

PERFORMANCE AND CREATIVITY IN NEW SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

BAŐAK ERZİ
104611014

İSTANBUL BİLGİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
KÜLTÜREL İNCELEMELER YÜKSEK LİSANS PROGRAMI

Doç. Dr. FERHAT KENTEL
2010

PERFORMANCE AND CREATIVITY IN NEW SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

YENİ TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLERDE PERFORMANS VE
YARATICILIK

Başak Erzi
104611014

Tez Danışmanı : FERHAT KENTEL
Jüri Üyeleri : BÜLENT SOMAY
Jüri Üyeleri : KENAN ÇAYIR

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : Eylül 2010

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı : 88

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler
- 2) Performans
- 3) Gündelik Hayat
- 4) Sanat
- 5) Protesto

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) New Social Movements
- 2) Performance
- 3) Everyday Life
- 4) Art
- 5) Protest

Abstract

This research examines the use of performance and creativity in new social movements. New social movements are anti-hierarchical, non-bureaucratic organizations, which focus on identity issues. Especially after the 1960's there has been a deep interest on new social movements. Through the use of everyday life tactics and performance, new social movements have developed new forms of protest. By using the in-depth interview methodology, three social movements active in Turkey are analyzed. Through the protests of these three movements, everyday life is re-constituted. Use of humor, everyday life tactics, art, creativity, performance, irony, play of language are commonly observed in the protests of the new social movements in Turkey.

Özet

Bu çalışma, yeni toplumsal hareketlerde performans ve yaratıcılığın kullanımını incelemektedir. Yeni toplumsal hareketler hiyerarşinin ve bürokrasinin olmadığı, kimlik meseleleri üzerine odaklanan organizasyonlardır. Özellikle 1960'lerden sonra yeni toplumsal hareketler üzerine derin bir ilgi söz konusu olmuştur. Gündelik yaşam taktikleri ve performansın kullanımı sonucunda yeni toplumsal hareketler yeni protesto biçimleri yaratmıştır. Derinlemesine mülakat metodunu kullanarak, Türkiye'de aktif olan üç toplumsal hareket incelenmiştir. Bu üç hareketin protestolarından yola çıkılarak gündelik yaşam tekrar oluşturulmaktadır. Mizahın kullanımı, gündelik yaşam taktikleri, sanat, yaratıcılık, performans, ironi, dil oyunları, Türkiye'deki yeni toplumsal hareketlerin protestolarında en sık rastlanan unsurlar arasındadır.

Acknowledgements

The very first idea of this research formed during the classes of New Social Movements, lectured by Ferhat Kentel. Beginning with a paper titled “New Social Movements and Performance” which evolved into this research, including in the scope everyday life and performances and movements in Turkey in particular.

I would like to thank my instructor Ferhat Kentel for his guidance and his kind support throughout the research. I am also thankful to Bülent Somay and Kenan Çayır for their ideas for the structure and realization of this research.

Last but not least, I am grateful to Gökçe Mine Olgun for her inspiring comments and Murat Üngör who followed the whole progress of this research and supported me in every step.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. New Social Movements: Historical Framework and Ways of Protest.....	5
2.1 Modernity and Social Movements.....	5
2.2 Risk Society.....	8
2.3 Social Movements: Definition and Theories.....	11
2.4 New Social Movements.....	15
2.5 Protest.....	20
3. Protest Through Everyday Life As The Source Of Performance, Creativity and Resistance.....	25
3.1 Everyday Life, Performance and Creativity.....	25
3.1.1 What is Everyday Life.....	26
3.1.2 Performance in Everyday Life.....	30
3.2 Resistance Through Everyday Life: Art and Protest.....	33
3.2.1 Art and Resistance: A Brief History of the Avant-Garde in the Twentieth Century.....	33
3.2.2 The Situationists.....	35
3.3 1968 as a Celebration of the Resistance in Everyday.....	37
3.3.1 1968: A Historical Perspective.....	38
3.3.2 Consequences of the Events of 1968.....	43
3.4 Protest after 1968: What has Changed on the Street?.....	44
3.4.1 From the Object Towards the Subject: The Problematic of Identity.....	45
3.4.2 The Element of Humor.....	46
3.4.3 Use of the Human Body.....	47
3.4.4 Artistic Performance Practice and Creativity.....	49
3.4.5 Performative Action.....	50
3.4.6 Festivity.....	52
3.4.7 Use of the Media.....	54

4. New Social Movements And Performance in Turkey.....	55
4.1 Participants.....	58
4.2 Lambda Istanbul.....	61
4.3 The Young Civilians.....	69
4.4 Surrealist Action Turkey.....	76
5. Conclusion.....	82
Bibliography.....	86

1. INTRODUCTION

Working in an office located in a neighborhood like Taksim means being close to every part of the city, having a chance to closely examine the dynamics of the current agenda and easily reaching to most of the cultural and artistic events. Working in Taksim also means seeing a demonstration, witnessing a protest or being exposed to Greenpeace volunteers trying to make you join them, every single day. Whether conventional or innovative one is faced with all kinds of protest performances throughout the year.

In a cultural, social and political environment as colorful and as dynamic as Turkey, it is almost impossible to turn one's back to the social movements. The main purpose of this research is to give a closer look to what is happening around us and how is everyday life reproduced through performances, protests and art. New social movements and everyday life studies constitute the backbone of the research and the basic premises of the theory are sought for in the practice.

Despite the social movements' significance, it is only recently that the acts of struggle and resistance capture the attention and interest to be examined as part of the writing of history and sociology. It is only within the twentieth century that the social movements are examined together with their social, political, economic, and psychological components; going beyond the old school of thought which claims that protest is a mass psychology of losing consciousness. Parallel with the growing interest in social movements, different perspectives and theories are constituted.

The study of social movements is the subject of this research. However, the main emphasis will be on the movements, which give special importance to the subjectivity and identity such as feminist, ecological, gay rights and anti-war movements. These movements are proven to be important part of

social life and since the 1960's they are explained by the new social movements paradigm.

The inner democratization of the social movements, the reduction of hierarchy among the group members, the fondness for spontaneity rather than strategy development processes are the underlying factors of the new social movements paradigm. These factors, also, greatly influence the forms of protest. Although the structural changes of the social movements are very important, priority is given to process of how these changes being reflected in protest. Information and discussion on social movement paradigms are presented in this direction.

In the first chapter, after a brief history of social movements the novelty of the new social movements is analyzed. Moreover, the elements, which distinguish the new social movements from the labor movement, are studied. In the meantime, a brief account of modernity is given along with its criticism. How social movements became a major topic in the field of sociology is examined as well. The references mainly depend on the works of Alain Touraine and Alberto Melucci, two of the most important figures in the new social movements studies.

Second chapter focuses on everyday life as the source of performance and creativity. With its indefinite character and dynamism, everyday life became an area of interest, since it is thought to carry along an infinite number of possibilities. Performances in everyday life constitute identities and vice versa. Performative gender is also mentioned in order to provide a base for the following chapter analyzing Lambda Istanbul.

The second chapter also features the Avant-Garde and the Situationists, as they provide the basis for the upcoming events of 1968 together with the performances of the new social movements. Dada and Surrealism are two influential movements, which are revived over and over in the

performances. In the later part of this chapter, the year 1968 is studied, both as a starting point for the new social movements, and an influence for the oncoming decades of resistance.

Third chapter investigates the new social movements in Turkey. Three different movements, which are based in Istanbul and which can be categorized under the new social movements, are analyzed. Several examples to develop a comprehensive understanding of the process in accordance with its goals realized in the actions for each of the movement are provided. The outgrowth in which the theory turns into practice in today's Turkey is evaluated. Moreover, how and with which ways the artistic production and daily life affect politics are emphasized.

Although one of the major branches of the study is based on the social movements and the evolution of the protests, the other major branch is the artistic production in protest and the recognition of the artistic production as a method of protest itself. The so-called activist art is a form of art that aims to shake the settled one, to make the people think, and to break the patterns of the traditional art. I provide a discussion of activist art in this study, although the discussion whether activist art is really an art is an issue beyond the limits of the current research of this study.

Methodology

In-depth interviews are conducted for the research. Specifically, all of the in-depth interviews are conducted face-to-face and involve one interviewer (the author of this study) and one participant. During these interviews, the persons being interviewed are the members (and volunteers) of the activist groups of Lambda Istanbul, the Young Civilians and Surrealist Action Turkey.

These interviews are planned to learn everything the participant can share about the social movements they are associated with, their protests, and

their attitudes towards the everyday life. The interviewer engaged with participants by posing questions in a neutral manner, listening attentively to participants' responses, and asking follow-up questions. Data are collected using tape recordings and personal notes.

2. NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK AND WAYS OF PROTEST

2.1 Modernity And Social Movements

Modernity, referred to as the period following the Enlightenment and constituted by its basic premises. Modernity has certain aspects, using which, it distinguishes itself from pre-modern and traditional social orders. Some of the characteristics of modernity can be specified as the rational mind, the nation-state, capitalism as the economic order, instrumentality and the concept of the citizen.

Giddens formulates these differences in three separate areas, which are the “pace of change”, “scope of change” and “nature of modern institutions”.¹ Modern societies go through rapid changes that spread out globally. Nation states and the power in production systems are the main institutional novelties of modern societies, which in turn make the development of the nation state and the power relations in production systems two main issues of modernity in terms of social struggles and social movements.

Social movements, in general, stood for a struggle against capitalism in the beginning of the 20th century. Anti-capitalist national movements, labor movements, or resistance against imperialism were different social movements in many different countries and they came into sight under different political situations in those countries. Considering the circumstances under which these movements emerged, they were progressive and freedom-oriented.

These movements turned into authoritarian and repressive states over time and this would force our focus on resistance to change into a different

¹ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995), p.6.

direction. The freedom oriented movements of the period created disappointment. Moreover, the traditional workers movement transformed itself into more restrictive structures because of its own dynamics. These two developments made liberal ideas, which are already on the rise and new social movements, which stand very close to the civil society understanding, main actors of the action and change.

Touraine, analyzes social movements within a framework of modernity's limitations. Classical schools of social thought is not compatible with the rapidly changing dynamics of the society, therefore a paradigm shift is necessary.

Sociology, by its origins, has been closely related to the Enlightenment thought and modernity and the major perspectives and theories of classical sociology have arisen from the modernist thought of societies. With the nation state at the center and capitalism as the emerging social order, the main problematics of sociology were conceptualized within a rational framework with definite boundaries.

The holistic comprehension of the world of the pre-modern societies was to be replaced with a categorization of social life. As a transition from the idea of community to the idea of society occurred, pluralism has been replaced with the notion of the singular society where the norms of living, culture and social relations are standardized accordingly with the rules of the rational mind.²

A flaw of the classical sociology in analyzing contemporary social phenomena occurs at the point where it ignores social movements and the actors taking place in the movements. Actors are not defined as subjects in traditional schools of sociology, instead they exist within the roles that their

² Alain Touraine, "Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete" in *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Teorik Açılımlar*, ed. Kenan Çayır, (İstanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), p.35-36.

social and economic classes yield them. The actors are either for or against progress and they are defined with the side they are assumed to be in.

For example in functionalist sociology, “statistics considering the categories, strata and social participation replace the collective actor.”³

It is not the social movements that classical sociology is interested in, instead it deals with the society as a whole, therefore ignoring the role of the actor. At this point, Touraine reveals a dilemma of the classical sociology; how can the modernist society that is defined by the paradigm of constant progress be a stable and integrated ground for people at the same time.⁴

Besides the theoretical problems arising from the limitations of classical sociology, there has been a break of faith with modernity resulting from the “economic recession, rise of fascism and the increasing number of concentration camps in Germany and the Soviet Union”.⁵ For the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School, the universality and equality that was to be gained by modernity was falling apart in a world of “violence behind the dominant system, the pressure behind negotiation and the irrationality in modernization”.⁶ Therefore, the failure of modernity’s expectations accompanying the inefficacy of classical sociology in explaining and understanding societies brought inevitable need for a new social movement paradigm and the rise of identities in modernity came to surface. Touraine suggests a new type of analysis, which focuses mainly on social movements, instead of a traditional analysis focusing on ‘society’.⁷ For Touraine, it is functional to analyze the actor as the main force of generating social and cultural orientations; not as a product of historical circumstances.⁸

³ Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete”, p.37.

⁴ Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete”, p.36.

⁵ Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete”, p.38.

⁶ Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete”, p.38.

⁷ Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete”, p.42.

⁸ Touraine, “Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete”, p.45-46.

2.2 Risk Society

The new social movements paradigm could only exist within a newly defined political and social context as the classical sociology and political thought have been insufficient to explain the ongoing dynamism in the industrial Western societies. The point that modernity brought people was despair and ruin especially after the two world wars of the 20th century, thus there had to be a transition from the desperate state of repression to a state of liberation from domination and exploitation. The communist movement that was founded on the basic premises of the modern period was not anymore the greatest hope of changing the world since the fall of Soviet Union and the breakdown of the Eastern European states and as the hopes of socialism replacing capitalism faded away, the need for change was sought within the realm of capitalism.

“The industrial society is breaking down in the course of its own success” as Beck declares and the Western industrialized societies are in an epoch of ‘reflexive modernization’. This epoch is not the modernity as in the Enlightenment project, indeed it is cutting down the basic premises and principles of the modernity. Nor it is postmodern – a totally new era that has broken off its bonds with modernity. The reflexive modernity uses modernity’s dynamism to produce new social relations and contracts while diffusing the once accepted forms of modernity.

By virtue of its inherent dynamism, modern society is undercutting its formations of class, stratum, occupation, sex roles, nuclear family, plant, business sectors and of course also the prerequisites and continuing forms of natural techno-economic progress. This new stage, in which progress can turn into self-destruction, in which one kind of modernization undercuts and changes another, is what I call the stage of reflexive modernization.⁹

⁹ Ulrich Beck, “The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization”, in *Reflexive modernization: Politics, tradition an aesthetics in the modern social order*, eds. U.Beck, A. Giddens, S.Lash, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p.2.

This change of modern industrial state is in some way similar to Karl Marx's view of capitalism as "digging its own grave"¹⁰ as reflexive modernity uses its own tools to demolish and then establish a new kind of social formation. On the other hand it is totally different in the sense that capitalism actually does not prepare its downfall in reflexive modernity; what it really does is reproducing new forms of itself in order to satisfy the need of radical change and modification in the society.

Furthermore, the idea of reflexive modernization consists of an intrinsic and an unintended social change towards a new society. This denotes a divergence from the Marxist idea of change in the modernist sense, since it does not need the political level for the industrial society to become something else. Therefore, the change is autonomous and unpolitical, often undesired, resulting in a new epoch.¹¹ The question here is that what is considered a new epoch for the industrial society may not altogether be a new epoch but a series of changes required for the system to preserve its main premises.

Reflexive modernity can be fully explicated with the concept of risk society. Risk society is a result of reflexive modernity where the industrial society has not faded away completely but instead there has been an emergence of a culture where "social, political, economic and individual risks increasingly tend to escape the institutions for monitoring and protection in industrial society."¹² These risks are produced by the basic convictions of industrial society by which political vision is formed, whereas the risks' manifestation place and their habitat is outside the political dispute area. For instance, the blessing of the machine and rationality followed with an ignorance for its side effects and ecological harms forming an important part of the industrial society is the essence of motivation for the ecological movements. In other

¹⁰ Beck, "The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization", p.2.

¹¹ Beck, "The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization", p.3.

¹² Beck, "The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization", p.5.

words, the threats that undermine industrial society's basic foundations are produced by the industrial society itself.

The concept of reflexivity and risk society are brought together in the following definition by Ulrich Beck.¹³

Let us call the autonomous, undesired and unseen, transition from industrial to risk society reflexivity. Then 'reflexive modernization' means self-confrontation with the effects of risk society that cannot be dealt with and assimilated in the system of industrial society – as measured by the latter's institutionalized standards

The risk society of reflexive modernization brings up transformations in different areas of the industrial modern state. These can be analyzed in three main groups, namely the relationship of society to nature and culture, the relationship of society to the threats produced by it and the breaking up of meaning as the modern industrial society has constructed it.¹⁴ These three areas of risk culture are giving way to transformations in the society.

