

POLITICAL POSTER DESIGNS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN TURKEY

SINCE 1960: THE CASE OF DİSK



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POLITICAL POSTER DESIGNS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN TURKEY

SINCE 1960: THE CASE OF DİSK

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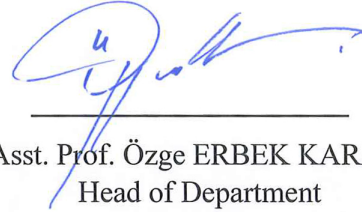
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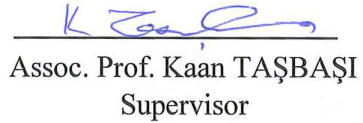
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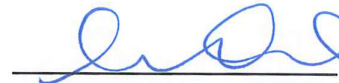
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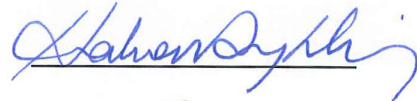
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ABSTRACT

The design, which is defined as a human talent, points to the history of civilization. The design shaped in the capitalist economic system depending on today's relations of production also determines economic and social systems. While environmental factors shape human awareness in itself, the design of the messages produced for this purpose can also be carried out in many different ways. In this study, poster designs, which are one of the study areas reflecting the social change processes observed in the economic and social plane, are investigated and the investigation of discourses produced in the trade union struggle is aimed. Trade unions are non-governmental organizations that protect workers' labor democratically and economically and carry their rights struggle to an organized basis. Trade unions in Turkey have undergone radical changes in political and economic aspects from the 1960s to the present day. These changes can also be observed through the political visual design products produced by these organized structures. Poster designs are visual design products that include ideological structures in maintaining, spreading and providing continuity of ideologies such as marketing, informing, persuasion, orientation and they directly affect the society. The aim of the discussion on the May 1 posters produced by the trade unions is to create a critical perspective on the design of posters and to determine in academic background. In line with this aim, the aim of the study is to adopt poster designs as an ideological structure like every field where design activity continues. DİSK's May 1 posters constituted the sample of the study in consideration of post-1960 political and social change in Turkey. With the examination of the posters, it is aimed to understand how the working-class struggle in the context of trade union struggle in Turkey has undergone a process of change in theoretical and practical fields. In determining the research universe, it was observed that DİSK was active in all periods of social and class movements in Turkey

that started to rise after 1960. May 1 posters produced by DĪSK after 1976, which were discussed in the sample, were examined together with social semiotics and semiotic analysis.

Key words: Design, Dialectic, Ideology, Poster, DĪSK



ÖZET

İnsana ait bir yetenek olarak tanımlanan tasarım tüm uygarlık tarihine işaret etmektedir. Günümüz üretim ilişkilerine bağlı olarak kapitalist ekonomik sistem içerisinde şekillenen tasarım aynı zamanda ekonomik ve toplumsal sistemleri de belirlemektedir. İnsan bilincini onun içerisinde bulunduğu çevresel etkenler şekillendirirken bu amaçla üretilen iletilerin tasarımı da birçok farklı şekillerde gerçekleştirilebilir. Bu araştırmada iktisadi ve sosyal düzlemde gözlenen toplumsal değişim süreçlerini yansıtan çalışma alanlarından biri olan afiş tasarımları incelenerek, sendikal mücadele içinde üretilen söylemlerin araştırılması amaçlanmıştır. Sendikalar işçinin emeğini demokratik ve ekonomik açıdan koruyan, sürdürdüğü hak mücadelesini örgütlü bir zemine taşıyan sivil toplum örgütleridir. Türkiye’de sendikalar 1960’lı yıllardan günümüze kadar siyasal ve ekonomik açıdan köklü değişimler geçirmiştir. Bu değişimler söz konusu örgütlü yapılar tarafından üretilen siyasi görsel tasarım ürünleri üzerinden de gözlemlenebilmektedir. Afiş tasarımları, pazarlama, bilgi verme, ikna etme, yönlendirme gibi yaklaşımlarla sahip olunan ideolojilerin sürdürülmesinde, yayılmasında, devamlılığının sağlanmasında ideolojik yapıları içinde barındıran ve toplumu doğrudan etkileyen görsel tasarım ürünleridirler. Bu alanı sendikaların ürettiği 1 Mayıs afişleri üzerinden tartışmaya açmanın amacı, afiş tasarımlarına eleştirel bir bakış açısı yaratabilmek ve akademik zeminde saptayabilmektedir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, tasarım etkinliğinin sürdürdüğü her alan gibi afiş tasarımlarının da ideolojik bir yapı olarak kabulü çalışmanın amacını oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın örneklemini Türkiye’de 1960 sonrası siyasal ve toplumsal değişim özelinde DİSK’in 1 Mayıs afişleri oluşturmuştur. Afişlerin incelenmesiyle, Türkiye’de sendikal mücadele bağlamında işçi sınıfı mücadelesinin

teorik ve uygulamalı alanlarda nasıl bir deęişim süreci geçirdiđinin anlaşılması amaçlanmıştır. Araştırma evreni belirlenirken DİSK'in seçilmesinde, Türkiye'de 1960 sonrası yükseliş geç en toplumsal ve sınıfsal hareketlerin tüm dönemlerinde aktif olması göz etilmiştir. Örneklem içerisinde ele alınan 1976 yılı sonrası DİSK'in ürettiđi 1 Mayıs afişleri sosyal göstergebilim ve göstergebilimsel çözümleme ile birlikte incelenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tasarım, Diyalektik, İdeoloji, Afiş, DİSK.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABD- Amerika Birleşik Devletleri / *USA- United States of America*

AP- Adalet Partisi / *Justice Party*

BANK-SEN- Devrimci Banka ve Sigorta İşçileri Sendikası / *Revolutionary Bank and Insurance Workers Union*

BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ- Birleşik Metal İşçileri Sendikası / *United Metal Workers Union*

CHP- Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi / *Republican People's Party*

DEV MADEN-SEN – Türkiye Devrimci Maden Arama ve İşletme İşçileri Sendikası / *Turkey's Revolutionary Workers' Union of Mine Exploration and Operation*

DİSK – Devrimci İşçi Sendikası Konfederasyonu / *Revolutionary Trade Union Confederation*

DP- Demokrat Parti / *The Democratic Party*

GENEL-İŞ – Türkiye Genel Hizmetler İşçileri Sendikası / *Turkey General Services Workers Union*

HAK-İŞ- Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / *Rights Confederation of Trade Unions*

IMF- Uluslararası Para Fonu / *International Monetary Fund*

KESK- Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / *Confederation of Public Employees Unions*

LASTİK-İŞ- Türkiye Petrol, Kimya ve Lastik Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası / *Turkey Petroleum, Chemical and Rubber Industry Workers*

MADEN İŞ – Türkiye Maden İşçileri Sendikası / *Turkey Mine Workers Union*

MEMUR-SEN- Memur Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / *The Confederation of Officers' Unions*

MESS- Türkiye Metal Sanayicileri Sendikası / *Metal Industrialists' Union of Turkey*

NATO- Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü / *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization*

SSCB- Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği / *Soviet Union*

TİP- Türkiye İşçi Partisi / *Workers Party of Turkey*

TİSGLK- Toplu İş Sözleşmesi Grev ve Lokavt Kanunu / *Collective Labor Agreement Strike and Lockout Act*

TKP- Türkiye Komünist Partisi / *Communist Party of Turkey*

TMMOB- Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği / *Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects*

TTB- Türk Tabipleri Birliği / *Turkish Medical Association*

TÜM BEL-SEN- Tüm Belediye ve Yerel Yönetim Hizmetleri Emekçileri Sendikası / *All Municipal and Local Administration Services Workers Union*

TÜRK MADEN-İŞ- Türkiye Maden İşçileri Sendikası / *Turkey Mine Workers Union*

TÜRK-HÜR-İŞ- Türkiye Demokratik, Toplumcu ve Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / *Turkey is democratic, socialist and the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions*

TÜRK-İŞ- Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / *Confederation of Labor Unions of Turkey*

TÜRKİYE KAMU-SEN- Türkiye Kamu Çalışanları Sendikaları Konfederasyonu / *Public Workers Unions Confederation of Turkey*

TÜRMOB- Türkiye Serbest Muhasebeci Mali Müşavirler ve Yeminli Mali Müşavirler Odaları Birliği / *Union of Chambers of Certified Public Accountants of Turkey*

TÜSİAD- Türk Sanayicileri ve İş İnsanları Derneği / *Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association*



1. INTRODUCTION

While it is possible to predicate its existence to hand tools, shelters or symbolic descriptions carved on rocks, design is “*a unique human-specific ability to shape and create our environment, to serve our needs and to add meaning to our lives, through ways that are not found in nature*” (Haskett, 2014:15). Design, which refers to the history of all civilization by the definition of human-specific talent, is shaped in the capitalist economic system, depending on the relations of production, and also shapes the economic and social systems. For example, the steam engine, which is a design product, has brought production, transportation, industrialization and social developments such as slavery with it, along with the industrial revolution. Therefore, the nature of human beings also change, and the needs are transformed into the objects of desire as fetishes: “*(...) only about desire: how strange it is that desire, seems to be almost free of subject, or at least complete, these days*” (Foster, 2015:43). The concept of design is tangible in every field of research that examines nature, society, cities, people and human thought.

When divided into strata from a critical point of view, the concept of design, leads us to the production and consumption conceptions that are imprisoned in a positivist utilitarianism¹ and to the industrial and technological advances in which they come into existence. In this progress, the social implications of design only appear in the forms shaped by the capitalist liberal ideology, such as education, science and social

¹“*Positivist utilitarianism*” can be defined as the protection of the interests of the bourgeois class within the capitalist production and consumption relations.

everyday relationships. The transformative power of this confrontation, which also constitutes the human consciousness, can only be discussed within the framework of critical theory that gives the positivist approach a social dimension.

Therefore, it can be said that design, which is a social concept, is the bearer, the executor and the transmitter of the ideological and hegemonic layers. Regarding the visual design products, which are acknowledged to have an impact on the public awareness within the scope of the research, it can be said that these products create a strong communication efficiency, inform individuals, affect their taste and decision-making processes, hence their consumption habits and design, constitutes the subject of the mentioned interactions.

Important areas that require explanation can be defined as an indication to, why talking about the design, discussing it in the social plane, telling about its daily determining role, providing an academic and scientific basis for it, is justifiably difficult and requires a multi-layered study. “(...) *Design, is the sensory image of an object, which is considered together with its various features and contextualities, that exhibits a certain integrity, (...) unlike perception, design is the re-produced perceptual image of the object that was previously perceived*” (Buhr & Kosing, 1999:404). In this context, it is necessary to explain the relation between consciousness (subjective, spiritual) and existence (objective, material) with the meaning structures developed as a human action (design). In addition to the subjective and objective debates, it is important for this research to question whether the environment created by the design products surrounding human life should be

seen as a structure independent from human consciousness or that the human consciousness is shaped within the environment surrounded by design objects.

While the human consciousness is shaped by the environmental effects, the design of the messages produced for this purpose can be realized in many different ways. Just like the duties and responsibilities imposed on poster designs. Poster designs, which are one of the working areas that reflect the social change processes observed in the economic and social planes, will be examined and the discourses produced within the unions' struggle for labor rights will be investigated. Trade unions are the structures that protect the labor of the workers in a democratic and economic way and bring the struggle for laborrights to an organized basis. Trade unions in Turkey has undergone a drastic change from the 1960s until today. These changes are observed through political visual design products produced by these organized structures.

Poster designs, which can be encountered in a wide range of use from the earliest age communities to today's modern life, are visual design products, which are used for maintaining, disseminating and sustaining the ideological structures acquired through tools such as marketing, informing and directing, and which contain these ideological structures within as well as directly affecting the society. Results, which can be explained through concepts such as consumption, alienation, hegemony, manipulation or ideology, will be obtained, when the poster designs, which are brought forward by prioritizing social transformations or different layers of capitalist liberal economic system, are evaluated through the critical economy politics perspective. The poster designs not only reflect the formal properties based on the designer's perception, technique and their production-based properties, but also

contain the traces of the cultural, historical, social and political plane, from which these formal properties emerged, regarding the content, which shapes the audience's perception and judgement. In this way, posters are not only the products of their designers, but also, they are products of the historical interpretations of the individuals, who are the determiners of the public space where they are exhibited.

Accordingly, in order to understand the design, discuss it in the social plane, explain its deterministic position in daily life and give it an academic and scientific basis, the second chapter has been titled "dialectic of design". In this chapter, the "objective and subjective" concepts are mentioned to reveal the meaning structures shaped by the design. In the subchapter entitled "dialectic materialism", the concept of consciousness, which Marks reevaluates by transforming Hegel's dialectics, was brought forward in terms of design. Under the title of "the concept of commodity" the design products, which gain exchange value within the capitalist relations of production, and the meaning structures these products shape are evaluated. Again, the "alienation" concept, which takes place within the capitalist relation of production, and the false awareness that the design products with an exchange value impose on the society are covered under this title. Since design is a social fact, specific members of the "Frankfurt School" have been mentioned under the title of "critical theory", "base" and "superstructures" were discussed and the social equivalent of design has been emphasized. The production and consumption understanding of the concept of design, which has been entrapped in a positivist pragmatism, has been divided into layers and covered through the perspective of the Frankfurt School, or in other words, a critical perspective, under the title of "design in terms of the critical theory". In order to evaluate the trade union structures, which define the universe of the research,

the society, in which the meaning structures shaped by design find an expression, are discussed in terms of Marxism and liberalism. In order to express the historical transformation of the trade unions' struggle for labor rights, the theoretical correspondence of the detachment from class struggle has been evaluated under the title of "post Marxism". Therefore, in the second and third chapters, the communication power of design has been evaluated within the theoretical framework.

"Social Semiotic Analysis", which is a basic research method, has been put to use in the fourth chapter entitled "Methodology". While the visual analysis method "Social Semiotic Analysis" was used to analyze the visual structures such as limning, patterns and photography in DİSK's post 1967 May 1 posters, which are included in the sample, the texts consisting of slogans and discourses were structurally and contextually analyzed with the semiotic method. The two methods applied in the research have achieved their structural duties by bringing the design and the communication power of a design product into view at scientific level.

1.1. Presentation of the Problem

The sample of the research, which is based on the acknowledgement of the communication power of the visual design products (posters), consists of DİSK's (Progressive Trade Union) May 1 posters. During 1960s, when social movements were on the rise in Turkey, the discourses of DİSK posters were unique in terms of prioritizing class structures and organized struggle for labor rights within a collective production process. DİSK's posters after 1980, which were created in a time of changing social relationships and political atmosphere, created an area of discourse

where emphasize on identities were given prominence and demands of masses were uttered. In this period, the posters were produced by DİSK, and not by a collective structure. Therefore, the problem of the research can be stated as follows: The discourses of May 1 posters produced by DİSK vary from one period to another. The social and political influences of a specific period can be traced by these discourses.

1.2. The Aim and Importance of the Study

With its communication power, the activity of design, which penetrates to every aspect of life, has an ideological and hegemonic structure. The purpose of opening this area to discussion in terms of May 1 posters produced by trade unions is to be able to provide a critical perspective for the poster designs, which are design activities, and to determine them on an academic basis. For this purpose, just like any other design activity, this research aims to evaluate poster designs are as ideological structures.

