

IN PURSUIT OF REUNIFICATION
Interventions in Everyday Life through Art in
New Social Movements

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YENİDEN BİRLEŞMENİN PEŞİNDE
Yeni Sosyal Hareketlerde Sanat yoluyla
Gündelik Hayata Müdahaleler

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Tez Danışmanı : FERHAT KENTEL.....
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Jüri Üyeleri : FERDA KESKİN.....

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- 3) Gündelik Hayat
- 4) Güçlendirme
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- 1) New Social Movements
- 2) Art
- 3) Everyday Life
- 4) Empowerment
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Abstract

This study examines the use and the role of art in social movements. The focus is on the new era of social movements in Europe, starting from the 1960s and 1970s. Examples of theatre, music, dance and graphic design performed in street demonstrations in Italy, as well as interviews with various activists are utilised as primary resources for this dissertation. Although the major part of the fieldwork was conducted in Italy, it includes some additional data from other countries.

Asides from examining the practical purposes of the use of art, namely framing and resource mobilisation, the study looks at the natural empowerment mechanism performing art offers the performer, protecting and regenerating the performer. Also, art represents the totality of everyday life and provides a space for personal resistance against the segregation caused by modernity. This feature of art becomes prominent in social movements and provides the opportunity to experience a moment of totality during an act of protest.

Özet

Bu çalışma sanatın sosyal hareketler içerisinde kullanımını ve rolünü incelemektedir. Avrupa'daki hareketlerin 1960'lar ve 1970'lerde girdiği yeni dönem temel alınmıştır. Çalışmada birincil kaynak olarak İtalya'daki sokak eylemlerinde yapılan tiyatro, müzik, dans ve grafik tasarımı çalışmalarından örnekler ve aktivistlerle yapılan görüşmeler kullanılmıştır. Alan araştırmasının büyük bir bölümü İtalya'da gerçekleşmiş olmasına rağmen diğer ülkelere dair veri de kullanılmıştır.

Sanatın çerçeve oluşturma ve kaynak mobilizasyonu gibi pratik amaçlar için kullanılmasını ele almasının yanında; bu çalışmada sanat, icra eden kişiyi koruyan ve yenileyen doğal güçlendirme mekanizması olarak inceler. Buna ek olarak, sanat gündelik hayatın bütünlüğünü temsil eder ve modernitenin yol açtığı bölünmeye karşı kişisel direniş için bir alan açar. Sanatın bu yönü sosyal hareketlerde öne çıkarak protesto eylemi sırasında bu bütünlük anını deneyimleme fırsatı yaratır.

Hangar Sanat Derneđi'nin yrekli insanlarına...
(to the courageous people of Hangar Art Association...)

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1. INTRODUCTION



18th March

- *So, are you coming?*
- *Just a moment. I'm looking for the twig!*

Figure 1, 18th March

On 18th March 2006, by lunch time, I was ready to go to a demonstration protesting the 3rd anniversary of the War in Iraq. Although it was stated that it would commence at ten o'clock, the cortege would be late, as always. Getting dressed as colourfully as possible, I went to meet my friends in the Republic Square of Rome, from where the demonstration would start.

As I arrived, I saw the crowd with lots of colourful items, banners, designs and dresses. People were running, wandering, preparing more banners and posters, playing music, dancing, chanting slogans, joking, laughing, interviewing, and even some of them were rehearsing a play that they would perform that day. Apart from being the meeting point for demonstrators, the square was also a marketplace: street vendors were selling *PACE* (Peace) flags, musical instruments,—or instruments to make noise—colourful hats,

scarves and T-shirts. This scene was far from surprising to me. It had been five months since I arrived in Italy and I was used to going to festival like environments which is quite different from an ordinary demonstration in Turkey.

Soon after I met my friends, we started to march. We already knew the route of the cortege, we already knew that there would not be any police intervention, and we already knew that it was going to be very entertaining. A lot of people come to Rome to participate in the demonstration; not only from other Italian cities but also from abroad. During such colourful demonstrations, we chanted slogans, took photos and videos, saw performances, performed, juggled, danced, listened to music, met new people, and went for a coffee. We even witnessed a public fight among the demonstrators who were marching for peace.

It was not the first time I saw a festive demonstration but the way the people approach the idea of a demonstration, the way it is organised, the carnival-like preparation, and the joyful energy affected me in a way which was very different from what I was used to. Intensive use of artistic methods, such as dancing, acting, singing, and designing in these protests, street demonstrations and social movements in general was the starting point of the idea that led me to undertake this research.

Western societies have been experiencing a new generation of social movements since the mid-1960s. These movements differ significantly from traditional social movements concerning their claims, objectives, participants, organisation and methodology. This change which commenced some forty years ago is still a rich resource that attracts a number of scholars and inspires many activists. The movements which emerged during those years could not fully realise their dreams. However, they have in the long run succeeded in changing government policies, lifestyles, economy market, and promoting social rights. In other words, the struggle pursued by social

movements has had a large effect on every single individual. As social movements establish a reciprocal relationship with the society, analysing their formations, actions and methodology could help us understand the dynamics of today's societies as well.

Since their origin, new social movements have inserted different artistic elements into their actions. While some of these movements commenced directly by artists, a vast majority of them were initialised and implemented by non-artists who become temporary performers.

A main motive of this research is derived from this extensive use of art in new social movements. This phenomenon is studied under various disciplines of social sciences. However, although much of the research on social movements have argued that art is used as a tool for expression, closer examination demonstrates that art has a fundamental role in the structure of new forms of protest. This study aims to elaborate this argument through analysing the use of art for communication and problematisation purposes as well as for finding and canalising spiritual and material resources. In addition, it will be asserted that artistic practice functions as an empowerment mechanism that places art as an intrinsic factor for participation.

Art and social movements originate from and are reinforced by rich resources such as actual politics, social and economical developments that are macro determinants, as well as the micro ones like daily routines, banal cycles and individual concerns. Modern life introduces us to many facilities and innovations. It also brings about significant challenges. This study assumes that individual and societal desires inherent in art carry the potential for an "ideal" society. Considering this potential, the research seeks to discuss another fundamental argument: art is the central component in social movements that represents the totality of everyday life and gives the opportunity to experience this totality in an instant continuum.

Establishing such a link between art and everyday life enabled me to examine the role of art in social movements more profoundly. Activists' artistic experiences provide important input that form and maintain the social movements. I utilised different research techniques to understand and interpret the intense emotions and feelings of activists in moments of artistic practice.

We should also note that since the very beginning, new social movements have been criticised because of the paradox they have: do new social movements really make a change in social, economical, political and cultural system or do they act as deflation devices and relief the societal tensions? The role of art can be questioned here as well; whether it really penetrates in our lives through social movements or it just gives us temporary joy and satisfaction so that we can go home safe and happy.

Certainly, considering the scope of this study I do not intend to produce comprehensive claims and responses about these arguments. The relationship between art and social movements is examined through modest examples taken from ordinary incidents that continue to take place around us. However, some conceptual and geographical limitations have been put into place. First, within the borders of this research, I will use the concept of art as limited to theatre, music, dance and graphic design. Second, although there is some supporting data from other parts of the world, this study aims to analyse the social movements in Europe and more specifically in Italy.

Italy holds a distinctive place in the world of social movements when we compare it with other countries in Europe and the West. With the Vatican at its door and maintaining strong Catholic traditions, these lands have lived under religious domination for centuries. Although the country has an impressive multicultural history, the successful attempts to unite the people under a kingdom soon ended up with fascist dictatorship in 1922 which lasted for twenty one years. Alternative and revolutionary thoughts in Italy

sprouted with such oppressive and conservative legacy that prepared them for a long-term struggle. Italian theorists and activists are still providing major contributions to politics. Considering the culture and art heritage of the country, Italy is a place for extreme ends with solid background, a very interesting and rich laboratory for social movement studies.

Having stated the main concerns and motivations, let us see briefly the outline of this research.

The next chapter attempts to make a definition of “movement”, and narrow the concept to a level that will be valid throughout the discussions in this study. In order to achieve this, a historical analysis is undertaken in a comparative manner, going through old and new texts and definitions offered by a number of theorists. Then it is intended to make a short exploration through the history of political dissent to understand the points of contention in the Western world and Italy.

The third chapter is dedicated to the history, content and characteristics of social movements. Starting from the Labour Movement, I have tried to draw a panorama of the history of social movements and the changes in theories in accordance with the alterations induced by modernity. With a brief introduction to the characteristics of new social movements, I aimed to prepare the reader for the upcoming part that is a more profound examination of use of art in movements and protest actions.

The fourth chapter discusses the first argument of this dissertation. The first two sections are designed to discuss art’s practical uses for framing and resource mobilisation purposes. So, these parts include an investigation of different texts, symbols and claims of various movements and organisations from different countries. The last section of the chapter seeks to answer the question if art could be a tool for reinforcement for the performer.

The fifth chapter attempts to develop an approach considering the interrelationship of everyday life, art and social movements. Within the framework of second argument of this study, I analysed the emotions and feelings of the performers during their actions. While compiling this part, I also benefited from some recent theories such as everyday life studies and identity politics.

This study should be considered as a minor input to the new social movements' literature. Art carries a culture of thousands of years and has a fascinating potential that can inspire activism in social movements. I believe that Cultural Studies holds an important post in academia that can combine theory and practice. Unfortunately many qualified academic texts are not read by activists because of the complex language, and many stimulating and successful examples of activism are not evaluated by scholars because of difficulties of access to the field. The interdisciplinary revolution of Cultural Studies paves us the way to go beyond the clear distinctions among social sciences and provides a lot of opportunities to utilise different resources from the field. I hope that this study could be a modest contribution to this attempt to merge activism and academia.

1.1. Methodology

The data collected in this dissertation covers a period of almost three years starting from October 2005 up to August 2008. My main focus in this research is on the use of art in social movements in Europe, and particularly in Italy. A large part of the data comes from the fieldwork I did during my six months' stay in Rome and my visits to Bologna, another city in the north of the country. In addition to these, my fieldwork includes data from three other trips I made to Rome, one trip to Athens, Greece and some supporting data from other countries.

The field of social movements, in a way, needs extra attention while conducting a research, especially in another country. This is because of the cultural contexts and structures; motivations of the participants, organisational forms, and sensitive points in discourse may differ radically from the researcher's own social and cultural background. Taylor and Bogdan suggest that a field researcher should start with "the premise that words and symbols used in their own worlds may have different meanings in the worlds of their informants".¹ While I was doing my fieldwork in Italy, I was officially recruited in an international non-governmental organisation that has a political stance and takes active role in social movements. Working with such an organisation helped me to better understand key points in movements, acronyms that are used, repetitive cycles in social movement organisations and also to have easier access to activists.

My main research tool for this dissertation has been participant observation. I also utilised two other techniques that are semi-structured interviewing and discourse analysis. These techniques not only helped me to comprehend how the activists and social movements as organisations imagine and define their worlds but also how they build their own reality in a movement process.² Thanks to these techniques, I also had the chance to get a glimpse of the outsiders' views towards the social movements.

I should also say that my personal experience concerning the topic far exceeds the time of the research. My interest in non-governmental and social movement organisations started during the first years of my university education that led me to take further responsibilities in these institutions. These experiences served as a good starting point and also facilitated the process of my adaptation in activist groups, and further on,

¹ Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), p.64.

² Taylor and Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*, p. 53.

understanding the internal energy and motivation within the social movements.

However, my experience as participant observer could only help me to grasp the emotions and main drives in a movement. So, I also conducted nine semi-structured interviews with people who actively take part in these movements. These interviews provided me specific information in an understudied topic, subjective point of views of activists and participants, the motivations and emotions that connect them, and lastly a better understanding of collective and individual identities which appear in and through social movements.³ The interviews were mostly conducted in public places, during or after street demonstrations I participated in Italy and Greece. Apart from these I conducted two other interviews; one took place in the interviewee's office, one after a seminar where the interviewee was the speaker, and another one during an international theatre project.

As it can be understood from the lines above, the participants of the social movements have been the key figures in this study. I particularly approached people who are continuously or temporarily practicing art in any part of the social movement structure, and people who are in a leading position regarding the use of art. Considering that the goal of this research is exploring, discovering and interpreting the use of a creative method in social movements; semi-structured interviewing was very helpful combined with participant observation.⁴

Moreover, I benefited from printed and audiovisual materials that I collected during my research. These materials include photographs and short films of people and designs that I shot in demonstrations, posters with political

³ Kathleen M. Blee and Verta Taylor, "Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research," in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, eds. Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 94-96.

⁴ Blee and Taylor, "Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research," p. 93.

content that are either photographed by me or by professional photographers, songs that are commonly played during demonstrations, and designs from newspapers. Among the posters, there are a few, which are designed by governmental and non-governmental organisations from outside of Europe. By using these materials, my intention is far from going beyond the borders of this study; indeed these posters are very much related with the political art in Europe. I used them to support my findings within the boundaries of my research topic.

Last but not the least; I also utilised some dialogues and scenes from movies that are narrating certain periods in history that overlap with some social movements. Discourse should be regarded as the total impact of these components. If we think that these discursive components give significant impression to the public and take role in shaping the thought and feelings both in and out of the social movements, they are indisputably of our concern. A discursive field of a social movement “draws on the conflicts, struggles, and political cleavages of the broader social and cultural environment, and articulates these elements such that the transformative power of the ideas is challenging yet familiar”.⁵

Considering the technical and financial details, this research did not have a specific budget. I received generous and friendly support by activists and organisations from Italy, Turkey and Greece in linguistic, interpretative and logistic issues.

