



CREATIVE UNIVERSITY

2016

EZGI VARLI

**THE MEANING OF STREET ART
IN THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY
GEZI PARK PROTESTS
AND
CARNATION REVOLUTION**



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Projecto apresentado às Instituto de Arte, Design e
Empresa- Universitário, para cumprimento dos
requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de
Mestre em design e Cultura Visual, realizado sob
a orientação científica do Prof. Theresa lobo,
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ABSTRACT

Street art can often be a mirror of society. It is one of the most important tools to express the economic, political and social conditions of society. Many people's ideas can merge and recombine on the city walls, and as a result, they can become more than they were as separate ideas.

With this in mind, the basis of this research was the role of street art in protests and the relationship between street art and society. By examining the Carnation Revolution in Lisbon and the Gezi Park protest in Istanbul, we recognize the importance of street art in these changing times. While those two movements are separated by many years of time, they demonstrate that the overall feelings about protest have remained the same in many ways. One of those ways is their use of street art for political purposes. The results of the research conducted on this topic have been reflected in this thesis.

Key Words: Street Art, Protesters, Carnation Revolution, Gezi Park protests

RESUMO

A arte urbana muitas vezes pode ser vista como o espelho da sociedade. É uma das ferramentas mais importantes para exprimir as condições económicas, políticas e sociais da sociedade. Nos muros das cidades juntam-se as ideias de muitas pessoas. Em consequência, nesse conjunto de ideias, o peso das palavras ou desenhos pode as vezes torna-se maior.

Com esse pensamento, a base desta pesquisa foi o papel da arte urbana nas protestas e a relação entre a arte urbana e a sociedade. Ao analisar a Revolução dos Cravos em Lisboa e as Protestas do Parque Gezi em Istanbul, podemos perceber a importância da arte urbana nestes dois periodos de mudança. Vários anos separam os dois movimentos enquanto o sentimento global surgindo das protestas permanece o mesmo em muitos aspectos. Um deles é a utilização da arte urbana no âmbito político. Os resultados do estudo deste tema aparecem na tese.

Palavras Chave : Arte de rua, manifestantes, Revolução dos Cravos, Gezi Park manifestantes

Figure List

Page

Figure 1 “Subway Car.” 05.1973”, http://www.shootingfilm.net/2013/01/photographs	9
Figure 2 “Criticize elections,” https://firstblogpostenglish1a.wordpress.com/	10
Figure 3 “The example of protest graffiti,” Jordan, 2005 http://protestgraffiti.blogspot.pt/	10
Figure 4 “Under the paving stones, the beach,” graffiti from French protesters, 1968 outsiderart.tumblr.com	11
Figure 5 “Protest graffiti, Athens.” http://www.livemint.com	11
Figure 6 Rage, flower thrower, by the artist Banksy, http://banksy.co.uk/	13
Figure 7 Stencil for spotlight refugee problems, by the artist Banksy, http://banksy.co.uk/	14
Figure 8 Girl with balloon by the artist Banksy, http://banksy.co.uk/	14
Figure 9 “Human rights mural,” http://soulofamerica.com	16
Figure 10 By João Maurício, Paseo da Graça, Lisbon http://www.osgemeos.com.br/pt/lisboa-mural/	16
Figure 11 Lisbon / Picoas metro station. http://www.osgemeos.com.br/pt/lisboa-mural/	17
Figure 12 Lisbon / Picoas metro station. . http://www.osgemeos.com.br/pt/lisboa-mural/	17
Figure 13 “Day of 25 April, 1974” http://www.cd25a.uc.pt	20
Figure 14 “Day of 25 Abril, Na Praça da Figueira” http://www.cd25a.uc.pt	24
Figure 15 “Day of 25 Abril” http://www.cd25a.uc.pt	24
Figure 16 “We must protect Abril”, Centro do documentação.	26
Figure 17 Kid putting a carnation into a rifle barrel, Centro do documentação.	27
Figure 18 Mural for supporting farmers, written “Along with agrarian”. Centro do documentação.	28
Figure 19 1977, Lisbon-Buraca, PS. http://planaltometro.blogs.sapo.pt/13156.html	29
Figure 20 1976, Lisbon-Sete Rios, PCP. http://planaltometro.blogs.sapo.pt/13156.html	29
Figure 21 Mural for celebrating Carnation Revolution, Centro do documentação.	31
Figure 22 : In Gezi Park, police violence against protesters. http://hyperallergic.com	34
Figure 23 The picture of Gezi Park commune in Taksim / Istanbul, http://hyperallergic.com	36
Figure 24 Graffiti, “Everyday I am çapullung”, http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/	40
Figure 25 Penguin with gas mask, http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/	42
Figure 26 “The more they spray, the bigger we get”, http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/	43
Figure 27 Stencil, Fist and Tree, http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/	44

Table of Contents	Page
1 INTRODUCTION	3
1.1 PURPOSE.....	4
1.2 QUESTIONS.....	4
1.3 METHODOLOGY.....	5
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 DEFINITION OF STREET ART	7
2.2 FORMS OF STREET ART	8
2.2.1 <i>Graffiti</i>	8
2.2.2 <i>Stencil</i>	12
2.2.3 <i>Mural</i>	15
2.3 CARNATION REVOLUTION	20
2.3.1 <i>History of Carnation Revolution</i>	20
2.3.2 <i>Relationship Between Street Art and Carnation Revolution</i>	25
2.4 GEZİ PARK PROTESTS.....	33
2.4.1 <i>History of Gezi Park Protests</i>	33
2.4.2 <i>Relationship between Street Art and Gezi Park protests</i>	38
3 HYPOTHESIS	45
4 CONCLUSION	46
5 REFERENCE	48
6 WEB SITES	51
7 ANNEXES	52

1 INTRODUCTION

“Society has been completely urbanized... The street is a place to play and learn. The streets are disorder... This disorder is alive. It informs. It surprises... The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become “savage” and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls.”

(Lefebvre, H.; 1970)

The streets are public. Riots can happen on the streets. Protesters are in the streets, and the walls are the containers for their thoughts. The walls of the city are the places where ideas become visual. When everyone is sleeping at night, the walls are transforming into a vibrant museum. They are doing that without expecting anything in return. Their goal is to take back their walls which have been filled with a lot of commercial images that do not reflect their voices and values.

Street art is the echo of a silent scream of the oppressed. It is also an expression of the daily lives of city people in a city, portrayed on every visible place. Grey streets transform into living street museums full of artworks which express people’s daily worries about life.

