the film poster communicates as a work of art, engages the imagination into creating and recalling both referenced and experienced historical narratives: “Our understanding of all sorts of plot... our understanding of *how things happened* indeed, is bound up with this understanding: that there is sequence, event, movement; things fall away, are abandoned, get lost. Something emerges, which is a story” (Stedman, 1988/2001, p. 166). Its mode of artistic creation, utilizing the practice of culture jamming and laying claim to a mass mediated language, re-appropriated yet inherently familiar, then defined the series as political action. A collage of experience,

both individual and communal, repurposed as a creative call to action: “I think more posters need to be made. Gezi Park, what came before, what happened after... In this country, this series will never end” (Ethem Onur Bilgiç, personal communication, March 20, 2015). Finally, engaging the materiality and physical presence of the series and the publication to which it is attached allowed for the stillness of continued existence and its ability of social permeation to work alongside unstable and changing meanings, as the series translated said narratives and experiences into mythology.

All of these explored areas, both large and small, in addition to the overarching role of narrative in forming larger historical identities, each left behind contextual traces within these posters. The historically and politically informed experience of the Gezi events, the affordances of independent creative production and affiliation, the film poster form's iterations as art, artifact, and action all position the Gezi Film Poster Series as archive. Housing traces of the past, becoming a space for reflection and recollection, “to want to make an archive in the first place, is to want to *repeat*” (Steedman, 1988/2001, p. 6). This human desire for repetition, giving voice to silent experience and un-official histories, allowing narratives of the past to speak in multiple and evolving ways, and unleashing the imaginary within our reality is what this series achieves.

We often seek to reproduce experiences we have had before... Indeed, the representation of experiences ... is precisely an attempt to make a repetition possible, to hold on to something that seems to be receding into an incomparable past. In one sense, such a repetition is impossible, but the attempt at it lends our life whatever comprehensible structure it may have or lend us whatever comprehensible character we may have, a music that is our personhood (Sartwell, 2010, p. 237).

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