⁵ Hank Johnston, “Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis,” in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, ed. Bert Klandermars, Suzanne Staggenborg (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 67.

2. MAIN CONCEPTS

“You may either win your peace or buy it: win it, by resistance to evil; buy it, by compromise with evil.”

John Ruskin, The Two Paths

“Never confuse movement with action.”

Ernest Hemingway

1.1. What is a Movement?

There are various concepts employed by different theorists and also by the practitioners such as ‘collective action’, ‘protest’ or ‘civic movement’. It is important to note that the definitions of these terms are still unclear. Although an intuitive agreement seems to be made among these parties, it might be useful to elaborate more on this concept.

So what is the minimum requirement when defining an action as a ‘movement’? Is there a set of criteria to define it?

In the last twenty years, we have seen numerous studies about social movements which welcome and point out the ‘new period’ after the 1960s. Talking about a movement, many of these studies refer to the contemporary anti-globalisation movements. Traditional movements are referred to in a comparative manner, to prove how deviant and alternative the modern movements are.

Thanks to the Great Revolution and industrial developments, France has been the focus for traditional social movement studies and still, in the modern times attracts many scholars with its vivid societal relations. Some examples of early social movements and commentary on these movements focus on the working conditions all around the country.

In his book titled *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* published in 1850, Stein was the first to introduce the term ‘social movement’ in its original form as ‘Soziale Bewegung’.⁶ This term referred to all political and ideological movements of the nineteenth century whose aim was to promote the welfare of the working class in an industrial society.⁷ Stein indicates that from that time on traditional social theories could be significant only as indications and forerunners of impending greater developments in society. What really matters are the actual movements of the proletariat which have economical and political determinations and targets.

After paying long visits to northern French mining towns, famous novelist Zola gives us an extensive image of social movements that arose in the brand new industrial arena of France of the nineteenth century in his novel titled *Germinal* which was first published in 1885.⁸ The novel’s central character Étienne Lantier quickly embraces socialism and develops a working class ideology. He organises masses and plays prominent role in demonstrations against bourgeois. The book also narrates the operation and structure of early trade unions that shaped and coordinated *The Labour Movement* in Europe.

The Labour Movement is considered to be given as a typical example for the social movements during the industrialisation era. It contributed significantly to our world perception and understanding of society with its ideology, commitment, naming and practices. Labour Movement was not limited to the borders of Europe and spread all over the world. Its direct criticism of the malfunctioning social order and claims on behalf of a social class still form a central concern for many countries and governments.

⁶ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768 – 2004* (London: Paradigm, 2004), p. 5.

⁷ Kaethe Mengelberg, “Lorenz Von Stein and his Contribution to Historical Sociology,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22:2 (April-June 1961), p. 268.

⁸ Emile Zola, *Germinal* (London: Penguin, 2004).

Another example could be *Feminist Movement* which emerged in nineteenth century France, then in the UK and USA. It came into existence by claiming property rights and other equality issues. It was connected to Women's Suffrage and brought about the second wave of Feminism. The famous slogan "Personal is Political!" finds its roots in this period that started in 1960s. Even though the second wave of feminism, which was concerned with equality issues on a broader scope continue today, in the beginning of the 1990s the third wave emerged. The third wave of feminism challenged the second wave and brought about the mainstreaming of the gender issue and discussions on identity. This last wave also included some derivations such as post-structural and postmodern feminism. So in a sense, the Feminist Movement is both 'classical' and 'new'. It challenged and questioned its own existence and approach.

Certainly it would not be fair to claim that the Western world has been the cradle for social movements and been a resource geography which influences all over the world. We have rich examples about movements that emerged in other parts of the world i.e. *Zapatistas* in Mexico, *May Fourth* and *June Fourth Movements* in China or *Non-violent Resistance* in India.

In addition, in late 1950s and during the 1960s, the *Civil Rights Movement* emerged in many countries all over the world and aimed to change the legal system in the countries in order to obtain greater equality for all segments of society. If we evaluate these movements according to their success in fulfilling their aims, apart from a few exceptions, they failed either partially or fully. However, they paved the way for many other ideas and movements that changed the perception of societies.

Traditionally social movements defined as resistance oriented actions that aim to change the power relations. Collective actions that strive to create resistance among a particular group or whole society against domination are

usually chosen to be named 'social movements'. Domination can be state or society based, towards a declared commonality of a group.

Today, the roles of dominator and resistor did not change radically but, as the instruments of domination differ from traditional sort, the resistor's inventory of methods to react also develops everyday and these methods will be discussed later in this study.

Many scholars preferred to study social movements under leftist literature attaching them an innovative and reformist character. Heberle defines the main criterion of social movements to bring about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic institutions of property and labour relationships. In addition, the acknowledgement of existence of a social movement, such as *class consciousness*, is also essential. Besides, Heberle adds that positing this kind of criteria and categorisation may exclude numerous actions.⁹

Nonetheless, Zanden points out the movements that resist social change. Criticising Heberle's study, he discusses the significance of *counter-movements*, such as Ku Klux Klan, which arise against a social movement seeking for a change in the social order.¹⁰

Having discussions on definitions of movement this study does not intend to have a list of 'movements' and 'non-movements'. Inasmuch as the studies made to explain the concept of movement are such diverse, it might be better to draw our framework for the further chapters of this dissertation.

⁹ Rudolf Heberle, "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," *American Sociological Review* 14:3 (June 1949), pp. 346-357.

¹⁰ James W.V. Zanden, "Resistance and Social Movements," *Social Forces* 37:4 (May 1959), p. 313.

Thus, if we are to formulate a very general definition, we might say that a movement is a type of group action. A more structured definition says that a movement is a group of people working to advance a shared cause.¹¹

Considering the years after 1750, Tilly proposes three elements that form a social movement:¹²

- a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities
- employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering
- participants' concerted public representations of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies.

So, according to Tilly these elements are valid for 'old' and 'new' social movements. Studies about the social movements in the industrialisation period take a considerable part in the social literature, and provide a basis for the new approaches.

For the period after 1960s up to our day, Diani comes up with a comprehensive definition for social movement through a synthesis of different organisations, institutions and movements: "A social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity."¹³

¹¹ See third definition in Oxford Dictionaries online, 17 February 2008, http://www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/movement?view=uk

¹² Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768 – 2004*, pp. 3-4.

¹³ Mario Diani, "The Concept Of Social Movement," *The Sociological Review* 40 (1992), p. 13.

Although there are still ‘labour movement style’ social movements, in ‘60s social movements started to gain a different character. These movements are no longer after taking the government power but to challenge it in a symbolic way, and lead to a social change through influencing people. New movements’ claims go beyond the discourses constructed around class conflict and prompt the discussions on universal issues such as self-determination, identity politics, and ecology.

As using different terms will be important for this dissertation, we should also make the distinction between social movement and social movement organisation (SMO). An SMO is considered to be a specialised and more organised group that takes part in a social movement. To illustrate, we can say that Greenpeace is an SMO working with the broader environmental movement. However, even an SMO could contribute to a social movements, it is far away from constructing and building the whole movement.¹⁴

New social movements paid extra attention to innovation and creativity including artistic methods. Although art is considered to be ‘political’ since the Middle Ages and Renaissance¹⁵, from ’60s on art started to be a distinctive feature of social movements; not only used as a tool but considered as a ‘must’ within the movement.

To mention it again, within the borders of this study, the concept of art in social movements is limited to theatre, music, dance and graphic design.

Art has always played an essential role in identifying our experiences, problems, and in fostering communication among people. Art has been used

¹⁴ Charles Tilly, “Social Movements as Historical Specific Clusters of Political Performances,” *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 38 (1994), pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ Toby Clark, *Sanat ve Propaganda*, trans. Esin Hoşsucu (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 2004), p. 14.

for satire, praise, criticism, admiration etc. It is a powerful tool for interaction among people. The inherent strength of art empowers the doer; thanks to the possibility of transmitting emotions, feelings, demands, and other forms of communication. Social movements use art as an instrument for political intentions; to the extent that it has become an indispensable aspect of public communication. They use art to reach target audiences and to convey a certain message through different channels, such as sticking posters in public areas or singing and dancing in demonstrations.

Apart from transmitting emotions, feelings and demands, art also provides time and space to experience these cognitive and sensual processes limited to personal and environmental qualifications. Actually, the very content of artistic product is related to daily life; how it is affected by politics, society, and environment. Political art has so far been studied in many countries based on the experiences of different artists. Not only for professional artists but also for temporary practitioners, art could be a channel for liberation.

In the following parts of this study, the role of art during communication and mobilisation processes of new social movements will be discussed. Another important point will be the empowerment effect of art and how the performer feels freeing from ordinary life and experiences a different moment of interaction.

Lastly, I will argue that art provides us a momentary period to live through our ideals; so that we can get a glimpse of the perfection of humanity. Social movements and particularly the moments of action are distinctive spaces that encourage us to release our mental and physical energy that are essential for resistance.

Hence, this study will focus on new social movements in modern era and their use of art as an essential feature for both methodology and existence.

1.2. Europe as an Arena for Political Contention

Considering the significant literature written about social movements, the first question which can be raised is: where does the whole story begin? This is a question to be answered using historical milestones and developments, whereas the answer would be politically charged.

In the retrospective studies, many scholars tend to accept societal events in Europe in the nineteenth century as the starting point for social movements. The 1848 Revolutions in France are often chosen as the symbolic primary movement in history.¹⁶ Moreover, connecting social movements with market economy and capitalism, Tilly indicates that United Kingdom, France, Belgium and United States have been major creators of social movements in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁷

Such studies indicate that social movements are of Western invention that emerged during the nineteenth century, because masses of people were exploited and repressed and became excluded from the benefits of liberalist ideologies. However, before the nineteenth century there were great events and movements which took place in the other parts of the world. Yet, it is important to mention that organised movements never existed before. Perhaps we may think of some organised sectarian movements but as these movements were concerned with the afterlife, they did not have political aims regarding “this life”.¹⁸

The French, Bolshevik and Iranian Revolutions are considered to be three major revolutions in world history. Only one of these took place in

¹⁶ G. Arrighi, T.K. Hopkins, I. Wallerstein, *Sistem Karşıtı Hareketler*, trans. C. Kanat, B. Somay, S. Sökmen, (Istanbul: Metis, 2004), p. 36; Giulio Marcon, *Le Utopie del Ben Fare* (Roma: l’Ancora del Mediterraneo, 2004), p. 8.

¹⁷ Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768 – 2004*, pp. 16-64.

¹⁸ Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein, *Sistem Karşıtı Hareketler*, p. 36.

continental Europe. All of these revolutions claimed for equality in the sense of human rights and foresee an acquisition of power for the repressed. While the Iranian Revolution was distinguished with its ideology and concerns to establish an Islamic republic, French and Bolshevik revolutions had ideological foundations based on Western philosophy.

We should not underestimate the link between social movements and human rights. Many movements—especially the ones with concerns to advance the society and promote cohabitation—can be considered within the framework of the development of human rights.

If we accept that social movements have a strong human rights aspect which is connected to modern understanding of ethics, containing worldwide secular and religious components, we can say that they are not solely of Western invention. Ishay seeks for the roots of the concept of human rights in several historical documents such as Hammurabi's Code of ancient Babylon, Hindu and Buddhist religions, ancient Greek and Roman texts, Confucianism, Christianity, and Islam. Nevertheless, she also adds that despite the fact these made significant contributions that formed the notion of human rights, it has been Western concepts that prevailed.¹⁹

An examination of 'the new period after the 1960s' indicates that we still refer to Europe as a starting point. The social and economic policies as well as the ongoing war in Vietnam brought about contention all around the continent. Although there were vivid movements and public protests, May '68 in France has been recorded as a milestone in politics and in the construction of today's Europe.

In his book, Ali tells us brightly how the revolution began in France and had an epidemic effect and spread to other countries. The profile of the

¹⁹ Micheline R. Ishay, *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to Globalization Era* (California: University of California Press, 2004), p. 7.

movement has been also very different from ‘ordinary’ ones: starting with university students, it spread to workers, farmers, villagers, advocates, prosecutors, architects, astronomers, journalists, strip club stars etc.²⁰ Ali quotes Hobsbawm’s article in *The Black Dwarf*:²¹

They know that the official mechanisms for representing them—elections, parties, etc.---have tended to become a set of ceremonial institutions going through empty rituals. They do not like it—but until recently they did not know what to do about it...What France proves is that when someone demonstrates that people are not powerless, they may begin to act again.

Indeed, the conditions were not at a certain level to call what happened as ‘revolution’. The slogan written on the wall of University of Nanterre in 1968 may help us: “This is not a revolution, My Lord, this is a mutation”.²²

According to those days’ standards, ’68 movement was a political failure. However, it succeeded in influencing many societies around the world and paved the way for new ‘mutations’.

In Italy, this process commenced with similar concerns and aims a little earlier than France and lasted for ten years. It started as a movement of workers and quickly involved revolutionary students as well as the marginalised people in the society.²³ This movement opposed different institutions in the society: the Church, Communist Party, trade unions, traditional family, capitalism etc. In the second half of the ‘70s new radical

²⁰ Tariq Ali, *Sokak Savaşı Yılları*, trans. Osman Yener (Istanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2008), p. 203-24.