Democracy is associated with street art, because street art is often used for protests, which began in the quest for democracy. The different logics of intervention and techniques that characterize street art are currently used by a significant number of activists and political groups to express and promote their political ideas, to push their social and political critique, and to counter propaganda.

We saw a lot of street art emerge during the Gezi Park protests, which began 28th May, 2013 in Istanbul, and during the Carnation Revolution, which began 25th April, 1974 in Lisbon. Those two social movements demonstrated the role of the street art in political protest. In this way, street art helped people to make their voice heard.

1.1 PURPOSE

The aim of this study is to examine street art in the spirit of protests, which began for the quest for democracy. In particular, the study will examine the Gezi protest and the Carnation Revolution.

“The meaning of street art is a quest for democracy.” This thesis describes the meaning of street art in social protest movements. On the other hand, it examines the relationship between those two social movements and the role of street art in the fight for democracy. In addition, it explains different forms of street art with examples from different countries.

In the second chapter, we research the birth of the Gezi protest and the Carnation Revolution, and we look at the aftermath of each. This examines the significance of street art on these protests via art performances made during Gezi Protest and Carnations revolution.

In the last chapter, we evaluate the role of the street art and importance of street art in social movements.

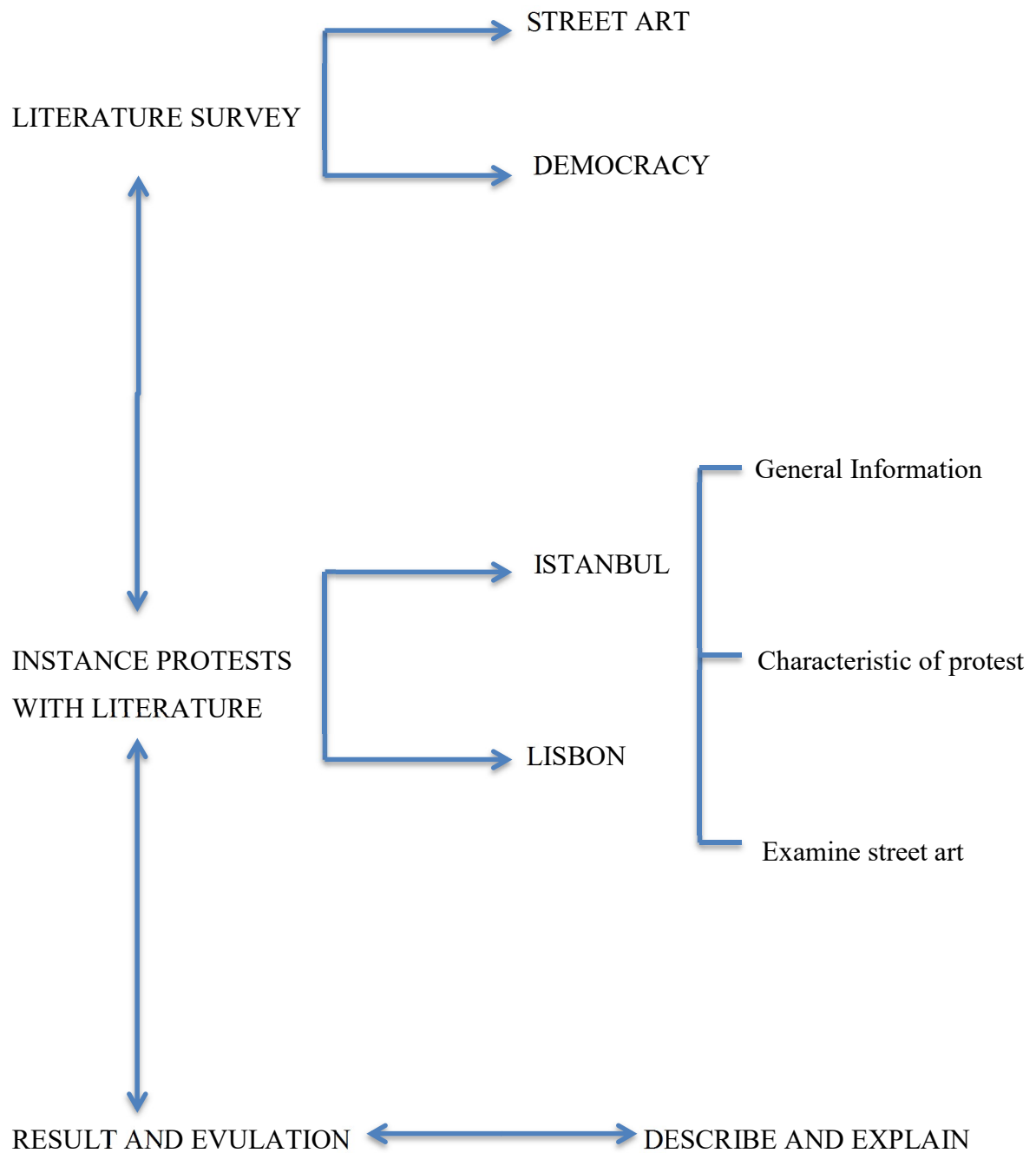
1.2 QUESTIONS

The thesis title is “The meaning of street art in the quest for democracy: Gezi protest in Istanbul and Carnation revolution in Lisbon”, which encompasses several research questions, such as the following:

- Why do people need to express themselves on the wall?
- Why did the Gezi Park and Carnation Revolution social movements start? How did street art influence those two movements?
- Why are many protesters choosing street art to express what they are thinking or to demonstrate their feelings?

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The research methods used for this study include literary sources, online databases, article, and documentaries, and web sites.



The study methods used include “literature survey”, “Instance protest with literature” and “result and evaluation” have been examined under those topics.

This thesis carried out a literature survey on a wide range of topics related to street art and social movements. In the study of street art, examined the following items: the definition of notion and the significance of street art. Regarding the dimension of social movements: has been investigated the meaning of the notion and explained the relationship between movements and street art.

With the help of literature, this thesis provides general information about Istanbul and Lisbon, the birth of the protests that occurred in those cities, and how street art was involved in those events.

In this study, the last topic is an evaluation of the importance and role of street art during Gezi protest in Istanbul and Carnations Revolution in Lisbon.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Street art

The future of art is not artistic, but urban.
Henri Lefebvre

The way I look at the landscape is forever changed because of street art.
Shepard Fairey, 2010

Art enables individuals to understand society and find their own place of it. While taking the societies into consideration, art is a tool of demonstrating different aspects of the society, providing several clues. Artistic development directly depends on social development and the structure of social living. Art determines the values and ideals of the society, and is a part of everyday life. Art, which is more profound than it is comprehended, develops and changes over time. (Erbay, 1997).