1.3. The Assumptions of the Research

It would be correct to say that between 1960 and 1980, when organized struggle for labor rights were highly popular, the political poster designs were rich in terms of quality and quantity. Even though the political posters of this period were produced with a very limited technique and technology when compared to today, they were social and unique. On the other hand, posters produced after 1980, consisted of design objects lacking social correspondence. Therefore, not only the technological and technical limitations determine the design of political posters, but also the political

and cultural conditions are effective. The following assumptions are made in this context:

- The design activity is an ideological phenomenon with a strong power of communication.
- A design, which creates a strong activity of communication, has a transforming effect on the public awareness.
- Since its establishment, DİSK maintains its ideology in all its posters.
- The historical-social marks of the dynamics of the period can be traced from DİSK posters, which are design objects that we assume to have an efficient power of communication over the public awareness
- With the individual to be brought into prominence by the (neo)liberal economic system, the collective culture has suffered erosion.
- A shift from class politics in 1960s to identity politics after 1980s had occurred.
- Turkey's economic, political, social and cultural climate has changed in 1980s and a neoliberal sense has become dominant.

1.4. Research Questions

The trade unions can be defined as democratic mass organizations. The consciousness that the visual design products of these trade unions create on the society is shaped within the social, political and cultural atmosphere. At this point, the communication power of poster designs enable the masses to be directed and the areas of freedom provided by the unions' struggle for labor rights to be visible, in terms of the organized struggle for labor rights. The following questions are formed in order to unveil the communicational aspect of the direct relationship of the poster designs, which are utilized as tools of the organized struggle for labor rights, and the audience.

- Should the environment that surrounds the individual as a design activity be considered apart from consciousness, or is the consciousness formed within that environment?
- Should the relation of design, which is stated to be the “most fundamental human activity”, with reality considered as an idea (subjective) or a material mediation (objective)?
- Does the acknowledgement of design (poster design) as a powerful communication activity bring along ideological constructs?
- Are there definable differences in political poster designs that are made in Turkey before and after 1980?
- Did the discourses of trade unions maintain their validity through the periods?

1.5. Hypothesis

As seen in the above assumptions and research questions, the hypothesis of this research, in which the design concept of cultural transformations through individual and societal existence, and as a more specific area, poster designs is evaluated, is defined as follows: *“The concept of design, which has always been present in every place and region where humans lived as well as all historical processes, provides powerful discourse areas that characterize the modern societies and shape their cultural structures through various applications. Like in many design products, poster designs provide a powerful communication activity, which transforms the consciousness of the society and has ideological reflections in the semiotic area.”*

1.6. The Universe of the Research

The sample of the study consists of DİSK’s May 1 posters in terms of political and social changes after 1960. Understanding the transformation process of the working class’s struggle for labor rights in theoretical and applied areas, in terms of trade unions’ struggle in Turkey, is aimed by examining the posters. DİSK has been determined while defining the universe of the research, because of its high activity in all periods of societal and class movements that were on the rise after 1960 in Turkey. DİSK’s May 1 posters after 1976, which are included in the sample, will be evaluated through semiotics and semiotic analysis.

2. DIALECTIC OF DESIGN

2.1. Design Culture

Etymologically, the word “design”, which is a common word in all Western Languages, has derived from the Latin word *designare*, which means to form and to represent. While “to form” can be considered as ascribing a meaning to a visual; “to represent” can be considered as expressing and disseminating this meaning and making it visible. Therefore, with the addition of different aspects such as designing, planning, shaping and constructing expressions and preparing their drafts, the word “design” has leaked into many different sides of practical and theoretical life with its forming and representation properties (Tunali, 2002:12).

The lexical meaning of the word design is; to imagine a plan or a sketch to be realized; a plan or a thing that is imagined to form and produce; the first draft in art, a project or scheme that aims to reach a conclusion; the shape that summarizes the actual properties of something that will be created such as a painting, building or decoration; arranging the elements and details to create a work of art (Bayazit, 2008:174). It can be stated that the design, which can be expressed as a basic human activity, has emerged and shaped as the replicas of nature on the human consciousness since the ancient periods of human history.

As it is understood from the above definitions, a person who has a tendency to shape life in accordance with his/her needs (who designs) has to make some choices either voluntarily or unintentionally to make this design. Choices like big or small, short or tall, useful or useless “...brings responsibility along with them. Making

choices includes options regarding how to reach the goals, with which intentions and to whose benefit' (Haskett, 2013: 16). Since design, which is the process of simplification and narrowing down the options as well as making them creative and useful, also includes social processes such as decision making, benefiting and putting into practice, it can be said that design is "right in the middle of ideological debates". Because change, evolution, maintaining or sustaining existence continue happening in all areas throughout the human history. Therefore, even though the tools and methods had changed with respect to technological, social and cultural changes, it can be said that humans have to maintain their ability and tendency to design continuously with a stronger expression. While the fact that design is one of the unique, immutable and basic human abilities proves this discourse, it can also be proven by manifestation of design in different ways throughout human history (Heskett, 2013:33).

The "different shapes" expressed by Heskett is nothing but the development of the need for new design products (and reflexes) brought with the communal life as a result of the transition of the hunter-gatherer first human communities' into sedentary communities for agricultural production. It should not be forgotten that the design products, which develop in accordance with the usage value and which sometimes have vital features, reach today by being passed down through generations in line with human abilities, and transform the production and the social share of production by the technological progresses in agricultural and social areas. Therefore, the foundations of the sedentary societies were laid by reflexes developed through the concept of design. The important traces of the design skill, which is claimed to have been acquired through the transformation of the human into a social being, can also be followed by the findings of important archaeological discoveries.

The ability to design has evolved in accordance with the merge of different skills at a common point, the formation of tradition and the practical daily life of the people whereas these forms have become an integral part of social and geographical conditions. Therefore, as humans and societies, who are harmonious and flexible with their surroundings and the nature, *“...have created the forms and processes in accordance with some needs and conditions until today and will continue to do so, the forms and structures of our world are mostly results of the human design”* (Heskett, 2013:13). In sum, it can be said that the ability to design; is at the center of human as a species and its idea of existence; demonstrates its position in many different ways; and is one of the distinctive features of being human along with the language.

Engels describes the design/creation process, which begins with the physical development of human and which has been explained so far, as follows;

“After thousands of years of struggle, the hand was no longer with the foot, at last the human walked upright and became distinguishable from the apes, the foundations were laid for speaking in syllables and the great improvement of the brain, and there has been an insurmountable distance between humans and monkeys ever since. The mastery of the hands means tools, tools mean specific human activity, the transformative reaction of the humans to nature and production... Only humans have managed to leave their trace on nature by relocating animals and plants, changing the look of their residence, climate and even the plants and animals, in a way

that only if the earth had ceased to exist, the results of their activities would have disappeared... The most powerful tool for changing the nature is the steam machine, but since it is a tool, it still depends on human hand. The brain has developed gradually with the hand. The awareness of the necessary conditions for activities that have different practical benefits were born, and then, the societies, which have better conditions, have realized the laws of nature, which dominate them, by this awareness. With the rapidly evolving knowledge of the laws of nature, the tools of influencing the nature also developed; if the human brain hadn't developed with, and partially, by the hand, the hand wouldn't have been able to create the steam machine on its own" (Engels, 2006:46)

As stated in this study from the beginning, design should be considered as an important human activity and we should look for a meaningful whole that is created or developing. Therefore, it should be noted that the actions planned to make the thought visible also determine the process of design. In other words, there is no obstacle for a painter, sculptor, musician, computer programmer, literary artist, teacher or doctor to be considered as a designer. Because design is an action of human consciousness as well as the state of creating a meaningful order (Bayazit, 2008:175).

At this point, it is important for this research to answer the following research questions: How should the relationship of design's meaning structures that develop through actual human actions with the idea (subject) and the material being (object) be explained; should the environment formed by the design products that make up an

individual's surroundings (aisles of a market, advertisements, posters, screens, etc.) be considered apart from consciousness, or is the consciousness formed within that environment? Apart from being defined as a complement of meaningful plans, design has many different explanations with the same meaning. Discussing design in terms of concepts (social, cultural and economic), which are usually disregarded, is ruled out either voluntarily or unintentionally. According to Baran, this situation can be explained as "the impossibility of being able to understand the whole by the limited information provided by its specific pieces" (Baran: 2016). It is clear that design should be considered as a whole and should actually be discussed within the scope of the social, cultural and economical concepts that constitute it.

Jan Van Toorn states that design, represents itself on mass media by regulating the production related problems, aims to be conceptually and practically understandable by maintaining a prosperous social order, therefore becomes legitimized through the symbolic production that represents it. He says, "*This image of reality, and especially the social world in it, does not involve emancipatory initiatives as the basis of critical practice because of the pressures of the market economy*" (cited in. Armstrong, 2010:100). Therefore, it is clear in his words that the concept of design does not comply with the reality. In other words, it is possible to explain this thought structure, which is needed, with product oriented movement and production: "*Design is defined through aesthetic impulses and/or a patriarchal obsession with reproduction*" (Armstrong, 2010:103).

As a response to some of the question marks caused by the concept of design, which Barnard (2010:33) defines as "*a thing that is visible and has a*

communicational or functional purpose”, he states that the things that are defined as “*visual culture*” (each design product) actually don’t always have functional and communicational properties. For example, many things defined as “*works of art*”, are created for a communicational or functional purpose, whereas they should be defined as one of the constituents of the visual culture. With this expression, it can be said that Barnard ignores the fact that each design product actually maintains a communication process even though it has a decorative quality. Erfin Panofsky puts forward an expression of art and design concepts as follows, “*man-made objects wanting to be experienced aesthetically*” (Panofsky, 1995:48). With this expression, it is understood that the concept of design can be interpreted very widely, that it includes both art and design objects.

The role of visual culture is to reproduce the social system, according to Barnard, who does research on the study of the relationship between each design product and the society, and tries to reveal the function between visual culture and society. It can clearly be said that this deduction corresponds to the hegemony that puts this process on a legitimate basis with the production and reproduction of society and bases the visual culture, and therefore each design product, on production and consumption. This corresponds to the idea that society is class-based, as is often explained in the Marxian approach, and that the formation of these classes is determined by economic processes. Considering classes as constituents of economic conditions, it can be deduced that “*lifestyles, interests and culture*” are mediums of these economic conditions (Barnard, 2010:256). Again, according to this Marxian approach “... *the class, which has the means of material production, also has control of the means of mental production*” (Marx and Engels, 2013:72). Barnard expresses

the relationship between culture and ideology as follows; “*culture is part of ideology and ideology also reflects class positions. There will be different cultures and ideologies as well as different classes, which are the products of different relations with means of production*”. In line with this idea, Barnard defines visual culture as; “*a part of the path and ideology that causes class inequalities to be reproduced or rejected*” (2010:216).

Tunali’s following determination is an indication that the sociological and economic level, from which this thought has flourished, is not achieved easily: “*Designs made up to two centuries ago were generally less developed in character than nature's designs. New steps for design were taken through a few generations because there was no rapid progress that was conscious or based on thought.*” (Tunali, 2002:75).

Throughout the centuries, debates and different approaches took place regarding why objects are what they seem. During this time, it can be said that object-based and structure-based intellectual axes turned into will and a state of action through the natural tendencies that humans have as an asset and instinctual actions. Action points to an ethical design chosen and created by human will. There are no models of science, thought and design in nature, and there is no design-related action model. The concept of design is the most basic communication activity that people build with surrounding objects. This communication activity expresses itself in aesthetics, knowledge, ethics and technical classifications. Knowledge-related designs emerge as models of thought in philosophy, while they emerge as model theories in science (Tunali, 2002:13).

At this point, the development of the design through the production process can be summarized as follows; *“When we talk about design history, not only technical, economic, aesthetic and social developments, but also psychological, cultural and ecological factors should be taken into consideration. Design has taken over art by its power”* (Bayazit, 2008:187).

Many phenomena that are in contact with the society and human beings are taken over by design. It is evident from the following quote that art is maybe one of the most innocent among them:

“Human designs, like perceptions, are closely linked to thinking and speaking. Designs allow people to break away from the reality of the moment, rebuild the past and predict the future, and create physicalized objects and imaginary products within certain limits. Therefore, designs take an important place in the field of scientific knowledge, practical action and artistic activity of man. The imagination of man, one of the most important driving forces of learning and action, finds its source in these facts. Every activity of man is connected with designs” (Buhr & Kosing, 1999:404).

It can be said that modernity brings itself into existence through concepts such as universality, nationality, individuality, sociality, publicity, secularism, etc. In this section of this study, it becomes obvious that these concepts evolve nowadays and design leads this evolution, therefore, design becomes one of the major factors in defining the social and political life. It is possible to say that propositions regarding

how to create the meaning structure of a situation or how to represent this structure indicates the main activity area of design. Because the explanation and using stages of the data flow through the mediation of multimedia devices such as mobile phones, computers and televisions, which turn out to be an area of expertise, and the complex but systematic appearance of the production in industry, technology, society and art can be diversified/positioned by being explained with the powerful existence of these propositions.

The concept of “considering man as a machine, an automaton” was only a claim by Leonardo in Renaissance, La Mettrie during the age of enlightenment, Russian constructivism in the modern age, Bauhaus and many more art and design movements. Today, this claim is about to be realized through the mediation of design. Baudrillard stated; *“man will design his own reproductions over and over again and become an object that does not meet the reality by losing his humanity, and eventually, become immortal in his own death and exist in his absence”* (Akt: Artun, 2010:59). With the expression of Baudrillard, it can be stated that in every modern capitalist mode of production, each area, where design has penetrated, has been transformed into a design object with an exchange value. It can be said that the reality almost does not exist and it cannot be comprehended by Baudrillard’s concepts of “Reality” and “simulation”, but this research does not put forward such an assertion. Baudrillard's relation with reality through design products is a superstructure assessment. In this research, the intellectual and material production process of the hegemonic and ideological power of communication (sub-structure), which is carried by design, in other words, its social correspondence is examined.

As a result of humans 'unpreventable desire and agency of discovering their sensual and emotional presence and measuring/evaluating them, the modern design and communication disciplines of today need to understand and evaluate the production and transference processes of knowledge. Because, it can be said that all kinds of designable areas, which are penetrated by capitalist relations of production, are shaped with this desire. According to Artun, the goal of the designers today is to manage, transform and change the public space. For this reason, buildings transform into commercial screens today and the architects design cities as a media that transforms them into branding or marketing spaces. Apart from architectural structures, the human body can also be designed and transformed into a commodity. The body does not remain as a mark of brands, but it becomes an advertisement object. The production and consumption relations within the capitalist economic and social system aim to add a superior value to the design products, which can be expressed as branding, and the institutions, which manage global capitalism, create and manage complementary design processes from corporate identities to the smallest products. The "symbolic values" and "show business", which are created by the brands that define the social relationships, play an active role in identifying people's identities. It can be seen in the social life today that even human rights are now parts of "social responsibility" projects of design processes in branding attempts (Artun, 2009:66).

The definition of design indicates important areas that require explanation regarding why it is reasonably difficult and requires a multilayered study to talk about design, discuss it in the social plane, explain its daily determinative role and base every action on scientific facts.