²¹ Tariq Ali, *Sokak Savaşı Yılları*, p. 211.

²² Ercan Eyüboğlu, “Devrim Dışında Devrim,” *Cogito Mayıs ’68* 14 (Spring 1998), p. 186 (The slogan refers to French Revolution. In 1789, as the King Louis XVI. sees people attacking Bastille, he yells “This is a rebellion!” and gets the answer “No, My Lord, this is a revolution!”)

²³ Özgür Gökmen, “İtalya 1968: Özerklik Hareketi’nin Gelişimi,” *Birikim* 109 (Mayıs 1998), pp. 77-84.

groups emerged, of which an important one was *Autonomia* (Autonomy). Autonomists challenged both the traditional right and the left. The government suppressed these alternative groups violently by the beginning of the the '80s and let the political atmosphere in the country be dominated by mainstream ideologies for some ten years.²⁴

The famous photographer D'Amico narrates us the social movements in Italy during 1970s in a poetic way:²⁵

The unsatisfied rebels, riotous, to whom the world was not fair, were speaking with their bodies, features, gestures, with their way of proceeding together, composing together. Together, they were seeking courage, together they were giving joy to each other, and together they were helping each other to bear mourning. They were composing images without time. Images without time, that still demand participation, demand love.

('Gli insoddisfatti, i ribelli, i rivoltosi, quelli a cui andava stretto il mondo si parlavano con i loro corpi, con le linee dei volti, i gesti, il loro modo di mettersi insieme, comporsi insieme. Insieme cercavano coraggio, insieme si davano gioia, insieme si aiutavano a sopportare un lutto. Componevano immagini senza tempo. Immagini senza tempo che ancora chiedono partecipazione, chiedono amore.')

In the late the '80s and then during the '90s, political dissent started to revive with a similar mentality and feeling. It was a period during which the welfare state was collapsing, Mafia was gaining power and separatism was rising all over the country.²⁶

When we arrive at the twenty-first century, a significant part of these dissent groups were well integrated with global movements against capitalism,

²⁴ Paolo Virno, "Karşıdevrimi Hatırlıyor Musunuz?" *İtalya'da Radikal Düşünce*, trans. Sinem Özer and Selen Göbelez (İstanbul: Otonom, 2005), p.67-68.

²⁵ Tano d'Amico, *Volevamo Solo Cambiare il Mondo* (Napoli: Intra Moenia, 2008), p. 5.

²⁶ Carlo Vercellone, "Ayrıksı Bir Deneyim Olarak İtalyan Refah Devleti," *İtalya'da Radikal Düşünce*, trans. Sinem Özer and Selen Göbelez (İstanbul: Otonom, 2005), pp. 181-86.

social forums, and leftist movements in general. So, this time social movements far exceeded their national scope because the ‘enemies’ were global: neo-liberalism, militarism and war.²⁷

After this brief introduction, I will stop here discussing the ideological and geographical origins of social movements. Without a doubt it would be very interesting to make a thorough research about these topics but, considering the limited framework of this study, I will continue with major ideas developed around social movements in the modern era.

²⁷ Giulio Marcon and Mario Pianta, “Porto Alegre-Europa: i Percorsi dei Movimenti Globali,” *Concetti Chiave - Capire i Movimenti Globali*, (May 2002), p. 5.

3. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MODERNITY

And if you tell yourselves
nothing is happening
that the factories will be open again
they will arrest a few students
you are convinced that it was a game
that we have played a bit
try to believe you would be acquitted
you are involved in it anyway
May Song, Fabrizio de Andrè

(‘E se vi siete detti
non sta succedendo niente,
le fabbriche riapriranno,
arresteranno qualche studente
convinti che fosse un gioco
a cui avremmo giocato poco
provate pure a credevi assolti
siete lo stesso coinvolti.’)
Canzone del Maggio, Fabrizio de Andrè

To refer to labour movement while talking on social movements is definitely not a coincidence. There are numerous studies examining the Labour Movement of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Having a strong ideological background, labour movement was taken as the very example for identifying *traditional* social movements. Through a retrospective point of view we can name them traditional but actually, considering the foundations, claims and methodologies they were revolutionary for their times. Labour movement found its theoretical foundation in the idea of class consciousness which is an initial notion for its commencement and commitment in industrial societies. As this study does not aim to analyse different social movements as separate cases, I will not continue to list the characteristics of labour movement but will review and discuss the existing studies that were undertaken from a traditional perspective.

3.1. Classical Views

Early works tend to see social movements as unorganised activities with materialistic goals pursuing individual concerns but struggling in class concept.²⁸

According to Smelser, who was an inspiring scholar in the first half of twentieth century, social movements—he uses the term *collective behaviour*—are side effects of rapid social change. Considering the societal conditions during the industrial era, he discusses that collective behaviour is a result of unsteadiness or crisis in the society, as well as a way of focusing and fighting with the problems of the strain. Indicating the short circuited beliefs of the participants, he defines collective behaviour as the action of the impatient.²⁹

Smelser specifies two different classes of events: *collective outbursts* that would refer to panics, crazes and hostile outbursts and *collective movements* that would refer to collective efforts to modify norms and values. Having the general term *collective behaviour*, he merges two different concepts. Moreover, regarding the essential characteristics of collective behaviour, he excludes any physical and temporal conditions, any form of communication and interaction means, and any psychological foundation.

According to Smelser's *value-added theory*, the life of the collective behaviour moves along a straight line and is dependent on its determinants.³⁰ Having concrete materialistic aims and demands in nature,

²⁸ See Roger Brown, "Mass Phenomena," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 833-40; Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade*, ed. J.B. Gittler (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), pp. 127-158; Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

²⁹ Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, p. 72.

³⁰ Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, p. 12.

collective behaviour would end after reaching these aims. Thus it is disorder, related to immediate or structural crisis in the society. Its discontinuous motivation is based on temporary situations.³¹

Another important point in Smelser's work is that he abstracts ceremonial behaviour from collective behaviour, while their integrity is very essential for new social movements. Although he finds the worker-socialist movement a good example for his theory, Smelser excludes the rites, collective songs and pledges to solidarity because of their primary importance as regular expressions of the inherent values and symbols of the movement itself.³²

Such kind of abstractive concern can be seen also in Heberle's work. He distinguishes social movements from trends and tendencies, and also from pressure groups and political parties. Another distinction implies for short-lived, spontaneous mass actions, which are considered to be tactical devices of a wider movement.³³ Claiming that social movements cannot be identified only with the proletarian movement, Heberle talks about the *genuine* social movement.

Heberle analyses the forms of social movements through four main doctrines in western societies: Liberalism, Conservatism, Socialism, and Fascism.³⁴ *Class consciousness* is very essential for any social movement. Even religious or ethnic movements in other societies, are to be read via this concept. For this reason, he hardly defines the Black Movement in the USA,

³¹ Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, p. 24.

³² Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior*, p. 74.

³³ Rudolf Heberle, *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951), pp. 7-9.

³⁴ Heberle, *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, pp. 32-37.

because of its ambiguous class relations among its participants and supporters, and labels it as an early phase of a movement.³⁵

According to Heberle, there are two types of active participants in a social movement: the enthusiast who is well aware and devoted to the ideals of the movement, and the fanatic who is concerned with the action. While the enthusiast undertakes the mind work such as creating ideas and symbols, the fanatic takes these ideas as dogma and often resorts to violence in action. Moreover, the enthusiast would be a dedicated and stable follower of an idea, whereas the fanatic would pass from one movement to another.³⁶

In addition, some actions performed by individuals involved in social movements can be violent and illegal, such as boycott, sabotage, strike etc. According to Heberle, these actions are essentially undemocratic. Debates and negotiations at the political level should be preferred instead.³⁷ On the other hand, from 1848 revolution on, mass street demonstrations became a normal and legitimate way of urban political life. The authorities often legalised or condoned these actions.³⁸

It is not that they supported peoples' political engagement; on the contrary, the perception of politics was being formed of collective negotiations, political party competition, and representative democracy. Offe implies that after the two great wars in Europe, the political agenda was concerned with development, welfare and security issues. This agenda was prepared and implemented by new liberal welfare states assuming that people would be

³⁵ Heberle, *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, p. 150.

³⁶ Heberle, *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, p. 115.

³⁷ Heberle, *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, p. 385.

³⁸ Vincent Robert, *Les Chemins de la Manifestation. 1848 – 1914* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1996), p. 373, qtd. in Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768 – 2004*, p. 41.

concerned with business and consumption oriented lifestyles so that political involvement, conflicts and participation would not be of people's interest.³⁹

Neglecting to examine the use of art in the classical paradigm is certainly not to be regarded as a mistake or shortcoming in these important works. In early studies art was considered as an instrument only and was one of the tools social movements used to realise their objectives. Nevertheless, societal changes brought about different approaches to methodologies as well.

3.2. New Social Relations

When we study the social movements in Western societies it is impossible to skip the discussions on modernity. I will not go profoundly into numerous arguments, whereas it can be useful to mention briefly, how this process of rationality, science and technology affected the Western thought.

Modernity often regarded as the period from the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century up to now or from another view; ended in twentieth century and was replaced by 'post-modernity'. If we take the industrial developments as landmark, therefore we can confidently say that modernity is linked with economy and social change. This has been a period when the amount of production and trade rapidly increased, mercantilism was replaced by capitalism, and accumulation of capital became a driving force. Subsequently we were ready to utter words like *mass production* and *mass consumption*.

Besides, modernity should not be perceived solely a rapid mass change; with his criticism, Touraine, helps us question this concept. He states that

³⁹ Claus Offe, "Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Kurumsal Politikanın Sınırlarının Zorlanması," in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Açılımlar*, ed. Kenan Çayır (İstanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), p. 59.

modernity is segregation of sections of life such as politics, economics, family life, religion and especially art from each other thanks to distribution of rational, scientific, technological and administrative goods.⁴⁰

Many scholars used dualities in order to define the concept of modernity such as future and past, traditional and modern, volatile and eternal, innovation and decay.⁴¹ In his article, Kentel draws our attention to the decomposing factor of modernity that had the same effect in every context; dividing the world, society, history, life and even individual into two different parts.⁴²

According to Touraine, a very fundamental duality is *rationalisation* and *subjectivation* that consists two confronting aspects of modernity. The subject defined as “an individual’s will to act and to be recognised as an actor”. In this regard, an individual anticipates and acts as of being a subject and being consciously responsible of their own act; and yet, this subjectivity indeed is under threat because as it is mentioned above all sections of life are industrially produced and distributed.⁴³

As we have discussed classical social movement theories before, they do not consider the subject as a decisive factor in the formation of movements. Indeed, the actor is produced by and defined with the reason, and instrumentalised for good functioning of the society.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Alain Touraine, *Modernliğin Eleştirisi*, trans. Hülya Tufan (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), p. 23.

⁴¹ See Hans Haferkamp and Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change and Modernity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), p. 13.

⁴² Ferhat Kentel, “Bölünen Parçaları Birleştirmek İçin 1 Haziran”, 29 March 2008, 30 March 2008, <http://www.gazetem.net/fkentelyazi.asp?yaziid=370>

⁴³ Touraine, *Modernliğin Eleştirisi*, p. 229-238.

⁴⁴ Alain Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete,” in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Açılımlar*, ed. Kenan Çayır (Istanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), pp. 36-39.

In his review of Touraine's work, Don Desserud argues that Touraine calls for a reunion of all parts of life, thus a rebirth of modernity in which the subject can exist only in a form of social movement.⁴⁵

In this regard, let us continue to elaborate this relationship between the subject and the social movements in the light of new social movement theories.

3.3. Characteristics of "New" Movements

As it was briefly mentioned above, the term *new social movements* is used to describe the period after 1960s. So what is new about these movements?

Referring to the Nash's work, we can talk about a very distinctive aspect of new movements that carries some characteristic features: The universal and moral concerns of these movements are quite prominent; they are organised through loose networks; and targeting mass media in the actions.⁴⁶

Unlike the labour movement, which is considered as a relevant example for 'old' social movements, the contemporary social movements carry universal concerns such as right to peace, global warming threat or protecting human rights worldwide. These universal concerns employed a variety of people from different socio-economic and political background. To redefine it in a new popular term: *concerned individuals*. As Offe notes, the social foundation of these movements is heterogeneous and not formed in means

⁴⁵ Don Desserud, "Reviewed work: Critique of Modernity by Alain Touraine," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 28:4 (December 1995), pp. 785-86.

⁴⁶ Kate Nash, "The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics," in *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics and Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 102-103.

of ideology and class.⁴⁷ He lists the 3 major components as emerging new middle class, members of old middle class and the category that is excluded from labour market like students, housewives, retired etc.

Discontinuous, flexible and immediate participation possibilities are important features for attendees. New social movements provide an informal, non-hierarchic, non-bureaucratic platform for people, who want to come and go; could give a momentary effort such as chanting a slogan in cortege and may not show up again. In the movie, that is narrating 1970s' Italy, Accio Benassi (Elio Germano) deciding to join the socialist group in town. He enters their office:⁴⁸

ACCIO: Well, I decided that I want a membership card. ('Allora, ho preso la decisione che voglio una tessera qua.')