Risk society consists of an individualization that is different from the connotation it had been carrying along modernity. In the modern era, individualization meant the release of people from the strict norms of feudal system or from the repression of religion. On the other hand, in reflexive modernization, individualization means a transition for people from the certainties of the industrial society to a gathering of different forms of global risks.

Individualization means, first, the disembedding and, second, the re-embedding of industrial society ways of life by new ones, in which the individuals must produce, stage and cobble together their biographies themselves.¹⁵

¹³ Beck, "The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization", p.6.

¹⁴ Beck, "The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization", p.7

¹⁵ Beck, "The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization", p.13.

2.3 Social Movements: Definition and Theories

The social movements literature has developed through the contributions of various movements over time. Different theories have focused and based themselves on certain features of the movement, pushing back other elements that could exist in other movements. Some theorists described the protesters as irrational groups of people who lose their sensibility under the influence of the masses; while others argued that the protesters decide on their actions by making entirely rational choices. The various explanations made to account for the social movements are influenced to a great extent by the nature of the specific movement that serves as the source of the study. Consequently, studying different theories within the context of the intellectual and political structures of the time they were coined will also allow us to follow the trails of a historic and social infrastructure.

The theory that describes the protesters as irrational activists remained valid through the first half of the twentieth century. That a group of people, who had failed to cope with disappointment and despair, came together and found the courage for an uprising, which results in uncontrolled action,¹⁶ surely falls far from defining resistance as a moral action. And considering that this theory is based on the fascistic and authoritarian regimes'¹⁷ practice of agitating the people and then dragging them after their lead, it would be seen why a distanced approach to social action was developed. On the other hand, studying the activists through an economically rational behavioral pattern that makes profit and loss calculations is, first and foremost, would be ignoring the action's elements related to identity and creativity.

Following the 1960s, there was a considerable upsurge in the number of studies conducted on social movements and of the ideas developed on the concept of social movement. The momentum caught in collective action

¹⁶ James Jasper, *Ahlaki Protesto Sanatı*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2002), p.52-55.

¹⁷ Kate Nash, "The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics" in *Contemporary Political Sociology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p.115.

with the 1968 movement not only helped boost the popularity of the issue, but also directed the attention of researchers on the nature of social movements as the social dynamics started to shape up with social movements, particularly in Western societies.

The definition and scope of social movements have taken shape depending on the requirements of the era. A look at the definition of social movements from their start to date reveals the marks of the dominant ideas of the time. In the late eighteenth century, social movements were described as a collective resistance that takes its roots from economic inequality and conflict while the definitions that include the characteristics of new social movements have spread today.

The term social movements was first coined by Lorenz von Stein in his 1850 book “The History of Social Movement in France, 1789-1850”.¹⁸ The social movements Stein mentioned in that period pointed to a struggle that had grown out of economic inequalities and directed from the society to the state. It was also in that period that Marx and Engels described the proletarian movement as the defining movement of the fundamental social conflict in the industrial society and all other movements dwindled next to the proletarian movement.

In Smelser’s structural functionalist approach, social movements are defined as a result of the tensions between the sub-systems of a society that proceeds towards a state of equilibrium.¹⁹ Smelser studied every single stage in the emergence of social collective action, therefore exhibiting how and why social movements emerged. The method of explaining social movements as part of sociology and of the society in general is important in terms of tackling change and social order within the same framework.²⁰ At

¹⁸ Charles Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2004*, (Paradigm Publishers, 2004), p.5.

¹⁹ Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction 2nd Edition*, (Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p.7.

²⁰ Nick Crossley, *Making Sense of Social Movements*, (Open University Press, 2002), p.51.

the same time, the impact of social framework in the emergence of social movements is also one of Smelser's significant contributions in the literature. On the other hand, in Smelser's approach, social movements are no more than a factor that emerges as the society undergoes rapid growth processes rather than being taken as one of the constituent dynamics of the society. And the role of the actor is limited to acting within the boundaries of the meanings ascribed to it by the institutions; in other words, the role of the actor is not amply scrutinized and understood.

In his 1992 work, Diani compiles the descriptions made in the field of social movements under general headings and undertakes to come up with a general definition. Within the scope of this effort, social movements are taken under 4 main trends; these include "Collective Behavior Perspective", "Resource Mobilization Theory", "Political process" perspective and "New Social Movements".²¹

Represented by Turner and Killian, the "Collective Behavior Perspective" defines social movement as the collective behavior that supports or opposes a change in the society in a sustained manner. In such social movements, group membership or leadership presents a changing structure.²²

In a study he conducted in order to exhibit the developmental course of social movements in history, Charles Tilly, who works on the "Political Process" perspective, makes a mention of three factors required to define collective movement as a social movement:

- Presenting joint demands through a struggle waged against the authority; this struggle shall go beyond a one-time action and offers a unique continuity.
- Ad hoc organizations established to express joint demands, a repertoire of actions including demonstrations, marches, performances and press announcements.

²¹ Mario Diani, "The Concept of Social Movement", *The Sociological Review* 40, (1992): 2.

²² Diani, "The Concept of Social Movement", p. 4.

- To hold the forms of expression required so that the value of the social movement, the unity formed around a certain purpose, the number of participants, and commitment are fully understood by the society.²³

The “Resource Mobilization Theory”, which is a noteworthy theory that precedes the new social movements theory, is built on the notion that the activists act upon the rational decisions they took. Protest and social movements are a part of politics and should they act in accordance with the right strategy, they may take their place in active politics as a new participant or become one of the significant pressure groups. In their actions, activists take into consideration not only their interests but also those of the organization in which they take a part.

Although it introduces new openings to the rational behavior theory, neither does the resource mobilization theory explain the factors of culture, identity and biography in social movements and hence fails to achieve a holistic perspective. The protesters also act on the cultural meanings and their innate worlds just as much as through strategies and rational thought. That’s exactly why the cultural dimension and the element of identity came into prominence particularly when studying the post-1968 social movements. Beyond that, as we will see also later on, the cultural dimension would also surpass the resource mobilization and rational strategy development in new social movements.

The notion that culture is a factor that is open to change and leaves free spaces for the individuals to form new strategies; together with the evaluation of cultural elements with social movements, also introduces a dynamism to social movements. The factors that have been tackled earlier concentrate on the sources of the protest and how they can achieve their goals with limited resources while social movements are charged with an innovative and pioneering task also by the participation of culture and biography.

²³ Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2004*, p.4-6.

2.4 New Social Movements Theory

The main issues of new social movements differ from that of old social movements, by which we mean the labor movement. Social movements of the past have concentrated on issues of nation and labor whereas new social movements focus on matters of identity, environment and everyday life.

New Social Movement Theory is based on the assumption that there is an ongoing conflict in every society. Furthermore, this conflict is not revealed on individual level, instead it shelters a collective conflict. According to Touraine, one of the main contributors to the New Social Movements theory, this conflict lies between the dominator and the dominated class and in this aspect the conflict is revolutionary. This elementary assumption of the new social movement theory shows very clearly that it has its theoretical roots in Marxism. The fundamental difference between the Marxist conflict of the society and the new social movements conflict is that, the Marxist conflict is rooted in the economic conditions and the propriety of the production elements whereas the new social movement theorists believe that the conflict is based on cultural contestation of one's identity.²⁴

As in Marxism, Touraine believes that society faces an ongoing class struggle. However, this struggle is not over the means of production, the way it has been explained in Marxism. Instead, the class struggle is over "the processes by which society is produced as a result of conscious reflection and action on social action and its conditions", "historicity" as Touraine calls it.²⁵ "The historicity shows itself in the order of information in addition to the economic conditions and ethics."²⁶ The social movements do not aim directly at the political power anymore; their main playground is the cultural system. It is the reproduction of the society in its own means

²⁴ Nash, "The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics", p.132.

²⁵ Nash, "The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics", p.133.

²⁶ Touraine, "Toplumdan Toplumsal Harekete", p.43.

within the cultural realm, in other words ‘historicity’, that the movements desire to impact on.²⁷ As the industrial era has been shifted from manufacturing to knowledge-based production systems, the opposing class includes not only workers but the consumers as well, which makes up the whole “public”. The struggle between two major forces is not a matter of economic conditions solely; but also a matter of individual rights to express oneself and control one’s own life and lifestyle.²⁸

Touraine’s theory constitutes an important aspect of the new social movements paradigm, as he minimizes the role of the state in social transformation. Touraine puts forth the idea of power existing in every relation in the society as Foucault does²⁹.

Touraine’s ideas have been influential especially in drawing away from the traditional structuralist and functionalist orientation of sociology³⁰.

According to Melucci, new social movements have a differing characteristic from the labor movement in the way that they have plurality. In the labor movement, the collective organization has a unity in its aim, its members – the male working class and the spaces in which it acted along with its tactics of propaganda. On the other hand, a movement which can be considered as a new social movement has members with different intentions and aspirations, has different ways of expressing itself and therefore has a unique plurality. Melucci gives the example of an environmentalist movement in a small village which is exposed to a building of a nuclear plant. Some of the members of the movement will be the inhabitants of the village, who are unwilling to live in a polluted area; whereas some of the

²⁷ Kenan Çayır, “Toplumsal Sahnenin Yeni Aktörleri: Yeni Sosyal Hareketler” *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler*, ed. Kenan Çayır, (İstanbul: Kaknüs, 1999), p.13.

²⁸ Nash, “The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics”, p.133-134.

²⁹ Nash, “The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics”, p.134.

³⁰ Nash, “The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics”, p.135.

members will be opposing the people in power with a more general idea of protecting their way of living.³¹

The new social movements theory is based on the assumption that contemporary society can be defined as a post-industrial society where the center of attention has shifted from the means of production to the “signs”; where the “production and distribution of economic goods are symbolically mediated through design, advertising, the media”. (Nash, 2000, 140) Therefore the struggle of the new social movements is not over the control of the production means; instead it is over the cultural contestations and how identities are represented in the world of symbols and signs. What is considered ‘the reality’ in the post-modern turn is a reality constituted by images and signs. Therefore, a shift in the representation is believed to reproduce a change in people’s way of thinking which is formed by the world of signs and messages.

all the cultural innovations made in the process of individuals working on themselves in negotiation or in conflict with others – on the language they use, their sexual customs, affective relationships, dress, eating habits and so on. – constitute collective action which modifies the social order.³²

For Touraine, the importance of the post-industrial ground that the new social movements have flourished in is hidden in the fact that the boundaries between the public and the private spaces have faded which results in the forming of the civil society. The contemporary movements reside in the civil society; not in a space that the state and the market define. Therefore, the norms of living which the public space has been ignoring are now demanding a right to proclaim their identities and ways of living in the civil society.³³

³¹ Nash, “The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics”, p.138.

³² Nash, “The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics”, p.142.

³³ Çayır, “Toplumsal Sahnenin Yeni Aktörleri: Yeni Sosyal Hareketler”, p.24

Melucci puts forth a two-sided view of Foucault's understanding of power. On one hand, as Foucault theorizes, power relations exist in every single part in the society; an individual's lifestyle related with health, education, sexuality etc. are all shaped by organizations and are all under control. On the other hand, as organizations constitute the way of thinking, they also provide resources for the individuals in order for them to learn and act in the demanded aspect. These resources can be used to express oneself and go beyond the given way of living. This is important as the resources provided by the organizations in power can be used to constitute a liberal act by the social movements' members.³⁴

1848 can be considered as a milestone for the emergence and spreading of the social movements. It is observed, especially after this date, that the movements appeared against the settled system have the purpose of their voice being heard in accordance with a collective way of organized individuals for this purpose. The proletariat organized resistance against the bourgeoisie and the workers organized resistance against the the owners of the means of production in this early period of direct anti-capitalist movements. Implementing socialism is the most important way of overcoming the negative results of the capitalism on society as a whole. A very important point that shall not be forgotten is that these movements are based on the nation-state thinking. Although the merger of the workers and the idea of establishing an international structure are in the foreground, each group has its own struggle against the "state" in which it operates.³⁵

One of the main elements of the nature of new social movements is their attempt to avoid bureaucratic and hierarchical forms of organization. The student and youth movements taking place after 1960s did not want to find themselves in the same old bureaucratic structure that they were opposing.³⁶

³⁴ Nash, "The Politicization of the Social: Social Movements and Cultural Politics", p.141-142.

³⁵ Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K. Hopkins, Immanuel Wallerstein, "Dilemmas of antisystemic movements", *Antisystemic movements*, (Verso,1989), p. 30-31.

³⁶ Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein, "Dilemmas of antisystemic movements", p. 37-38.

Explains the anti-bureaucratic format of the new movements as having three principle causes. First of all, bureaucratic organizations were strengthened through the inclination of the anti-systemic movements and there had to be a new way of protesting against these structures. Secondly, the old bureaucratic way of organizing did not produce the expected outcomes in the society. In addition to this, there was a need for direct and more spontaneous action instead of well-organized and planned action. Along with the changing conditions of production such as the division of labor and the commodification of labor power, the need for the labor movement taking part in the state politics was reduced. In the industrial capitalist era, where the skills and craftsmanship of the workers were still counted on, there was a necessity for trade organizations that were meant to bargain with the state. Beyond this, the labor movements were said to be successful as far as it could take along the support of, and therefore mobilize, the workers and the middle class of the society and this required a political platform in place of spontaneous and direct action since spontaneity has the risk of alienating some of the members of the organization.³⁷

According to Wallerstein, Arrighi and Hopkins, there have been two world revolutions; 1848 and 1968. The former led to the anti-systemic movements in the traditional sense, a resistance towards the state, which is controlled and dominated by the capital and by the class that has the power. Some success could be achieved in the organized anti-systemic movements, which can be roughly divided into three directions: “the Third International Communists, the Second International Social Democrats and the nationalist movements”.³⁸ Communism was in power in USSR and some of Eastern Europe, Social Democrats were effective in central Europe and the nationalist movements were successful in Asia. The optimism that the movements’ success provided could not be held for a long time since the exogenous factors such as the US propaganda of anti-Communism and the indigenous factors of the failures of the governments of the once anti-

³⁷ Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein, “Dilemmas of antisystemic movements”, p. 38-39.

³⁸ Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein, “Dilemmas of antisystemic movements”, p. 100.

systemic movements were effective. The erosion of faith in the old left, along with the possibility of a new left led to the movements of which the starting point can be seen as 1968. The old left have driven capitalists away from the power but did not deal neither with the problems of the immigrants, ethnic groups nor women. The new left was going to accuse old left because of its “weakness, corruption, connivance, neglect and arrogance”.³⁹

The new social movement paradigm emphasizes the socio-cultural aspect of the social movement studies. Social movements do not arise from anomalies in the society, as the traditional sociology declares, instead, the movements themselves make up the society. For Touraine, the main target for the contemporary social movements is the cultural space.⁴⁰

2.5 Protest

One of the most distinctive elements of the social movements that from other political actors and institutions is the protest, which is organized in order to realize a movement’s goals and make its voice heard by the related people or a whole community. Protests can appear in traditional forms such as voting, participating in elections, or collecting supporters for a particular event. Protests can also appear in face-to-face methods with the potential of affecting the community's daily life such as marching, strikes, and demonstrations. Protests can be in the form of violent actions causing material damages and sometimes death. They also appear in the form of individual expressions or actions supporting the performances belonging to the cultural life such as music, art and theater.⁴¹ The types and the diversity of the protest actions are closely linked with the purpose of the movement and the objectives of the participants, in addition to being the continuation

³⁹ Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein, “Dilemmas of antisystemic movements”, p. 101-102.

⁴⁰ Çayır, “Toplumsal Sahnenin Yeni Aktörleri: Yeni Sosyal Hareketler” p.23

⁴¹ Verta Taylor and Nella Van Dyke, “Get Up, Stand Up: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements” in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, eds. David E. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, (Blackwell, 2004), p.263.

of a historical development. Therefore, it is possible to observe a changing type of action and its variety while studying continuously evolving social movements along with the changing social structure and political conditions.