“Design is a sensuous image of things (each design product) that are considered with their various features and contexts. Unlike perception, design is not the direct and momentary image of things (each design product) that influence the sensory organs, but it is the reproduced perceptual image of things that has been perceived before” (Buhr & Kosing, 1999:404).

It can be said that design is the determinant and executive of each surface that constitutes every layer of social life, from an axe invented by man to produce his economic life (a design product) to design models, in which he questions his own existence. To be able to understand the concept of design, if we consider a couch as an example: It is required to evaluate its function, the reasons, preferences, facts and processes regarding it, through different relations in different layers. As a starting point for making sense of the design product, any method in which the design concept is centered will not lead to the conclusion. Because, the conclusion will be the couch itself again. The true method is to develop a dialectic thought regarding the existential reason of this object, its image, production and consumption processes, and most importantly, the human factor, by centering the design concept instead of the object of design, with a dialectic understanding.

While the first time a glass (a design product) was used is considered to be an invention, it can be said that, by developing the need of adding a handle to the glass as a result of design awareness acquired in a specific amount of time, man has turned it into a new design object with an activity that was experienced before. With the historical materialism (dialectic) method, while it can be said that the glass, which is a

design product, has come to existence as a result of previously experienced subjective activities, it can also be stated that the glass should be evaluated with regard to the capitalist relations of production such as the factory, raw material, commodity character, added values, labor and working conditions, which define its production conditions that make up the production process. It can be said that, it wouldn't be possible to discuss anything but its approaches about shape, function, aesthetics and consumption, if the production process of the design product (the glass) was disregarded. These areas of discussion are evaluated today as part of cultural studies.

In terms of relations of production, it can be said that design is the bearer and determinant of the relations of production of the dominant class instead of placing the society at the center of life (sub-structure). In other words, design bears and determines its own unseen face.

In order to express design with Marx's historical materialism method, the subjective and the objective should be distinguished. It is a known fact that the concepts that will be covered in this study later such as consciousness (subjective, immaterial) and entity (objective, material) are basic starting points of philosophy. Marx's historical materialism method will be utilized as a guide in order to discuss the social and cultural structures of the post-1960 era, which is in the scope of this study, in terms of design, and the structures and processes that define a design activity. In this direction, it can be stated that the subjective (post-structural, cultural, idealistic) and the objective (human, society and historical) distinction should be

made. Therefore, Marxian Analysis² will be determinative in the creation of the theoretical background of this study.

2.2. The Objective and the Subjective in Terms of Materialist Philosophy

It can be said that the distinction between the subject and the object is seen as a fundamental problem for Marx. This relationship between the subject and the object itself can be considered as the necessity of a fundamental distinction that one is the subjective, ie the conscious being, or the soul as the ideal being, and the other one is the objective, ie the truly existing natural being.

According to Marx's historical materialist philosophy, which he built based on the class-subject concept, "*history, is the history of class struggles*" (Marks, Engels,

² İrfan Erdoğan defines this analysis method as follows: "Marxian analysis is an analysis of the issues related to the production of intellectual or material life, based on Marx's historical materialism approach. (...) *The Marxian and Marx-inspired approaches are qualitative analyzes in terms of data collection and evaluation. (...) Marx's Materialist method is the way in which man organizes his own life and creates his own history; that is, Marx's understanding of human, society and history. This understanding puts people in the center by stating that they do their own history in their own circumstances; not thought, state or company. Man produces his material life at the same time with his intellectual, emotional and religious life. Therefore, ideas, history, language, discourse and ideology are not active actors that "shape people and things "apart from people. History, language, discourse and ideology are formed by man. Man uses this language, discourse and ideology not only to express himself but also to shape himself. (...) In a Marxian analysis, the idea that language, discourse or ideology defines the human and life is considered to be false, as it is a product of idealistic philosophy. This does not necessarily mean that, all the analyses based on idealistic philosophy (for example post-structural and cultural studies) are false. It cannot be claimed that the explanations that are made and maintained based on ideological and cultural practices, such as consumption society, mindless consumption, emotional or intellectual environments created by casting images on reality, are false. On the other hand, it is incorrect that language is the determinant of the society, human, truth and human life. It is also incorrect for another abstract unit (mind, language, discourse) to substitute the theological creation theory, which has been maintained for thousands of years. Language and ideology cannot do anything, because they are not live actors. The actor is the man who shapes himself and others by his language, thought and ideology as well as being shaped by others. For example, cigarettes cannot kill people, unless produced and smoked. Marx accepts the ideology in the "cigarettes kill" discourse, but does not limit "killing" with thought or any action related to the end-product (smoking). Marx deals with "killing" in the historical relations of production, which extends from the production of cigarettes to the use of cigarettes, and where cigarettes are produced. Is this reductionism or is it reductionism to blame the cigarette and the smoker by saying "cigarettes kill"?" (Erdoğan, 2012: 135-137)*

2013:75). In this context, it can be said that the will of the social entity, which constitutes the history, must be in a structure within the class struggle. According to Öngen, in order to transform the link between the existence of the class and the developments in class production into a scientific expression, Marx expressed the concepts as a new history and understanding of society, and in the form of historical materialism and scientific socialism (Öngen, 2002).

Marx argued that the mutual determination of the relationship between human consciousness and material living conditions brought other questions. The development of class-consciousness can only be achieved by having a command on the historical knowledge of the capitalist economic system, because the concept of class is a manifestation of the will of social producers in a scientific structure. Such a manifestation is only possible by determining the distinction between the subject and the object. *“It is realized that the human will that creates the material world is also a product of the material world. For Marx, struggle is the essence of dialectic, which is the collection of unities and oppositions”* (cited in. Öngen, 2002).

Lukacs, clearly states Marx’s conditions that allow establishing a relationship between theory and practice in his book, *History and Class Consciousness* (1972). According to Marx, it is not enough for thought to strive for self-realization; thought should strive towards itself in reality. For the unification of theory and practice, consciousness must establish such a relationship with reality. In order for this idea to take place, the decisive step of the historical process towards the necessary progress must be the birth of consciousness. The fact that a class can understand itself has the same meaning as understanding the society as a whole. He states that the unity of

theory and practice could be possible in a historical situation where that class is both the subject and the object of knowledge. Such a situation emerged when the working class took its place in history (Marx, 2011:67). The class struggle forms of the revolutionist period and the idea of history, which begin with the rise of the bourgeoisie, develop in a single stream. This idea, i.e. dialectic, is not limited to just searching for the meaning of the existing, but reaches to the knowledge of the disappearance of all that exists, and every separation within its movement disappears (Debord, 2012:69).

According to Marx, an essentialist distinction cannot be made between the subject and the object, because the relation that the subject establishes with the object is not a theoretical but a practical relationship (Marks, Engels, 2013:120). The subject in a practical relationship with the object may not be considered as an entity of consciousness. The concept of subject can be expressed as an entity that emphasizes the awareness of the objects performed by the activities (*praxis*) and becomes conscious as it interacts with the activity. From this, it can be expressed as the practical activities of the subject on the object as the priority that interacts the subject and object. The state of the subject and the object also becomes important in the sense of the decisiveness of the subject's practical actions that express its relationship with the object. According to Marx, the theoretical relationship with the object is not a direct relation in terms of the subject and the object. The subject forms its unity by establishing a practical relationship with the object with its physical and mental power. This activity reaches the consciousness of the unity that it establishes with the object, so this activity allows the subject to be shaped as much as it shapes the object

(Marx, Engels, 2013:90). According to Marx, the concept that is intended to be referred to as the subject can be thought of as a human phenomenon.

It is a known fact that the idea of historical materialism is based on a material foundation of social change. The historical materialism approach, which considers factors that have the powers of effect and action, regardless of the demands of human, and which defines elements that have the properties of effects of human demands and actions under “objective and subjective” categories, examines the relations and contradictions defined in these categories (Marx, Engels, 2013:83). The relationship between the subject and the object itself emerges as a form of the relationship between mind and matter, and nature and consciousness within the social movement in terms of philosophy. What is important in this relationship is its environment of existence, in other words, the content and form of the laws of operation and the degree of activity on the social life. The concept of objective involves all of the beings of the material world which are subjects to human actions and thoughts, and which form the basis for them, reveal their effectiveness and determine their boundaries. The concept of subjective expresses objective issues and the properties gained by human and the society, who act to influence the movement of objects (Çubukçu, 1994:76).

Instead of the self-evolving dialectical movement of thought, Marx and Engels put forward the real movement that arises from the development of the productive forces in history and the conditioning of these forces by the contradictions between the relations of production. They do not regard this idea as a doctrine, but rather as a materialist science. They expressed “the specific form” of science by an idealist

dialectic from Hegel (Marx, 2011). It is stated that the socialized people are transformed into ideas as the idea of the real “subject as an object” in the historical process. Today, it is stated that the socialized people are transformed into a “materialist” form as an “objectified” part of reality. In this direction, the “contradiction” between the relations of production and the productive forces emerges in a specific “objectified” form. This form appears in the contradictory ways of thinking and class struggle of opposing classes conditioned by the economic structure of society. The “*contradiction*”, which is only determined by idealist dialectic between reality and conceptuality, can now be terminated on the level of reality with the thinking subject’s “*action*” of self-contradiction, which it directs to its social basis. The essence of Marxian dialectics is the possible overlap or identification between the proletariat, which is expressed as the thought of the historical subject, and the action. This essence makes this dialectic a revolutionary and activist method (Korsch, 1991:15).

According to Marx, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production prepares the material-objective conditions of the revolution. The concept of productive force involves the production tools and objects on the one hand, and on the other hand, the human knowledge and experience using them as well as technology. In this thought, Marx primarily emphasizes the productive power of the working class. Today, the working class is a material force in the contradiction that forms the basis of social change and transformation. To the extent that its consciousness and will reaches the level of organization representing this fundamental contradiction of consciousness and will, it will complete the material-

objective foundations of the revolution and the objective conditions (Çubukçu, 1994:84).

According to Marx, human is a natural being with a bodily existence. The universality of man manifests itself in that universality that in practice, makes the whole nature its own non-organic body, because nature is primarily a direct mean of living as well as a tool and object of the activity of living. Nature is the non-organic body of man. While creating an objective world with its practical activity, man processes the non-organic nature and aims to reveal that he is a conscious being. By processing the objective world, man proves to have a kind of existence. Nature makes man's work and reality visible through this method of production and the production itself. From this point of view, the aim of labor is to objectify the species life of man (Marx, 2014:82).

Marx does not accept the notion that the dialectical relationship between the subject and the object arises from each other. Marx argues that materialist dialectics have two equally valuable dimensions. First, criticizing Hegel's idealism, he states that the notion of consciousness is in fact human consciousness and takes part in the social structure as a part of it. Second, criticizing Feuerbach's concept of materialism, he states that existence, which is the object of philosophy, is a human and social reality, and not an abstract, natural being (Marks, 2014: 155-159). In other words, consciousness can be expressed as the consciousness of people. Existence can be expressed as the conscious social existence.

According to the prediction of idealism, beings and objects are formed in thought and consciousness manifests itself in this context. Marx expresses the relationship between idealism and consciousness and subject as follows:

“If beings and objects are considered as entities of thought, the subject is always being conscious or self-conscious. More precisely, the object always appears in the form of abstract consciousness, while the human appears to be only self-conscious. Thus, the distinct forms of alienation that arise are only different forms of consciousness and self-consciousness. The abstract consciousness in itself (the figure in which the object is understood) is only a point of separation and self-consciousness. Similarly, what appears to be the result of the movement is the identification of consciousness, with self-consciousness. It is the movement of abstract thought that is no longer directed to the outside and transformed in its own. So, the result is the dialectic of pure thought” (Marks, 2014:163).

Marx expresses the historical materialist conception of consciousness, subject and existence relationship mentioned above as follows in his “1844 Manuscripts”: The notions of thought and existence are separate from each other, but they are also in unity. Specific historical conditions have to be fulfilled in order to assert the dialectical unity of consciousness and existence, concept and content, subject and object (Marks, 2014:87). Subjective doings are not mechanical results of objective conditions. Differences in objective conditions; ideas, philosophies, beliefs do not change by themselves. In no case, the material condition suddenly and simultaneously creates the unique forms of thought (Çubukçu, 1994:86). Marx and Engels express

that the determinative force in the history of human life is the production of material life and states that the economic structures' determination is the fundamental aspect of this.

People have to participate in the struggles that have created labor and history, so they have to revise their current relations (which they purified from their illusions). Even though the latest subconscious metaphysical approach considers the productive progress, which it uses to express itself through its history, as an object of history, this historical process has no other object but itself. The subject of history cannot go beyond the living creature that produces itself, becomes the owner of the world history and exists as the consciousness of its own game (Debord, 2012:69).

According to Marx, “*once the theory embraces the masses, it becomes a material power*” (Marx, 2014:158). According to this, when a certain thought / idea is not only individual but begins to gain a social character, it also begins to express itself through a social action. The subjective intentions that have manifested themselves in an idea, theory or thought become an objective power as a form of expression they later gain. The concept of “*theory*” that is expressed here refers to all kinds of thoughts, beliefs, and ideas. The term “*material power*” refers to the fact that the thoughts and designs gain an “objective” quality under the condition that they are a part of the everyday life of the masses, an answer to their true needs (Çubukçu, 1994:82).

From the point of view of man, the act of working is a process, in which man and nature share their existence, and where man starts, regulate and control the material

effects between him and nature. Man defines himself as a force of nature by using his arms, legs, head and hands to control the nature's own products in a form that can be expressed as “*artificial necessity*”. In this way, while acting on the outside world and changing nature, he also changes his nature. It is hard to perceive the time period between the situation where man's own workforce is expressed as a commodity and the situation in which human labor experiences the first instinctive process (Marx, Engels, Lenin, 2006:106). Man organizes a design activity by taking the products of nature into its own control, and by this design activity, he / she starts to shape and create himself and his environment in accordance with the level of pre-acquired consciousness. Man starts the design process from his / her point of view and creates a level of consciousness with historical development. The level of consciousness that evolves throughout the history of humanity and the developing design approach in this sense is now a context of the capitalist economic system.

It is known that a design product according to the concept of commodification (exchange value), which is foreseen by Marx, must enter into a change process depending on the production in order to gain exchange-value.

This change is especially felt during the 18th and 19th centuries in the United Kingdom, with the rapid development of industrialization, not only in the West but also all over the world. According to Kumar, with the industrialization, the western countries gained “*superiority*” over other countries and at the same time they were at the center of the capitalist economic system. The concept of bourgeois industry created by the capitalist economic system has become a center of power which intensively suppresses the resistance of people, who have not been able to make their

industrialization move and who are mostly poor and agricultural societies, along with their commodities, The image of modernity emerges to a great extent by industrial elements, and these images can be as dangerous as they are indispensable(Kumar, 2013:104).As Marx, Engels, Lenin stated, it may be necessary to exemplify in all the processes in which profound changes in the form of labor occur, in order to better understand the relationship between the commodification of human labor in the capitalist economic system and the situation where human labor experiences the first instinctive process. A spider weaves its web like a weaver. A bee builds its honeycomb cells like an architect. What differentiates an architect from a bee; the architect builds it in his head before actually building a structure. At the end of each work process, it can be said that this process has been established as a design in the mind, or design is built in the human consciousness as a subjective thought. According to Marx, *“Not only does man change the form of the material object he is working on, but he also realizes his purpose, which puts his own style of producing work in a certain law, and to which he has to attach his own will”* (Marx, 1966:173). The object of design, which appears as a pre-acquired design in human consciousness, is produced in the context of existing capitalist relations of production and in this context, it can be said that the concept of wage labor, which is expressed in terms of design, is the result of the relations of production.