THE MAN: We don't issue membership cards here. ('Noi, non facciamo le tessere qui.')

ACCIO: Why not? ('Perché no?')

THE MAN: Because this is not a political party. ('Perché, questo non è un partito.')

ACCIO: What is it? ('Cos'è?')

THE MAN: Movement. ('Movimento.')

ACCIO: !!!?.. OK! Then write: "Benassi, in the movement of..." (Bene! Allora scrivi: "Benassi, in movimento...")

THE MAN: No need for description. You've told me and it's enough! ('Non c'è bisogno di descrizione. Me l'hai detto, è basta!')

Such approach also paves the way to getting organised on the basis of common grounds at local, national and international levels; because such movements do not need strict written rules, members need not to have equal life experiences. As participation is not officially regulated, people feel freer to take part in these loose networks. Members do not share a solid given identity but partly contribute to constructing different identities.

⁴⁷ Claus Offe, '*Yeni Sosyal Hareketler*,' p. 66.

⁴⁸ *Mio Fratello è Figlio Unico*, dir. Daniele Luchetti, perf. Elio Germano and Riccardo Scamarcio, Warner Bros and Cattleya, 2007

On the other hand, instead of challenging the power of state, new social movements strive for changing public opinion through mass media. So these concerned individuals are no longer after the control of the state, but seek recruit people and ask them to support a social change. Using a lot of audio-visual tools enables the movements' appeals to be present throughout the world, thanks to the mass media facilities and worldwide attraction to art.

4. ART IN ACTION

*Play: while preparing and experiencing an action, it is essential to have a high spirit of play: (auto) irony, joy, creativity, and colour, but also concentration, openness to occurrences, cooperation, and strategy.
Enrico Euli and Marco Forlani, Guide for Direct Non-violent Action*

“Rome is like a book of fables, on every page you meet up with a prodigy. And at the same time we live in dream and reality.”
Hans Christian Andersen

Songs, poems, slogans, dances, drawings were already being used in social movements but instrumentalisation of art increased rapidly during the twentieth century.

For a long time, the use of art in social movements was a neglected issue except some studies undertaken in the last years. A part of these studies investigated artistic elements through their cementing role for individuals. According to Jasper, art helps emotions to come out and generate a sense of togetherness. Common activities such as singing a song or dancing can create bonding effect among people.⁴⁹

Let us take a look at the first two quatrains of a most famous song from Italy as an example:

Lyrics in Italian

Una mattina mi son' svegliato,
O bella, ciao! Bella, ciao! Bella, ciao, ciao, ciao!
Una mattina mi son svegliato,
E ho trovato l'invasor.

⁴⁹ James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest* (Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press: 1997), pp. 192-94.

O partigiano, portami via,
O bella, ciao! Bella, ciao! Bella, ciao, ciao, ciao!
O partigiano, portami via,
Ché mi sento di morir.

English translation

One morning I woke up
Oh belle, goodbye! Belle, goodbye! Belle, bye! Bye! Bye!
One morning I awakened
And I found the invader

Oh partisan take me away
Oh belle, goodbye! Belle, goodbye! Belle, bye! Bye! Bye!
Oh partisan take me away
That I feel I would die

Bella Ciao was anonymously written during Second World War and became a song for Italian partisans. Up to date, it was translated to several languages and employed by numerous political movements. It is still a powerful song that stimulates the emotions of people who are in the same movement or even for the ones who feel politically connected to the concept of resistance. Such songs have a high currency of use in demonstrations and many other political activities in Italy. Owing to politically concerned music bands, many songs are reinterpreted, thus reemployed easier by social movements.⁵⁰

As it is indicated in Adam's work, another part of the studies on social movements and art is focussed on the role of art in social movements' communication to public.⁵¹ Indeed, contemporary movements use a variety of strong artistic products and tools in order to reach their target groups. We still remember and use the slogans of '68; we put on symbols to support the resistance of some groups or communities; we share photos from

⁵⁰ For some good examples of modern interpretation of such songs with political content see the webpage of the music band Modena City Ramblers, www.ramblers.it

⁵¹ Jacqueline Adams, "The Makings of Political Art," *Qualitative Sociology* 24:3 (2001), p. 314.

demonstrations; we memorise and sing the lyrics of resistance songs and so on.

In another comprehensive work of hers, Adams points out two main functions of use of art in social movements.⁵² I will continue with elaborating these two which are ‘Framing’ and ‘Resource Mobilisation’. The reason that I chose these elements is their urgent and necessary impact on self expression and movement participation. Framing becomes significant for people to identify and position themselves in and around the social movement. It helps to understand and plan the objectives, ways of expression, and individual’s role within the movement.

On the other hand, resource mobilisation theory tries to perceive material and moral support of individuals and puts forward the ways of contribution of movement participants. It is important not to think of the mobilisation of resources only by people’s conscious support. Feelings and emotions that occur among movement participants and outsiders should be of our concern as well.

Both of these two functions are essential for social movements. They reveal and interpret for us different dimensions of movements.

Subsequent to these, I will add another feature which I believe is important for this study.

4.1. Framing

‘Framing’ or ‘frame analysis’ has gained considerable popularity in today’s social sciences. Theorists found a large area to apply this concept in their work from psychology to political science, from communication to

⁵² Jacqueline Adams, “Art in Social Movements: Shantytown Women’s Protest in Pinochet’s Chile,” *Sociological Forum* 17:1 (March 2002), p. 22.

sociology. Johnston indicates that the concept of frame was first used by Bateson in 1954. The concept was first introduced to social theory by Goffman in 1972.⁵³

Frames are considered to be interpretative diagrams that help us to understand main points of an issue and the linkage of these points with each other. Snow et al. denote frames as “schemata of interpretation” that enables us “to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences” regarding our lives and the world in general.⁵⁴ Snow and his colleagues adapt frame analysis into social movement studies and use the term *frame alignment*. According to this model, frames can enhance social movements through a set of forms:⁵⁵

- *Frame amplification* means linking an interpretative frame on a particular issue to a larger social reality or problem.
- *Frame extension* means a movement’s effort to integrate participants’ feelings, interests and experiences into a defined frame and extending its borders.
- *Frame transformation* is something that might be required upon the changes in lifestyles, time, beliefs, political or economical conjuncture.

People tend to accept frames that are coherent with their own experiences and existing beliefs. People become participants or supporters of a social

⁵³ G. Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. (New York: Ballantine, 1972) and E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) qtd. in Hank Johnston, “Verification and Proof in Frame and Discourse Analysis,” p.63.

⁵⁴ David A. Snow et al, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization and Movement Participation,” *American Sociological Review* 51:4, (August 1986), p. 464.

⁵⁵ David A. Snow et al, “Frame Alignment Processes,” pp. 467-74.

movement more easily when its arguments seem to be compatible with their expectations of the future and perceptions of world.⁵⁶

Many civil society organisations use these frames. If we look at any simple document or flyer of big non-governmental organisations such as Greenpeace or Amnesty International, they use a basic type of framing in order to gain public support:

1. The problem
2. Their response/action regarding the issue
3. The positive outcomes

The same kind of framing is used also to recruit activists. Ms. B who lives in Austria and works with Amnesty International in a position related to activism says:

People want to see what how we approach the problem and the result. They don't have any concrete idea about the big picture. They just want to do something. They come and say 'Here is my anger. Do something with it!' If we provide them a structured and organised path for activism, they stay if not they go...

Framing helps to define the situation and to gain new supporters or members. When SMOs provide people an organised schema then the issue and steps of an action become more concrete, interested people can become involved more easily. In modern daily life, potential contributors of SMOs can hardly be expected to find time to deeply think about, to reflect on and problematise social issues. The ability to decide and act quickly become a necessity. Rational and irrational processes such as thinking and feeling also become spontaneous, as does anger.

Apart from being a useful tool for framing, art could also help social movements to attract and change people at first glance.

⁵⁶ James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, p. 75.

4.1.1. Art as a Framing Tool

As social movements emerge, they are questioned by the public. There is a need for a strong tool to communicate and recruit people. Art might be a tool for framing in three different ways: telling the actual situation of the problem, holding an actor accountable and recruiting like-minded people by creating a friendship atmosphere.

Kushner speaks of art passionately:⁵⁷

It is even more of a miracle that the act of forcing the impossible is, in the history of political revolution, often catalyzed by something as flimsy as a poster plastered on a wall—the perfect poster on the perfect wall at the perfect moment. What’s miraculous is not that the great graphic design, employing shock, wit, and clarity borne of urgency, can move people to action, to acts of courage and sacrifice, overcoming habit and fear. Art can do that; art is always having those sorts of effects. Art can’t change anything except people—but art changes people, and people can make everything change.

Art is a true way of communication. It narrates a story of the oppressed, a violated human right or the uneasiness of a minority; it shows you the face of poverty; makes you hear a call for freedom; gets you to understand the feelings of a modern slave.

⁵⁷ Tony Kushner, “Foreword” in *The Design of Dissent*, eds. Milton Glaser and Mirko Ilic (Massachusetts: Rockport Publishers, 2005), p. 222.



Figure 2, *An altered version of Sardinia flag, Rome*

This photo is from a demonstration that took place in Rome. The flag is one of the many forms of the official flag of Sardinia, an island of Italy, located in the Mediterranean Sea. The island has a semi-autonomous status and has a strong separatist movement. With some slight differences in design, an older version of this flag—four blindfolded black heads—was in use during the Arabic occupation of Sardinia in the ninth and tenth centuries and represented the island as a captive land. It used to be an important figure for Sardinian resistance that was based on a form of nationalism.⁵⁸ Indeed, the position of the band was a minor detail and was not of concern until the beginning of 1920s. It became a significant symbol and gained popular use thanks to the Sardinian Action Party. A political image that emerged with nationalist motivations is articulated within new political conditions and used again for resistance. The flag in the demonstration above, very simply illustrates Sardinians as captive people still under the Italian domination. Despite the fact that Sardinian Action Party made the “modified” version of

⁵⁸ There are many stories about the origins of Sardinian flag. Different versions were used during its history: Four black heads turned to left, to right, without any band, with band on the forehead, blindfolded etc. Four heads represent four Arabic kings that were killed in the first wars occurred between Sardinians and Arabic. After longlasting sieges and bloody battles, Sardinia was occupied by Arabic forces. For a detailed information about the elements used on the flag and the history of the use of the band (on the front and on the eye) and access to scientific researchers please see www.bandierasarda.it

the flag popular, when we come to 1990s, many other independent political groups began to use different versions of it.

The official flag of Sardinia, which is currently in use, is seen below:



Figure 3, *Official flag of Sardinia*

Although the blindfolded version of the flag once had an official use in history, today carries a subversive feature considering the current official flag of Sardinia. Subverting an original piece of art or a concept in an artistic way is quite common among social movements. They transform images, slogans, songs, and dances. Sometimes this transformation takes place in a satirical manner, sometimes the concept totally changes.

Similarly, starting from the late 50s the Situationists sought to subvert cultural and artistic elements and introduced the term *détournement*. Their point of view and particularly the work of Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, was a major inspiration to the 1968 movement. The prominent slogans of '68 were taken from the Situationists. Their word games, graphic agitations, artistic subversions aimed to evaluate our daily life and the banalities around us. This was an attempt to reinterpret human relations to the environment, to go beyond the social borders of the modern society. Maybe 1968 was the perfect moment for the meeting of artistic and social movements.

While different movements in a country were influencing each other in terms of framing and communication through art, in some cases this was happening between different overseas movements. With the emergence of new social movements such process occurred amongst Europe and Latin America.



Figure 4, *La Murga group dance*, Rome

La Murga dance finds its origins in Latin America. It is believed that the starters of *La Murga* were Afro-Americans, thus the slaves that were brought to Americas. Now it has different schools in many countries and considered to be one of the popular Latin dances. It has different modes and dressings but the style and the costumes seen above are of Argentina. The dance as a ritual has a movement cycle in itself and represents the freed from slavery. My informant Ms. S who is a *murguera* (*La Murga* dancer) in a local squatted community centre explains:

It is a cycle of patience, saving energy, call for freedom and breaking the chains. This is used to be the life of slaves in Argentina. It is a beautiful narration. It is a metaphor. Oppression is everywhere and we will never get tired!

New social movements' high interest in using Latin American art is not a recent fact, but had a history starting from the '60s and '70s. Movements in Europe are significantly inspired by Latin American dances, paintings, songs, slogans and the revolutionary stories of these countries. In Italy, this interest accelerated especially from the '70s on, and even now many Italian SMOs have strong links with their Latin American partners. Day by day, the level of cooperation is increasing among these organisations. Ms. C who is studying Relations Sciences and European Institutions in Milan helps us to understand this phenomenon:

When we came to the '60s, the Labour Movement in Italy has already constructed a specific identity. Different communist groups were going to certain pubs; young communists were doing certain things in their spare time, reading certain books and eating at certain restaurants as like as they developed a certain way of demonstrating and using tools for action. When it was time to change this identity they started to search for something innovative. As a similar process has happened in Latin America, new social movements got interested in already politicised art in these countries and quickly adopted them.

Similar social dynamics, roles and conditions allow for various social movements to meet under common frames. Certainly, we should not neglect the significant contribution of new technologies that enables these movements to be informed about each other and receive such audio-visual tools and artistic methods.