Street art is one of the innovative and expressive faces of modern urban culture. Its appears as a urban protest and development of street art could define as a unplanned experience of space. Because those images are impression of the creation of concerted experience, values and longing in the city. (Lorri, 1999; 113)

For ages, art has met requirements, has changed the tendency of the artist parallel to the changes in the society; in addition to the good, right, and beautiful, the fact of effectiveness has constituted the function of art. The role of art has been different during different periods of human history. Art has been used as a tool of growing, as an ornament, as a communication tool for spreading language, religious thought, and scientific ideas and as an individual need. (Gorsen, 2010)

Street art, as its name implies, is any art activity done in the street. As Pafsanias Karathanasis observes, "Street art is used as an 'umbrella' term to refer to several and different kinds of visual art, in addition to various forms of visual socio-political interventions in the urban public space." Street art works can use many different

techniques. Some important examples are graffiti, stencil, and mural. In addition, those are some of the most important tools in protests; people use the walls to express their view of society.

2.2 Forms of Street Art

2.2.1 Graffiti

“Graffiti is a highly visible symbol that the dominant society isn’t completely in control and cannot arbitrarily dictate the terms of access to expressions that give cultural meaning to spaces.”

Rob Weinberg, *shooting the messenger: Rethinking Confrontation in the war Against Graffiti*, 2003

According to Tulin Candemir, Urban which created public space for the people, a move away from themselves and the proliferation of problems engendered to produce new shapes and different form of expression. Modern urban had broken people each other and alienating them with their complex system. Therefore, the way to express their problems in the society demonstrated itself illegal or legal. Graffiti could be expressed; explain yourself, psychological relief.

Graffiti and Graffito are from the Italian word Graffiato (“scratched”). “Graffiti” is applied in art history to works of art produced by scratching a design into a surface. A related term is “graffito”, or “sgraffio,” which involves scratching through one layer of pigment to reveal another beneath it. In ancient times graffiti was carved on walls with a sharp object, although sometimes chalk or coal were used. (Laemmermann, 2012) Graffiti and street art

According to Anna Wacklawek, writing signature graffiti, or graffiti focused on both letters and names, began in the mid-to late 1960’s in Philadelphia, exploded as a subculture in New York City in the 1970’s, and has over the past forty years become an undeniable

ingredient of street cultures worldwide. Alongside political and gang graffiti, the practice of individuals writing their names or pseudonyms on city walls with spray-paint first developed in Philadelphia during the 1960's.



Figure 1 “Subway Car.” 05.1973”, <http://www.shootingfilm.net/2013/01/photographs>

Graffiti has often been used by gang and underground culture in regions where the name of a city identified with art. Minority youth sometimes internalized graffiti as a language for making their voices heard and demonstrating their presence in society. In addition to graffiti, they carried their voice to the streets with music, especially hip-hop, rap, and punk music. (Karaaslan, 2008)

The practice of writing on walls has had a long and various histories. Writing any form of graffiti, whether it be political, personal, or gang-related, responds to a variety of social necessities. Expression through words, symbols, and figures on city walls can be a reaction against pressure and cruelty, a mode of protest, an anonymous way to be heard, an act of personal or group empowerment, or a secret language. (Wacklawek,2011)



Figure 2 "Criticize elections," <https://firstblogpostenglish1a.wordpress.com/>



Figure 3 "The example of protest graffiti," Jordan, 2005 <http://protestgraffiti.blogspot.pt/>



Figure 4 “Under the paving stones, the beach,” graffiti from French protesters, 1968 outsiderart.tumblr.com



Figure 5 “Protest graffiti, Athens.” <http://www.livemint.com>

2.2.2 Stencil

Stencil graffiti a way of painting on walls and signs by using a stencil made of cardboard or another medium. Artists often use this medium of expression for social and political commentary. Stencil graffiti is associated with political and social issues more than the traditional graffiti methods. These messages are often presented through humorous, shocking, or ironic images or words.

Artists, such as Banksy, have become well known because of their political messages to the world. (URL1) British artist Banksy, Canadian painter Roadsworth and Australian artist Vexta. Each artist's exploration of the stencil as a medium differs from the other's in terms of the sites of diffusion, message and style.

Stencils, much like signature graffiti writing, necessitate few resources for production: a relatively firm surface, a utility knife, and spray-paint. Stencil artists most often utilize cardboard, acetate, metal, wood or plastic covers to create a durable surface for their design. (Waclawek, 2011)

Stenciling is one of the most common street art tactics. According to AnnaWaclawek, Banksy, street art mostly consists of anti-establishment, anti-war and pro-freedom messages, typically illustrated with figures of rats, policeman, children, monkeys and soldiers.

Stencils come in all shapes and sizes. They vary from simple writing or images, to a mixture of both. What makes stencil graffiti interesting is its mysterious factor, since they are not usually in plain view. Instead, they are put in weird places that make finding them all the more rewarding. Some stencils are so well disguised that you don't even realize what they are until you get a better look. This sub-culture of artistry has been around for about 30 years and has been growing in popularity through the years. A simple awareness to this form of art is more rewarding than one would think. (URL1)

The greatest difference between stencils and graffiti is, of course, visual. Stencils are also legible and thus able to communicate with a greater number of outsiders than signature graffiti. Stencils works, even when made by ex-writers whose objective remains to get their names up anywhere and everywhere, legibly tend to represent overtly fun, political, or thought-provoking messages. (Waclawek, 2011)

Stencil is probably the most popular technique used in graffiti and street art worldwide. The popularity of pre-stenciled art has many different reasons behind it. The technique provided graffiti artists with several important advantages, most significant being the possibility to easily reproduce their work, consequently to be more visible, and also to do it quickly in order to disappear before getting caught by the police. Over time, artists started experimenting with multi-layered cut out stencils to add more colors and illusion of depth to their pieces. This artistic experimentation resulted in much more elaborate and highly sophisticated stenciled artworks. Today we take a quick look at some of the world's best stencil artists who took stencil art to a whole new level, both in terms of aesthetics and messages they are trying to convey. (URL 2)



Figure 6 Rage, flower thrower, by the artist Banksy, <http://banksy.co.uk/>



Figure 7 Stencil for spotlight refugee problems, by the artist Banksy, <http://banksy.co.uk/>



Figure 8 Girl with balloon by the artist Banksy, <http://banksy.co.uk/>

2.2.3 Mural

A mural is a painting done directly on the wall. It comes from the Latin word “murus”, which means wall. Murals often show the concerns, hopes, values, and memories of the community where the murals are painted. (URL 3)

Murals typically cover quite large surfaces. Fresco is one of the oldest method of mural painting, in which paint is applied to plaster walls or ceilings. Other common techniques used in mural painting include tempera, oil painting, acrylic painting, and painting using brush, roller or airbrush/ aerosol. Murals have a different purpose, a different kind of effect for people who pass in front of them everyday and notice something in them. They are created in public with community background. Murals on the walls giving news about community, and this art cannot think without community. Murals contribute vividly to the character of all streets where they are found.