From the Industrial Revolution to the present, it can be stated that people witnessed changes / transformations in all areas of life, especially in art and academic life. The design products that emerged in this process, that is, everything that constitutes the living space of the people, is organized by a designer and tries to convey a reflection of their subjectivity to every object around them. According to

Foster, this meaning attributed to the object is “(...) *at the same time, design is one of the main actors that draws us into the system of today’s consumerism, which creates almost a whole, is only about desire. It is strange that this desire seems almost complete today. A superficial narcissism; the idolization of the subject, which is also its own potential destruction*” (Foster, 2015:43).

One of the important roles of design objects that can be said to surround human life is the creation of aesthetized life, and thus the object being made desirable. With these subjective experiences, it can be said that the function of the design object remains in the background and the objects of desire are produced. In the aesthetic theory associated with the concept of beauty, it can be said that object and aesthetic object phenomena intertwine today. It can be stated that aesthetic phenomenon has an idealistic essence in the context of all design products. It is a known fact that aesthetics is based on the determination of the judgments about the beautiful, unlike the philosophy of art. In this area, the questions of what is the source of beauty and what is beautiful form the fields of study, and these questions can bring with them an arrangement that can be attached with ontological approaches. It can be stated that the reason for this is both the source of the beautiful and the questions asked about what it is. According to Foster, the present activity area of the design is not only in architectural projects or art events, but in everything; from all kinds of clothes to genetic structures of people (Foster, 2015:33). Thus, it is a known idea that aesthetical thought is not limited to philosophical debates, but it is in control of trade with the capitalist economic system. The modern man lives in the design universe. Environment, clothes, human body, soul, nerve, sexuality, activities in daily life are

effective designs. What people look like, their identities and subjectivities have become objects of design (Artun, 2010:59).

Plekhanov states that an idealistic way of thinking, which claims the perpetuity of beauty, cannot go beyond separating art from human, ignoring the social reality and evading the powerful by idolizing the beautiful. He indicates that art copies life and the ideal of a “*beautiful life*” is different for different classes. The understanding of life is associated with beauty. From this thought, it can be deduced that life is actually different for classes, for their economic statuses are different. The concepts of life and beauty change according to the process of economic development of society (Plekhanov, 1987:12).

Lunacharsky has reacted to the concept of subjectivity in terms of the phenomenon of art as follows: The reaction that can be formed against subjectivity in art, which is a reflection of the characteristics of the bourgeois culture that brings individualism into the forefront, is based on a structure with an increasing effect that brings new social principles with it. In other words, it has to get its strength from the proletariat. The direct effect of the proletariat has been much less favorable in the field of fine arts and music than literature. The reaction to subjectivism in the fields of music and fine arts have come up with a larger impact in parallel with the reactions in the fields of politics and literature (Lunacharsky, 2000:128). Engels argues that the social meaning of art is a valuable phenomenon and argues that the determinant of the value of a work is the inherent social meaning of the work rather than the creator's intent (cited in. Jay, 2014:279). According to Adorno “*Artists’ works, like their lives, appear “free” from the outside. The artwork is neither a reflection of the soul nor the*

incarnation of the Platonic idea. It is a force field between the subject and the object rather than being pure entity” (Adorno, 2014:83).

Before Marx's concept of Historical Materialism, the artistic formation that appears to be in the mysterious splendor of individual mind, coincidence and inexpressibility, appears to be a form of humanitarian activity, which, according to Plekhanov, has become compatible with the laws of social development. According to him, this activity should be explained in a scientific expression. Plekhanov expresses the relation between art and scientific aesthetics in his work called “*Art and Social Life*” as follows: “*as art revives life, scientific aesthetics (a correct art theory) could have only gained a solid foundation when a true understanding of life emerged*” (Plekhanov, 1987:98). According to Plekhanov, the concept of scientific aesthetics is against the pure aesthetic conception that claims to be free of material possibilities and to have found the perpetual rules of beauty. According to him, art, literature and criticism are tied to social formations. Although art products are related to social relations, with the changes in social relations, there is a change in the aesthetical tastes of the people and, as a result, a change in the designer's products. Plekhanov argues that it is wrong to think that art only expresses people's feelings. According to him, art should express both emotions and thoughts of people. At the same time, he argues that it should express them with images, not through abstraction (Plekhanov, 1987:89-102). According to Marx, the periods of rapid development in art (art movements) do not always act in the same direction with the periods of economic development, but they carry a value, which is beyond the civilization that produces them, and a subjective attraction. According to Marx the concept of aesthetics must emphasize the historical basis of property, classes and forms of ideology. On the

other hand, art should be considered as a tool to represent the world, a means of knowing, a social bond, a class weapon, a human enrichment, a state of consciousness, an expression of social reflection (cited in. Freville & Plekhanov, 1991:18-19).

It can be stated that each design product that is constructed within the concept of subjective thinking is an activity based on personal interpretation that highlights emotions and thoughts. It can be said that the design process of each design product is actually a subjective state, and this process becomes a concrete entity after it becomes a design product. Design products that can be considered as subjective experiences during the design process can be said to become an objective structure after emergence. The way to demonstrate the prediction of a design product that can be expressed as “true” would be possible with the harmony of form and content, function and expression, subjective and objective elements.

In this section, the objective and subjective concepts of materialist philosophy are discussed in terms of design. In terms of the scope and limitations of this study, it is aimed to express the different dimensions (art, design and aesthetics) of the objective and the subjective through the implications of idealist and materialist philosophy. It can be said that the visual design products to be discussed within the scope of this study will be handled with a historical materialist approach, and that the objective and the subjective should be considered in this sense. According to Erdoğan, in Marx's historical materialist approach, thought and economy are not the determinants of life. The situation that is related to how the intellectual and material life is produced (which is the objective) is the determinant of life. The idea that reason, language,

discourse, or ideology (a different abstract concept) determines the living conditions of humans is not accepted in materialist approach because it is an inference of the idealist philosophy (Erdoğan, 2012:136).

2.3. Dialectic Materialism

Dialectic derives from the word “*dialego*”, which means speaking in Ancient Greek. Unlike the previous meaning of the dialectic, it was expressed as the art of reaching the truth by revealing the contradictions in the claim of the addressee and overcoming these contradictions (McClennen, 2004:29). The dialectical method of thought sees the events in nature in a continuous movement and change. This method can be expressed as allowing the dialectic understanding of nature as a result of the mutual interactions between the opposing forces. Stalin states that the essence of dialectical materialism is constructed in an exact opposite position to metaphysics (Stalin, 1974:9).

According to the dialectical thought, no event in nature can be understood on its own, apart from the events around it. In contrast, it is possible to understand and explain every event which is thought to be conditioned by the events around it and its surroundings. Dialectic, unlike metaphysics, is based on the idea that nature is not in a state of calmness and immobility, stagnation and immutability, that something is always born and developed, and that there is a continuous movement and change, a constant renewal and development. The materials in nature and the reflections of these materials in the human mind are dealt with mainly in terms of their

interrelations and the conditions of birth and extinction of their mutual relations (Engels, 2006:29).

At the point where the dialectic comes from, the idea of design, the Frankfurt School, and the “critical theory” approaches of Horkheimer, who is one of the founders of this school, will be covered. The Frankfurt School, founded in 1923, continued its work based on Marxist approaches in the period following its founding. However, in the 1960s, the approach of this school has altered from historical materialist method to an approach that gives more importance to structure, discourse, language and post-modern approaches. Horkheimer states that his determination of the dialectic of history emerged from his metaphysics, which was Hegel's way of explaining (the Absolute Nous). It can be said that deviations in Hegel's dialectic concept have been revealed by the Frankfurt School through the ideological indicators of the capitalist system. It can be said that Marx's economic-political critique and Hegelian Marxism form the basis of “*critical society*” theory. It can be said that the transition from philosophy to social theory through the “*critical theory*” made the critique of ideology, which is the main area of Frankfurt School, possible. The word "critical", which can be expressed as an output of the Frankfurt School, “*is not used in the sense of the idealist critique of reason but in the sense of the dialectical critique of political economy*” (Slater, 1998:62).

The “Critical Theory” can be thought of as a doctrine of the Frankfurt School against the dominant approaches (anti-positivism). To express the effects on society, Marcuse states as follows: “*German Idealism uses bourgeois society as a model to present its concept of universality. In this sense its theories bring a New validation of*

social slavery” (Slater, 1998:75). It is a well-known judgment that Horkheimer does not accept Hegel's metaphysical designs and his claim for absolute truth. Horkheimer made the following statement about metaphysicians in his book *“Twilight”*: *“(…) I don't know how right metaphysicians are; perhaps there is a very powerful and effective metaphysical system or fragment somewhere. But I know that metaphysicians are often unaffected by the suffering of people”* (Horkheimer, 1990:81). Horkheimer, made his most important critique of Hegel's metaphysics as follows: The acknowledgment that all knowledge is the self-knowledge of the infinite subject is, in other words, the acknowledgement that identity exists between the subject and the object, which is based on the basic priority of the absolute subject, and the mind and matter (Horkheimer, 1990:48). Horkheimer criticizes metaphysical events and ideas which are expressed as determinations of the idealistic philosophy. It can be said that in his critique, he criticizes ignoring the expression of social concepts such as social justice and social class by creating obscurity on people with metaphysical events. According to Erdoğan, “identity” and “class” are not two scientific categories. “Class” is one of the indicators of identity. The class-based approach is about the capitalist and working-class relations of the structure that comes along with relations of production and it is maintained in this direction (Erdoğan, 2012:135).

Horkheimer expresses the relations between thought, nous and economic conditions with these words;

“Nous can recognize itself neither in nature nor in history. Even the nous cannot be identical with reality, even if there was not a questionable abstraction. Actually, there is no such thing as an absolute “thought”. There

are only specific thoughts of concrete people, which are based on the social-economic conditions that they have. There is no "existence". To the contrary, "what exists has a quantity"." (Jay, 2014:100).

Horkheimer, who opposes the theory of identity, also indirectly criticizes the re-emergence of Lukacs' History and Class Consciousness. For the Lukacs, the proletariat was both the subject and the object of history. He states the metaphysical proposition that is the basis of the historical subject-object identity assumption: "*The proletariat, seen as the identity of the subject and the object of the real history of humanity, is not a materialist realization that transcends the idealist thought structures*" (Lukacs, 1998:23). The positivists did not accept the claims of Hegel's philosophy of the absolute nous that are based on existence, not allowing the mind to make any right or wrong judgments about the real. This led to excessive pre-judgment and exaltation of facts unilaterally. Horkheimer defended the possibility of a dialectical social science instead of metaphysical systematization and antinomic³ empiricism. This dialectical social science thought was separated from the theory of identity, but it would also give the observer the right to go beyond the data of experience. Critical Theory's superiority over the aforementioned considerations is mainly to go beyond two alternative ideas (cited in. Jay, 2014:102).

It is a wide known idea that Hegel's concept of absolute nous is the source of change, which defines his idealism. Idealistically, it can be said that the mind is the defender and determiner of everything in the universe. At the same time, it can be expressed as a thought that connects all existing things to thought and derives from it,

³ It can be expressed as the incompatibility of the two laws in reality or superficially.

that there is no objective reality other than thought, that there is no material reality. Hegel's dialectical idealism is emphasized as a need of society to concentrate on the production process. According to Hegel, "work" is the product of labor. Idealist analysis states that work exists as a whole within the social space, and that this reality is not merely an individual relationship for the producer (cited in. Slater, 1998:73).

When Marx and Engels describe their dialectical methods, they often say that they are formulated by the formulation of the Hegelian dialectic, but it does not mean that the doctrine of Marx and Engels is the same as the Hegelian dialectic. It can be said that by purifying his dialectical concept from Hegel's idealist structure, Marx developed its rational essence and created a modern scientific form. Marx expresses how his dialectical method is differentiated from Hegel's as follows:

“My dialectical method is not only fundamentally different from Hegel's, but its opposite. According to Hegel, the process of thinking, which is transformed into an independent subject under the name of 'ide', is the reflector of reality, and the reality is the external-eventual form of the 'ide'. For me, on the contrary, the process of thinking is nothing more than the material world that is reflected in the human mind and transforms into thought forms.” (Marx, Engels, 2013:96).

According to Stalin the dialectical method should not be considered as the process of development, circles, a rotating movement on the circle, or the simple repetition of past events; but it should be known as a continuous and advanced movement, a development from the simple to the complex, from low to high, from a

former qualification to a new qualification. It is a correct orientation of the study of social life and social history within the basic thinking structure of the dialectical method. With the idea that events in the world are separate from each other and not all by themselves, it is clear that all these social systems and social movements in history cannot be evaluated in terms of “*infinite justice*” or other preconceptions, if they mutually condition each other (Stalin, 1974:13).

The idealist philosophy claims that the world is the product of the senses and thoughts together with the things that exist on it. Lenin explains this contradictory situation, which brings to mind the questioning, “to whom did the emotions and thoughts belong”, for millions of years in the world when no life existed, as follows:

“In a time of world history, natural science has proved that no one was present and could not be present. Organic matter is the product of a long evolution. In this direction, matter is essential and thought, consciousness, senses are the products of a very high development” (Lenin, 2001:86)

According to Lenin, natural science “*has unceasingly proven that thought is a function of the brain, that the senses, the images of the outside world, occur within us as a result of things affecting our senses*” (cited in. Boguslavsky, et al., 1995:37).

Historical materialist practice can express the relationship between consciousness and brain as follows: While consciousness is a phenomenon connected to the human brain, the brain is not dependent on consciousness. According to Lenin, the relationship between sensation, consciousness and the outside world is the transformation of the external warning energy into a fact of consciousness. This

transformation has been observed by people millions of times everywhere. The point where the idealist philosophy was mistaken was not to accept sensation as a relationship between consciousness and the outside world, but to accept consciousness as a wall separating consciousness from the outside world (Lenin, 2001:58).

Idealism states that only our consciousness exists, that the material world, existence, and nature only take place in our ideas and perceptions of our senses. On the other hand, materialist philosophy accepts the material as an objective reality that exists and independent of our consciousness. Material can be expressed as the source of all senses' ideas and consciousness. Consciousness is a reflection of the material. The brain is an organ of thought and the separation of thought from the material is a big mistake (Lenin, 2001:391).

According to Ollman, dialectic has existed in different forms since the first appearance of human beings in the world, because the life of humanity always contains important elements of change and interaction. Our environment, as a whole, has inevitably always had a limitation and determinism on what is happening in it. The moment or the time frame called today has emerged from what existed yesterday, contains the possibilities of yesterday and will determine the possibilities of tomorrow. In order to increase the positive effects of this situation in their lives, and to minimize the harmful effects of the situation, humans tried to produce a number of concepts and ways of thinking that would help them understand what is going on in their world, especially the continuity of change and interaction, the effects on the components of any system and the intertwined nature of the past, present and future.

This endeavor of human beings has left us a very rich and highly volatile dialectical tradition of thought that is still waiting to be discovered (Ollman, 2015:17).