Jasper, working on protests and action forms, differentiates protests from any kind of social oppositions in political arena as follows:

Many of our institutions remain silent when it comes to question the existence; on the other hand, protest is one of the rarely observed areas that witness such a quest and asks questions regarding the human beings.⁴²

Of course, the protest mentioned above by Jasper is defined considering the small groups' performances based on identity and acceptance in the society they live in rather than large-scale actions directly against the political power. Women's right for abortion, fighting with AIDS or issues such as anti-war campaigns impose a vital importance to the protest as Jasper's definition points out "about the passionate emotions elevated and carried out by enthusiastic ideas"⁴³ and that the fundamental issues of "why do we live," or "who are we" are acknowledged.

Protests, are not only for the interests in order to obtain a gain, but also to install vital and existential meanings in taking each of the activists' steps towards the opinions of their own life choices. Furthermore, adding emotional and moral dimension, in addition the rational basis, to the protest will bring new insights into the process of analyzing the behavior of the protesters. Entering into this process will show that the foundations of the trade union movement are not only based on the economic conditions but also based on "anger and revolt cause to be born by fear and injustice"⁴⁴. This is true not only for today's new social movements, but also for the 19th century's labor movements.

⁴² Jasper, *Ahlaki Protesto Sanati*, p. 25.

⁴³ Jasper, *Ahlaki Protesto Sanati*, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Jasper, *Ahlaki Protesto Sanati*, p. 27.

The basic motives of protest and protesters are the struggle against the conditions those do not overlap with their own personal thoughts, beliefs and values; and the trust that the change that will take place after this struggle. Looking for ways of changing cultural codes and searching for the routes of change require a sense of creativity⁴⁵, thus; it is an artistic action. The protesters, just as the artists, lead the society in terms of change and providing the “better”.⁴⁶ Social movements, as sources of innovation and creativity, and the presence of the protest cause decoding the codes of language and thinking and affect the reconstruction process of them. Social movements can be named as the most important catalysts of a cultural deconstruction more than political and economic achievements.

The Notion of Protest

The tactical repertoires of social movements and the protest techniques have evolved over time along with the political and social conditions that make up the movement. Even though to make a clean-cut distinction is not possible between the old and new social movements’ tactics, some differences are apparent.

As Taylor and Van Dyke points out, two criteria can be used in order to classify different social movements’ tactics. The first one is a dichotomous distinction where the movements are categorized regarding their actions’ aims which can be “oriented towards” either “social change” or “personal change.”⁴⁷ This dichotomy has evolved into the “strategy-oriented” and “identity-oriented” movements. Strategy oriented movements are more instrumental in their tactics and protests, whereas the identity oriented movements are more expressive and spontaneous in their claims.

⁴⁵ Jasper, *Ahlaki Protesto Sanati*, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Jasper, *Ahlaki Protesto Sanati*, p. 39.

⁴⁷ Taylor and Van Dyke, “Get Up, Stand Up: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements”, p.266.

Movements which are assumed to combine both the instrumental methods and expressive methods are categorized in four different groups by Turner and Killian based on their tactics between the movement and its target group (1987); namely persuasion, facilitation, bargaining and coercion. Persuasion is directed at the target group's needs and wants, facilitation involves maintaining the target group with the necessary information and sources so that it can support the movement, bargaining occurs when the movement connects with the target for some kind of cooperation and lastly coercion is usually seen when the movement has gone through a failure and punishes the target group for not reaching the goals.

Two different types of action for social movements can be summarized as "nonconfrontational" and "confrontational". Nonconfrontational actions include "boycotts, dramaturgy, lawsuits, leafleting, letter-writing campaigns, lobbying, petitions and pres conferences"; and some examples of confrontational actions are "sit-ins, demonstrations, vigils, marches, strikes, motorcades, symbolic actions, boycotts of classes, blockades and other illegal actions such as bombings."⁴⁸

A movement's tactics and actions of being reveal a lot about the movement's goals and its place in the history of collective behavior. Therefore, there is a close relation between the performative techniques of new social movements and their common characteristics. The new social movements' distinguishing attributes show themselves in the way that the members expressively act and confront their identities.

The use of innovative tactics and the notion of protest itself is a major outstanding factor of social movements, separating them from the classical concept of political actors. Protest consists of a wide range of acts, from the "conventional strategies of political persuasion such as lobbying, voting,

⁴⁸ Taylor and Van Dyke, "Get Up, Stand Up: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements", p.267.

and petitioning; confrontational tactics such as marches, strikes, and demonstrations that disrupt the day-to-day life of a community; violent acts that inflict material and economic damage and loss of life; and cultural forms of political expression such as rituals, spectacles, music, art, poetry, film, literature, and cultural practices of everyday life.”⁴⁹

The literature on protests concerning the labor movement was mainly concentrated on conventional strategies such as sit-ins, marches and strikes. More organized and instrumental forms of protest were used in order to reach pre-determined goals and the acts were directed towards the political power. With the new social movements paradigm, the movements turned into contestation of identities and the forms of protests were performative and innovative.

⁴⁹ Taylor and Van Dyke, “Get Up, Stand Up: Tactical Repertoires of Social Movements”, p.263.

3. PROTEST THROUGH EVERYDAY LIFE AS THE SOURCE OF PERFORMANCE, CREATIVITY AND RESISTANCE

3.1 Everyday Life, Performance and Creativity

The sociology of everyday life has become a crucial subject in understanding the social phenomena since the second half of the twentieth century. Combining together the micro and macro perspectives, everyday life presents a colorful and rich basis for explaining the outcomes of a social movement.

Maurice Blanchot states that everyday is what escapes by definition. It is what we cannot perceive. It reveals itself in the form of being insignificant and / or being astonishing. You just experience everyday again and again.

Whatever its other aspects, the everyday has this essential trait: it allows no hold. It escapes. It belongs to insignificance, and the insignificant is without truth, without reality, without secret, but perhaps also the site of all possible signification. The everyday escapes. This makes its strangeness-the familiar showing itself (but already dispersing) in the guise of the astonishing. It is the unperceived, first in the sense that one has always looked past it; nor can it be introduced into a whole or "reviewed," that is to say, enclosed within a panoramic vision; for, by another trait, the everyday is what we never see for a first time, but only see again, having always already seen it by an illusion that is, as it happens, constitutive of the everyday.⁵⁰

Henri Lefebvre suggests that everyday consists of all facets of the human being, the rational along with the irrational, poetic, ethical, corporeal and affective. Studying the everyday in a critical and sociological sense exposes its mystified character and reveals its inherent contradictions, ambivalences and emancipatory tendencies.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Maurice Blanchot, "Everyday Speech", *Yale French Studies*: 73, (1987): 14

⁵¹ Michael Gardiner, *Critique of Everyday Life*, Routledge, 2000, p.19

When we refer to creativity in social movements, we do not need to look for sublime influences or outcomes. Art is within the everyday life, resistance is art and art becomes resistance. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the art world has explored art's relatedness to the everyday. What has happened then, is reproduced today, specifically after the 1960's, becoming the activist art and the protests of the new social movements. Art is into daily life and politics – since personal is political – more than ever and it is the most effective medium to express one's self.

Human creativity is like a “fertile humus” says Lefebvre. He talks about the cliché metaphor of comparing human creativity to mountain tops and the everyday to the plains and states that this metaphor is not valid anymore. “A landscape without flowers or magnificent woods may be depressing for the passer-by: but flowers and trees should not make us forget the earth beneath, which has a secret life and a richness of its own.”⁵²

3.1.1 What is Everyday Life

How can everyday life be defined? Henri Lefebvre answers this question as follows:

It surrounds us, it besieges us, on all sides and from all directions. We are inside it and outside it. No so-called ‘elevated’ activity can be reduced to it, nor can it be separated from it. Its activities are born, they grow and emerge; once they have left the nourishing earth of their native land, not one of them can be formed and fulfilled on its own account. In this earth they are born. If they emerge, it is because they have grown and prospered. It is at the heart of the everyday that projects become works of creativity.⁵³

Everyday is a level of the social reality. In this particular level, transformations are occurred, daily activities can be redefined with creativity. Everyday produces itself repetitively and provide a basis for all

⁵² Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life Vol.1*, (USA: Verso, 2008), p.87.

⁵³ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life Volume II: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday*, (USA: Verso, 2008), p. 41

other spheres of the social reality. The escape from the control mechanisms that manipulate the everyday life is again hidden in the dynamics of the everyday.

The main object of Lefebvre's⁵⁴ study, the everyday, comes along with the idea of the possibility of transforming it. Consistently, the transformations occurring at the everyday life penetrates into the areas of the social world. Vice versa, the political and economic realities find their reflections in the everyday. As making the everyday an area of academic interest, the social studies have followed the modernist avant-garde which made the everyday a problematic of art.

Agnes Heller argues that everyday life cannot be analyzed in isolation from social relations and institutions but must be understood in its specific socioeconomic and political context. Heller focuses on the reproduction of the individual human being in everyday life and she argues that the reproduction of society cannot be detached from the daily reproduction of the individual within its specific social, economic and political context.⁵⁵

Capitalistic forms of production not only besieged the economic and production domains. It has penetrated into every aspect of the everyday life, hence every attempt to change the given performativities is a way of opposition to the system.

As Maurice Blanchot contemplates on how to approach everyday life, he considers two points of view. The first is to examine the everyday regarding its participation in history, politics or philosophy. Nevertheless, this approach, says Blanchot, gives everyday an ephemeral and transitory

⁵⁴ Lefebvre's critique of everyday life covers the three volumes bearing that title, appearing between 1947 and 1981, as well as *Everyday Life in the Modern World* in 1971 and *Rhythmanalysis* in the mid-1980s. Henri Lefebvre associated with the Modernist avant-garde, falling in with first Tristan Tzara and Andre Breton of the Surrealists and, later, Guy Debord and the Situationists.

⁵⁵ for details see Agnes Heller, 1984: *Everyday Life*, London Routledge

character. Despite its vaguely defined territory and vague boundaries, it is subject to the state's interference. Its significance is negligible compared to the grand structures.

The other view is to consider everyday with its own dynamics and as a separate entity. Consequently, everyday life ceases to be misperceived as the "left over of the society and of little consequence in relation to superior pursuits such as politics, the arts, or science."⁵⁶

The everyday is no longer the average, statistically established existence of a given society at a given moment; it is a category, a utopia and an Idea, without which one would not know how to get at either the hidden present, or the discoverable future of manifest beings. Man (the individual of today, of our modern societies) is at the same time engulfed within and deprived of, the everyday. And-a third definition-the everyday is also the ambiguity of these two movements, the one and the other hardly discernible.⁵⁷

With modernity and the Cartesian system of thought, social life was fragmented into compartments such as the politics, science and the arts as the human was represented in a dualism of body and mind. As a result of this separation some elements of the social structure were to be considered more significant than others, namely politics or science. On the other hand as a source of constant change and complication everyday life was to be regarded as the back yard of the society.

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the study of everyday life within the social sciences and humanities. In *Critiques of Everyday Life* Michael Gardiner proposes that there exists a counter-tradition within everyday life theorizing. In his book Gardiner studies the main elements of a critical *everyday life* paradigm. Gardiner studies the manifold studies of everyday life, looking at theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, the Situationists, Dorothy E. Smith, Mikhail Bahtin, and Agnes Heller.

⁵⁶ Michael Gardiner, *Critique of Everyday Life*, (Routledge, 2000), p.19

⁵⁷ Maurice Blanchot, "Everyday Speech", 13

The everyday as critical concept is not an unchanging and distinct social sphere. Rather, critical conceptualizations of the everyday (e.g. by Michel de Certeau, Antonio Gramsci, Agnes Heller, Henri Lefebvre, Dorothy Smith) situate it in specific historical and political contexts.

Gardiner brings forward the “critiques of everyday life,” which he understands as counter-tradition to those micro-sociological approaches that adhere to a formalistic and purely descriptive concept of the everyday as “a non-contradictory and essentially unproblematic component of social existence”

Everyday life is a phenomenon that changes over time. It is a dynamic concept as we face almost all problems in social life. To understand the development of everyday life one may look at the historical progress of the Western Societies since modern social, economic, institutional progresses have been Western phenomena. I summarize the development of everyday life in pre-modern, modern, and late capitalist societies as follows.

In pre-modern societies everyday was not as rigidly separated into isolated categories as it is today. Pre-modern people used to observe and the repetitiveness of the everyday was consistent with the cycling phases of nature.

With the transition to modernity, and the fracturing of the social world into a multiplicity of specialized practices, everyday life emerges as something that is left over. Modernity suggests that everyday life is about *triviality* and *repetitiveness* because it is increasingly under the control of bureaucracy and social norms, which promotes homogenization of the certain routines of everyday life world. According to the people in modern world, there is no role of *abstraction* in everyday life since abstraction is for superior pursuits

as the arts, or science, or philosophy. Therefore, modern people have brought the *duality* of the things such as everyday life versus abstract life.

Abstraction is about production of knowledge, or things. On the other hand, everyday life is about consumption in a continuous stream. This duality is the fundamental view of late capitalist social thought. Late capitalism defines everyday life with a very dense personal identity of consumption.

3.1.2 Performance in Everyday Life

One of the greatest contributors to the everyday life theory and performativity in the everyday is Erving Goffman, with his book titled “Presentation of Self in Everyday Life”. Goffman argues that “the self is that collection of performances that take place in and across specific locations.”⁵⁸ The self is constituted with the help of performances in daily life.

Performance refers to “all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers.”⁵⁹ Every time people are encountered with other people, they play their roles, which are previously determined. Depending on the impression they would like to make on other people or they are forced to make, a dramaturgy of their performance is shaped. Subsequently they perform, compatible with the dramaturgy.

Goffman states that the performance people make can either be sincerely fond of his role and takes it as the reality or be cynical about it and not believe in his own act.⁶⁰ The passage from belief to disbelief or disbelief to belief can occur at times, too. For instance, a hotel owner of crofter origins

⁵⁸ Ben Highmore, *The Everyday Life Reader*, p. 50.

⁵⁹ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.22

⁶⁰ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.17

can set aside his conceptions as to how life ought to be led and perform the middle class attitudes. In the course of time, the hotel owner may become less cynical about the performances they make and become a member of the middle class.⁶¹

An impactful argument that Goffman introduces is the concept of front and back regions. In theatrical terms, front region is the stage and back region is the backstage. In the front region, the performances are either what the performer wants to reflect to the audience or what is supposed to be seen from the performer. On the other hand, back region is where the performer does not feel the need to perform something other than his true self. In Goffman's words;

When one's activity occurs in the presence of other persons, some aspects of the activity are expressively accentuated and other aspects, which might discredit the fostered impression, are suppressed, it is clear that accentuated facts make their appearance in what I have called a front region; it should be just as clear that there may be another region – a 'back region' or 'backstage' – where the suppressed facts make an appearance.⁶²

The front region's performance is defined mainly by the performance's purposes whereas the performer determines the performance at the backstage. The front region's performance is previously outlined but creativity and spontaneity have a part at the backstage. At the backstage "the performer can relax, he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines and step out of character"⁶³, which in turn means that the backstage is an escape from the obligations at the front.

Performance in everyday studies and performativity are at the center of feminist studies as well. Goffman quotes Simone de Beauvoir, who puts forth an example of female and male relationships. According to Beauvoir, female – male encounters are examples of front stage where women are performing the society's imposed roles on them whereas the backstage is

⁶¹ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.20

⁶² Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.111-112

⁶³ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.112

the place for the preparation and tactics. She adds that for some women the intimacy between women which takes place at the backstage is dearer than the encounter with men.⁶⁴

For the gender studies, which is within the scope of this research both in the feminist and LGBT movements, Butler is an important figure because she has deconstructed the gender performativities in everyday life. Gender is a performance, she claims. With gender performances cultural norms are reproduced as though they were of essence.