Another strong SMO was established in New York City in 1985. Guerrilla Girls is a group of anonymous females who take the names of dead women artists as pseudonyms and appear in public wearing gorilla masks. Like the Situationists, this feminist group subverts artistic products.

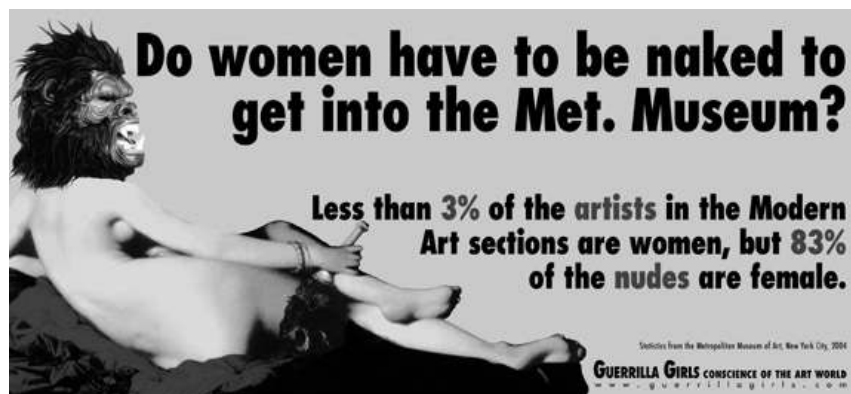


Figure 5, Guerrilla Girls poster

They have been producing hundreds of posters, stickers, books etc. that expose the sexism and inequality between men and women. This poster is to protest the lack of female artists in the Metropolitan Museum in USA. Among the current movements, such actions are called *culture jamming*, *subvertising*, and *adbusting*. In their actions, activists use art not only to show us the actual situation lying beneath a problem or the problem itself, but also in some cases to blame the responsible and hold certain actors accountable regarding the problem. Let us see two other examples from Italy to perceive this use better.



"Priests Out of Our Underwears"

Figure 6, Slogan for sexual freedom



Figure 7, Banner by Siena Feminist Collective

“Does Ruini give you a headache? Secular Pride!”⁵⁹

Both of these two photos are from the same demonstration held against the Vatican. The demonstration was organised by LGBT (lesbian – gay – bisexual – transgender) organisations but many other SMOs participated as well. Although Italy is considered to be a secular state, homosexuality is not welcomed by the public, thanks to the influence of the Church. Both of the banners blame Christianity for the discrimination against LGBT people, embodied by priests.

In the first photo, the slogan calls the priest to go out of individuals’ underwear meaning that sexuality should be of private sphere and not to be regulated by religion. In the second, the Cardinal Camillo Ruini is seen as hitting LGBT girl’s head with a cross. The demonstrators hold him, thus the church system and the Italian government accountable for the difficulties and the discrimination that the LGBT individuals experience.

This satirical language is not only used in slogans and graphic art. Performance art is widely used for agitating and subverting fixed concepts and images.

⁵⁹ A word game goes here: While they write “Secular Pride” the demonstrators refer to the relation between sexual liberty and “Gay Pride”.



Figure 8, *Guantánamo Demonstration in Athens*

Amnesty International has been campaigning for 6 years for the closure of the US detention centre in Guantánamo Bay. In this satirical street theatre that took place in front of the parliament building in Athens, Amnesty International Greek Section stresses the fact that such serious violation of human rights is conducted by the US government. The poster held by the soldier states: “Hotel with 50 stars: Guantánamo. Holidays with no return.”

Then, we have another example from the United Kingdom.



Figure 9, *Raaa! Action in London*

Space Hijackers is a group that was established in London in 1999. They are widely concerned with social and political issues from police violence to mass consumption, from advertisements to environment. In the action above, they were dressed up in wild animal costumes in order to make the 4x4 vehicle drivers feel as if they were in a safari so that the price of their cars and the amount of fuel they consume would be worth it. After having surprised the drivers in the neighbourhood, they distributed mock leaflets warning the drivers that their vehicles are not suitable for any other district of London except the one they are in, which is perilous because of the mountains and big cats.

Both Amnesty International and Space Hijackers use performance art for depicting the problem in front of people's eyes and showing the responsible for the situation within the framing alignment. In terms of framing methods and use of art, claims and actions of different SMOs meet in the same category regardless of borders, political orientation, and the capacity of these organisations. As the mobilisation of people and information increases with time, we can expect that these common grounds shall extend and reach a broader scope.

Apart from addressing the problem concerned, art is also used to recruit other like-minded people and acts as a socialisation device.

It is possible to see advertisements for demonstrations that show these actions as entertainment activities. These calls are made by putting posters in public spaces, through newspapers and internet. People do not consider demonstrations as events for chanting slogans and marching, but also listening to music, dancing and role playing. The act of protesting might be counted as a serious socialisation activity like going to a friend's meeting or doing sports.



“CARNIVAL

I DO NOT MAKE TRAFFIC

Critical consumption, recycling, spectacles, sports, renewable energy, grills, plays, jokes, desserts, confetti, music and bicycles

We Want Squares Among Our Neighbourhoods. Not Urban Motorways

TOGETHER FOR A SUSTAINABLE CITY OF ALL”

Figure 10, Environmental platform poster

As I was taking the photo of this poster, I was approached by a resident of the quarter who was an old lady. After a minute of conversation she said:

I do not want them to burn down the cars and break the windows of the shops in my street like they used to in the past. Yet, these look nice and sweet people. I do not think that they would do the same things. Also, they are right to refuse motorways, public squares are nice...

Indeed, street protests act as a place to make new friends, especially friends who have similar world views. During my interview with Ms. S. who is the *murguera*, her colleagues were asked several times where she and other dancers practiced and if it was possible to join them.



Figure 11, *Women in Bologna*. On the banner, it reads “The Show Starts Now!”

By dancing, singing, acting, sharing the experience, art makes people come closer. The demonstrations and public actions serve as a meeting point for friends and also a perfect space to meet friends of friends.

The photo above shows us how people get together during the cortege. Dancing and singing in a joyful atmosphere creates a chain of friendship.

John Lennon was one of the most beloved singers, even after his death. In his very well-known song ‘Imagine’, he sings:

You may say that I'm a dreamer
But I'm not the only one
I hope someday you'll join us
And the world will be as one

Many streets are filled with these lyrics during demonstrations. As another example expressing the power of art; Amnesty International has made an agreement with John Lennon’s colleague and wife, Yoko Ono, after

realising how people are influenced with these lyrics. Amnesty International now owns the copyright to use John Lennon's songs in their campaigns.⁶⁰

In his published interview Jeff Pinzino tells the story of his friends' cooperative. He was invited to a potluck dinner organised at a friend's house where he met some people from a grass-root organisation. Their discussions led him to join to a social centre where people gather and prepare anti-globalist demonstrations. He indicates that the essential thing for keeping the energy high among members is music, food, and joy.⁶¹

The impact of canalising emotions and feelings will be elaborated more in the following part of this study.

4.2. Resource Mobilisation

Resource mobilisation theory has been developed mainly by American theorists in 1970s and is still being used by numerous American students and scholars.⁶² Resource mobilisation theory examines the resources in and out of the social movement. These resources are evaluated on a cost-benefit model. First of all, they can be money and labour, which is fundamental for any movement. Then, the well-functioning of a network to aggregate money and labour, and their cost efficient use is important. According to resource

⁶⁰ Amnesty International U.K. "Yoko Ono visits Amnesty International to celebrate Instant Karma album success," 24 September 2007, par. 2, 4 March 2008, http://www.amnesty.org.uk/news_details.asp?NewsID=17455.

⁶¹ Jeff Pinzino, "Eğlence ve Adalet," in *Küresel Başkaldırı*, ed. Neva Welton and Linda Wolf, trans. A. E. Savran (Istanbul: Aykırı, 2004), pp. 43-46.

⁶² For a brief list of principal studies see Tuncay Önder, *Ekoloji, Toplum ve Siyaset* (Ankara: Odak, 2003). p. 51.

mobilisation theory, combination and operation of these resources are essential for the movement's success.⁶³

Emerging from the United States, resource mobilisation theory produced a major change in sociological thought and challenged the classical social movement paradigms. Resource mobilisation theory examines social movements through costs and benefits, therefore on the basis of rational political action and refuses the former "pathological, irrational reactions of the masses" approach.⁶⁴

The contribution of mobilisation theory to social movement studies is undisputable. It paved the way for other important theories to come along. Notwithstanding its popularity, today, this theory is criticised by many theorists because, the very assumption of resource mobilisation theorists is that emotions, personal complaints and other psychological factors had no effect on social movements.⁶⁵

Although mobilisation literature mentions very practical components such as the time needed for participating in a demonstration or money for organising an action—both of which are quite true on the institutional level—emotions and hope play a considerable part in social movements.⁶⁶

⁶³ John D. McCarty and Mayer N. Zald, "Social Movement Organisations," in *The Social Movements Reader Cases and Concepts*, ed. Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 171.

⁶⁴ Doug McAdam, "Culture and Social Movements," in *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, ed. E. Loraña, H. Johnston, and J.R. Gusfield (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 36.

⁶⁵ Jean Cohen, "Strateji ya da Kimlik: Yeni Teorik Paradigmalar ve Sosyal Hareketler," in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Açılımlar*, ed. Kenan Çayır (Istanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), p. 113.

⁶⁶ Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, pp. 29-33.

We have already seen that art evokes emotions, feelings of togetherness, and friendship. Apart from being a framing device, art can mobilise some certain resources such as hope and motivation, international support, and money.

4.2.1. Art as a Resource Mobilisation Tool

Emotion in social movements is still an understudied topic. Snow and Benford examined motivation under “motivational framing” title; however, in this manner, it remained as a cognitive process rather than emotional.⁶⁷

The idea of excluding emotions is confronted by a series of studies that emerged recently. They try to bring emotions back to social movement theories. Looking at the major studies in this field, it is interesting to see that most of this effort is made by the scholars from American universities where the resource mobilisation theory was developed, and traditionally neglected the psychological processes.

Having undertaken a research on the shantytowns of Chile, Adams indicates that the circulation of *arpilleras* in European and American markets boosted international attention and solidarity against the authoritarian regime during Pinochet period.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, p. 98.

⁶⁸ Adams, “Art in Social Movements,” pp. 39-40. Arpilleras are appliqué pictures in cloth, usually depicting the hunger, lack of jobs, and political repression in the shantytowns. For detailed information see Adams, “Art in Social Movements,” p.30.



Figure 12, *Arpillera depicting a shantytown raid*

The same goes for Zapatistas in Mexico. Their murals are well known and posters that characterises their hopes, daily lives, and struggles can be found in any fair trade shop.



Figure 13, *Zapatista poster 1*. It reads “Zapatistas for indigenous rights and culture. Freedom, Democracy, Justice – EZLN”



Figure 14, *Zapatista poster 2*. It reads “Down and to the left lays the heart EZLN, Mexico – World”

Buying such posters and handicrafts, produced by a resistance movement in another country means that people care about the ongoing situation, and show their sympathy. Moreover it is a symbol of support in the international

community which could also generate international pressure on the related government.⁶⁹

The “resistance movement” could also appear in a form of empowerment programme for women in the rural area, aiming to render them economically and socially competent. There are numerous programmes providing vocational training, micro-credits, education etc. and improving the role of women in the society. Sometimes women in these programmes produce handicrafts or other artistic products and export them to other countries. People reach these products through fair trade shops or similar social networks and prefer to buy and use them to show their financial and moral support.

There are communities that are miles away from the country where the resistance takes place, but they support it through art. Here is an example of international solidarity through art:



Figure 15, F.A.Я.M.A. Concert flyer

Event – Concert

Solidarity with the Zapatistas

Friday 30th May Theatre Petras, Petroupoli

19.00 Round Table

Presentation of F.A.Я.M.A. group, Zapatistas, Radical ecology, “Do it yourself” renewable energy systems

21.30 Concert

The income of the concert will be dedicated to construction of a small hydroelectric plant in a community in Chiapas, Mexico

F.A.Я.M.A. (Fight for Alternative, Renewable Methods and Autonomy) is a collective in Athens, Greece that supports the Zapatista resistance in

⁶⁹ Adams, “Art in Social Movements,” 39-40.

Mexico. Using the income of the concerts, parties, exhibitions etc. they aim to provide technical assistance to Chiapas where the indigenous communities live in Mexico. In the concert leaflet above, they mention that the income of the event will be used for the construction and installation of a hydroelectric plant in Chiapas so that the local community will be supported against the oppressive administration of the Mexican government.

Organising these kinds of events are quite common throughout the world; SMOs organise social events dedicated to a resistant group or community, where the participants can get information, contribute and take action regarding the situation, apart from enjoying the event. Such activities do not only draw attention in the international community but also bring hope and motivation to the resistance groups.

If we look from another aspect, through art social movements can also create financial resources. As in the example of selling arpilleras and posters, or getting international assistance from individuals and SMOs in other countries, art can be a device for raising funds.

After discussing art as a framing and resource mobilisation tool, I will continue to elaborate the role of art in people's relation to the government and creating resistance spots through art against suppressive and manipulative power.

4.3. Art and the Government

The use of art for political purposes is not only a practice of social movements but also of the state. Art has been used as a tool for pro-government propaganda for many years.