Marx created his own dialectical thinking from his own observations and experiences of capitalism, which had not yet reached full maturity, and by being inspired from important figures in the field of philosophy, such as Epicurus, Aristotle, Spinoza, Leibniz, and especially Hegel, who was still alive at the time. At this point, it is necessary to express the basic characteristics of capitalism that distinguish it from previous class societies. Capitalism unites all general life activities, the laws of humanitarian value and money as the single power that these laws brings together under a one-way organic system. Capitalism can also be said to be distinguished from its previous class societies, to the extent that it tries to conceal or deny its important success. The capitalist system has made people, who are subject to it, focus more on specific issues such as a person, a place, a job that is involved in their lives, and prevented them from seeing what kind of an interrelation the particular have. Thus, it has caused all the constants that constitute the social life and concepts such as class, class struggle, alienation, etc., which are all caused by the particular interrelations, to be ignored (Ollman, 2015:17).

It can be stated that as the idea of dialectical understanding of nature makes all kinds of nature philosophy unnecessary and impossible, history's Marxist interpretation practice also draws a line between philosophy and science in the field of history. According to the general view on this new conception, that is, dialectical materialism, the concept of philosophy can be expressed as a general view of the general universe based on a specific interpretation of the relationship between the

soul and matter. Dialectical materialism, above all, can be said to be a guide for the way society operates and for the production of material life.

It may be necessary to focus on the first conception of dialectics in addressing the concept of historical materialism (dialectical materialism), which Marx formed by drawing a certain line on metaphysical philosophy (idealism). According to KİVİLCİMLİ, while the material world is called the being and the spiritual world is called thought, the outer world, expressed as existence, can be expressed as an objective entity outside our thought. It can be stated that without thought, we cannot comprehend existence and the concept of existence is a subjective understanding of our thinking. In this case, it can be said that existence and thought are both objective and subjective. Dialectics can be expressed as a science examining the laws of the most general movement of the universe, regardless of thought and existence. Dialectics identifies the laws of general motion of thought and existence. As it is not right to refer to sociology as a philosophy of society or philosophy of history, it would be wrong to express dialectics as philosophy of existence or philosophy of thought (KİVİLCİMLİ, 1974:9-12).

Two different types of bourgeois knowledge theory see the source of knowledge as senses and thoughts. They also abstract these aspects of individual experience in the real material process of human activity they emerge from. In contrast, dialectical materialism, investigates where knowledge is actually born: human beings' social existence and their interactions with each other and nature (Cornforth, 2009, 101). Stalin states the political definition of people's social existence as follows: "*A society's existence and the living conditions in the society*

defines the ideas, theories, political views and political institutions of that society” (Stalin, 1974:24). Regarding this subject, Marx states, *“It is not the consciousness that determines the existence of human beings, but the social existence determines their consciousness”* (Marx, 2011:27).

In his *“1844 Manuscripts”*, Marx discussed the criticism of Hegelian dialectic by Feuerbach, who was a philosophical and moral scientist. Marx bases his thoughts, which he defines as Feuerbach’s success, on the following ideas: Philosophy is nothing more than thought and transformed into thought, and thus human essence has to be forced to be alienated as another form of existence. Marx argues that the social relations of humans are the basic principle of Feuerbach's theory, and that real materialism and real science are formed accordingly. It opposes the negation of the negation, which claims that the absolute and the self-supporter are positive and positively self-based. *“Feuerbach describes the Hegelian dialectic as follows (and thus justifies his commencement with positive, sensuousness): Hegel bases his dialectic on the alienation of the essence, the absolute and stagnant abstraction. In simple words, he bases it on religion and religion science”* (Marx, 2014,158).

Lenin reflected a materialist view of the natural sciences as a reflection of the outside world. In this context, he expressed the relationship between materialism and idealism as follows:

“Materialism is the acceptance of the ‘object in itself’ and the object outside the mind. In this sense, thoughts and sensations are copies or reflections of these objects. The opposing idea (idealism) suggests that these objects will not

exist 'without the mind'. Objects are a combination of sensations” (Lenin, 2001:26).

Marx defines the essence of historical materialism in the preface of his work “*Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*”: People establish certain relationships that are not necessarily dependent on their will among themselves in the social production of their existence. These relations of production are similar to a certain degree of development of the material productive forces of people. All of these production relations are the determinants of the economic structure of society. The mode of production of material life generally conditioned the social and intellectual life process. The forces of material production of the society are in contradiction to existing relations of production or property relations, so that relationships, which shape the productive forces, become their barriers. In these circumstances, the age of social revolution begins. This change in the economic base disrupts the upper structure. In examining these upheavals, it is necessary to understand the economic, political, religious, artistic or philosophical conditions as well as the conditions of economic production and the differentiation in the ideological forms in which people become aware of this conflict and carry it to the end. To give an example, just as one cannot be given a judgment according to the idea he thinks about himself, such judgment cannot be made by taking into account the self-evaluation of this period. On the contrary, it is necessary to explain these evaluations by the contradictions of material life and the conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production (Marx, 2011:40). This is how the doctrine of Marxist materialism applied to society and social history are expressed.

It is a known fact that Marx, in the final stage of Hegel's dialectical method, took his essence to a materialist structure, freeing it from its idealist structure. Dialectical materialism, intended to be applied by Marx to the life of society and the history of society, will constitute the synthesis as a result in terms of questioning and understanding the social values with the thesis and antithesis. In line with the consciousness and social relations accepted by many thinkers who adopt many materialistic forms of thought, it is a known idea that historical materialism (Marx) claims that the “*social relationships people have define their lives, not their own consciousness*”.

The effect of the design phenomenon on social consciousness, just like social relations, can be acknowledged in the light of the materialist way of thinking. It can be seen that visual design products that affect the public consciousness in the context of the design phenomenon considered within the scope of the study create a very strong communication activity. The reflections of visual design products on the society that directly affect society such as people's tastes, decision mechanisms, informing habits, consumption habits can be seen. It will be argued that the existence of design activity has been an undeniable fact for thousands of years and that the present capitalist economic system is an instrument of the most powerful production and consumption relations in order to reproduce itself.

It will be revealed that the concept of design can be separated from the capitalist shell by the method of dialectical materialism. It will also be discussed what the concept of design, which is detached from its social values, actually serves, and how it provides this service. For example, if we want to develop a thought about the

design and function of any food packaging, which is a design product we encounter almost every day, the question of how the subject can be dealt with by the dialectical method can be expressed as follows: In the thesis, it can be said that the duty of packaging is to carry, store and provide information about its contents. In contrast to this, it can be said in the antithesis that the design of the package is designed to affect the consumption and decision-making of people. The packaging may not contain information regarding the health effects due to consumption of this product or the information may be incomplete. It can be stated that sub-assessments of the design of the packaging are ignored for certain technical limitations and for the maximization of consumption. The resulting synthesis is; in general, the design concept of food packaging is intended to guide people to consume more than to provide information about the product. It can be said that the visual design of the packaging has a positive effect on human consciousness towards people's tastes, decision-making mechanisms, informing and consumption habits, but with a dialectical point of view, it can be said that a wrong consciousness has been created on people by conscious and incomplete or incorrect design arrangements.

The fact that Marx took over dialectics from Hegel by pushing aside its idealist shell, taking only its rational essence and shaping it in terms of modern science was discussed in this chapter before. In the previous part of this study, the materialistically objective and subjective⁴ has been dealt with a historical materialist examination. It is important within the scope of this study that a packaging design is evaluated with in a historical materialist manner, apart from a dialectical method. Placing a fruit that can be found in nature on its own in the context of capitalist

⁴See 2.1.3

production relations, putting it into a design product causes a number of question marks when the historical materialist approach is applied. In what conditions (cultivation, packaging) a fruit in its natural state becomes a design object can be inquired in a wide range, in the context of production relations, from agricultural production to city life, health problems and production relations.

A materialist perspective (cultural studies, public relations, marketing departments) is likely to discuss concepts such as the naturalness of the product in this package, the quality of the package/its limitation/shelf life, and marketing aesthetics. From the historical materialist point of view, however, the object is evaluated in the historical relations of production from the production of fruit juice to the use of fruit juice. The answer to the question of why packaging of fruit juice, a design product, is produced cannot be expected to be “so that everyone can drink fresh and natural fruit juice”. Many questions are taken into consideration such as the farm, farmer, farmer's living conditions, the owner of the factory where the product is processed, the factory workers, the factory owner's relations with the dominant class, and the product being placed on the shelves. It can be stated that the historical / social conditions that determine the production of labor (wage labor), which can be stated as one of the most important concepts in terms of production relations, should be dealt with by a design-specific examination.

2.4. The Concept of Commodity in Terms of Design Products

From the standpoint of design products, it can be said that, before examining the phenomena of using and exchange value in order to express the concept of

commodity, Marx's theory of surplus value, which he uses to express the process of production of capitalism (the movement of capital and the process of production) must be explained. "Capital" is one of the most important works in which Marx expresses the ways in which capitalism operates. The working plan of this book deals with all the facts that must be embodied to understand capitalism in a concrete way and to be reconstructed in a theoretical sense. "*Surplus-Value Theories*" can be defined as a critical analysis of the judgments of bourgeois economists on the ways in which they perceive capitalism. According to Marx, with the evaluation of bourgeois economists (Adam Smith, David Ricardo, etc.), their approach to the concept of surplus-value is taken as a reference, and in this respect surplus-value theories are based on a comprehensive critique of bourgeois political economy. The economists who adopt the bourgeois political economy in the historical process seek the basis of surplus-value outside the labor-process and reflect the orientation of the classes that hold the ownership of the means of production.

Marx stresses that the two elements that come together in the production process, like labor and capital, represent two totally different and opposing classes in order to be able to express that workers' labor is lost in a commodity (Marx, 1998:142). Therefore, what distinguishes Marx from previous economists can be expressed as the fact that he considers production process in terms of labor, not in terms of capital. Marx who sharply separated the relationship between labor and capital, which came together in the production process, found that the surplus value did not return to society or the worker, who produced it, and was transferred completely to the capital. In the light of the "Surplus-Value Theory" put forward by Marx, it would be more accurate to understand the concept of commodity.

Marks states the concept of commodity as follows: Commodity, first of all, is something outside of people, but also an object that addresses human needs according to the characteristics it has. The usefulness of a property makes it a use-value. The concept of utility is the result of the physical nature of that thing. Iron, wheat, diamond etc. the physical being of a substance, for example, is expressed as a use-value or something that is useful. This feature of things is not dependent on much or less labor of man in order to gain the use characteristics that he possesses. Use-value concept expresses hours with dozens, fabric with meters, coal with tons etc. The use-value of the commodities reveals another area of research, that is, the commodity information, subject and material. Use-value, however, is a condition of use or consumption so that it becomes real. The use-value shows the material content of wealth, regardless of the social structure, and is the tangible, visible carriers of exchange-value (Marx, 1966:24).

The concept of “productive labor”, defined in terms of production in capitalist society, is defined as Adam Smith's book “*Wealth of Nations*”, as labor “*directly exchanged with the capital*”. Labor (work) can be expressed in terms of production conditions, as money or commodities. In general, labor is defined as the exchange of value (exchange-value) with the capital. In this respect, non-producing labor is not expressed by capital but by direct income, in other words by productive labor that is exchanged with profit (Marx, Engels, Lenin, 2008:97).

Capital formation is expressed as an unlimited accumulation of commodities. Meta alone is expressed as a simple form. But the commodity is explained in two

aspects as use-value and exchange-value. Commodity is a means of subsistence in the broadest sense of the expression of human requirements. Its existence, as the use-value expressed in the concept of commodity, coincides with the form of tangible physical existence. For example, the use-value of rice, paper, sugar, glass etc. It differs from usage-values. The use-value only has a value in use, and only in conjunction with the consumption process. It creates more use-value than how the content of the social form of capital is realized. This content is primarily insensitive to the social form. The quality of the products produced does not have any significance in terms of being British or French. Usage-value does not show the social relations of production. The use-value of the commodity can be stated to be a necessary condition, but it is not necessary that the use-value is a commodity. The concept of use-value is not in the field of political economy by itself. In this context, use-value constitutes a material basis in which a certain economic relationship, exchange-value occurs. The exchange-value is first seen as a quantitative relationship and the use value is exchanged in relation to this relationship (Marks, 2011:44).

Marx expresses the creation of social relations through commodities as follows: “*The exchange of commodities is the creation of the exchange of social objects, that is, the exchange of specific products of specific individuals, as well as the social relations of certain production that individuals establish during this change*” (Marx, 2011:72).

It can be said that the most important factor that provides the exchange-value of commodities is the concept of labor (work). It can be stated that labor (work), which can be considered as a concrete concept, is an observable concept throughout human history since it has an important role in the production relations that society

needs. Marx expresses the circulation of commodities as follows: *Just as they embrace a commodity nature among themselves, relations become clear in the form of separate determinations in which they have a general equivalent, and the process of change turns out to be the process of emergence of money. The whole of this process, which takes place as different processes take place, is circulation*” (Marx, 2011:72).

Since the power of production is a property of the useful visible structure of the work (labor), it has no effect on the work (labor) with its abstraction from the useful visible structure of the work. Therefore, the change in the production power always presents a value of the same magnitude in the same period of the same work, but the mentioned work (labor) creates different amounts of use-values in the same period. The change in production power brings about the same rate of change in use-value. Labor of all kinds (work) is the physical expenditure of work force in terms of human beings, and this creates the value of human labor with its own commodity-value. Maneuvering from a different point of view, all kinds of labor (work) towards a specific and specific purpose is the expenditure of work force and produces the use-value by being a useful visible work (labor) (Marx, 1966:42).

“At first, the commodity comes as something that is not very valuable and is easily understood. However, the analysis of the commodity has actually shown that it is a very strange thing filled with theological ornaments from metaphysical details. As long as commodities have use-value, commodities do not have a mysterious aspect, whether they are the evaluated in terms of providing human needs or whether they

are products of human labor. The mystical nature of the commodities does not arise from their use-values” (Marks, 2013:171).

Throughout human history, it can be observed that man shapes the form of the materials that nature provides (design activity). Even if the useful varieties or productive activities of labor are quantitatively high, it is a physiological fact that these are functions of the human organism. Whatever the nature and form of each of these functions are, they can all be shown as designs of people.

It can be said that the mysterious properties acquired by the commodities is a self-acquired phenomenon when they take the commodity form, and that the shape that the commodities take in addition to their mysterious structures is actually produced in order to make the product earn an exchange-value. It can be said that the resulting products are not for meeting the needs of individuals or groups, but actually productions for others. Each commodity that enters into circulation and has an exchange-value refers to a production process for another, and the goods (commodities) entering into circulation face with the consumption of labor power that is common to each product, not a specific labor. At the same time, commodities with exchange-value face the equality of labor (labor, time) spent on them. The duration of the labor (labor, time) spent takes the form of the quantity of the resulting products. What is equal in commodities that are circulated and exchanged at different rates is actually just labor times. It can be stated that this labor-time situation reflects their social quality. When commodities confront each other, they are found by their social qualities and become a relationship. Marx expresses this fact as follows: The reason why the commodity appears to be a mysterious thing is that within it, the social

quality of human labor appears to be attributing an objective quality to the human, and the product of this social labor. The relationship between the commodities themselves is a relationship outside their physical characteristics. This relationship is a social and a value relationship (Marx, 1966:88).