Gender is a kind of enforced cultural performance, compelled by compulsory heterosexuality, and that, as such, is performative. Rather than expressing some inner core or pre-given identity, the performance of gender produces the illusion of such a core or essence⁶⁵

The dominance of heterosexuality reveals itself in the gender performances. It reproduces itself with repetitive gender acts. Anything outside the appropriate normative gender performances would be placed in the backstage.

Goffman states, everyday life is an “arena where the self performs in a number of different ways.”⁶⁶ This mere fact is sufficient enough to grasp the infinite possibilities that everyday life incorporates. The real potential of deconstructing the previously determined roles of gender or of normative and repetitive everyday life, lies in the possibility of bringing the backstage to the front. Subversion of presupposed identities allow the suppressed self to come on stage and express itself. “It often happens that the performance serves mainly to express the characteristics of the task that is performed and not the characteristics of the performer”⁶⁷, says Goffman. In order to bring the performer at the center, the performer has to choose the task to perform for himself.

⁶⁴ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.112-113

⁶⁵ Gill Jagger, *Judith Butler*, p.20-21

⁶⁶ Ben Highmore, *The Everyday Life Reader*, p. 11.

⁶⁷ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, p.77

3.2 Resistance Through Everyday Life: Art and Protest

3.2.1 Art and Resistance: A Brief History of the Avant-Garde in the Twentieth Century

Avant-garde refers to the innovative and experimental works of art and culture. It pushes the boundaries of the norms and the status quo and comes up with new ideas for form and content. “The critical reevaluation of the European tradition is an important aspect of the early twentieth century avant-gardism.”⁶⁸

Avant-garde is modernist in its nature and it is a response to the modern condition. The avant-garde “focuses on the unexpected, the bizarre, the magical aspects of the condition of modernity”⁶⁹, in other words it is revolutionary in nature.

The everyday life becoming a problematic of art and politics reach back to Baudelaire. He has reflected on the everyday and contemplated on the modern city. Therefore, we can find avant-garde’s roots in the works of Baudelaire.

Two movements that can be examined within the avant-garde are Dada and Surrealism. They have both stood up against the modernity’s imprisoning norms and materialism.

“Where and how Dada began is almost as difficult to determine as Homer's birthplace,” writes Hans Richter, who was associated with the movement

⁶⁸ Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, “I Introduction,” *Art in Theory, 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), p. 14.

⁶⁹ Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, “VIA Art and Modern Life,” *Art in Theory, 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), p. 701.

from its early days. Jean Arp, a founding member of the Dada movement, asserts that: "I hereby declare that Tristan Tzara found the word DADA on February 8th, 1916, at 6:00 p.m. This took place in the Café Terrace in Zurich." Marcel Duchamp states that, "Dada is the nonconformist spirit which has existed in every century, every period since man is man."⁷⁰

Dadaists incorporated chaos, anarchy, chance, and disorder into their work in an attempt to dissolve the boundaries separating art from everyday life. In art, Dada reduces everything to an initial simplicity, growing always more relative. It mingles its caprices with the chaotic wind of creation and the barbaric dances of savage tribes.

The Dadaists attached much less importance to the sales value of their work than to its uselessness for contemplative immersion. The studied degradation of their material was not the least of their means to achieve this uselessness. Their poems are "word salad" containing obscenities and every imaginable waste product of language. The same is true of their paintings, on which they mounted buttons and tickets. What they intended and achieved was a relentless destruction of the aura of their creations, which they branded as reproductions with the very means of production... Dadaistic activities actually assured a rather vehement distraction by making works of art the centre of scandal. One requirement was foremost: to outrage the public.⁷¹

On the other hand, Surrealism, as defined by Breton, was dedicated to revising our definition of reality. The word "Surrealism" first made its appearance in Apollinaire's "absurdist" play, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, which was written in 1903 but first performed in 1917. Surrealism, Breton had asserted in the First Manifesto, was dictation "by thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern."⁷²

⁷⁰ Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, (Thames & Hudson, 1997)

⁷¹ Walter Benjamin, "Work of Art in the Age of Material Reproduction," (1935), 14 August 2010,

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>

⁷² Andre Breton, "Manifesto of Surrealism," (1924), 3 August 2010, <http://www.tcf.ua.edu/Classes/Jbutler/T340/SurManifesto/ManifestoOfSurrealism.htm>

Duchamp, with his everyday objects he dubbed readymades. Duchamp shocked the art establishment when he took a urinal, signed it and put it on display in 1917. This piece, a gentlemen's urinal (the so-called fountain), has been named the most influential modern art work of all time.

Performance became a popular form of artistic expression since the 1970s. As a matter of fact, performance art is a rediscovery of the forms of avant-garde that has been influential at the beginning of the twentieth century.

“The history of performance art in the twentieth century is the history of a permissive, open-ended medium with endless variables, executed by artist impatient with the limitations of more established art forms, and determined to take their art directly to the public. For this reason its base has always been anarchic.”⁷³

3.2 The Situationists

“Spectacle is the modern society’s sleep”⁷⁴, says Debord in his well known book “Society of the Spectacle” in which he criticizes the modern society and everyday life. He claims that the societies, where capitalistic modes of production are dominant, have become the societies of spectacle.

In the societies of spectacle, illusion is sacred and praised, reality is ignored. All reality is abandoned for the sake of spectacle. Spectacle is the diplomatic representation of hierarchic society to itself, where all other expression is banned.⁷⁵ All expressions have to be inside the spectacle’s permitted area. Alternative spectacles aim to go beyond the ordinary and the conventional, which is a difficult task because the spectacle assimilates all opposition and makes use of it within its acceptable boundaries.

⁷³ RoseLee Goldberg, *Performance Art from Futurism to the Present*, (Thames and Hudson, 2010), p.7

⁷⁴ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, (Ayrıntı, 2006), p.42.

⁷⁵ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.43.

How does capitalism produce the society of the spectacle? Debord bases his argument on alienation and consumerism. The separation of the worker and his products results in alienation and “the accumulation of his alienated products”⁷⁶ make up the foreign world which is around him but which he cannot genuinely sense. In substitution for the reality, spectacle arises and becomes the “map of this world”⁷⁷. It surrounds and penetrates in every sphere of the society. Consequently, “a man’s gestures are no longer his but those of another who represents them to him”⁷⁸

In society of the spectacle, capital’s domination over the system is not applicable anymore, the real dominator is the commodity. Debord explains,

“Capital is no longer the invisible center which directs the mode of production: its accumulation spreads all the way to the periphery in the form of tangible objects.”⁷⁹

Through consumption patterns, the spectacle penetrates and perpetuates. It uses dissatisfaction in order to perpetuate the system, once a product is owned, another product arrives. “The object which was prestigious in the spectacle becomes vulgar as soon as it is taken home by its consumer.”⁸⁰ The spectacle does not produce anything but itself. Bureaucracy chooses everything and leaves no space for any other external choices.⁸¹

In the primary phases of the capitalist economy, proletarian was the worker and exploitation occurred in the workspace. The struggle was in the factories, ateliers and production sphere. Later on, exploitation and dominance spread out from the workspace to leisure and humanity. Accordingly the struggle should be in the sphere of everyday life, which consists of identities, consumption, life-styles and routine activities.

⁷⁶ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.47.

⁷⁷ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.47.

⁷⁸ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.46-47.

⁷⁹ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.46-47.

⁸⁰ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.68.

⁸¹ Guy Debord, *Gösteri Toplumu*, p.65.

Performances are crucial for people struggling in order to make their own choices and get beyond the spectacle while building up their own identities. Refusing the celebrities' identities or bureaucratic choice for the identity is another struggle in the modern world.

3.3 1968 as a Celebration of the Resistance in Everyday

1968, is known by many, as the year that has changed the world, or let us put it this way: the time when people believed that they could change the world. They were realistic, they demanded the impossible. They believed that there was the beach under the paving stones. The actors of the 1968 events were deeply influenced by the Situationists, the avant-garde specifically Dada and Surrealism and Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life. It was an attempt not only to stop the exploitation of the workers or demand the independence of the university but also to change the ways of everyday life.

Developing a deeper analysis for the era and the events of 1968 seems inevitable when one tries to study the evolution of the social movements and the struggle towards the 20th century. 1968 forms a very important source and model for future social movements with its structure of the social struggle and the differentiation of the social movements' forms and propagandas.

Generation of 1968, started their journey questioning the authority, the values and the past's long-established institutions.

3.3.1 1968: A Historical Perspective

France 1968

The history of left in France in the twentieth century, before the 1960's, is the history of communist parties and labor unions and how these organizations acted against the capitalist exploitation. The communist party (PCF – Parti Communiste Français) was founded in 1920 by a group from the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO) and was highly influenced by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Affiliated to the basic principles of the communist manifesto, PCF gained power in the years following the World War II. The election in 1945 brought the PCF in power in coalition with the bourgeois parties. The party's attitude towards maintaining stability economically and politically and its effort to watch out for the Soviet politics' content caused the dissatisfaction of its supporters. The strike that was broadly spread in 1947 was partly an opposition to the PCF's and CGT's (Confederation Generale du Travail) policies and a reaction to the government.

The loss of members in PCF and CGT and the strict working conditions which De Gaulle insisted on in order to gain an advance in economics was severely affecting the labors' social and economic standards. The authoritarian regime of De Gaulle not only affected the working class; the conservative direction that the education in universities chose, in which functionality was the main purpose was affecting the students as well.

The struggles and the discontentment within the left brought about divisions and new ideas of anti-systemic movements. An important challenge to the conventional anti-capitalist and socialist movements was the Situationists, 'Internationale Situationniste' which opposed the hierarchical and the bureaucratic structure of the conservative left and adopted an anarchist route.

Besides the Situationists, a widening opposition to the authoritarian enunciation of the PCF was developing. The students in universities and even in high schools were forming their own organizations and gathering around Maoist, Trotskyian ideals. The main two groups were JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire) which was founded by the Trotskyists and UJC-ML (Union de la Jeunesse Communiste – Marxist-leniniste) that was founded by the Maoists. These unions proved their power of resistance by supporting the mass strikes in 1967 and accomplishing more effective propaganda against the war in Vietnam.

At the beginning of 1967, a series of demonstrations and strikes began in France with the coordination of CGT and CFDT (Confederation Française Démocratique du Travail). When the strikes had reached their goal and some raise in wages were gained, CGT decided to end the demonstrations but the most of the workers insisted on continuing. The protests were going on spontaneously and without the guidance of a strong group; in other words the participants were going beyond the conventional ways of protesting, therefore opening up – or strengthening – a new perspective in the Left tradition. The demonstrations of the workers in 1967 strongly influenced the protests of May 1968.

Following the events in the University of Nanterre and the Movement of March 22, the conflicts spread to Sorbonne, which the police shut down at the beginning of May. Protesting the authorities and the police invasion of Sorbonne, a large groups of students and teachers marched to Sorbonne confronting the police in the Quartier Latin on May 10th, known as the “Night of the Barricades”.

The next days were greeted with a general strike of workers, supported by the students. The workers occupied the factories, shut down the managers inside the buildings and protested against the government. Even though,

CGT and other labor unions tried to give the protests a contexture in order to gain an increase of wages, the protests were occurring spontaneously and with new forms of action plans. For instance new forms of protests were relieved such as making the managers work in the production lines to make them understand what it is to be a worker or locking up managers in the factories. These new tactics were displaying the close connection between the workers and the students, since these protests were carrying out influences from the anti-authoritarian, spontaneous and innovative aspects of the student movement.

The broad participation by the students and the workers lasted until the end of May, when slowly the movement began to lose its impact. With the speech of De Gaulle on May 30th, it was obvious that there would not be a governmental change and De Gaulle would continue to be in power. The movement was a failure in political terms although its overall impact is far more significant.

The political ineffectiveness of the events of May 1968 in France results from a lack of a general perspective around which the protesters could unite. Different groups of people from different backgrounds worked together in order to declare their dissatisfactions and their will of change forming a strong but scattered group. The traditional communist and labor organizations, such as the PCF or the CGT were in an effort of normalizing the strikes and gaining more social rights for the workers whereas the student unions were in search of a more dramatic change. Although the main tactics of protest were mostly traditional such as marches, building barricades or strikes; the nature of the movement was totally revolutionary. Despite the fact that May 1968 did not result in a political impact, its cultural significance is immense.⁸²

⁸² "1968", *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, pp.1514-1520

Although the events happened in May 1968 in Paris is the first thing that comes to mind when someone mentions 1968, the spirit of 1968 showed its effects in a wide geographical spectrum from the United States of America to the Eastern Europe. Although each country or geographical region has its own action and protest forms, we can talk about the some common features. Movements are the ongoing rebellion against the system and the traditional left, and they display differences in categories such as age, social class and status groups.

1967 Pentagon March, the USA

The reflections of the 1960's have exposed itself in the birth of a new culture and the innovation of life styles in the United States of America. One of the main struggles of the 1960's in the United States was the anti-war movement spreading in opposition to the ongoing war in Vietnam.

One of the foremost anti-war demonstrations in the United States during the War in Vietnam was held in 1967. On the 21st of October, over 50,000 people gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. and after some speeches the crowd rallied to Pentagon. They were met by U.S. Marshals and armed soldiers surrounding Pentagon in order to prevent the crowd from going any further from the steps of Pentagon. The protest lasted until the next day; tear gas was used and about 700 people were arrested while trying to advance through the barricades.

Despite some violence and bloody attempts to stop the protesters, the protest was intended to be in a non-violent and peaceful manner, mostly following the Gandhian principles. It was organized by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (the Mobe) and consisted of about 150 groups getting together for the protest. There were adults, students, hippies, anti-war pacifists, feminist groups, Vietcong sympathizers, ethnic groups all in a shared belief of opposing the war. The impact of the protest

and its importance lies in the fact that it was a widespread movement bringing together people from many different backgrounds with their own ways of contestation.⁸³

The organizers of the protest were inspired from pacifist sources. For instance, Jerry Rubin, the principle organizer of the Pentagon march, was deeply aroused by Allen Ginsberg's ideas for "magic politics of playful protest and spectacle"⁸⁴. The need for a joyful and peaceful contestation led to the use of chants, giant puppets and theatrical performances. Along with the traditional ways of opposition, which include marches, vigils and sit-ins; the protest is now mostly remembered with the use of other outstanding tactics. One interesting attempt was the exorcism of Pentagon, which was coordinated by the hippie activist Abbie Hoffman consisted of people holding hands around Pentagon and trying to levitate the building singing and chanting; so that the evil spirits causing the war would leave Pentagon.

A symbolizing icon of the 1967 Pentagon march is the photograph of an anti-war protester sticking flowers in gun barrels. The attempt to stop the war and to declare that the war in Vietnam is undesirable is carried out by means of the protesters' own ways of resisting. The performative character of the act is hidden both in the use of symbols and the unconventional nature of the act.

The getting together of so many people from so different groups and backgrounds; with their own ways of expressing themselves, gives the march a character that was not seen in the previous acts. The groups acted as a single body throughout the march which did not keep them from communicating in their own ways. Each group and every individual opposed the war based on their own interests and reasoning which resulted

⁸³ "Levitate the Pentagon", 2 May 2008, <http://www.jofreeman.com/photos/Pentagon67.html#accounts>

⁸⁴ Maurice Isserman. "The Flower in the Gun Barrel." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 54: 8 (October 19, 2007): B14-B15, <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Flower-in-the-Gun-Barrel/33639/>

in an event that did not have a strong ideological baseline but had the spontaneity and the festivity.

3.3.2 The Consequences of the Events of 1968

The unplanned and spontaneous character of 1968 is enough evidence for its inevitability. The discontentment about the post-war world system and its reflections on the students and workers led to a boiling point against the capitalist industrial Western way of living. Undoubtedly, the events of 1968 had taken the communist and leftist arguments as a starting point, on which summoned the disappointment that the communist states have brought about. What makes 1968 a turning point in the history of social movements is the aggression towards the old left that have failed. As Wallerstein, Arrighi and Hopkins state, it is impossible to truly understand the significance of 1968 by not taking into consideration its challenge against the strategies of the old left along with its “cri de coeur against the evils of the world system”.⁸⁵

The main points of opposing the old left could be summarized in five aspects:⁸⁶

Weakness: The old anti-systemic movements were strong enough neither to stop the exploitation, imperialism nor the militarism around the world and its passive attitude towards the severe problems of the world caused a discontent in the new left.