Through their role of expressing religious and political beliefs within societies, murals can be a powerful tool for emancipation, freedom of expression, social activism, and propaganda. Today, in many places around the world, mural art is used to speak in the name of and depict communities, nations, and cultures. On the other hand, murals represent an aesthetic element, which helps them integrate into their environments and turns them into true cultural artifacts and even monumental works. (URL4) Mural is the one of the most important forms of the street art for expressing what people need or what people expect from society.



Figure 9 “Human rights mural,” <http://soulofamerica.com>



Figure 10 By João Maurício, Paseo da Graça, Lisbon <http://www.osgemeos.com.br/pt/lisboa-mural/>



Figure 11 Lisbon / Picoas metro station. <http://www.osgemeos.com.br/pt/lisboa-mural/>



Figure 12 Lisbon / Picoas metro station. . <http://www.osgemeos.com.br/pt/lisboa-mural/>

Às Forças Armadas e ao povo de Portugal
“Não hei-de morrer sem saber qual a cor da liberdade”

J. de S.



2.3 Carnation Revolution

2.3.1 History of Carnation Revolution

On each corner, a friend
In each face, equality
Grândola, swarthy town
Land of fraternity

On the 25th of April, 1974, the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) signaled the beginning of the Portuguese Revolution by broadcasting the song “Grandola, Vila Morena” by Zeca Afonso on Radio Renascença, saying that this day would be the end of the fascist regime for the Portuguese people. The New State was established by A. Salazar in Portugal and lasted 41 years. It ended in one day thanks to the Movement of Armed Forces.



Figure 13 “Day of 25 April, 1974” <http://www.cd25a.uc.pt>

The Salazar regime was consisted of an oligarchy of a few powerful families and their business empires, integrated with state bureaucracy and the higher echelons of the armed forces. Consequently, in the shadow of the oligarchy there was no little room for independent capitalists. Political parties, trade unions, and strikes were forbidden. Furthermore, opponents were randomly imprisoned and tortured by the disreputable secret police, the PIDE. (Robinson, 2002)

In the early 1960s, the African colonies began to struggle for independence, firstly in Angola, next in Portuguese Guinea, and finally in Mozambique. Salazar's regime was too poor in material and human resources to cope with guerilla warfare. Interminable conflict with colonies made the Portuguese people tired, and they began to recognize the government's ruinous policies and actions. (Chilcote, 2010)

In August 1968, Salazar had a stroke and he was incapacitated until his death in 1970. Marcello Caetano took over as prime minister from Salazar in September 1968. After this change in prime minister, Caetano attempted several innovations towards liberalization, but; by the early 1970s the regime had returned to its usual conservatism and repression. All the while, a war was being fought and nearly half of government's budget expenditure was going to the armed forces. (Robinson, 2002)

The Portuguese military, especially its junior officers, were under great responsibility, strain, and stress with the interminable colonial struggle in Africa. Many of them had been forced to spend ten or more years in Africa, which disrupted their families and careers. (Manuel, 2010)

An organizing committee was established by the future MFA members who served in Guinea. A network of 300 officers from all three services created the MFA in April of 1974. (Robinson, 2002; 87) The officers of the Carnation Revolution, known as the "April Captains" promised the Portuguese people a political program, it calling for democracy, development and decolonization. (Bruneau, 1974)

All night, on 24 April, military troops from Caldas da Rainha and Santarem were flowing towards Lisbon, and at four in the morning they arrived at the principal strategic points. All this has been enough for a coup. (Kuntz, 1975)

In the early hours of the morning, The MFA took over three radio stations in Lisbon and from there they announced that they wanted to arrest Marcelo Caetano, and that they aimed to establish a democracy in Portugal. The MFA asked the Portuguese people to stay at home and wait for the end of the movement, because armed conflict was not improbable, and they did not want unnecessary bloodshed. (Kuntz, 1975)

While making their morning coffee, the Portuguese people listened to this revolutionary broadcast, and suddenly they changed their way of the speech and began to use a taboo word: democracy. People considered that if they were using the word “democracy”, who knows what was happening in higher authorities. (Kuntz, 1975)

The timing and coordination was impeccable; the Armed Forces had domination over the situation and there was no resistance. Forty-eight years of; interminable fascist dictatorship had ended a bloodless coup. The MFA brought spring to Portugal. (Green, 1976) Revolution clearly represented a significant break from the past and the emergence of new possibilities with Europe. (Gallagher, 1983)

At 8 pm the Armed Forces announced that the regime had been removed and Caetano had been arrested by General Antonio Spínola. Afterwards, Caetona fled to Madeira with president Americo Tomas. Military dictatorships granted political asylum in Brazil for them.

On the Lisbon streets, democrats, workers, students, and artists were celebrating the end of the dictatorship and wars with the colonies. Protesters could not stay at home; they flowed into the streets to demonstrate their support for the April Captains. The protestors for freedom surrounded government buildings in the Quartel Carmo Square. Faces on the street were shouting, “Death to fascism!” Screams of freedom were turning over Portugal.

Democracy was getting stronger with many people on the sidewalk. The April captains were explaining that they had ended the dictatorship, arrested the dictators, and that this would change everything. The next day, would not be the same for the people on the streets of Lisbon. (Kuntz, 1975)

After forty-eight years of dictatorship, Portugal had a demonstration of happiness. Two generations were not able to walk the streets. However, today on the same streets, fathers and sons were together. Walking, shouting, laughing freely...

(Mailer, 1977)

Many others forced open the prisons of Caxias and Peniche and released political prisoners en masse. The political police apparatus, PIDE/DGC, was dismantled, censorship was abolished, and demonstrators attacked the offices of the regime's newspaper, a *Época*. (Varela and Alcantara, 2014)

Protesters were fighting with passion against the secret police, PIDE on the street of Antonio Maria Cardoso. Protesters were peacefully demonstrating in front of headquarters in Lisbon. During the Carnations Revolution four people were killed by PIDE.