The worker must first sell his wage labor to the capital, since he cannot have the material means within a production activity. The labor force obtained can only be used in the particular environment in the production areas of the capital owner when the wage labor is sold. The worker, who cannot produce anything by himself because of not having the means of production, will be able to express himself only as the gear of a wheel within the production activity. It is a known fact that the production relations within a capital-oriented economic system transformed everything into a commodity and rapidly increased the mass production of goods after the industrial revolution by rapidly penetrating every part of the world and human life. According to Fischer, the capitalist system is dragging all kinds of relations between the producer and the consumer into the unknown where it will not end well. When man's manual labor was not devalued (before the industrial revolution), the craftsman produced his works according to the order of a particular buyer, but the commodity producer in the capitalist system does not know who he produces for today. Commodity production is now spreading everywhere. The increase in the division of labor, the division of work into certain sections, the uncertainty of capital forces affects the relations between people negatively. In the context of this idea, a design product is transformed into a commodity, and the commodity designer can be said to be a commodity producer (Fischer, 2010:49). This thought can be expressed as the

fact that what is expressed as a commodity designer is actually the human and that the human is managed by the commodity produced by him.

In criticizing the concept of commodity, Marx can be said to use the concept of “fetishism”, which can be expressed as an idealistic way of thinking, to destroy the structures of thought (object of pleasure) that society has created within itself. Because commodities cause an illusion in human consciousness in accordance with the structures defined by Marx's commodity fetishism. The commodities transform their own existence into a mysterious structure, not as the labor force that people provide, but independent of people and they reinforce the alienation process of people. In this way, commodities can be expressed not only as use-value products, but also they gain more value with the sense of pleasure attributed to them.

The fetish relationship that people have established with commodities can be expressed with an idealistic approach that they do not emerge in the human thought and consciousness by themselves .A design product, which has a fetish character (it can be called a design object as well) because of some of properties of the capitalist economic structure (consumption, hedonism, popularity), transforms into an object of pleasure through the context of production and consumption relations and causes an illusion in the human consciousness. In other words, it is an ideological phenomenon. Since human consciousness cannot exist with a pre-existing sense of pleasure, when the activities that constitute the social life define the human consciousness (production of material life), this can cause the design product (object of pleasure) with an exchange value to create an illusion on human consciousness. It can be stated that today, the capitalist production and consumption relations and design

phenomenon have been separated from the social context and transformed into an idealistic structure.

According to Jay, Marx's fetishism is basically a product of the alienated capitalist mode of production. He states that the people's own quality, relationships, actions, and even human existence are transformed into things in the process of capitalist production. Fetishism is based on the economy of the commodity properties of a society in which the exchange value is more valid than use value (cited in. Jay, 2010:302).

It can be said that the phenomenon of change in the production of labor, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections of the study, started with the adoption of the French Revolution (1789). With the capital transferred from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, it can be stated that the effects of the inventions on production and the industry started with steam-powered machines. In line with these developments, the increase in capital accumulation in Europe has led to the industrial revolution in Britain. With the rapid increase in the need for consumer goods after the industrial revolution, everything surrounding people has changed and transformed very rapidly in relation to production and consumption. Nowadays, it can be stated that each design product has a use value, but it can be explained that every product with exchange-value causes an illusion as follows: It is stated that each design product that has the exchange value, which is expressed as a commodity, causes it to be separated from human labor (work) and its use value. This independence has transformed each design product into an object of pleasure and separated it from its social quality.

It can be said that the term fetishism is a thought that can be associated with the concepts of commodity fetishism and alienation. It was mentioned previously in the study that, as there is no design situation in which there is no human factor, each design product has an effect that shapes the human consciousness. It can be stated that the social conditions that determine human consciousness are also determinants of the design object produced under capitalist forms of production. In this context, it can be stated that the object of design emerges as a product of consciousness and is the producer of consciousness. Therefore, it can be stated that each design activity has ideological (false consciousness) reflections on human consciousness, and that each of the resulting design products is the carrier of the ideology (false consciousness).

2.5. Design and Social Consciousness

In this section, we will focus on the reflections of social processes that constitute the human consciousness and the reflections of these social processes on design products. The consciousness created by social structures and the dialectical relationship between the society and consciousness determine the conditions of production of design. Moreover, it can be said that it has an effective role in terms of form and content. It can be said that visual design products, which can be assumed to create a strong communication activity, with the undeniable effect on consciousness of society, can reproduce themselves and make design visible through a dialectical approach.

The word consciousness is used in two meanings as the object of psychology that examines our thoughts and feelings. The first meaning of the word of consciousness describes levels such as coma, sleep and awake. The second meaning means subjective experiences that people are aware of at a given moment (Alici, 2014:13). Within the scope of the study, the concept of consciousness will be used with the meaning of subjective experiences that human beings are aware of.

Language is as old as the concept of consciousness. Language is the real, practical consciousness that exists for others, and therefore exists first for man himself. Just like consciousness, language also arises from the need to communicate with other people. If there is a relationship, it exists for the humans. Animals do not relate to anything. Consciousness is a social concept from the outset (in terms of human consciousness) and it will never change. The phenomenon of consciousness is the sensory consciousness of the sensory environment. At the same time, it is also the consciousness of the relationship of an individual, who is gaining consciousness, with the activities and other individuals surrounding him. Consciousness is also the consciousness of nature, which emerges as an irresistible and unfamiliar power for humans, and which humans interact with like animals. Since nature has never been historically changed before, the necessity of establishing contact with the people around it is the beginning of consciousness (Marx, Engels, Lenin, 2006:87).

A judgment on a man is not related to this man's thoughts of himself. The state of consciousness in terms of human beings should be explained with the contradictions in material life and the state of opposition between social productive forces and relations of production. No social order in the world is lost without completing the

development processes of all the productive forces within itself. The relations of production, which are the material conditions of their existence, do not appear in any way before they mature in the basic structure of the old society. The Asian, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production can simply be expressed as a number of processes in the advancement of the economic structure of society. Social structuring constitutes the last part of human society in the prehistoric period (Marx & Engels, 2016:11).

The combination of ideas, concepts and ideas and the formation of consciousness are primarily in close relation with the economic activities, relations and real life of people. In this sense, people's relation with comprehension, thought and mind are expressed as the direct flow of their economic behavior. This form of expression is also valid in the mind-related formation, which is expressed in the political, law-related, moral, religious and metaphysical language of the people. Consciousness can be nothing but conscious existence. People's existence is their real-life process (Marx & Engels, 2016:20).

When one sees an external world object, he actually sees the impression of the object. The man has to analyze the impression that he has acquired from his own thoughts. *“The consciousness of man reflects not only the relationships that exist in the external world and the relations between himself and the outside world but also his own senses, designs and concepts and the relations between them as reflections and copies of them”* (Boguslavsky, et al., 1995:110).

According to Alici, the concept of consciousness has three main characteristics. First, awareness is a subjective experience. It cannot be transferred directly to someone else. It is a subjective experience that a person experiences the formation of his subjective world. Experiencing perceptions, sensations, and recollections is only a person-dependent situation. The second basic characteristic of the concept of consciousness is the perception of uniqueness and integrity. The acquisition of consciousness and information from different sensory channels lead to different subjective experiences, but all of these sensations can be experienced by being converged and integrated into a single state of consciousness. A subjective experience of only one sensation cannot be experienced as differentiated from the others. People experience their subjective experiences as ever-flowing images, sounds, smells, touches, thoughts, feelings, concerns. This flow can never be stopped and cannot be reversed (Alici, 2014:13).

With this property, consciousness reflects the impression that human behavior has a demand and intent. According to this acquired experience, human behavior may develop as reactions to external stimuli or by itself, but in both cases, it can be said that it emerges as conscious, intended decisions that are results of the person's will.

It can be said that animals can also relate to the objective world through subjective images (emotions, perceptions, designs) like humans⁵. For this reason, it can be said that it is not a coincidence that the object is distinguished from the subject. All the properties the human mind has, in other words, the phenomenon of

⁵ “*Animals also have tools, but they are only the parts of their bodies. Ants, bees, beavers; animals also produce, but their productive force on the nature surrounding them is insignificant when compared to the productive force of nature*” (Engels, 2006:51).

consciousness can be considered as a reflection of the constituents of the society. According to Plekhanov, social conditions determine the consciousness of the society. Ideology (including art and literature) reflects the tendencies of only a specific class, if it only deals with a certain society or a society that has been divided into classes (Freville & Plekhanov, 1991:41). In regard of the social conditions that define the consciousness of the society, it can be said that each design product is created in line with social relations. The change/transformation of the social relations also change the choices of people and this change inevitably affects the design products. Design products can be expressed as representations of the social life that is defined by the economic conditions. According to Plekhanov, the contents of an artwork (each design product) define its language, style, establishment and properties regarding beauty. Content is the ideology in which the designer aims to express the representation of reality as well as his life (Freville & Plekhanov, 1991:52).

Thoughts are based on sensations for people and at the same time, they are the results of human perceptions and sensations that are processed by the human brain. Our sensations of hearing and perceiving can be stated as follows: When we touch an object, our perceptions reflect the shape of the image we touch. If we recall the sensations we acquired when we touched this object, an image of the object appears on our mind. It is true that these images are the reflections of the directions, specifications and relations of the material objects. Thoughts and ideas consist of sensations and perceptions, which are the reflections of the external world (Boguslavsky et al., 1995:90).

It is assumed that there is a stagnant world on the outside with its forms, sizes, distances and colors. Neither our eyes are the windows to the outside world, nor are the things we see the world itself. We only see the reflection of the real world that is created by our optical system. It is not possible to claim that the world surrounding us is not real, but what we acknowledge as the reality is the indirect information of the external world that we perceive (Alici, 2014:112).

Sensations can be expressed as the material process in which interaction between the sensory organs and the surroundings occur, and information is transferred to one place from another within the nervous system. The term sensation is also used for defining the expression of the image in the brain, which is a phenomenon of consciousness (Alici, 2014:92). The image that appears on the human mind is different from the object itself in many aspects. First, the image is flat (two-dimensional) whereas all the objects are three-dimensional. Second, the image is much smaller than the object and it is symmetrically reverted. Third, the image that appears on the retina, only demonstrates the properties of the object, which are big enough. The perception depends on how much light the object receives, its size and its distance with the eye. It can be said that the image that is formed on the retina is a natural reflection depending on the object, the eye and the physical properties of light, and the image that is reflected on the human mind creates a transformation (Boguslavsky et al., 1995:175). This process, which is expressed as the visual perception, is a material process, which is a result of the interaction of material structures such as waves of light and optical systems. The human brain may not only be limited to perceiving the objects, but also it can take an active role in the perception process. *“The optical center in the brain organizes images according to*

individual and social experience that is acquired through social practices. Therefore, information is based on sensations but the sensations are under the influence of previously acquired and confirmed information” (Boguslavsky et al., 1995:179).

It is known that the process of perception is an activity of the brain. The perceived image is not the object itself but the brain's own creation based on the information provided by the object. The brain makes use of not only the visual image of the object, but all the information that it provides from all sensory organs regarding the object, as well as previously acquired practical knowledge. For example, it can be thought that one of the oldest designs of humans, the hammer, is used for cutting, shaping or hammering, but in ancient times, this tool might have been used as a basic tool for hunting or protection in order to provide the continuity of material life. Its image may make the concepts of class, struggle, equality, union understood in terms of expressions of social processes reflected on human consciousness. As expressed above with this example, perception corresponds to the different methods of understanding of previously acquired practices within the social processes.

It is an accepted fact that perception and thinking interact. Is it possible to say, while our thoughts and what we see affect each other, does the interaction between the two mediums that are assumed so different from each other really take place? The size of the image of an object reflected on the human eye may cause illusions. For example, the optical projection of a distant car on the retina is smaller than a mailbox that is closer to the observer. Nevertheless, the observer perceives this car in its original size. This situation has been expressed as follows by German physiologist and physicist Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894): *“it can be explained by saying*

that a faulty image is corrected by a subconscious judgement based on the facts that are present in the observer” (Arheim, 2007:30). The human perceives that objects in the world surrounding him by his sensory organs. Since the human’s sensory perception is unstable, sensations can sometimes be misleading. The fact that the impressions people acquire with their sensory organs do not reflect the reality cannot be used as a proof for the existence of the real world. The inability to perceive, reflect or express the specifications of things can be expressed as the deviations of the subjective thoughts that are attributed to the images.

The visual perceptions that gain meaning with human senses have to be related to the external world. The brain that acquires knowledge and the sense organs that provide access to it are not just objects subject to external influences. “(...) *the comprehension of the relationship between the subject of knowledge and the object of knowledge is the cornerstone of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge”* (Boguslavsky et al., 1995:181). Human sensory organs complement and regulate each other in this relationship. In this way, it allows the creation of the necessary images of the external world. One has to reason to interpret the knowledge he acquired from the objects of the outer world. German philosopher Schopenhauer (1788-1860) explains this concept as follows: The human brain cannot work without knowledge of things moving in time and space. If the perceptions of the social elements of the external world were to determine human consciousness in their unprocessed form, knowledge would not have a determinant in this formation. The mind has to place two functions in order to keep up with the world; collection of information and processing of this information (Schopenhauer, 2011:48).

Arnheim explains the perception of human objects by the human mind as follows:

“Perception does not refer to a unique, individual form, but to the type of pattern that creates the perception. A single object that fits the pattern may constitute it, or there may be too many objects to count. Even the appearance of a certain person is the way in which a certain pattern of qualifications is seen. Therefore, in accordance with the biological function of perception, there is no difference between perception and concept in principle. For perception to be useful, it must provide information about the types of things; otherwise, organisms cannot benefit from the experience.” (Arnheim, 2007:45).

Visual perception can refer to the smallest part of the visual world we live in, or the visual framework where they are positioned by the basic nature of the perceived objects. With this evaluation regarding the perception, the world *“is not directly informative. Some parts of this world are constructed fast and some parts are constructed slowly, but they are always subject to constant confirmation, re-evaluation; being changed, completed, corrected and understood in depth”* (Arnheim, 2007:30).

An object makes itself visible since it is seen outside the visual world and/or it answers to the needs of the observer. In the first, organic stages of life stimuli necessitated the organisms to react. An example of this is, when the plant is directed towards sunlight, or a baby turns into strong light as if it were being directed by a supervisory external power. This is the *“prototype of the cognitive response”* shown

to the object of attention unconditionally (Arnheim, 2007:40). It can be said that the response is determined by the stimulus rather than the observer's own decision.

Australian philosopher David Chalmers has studied on consciousness and tried to reveal that the dilemma of consciousness that is between the mind and the body actually has different problems. While stating that understanding the working structures of mental processes constitutes an easy problem and that this problem can be solved by the methods of the mental sciences in the standard structure, he emphasizes the importance of explaining how the problem of these processes turn into awareness. In other words, the answer to the question of what makes physical processes that provide functions such as perception, recall, and comprehension occur in the form of subjective experience, perception or awareness for people is sought. According to Chalmers, *'the explanation of the reason for being of consciousness should be explained in terms of subjective experiences'* (cited in. Alici, 2014:22).