Corruption: The benefits of being in power led to a loss of the leftist and militant soul in the once anti-systemic movements.

Connivance: The corruption resulted in not fighting against the injustice in the world in order to benefit from the current status.

Neglect: The problems of the ethnic minorities, of the subproletarians or the women were ignored and not dealt with.

⁸⁵ Giovanni Arrighi, Terrence K. Hopkins & Immanuel Wallerstein, *Sistem Karşıtı Hareketler*, p.86

⁸⁶ Giovanni Arrighi, Terrence K. Hopkins & Immanuel Wallerstein, *Sistem Karşıtı Hareketler*, p.87

Arrogance: The anti-systemic movements in power were too confident in their ideological base that they were not open to any new perspective that they could make use of.

The increasing visibility of the weaknesses and the ignorance of the traditional leftist movements brought the built-in methods of struggle and opposition into question. In particular, the critics of the students created immense surprise for the chief actors in the top left of the opposition. Arrighi, Hopkins and Wallerstein emphasized in their writings that the perception of the social forms and structure changed permanently after 1968.

The events of 1968 had undeniable effects in the field of social relations and the political business cycles. However, the point regarding the 1968 period to be highlighted in the course of the present study is that the effectiveness and the pressure of the "dominant status groups (men, majorities)" on women, youth, minorities, and the other status decreased. In other words, these status groups mentioned were able to find courage in the daily life practices to clearly express themselves and to show resistance to the force.

Although 1968 increased the visibility of the new movements and the groups who could not find the opportunity to express themselves in the past in the public sphere, it also showed the difficulty of the enforcement of the dynamics between capital and labor in a collective manner. It was an era of hope, but the proceeding period showed that the individual demands came to the front of the joint requests where the society had reached consensus in the past.

3.4 Protest after 1968: What has Changed on the Street?

A study of the elements related to the changing form and content in protest movements provides important clues regarding the evolution of social movements. The first chapter of this research had taken a look into the

general development of social movements and the forms of protest that have been developed and used depending on the period. This chapter shall undertake to categorize under certain headings the forms of protest and the changes that have been witnessed in the history of protests and to sum up the areas where new social movements particularly diverge from old social movements.

Rather than undertaking actions directly targeting the government with broad participation, new social movements opt for protests that are smaller in scale yet more inquisitive and striking. Movements that scrutinize the cultural codes and general attitude of the society, compel people into asking questions and voice what was not previously expressed; have reached a spontaneous point where they are institutionally inspired by postmodernism, they do 'as they please', and emphasize on entertainment and the element of play rather than utilizing a broad organizational network and tools to express that the 'oppressed' are also strong. The above-mentioned change shall be analyzed under headings such as the increased use of humor, which has been an indispensable part of social opposition throughout the ages, the coming of creativity and performance into prominence, pushing the limits of the body, and the importance attributed to spontaneity.

3.4.1 From the Object Towards the Subject: The Problematic of Identity

Identity is probably the most underlined element while distinguishing the new social movements from the workers' movements. In the workers' movement, as the objects of a political movement, activists are in a position to do what is necessary by the hierarchic order they are situated in. While they have an entirely different political ideology, many elements of the opposed order are also present in these movements. The identities and individuality of the activists fall under the shadow of the cause they are fighting for.

In new social movements, however, activists intend to express their identity rather than fight for any great ideology. The subject of the political struggle is not the ideological conflicts engaged for power but the visibility of their identity in the public sphere. And for that very reason, the arena of political struggle has evolved into the sphere of the individuals rather than that of ideologies.

3.4.2 The Element of Humor

Humor is an element that appears in all fields of social life, one of which dynamics are most intriguing. Humor, which may be studied under many different disciplines, has always been a strong weapon in social movements and protests as well. The element of humor, which has always enjoyed a special place in the history of protests, has further consolidated its place as social movements were transformed into the means of individual self-expression. Humor manifests its strength with its ability to boost the impact of protests, to help convey the message to the opposite party in a more effective manner, and particularly, to shape up the perspectives of social movements in the new era.

In his work *Rabelais and His World*, Bahtin mentions about the role played by humor in social activities such as festivals and carnivals in the Middle Ages and early modernity. Festivals push class distinctions and the social hierarchy to the background, tolerating digression from social norms and rules in a common enthusiasm and allow a humorous criticism of the present social and political environment.⁸⁷

As politics freed itself from the monopoly of a certain class and took out on the streets by breaking out of its serious and cold shell, the relationship of humor with ‘serious’ issues also improved. In the meantime, various

⁸⁷ Mihail Bahtin, *Rabelais ve Dünyası*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2005), pp.34-39.

groups' dismissal of a didactic and overbearing style in favor of expressing their thoughts through humor and comedy also adds on to their transparency. A style that can reach out to everyone and get a laugh out of them is a much more conscious choice than complex forms of thought.

The status of humor and comedy as an important weapon of social opposition is confirmed since the impact of what is meant to say increases with humor and it gets easier to capture attention both under oppressive regimes and in relatively free environments.

3.4.3 Use of the Human Body

The human body has become one of the basic objects in art movements, which entered the agenda particularly starting from the latter half of the twentieth century while one of the basic means of opposition through art was again, the human body; which warrant a study of the use of human body in the field of the changes encountered in the modes of protest in social movements.

Modernity's way of thinking, which focuses on rational mind and continued progress, and its belief in the universal mind, pushed the human body to the background while elevating mind to a position that controls and supervises the body. The body, which is the source of desires and wishes, may be kept away from unwanted attitudes only with the existence of the mind. And the mind is in fact one of the ways for the culture to impose its own behavioral patterns to the individuals and communities.⁸⁸

The enlightenment philosophy came under spotlight after the devastation brought by the twentieth century and the impact of the world wars. Postmodern thinkers have also had an effect on political and social life, and consequently, on art movements, through the criticisms they have brought

⁸⁸ Stanley Aronowitz. Foreword. *Randy Martin: Performance as Political Act*. (New York: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1990), p. vii.

on the limitations created by modernity for the sake of liberating people, and on the Enlightenment philosophy's advancement towards minimizing the differences instead of recognizing them as they are.

Some of the most important criticisms against the very codes of modernity and the modern Man, which were determined by the government, have been directed by the French thinker Foucault. The emphasis placed on the influences that the body has been exposed to throughout the history, or on the transformation of the body in parallel to the history of thought, takes an important place in Foucault's works. Noting that the emergence of institutions such as insane asylums and prisons, which help the state keep individuals under the control of its power coincide with the emergence of the thought of modernity, Foucault argues that power extends to all fields of life and to the identity formation process of the individuals also with the support of these institutions.⁸⁹

Another very important movement of thought that lays the foundations of the notion that the body is a social and historical phenomenon; that beyond being a natural concept, it is an artificially coined structure, which is sustained through recurring codes, is phenomenology. The theory of actions in phenomenology, which has been contributed by thinkers such as Husserl, Merleau-Ponty and Mead, examines social structures such as language, gestures and symbols, which constitute the social reality.⁹⁰ Phenomenology, which also influenced feminism, explains how the body and reality are reflected through the body.

In addition to being a year during which the criticisms directed at political and social structures reached their apex, 1968 was also a turning point during which the traditional art and art relations were scrutinized. The

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, "İktidar ve Beden", *İktidarın Gözü (Seçme Yazılar 4)*, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2003), pp. 38-45.

⁹⁰ Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution", *The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader*, ed. Michael Huxley and Noel Witts (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp.120-121

group, led by those students who contested the hierarchy and conventional standards in the world of art, tried to draw art to daily life, and therefore, to the street from the 'sacrosanct' quality it had been confined into.

And one of the most important issues, which performance art concentrates on and turns into its object, is human body and its limitations. That the body eluded its conventional forms and was presented in a new area of usage was to be a step towards shaking the conventional patterns of thought that could not be ignored. The codes of the body are deconstructed and restructured on stage (or in the performance venue), which is a challenge to the influence of power on the body. Performance artists, who are nurtured by the idea that the body is a historical formation rather than a natural phenomenon, have made considerable contributions in this field particularly after the 1970s.

Since performative arts such as the theater and dance allow for the liberalization and transformation of the body, theories developed through the studies made on the use of the body in performance arts and the body in acting methods is an important research subject.

3.4.4 Artistic Performance Practice and Creativity

It was after the 1960s that social movements and protests broke away from wider masses and turned into opposition manifested at an individual level or in small groups. Likewise, the dynamic, by which art ceased to be the object of a certain circle and came closer to the street and the entire society, also gained pace in that period. With the return of art to its core issues and the collapse of the traditional understanding of art starting from the early 20th century, together with the avant-garde movement in art; evolved in the latter half of the 20th century into the notion that anyone can do art and that what matters in art is the conceptual dimensions rather than a series of strict

aesthetic criteria. “Democratization of aesthetic tendencies”⁹¹ and convergence of art with the society have both allowed for the development of conceptual art as well as of the art of the ‘activist’. The activist’s performance-based art, which is realized in public domain, aims to capture the attention of the media, and frequently employs announcements, posters and elements that belong to advertising⁹², appears as a dimension of new social movements that cannot be ignored.

3.4.5 Performative Action

Just as 1968 constituted a social and political rebellion against the institutions of the past and a hope that a new era could start; so does it herald the end of modernism from an artistic point of view. A rebellion against the dependence of art on the artist, transformation of artistic subject into a commodity by mythicizing it, and the strict rules of the academia, also adopted elements from conceptual art, leading to the art’s becoming of an ‘instantaneous’ act devoid of any general view in terms of content.

The performance art, which bases itself on the criticism of traditional theater as well as visual art, is the most significant art form of postmodernism. It takes its roots from the avant-garde artistic movements of the early twentieth century and bears the characteristics of conceptual art. The realness of the moment the performance is made, the performer executing the action with his/her identity rather than assuming a different role like a theater actor or actress and his/her effective use of the factor of ‘the present’, have not only made performance art the most significant form of activist art but also led to the activists’ use of this art form in their protests.

Although performance art takes its roots from the avant-garde artistic movements of the 20th century and has not introduced any great novelty in

⁹¹ Nina Ferlshin, “Introduction” *But Is It Art?*, ed. Nina Felshin. (Washington, Bay Press, 1995), p.10.

⁹² Nina Ferlshin, “Introduction”, p.10.

terms of form; it diverges from these movements on an important point. First of all, avant-garde art movements are modernists and believe in progress. As the name also suggests, avant-garde has taken on a function ahead of the society and that shows the way to it. The post-1968 performance art, however, has no such concerns; what is intended is the expression of identities, questioning the systems of thought in a manner that disturbs the audience, and deconstructing the current situation into meaningless pieces. In a modernist art piece, essentially a holistic view is created with the goal of helping the viewer discover what lays behind what is seen while performance art is suitable for the fragmented life of postmodernism that is devoid of meaning.

Performative action removes the wall of illusion between the audience and the performer and maintains spontaneity even if it is preplanned. What's intended is to draw the attention of the audience and to lure them outside the clichéd systems of thought through surprises. The use of streets or public areas rather than the venues of traditional performance arts such as theater and dance renders the performance a phenomenon from within life on the one hand while exposing the audience to questioning by turning the social practices in the public domain.

Particularly starting from late 1960s, performance art has been an important source for activists who act on the desire to openly express their thoughts, and while doing so, bring down the existing patterns. Another reason why the public and instantaneous acts that constitute the performance are preferred is the success of the actions in question in capturing the attention of the media by also supporting the participation of the public.⁹³

That the new social movements are so much identified with performance art, in a sense, stems from the fact that many 'many social movements' and forms of protest are in fact a performative action. In other words, while

⁹³ Nina Ferlshin, "Introduction", p.18.

performance art is used as a form of protest, what we really achieve is that the protest itself becomes a performance. On the one hand, this situation points to a positive result in which the activists share in the public sphere their creativity, which they express by setting out from their identity and culture as it increases their means for expression; while the objectives of a social uprising leads to its becoming one of the thousands of photographs of the demonstration community in a grayed manner.

3.4.6 Festivity

Before the new paradigm of social movements was adopted by many theorists and social movements were started to be explained through this paradigm, workers' movement had been the basic movement that those who had a grievance with the system rallied under, and we know that the basic aim of the workers' movement was either to topple the government or to fundamentally change the causes of their grievances by becoming part of the power. The goal that had been strived for was big, and to attain it, the right strategies had to be devised, which in turn, required a systematic effort. Accordingly, protests and various activities were planned beforehand and the necessary preparations were undertaken.

In the workers' movement, the actors gather with the same purpose and implement the directives they are given to reach that purpose. And these directives are strategic applications that have mostly been determined with scientific rigor. However, since the new social movements are based on the self-expression of the individual and his/her ability to exhibit his/her lifestyle, instead of following the processes established by the rational mind to the letter, they are grounded on the projection to the outside of what is spontaneous and 'desired' by the person in a collective manner. And an environment where social norms can be left aside and all the participants to the action can gather in the same enthusiasm regardless of their social, economic, etc. statuses are, is nothing but a festivity.

Russian thinker Bahtin gives the festivity and carnivals their due importance in his work “Rabelais and His World”, referring to the unifying characteristic of these phenomena:

“ (...) carnival marks the suspension of all hierarchical distinctions and obstacles among people as well as the certain norms and prohibitions of daily life, albeit temporarily. Moreover, we had already mentioned that an idea and also a real form of communication that’s not otherwise possible in daily life was also established.”⁹⁴

Festivity is the perception of life as a game and the creation of a new image of life together with this game. People who come together around a certain purpose create a new image and prove to themselves that a life other than their own lifestyle exists on the one hand while also showing this to other people on the other. In other words, the aggregation of the opposition with the festivity assumes the mission of defiance on the one hand while demonstrating that a different style of life and communication is also possible.

Because of the obvious sensuous character and their strong element of play, carnival images closely resemble certain artistic forms, namely the spectacle. In turn, medieval spectacles often tended toward carnival folk culture, the culture of the marketplace, and to a certain extent became of its components. But the basic carnival nucleus of this culture is by no means a purely artistic form nor a spectacle and does not, generally speaking, belong to the sphere of art. It belongs to the borderline between art and life. In reality, it is life itself, but shaped according to a certain pattern of play.⁹⁵

The turning points in history such as the French Revolution or the Bolshevik Revolution are remembered by bloody incidents, but also for the free environment they created and the inspiration they have given for the realization of what had been deemed impossible until then. Festivities turn

⁹⁴ Mihail Bahtin, “Rabelais ve Dünyası”, p.43.

⁹⁵ Mihail Bahtin, “Rabelais ve Dünyası”, p.33.

the hierarchical structures upside down while questioning the norms in the society and eliminating them even for a certain period of time, which also made them one of the indispensable elements of the new social movements.

3.4.7 Use of the Media

Another important factor that distinguishes the new social movements from the old social movements is the realization by the new social movements of the power of the media and their efforts towards using this. As capturing the attention of the media and attaining coverage are also a method of voicing one's concerns to the media and self-expression, the activists are inclined to employ their creativity in finding surprising forms of protest. As the Civil Rights Movement demonstrated in the United States, being in the media is an important way of using the impact of the media on shaping the prevalent view in the public to one's advantage. In the 1960s and 1970s, the actions of the Yippies (Youth International Party) under the leadership of the Greenpeace and Abbie Hoffman exemplify the actions aimed at performances that would draw the attention of the media that undertook to employ creativity at the highest level.⁹⁶

With the advent of the 1980s, the influence of the media increased to an extent that no movement could ignore. The new social movements, which adopted the techniques and forms of communication used by the advertising sector in order to be able to make their voices heard, preferred to express themselves with intriguing actions and posters in the public sphere.