Graphics are always known to be a powerful instrument for expression. Although society was interested in graphics and antagonist art was

welcomed by many people, government or state criticism was not visible in Europe until the nineteenth century when the first liberal revolutions emerged and called for the golden age of graphic satire. However, this freedom did not last long; in many countries not even until the end of the nineteenth century, and graphics faced severe censorship. Soon after this, as the political tension was rising in Europe in the beginning of twentieth century, graphics were partly emancipated from censorship and quickly employed by governments. During World War I and II graphics served as a propaganda instrument depicting the enemy as evil. Moreover public posters and music were used to condemn people who do not support the war or did not join the army.⁷⁰

Here are some examples:



Figure 16, *U.S. Army call for recruitment*



Figure 17, *Russian Army "Why aren't you in the army?"*

⁷⁰ Liz McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation 1* (London: Phaidon Press, 1998), pp. 15-27.



Figure 18, Nazi propaganda for a healthy nation



Figure 19, Polish anti-communist poster

Concerning national politics, art continued to be a tool for manipulation after the two world wars. While governments of democratic states were using art in party politics and public figure, centralised governments and authoritarian regimes used it for state propaganda and censorship execution.⁷¹

On the other hand, use of art in public is very welcomed in new capitalist democracies and adopted by for-profit and not-for-profit corporations. Art was used for public campaigns; and became an indispensable part of adorning commodities. Moreover, such corporations began to support artists and artistic activities for the sake of drawing a public image shows that they care about art.

Here we should take a look again at the problem derived from modernity that art and culture are industrially produced and commoditised.

⁷¹ McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation 1*. pp. 28-33.

4.3.1. Art as Mithridate

Many critical theorists state that modernity has manipulated the society for political and economic ends. The commodification of culture and art is deliberately fuelled for the sake of the segmentation of life.⁷²

In his consciousness expanding article, Benjamin tells us that it is no longer possible to have “authentic” art in modern society. He seeks the basis of a work of art on a religious ground that has a ceremonial process. This is what makes the art genuine. For the sake of modernity, Renaissance broke down this link between these religious rituals and rationalised works of art. The new base for art is called politics.⁷³

Similarly, Schiller named human being’s emancipation from nature as a wound. He describes this wound as divisions in internal dimensions of human existence. He proposes art and play to reunite human’s internal nature which is also welcomed by the Frankfurt School theorists.⁷⁴

Being influenced by Schiller, Marcuse states that it is art that is an opportunity for reunion, however modern art carries the risk to be conquered:⁷⁵

...art is the liberation of sensuousness through its reconciliation with reason... But in the established civilization, their relation has been an antagonistic one: instead of reconciling both impulses by making

⁷² Michael E. Gardiner, *The Critiques of Everyday Life* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp.159-160; Nash, ‘The Politicization of the Social,’ p. 107.

⁷³ Walter Benjamin, “Work of Art in the Age of Material Reproduction,” (1935), p. 5, 14 July 2008, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>

⁷⁴ Friedrich Schiller, *İnsanın Estetik Eğitimi Üzerine Bir Dizi Mektup*, trans. M. Özgü (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1990), p. 23; Besim F. Dellaloğlu, *Frankfurt Okulu’nda Sanat ve Toplum* (Istanbul: Bağlam, 2001), p. 49.

⁷⁵ Herbert Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 184, 186-87.

sensuousness rational and reason sensuous, civilization subjugated sensuousness to reason in such a manner that the former, if it reasserts itself, does so in destructive and ‘savage’ forms, while the tyranny of reason impoverishes and barbarizes sensuousness.

Adorno, on the other hand, indicates that the society is divided because bourgeois subjects contradict their own production. This fact creates an impropriety and should be corrected. According to Adorno, integrity can be found in art. Thence, art is the refuge for all falsities and divisions. In the formal manner, this was practiced before, and art has the potential to do it again.⁷⁶

Since its foundation, Frankfurt School have pointed out this fragmentation of society and industrialisation of culture and arts. Inspired by his colleague Benjamin, Adorno’s suggestions for unification through art is maybe the most prominent calls in this issue among the school members’ studies.

The idea of correction through art finds its roots in ancient Greek theatre *tragedy* which is also known to be a characteristic example of state-driven propaganda tool. Hauser mentions that the tragedy actors are state employees who are paid according to the plays they stage and not allowed to perform any pieces that coincides with the interests of the ruling class.⁷⁷

Boal, who developed *The Theatre of the Oppressed*, underlines the fact that Aristotle refused the relationship between theatre and politics. Boal interprets Aristotle’s ideas on tragedy as a coercive system that aims to correct a falsity through four stages:⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Dellaloğlu, *Frankfurt Okulu’nda Sanat ve Toplum*, p. 50.

⁷⁷ Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art. Vol.I*, trans. Stanley Godman (New York: Vintage Books Inc., 1957), p.87.

⁷⁸ Augusto Boal, *Ezilenlerin Tiyatrosu*, trans. N. Hasgöl (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2003), p. 36.

First Stage: Stimulation of the *hamartia*; the character follows an ascending path toward happiness, accompanied empathically by the spectator. Then comes a moment of reversal – the character, with the spectator, starts to move from happiness toward misfortune; fall of the hero.

Second Stage: The character recognizes his *error*—*anagnorisis*. Through the empathic relationship *dianoia*-reason the spectator recognizes his own error, his own *hamartia*, his own anticonstitutional flaw.

Third Stage: Catastrophe; the character suffers the consequences of his error, in a violent form) with his own death or with the death of loved ones.

Catharsis: The spectator, terrified by the spectacle of the catastrophe, is purified of his *hamartia*.

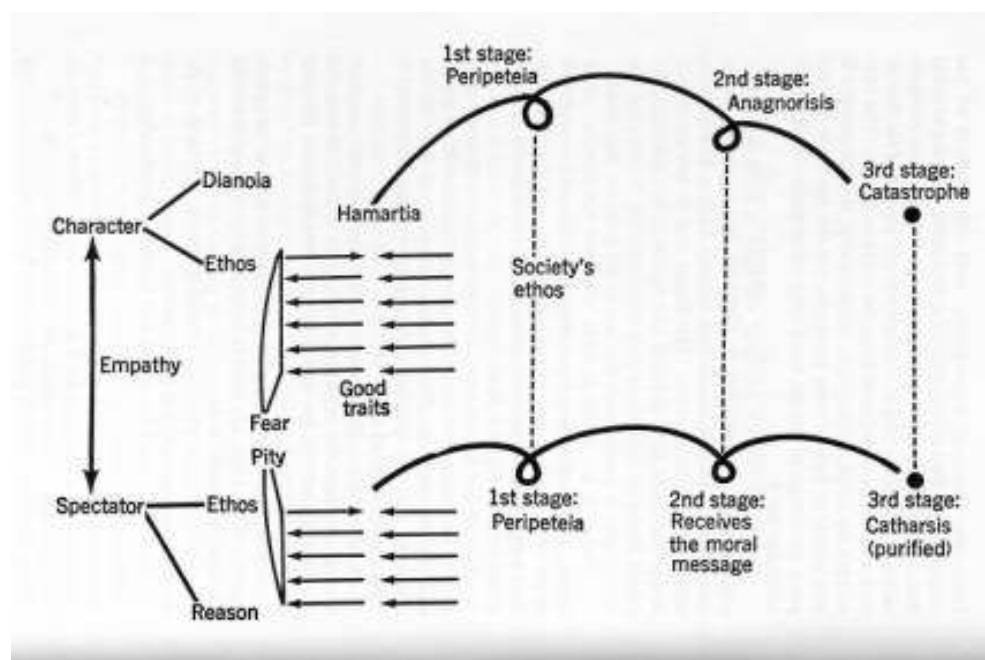


Figure 20, Aristotle's coercive tragedy system

Boal's theory is based on the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed. It has influenced millions of people around the world. His struggle to change the society through theatre and drama was a real challenge, especially in Brazil where their plays were raided by the police and some of the actors were killed or seriously injured. Greek tragedy,

which inspired Boal to construct his ideas and was seen by Aristotle as a reflection of life, has a 2,500 years long history.

The first examples of tragedy were composed of a choir singing the tragic poem accompanied by one actor, who was the tragic hero. Greek tragedy was developed with different sceneries and the increase in the number of actors taking stage, and became an important institution within centuries. We should note that for tragedy, having political aims does not mean that it is a religion-free practice. Origins of tragedy go back to worshipping to Dionysus who is the ancient Greek god of wine and sex. The divinity of Dionysus is considered to be impure because he was partially human. Nevertheless, the festivals dedicated to Dionysus were the most important and amusing ones in ancient Greece. In a sense, these were love making and wine festivals called 'Dionysia'. Dionysia festivals were organised during a period of five days each year. Tragedy was born during these festivals and became an inseparable part of them.⁷⁹ It was a part of worshipping, a dedication to god. Tragedy, per se, had strong religious links in practice.

Being a wine and lovemaking festival, Dionysia provided time and space for integration, interaction, freedom and an opportunity to approach the god. In Lefebvre's term, it was a moment for 'totality'.

Here, I will return to modern times, but I would like to symbolise the relationship between ancient Greece and our day by narrating an interesting phenomenon I encountered during my research.

Dionysia was introduced to the Roman Empire by the Etruscans, a community which had a powerful culture in the empire. Dionysus is known with the name Bacchus in Roma, Dionysia was named 'Bacchanalia'. These festivals became very popular and were adopted quickly in southern Italy,

⁷⁹ Afşar Timuçin, *Gerçekçi Düşüncenin Kaynakları* (Istanbul: De Yayınevi, 1984), pp. 260-61.

especially by women. After the acceptance of Christianity, such festivals of joy, dance and lovemaking were strictly forbidden. Nevertheless, Bacchanalia survived in southern Italy.⁸⁰

In fifteenth century, in the same region that we call 'Salento' today, appeared a form of hysteria named 'tarantism'. This hysteria springs from the bite of a tarantula spider, which used to be found in large numbers in that region at that time. Victims, who used to be mostly women, were entering a trance, while their bodies would shake with spasms. For treatment, as the conventional medicine did not help most of the time, a kind of music was played. In that case, the victim used to stand up and start dancing, screaming, laughing and crying--sometimes half naked--while they were still in the state of trance. It was very common that some other people also joined them and sometimes the whole village continued to dance for days. It is hard to say that the participants of this dancing remembered what they had done during these days. However, music and dance acted as antidotes and the victims were cured.

My interviewee Mr. G, who is from a little village in Salento where the famous tarantism festivals take place every summer, informed me about the trance that the victims go in:

The tarantulas (he refers to dancers, as they are also called tarantulas after being bitten) completely go out of their minds. The dance they do is a must see. It is something pure... The last time I saw a tarantula was like 15 years ago. I remember that she was a woman at her 80s and she danced like a five-year old child.

Modern scientific research cannot verify the correlation between the restlessness and the spasm that the victims experienced. Nevertheless, either physical or psychological; music and dancing acted as antidote and catalysed as the cure for these victims.

⁸⁰ Encyclopedia Britannica, 15 July 2008, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/47767/Bacchanalia>

Today in Italy, two different folk dances emerged from this tradition: ‘Pizzica’ and ‘Tarantella’. Up to now, besides the medical, also numerous social investigations have been made on this phenomenon. Many of them agree with Bacchanalian origins of these dances. According to research, dancing has been a deceit to avoid the religious prohibitions against Bacchanalian practices that were put in place by the Church.

Pizzica and Tarantella are both very common dances in modern Italy. It is possible to see couples dancing either Pizzica or Tarantella in streets, social actions and demonstrations as well.



Figure 21, *Tarantella dance in a demonstration*

One couple is dancing Tarantella in the demonstration against Vatican that is organised by LGBT organisations. Soon after they started dancing, many other people joined them and danced for some twenty minutes.⁸¹

⁸¹ O.C. As I did not know the Bacchanalian origins of this dance my first wonder was “Why these people protest against religious practices through a traditional dance but not modern?”

Mr. D whom I interviewed says:

I like dancing and I want to dance. I want to live my life! I do not want Ratzinger (the Pope) to put his nose into my pants. My sexuality is mine! ...I knew her (his dance partner) before, she is my friend, but I didn't know the other people joined us. I appreciate when people join. Let's have fun altogether!

Mr. D's claims will most likely be ignored by the Pope and the rest of the Vatican. There is something else that is more important for him that goes far beyond these claims which is self-expression and self-realisation. Different sexualities, sexual identities will probably continue to face oppression and unpleasant treatment within the society, but there is a possibility to meet like-minded individuals and canalise mutual energies so that the people could feed each other. As far as these artful moments exist, people will have the chance to realise themselves and be reinforced.

With all the background story of this dance, it was a complete example from the point of my research and to say that art can be a mithridate for the practitioner in a social movement. Here I use the word 'mithridate' but not 'antidote' because while antidote refers to a medicine for a specific poison, mithridate fortifies the body against all kind of poisons. It is a semi-mythical remedy with 65 ingredients and owes its name to King Mithridates VI of Pontus Empire who was taking this medicine regularly, so no poison could have killed him. The medicine was among one of the most complex, highly sought after drugs during the Renaissance, particularly in Italy and France.⁸²

Can art serve as a mithridate? Can it protect and empower the practitioner from the "poisons" of modernity? Can the moment of practice of art be a moment for mutual sharing, interaction and unification?