Human beings must produce material goods by using objects in nature in order to survive. The objects they transform in accordance with their natural needs can be considered as design products. Man transforms the objects according to his needs and transforms them to meet his needs. In this direction, man produces the object of his own needs. It can be said that transforming objects with practical activity of people creates their production activity. The production activity of people determines not only the object but also the material conditions of life.

The determinant of a design product should not be the absolute, invariant, experimental criterion of subjective conditions. With the idealist approach, the

process of production of a design product gains meaning through subjective experiences such as personal tastes, special sensibilities and technical expertise. With a materialist approach, a design product can be expressed in line with the effect of objective factors (economic, social) on ideological superstructures. It is a known fact that each design product is an event or phenomenon arising from social relations. It can be said that the change/transformation in social relations is directly related to the production/consumption relations of the design products. According to Marx, *“each design product circulates on the historical basis of property, classes and forms of ideology. According to him the resulting design product is; a way of representing the world, a tool for knowledge, a social bond, a class weapon, human enrichment, an establishment of consciousness and a mirror of society”* (cited in. Freville & Plekhanov, 1968:19).

The concept of design is a concept that is peer-to-life and emerges as a product of some kind of work. It can be said that the concept of design is also a state of human activity. Human activity, which is related to the work, aims to make the materials in the environment in which it lives convenient according to its own needs. The idea that man transforms his environment is expressed as a necessity to make the exchange of material between himself and nature possible. This situation can be explained as the nature trying to keep its effect on human life continuously. For this reason, the forms of social life are the common qualities of all social forms, not the effects of nature on human life (Fischer, 2010:17).

It is known that people have acquired the ability to use the tools that are expressed as design products in order to survive, but they have also created a new

order of relations between all living things except them with this ability. People have to work to survive. It can be stated that the change in the production forms of people together with the historical, social developments and transformations has brought about the transformation related to the production of labor.

In this context, Marx describes the working process associated with the production of labor as follows: When the working process begins, it ends with the creation of something existing in the laborer's thought. The aim of the laborer is not only to give a natural form to the products he produces, but also to understand what the purpose in which he has to relate with his own purpose and will is in the nature that exists beside him. The action determined with the purpose is created by man and it is the birth of thought and consciousness. A conscious existence means a conscious action. It was necessary for man to use nature as a tool in order to fulfill his purpose. Every living being on earth is in a *relation of metabolism* with their surroundings, and they give and take things all the time. This is always an indirect first-hand exchange and the *designed metabolism* only for man to study (cited in. Fischer, 2010:19).

2.6. The Concept of Design and Alienation

Jean-Jacques Rousseau is considered the first person to have used the term alienation. During the time, he spent in the Republic of Geneva, Rousseau reached the conclusion that when a people were represented with their deputy, they became alienated from their own social life and moved away from the image of being a people. According to him, society could be a government tool, but it could never be a

tool for the common will. In the opposite situation, it would have been alienated to itself within the government (Fischer, 2010:79).

Hegel has dealt with the concept of alienation in his book “The Phenomenology of the Nous“. In this book, alienation is expressed as “alienation” and “externalization”. It would be correct to quote from Lukacs, in order understand the meanings of these words in this context:

“There is nothing new about the terms Entausserung (externalization) and Entfremdung (alienation). They are the direct translations of the English word “alienation” to German. In studies regarding the economic theory, they were used for expressing the exchange of a commodity. In studies regarding natural law, they were used for referring to the loss of freedom of an aboriginal society or the inheritance of freedom by a society that emerges from the social contract or being alienated from freedom itself” (Lukacs, 2008:129).

It can be stated the use of the term alienation with regard to economic and social contract has a specific importance, because many philosophers like Rousseau and Marx consider alienation in the political, social and economic context. As will be discussed further in this study, alienation has been attributed a negative meaning by Marx by only being associated with these fields of study. On the other hand, alienation, as presumed by Hegel, is dealt with within a broader structure, and it can be deduced that he considers alienation with a positive meaning.

Hegel, who is associated with the idealist philosophy, describe alienation as the “*externalization*” of nous by the alienation of ide to its own essence. In the third phase of his dialectics (synthesis), this alienation is removed by the return of nous, ide to its essence (Hegel, 2011:38).

According to the materialist approach, for Marx, action replaces Hegel’s theoretical activity. For Marx, human is an acting and working being. This action and work express an economic activity. An acting human, makes a product of this activity. If the resulting product is concreted within a structure based on private property, then the human becomes alienated to his own essence by his activity. He contradicts himself and becomes alienated to his essence. Marx thinks that society’s power gets out of control, becomes independent and controls people’s will and actions in the historical process. Marx discusses alienation not in terms of philosophy but in terms of history and society (Fischer, 2010:78).

Alienation is in the center of Hegel’s idealist philosophy. In Hegelian dialectics, the existence of the subjective nous that has not yet reached consciousness is considered as the thesis; as an opposition to this, the existence of the objective nous is considered as the antithesis; finally, the existence of the absolute nous is considered as the synthesis. The idea that two opposing things must be compared to create/think something new is the essence of Hegelian dialectics. It can be stated that the power of alienation increases in proportion to the increase in the sharpness of the opposition.

Hegel states the relationship between the experience of consciousness and alienation as follows:

“Consciousness cannot know and comprehend anything but its experience, for the experience is only of spiritual essence. Moreover, this is the object of consciousness ‘itself’. The nous becomes the object, because it is the movement of being itself, being the object of itself and eliminating this otherness. Experience is the name given to this movement: Here the immediate, the unexperienced and the abstract is alienated from itself, and then the process is reversed, and then, it is described in its realism and reality. At the same time, it is a possession of consciousness” (Hegel, 2004:42)

According to Hegel, existence is dialectical. The phenomenon of alienation is also the dialectic itself. The dialectical method is the movement of the entity and its thought that emerge as oppositions and aims to unite the opposites. Opposites are nous and its alienations (Hegel, 2004:93)

Hegel was previously stated to have dealt with the notion of alienation, which he formed with an idealist approach. In the process of alienation, which he considers with his own approach, Hegel expresses the relationship between time and subject:

“Time, as Hegel states, is a compulsory alienation. It is the medium where the subject loses itself to realize itself and becomes someone else to become its own reality. The opposite of this the dominant alienation applied by an alienated present time producer. In this spatial alienation, the society that separates the activity from the subject and the subject radically separates the subject from its own time. A social alienation that is possible to be overcome is the social

alienation that has literally banned and froze the possibilities and risks of living alienation in time” (cited in. Debord, 2012:126).

With the economic, social and technological developments in the history of humankind, the massification of production has emerged, and because of this, after the Industrial Revolution in Britain, it can be said that the material life has become more comfortable in western countries with mass production⁶. In line with capitalist relations of production, artificial needs are created by the necessity of consumption. The relations of production and consumption in this environment cause people to lose their own humanity. The loss of value is in parallel with the material welfare of the industrial revolution. It is alienated from the relations between the people and the environment of the production and consumption process. More importantly, the workers involved in the production process are alienated from the products they produce. It can be stated that people are alienated by the desire of consumption attributed to the design products converted into objects of pleasure. This situation is tried to be expressed by the concept of alienation by some philosophers.

In order to explain Marx's concept of alienation, economic, political and social structures need to be addressed with a dialectical approach. In Hegel's philosophy of thought, the notion of alienation is dealt with in a wider area, and the concept of comprehension has a positive meaning. According to Marx's philosophy of thought, the alienation caused by the different layers of the capitalist economic system causes alienation of the labor which is produced primarily under the supervision of the

⁶This approach has been used to express the first stages of capitalism, considering the post-industrial society.

employer (the owner of the means of production, not the worker). Then, because the product belongs to the employer (the owner of the capital having the means of production) rather than the worker, the worker is alienated from the product. When these two ideas are combined, it can be concluded that man is alienated by himself and his environment. Marx explains the alienation of man from his labor and the shaping of this alienation in the essence of the human development as follows: Private property and alienated labor must be associated with the course of human development. Because when it comes to private property, it is thought that something other than human is mentioned. When it comes to labor, it means that it is directly related to man himself (Marx, 2013:34).

Marx describes the relationship between alienation and the socialization of human labor as follows:

“At every stage of society, the labor-time necessary for the production of living means should be an issue that mankind is compulsorily interested in, while taking equal attention at different stages of development. From the moment people begin to work in any form, for others, their labor is socialized. The social nature of human labor is based on the fact that man appears to have an objective quality in the product of this labor. The relations of the producers with their labor products are seen as a social relationship between labor products. That is why the products of labor become commodities, and their qualities become both comprehensible and inconceivable social things.” (Marx 2013:172).

The success of Hegel's idealist dialectic method, the idea that man sees himself in the definition of the alienated objectivation and the realization of himself by overcoming this objectivation, has been adopted by Marx, but it has been discussed again with a superior critique. Marx expresses his statements regarding the notion of alienation, in which Hegel's relation with the idealist dialectical method is defined in his "1844 Manuscripts" as follows:

"The overcoming of alienation by disclaiming is not about man objectifying himself as non-human in a non-human way, but rather, it is about man objectifying himself as opposed to abstract thought and separate from the abstract thought. Thus, the restoration of the objective essence of the human, who has taken an alienated form, is seen not only as alienation, but also as the elimination of objectivity. Man should be seen as a non-objective, spiritual being" (Marx 2014:46).

Marx, as the main driving force of history to date, rejects the direct consciousness and will power of man. With the conception of dialectical materialism, it can be stated that the concept of nous, which is a teaching of the idealist approach, as a mediation of the concept of consciousness, reduces the relations of production to the bourgeois class and thus to the bourgeois class in relation to the alienated humanitarian forces in the class society and hence the modern society.

The phenomenon of alienation of the working class in the relations of production from the industrial revolution to the present can be expressed as follows: Within the relations of capitalist production, the subject and the object are separated.

People's products, the power to live and create, emerge as an unrecognized power. Consciousness can understand this foreign being from the outside, maybe analyze it, but it cannot resolve it in its self. Marx, in his "1844 Manuscripts", emphasizes that the state of alienation facing the working class, which applies to society, is activated by its gaining a tension. The working-class movement is a historical factor that will fulfill the promise of philosophy: the reconciliation of consciousness with existence. The working class is the subject of society through its production power. It is also the object of society with the products and exploitation directed towards them (Marx, 2014).

According to Marx, the more the worker has produced the wealth, the production power and the volume, the more the worker becomes the poorer. The commodity produced by the worker, in parallel with the power and volume of production, transforms the worker into a commodity at the same rate. He states that the appreciation of the world of objects is directly proportional to the devaluation of people. Although the object produced by labor is its product, he indicates that it opposes it as a foreign, independent production power. This shows that the relationship of the worker with his product of labor is not different from his relationship with a foreign object. The essential relationship of labor is the same as the production relation of the worker. When the product of labor is considered an alienation, the activity of production represents an alienation in action (Marx, 2011:63).

Marx expresses whom the product of labor will belong to, if it emerges as a foreign power: The foreign entity, which owns the labor and the labor of product,

commands labor and benefits from the use of the product of labor cannot be anyone else but the human. If the product of labor does not belong to the laborer, and if this product is a foreign power to the laborer, then that product belongs to someone else. If the activity of a laborer is a life maintained among many difficulties, there should be satisfaction and happiness for someone else. This foreign power on people is neither the gods, nor the nature, but only the human himself. The tool that develops alienation is a practical tool itself. Through alienated labor man not only establishes a relationship with the object and the act of production as foreign and self-enemy forces; he also creates the relationship between other people's production and his product. His own production brings him into a state of burnout through the lack of self-reality and self-punishment. Similarly, the power and dominance of a person who was not involved in the production over production and the product creates the same situation (Marx, 2013:31-32).

According to Georg Lukacs (1885-1971) alienation expresses the inability of people to manage their own social relations. Also for Lukacs, the fact that individuals cannot have a say about their lives is also a deficiency. The greatest difference between Marx and Lukacs is that Marx considers labor as a commodity, while Lukacs considers the laborer as a commodity. The idea of objectivation through alienation is not similar in Marx and Lukacs. In his later studies, it is known that Lukacs has grown distant from his idea of identity and started defending the idea that “the determinants are the nature and production” (Clarke, 1991:245).

Tunalı expresses the situation, which leads people to alienation, as follows:
Alienation is the state of opposition that is seen and experienced between scientific

technological developments and social structure, except the abstract scientific reality that is not understood. Today, scientific and technological developments have made such big stages that the social structure has lagged behind these developments. There has been an unintelligible contradiction between scientific-technological development, and spiritual-social forms. The capitalist world order faced by people is not a world in which human beings can live in harmony. This capitalist world, industrialized and commercialized, has become an external world where concrete relations cannot be understood. Therefore, man is alienated from both the world and himself (Tunali, 1993:158).

According to Fisher, the relation between the social environment of man alienated to himself and his surroundings decreases and he falls outside the society. Man wants to experience his feeling of alienation and the resulting extra-social attitude not only in his daily life, but also in his art and design life. As a result of such a structure, a bourgeois understanding of art and design is born, because its essence is the human and the human is the social facts. The fact that art and design has contents about people is the basic property and necessity for these concepts. An understanding of art and design without such property is unthinkable. The form of art that is alienated to people and the social reality is considered “abstract art” (Fischer, 2010:150).

The concept of alienation has had important implications in the past twentieth century art and literature. Many art and literary movements have a common quality. This common qualification is to alienate people and society, to move to an area outside the human and social. Except these qualities, there is the tendency of aiming

to reach the essence and the source of existence in materialist thinking through metaphysics and pantheism⁷. In many modern art movements and works, the return to the old and the fairy tales is also the result of this situation. The fetish feature of the technical, economic and social wheel that is completely alienated not only to fairytales, but also to the artists, creates unlimited specialization and differentiation in the bourgeois world. In this case, the way to bring people, who are opposed to the essence of art, to the line of society and art, is to prevent alienation by creating a balance in the order between the forms and relations of production (Tunali, 1993:165).

Nowadays, it can be said that people have become alienated from their existence, environment and society and become slaves of their own structures. The system created by man himself, which influences him, can be expressed as a capitalist economic system. It is a known fact that the concept of alienation is also addressed before Hegel, but it can be said that Hegel was the first to discuss the concept of alienation in the philosophical plane. Marx, who discusses the problem on the historical and social level and evaluates the phenomenon of alienation by considering the processes of production, private property, work, working class and labor, criticized the capitalist economic system through the concept of alienation.

It can be said design, which is defined as basic human activity, has an important position in the formation of relations of production and consumption with the industrial revolution. It can be stated that the elements of the external world that determine human consciousness and the design products that constitute these

⁷ It can be expressed as the state of God identical with nature.

elements within the existing social structures are one of the most important factors in the alienation of human within the capitalist economic structure in which they are articulated in the context of production and consumption relations. It can also be stated that the design, which is alienated from human and social reality, reproduces itself in an abstract form. It can be said that each design product that masks itself in order to legitimize the phenomenon of consumption creates an alienation effect on human. As a result of this situation, it can be said that human beings will alienate a commodity (each design product) which will always have exchange-value in accordance with today's consumption habits. Because the value attributed to it after gaining the exchange value can be attributed not only to the trade tag number, but also to the sense of man's desire for that design product. People who are alienated to their own products, the environment and themselves, will not be able to perceive the environment and social life, and will be alienated from each design product around them.