⁹⁶ Nina Ferlshin, "Introduction", p.14.

4. NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PERFORMANCE IN TURKEY

The methodology of this study is mainly in-depth interviews. Three different movements which have been formed in the last twenty years and which are still active are chosen as the field of study. The movements were from three different contexts, in a broad sense, one is concerned with identity and gender issues, one is more into politics and has a lot to say on the current situation in Turkey and the last one is a comparatively small and not known as much as the other ones.

The first interview was carried out with LambdaIstanbul, an Istanbul based group working on LGBT individuals and their rights both in the society and in the laws. Below are a brief history and some information on the group.

LambdaIstanbul is an organization defending the right of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people in Turkey. It was formed by a small group of people as a result of a police ban on Christopher Street Day celebrations in 1993. After this, the LGBT group that used to gather under the name "Gokkusagi" (Rainbow) took the name Lambdaistanbul.⁹⁷ Since then, LambdaIstanbul has grown in membership and aims to raise its voice on behalf of the LGBT communities in Istanbul.

Homosexuality is not a criminal offence in Turkey, but some articles of the highly flexible police regulations can be used very easily to ban meetings and demonstrations on so-called public morality grounds. In 1995 and 1996 Lambda Istanbul planned to organize activity weeks, which would have included gay and lesbian themed movies, panels, discussions and exhibitions. On both occasions, the police and the Governor of Istanbul, who claimed that they were against public morals, banned the group. The

⁹⁷

<http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/php/main.php?menuID=26&altMenuID=56&icerikID=710>

organizing committee was advised by police not to make any further attempts as the Turkish society was not yet ready for the visibility of homosexuality.

The members of Lambda Istanbul are all volunteers, who come together determined to keep on working against our society's prejudices, homophobia and Turkey's anti-democratic law and regulations.”⁹⁸

The second interview was with the Young Civilians (Genç Siviller), again an Istanbul-based group who has much to say on the current political situation in Turkey.

The movement of Young Civilians started out as a mailing group in 2003 and chose their name only in 2006, after a series of events which happened following a statement that they made in the Parliament, on May 19 in 2003, the National Youth and Sports Festival in Turkey, to emancipate the youth festivities from the way they are celebrated in stadiums in a militarist and Soviet fashion.

In 2006, there was a headline on Cumhuriyet, a newspaper noted as nationalist, as “Young Officers Uncomfortable”, noting a number of issues, which the army was uncomfortable with including the May 19th campaign. Later in 2006, the movement of Young Civilians wrote an unprecedented text about the Kurdish issue titled “Young Civilians Uncomfortable”. Since then, this movement is referred to as “Young Civilians”.

The group is made up of a core of about 50 people, a mailing list of more than 2000 and Facebook group of about 10,000 people including Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Jews, Muslims, and Christians, women with and without

⁹⁸ <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/world/europe/turkey/lambda.html>

headscarves; namely anyone who considers himself as a civilian and a democrat.⁹⁹

The third group is Surrealist Action Turkey (Sürrealist Eylem Türkiye), a group formed in Izmir but mostly performing in Istanbul. The organizational structure and the area it implicates in is much smaller than the other two groups but the collective is an interesting one as a new social movement in terms of performances and its ties to the avant-garde ways of protest.

In Turkey, surrealism is thrust underground. “The Surrealist Movement Turkey” started as a collective action, towards a utopian quest, to demolish the boundary between art and life in the early 2000s. The movement was not based on Istanbul art life and it did not target any kind of fame, success, or popularity. It was an activity map with different fanzines, street art production, exhibitions and events.

Their references are based on the 20th century practices such as Surrealism, Dada, Cobra, Situationist International, Fluxus. The movement, based on such historical art movements, aims for creating “word” and “action” for today. The driving force of this creation is combining the sounds of an action with the spirits of street noise. This is clearly pointed out in their declarations. For example, the motto of this movement is “the din of street spirit sounds in the rhythm of dreams”.

The movement is actively participating the events in different parts of the world. For example, on November 1st 2009, Surrealist Action Turkey joined other surrealist groups from different parts of the world to declare their unconditional solidarity with the five Serbian anarcho-syndicalists who have

⁹⁹ http://www.gencsiviller.net/haber.php?haber_id=146

been imprisoned since September the 4th, facing the charge of “international terrorism.”¹⁰⁰

People in the movement summarize their future prospects for surrealism in Turkey and the movements as follows: To be known as ourselves, therefore to express ourselves truly, to be a movement and to fortify action.¹⁰¹

4.1 Participants

Here is an overview of the participants in the interviews. It would be misleading to make a generalization on the groups’ participants just by looking at one - and beyond our discussion, too - since new social movements’ are heterogeneous in themselves in terms of individuals’ social and economic backgrounds as well as demographic characteristics. Still, it is important to note that all three has important parts in their groups, participating in the performances and taking role in deciding the group’s way of doing things.

Participant from LambdaIstanbul, is Ceyda who has recently graduated from Bosphorus University, Political Science and International Relations is also an active performer and dancer. She has joined LambdaIstanbul in 2006 and has been actively volunteering in projects since 2007. She also participates in the core meetings where the group comes to a decision on action.

Ceyda describes LambdaIstanbul as her home and says that she has a strong connection with the group. She spends as much time as possible in Lambda’s office and for Lambda’s activities.

It became home, especially this summer. I see that people come and go in Lambda as well as the object of discussions. However, I believe that there is one thing that stays unchanged:

¹⁰⁰ The details can be found at: <http://belgradesolidarity.org/international-declaration-for-imprisoned-serbian-anarchosyndicalists/>

¹⁰¹ <http://robberbridegroom.blogspot.com/2007/02/situation-of-surrealism-in-turkey.html>

You can always find some people who will listen and give advice to you when you feel depressed and in need. This is great since we are isolated in the society or we have to hide ourselves. We are forced to behave in a way that we do not want to. That's why Lambda Istanbul and Ankara Kaos are like roofs for LGBT persons.

I use the word roof since I see Lambda as a platform. Different people come. The volunteers and activists do not form a homogenous group. We have different opinions about different subjects. We really have lots of discussions on how to do things. You have been forced to hide your sexual identity and you have to isolate yourself from many different networks of the community. Lambda is the place where I realize myself. Nobody asks you anything about your identity there. Moreover, you behave freely; you speak freely. That's why I feel so comfortable over there. I feel comfortable as a human being; I can express my ideas explicitly; I receive feedback from others. You can see the dialectical ambient there. This may open different roads to the people and makes you stronger in turn.

As I said before, very different people come and you think that we, actually, we have a solidarity. There is nothing left in the corner that the society pushes there. We will be open and honest toward each other. Or at least that is how I see things. That sincerity is very important for me.

Tarik, 25 years old, born in Van, has been living in Istanbul for five years. He joined the "Young Civilians" in November 2007 and has been working for the "Young Civilians" since June 2008, he is the only employee of the group.

Tarik has joined the Young Civilians in 2007. He describes his decision to join the group as follows:

I joined the Young Civilians after the April 27th e-memorandum. I watched television all day long just after the e-memorandum in a war of nerves because everyone, even the ones that we know as the real democrats were saying "Well, of course e-memorandum is bad but it is the result of the actions of the AKP government." Then, I remember reading an article by Ferhat Kentel and saw a declaration, or something like that. If I am not wrong it was about an announcement of the Young Civilians. Then, I investigated them using the Internet and saw their declaration against the April 27th e-memorandum and read it maybe 10 times. I liked it so

much, they were 10-15 young guys who were, openly and directly, criticizing e-memorandum, saying "take away your memorandum", without using any "but"s. The language used by these people were effective, without any complicated sentences, simple, ironic and strong, too.

Then, I became a constant follower of their web site. I could not attend the "Democracy Class" organized by the Young Civilians on May 19th at Darphane-i Amire in Gülhane. My first active participation was just after the Ergenekon arrests began, the time when bombs were found in Ümraniye. We stated that this is just the visible part of the iceberg, "Dig deeper, do not stop" was our slogan. I started there and went on with the Young Civilians.

Similar to Ceyda, Tarık is very fond of the sincere and close relations within the group. Since grand ideologies and purposes are not present within the new social movements, concerns such as identity, sharing feelings and being companions for the struggle stand out in the group.

Refik, a founding member of the Surrealist Action Turkey (Sürrealist Eylem Türkiye), is a freelance writer, translator and curator. After working for the corporate world for some time, he decides to leave all behind and chooses a life full of "performance, action and surrealism". Here is the how the group was founded.

We came across at the pub. We were the two who used to drink every night. It was about six years ago. One day he came to me and said "what are you writing about?" and I said immediately "what are you drawing?" Then, we sat and talked about the possibility of writing and drawing together. We were in Izmir at that time and we had exhibitions and performances together. We published a fanzine together, too. Then I came here, to Istanbul.

The story of the group's foundation is significant in the sense that it has its roots in the "banality" of everyday life. A common activity turned out to be the ground for a movement. Everyday life is full of possibilities and full of surprises, too and for the ones who are eager to favor the occasional moments, it becomes a flourishing ground.

It started out with two people who met at a bar and then turned out to be a group who are publishing fanzines, performing street art and attending marches with their own slogans and banners.

It has been four years since we founded Surrealist Action Turkey. There are six of us and we call ourselves surrealists – well, actually four of us do.

We began with publishing fanzines. We were dealing with underground culture. We have published Albemuth (on science fiction), Düzensiz (on surrealism and street art), Fetus and Şebeke fanzines.

The core group of Surrealist Action Turkey consists of six people but Refik indicates that they use the name Şebeke in some of their performances and other people join them while performing, marching or practicing street art.

All three participants from the three different groups have a strong bond with the collectivity they involve in and they identify themselves with the group. This is not surprising as they all have a part in the decision process and they belong to the inner circle of the organization. Nevertheless they have identities – and performativities – besides their role in the group; a student, a father, a dancer, a worker, an author, Kurdish, Turkish, conservative, anarchist etc.

4.2 Performances: Lambda Istanbul

LambdaIstanbul, the Young Civilians and Surrealist Action Turkey. All three groups, no matter how different their objectives, members, organizations are, share a common characteristic: all three have contributed in changing the ways of protest and have caught attention by their performances in the public area in Turkey – mainly in Istanbul.

In a broad sense, it is possible to differentiate the three groups in terms of their collective actions. LambdaIstanbul and Surrealist Action Turkey use theatrical performances and humor in their protests whereas the Young

Civilians play with the language and subvert the serious and sullen face of politics in Turkey. Lambda and Young Civilians give importance to the media coverage because they are demanding to be influential in going beyond the ordinary ways and the status quo, on the other hand Surrealist Action Turkey is more introverted. By using examples of action of the three groups, their performances will be examined thoroughly.

Lambda Performance Group

Among the three groups, the organization, which uses theatrical techniques most commonly is LambdaIstanbul. A group called “Lambda Performance Group” was formed in October 2007 by activists who are experienced in dance, acting, music, visual arts and who are eager to find ways of expression in terms of artistic production. Ceyda, who is a founding member of the group relates the group’s concern to the many members of Lambda who are fascinated by art:

“I think it was 2007 when we formed a performance group under Lambda. We even had a performance during a party organized by Lambda. Some of my friends and myself were the members. Why did we form such a performance group? We were LGBT people and wanted to create things touching the problems and agenda of LGBT. There were lots of people among us who were actively engaged in art. I really like this artsy mood among the LGBT people. I do not want to homogenize but I think that was the case. However, there was no continuation for the group. Yes, we had such a group for almost two years. Then, we broke up. Why? I think the answer is about time. Almost everybody was a university student. Therefore, we could not find much time...”

The first performance Ceyda talks about is an inner group performance, in other words only the members of Lambda or the participants Lambda’s parties have witnessed the performance. The idea was the invention of the so-called “feminine-meter” in order to protest a particular pub management in Istanbul.

There are different concepts and definitions in lesbian community such as being active, passive, or butch. Butch is an identity that some of the lesbians claim to have. A butch can be defined as a lesbian who acts and performs much more like a man; yet she still defines herself as a lesbian. There is a gay club called "TekYön".¹⁰² This club does not accept the feminine women as customers.

Lambdaperformans gave birth to the concept of feminine meter to protest the management of the club and also the concepts of feminine, masculine in the society. This feminine meter is actually a pipe having a dildo in one end. This pipe is colorful and shiny and the people whenever a person categorized as feminine gets close the instrument gives alarm. Having a dildo in the instrument is associated with masculinity. Some of the protesters showed performances with this device acting as a butch or feminine. For the performance, they followed a method of collective text writing and improvised acting.

They got different responses. Some people found this act so provocative. Especially, people who are the regular customers of the pub did not like the idea. On the other hand, dissident and marginal people supported the performance. The performance was a 'queer' one.

This was a theatrical performance in every aspect. Symbolism, using metaphors, acting, costumes... All were included in the performance. Despite its presentation to a comparatively narrow audience, the performance is significant because it is the first creative work of the Lambda Performance Group and it has aroused different reactions within the group. It displays the heterogeneity of the group as well.

¹⁰² One Way in English

Performance on Kavaf's Declarations

Performances of Lambda that are directed to a broader audience took place on İstiklal Street, in Galatasaray, Odakule or Tünel. One that is both interesting and picturesque is the performance designed just after Aliye Kavaf's declaration on homosexuality.

"I believe homosexuality is a biological disorder," Turkish State Minister in Charge of Family Selma Aliye Kavaf had said in March 2010. "I think it is a disease that needs treatment." The activists protested these words demanding that the Turkish official apologize for declaring recently that homosexuality is a disease and they threw tomatoes at an effigy of Selma Aliye Kavaf. They also made a press declaration over her recent comments calling homosexuality a disease. Some of the protesters had white costumes similar to the workers who kill bugs with chemical poisons.

The protesters walked along the İstiklal Street and they expressed themselves with humor and sarcasm, singing a song of Petek Dinçöz, a figure in popular culture. This particular song has lyrics such as "you made me sick but, actually, you were the one who was sick." The protesters used such words to criticize the minister in an ironic way. Protestors also chanted and carried signs saying, "Resign Kavaf." The march and the performance lasted for two hours.

Ceyda emphasizes the element of irony in the Kavaf performance. She claims that the use of humor and irony makes them stronger and gives them the power to stand potently for their rights. A notable remark is that many people have joined Lambda after the Kavaf performance and it has been an influential protest.

Presence of irony eliminates the possible arousal of antipathy.
We are organizing very serious protests against the hate crimes.
We believe that the dose of irony should exist in our protests all

the time. Somehow there is an irony and that irony touches people. This helps people to get rid of the emotion of being a victim and self-pity. Therefore, we get stronger. A typical example of this is when we sang Petek Dinçöz song “you made me sick but, actually, you were the one who was sick.” It created an atmosphere of a festival.

You do not present people in a weak position. Instead, you become stronger within. There are people next to you like yourself. If someone calls you sick and if you are alone you cannot make fun of the situation. However, you feel very strong when you walk with 100, 150, or 200 people. This makes you stronger within yourself and you have strength to say whatever you would like to say to the other people. You can express your politics towards the public space. Our actions have two sides. One side makes a person stronger and the other side gives us space where we state our politics. I recall that protest made a pretty strong influence in that period.

Goddess of Justice

Another performance that took place in Taksim was directed to the current events concerning the LGBT individuals and Lambda itself. It came about during the attempt of the Istanbul Governorship for the closure of Lambda Istanbul. The protest took place in front of Odakule, again on Istiklal Street. The activists used the symbols of the justice system: the sword and the scale. It was like a mythological celebration of Themis, who was the Titan goddess of divine law and order - the traditional rules of conduct first established by the gods.

A transsexual protester who wore white costumes and a black scarf closing the eyesight had a scale in one hand and a gun in the other one (instead of a sword). That gun was the symbol of the “hate crimes” people used to face during those days. Therefore, the performers protested two things simultaneously. That was a protest against the people who support the justice for everyone but not for LGBT people.