The Carnation Revolution takes its name from the carnation flower put inside the barrels of soldiers' guns. The armed forces demonstrated to the entire world that they would not like to hurt anyone, and the fascist regime had ended without even a single shot. Red carnations had become the symbol of the revolution. Even years later, carnations are still the most important symbol for the revolution and its artwork. Each year on April 25th, revolutionary songs in people language, red carnations in people hands...



Figure 14 “Day of 25 Abril, Na Praça da Figueira” <http://www.cd25a.uc.pt>



Figure 15 “Day of 25 Abril” <http://www.cd25a.uc.pt>

2.3.2 Relationship Between Street Art and Carnation Revolution

The Carnation Revolution in Portugal represented the fastest and most comprehensive change in the entire history of the country. In one day, the entire fascist regime was removed from power. For the Portuguese people, a new page was turned, so they could express their ideas, feelings, concerns, and joys. They found a way of looking at the world through a different window.

Nuno Brito highlights that before April of 1974, urban art in Portugal was virtually non-existent at high risk represented by the total control of information by the political police. But within days of the revolution, effusive expressions of joy and liberation were seen on a large scale by an explosion of street art. In just a few weeks, the urban landscape was changed radically.

April 25 proved to be a turning point for freedom of expression and thought in Portugal, which allowed an unlimited field of creation. The end of the regime not only implied the abolition of censorship, but also it represented the elimination of a number of taboos against protesting or expressing dissension. (Sofia, 2001)

The Portuguese people already knew what street art was, since the walls of Lisbon demonstrated painting policies. After the Carnation Revolution, citizens and political parties began to paint murals with all of the words that had been forbidden: liberty, rebellion, resistance, and many other social messages. (Brito, 2013)

On April 25, 1974, decades of colonial war in Africa ended. The colonial countries Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Capo Verde, Principe and Timor became independent. Official support for the independence of African countries came after many years of being reflected on the walls in street art. The end of the colonial war gave a lot

of reasons to celebrate. Almost all murals and slogans told the story of freedom in Portugal and the African countries. As Nuno highlighted, Portuguese cities now had new colors: celebration phrases, unity, and claim to a fair and equitable society, freed forever from the fascist regime that dominated Portugal throughout much of the twentieth century.



Figure 16 “We must protect Abril”, Centro do documentação.

After the bloodless revolution, flower seller women gave carnations to the MFA, and they put the carnation into the rifle barrel. That created the symbol of the Carnation revolution. The poster of a kid putting a carnation into a rifle barrel (see image below) was indication of the revolution. A carnation was used for almost all street art works at that time. The red color of the revolution added a new vitality to the whole wall.



Figure 17 Kid putting a carnation into a rifle barrel, Centro do documentação.

Between the years 1974 and 1975, some of the mural paintings used a figure of a farmer with a hammer and sickle. As almost everyone knows, these two symbols (hammer and sickle) symbolize farmers and the proletariat. The murals and their slogans expressed support for farmers and land reform, and the walls reflected these feelings. When we encounter murals done after the revolution, we can see many instances of that sentiment.



Figure 18 Mural for supporting farmers, written “Along with agrarian”. Centro do documentação.

In 1975, during the first free democratic elections, murals were a way of expression for the various political parties’ campaigns. As usual, many of the murals consisted of left-leaning parties’ political slogans, and most of them contained images of a dove, a carnation, or a fist. The walls were dominated by the color red, the color of left-leaning parties. Murals had an important role in facilitating communication between parties and their target audience. They were able to reach their audience with a single slogan or visual symbol.



Figure 19 1977, Lisbon-Buraca, PS. <http://planaltometro.blogs.sapo.pt/13156.html>



Figure 20 1976, Lisbon-Sete Rios, PCP. <http://planaltometro.blogs.sapo.pt/13156.html>

As Rolf Nagel observes, as always happens in such historical moments, parties and political groups shout their slogans in the public's face to catch the attention, to convince them with arguments, or to appeal to sentiments. Besides innumerable gatherings of people in public squares and streets discussing the events, there was also a massive presence of the military, the authors of the revolution. Their green uniforms soon joined the red carnation as symbols of the peaceful revolution. It is worth noting that both colors appear in the Portuguese flag. Thus, national symbolism is clearly visible in the revolution.

In the weeks and months that followed the revolution, some artists were invited to paint collective murals in public places, usually in teaching spaces of buildings. Walls so large that it is impossible to recognize which part was painted by which artist assume a unitary character of artistic creation. In a few months, the streets were filled with colors, aphorisms, and political slogans. The Portuguese people expressed through urban art what had remained silenced over nearly 70 years of dictatorial repression. (Brito 2013)

Street art in social protests is one of the most important witness of history and is seen as one of the major sources of revolution. Street art is a kind of memory for the society. The accumulated years of persecution were transcribed on the wall in art. For many years the Portuguese people could not speak in Public, could not express what they are thinking. The revolution allowed them to draw their feelings on the walls and on the walls, inscribing their memories in art.

After April 25, one of the most important indication of the democratic process was the murals on the walls. Thousands of slogans were written by the Portuguese people. Thousands of murals and posters were produced to express the policies of the political parties, and to explain the new freedoms for the Portuguese people. In fact, these artworks were a door which gave access to this freedom. The streets are for people, and the walls are a place where people can freely express themselves.



Figure 21 Mural for celebrating Carnation Revolution, Centro do documentação.

25 de Abril SEMPRE ! / 25 April FOREVER!

Capitalism will cut down the tree if it can't sell its shadow.

Karl Marx

2.4 GEZI PARK PROTESTS

2.4.1 History of Gezi Park Protests

“To live like a tree alone and free, like a forest in brotherhood.”

Nazım Hikmet

The Gezi Park protests started because urban development threatened the park. Gezi Park, which is in the square of Taksim in Istanbul, constitutes an important place for people who are living in the neighborhood. Between the concrete masses of the city, Gezi Park is the only place to take in fresh air. According to some environmentalists, the Gezi Park protests were a response to government policies that threatened the park and the lifestyles of people who use the park.

A group of protesters from an organization called Taksim Solidarity kept guard in Gezi Park after bulldozers started to uproot trees in the park. On the 30th of May 2013 early in the morning, the police burned down the tents of the protesters in order to disperse the crowd.

After seeing images on Facebook and Twitter of peaceful protesters being brutally attacked and wounded by the police more protesters joined in the struggle. In response to the police violence, many more people gathered in the park and in the streets.