⁸² Encyclopedia Nationmaster, 15 July 2008, <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Mithridate>

It is impossible not to remember the Russian philosopher Bakhtin here, who studied the carnivals in medieval Europe. He points out that the carnivals are periods for insurrection. During these carnivals, ordinary life is suspended and all forms of distance among people disappear. Carnivals create a different kind of communication, an open dialogue among the participants. It is a half play that is experienced, and the most important part of it is laughter. This play and laughter means being purified from whatever the reality is out there in the ordinary life, forgetting what the self is and being reborn into life.⁸³

This approach brings together and unifies life and death, laughter and sorrow, religion and secular, reason and irrational. Considering this temporary unification, Bakhtin's idea does not accept completion, finality and ending. As one goes into a metamorphosis through the other, the drawn borderlines of the daily life are continuously and "boldly infringed".⁸⁴

Bakhtin's work is an attempt to reintroduce human beings to each other and to their own nature as well. He seeks to reintegrate the parts that are divided by reason's enforcement that he believed makes us more human.⁸⁵

Aristotelian approach to art credits that art represents the society. Despite his call for integrity of all parts of human and life through art, Adorno implies that art should not have the same function as in the Aristotelian sense. Art should not be a mere representation of life but should be a vanguard for society and show the right path.⁸⁶ It should suggest a vision and scene of integration and unification; thus, a model for the society.

⁸³ Tül Akbal Süalp, "Babil Kulesi Tutsaklarına Bakhtin'den Öneriler," *Toplum Bilim – Kültürel Çalışmalar Özel Sayısı* 14 (October 2001), p. 57.

⁸⁴ Michael E. Gardiner, "Bakhtin's Prosaic Imagination," *Critiques of Everyday Life* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 67-68.

⁸⁵ Gardiner, "Bakhtin's Prosaic Imagination," pp. 68-69.

⁸⁶ Dellaloğlu, *Frankfurt Okulu'nda Sanat ve Toplum*, p. 50.

Artists or temporary performers may isolate themselves from the world realities during their actions and artistic practices. The moments of laughing, playing, singing, drawing, dancing, and acting could become moments of ecstasy and delirium. Going through such a course is not losing control by mistake; quite on the contrary, it is a process of intentionally experiencing rejuvenation, empowerment, and fortification. This process plays a considerable function in social movements.

Participants of social movements cannot always “give”. They have to “take” as well. Art could play a vital role here, by providing the opportunity for a rebirth so that the people could carry on and continue their struggles while they are full of life again. People do not only want to conceptualise the social problems and produce great solutions. They are not only after seriousness and pretentious theories. People are quite after joy, entertainment, and festivity as well, so that they can be refreshed and empowered.

I have already discussed different roles of art in social movements in the previous two parts of this chapter. Art is used for communication and can act as a mean for problematisation of the issue, therefore as a tool for framing. Then, it is utilised as a tool for mobilising and addressing necessary resources. These features may suffice already to make art a significant component in social movements, yet its ontological role becomes more visible when we consider it as a mithridate as well. Moreover, use of art in new social movements is not only the embodiment of the divided self and fragmented life but also the urge for a reunion and moreover a probation of practice in momentary periods.

It is remarkable how artistic elements survived through centuries, passing through several periods even though facing severe censorship and restriction. While modernity was taking over the social life day by day and dividing it, art continued to be a shelter for symbols, rituals, dialogues,

interactions, expressions etc. Art became a ground for *everyday* resistance, a feastful oasis through which one can respite and experience a state of desired reunification.

5. EVERYDAY AND ART

“The dance is a poem of which each movement is a word”

Mata Hari

“You cannot buy the Revolution. You cannot make the Revolution. You can only be the Revolution. It is in your spirit or it is nowhere.”

Ursula K. Le Guin, The Dispossessed

"The draft is white people sending black people to make war on the yellow people to defend the land they stole from the red people!"

A hippie, Hair musical

5.1. Everyday in Modern Life

Gardiner defines everyday as a personal or collective space ‘where we develop our manifold capacities and become fully integrated and truly *human* persons’.⁸⁷

Conceptualising the term everyday, Lefebvre proposes us to look and understand banalities of our daily lives, and criticise the modern systems circulating us through this concept. In accordance with the manipulating and crushing effect of modernity, he points out that the linear repetitions that refer to processes, such as work and consumption, may overrun the cyclical repetitions that refer to nature such as activity and rest, or desire and its fulfilment. He states that modernity threatens us by rationalising and commodifying all dialectical mechanisms in our lives such as production into work, sport into health, leisure into weekend or vacation.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Gardiner, “*The Critiques of Everyday Life*,” p. 2.

⁸⁸ Henri Lefebvre, “The Everyday and Everydayness,” *Everyday Life* (Yale French Studies: 1987), pp. 9-10; Henri Lefebvre, “Work and Leisure in Everyday Life,” in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 226-33.

From another perspective, Beck introduces us the term *risk society*. According to Beck, modernity experiences a process of losing control over the individual and collective threats and the institutions of industrial society become the creators of these threats. The main difference between an industrial and a risk society is that risk society stands in response to risk. This type of organisation, per se, brings about commodification of threats into risks. Risks can be countless: Environmental, sanitary, economic, occupational etc. Each risk would restrict one in means of feeling, thinking and acting.⁸⁹

On the other hand, when a risk is universal and of everyone's interest,—like global warming—it paves the way to gather various actors from different backgrounds and creates a common platform. Today, environmental problems can even bring sworn enemies such as conservatives and socialists or chemical industry and Greens together under the name of “ethical values.”⁹⁰

Mr. M, who owns a bar on the usual path of corteges in Rome tells about the plurality of participation in the demonstration for peace:

Sardinian separatists, Iraqis, Palestinians, homosexuals... Of course they should be all together here in the demonstration. Especially when it is a demonstration for peace! They all demand just one thing, don't they?

Mr. M does not lock up the toilets of his bar during these demonstrations although many others do in order to not let the demonstrators use them without paying. He thinks that such actions should be supported by any means.

⁸⁹ Ulrich Beck, *Siyasallığın İcadı*, trans. Nihat Ülner (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005), pp. 33-47.

⁹⁰ Beck, *Siyasallığın İcadı*, p. 155.

Even though all these groups seem to have different aims and demands, they point to a common problem: war and conflict. The word 'peace' gains a broader meaning here. It does not only signify a call for ending the armed conflict but also includes the will for internal peace and harmony within the society.

This was an effective point in the '68 movement. The streets of Paris had become a common ground for people who had universal interests. May the famous slogan "Be realistic, demand the impossible!" refer to the call for the reunion of human nature? If so, why this slogan was uttered in that specific time and place?

Being a Marxist philosopher, Lefebvre synthesises the ideas of Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche and gives us a broad view of modernity that was subject to a further transmutation after the 1950s. He asserts that modernity's concern used to be dissociation of daily life and commodifying the things and relations within the communities.⁹¹

This new phase of modernity is distinguished with three aspects:⁹²

- the arrival of 'neo-capitalism', which is monopolistic rather than competitive, and state-directed instead of *laissez-faire*
- a highly successful co-option and commodification of potentially subversive creative and revolutionary energies
- the evacuation of a sense of historicity and change, and a feeling that contemporary society is stuck in an 'eternal present'

Considering the collective risks that modernity produce in the new phase, and the significant changes in the concerns of modernity, such as the

⁹¹ Michael E. Gardiner, "Henri Lefebvre: Philosopher of the Ordinary," *Critiques of Everyday Life* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 71-101.

⁹² Gardiner, "Henri Lefebvre: Philosopher of the Ordinary," p. 88.

increasing tendency to control larger institutional cycles instead of individual cycles, societal power relations have changed as well.

With his critical studies on social institutions from the Middle Ages up to our day, Foucault presents us a broad view about power. In his literal journey of rationality, he tells us the distinction made between reason and unreason and how the truth induces regular effects of power.⁹³ Moreover, in a later work, Foucault narrates us a new form of power that is exerted through discipline where he argued the concept of *panopticon* which is a new model of controlling the society.⁹⁴

He also gives us a history of institutionalisation for controlling the society. New forms of power do not appear in a negative form. Instead, power is regulated through a set of decisions, discourses, laws and statements which he calls *dispositive*. What Foucault taught us is the clear difference between power and domination. He asserts that domination is the total blockade exercised, while power is the regulation of the field of possible actions of an individual, which comes to existence through exercise of dispositives. However, this field of possible actions also keeps the potentiality for resistance.⁹⁵

While Foucault is after the history of organised control systems, another French philosopher Michel de Certeau traces the possibilities of disorganised struggle spaces in everyday life. He proposes two contradictory terms ‘strategy’ and ‘tactic’. Strategy is a system of force-relationships that is determined within certain borders and specific to a subject. Political, economic, and scientific rationalities are based on this

⁹³ See Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power.” in *Power 3*, ed. J.D. Faubion (The New Press, 2000).

⁹⁴ See Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. trans. A. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

⁹⁵ Ferda Keskin, “Özne ve İktidar,” in *Özne ve İktidar* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 2005), pp. 16-19.

model. Tactic, on the other hand, is a system that intends to manipulate the strategy but without taking it over entirely. The operational location of tactic is inside the strategy.⁹⁶

Colebrook defines a tactic as “neither outside nor inside the strategic system but a movement from strategy to otherness”. She adds: “If tactics celebrate metaphor, they do so by passing from the literal, but by showing the literal as affected through passage.”⁹⁷

De Certeau implies that the distortion of social system today, thanks to modernity, puts a political measure to the fragmented subject. For spaces of freedom and creativity, he suggests that practice of art in a tactical way could mobilise the potentiality in the strategic system. However, de Certeau conceptualises art as a ‘way of doing’ and detaches it from consumerism. He assigns an active practice of “doing” an internal journey, full of new discoveries.⁹⁸

So, even more than being fragmented, the societal system is conquered; and the relations among people and with themselves are regulated with certain strategies. Such situation has a direct and profound effect in everyday life that carries the potential for certain struggles. We should find our own tactics through which we can mobilise our artful creativity.

Certainly, struggle is not a new concept for us. However, as discussed above the perceptions of power and resistance have drastically changed in the new phase of modernity. With their heterogeneity they reflect the contemporary social and political relations.

⁹⁶ Michel de Certeau, “General Introduction,” *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. xix.

⁹⁷ Claire Colebrook, “Certeau and Foucault: Tactics and Strategic Essentialism,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 100:2 (Spring 2001), p. 568.

⁹⁸ De Certeau, “General Introduction,” pp. xx-xxiv.

Social movements can give us a vivid panorama of the actual relations in the society. According to Touraine, society is produced and formed around social conflict and social movements are in the very heart of it.⁹⁹ Chaplin's Little Tramp character illustrates satirically the refusal of modernity and personal and collective struggle against industrialisation.¹⁰⁰ The arena of political struggle has slightly changed nowadays. New social movements are considered to be new because of the new forms of conflicts and tensions; and also, because their foundation lies on concerns that are of everybody's interest. Then the operational interspace of new social movements is between the public and private spheres, which is the very civil society, through which people can participate into politics.

Radio Città Fujiko is a radio station that is founded in 1976, in Bologna, Italy. It is the longest surviving grass-root radio in the country. It is engaged in politics and has strong links with national and international social movements. However, institutionally the radio does not belong to any of them. I interviewed Mr. A, who works for the radio:

We are a small piece in the whole mosaic as well as the other organisations. We are an alternative voice in this field. We try to articulate what we experience in our daily lives, and reach everyone, especially youth... We do politics. We are together with the Housewives' Movement, with environmentalists, with antifascists, especially with the anti-war movement in Italy.

Mr. A's words represent a reality in the world of social movements. Regardless of the theme, demonstrations and other forms of protests are realised with the participation of different organisations and actors in politics, which is an indicator of solidarity.¹⁰¹ Mr. A continues:

⁹⁹ Kenan Çayır, "Toplumsal Sahnenin Yeni Aktörleri," in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Açılımlar* (Istanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), p. 23; also qtd. in Kate Faulks, "New Social Movements," *Political Sociology* (New York Univ. Press: 1999), p. 90.

¹⁰⁰ *Modern Times*, dir. Charlie Chaplin, perf. Charlie Chaplin and Paulette Goddard, United Artists, 1936.

¹⁰¹ Alberto Melucci, "Çağdaş Harekelerin Sembolik Meydan Okuması," in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Açılımlar*, ed. Kenan Çayır, (Istanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), p. 93.

Nobody cares about the gay marriage. There is another demand which is about human rights, about politics. We demand freedom. Let us see two brothers getting married! One should not neglect the struggle of homosexuals, because it is not only homosexuality. It represents a fight against taboos... It is singularity we demand... Yesterday we were Christians, and today we are Italians. Yesterday we were fighting against religion, today against shopping. We must create a collective conscious and here we do it. We put an effort...