Hugging and Walking Hand in hand

Lambdaistanbul's protest performances have roots in everyday life practices. By using everyday's common practices and making LGBT individuals visible by performing these practices, they are trying to display that LGBT people exist in the society and perform the same traditional or consumerist patterns as the heterosexuals. Two examples on this concern is the hugging practice of LGBT people on the religious Ramadan holiday and walking hand in hand of LGBT couples on Valentine's Day. These two performances took place on Istiklal Street. Ceyda puts forth the aim of these two practices as follows:

“There will be a performance on the second day of the holiday, a performance named hugging. Celebrating this holy day. I'm not a person to be feared. Homosexuality is not a disease, come hug me. It is love that is contagious, not homosexuality. Hug me, please. This action aims to break the resistance of the people against homosexuality. Homosexuals are also human beings and deserve to be treated like one. One can touch them, hug them... To break down homophobia, transphobia and fear of AIDS. Come and let's celebrate this holy day... This is, roughly, the concept.”

Marches

The most common form of protest, used both by the labor movement and the new social movements is the march. A technique of resistance used for hundreds of years has still not lost its popularity. Apart from the individually organized marches, all three groups who were interviewed join in rallies such as the first of May or the eighth of March.

The important point here is that all three groups join the marches in their own ways. They use their own wording and slogans in banners; they dress up in their own fashion and make themselves visible in the crowd.

Ceyda, from LambdaIstanbul, has pointed out that the attendance to the May 1st march is a debated topic among the members of the group. They

discuss on whether to have the institutive identity among the larger group who has attended the march or to be assimilated in the crowd. Nevertheless they take their rainbow flag and march with the crowd.

Young Civilians, on the other hand, try to make themselves visible as much as possible in collective marches. For instance, on May 1st, 2009, they have hung a banner from the hotel room window from where guns were fired 32 years ago, in 1977. “Find the suspects who have fired guns from this window on May 1st 1977.” was written on the banner and they have found huge press coverage with this performance.

Just as the Young Civilians regard highly the current political and sociological concerns, LambdaIstanbul gives importance to the celebration of identity-based matters. LGBT groups with a dedication not lower than of feminist groups, celebrate International Women’s Day, March 8th, since gender issues are at the center for LGBT organizations. They value the discussion on gender and they believe that they can subvert the heteronormative structure of gender discussions. The gender debates are mostly based on heterosexual man-woman relationships but there is another side to it, which includes LGBT individuals, too. Consequently March 8th can be a significant platform to discuss and exchange ideas.

Ceyda talks about how they have unsettled the conventional attendance norms by the attendance of transvestites, transsexuals and transgender individuals to the March 8th demonstrations:

“We already have transsexual women among us. There also are others, whom we call transgender since they cannot define themselves women or men with experiences of being women either because of their sensations, or society’s pressure on them. There were some awkward moments when these trans women showed up for the March 8th events many years ago. This time has been exceeded. However, we had trans men for the March 8th events this year. Some trans men used to show up in earlier March 8th events. However, this year’s participation rate of the

trans men were very high compared to the previous years. This created a debate since only women are supposed to be in this event. On the other hand, these trans men were not men from the normative point of view. They have had experiences of being women for many years.

This created extra confusion for some people. Now, we have new friends who joined us. These new friends are not easily defined sexually since they sometimes call themselves both women and men. Or, there are some moments we cannot call them women or men.”

The notion of transgender, having no definite boundaries in terms of performative gender, is useful in subverting the previously defined norms of gender performances.

She claims that they have prepared rather well for the March 8th demonstrations since last year. They have even heated up the crowd with their energy and mobilized people to go on with the ‘festival’.

“We were the stars of this year’s event. We were full of actions. We were ready with slogans, and different preparations. We had a rhythm band and we were able to combine our slogans with several rhythms. You know that everyone comes with slogans to this kind of gatherings. However, you can make a difference when you are able to put your slogans, rhythms, and/or dances together. We had makeup, short skirts, and mustache to capture the attention of the people as well as to surprise them. We always prepare and display good performances for March 8th events.

You go there to rally but you should not forget that you are in a public place. This means that you should not expect too much difference between the people of other organizations and the people just walking down the street. You can argue that you do not recognize being a woman in the way that the others understand. Same thing applies for gender in society. That was a very good March 8th events this year. We had a very good one last year as well. After going on the march rally at night. We were energetic, dynamic group. Everyone was articulated this year. Therefore, you were not just a member (woman or transgender) of Lambda but also were people who celebrated March 8th. It was like a festival. Normally, people walk from Taksim to Galatasaray. However, we exceeded this routine walking through Odakule this year. That was a lot of fun; different ambient over

there. That was a very strong existence we felt in this year's March 8th celebrations."

Istanbul 2010 Pride Week

The most colorful, the most crowded and the most important performance of LambdaIstanbul is the Gay Pride. Gay Pride is celebrated in Turkey since 1993 but globally its history lies back to 1969, to New York where a LGBT bar named Stonewall witnessed the rising of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals against the inequalities they were facing in the society. LambdaIstanbul activists describe Istanbul Pride Week in their web site designed solely for the week as follows:

"2010 LGBT Pride Week, which is welcomed with great enthusiasm, every year towards the end of June...is growing and flourishing day by day from "we are incomplete without you" to "we are more with you" becomes more diversified through workshops, panels, parties, and performances... shatters homophobic minds with "Genetically Modified Tomato" awards ...gives power to LGBT movement and reinforces our politics...liberates our visibility through the voices of the thousands in Istiklal, fortunately makes us feel that we are all for one and happy solidarity."¹⁰³

The gay pride is a huge success for the group. In 1993, the year it was organized for the first time in Istanbul, there were around 50 participants whereas on June 27th 2010, almost 5,000 people joined the march. Ceyda tells us that they have worked for six months for the pride week activities and their main purpose was to make people experience something that they have not felt before.

4.3 Performance: the Young Civilians

One of the main characteristics that differentiate the Young Civilians from other new social movements is their rapid response to the current agenda of

¹⁰³ <http://www.prideistanbul.org/about.htm>

Turkey's political, social and cultural events. Almost all of their protests are linked to an event that has happened the day before or is about to happen.

The Young Civilians use provocative techniques and slogans which irony and humor mostly in the language.

The Young Civilians have a non-hierarchical structure and being a member of the group takes place online. Tarık tells us that, whenever you become a member of the Young Civilians Yahoo group, you become a member of the organization and when you wish to leave the organization, you can just make yourself out of the online group. How to react and the performance that is going to take place is decided mostly online, however within a smaller group that is made of more active people within the organization. The ability to decide online gives the ability to quickly respond and be flexible on how to react. Some of their most notable performances are decided over a night and over the mail group.

Demonstrations for the Ergenekon Case

The first demonstration that Tarık has joined was about the Ergenekon case. They mostly used conventional techniques to protest the Ergenekon organization:

“After the arrests we organized a press declaration and there we claimed that this is only the visible tip of the iceberg, more was to follow and we learned later on that this was a huge organized network. Since we wanted the investigation go further and be more extensive, we took action in order to encourage the public, we were around 25-30 people.”

This protest is a good example of the group's ability to respond rapidly to the current affairs.

Istanbul Bar Association

One of the best examples that explain this situation is the Young Civilians' protest against the Istanbul Bar Association. Some members of the Istanbul Bar Association have made a declaration against the monitoring of the judges and used it as an excuse to protest the government. Below is how the event is planned, in Tarık's words:

One of our friends saw the declaration of the Istanbul Bar Association one night around 10 pm. This declaration was completely political and problematic. The members of the Istanbul Bar were to supposedly march against the unlawful monitoring of the conversations. Another friend said that "we shall say something to these guys" and then, next morning, the action plan was ready at 9:30 am when I woke up. Perhaps five people were online at that time. The banner was ready which read "The fans of coup d'état (the Istanbul Bar), welcome to Taksim!"

We were five people during the action and I was responsible for taking photos. Three people rented a room in a hotel and they brought the banner to the hotel. The fifth person was waiting at the office in case the newspapers may call for news. I followed the Istanbul Bar protesters starting from Galatasaray High School. They were marching with bizarre slogans stating that "Turkey is secular, and shall be secular" and "We are the soldiers of Mustafa Kemal". They came to Taksim Square and Mustafa Aydın, the head of the Istanbul Bar, was just about to give a speech. Our friends, suddenly, opened the banner and this made the crowd crazy. I took the photos and then came to our building and then spread the news.

The protest was brought into action in almost twelve hours. If the protest was to be realized a day after, probably it would not get as much attention as it did now. The influence of the protest was huge, it has caused a butterfly effect.

This action was prepared in one night. The march was supposed to start at noon and our posters were ready at 11 pm. We are fast and do give fast reactions. This is very important since the protest would be meaningless unless you react rapidly. I recall

such a scene: The heads of the bars with their robes were walking in front of the people. There were lots of cameras, and microphones. These guys were like pop stars with their cocky behavior. If we did not react at once, the next day Hürriyet would have had headlines such as “jurisdiction protesting”, “people protesting” since they would have argued that these people were marching against the unlawful recording. However, the people in the march started to fight with each other after our actions. The people over there held the 5000 votes out of 20000 votes of the Istanbul Bar suggesting that there are 15000 people who are dissident. The bar could not come together for 2 weeks, no meetings of board of directors. That created a contagious effect in other cities’ bars such as Izmir and Adana. I think that was very good. The dissidents inside the bars had a chance to come out...

“Actually, that was not our only protest against the Bar Association” says Tarık. It was the time of the year, when the Bar Association gave awards under the name of Mahmut Esat Bozkurt¹⁰⁴ and that particular year, 2010, the award was to be given to Kadir Özbek, who heads the Judges and Prosecutors Higher Board. The mail group was active again and with full of ideas. A wreath was to be sent to the award ceremony. “Bar for the Coup d’état” was one proposal to be written on the wreath but then another idea came up. “Carl Schmitt from the Nurnberg Bar Association”. That was what was written, a photograph of the activists standing in front of the wreath with a Tourist Omer salute was taken and the wreath was sent to the ceremony. It was placed next to the Turkey Bar Association’s wreath and this unfortunate moment – for the bar members – was photographed and sent to the press.

This protest took place in April 2010. Bringing together a clever move from the Young Civilians and an ignorant act of the bar association, the performance achieved its goal of protest and media coverage.

¹⁰⁴ Mahmut Esat Bozkurt is the first Minister of Justice of the Republic, infamous with his racist remark “All people who are not Turks but living in Turkey are doomed to be servants of the Turkish people”

Young Addicts Are Uncomfortable & The 1st Traditional Folder Carrying Contest

“Young Addicts Are Uncomfortable” was the slogan for the ban of smoking indoors. Tarik explains how and why they had the idea of protesting against the ban of smoking.

A member of our email group (yet we did not know this person) had the following idea in the first days of the smoking ban: "since CHP goes to the Supreme Court in any occasion, they shall go to the court for the smoking ban as well". Next day, in Beyoğlu, we expected that there would be lots of TV cameras around the cafes for the smoking ban because it was the first day of the ban. It was clear that there would be news for the public. This motivated us and we organized a movement with banners and slogans stating that “young addicts are uncomfortable” and “Baykal, be our lawyer as well” since he was claiming to be the lawyer of the Ergenekon suspects those days. Our protests were in the press very next day. We even appeared on televisions. The press got the irony of our actions.

This particular demonstration reveals two aspects of the Young Civilians’ way of protest. They are fast in reacting in the dynamic society and they have a sense of humor that attracts attention.

Young Civilians’ use of humor works by reproducing the situation that they want to criticize in an exaggerated manner. They seem to approve Baykal’s role of defending the ‘oppressed’ by demanding advocacy from him. They use both mimesis and exaggeration and by excessively reproducing Baykal’s role of advocacy, they reveal the absurdity of the current situation. Another example to the same use of humor is the “The 1st Traditional Folder Carrying Contest from CHP to the Supreme Court”. CHP used to go to the Supreme Court for many of the alterations of the constitution by the government. The performance was carried out in order to criticize the circumstances under which Turkey’s political arena operated.

Bülent Ersoy

The Young Civilians protested Bülent Ersoy's trial when she was called out to the court because of her declaration, "if I had a son, I would not send him to the army". The protest was an uncommon one for the Young Civilians, too because Bülent Ersoy was also known with her nationalistic comments such as arguing against the "We are all Armenians" slogan. Tarik, describes the process of decision to demonstrate against Ersoy's trial as follows:

We had a meeting one day and the next day there was th trial of Bülent Ersoy. One of our friends suggested to support Ersoy. I was the first person who disagreed with the idea. I said that "I cannot support her because she is a nationalist person." I stated that "she was against the slogan We are all Armenians." Then, some friends argued that "one person is not responsible for supporting the right things all the time. There may be some times we disagree with a specific person but supporting Bülent Ersoy is the right thing in this context and we should do it." Then I was convinced that she said the right thing and stood behind it, throwing it into the wild does not provide a solution, it would be just to continue to complain about the same thing.

We prepared banners on which "Biji Diva" was written in addition to the lyrics from her famous songs such as "no more shall we part even if others try to separate us" and "oh, let these wars' eyes be blind".

The next day, we, six people of us, were with Ersoy in front of Bakırköy Courthouse.

Tarik admits that if they were to act politically correct and not demonstrate in front of the court that day, they would lose the opportunity to make themselves visible. "If you are acting against something", he says, "people should hear and learn about it. Otherwise no matter how great things you do, it becomes useless." They do not miss the chance of expressing themselves for the sake of ideologies, which in turn is compatible with the new social movements theory.

The Istiklal Street March

One of the interesting protests of the Young Civilians was the march which took place in İstiklal Street. As a way of protest, march is not interesting in itself but the method of realizing the march tells a lot about the group's perspective.

The planned march was to be carried out on İstiklal Street but the group could not get a permission from the police. Instead of giving up the march or changing the site, the Young Civilians came up with another idea. They agreed to have two press declarations on the same day, the first one in Tunel at 3:00 pm and the second one at Taksim Square at 3:30 pm. In order to be at Taksim Square in half an hour after the first press declaration, the group had to walk all along İstiklal Street because that was the only way they could be there on time. What they did was clever and it is a very good example of finding alternative ways in the strict rules of the bureaucracy. This is an example of de Certeau's strategies and tactics in everyday life.

Let's get Kurdish¹⁰⁵

This was a cultural event that the Young Civilians organized. Tarık notes that the event had a different point of view other than what we have been hearing for years on the Kurdish issue.

So far I've heard many things about the Kurdish problem. Everyone says something, maybe nothing left unsaid. Everyone said something and, probably, keeps saying the same things. However, there was a very good thing in that declaration. We are able to say "I love you" in many different languages such as in Japanese, Italian, Spanish, etc. How about in Kurdish? Can you say "I love you" in Kurdish? All the Kurds we know speak Turkish. How many Kurdish words do we know? In fact, for all of us this is a great ignorance. We keep saying that we are brothers. However, we do not build any relationships with our brothers. How many Kurdish songs do we know? How many Kurdish artists do we know? There were no words of peace or war in that declaration. These two words have been used too

¹⁰⁵ "Biraz da biz Kürtleşelim" in Turkish means "Let us be Kurds, a little".

often so far. This declaration had other things to say. That's why I liked it much because we need a new jargon.

In order to “get Kurdish”, they had lessons for several weeks. These lessons were about the Kurdish history, culture, art, cinema, and language. Then, they went to Diyarbakir with certificates saying “a little bit Kurd now”. Finally, they had a graduation ceremony at the dengbej house on May 19, 2009.

This cultural event uses everyday activities, popular culture, songs, movies, the language itself instead of the political jargon people have been hearing for years. Politics were into culture and its effect is far stronger than any other activity.

3.4 Performances: Surrealist Action Turkey

Surrealist Action Turkey (SET) is a collective artist movement. The group consists of six people who make up the theoretical background but in their performances, close followers of the group join them. They use performance and street art as their main forms of protest, furthermore they organize exhibitions and forums.