Figure 22 : In Gezi Park, police violence against protesters. <http://hyperallergic.com>

According to Gülcan Işık, social movements, which can be defined as organized communities that engage society and request change from the ruling powers, are ineffective without public support.

The Gezi Park protest part of a social movement which started in Gezi Park and then spread across Turkey. In fact, the movement was not limited to Turkey. The rebellion had spread across some cities of Europe and had become a globalized protest.

The movement was not attached to any political organization. Decisions were made collectively, and communications were carried out without any leader. It was a unique event that held promise for the future of Turkey. People worked together without big egos. The power of the movement was incredible and it was very democratic process.. (Ozkoray, 2013)

Since 2002, polarizing policies and the arrogant attitude of the ruling party had united people around a tree. All of these things brought people together: different ideas, lifestyles

and clubs which are hard to bring together, including young and old people, students and bureaucrats, feminists and housewives, Muslims and lefties, Kurds and Alevis, Kemalists and communists, Fenerbahce and Besiktas supporters.. All of them were in the square for the Gezi movement. (Gole, 2013) All of them were fighting for freedom in Turkey.

The first of June was one of the most important dates of the resistance. More and more protesters began to come to the park after a long night of conflict between protesters and the police. Police had retreated from Gezi Park at noon, and the area was left to the protesters. Gezi Park was occupied by thousands of protesters. The Ministry of the interior reported that during the Gezi Park protests, 2.5 million protesters had attended from 79 cities in Turkey. In fact, the main reason why this day is important is because Gezi Park became Gezi commune.

In Gezi Park commune, money was not used to eat, drink or buy medicine and other daily necessities. On the other hand, there was a library to share books, a revolution museum, and also a sickroom for treating wounded people. This was perhaps the most important example of solidarity and sharing demonstrated in many years in Turkey. Furthermore, solidarity was not only experienced in the park. Many people supported the protesters from their house by banging pots and pans or by switching their lights on and off. Workers expressed solidarity from their work, students from their school...

The purpose of the protests was to increase participation in civil society, to democratize political practices, and to emphasize their individual identities, rather than pointing formal institutes and capturing political power.

The demonstrators and those who supported them from their houses, workplaces and colleges represented the true meaning of solidarity. They had learned it in the square and had taught it to others. The Gezi movements ended, but the fire of the freedom was not extinguished from their hearts.

After the wonderful days of first two weeks of June, this class focused their attention on keeping the Gezi spirit and moral alive universalized, rehearsing for the administration of the public by trying to contact the working class with the vast majority of the public. “Forum process that established. (Yıldızoglu, 2013) and Yasemin Ozdek highlighted that after June, approximately eighty “Gezi Forums” began to occur in 13 cities of Turkey and this number was increasing day after day. In these forums, people talked about the future of the resistance, discussed national problems, deciding for resistance in front of them, formed working groups, and made decisions on various subjects.

As Fuat Ercan observes, the Gezi protests began to protect three to five trees, yet these three to five trees uprooted the routine of society. All of those people who were at the square had justifiable reasons to be there. The explosion of the justification reasons occurred over three to five trees.

Wall posts, graffiti, and similar visual works often hold, a finger on the pulse of the community and reflect the socio-economic, political, and cultural implications of events. Therefore, the resistance, which began to save the trees, was accompanied by street art. Each minutes and began to be his way of expression in the street. Street art of the resistance gives voice to protesters and reach an audience. In addition, street art was a way of protesting against mainstream media and the insensitivity of

authority figures. The works produced as a reaction to the Gezi movement were diffused via Facebook and Twitter all around Turkey.

2.4.2 Relationship between Street Art and Gezi Park protests

“Why did we become blind, I don't know, perhaps one day we'll find out, Do you want me to tell you what I think, Yes, do, I don't think we did go blind, I think we are blind, Blind but seeing, Blind people who can see, but do not see.”

Jose Saramago

The defining characteristic of humour -which is the amusing, satirical approach to social reality- is being critical. Humour is evaluated by its social function, which includes making people question, while making them laugh at the same time, even about subversive topics. Traditions, morals, social systems, and the injustices created by governments are the topics and the essential critical object of humour. (Avcı, 2013)

Humour, especially during a period of increasing oppression, becomes one of the public's tools for criticizing the government. On the other hand, if it already exceeds the quality of criticism towards the discourses and practices of the government and if the government is in a complete disorder, humour and mockery become rather a way of political criticism; humour exceeds the power of political criticism.

In other words, humor can express social criticism using amusement, instead of attacking. When we examine Gezi Park Protests within this framework, the popularity and the internalization of the movement begin to make sense.

Humor and laughter can be utilized as an intellectual resistance and as powerful instruments in social and political protests to deconstruct the power and discourses of the state. Thus, humor serves as a means to undermine hierarchy and authority. (Konak, Nahide) According to Hannah Arendt, “The greatest enemy of authority, therefore, is

contempt, and the surest way to undermine it is laughter.” A sense of humor removes the oppressive burden of the past and becomes a source of liberation from fear.

In the days of Gezi Park protest, many people in Turkey created a new language of resistance, which blended humour with other forms of protest. Young people in the Gezi Park protests used this new form of resistance to create their own way of resisting. They criticized the oppressive attitude of the ruling powers with humorous language. Not only did they criticize, but they also revealed the game of the ruling powers. Protesters replied with laughter and an increasingly tough attitude. As Nietzsche highlighted, “We call every truth false which was not accompanied by at least one laugh.”

In fact, such preemptive strikes against environmentalists played a significant role in transforming the demonstration into mass protests. Many people went to the park and camped there, and many humorous graffiti emerged during the protests, reflecting the relationship between the police state aspect of the neopatrimonial regime and the protesters. (Konak, 2013)

All done art by protesters, according to Ozay Goztepe, the past was indiscriminate embrace all cultures, it undergrounds art to popular art, revolutionary culture to street culture, arabesques to the Hollywood series. Resistance contained the past and therewithal, they produced new product the beyond of the past.