Obviously, here with the term 'singularity' Mr. A refers to Agamben who is an Italian philosopher. In his book he suggests a broad understanding of essential features that are specific to individuals. He refuses the construction of categorised identities (the Italians, the blacks, the homosexuals etc.) and instead he proposes an idea of considering every person in their own singularity.¹⁰²

5.2. Art for Experiencing Totality



25th April

Resistance

Everyday Movement

Social Struggles Every Day
against Temporal Employment,
Racism, Sexism

Rome is Antifascist

Cortege Starts from St. Paul at
10.30

Figure 22, *A call for resistance*

¹⁰² Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, trans. Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1993), p. 1-2

As we can see in the poster, there are people of different identities, carrying different symbols of belonging. Bartoloni quotes Agamben's work on the use of word 'such' in two different ways: ¹⁰³

- *Being such and such* (e.g. Italian and black and gay) would lead us to construct certain identities
- *Being as such* (e.g. Giorgio Agamben) would lead us to differentiate that person from others

We can see the same effort in Foucault as well. He tells us that today, what we have to do is not to discover ourselves but to refuse what we are. ¹⁰⁴

Through a synthesis of different approaches, Trappolin underlines that identity is a common understanding (*'intesa'*) of meanings that have a direct effect on our actions. According to him new social movements are mobilisation of demands (*'richieste'*) originated from every single everyday life of individuals. During this relationship of everyday life and the social and political system, "identity loses its stability in order to gain more flexibility and complexity". ¹⁰⁵ Therefore, we can talk about the plurality of identities and everyday lives.

We go wherever we can. We are cyclists, we are environmentalists but also many other things. We participate in all demonstrations; we go to Milan, to Bologna... It is important to let your voice heard everywhere. This is our fight, of all of us...

These words belong to Ms. R who is volunteering in a local cycling association. Cyclists participate in environmental demonstrations against high-speed train, oil usage, nuclear power and also in other demonstrations

¹⁰³ Paolo Bartoloni, "The Stanza of the Self: On Agamben's Potentiality," *Contretemps* 5 (December 2004), p. 11, <http://www.usyd.edu.au/contretemps/contretemps5.html>

¹⁰⁴ Michel Foucault qtd. in Keskin, "Özne ve İktidar," p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ Luca Troppolin, *Identità in Azione* (Roma: Carocci, 2004), pp. 42-43.

such as Palestine, university reform or minorities in Turkey. Being cyclist does not mean only to care about environment; it embraces any issue that requires civil attention.



Figure 23, *A bicycle carrying a message in a demonstration*

SNIA Social Centre, which is a squatted place in Rome, welcomes La Murga dancers. I had the chance to participate in their rehearsals. After we danced, my informant, Ms. L who is a dance instructor said:

Yes, we practice here, also for the demonstrations. We learn and enjoy it as a dance but also we consider La Murga a way of expression, a way of existence, a way of resistance. That's how we talk, how we manifest. We do not stay only in Rome; we follow other demonstrations—even small ones—and participate in them. Last week there were two demonstrations and this week there will be another one.

Regardless of what they claim and which method they use, new social movements try to avoid ghettoising any subject. They might focus on a few topics but would be following in any other that could be of their concern. As new social movements sprout out from our everyday lives, such approach is very consistent with their existence. Resistance is not considered something to be divided, just as like as the life itself. Thus, to challenge and resist modernity that divided the life, the true way is doing it through integrity.

On the other hand, we cannot expect anyone or any movement to be fully concerned and well informed about every social issue. What these movements and individuals are doing is to develop an approach about the problem and to position around it. People are neither ignorant nor experts to the topic. In fact, they may never seek to learn more or go deeper in the subject while participating in a demonstration could be quite satisfying. As we see above in Mr. L's words, self-expression goes far beyond the issue and becomes a main reason for participating in a demonstration. We should not evaluate this as if people did not care about the main issue. On the contrary, they do care, but with their own concerns and show it by personal stances. Art could provide a ground to realise this. Mr. L chose to dance because of its power for canalising his energy.

Hangar Art Association, an SMO from Turkey, that seeks to work with alternative artists draws our attention to the possibility of using art in order to realise our singularities.¹⁰⁶ They organise social events, by gathering people from different backgrounds, addressing social issues such as equal representation in public sphere. They believe that social transformation could only be possible with the participation of diverse parts of the society and coexistence of different identities. Art is used for gathering people closer, creating a mutual working atmosphere, and realising innovative ideas. It is cement for people who ask for social change.

Another SMO from Turkey that is called Küresel BAK (Global Peace and Justice Coalition), introduced the practice of “festive demonstration” to the country. Since its foundation in 2003, Küresel BAK organised several indoor and outdoor events using various artistic elements. Members of the organisation and participants of the activities have different socio-political backgrounds.

Let us take a glance to Italy again.

¹⁰⁶ Hangar Art Association, “Gepgenç Festival,” 17 July 2008, <http://www.hangar.org.tr/etkinliklerimiz/atolye-calismalari/gepgenc-festival-322.html>

A musical project called Bandão, plays samba and bossa-nova regularly. This group is distinguished from other similar groups because as the murgueras, and cyclists, they appear in every demonstration as well.¹⁰⁷



Figure 24, *Bandão playing for peace in a demonstration*

Bandão's music does not include words, it is instrumental. Their melodies are Brazilian. During the cortege they drew a lot of attention; many people were accompanying them throughout the march, dancing, yelling and following the rhythm. The band has one certain idea when they participate in demonstrations: voice for resistance.

¹⁰⁷ See the website of Bandão, <http://www.bandao.it>



Everyday Resistance
 24-25-26 September
 Film and Video
 Debates and Testimonies
 Public Theatre
 Photo Exhibitions
 Concerts
 Music
 Resistant Dances
 The Utopia City

Figure 25, *Poster from Service Civil International*

This poster was produced for a three-day event that took place in Rome. It was organized by Service Civil International Italy in collaboration with other SMOs. Different practices of art are presented as modes for resistance while participants are invited to join actively. The child in water gives the impression of joy and laughter that converts the act of resistance into entertainment. Actually the photo was taken in Chiapas, Mexico.

New social movements provide a platform for shared concerns, a literature in which everyone can narrate their own everyday life, a stage where everyone can act. The fact that plural resistance and flexible identities are represented with art should not surprise us.

In SNIA Social Centre in Rome, the profile of the participants in La Murga dance workshops is quite diverse. Ms. L tells that there are gays, lesbians, immigrants, teachers, feminists, blue and white collar workers etc. Certainly, these are just words expressing how people define themselves. Besides, dancing is the common ground where they meet for an aim. The repetitive cycle of La Murga that I mentioned before consists of three steps: First, dancers walk slowly as if they had chains on their feet. This is a

representation of being slaves. Second, they hold both of their hands up and try to reach as far as they can, while they keep walking with the chains. This represents the will to freedom. At last, with a sudden kick, they break the chains and start dancing very rapidly and impromptu. This is a moment of freed from slavery and celebration. Ms. L makes the necessary links:

Today, the chains are the domination of capitalism. It is in our daily life. You feel it everywhere. We should keep our hope alive and go for our freedom. It is in us! Not elsewhere. We must break the chains, the walls around our lives. We must enjoy the energy that surrounds all of us.



Figure 26, *Murguero breaks his chains*



Figure 27, *Murguero enjoys the freedom*

We have already seen how the cycle of La Murga advances in the previous chapter. Here the murguero is seen in the last stage of the cycle, brakes his chains and welcomes freedom. However, this is not the end of the dance. The cycle restarts from the beginning and the dancers go through the same stages again as like as our everyday cyclical repetitions.

As it is mentioned in the first part of this chapter, our lives are consisted of various cycles that include many ups and downs. While the modern life is invaded by linear repetitions, the natural cyclical repetitions continue to exist and show up through our everyday life from where art originates. Thus, art's representative power for everyday life and resistance is more an inborn aspect that inserts art at the centre of new social movements.

Dellaloğlu states that “art is the last shelter where humankind can maintain the existence of longing for ‘another’ society that is beyond the society of today”.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Dellaloğlu, *Frankfurt Okulu'nda Sanat ve Toplum*, p. 51.

At a moment of art, we break down our invisible walls, meet others, and discover our feelings. Emotions and sensations take over the place of reason; we establish another way of communication with ourselves and with the others. These are just split seconds in our performance but give us the chance to experience a momentary totality, the reunification that we desired. Art can be revolutionary while totality stays inherent to it. Art gives us the opportunity to experience another dimension between this world and the desired one. This experience comes into existence in a very temporary but intense and vivacious moment that the practitioner of art, the artist, can live through and sense the resistance in totality. It is a moment for another reality—maybe the ‘real’ reality—that makes us come closer to humanity.

6. CONCLUSION

In this study, I have tried to understand the personal experience of the performer, the practitioner of art during a performance in social movements in the new era of movements.

From the mid '60s onwards, social movements have been faced with different concerns and claims. They have been organised through loose networks, and used innovative techniques to achieve their aims. These new movements have sought to incorporate joy, friendship, passion, and love into their serious ideologies. They have asked for emotions and moral values that we wipe away from our ordinary lives, the qualities which render us human. They only intended to change the world; maybe every single person's world, questioning every mechanism operating in the modern life. They have introduced the question "how?" and have taught us to ask it alongside with 'who?' and 'what?'. New social movements have broadened our horizons and questioned our limits. This has proven to be a call for reform in politics, demanding that the method be as prominent, if not more prominent than the result.

Throughout the history, social movements have been after acquisition of power in the name of the poor, repressed, and the discriminated. In general, power has been understood as conventional state power that would enable a movement to become the sovereign. New social movements do not seek such power; quite the contrary, they want to change the power relationships that shape society and peoples' living. Instead of opposing and challenging the state directly, they reach and influence people through the interspace between public and private, which is civil society.

Traditional social movements strived to recruit people by solid and powerful ideologies, convinced and organised them to go out of the 'existing system' and attempted to take over the government, even to make a revolution.

Certainly, this method had impressive results; effected many countries and changed the balances of world politics. However, it could not avoid reifying the actual power relations and also strengthening the opponent party by ghettoising its demands in a certain socio-political category.

Calling what new social movements achieved a 'revolution' would not be more than a hasty step; in fact, smaller words like 'social change', 'mutation', and 'transformation' are more appropriate. A very reason of such fact is that the new social movements do not consider the state structure as their enemy or opponent, and do not seek to take over the state mechanism. As a result, they can be regarded, on the whole, as the 'good boys and girls of the new age'. Nevertheless, they are able to go through existing mechanisms and challenge the mode of operation of power relations which may undermine and invalidate their legitimacy.

This promising—on the other hand intimidating—capacity of new social movements owes its power to its ability to use various instruments that penetrate and embrace people's private lives. These tools that the movements employ are perhaps the most 'conquered' ones. Art, one of the most industrialised and commodified domain of modernity attracts the movements' attention with its great potential and influential power. For thousands of years, art has been the main canal through which psychological processes humankind has established a rapport with nature; thus, it has a rich collective memory.

Even the traditional social movements welcomed art and adopted it as a tool for articulating their concerns and expressing their thoughts. Yet, they did not estimate a further role for art in their ideology and action. New social movements also utilise art for the same purposes; to name it, for framing. Art paves the way of establishing an active communication in and out of a social movement. It is used for problematising an issue, proposing a solution and recruiting supporters.

Another purpose that new social movements use art is for the mobilisation of resources. Apart from finding financial and human resources, new social movements use it for exposing feelings, mobilising emotions and setting up solidarity bridges throughout the world.

Last and most importantly, art serves as an empowerment mechanism in social movements. In this study, empowerment refers to one's reinforcement against the segregation effect of modernity. Art offers the performer a moment of regenerating process, a space for resistance that is full of joy, festivity and laughter that emerges from everyday life. Once people become participants of social movements and mobilise their emotions, art becomes the occasion where they communicate, meet, interact, discover and liberate themselves. With this integral process, art takes an ontological role in social movements connecting them with everyday.

Furthermore, representing the totality of everyday life, art enables performers to experience a moment of integrity, in which they approach to a status of pre-modernity in split seconds. Art continues to be a refuge for our dreams and desires, through which we hope for another society, another world. Therefore, the moment of performance is an opportunity for partial fulfilment of these desires; which installs art at the very centre of new social movements.

As we can see through these discussions, art is not used merely for practical purposes, indeed for existential reasons regarding human experience. Our everyday resistance is concealed in art—also during our long history—and social movements' dialectical relationship with art enables these resistant elements to be embodied in the performance.

On the other hand, use of art for such purpose could derive unexpected results. Self-realization through art and sense of resistant act could induce

people to have a continuous peaceful feeling about themselves and the entire world. This may prevent the desire and urge to change social, economical and political system; the living world itself. Thus, intervening in everyday life through art may have a parlous end and have an affirmative character upon our lives. It may idealise concepts such as freedom, equality or happiness and confine them in a utopian realm that is the very moments of performance. Although this is a very important aspect of the question and would be interesting to study, it is broad enough to be the subject of another thesis.

The major part of this study is based on the data collected in Italy. I believe that Italy is a country that has much to offer to examine the relationship among art, social movements and everyday life. The society is quite multicultural that has strong modern and traditional ends; still faces political and social oppression but also carries a rich potential for creativity. Although people complain about the ignorance of the young generation about politics and social issues, still, if there is a social problem in any part of the world, Italy is a very first country that an SMO or at least a small group of people would be concerned with it. It is one of the countries that art is intensively used in social movements. This study was written with the inspiration I got in civil society field in the country.

Certainly, this dissertation can only be an attempt to grasp a few points of cultural richness of such a country and its arguments can merely get a glimpse of the complex relationship among essential components of social thought. As my personal interest and participation in social movements prompted me to undertake this research, it has been a pleasant exploration through questioning my own ideas and actions as well.

Above all, interdisciplinary approach of Cultural Studies made it possible to utilise various resources and incorporate my non-academic experiences as input to this dissertation.

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