Surrealist Action Turkey does not have a pre-assigned organizational structure. As they define themselves with being outside the society, they reject any kind of committees, leadership, hierarchical settings. “The other international surrealist groups have regular meetings, once a week or once a month, they seek consensus while making decisions”, says Refik. He describes the decision process as follows;

We are six people and usually one of us comes up with an idea and that idea becomes our agenda. We do not need to seek consensus; we are people who view things the same way, so we do not have problems negotiating.

We live through a performance every time we come together. Our meetings are not previously set, whenever we see each other, it means a gathering. The group lives.

Everything we do is a part of our resistance. For example, we had an activity called “Obscene” to expose the power in subconscious and the pressure on sexuality. Once, we had an anti-nuclear campaign, and supported the anarchist revolt in Athens. We, three people, were on the same table last night drinking and talking about poetry. All of these things are different parts of the movement. We are a model, a spiritual model without the ability of growing. We have an esoteric aspect, and we are not rational. We try to be ‘good people’ in a cruel world.

The group is involved in art as much as it is involved in the everyday life practices. They claim that they are against the art market and academic art. They do not compromise with the current art market.

Every one of us produces art individually. However, whenever you do this collectively, it becomes activist art. We are avant-gardes of the 21st century. We use blogs, facebook, graffiti, street art, etc. We use the new media. We cannot just follow the surrealism appeared in the 1924 declaration. Moreover, Surrealism has evolved over time influenced by Cobra, Lettrism, and the Situationists.

May 1st

The Surrealist Action Turkey has participated in the May 1st demonstrations in its own fashion. They have prepared slogans some of which are;

Tell your children your dreams
Give the power of the drunkenness to the revolution
Long live the little red riding hood union
Slogan of three words
1st of May, 2nd of May, 3rd of May

The slogans are absurd and do not have a content. They are surreal and they play with the language and deconstruct the conventional slogans. It contains a strong element of humor. They were around thirty people when

they attended the May 1st demonstrations. The slogans do not have a political content but what they did was political.

12 Words

We attended the “International Surrealist Festival” of the London Surrealist Group two years ago. We played games, surrealists love games! I invented a game. Game of ‘12 words’, I sent them 12 words and they sent me 12 words back from England, Portugal, USA... from six or seven different countries. We brought them together using the automatism technique to make poems and installations. We did everything on street, in Kadıköy. We first met at a café, made up the poems and pasted them on trash bins just across the street. We also prepared posters and pasted them on walls.

This performance is similar to the “reclaiming the streets” movement in England, maybe not in its form but in its content and scope. Surrealist Action Turkey’s performances are not political in the sense that they do not address the current political situation in Turkey. On the other hand they interfere in the usage of the street, ways of being in the street and living in the street, which is entirely political.

Surrealist Action Turkey tries to produce models other than the existing models created by the system. Reconstructing the street as an area in which everyday life flows through is their aim. Everything is defined within something. However, there is no place for the street. Therefore, it is recognized as unfunctional. They think they can resolve this with street performances.

Every single thing we do is a performance. Someone comes up and asks us “What kind of a protest movement are you?” and we tell them that we are constantly protesting. It is absolutely alive taking 24 hours a day.

“We have no interest in fans because we are not seeking for mass support”, says Refik but on the other hand he admits that all art or all protest has a

purpose of – hidden or obvious – reaching out to people. The members of SET attempt to manifest their existences and since personal is political, their performances become a method of resistance.

The core members of Surrealist Action Turkey do not belong to the discriminated masses of people because of their race, religion or sexual tendencies. However, they feel outside the status quo mentally, spiritually and intellectually.

Public Enemy

Public Enemy was a performance to banish moral metaphors of everyday life. Curated by Refik, KargART gave space to “Public Enemy,” an exhibition that attempted to radically question existing social relations in winter 2010.¹⁰⁶ The exhibition had a purpose of touching on the point at which people live within the rules of society and under those that were imposed.¹⁰⁷

According to the exhibition’s announcement, “In the last three decades, conceptions of compromise have become the essential values of the global culture lifestyle. As this culture based on dialogue instead of conflict develops, the tendency to docility in human existence gets deeper. Every alternative served in daily life is based on ‘free’ choices among intra-system role models. However, as long as a human makes her/his choices within the existing mechanisms, s/he advances her/his own slavery. Then, this slavery can head toward a company as well as a church.”

¹⁰⁶ The exhibition continued through February 28th and was open everyday except Monday and was supported by Underground Poetix, Aktif Kolektif, Hayalbaz Sanat, Sürrealist Eylem Türkiye, Punk-Art Kolektif and Urban Cafe.

¹⁰⁷ Exhibition participants include Erkin Gören, Elif Yıldız, Pelin Kılıç, Erman Akçay, Anti-pop, Yaprak Kırdök, Onston, Sedat Türkantoz, Şenol Erdoğan, Burak Cirik, Ody Saban, Güzin Tezel, Ferhat Satıcı and Simber Atay Eskier.

The exhibition displayed that the needs of people were a total rejection of any kind of sickness of society to foster new existences, new conditions and new mutations.¹⁰⁸

Thus far, the performance seems to be just an exhibition that we seem to come across everyday in Istanbul. Nevertheless, what makes the exhibition a part of our study is its formation and the performance that accompanies the exhibition.

We had a performance in the opening. One of us prepared a beat from the voices of Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader. Then, I talked on this beat. We would have served the culture industry if it were only an exhibition. We organized an exhibition, did performances, realized street actions, published a fanzine, developed theoretical texts, wrote in a blog, used internet as a media device. In addition, we organized a forum where academicians discussed the issue theoretically. Since, by construction, SET is against the public, we had a performance called public enemy. And it is not just the name... We do not regard this as a project, that is why it does not have an end,

says Refik, defining the performance and how it has spread into the street, the art world and academia.

Surrealist Action Turkey is an independent collective that is open to people who want to produce with them.

We are collaborating with other groups from time to time. For instance, we want to do something, we start out a campaign and give out an open call for people who want to contribute. People who are at the same state of mind join us but we do not have a permanent supporter.

¹⁰⁸ See the following address for details: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=8216public-enemy8217-exhibit-offers-to-banish-the-moral-symbols-2010-02-17>. Adalet Cingöz wrote an article appeared in Sabah (a daily newspaper) about the exhibition: http://www.sabah.com.tr/Ekler/Cumartesi/Yazarlar/adalet_cingoz/2010/02/20/sergide_neden_yokum

There is no other group who does what we would like to see; actually that is why we took off with this collective.

Karaköy Hafriyat, which has been the center of alternative activist art for some time and which has supported other groups such as İç mihrak, Kaos GL, 19 Ocak Kolektifi¹⁰⁹, has supported SET in the past too. Additionally they team up with Kargart in Kadıköy for the exhibitions.

They perform around the concepts that they have come up with. They have manifestos on these concepts, which explain what they are doing and what they want to do. Some of the examples of these concepts are; Mutant art, Art of the Street Instead of Street Art, Undisciplined Art Instead of Interdisciplinary Art.

“There is not one single group similar to us”, says Refik. He claims that “No other collective uses this method of production and action. For example İç-mihrak has some similarities to us in terms of content but they are not on the street like us.”

¹⁰⁹ January 19th collective.

5. CONCLUSION

“Everything that is solid melts into air”, says Marx, in his “Communist Manifesto”. Marshall Newman, who named his analysis of modernity with this influential phrase of Marx, claims in his foreword that “parks and bicycles, shopping, eating and washing, ordinary hugs and kisses of the everyday, monotonous life are extremely nice and beautiful in a way and so naïve and fragile on the other” and “heroic struggles are needed in order to survive in this world and sometimes we lose”.¹¹⁰

The purpose of this study was to understand ways of struggle and the dialectic of everyday life. How everyday life can turn into a flourishing and fertile field through performativity and how identity quests are undertaken were some of the questions to begin with. Through my pursuit of answers, modernity and postmodernity debates, new social movements, May 1968, the Situationists, the avant-garde, Dada, feminist and LGBT groups, performance art helped me define the study’s theoretical framework.

In the first chapter, “New Social Movements”, a definition of social movements was made and a brief historical analysis on how the concept of social movements changed over time was given through a sociological perspective. Alain Touraine’s critique of modernity was referred to in order to describe modernity’s flaws and classical sociology’s inefficiency in describing social phenomena. Additionally, the concepts of risk culture and the reflexive modernity were mentioned in order to see the changes through modernity’s dynamism, which produces new social relations and contracts while diffusing the once accepted forms of modernity.

The real dynamics of the society lies within the social movements and the social movements of the post-industrial society are the new social

¹¹⁰ Berman, Marshall. *Katı Olan Her Şey Buharlaşıyor*. (İstanbul: İletişim), 1994.

movements. New social movements differ from the labor movement in terms of main issues, actors and ways of protest. In order to make a clear distinction between the new social movements and the labor movement, 1968 events were taken as a turning point.

1968 is significant not only regarding the social movement paradigms. Moreover, 1968 was a celebration of the dynamism taking its roots from the everyday, of the avant-garde tradition that has been dominant since the beginning of the century and of the resistance and struggle against the exploitation of capitalistic production. With respect to the Situationists and Guy Debord's "Society of the Spectacle", one can claim that, 1968 was also an effort to fight the power taking the form of consumerism and reflecting in every aspect of life, from production processes to leisure times.

The second chapter "Protest Through Everyday Life as the Source of Performance and Creativity" examines the concept of everyday life in the society and how everyday life becomes the most dynamic and fruitful area of the society through performances. The subversive character of the everyday life and back-stage performances are two of the concepts that stand out. An important remark in the second chapter is the history of the avant-garde because the techniques that the new social movements use in protests depend mainly on the artistic expressions of the avant-garde. Moreover, the avant-garde and later the Situationists provide a basis for the emergences of the events of 1968. This chapter links the new social movements with the dynamism of the everyday life.

Finally, the third chapter brings together the theory in the first two chapters and the practice of new social movements in Turkey. Three in-depth interviews were conducted. The first one was with LambdaIstanbul, a LGBT organization fighting for the LGBT people's rights and demanding a society free from all discrimination and inequalities. The colorful and creative world of performances and carnivalesque protests are a part of the

organization. Artistic expression constitutes a significant part of the group's demonstrations, which in turn subverts the normative gender frameworks. Humor and irony were used frequently, as a tool for making the individuals stronger and prevent self-pity along with the purpose of draw attention to the problems faced by the LGBT individuals.

The second group was a fairly new one, the Young Civilians who are a group of young people protesting against the political and social current affairs of Turkey. Not affiliated with any particular ideology, the group is into politics. They bring an element of laughter and humor into the politics while saying sometimes the harshest things to the targeted audience. They also have an exceptional spot among the new social movements since they know how to receive media coverage successfully and their actions attract the attention of the media. Besides their protests, they have a way of reconstructing the everyday through cultural practices or leaking through the cracks that the bureaucracy incorporates.

Surrealist Action Turkey is the third group in the research. It is different and similar to the other two groups at the same time. They define themselves as being outside the society and they refuse to seek freedom within the boundaries of the system. They make street art, they play with the language, they organize exhibitions and performances. They say that one of their main purposes is to change the usage of the street because the street is one of the few areas that the panopticon's power is weaker than the other spaces.

In summary, the third chapter tries to examine how activists try to fight the inequalities that they face or they witness. The emphasis was on performance and creativity. It is obvious that the groups have a lot to say for themselves and for their fellow citizens and they give great consideration to how to express themselves in the most effective and creative way. They use humor and irony to attract attention, play with the

language, make street art and street theater. They realize that their every move is actually a performance so their ways of performativity can subvert the current norms and go beyond the ordinary. They nourish from everyday life practices and use it in order to inject dynamism in the everyday.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “1968” in *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi 5. Cilt*.
İstanbul: İletişim, 1988.
- Amin, Samir, et al. *Büyük Kargaşa : Yeni Toplumsal Hareketlerin Krizi*.
İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1993.
- Aronowitz, Stanley. Foreword. *Randy Martin: Performance as Political Act*. New York: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1990. i-xii.
- Arrighi, Giovanni, Terrence K. Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein.
Antisystemic Movements. London: Verso, 1989.
- Atkinson, Michael, and Kevin Young. “Flesh journeys: Neo Primitives and the Contemporary Rediscovery of Radical Body Modification.”
Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal 22:2 (2001): 117-46.
- Bahtin, Mihail. *Rabelais ve Dünyası*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2005.
- Beck, Ulrich, Giddens, Anthony and Lash, Scott, eds. *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Benjamin, Walter, “*Work of Art in the Age of Material Reproduction*,”
1935. 14 August 2010,
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>
- Berman, Marshall. *Katı Olan Her Şey Buharlaşıyor*. İstanbul: İletişim,
1994.
- Blanchot, Maurice, “Everyday Speech”, *Yale French Studies*: 73, 1987.
- Breton, Andre, “*Manifesto of Surrealism*,” 1924. 3 August 2010,
<http://www.tcf.ua.edu/Classes/Jbutler/T340/SurManifesto/ManifestoOfSurrealism.htm>
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble, Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.
New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Clark, Toby. *Sanat ve Propaganda*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2000.

- Crossley, Nick. *Making Sense of Social Movements*. Open University Press, 2002.
- Çayır, Kenan, ed. *Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler Teorik Açılımlar*. İstanbul: Kaknüs, 1999.
- Debord, Guy. *Gösteri Toplumu*. Ayrıntı 2006.
- Diani, Mario, “The Concept of Social Movement”, *The Sociological Review* 40, 1992.
- Elam, Harry Justin. “Editorial Comment: Theatre and Activism.” *Theatre Journal* 55: 4 (2003): 7-12.
- Faulks, Keith. *Political Sociology: A Critical Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- Ferlshin, Nina, ed. *But Is It Art?*. Washington: Bay Press, 1995.
- Gardiner, Michael. *Critiques of Everyday Life*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Anchor Books, 1959.
- Goldberg, RoseLee. *Performance Art From Futurism to Present*. Thames & Hudson, 2010.
- Goodwin, Jeff, and James M. Jasper, ed. *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*. MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Harrison, Charles and Wood, Paul, eds., *Art in Theory, 1900-2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Highmore, Ben, ed. *The Everyday Life Reader*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Jagger, Gill. *Judith Butler: Sexual Politics, Social Change and the Power of the Performative*. Routledge, 2008.
- Isserman, Maurice. “The Flower in the Gun Barrel.” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 54: 8 (October 19, 2007): B14-B15,
<http://chronicle.com/article/The-Flower-in-the-Gun-Barrel/33639/>
- Jasper, James M. *Ahlaki Protesto Sanatı, Toplumsal Hareketlerde Kültür, Biyografi ve Yaratıcılık*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2002.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life Vol. 1*. Verso, 2008.

- Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life Vol. 2*. Verso, 2008.
- “Levitate the Pentagon”, 2 May 2008,
<http://www.jofreeman.com/photos/Pentagon67.html#accounts>
- Melucci, Alberto. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Nash, Kate, ed. *Contemporary Political Sociology, Globalization, Politics and Power*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000.
- Offe, Claus. “Yeni Sosyal Hareketler: Kurumsal Politikanın Zorlanması.” *Yeni Sosyal Hareketler*. Ed. Kenan Çayır. İstanbul: Kaknüs, 1999. 53-79.
- Pichardo, Nelson A. “New Social Movements: A Critical Review.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (August 1997): 411-30.
- Della Porta, Donatella and Diani, Mario, eds. *Social Movements: an Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.
- Rowling, Megan. “Watching the Watchers.” *Yes! Magazine* (Winter 2003).
www.yesmagazine.org
- Serinay, Muhittin. “Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler.” *Kaos GL* 6 (Aralık 2000): 43-54.
- Snow, David E., Soule, Sarah A. And Kriesi, Hanspeter, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell, 2004.
- Tilly, Charles. *Social Movements 1768-2004*. Paradigm Publishers, 2004.
- Touraine, Alain. *The Voice and The Eye*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Turhanlı, Halil. *Bir Erdem Olarak Sapkınlık*. İstanbul: Çiviyazıları, 2000.