A Street has become a street museum by the graffiti produced during Gezi Park protests. South African activist and conceptual artist Kendell Geers, who was in Istanbul at the time for the launch of his new exhibition, identified the Gezi protests as a monumental artistic event: “This is the biggest installation, the biggest biennial that ever happened. It does not need a curator or any other people to dictate from above. It’s a grassroots movement.” (Uncu, 2013)

As Marjolein ’t Hart observes, humour and laughter can serve as a powerful tool in social protest. In the Gezi Park protests, the language of resistance and especially humour was widespread and used effectively to express the truth. The garrulous of Gezi, whether

exposing the arrogant and aggressive rhetoric of humour functional state power that they use it as an effective method for reducing ridiculous. (Taycan, 2013)

During protests, the prime minister said the following about the protesters who wanted to save trees at Gezi Park: “I’m telling you obviously and clearly that we will not allow a few Çapulcu / looters to come to the park and to provoke our citizens by misguiding them.” According to Tugba and Oguzhan Tas, after Erdoğan used the word “çapulcu / looter” to insult protesters, they began to use it as a badge of honor in referring to themselves.



Figure 24 Graffiti, “Everyday I am çapullung”, <http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/>

This epithet used by the Prime Minister to criticize the resisters was being ridiculed, and the concept became an element of humour rather than an adjective of humiliation. Soon, the walls were filled with slogans containing “çapulcu/looter”. Songs were written with the sentence, “Everyday I’m çapulling”. All of the protesters loved this concept. (Macos, 2013)

Graffiti produced during the protests reflect the happenings on the streets. In other words, the characteristics of the resistance and the resisters could be read from the walls. Additionally, the people and/or the matters targeted by the resistance could be traced by looking at the graffiti content.

Negative images such as gas masks, which are used to be protected from tear gas, the media which ignores the protest and water cannon were caricatured through feeding from popular culture products and social memory. One of the important stencil works was of a penguin with a gas mask, which refers to the Turkish media, which did not show violence of the police against protesters. CNN Turk showed a documentary of penguins instead of covering what was happening in the streets during one of the most heated times of the protest. The penguin with a gas mask stencil, which clearly criticized the Turkish media, spread rapidly via social media. Furthermore, the role of social media, especially Facebook and Twitter, is undeniable. Each second, the news of what was happening on the street was transferred via Facebook and Twitter. People who did not have Facebook or Twitter access opened an account to have all the news and to share information. Some people were not comfortable because Twitter and Facebook became important communication tools throughout the resistance. Prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan labeled Twitter as a ‘trouble maker’. Soon after Erdoğan’s statement, a stencil started appearing on the streets of Istanbul, featuring the twitter bird wearing gas mask.

Furthermore, the graffiti on the walls said, “Revolution will not be televised, it will be tweeted,” which refers to the mainstream media blackout of the nationwide protests and underlines the important role of the social media in communicating among the protesters,

exposing the police brutality to national and international audiences. “Sell out media!” was among the popular mottos, referring to the mainstream media’s prioritization of private financial gain over the public interests and their proximity to the AKP circle. (Konak, 2013)



Figure 25 Penguin with gas mask, <http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/>

The process spread throughout the country starting from Gezi Park, which helped not only to refresh the memory of a land in which memory has been wounded by coups and oppressions, but also to politicize everyday life through art. The government tried to eliminate the artworks of resistance from the streets, also with the facilities

provided by the technology. It has become a digital social memory and an important heritage for future generations. (Artun, 2013).

When we talk about the Gezi Park protest, two photos come to mind: one was a woman wearing a red dress who was standing in front of police violence; another one was a woman wearing a black dress with opened arms and standing fearlessly in front of water cannons coming from Toma. Both of these pictures have become very important symbols of the resistance. Those symbols were portrayed in stencils and posters on the walls. All of those works were seen by millions of people via social media. Even if those images are deleted from the walls, they became the symbols of the resistance, which can never be erased from memories of people.



Figure 26 “The more they spray, the bigger we get”, <http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/>

As highlighted by Yaman Kayabalı, the image of a policeman blowing pepper spray on a girl in red, rapidly became the most recognized symbol of the protests and was transposed

to the city walls, streets, and roads with stencils. The girl in red in the stencil image is considerably larger than the police as it symbolizes the growth of the resistance, as the police violence got rougher.

If walls could express themselves, art would be their voice to express all the society's feelings. In fact, the walls became the biggest witness of what was happening during Gezi Park protest. Walls of every places in the city have become the best source to understand everything. Therefore, the Gezi Park protests are integrated with street art, and they cannot be considered separately. Although many different symbols could be seen in the Gezi protest, the best symbol of the protest could be the image of a tree. The protesters had become a single fist, as strong and sweeping as the trees they stood under and fought to preserve. Protesters stuck together in solidarity as a meaning of green.



Figure 27 Stencil, Fist and Tree, <http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/>

3 HYPOTHESIS

Revolutionary events generally take place in the street. Doesn't this show that the disorder of the street engenders another kind of order? The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange the words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become 'savage' and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls.

(Lefebvre 2003: 19)

Street walls are open for everyone, because walls don't belong to anyone. People choose to express their feeling, their fears, and their fights on to walls. In this way, they are able to share their ideas with a lot of people. Even people who are not in a position to speak publicly in society can find a way to express themselves by writing on the walls. Walls will give a kind of freedom in this way.

Two different social movements appeared in two different countries at two different times in history. These two countries (Portugal and Turkey) were each fighting for freedom, and their people tried to make their voice heard with street art. The people spoke out against ruling powers by making art on the walls. Even after many years, we are still able to hear their voices through these works of street art.

Most of the street art completed during these social movements, still remains in the present day, giving us news from 42 years ago (the Carnation Revolution in Portugal) or three years ago (the Gezi Park protests in Turkey). Street art will always be active in these protests, and we will hear the screams of the artists who created them even after many years. Street art makes memories come alive.

4 CONCLUSION

Conclusion, the walls are a vocal witness to what happens in a city, like an audience reacting to a speech. Street art could be seen as the voice of the walls. It is a voice, which tells the stories of people's daily lives, and consequently, it has become an integral part of society. We have seen the significance of street art on society in several important social movements. One of them was the Gezi Park protest, which began on 30th of May 2013 in Istanbul; the other was the Carnation Revolution, which began on 24th April 1974 in Lisbon. Street art played an active role in both.

The Gezi Park protest was an unprecedented popular uprising in Turkey against the oppression of the ruling government. During the Gezi protest, street art was one of the protesters' best weapons. Turkey found different languages and forms of resistance than before. Turkey had seen this form of resistance in other periods of its history in different way. In the 1970s, Turkey had political problems and economic difficulties that brought about a surge of street art. Political bickering and fighting during that period were reflected on the city's walls with posters and slogans that represented the society's problems.

Street art became active again in Istanbul during the Gezi movements. Each response to the government was reflected on the walls. Protesters had created a new language of resistance, blending humor and street art. Today, art provides a different image of Istanbul, which often makes people feel better about their lives. People who are living in Istanbul's grey streets can enjoy of many streets illuminated with street art. Some local and international organizations are proposing activities in the streets to make people know more about street art and move it to different spots.

In Portugal, the Carnation revolution ended the seventy-year oppressive regime in a bloodless manner in one night using strong organization. For years, people poured their silence into the walls. After the revolution, the walls were filled with people's freedom slogans and mural works. Soon after the fall of the regime, political parties made a lot of graffiti to attract people's attention. After the Carnation revolution in the country, they had no major resistance until now.

Nowadays, even in times of political unrest and economic crisis, most of the street art is done to beautify the city. Some of the best instances of street art can be found in Lisbon. More recently, artists have introduced graffiti to old people, and they have tried to create street art together with them.

The events that happen in the streets create the symbols of a resistance, and those symbols inspire street art works. The main purpose of Gezi Park protests was to protect trees in the park. Therefore, the tree was the most important symbol of the resistance, and it was turned into many works of street art. The Carnation Revolution demonstrated the same thing. On the day of the Revolution, carnation flowers were sold by women in the streets. One of them put a carnation into the barrel of a soldier's gun. That image became the symbol of the revolution, and even years later, the carnation is often used for street art that speaks about the revolution. Whatever the cause of the resistance, it inspired art.

These examples highlight the fact that under authoritarian regimes, people are more likely to produce politicized street art. When people cannot find any place in the political sphere to express themselves, they use the arts in creative ways to protest. That's the reason why we could say that the organization level of the Portuguese society in 1974 was higher than that in Turkey during the Gezi protests. While the art of the Gezi Park protest also became politicized, it was more individual.

Even in different countries, which have their own culture, language, and history, the walls remain the best space for the people to express themselves freely. The walls are where the people's screams can be heard. It is a means of expression, showing the ideas of individuals living in the society. Therefore, the walls are a reflection of the society. The language of the walls is street art.

The Gezi Park protest and the Carnation Revolution began in different countries and in different time periods. One of them was three years ago and the other was 42 years ago. The year separating these two resistances demonstrates that this method of expression is not changing, even if it is expressed with different images. Street art is still the most influential weapon in a protest. Even after years...

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7 ANNEXES

Gezi Park protests



Figure 1. "No more Lies", Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 2. "The memory of resistance", Istanbul, 2013
(<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 3. Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 4. "Antarctic resisting", Istanbul, 2013
(<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 5. Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 6. Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 7. “Gezi library” Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 10. Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 11. Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)



Figure 12. "Media lies", Istanbul, 2013 (<http://occupygezipics.tumblr.com>)

Carnation Revolution



Figure 12: Mural with hands showing victory sign, Centro do documentação.



Figure 13: MFA People, Centro do documentação.



Figure 14: Mural with design of family around military, Centro do documentação.



Figure 15: Mural with human figure, Centro do documentação.



Figure 16: Mural with sun design, star, hammer and sickle, world and graphics, Centro do documentação.



Figure 17: Mural with man design, sun, wheat and graph, Centro do documentação.



Figure 18: Mural with the PS flag, with the phrase "Socialism in freedom, Centro do documentação.



Figure 19: wall detail with phrase "People's Power", Centro do documentação, Centro do documentação.



Figure 20: Wall with star with the phrases: "Studying Working Fighting", "Union of Communist Students," "Towards Socialism Vota PCP", Centro do documentação.



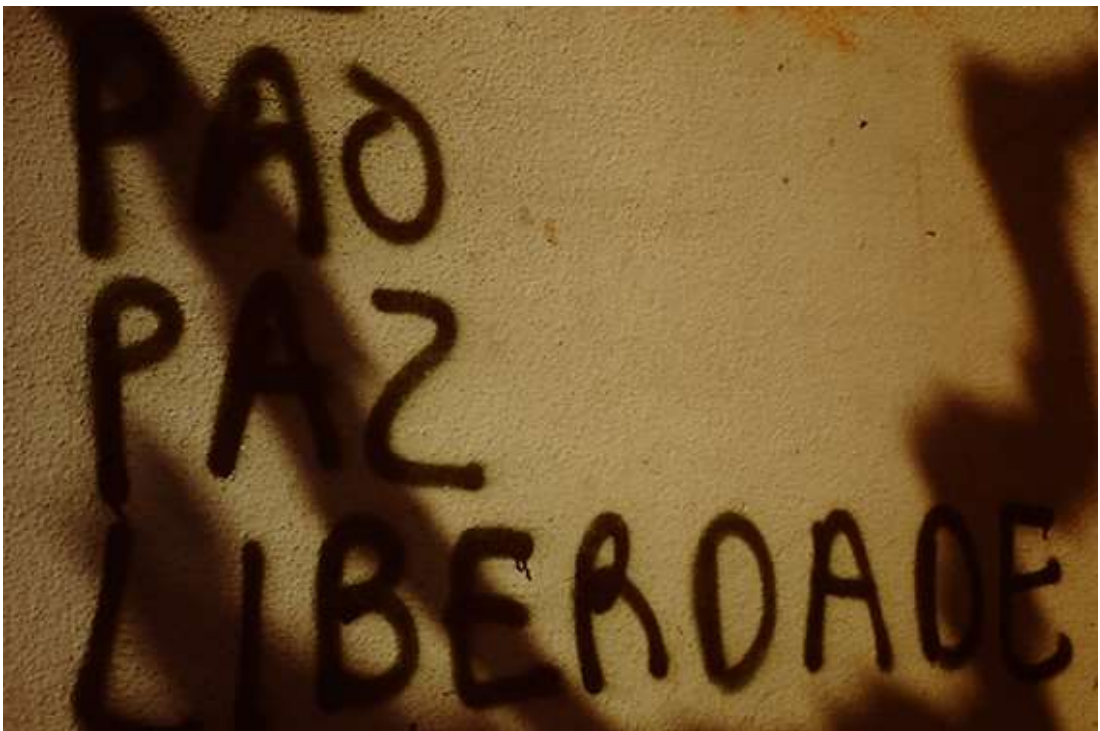
Figure 21: Mural with drawing man and woman holding the hammer and sickle, Centro do documentação.



Figure 22: Mural with flags of the CFP. Yellow reads "Vote PCP", Centro do documentação.



Figure 23: Mural detail with drawing man the smash with a hammer, the word "Capital", Centro do documentação.



24: Mural with detail the words "Peace Bread Freedom", Centro do documentação.

Figure



Figure 25: Mural with detail drawing a blue dove, clouds and the word "gives more strength to freedom" , Centro do documentação.