2.7. Design in Terms of Critical Theory

2.7.1. Critical Theory

Founded in 1923 in Frankfurt am Main, the Social Research Institute was later called the Frankfurt School. The Social Research Institute, which brings people from different disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, political science, psychoanalysis, history and aesthetics, has been expressed as a movement of thought. The general approach of the school is called critical theory. Critical theory has been established by scholars such as Horkheimer (1895-1973), Herbert Marcuse (1903-1969), Theodor W. Adorno (1903-1969) and Erich Fromm (1900-1980) (Slater, 1998: 9).

It can be said that critical theory has been developed in line with Marx's social, historical and philosophical ideas. The disintegration of the Soviet Revolution, the decline of leftist politics in Europe, the rising political and economic structures in the Nazism, fascism and capitalist system can be considered as the emergence conditions of critical theory.

The Social Research Institute was opened on 3 February 1923 under the chairmanship of Carl Grünberg (1861-1940). According to Martin Jay, Carl Grünberg stated in his opening speech that Orthodox Marxism was adopted as a scientific method. The attitude in the years when Grünberg was the director later changed, and during the time that Horkheimer was the director, the school adopted Western Marxism.

On 24 January 1931, Horkheimer was appointed to management after Grünberg (Jay, 2014: 75). After the National Socialist German Workers' Party came to power in Germany in 1933, the Institute had to move from Germany to Paris. In September 1933, the Institute published its first publication in Paris and the first period in Germany was finalized. In the first ten years of the Institute, the Grünberg approach is dominant. In 1934, with the victory of fascism in Germany, members of the institute had to go from France to America. According to Martin Jay, in the 1930s, Horkheimer, Marcuse, and in part Adorno's work were based on philosophy (Jay, 2014: 91). These formations that developed since the 1930s and those who adopted Western Marxism aimed to reconsider traditional Marxism in a critical way. During this period, the studies of modernity and modern society in the context of the

capitalist economic structure was criticized. It can be stated that the foundations of post-modern approaches that have survived since the 1960s have been laid in this period.

According to Açıkgöz, Horkheimer, as a philosopher studying Hegel's idealism, criticized positivist and metaphysical approaches and aimed to highlight the positive aspects of these approaches. In the first half of the twentieth century, considering the discussions between scientific disciplines (historical materialism) and metaphysical (idealism) approaches in philosophy, this approach has been the reunion of science and philosophy (Açıkgöz, 2014).

Georg Lukacs's *History and Class Consciousness*, Karl Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy*, can be said to have brought about the recovery of the philosophical dimension of Marxist thought in the early 1920s. The revival of Marxist theory was later supported by the work of the Social Research Institute. According to Martin Jay, the representatives of the Frankfurt School then studied the integration of philosophy and social analysis, focused on the dialectical method developed by Hegel and aimed to turn this method into a materialist direction (Jay, 2014: 94).

Members of the Frankfurt School distinguish scientific theories and critical theories. In other words, goals and targets differ. The primary aim of scientific theory is the successful manipulation of the world. It has an "instrumental" usage. Critical theory aims at liberation and enlightenment. Scientific theories are objectified. This means that a distinction can be made between the theory and the objects that the

theory refers to. Critical theory is reflexive. That is, there is a claim that they refer to themselves (Geuss, 2013: 88).

The critical theory of the representatives of the Frankfurt School was developed in line with Marx's social, historical and philosophical ideas. There are two special information systems in Critical Theory; science and mass culture concepts (Dant, 2013: 86). These ideas of the members of the institute led to a critique of fundamental positivism. Therefore, one of the most important contributions of the Frankfurt School can be said to be a critique of positivism (Slater, 1998: 106).

According to Marcuse, critical theory is the theory of society, which was built on the critique of dialectic, philosophy and political economy. Critical theory treats people as producers of their cultural integrity and of their own intellectual creations. Apparently, the attempt to connect a material consisting of irreducible truths to human production is a point where critical social theory is in agreement with German Idealism (Act. Slater, 1998: 62).

According to Horkheimer, critical theory can be expressed as a critique of the fundamental hidden aspects of society. It can be said that it has been established for determining the basic problems of the capitalist society and the mechanisms which reproduce itself. Marx's ideology of creating a colonial society through the idea of a classless society is the primary goal of critical theory; it means that one should emphasize the importance of one's own will by freeing the world from objectivizing approaches and that metaphysics is excluded (Horkheimer, 2005: 315).

Although many economic predictions are included in the Frankfurt School studies, it can be stated that the analyzes are predominantly of the upper structural character and the basic economic structure is underestimated. The school criticized capitalist commodity production, but did not give priority to the elements that were expressed as substructure by Marx (the material elements that make up the production relations due to economic relations). Horkheimer distinguishes himself from Marx's historical materialism in some aspects. *“Marxist theory follows the roots of monopoly capitalism to the tendencies that link the liberal past to its totalitarian liquidation. However, I wanted to identify these trends in cultural areas, especially in social representation”* (cited in. Slater, 1998:100).

According to Debord, the aim of Marxist theory is to reach beyond scientific thought. In this direction, the struggle is adopted instead of the law. Just as the value of a human being cannot be determined according to the opinion of that person, the language in which a society expresses itself cannot be considered as the unquestionable reality to evaluate that society. The periods of change should not be evaluated with the social consciousness of the period. On the contrary, consciousness should be explained by questioning the contradictions in the production of material life. Critical theory must be conveyed in its own language. This thought is the language of the contradiction that arises from the necessity of being dialectic in form as well as the content. This is the critique and historical criticism of all that is. Critical theory, therefore, is not the *“writing point of classes”*, but it is turned upside down. (Debord, 2012, 153).

Ignoring philosophy requires a continuous and conscious effort, even though the struggle is at the theoretical level. It can be said that this conscious effort is directed against all the theoretical movements, which are the contents of the non-dialectical solutions of German Idealism. It is a known fact that the system, which is the upper-structural fortress of capitalism, is expressed as “*traditional theory*”. According to Slater, an important component of “*Traditional Theory*” is “*positivism*”. According to Horkheimer, this definition of science limited the scientific activity to the recording, classification and generalization of the findings without any discrimination between the essential and the non-essential. This discrimination is not a metaphysical problem but a vital need of human society. Science and technology are only elements of an existing social whole, and despite all their successes, it is possible that other factors, even integrity itself, are going backwards (Slater, 1998: 88). In this context, only a critical approach that is necessary at the theoretical level and it can be said that positivism is far from this idea.

How and why the frame of “critical theory” put forward by the Frankfurt School philosophers differentiates from the Marxian doctrine has been discussed in this chapter in the context of the historical process. It was stated that the “Traditional Theory”, which is an inference of the dominant approaches, adopted positivist approaches and “Critical Theory” was a critique of positivism. For this reason, in this part of the study positivism and anti-positivism concepts will be given in more detail. It can be said that Critical Theory ignores Marx's prediction that "infrastructure defines superstructure" and studies on this orientation to the superstructure, culture and structuralist approaches are associated with ideology.

It can be said that the social and individual impact of the design is ignored in the positivist approach formed by the understanding of production and consumption based on utilitarianism. This phenomenon will be distinguished from positivist approaches and, in the context of critical theory, will be shown to exist in all social and individual communication channels. Therefore, it can be said that the production processes of the poster designs to be discussed within the scope of the study are formed by the development stages of social, economic and political events.

2.7.2. Ideology

Although the word ideology today associates with a non-objective idea, this concept has emerged in the opposite way in Western Europe. At first, ideology was the name given to the science of “correct thinking”. The word ideology was put forward by a group of thinkers who attempted to reveal that it is possible to examine the ideas in the human mind objectively and that there is a way to make people think about the “right” thoughts (Mardin, 2010: 22).

In this part of the research, it is aimed to reveal the effectiveness of design in making the idea that constitutes the ideology visible. In this respect, it will focus on the way ideology is handled by different theorists and the relation between design and ideology will be discussed with critical approaches.

It is known that there is not a single adequate definition of the concept of ideology. The political scientist Andrew Heywood explains the contradiction that the concept of ideology can be expressed in a single definition:

“First, since all concepts of ideology accept the existence of a link between theory and practice, this term raises very harsh attitudes about the role of ideas in politics, the relationship between beliefs and theories, and material life or political attitude. Secondly, the concept of ideology did not exclude itself from the ongoing struggle between political ideologies. In most of its historical adventures, the term ideology has been used as a weapon or attack tool for competing ideas or belief systems” (Heywood, 2007: 22).

In terms of expressing the concept of ideology, it is important to understand what corresponds to the definition of ideology, or to what state is ideological or not. In particular, one of the objections to the idea that ideology emerged from unchangeable ideas is that not every rigid idea is ideological. According to Eagleton, the concept of ideology refers not only to the belief systems but also to the concept of power. The concept of ideology on power relations is as follows: *“Ideology is related to legitimizing the power of the dominant social group or class”*. According to another definition, *“ideology is the study of situations in which meaning serves to maintain the relations of domination”* (Eagleton, 2015: 23).

Each belief system, which people express ideologically, is not related to a particular dominant political power structure. Can socialism and feminism be expressed as ideologies? If not, why? Are these thinking systems not ideological when they are in opposition, but ideological when they come to power as the dominant class. According to political theorist Kenneth Robert Minogue (1930-2013), *“ideologies can be distinguished precisely by their shared hostility against politics,*

liberalism, economy, market and individualism in moral life, i.e., against modernity” (cited in Eagleton, 2015: 24). According to this idea, it can be said that those who advocate socialism are defined as ideological, and those who advocate capitalism are defined as not ideological. A person's tendency to use the concept of ideology in relation to his own political views can be expressed as a reliable indicator of the essence of this person's political ideology.

According to Eagleton, ideology is not a language but a discourse. Ideology is the verbal use of language among certain human subjects in order to create certain effects. It is not possible to determine whether a proposition is ideological or not, just as it is not possible to determine if any text is a literary work or not. Ideology is about who wants to speak to whom, with what purpose and what he would like to say, rather than the linguistic characteristics of a language. This definition, for example, does not mean that the ideological expressions in the language used by fascism are not accepted. Fascism has its own specific dictionary meanings (sacrifice, blood, homeland) (Eagleton, 2015: 28). In fact, what makes this concept ideological is the function of its relation to the social context in which it is involved. In other words, it is the interest of power and the political effect that it is desired to be created.

It is a fact that Marx did not consider the philosophical systematics that he formed as Marxism. Hence, it can be said that Marx did not consider the way of thinking he created to be ideological. According to him, Marxism can be expressed as a tool that makes it possible to perceive the world correctly. For this reason, the concept of ideology has been mentioned by Marxists for a long time with a negative connotation (cited in Mardin, 2010: 24). The concept of ideology was constructed of

two main structures after Marx's death. One of these is the ideology perceived as the whole of the forms of social consciousness, and the other is the political views of Marx related to the class interests (Geuss, 2013: 40).

Marx's definition, "it is the economic relations that mobilize the society", may be considered as a priority expression of ideology. This meaning of ideology is expressed as follows in Marx's work "The German Ideology", which he wrote with Engels: "*The philosophers, who have followed Hegel, try to evaluate people in terms of their 'abstract essence' by examining the economic relations within the society. The truth is the exact opposite. 'Social existence' determines consciousness*" (Marx, Engels, 2013:19). According to this statement, it can be stated that according to Marx, the concept of ideology should be explained in terms of material practice (praxis). Marx states, "*The ways in which individuals manifest their lives accurately reflect what they are. They then overlap with what they are, how they produce and produce, as well as how they produce. That is, what individuals do depends on the material conditions of their production*" (Marx, Engels, 2013:30). Marx defined practice (praxis) as the existence of thought against the idealist philosophy, which is the opposite of his materialist philosophy. He referred to this concept as a product of social life practices.

According to Mardin, the idealist philosophy, which seeks to extract social life from consciousness, "is stuck in an ideological thought and evaluates the shadows as real". It can be accepted that societies do not change because of the sanctions of external factors and this situation changes with the creative power of human will. Marx expresses this possibility of change through Hegel's idealistic philosophy as

follows: *“reality is a product of human creativity as well as a consequence of the material social factors outside human beings”* (cited in Mardin, 2010:32-34).

The definition of *“camera obscura”*⁸, which Marx and Engels discussed in their book, *“The German Ideology”*, can be expressed as people seeing their social relations reversely. For this reason, for Marx and Engels, the concept of ideology can be defined as an indicator or illusion in which the truth loses its quality. According to Marx, human consciousness is not autonomous. For this reason, human consciousness can be understood by analyzing social relations affecting human consciousness. Conditions that distinguish people from animals are livelihood conditions. Therefore, when people produced livelihoods, they started to produce their material lives (Marx & Engels, 2013: 93).

In line with this idea, it can be said that the production of human consciousness is related to material activity and material relations, therefore, none of the concepts such as metaphysics, religion, morality, art and ideology are autonomous. On the contrary, they depend on the material relations and structure. Marx expresses another conceptualization of ideology in his *“The German Ideology”* through the ideas that reproduce the relationship between the ruling classes and the oppressed as follows:

“(…) the ideas of the ruling class are the dominant ideas in all ages. In other words, the materially dominant class of the society also defines the dominant mental

⁸ Camera Obscura is defined as an optical device that is considered dark, reflecting the image on the screen. Marx and Engels describe the ideological relation established with it: (..) If people seem reversed as if looking through a camera obscura in all their relations and ideologies, just as the objects reverse images on the retina are the reflections of their indirect physical life processes, this is because the same thing happens with people’s historical life processes” (Marx & Engels, 2013:45).

power. (...) these concepts are so intertwined with each other that those who are not provided with mental production tools also depend on this dominant class” (Marx, 2011:39).

It can be said that Lenin has attributed an ideological positioning to the working class and all the other classes depending on the class struggle to be conducted with a sharper structure. Thus, according to Lenin, the negative meaning of ideology is lost. Lenin expresses the concept of ideology in his work, “What should be Done” as follows:

“The only choice is between bourgeois and socialist ideology. There is no middle way (because there is no “third” ideology created for humanity, moreover, there cannot be a classless or supra-class ideology in a society divided by class antagonism). For this reason, shrinking the socialist ideology in any way, to escaping from it even a little, is to strengthen the bourgeois ideology” (Lenin, 1998: 43).

Thus, according to Lenin, there is only one choice: either socialist ideology or bourgeois ideology. There is no other choice. It can be stated that these two separate ideology structures, which Lenin exemplified, do not demonstrate parallelism with the consciousness of these classes. As the bourgeois ideology, which can be expressed as the dominant ideology, can take the working class under its control, Lenin expresses this situation as follows: *“the spontaneous development of the working class leads to its submission to bourgeois ideology, because the spontaneous*

working-class movement is syndicalism, and syndicalism is the enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie” (Lenin, 1998: 45).

In the Marxist and Leninist approach of ideology, the dominant thought determined by the bourgeois class creates an illusion. This situation is expressed as “false consciousness”. According to Marxist thought, the production of ideology depends on the social conditions that determine the production of material life (sub-structure). Regarding the creation of material life, the fact that Marx has ignored the political and cultural areas in societies constitutes the basis of Gramsci’s studies, who is one of the leading theorists whose theories prioritize the super-structure elements such as society, media, church, school, etc. and differentiate from the economic approach.

According to Gramsci, the dominance of the ruling class in class societies cannot be caused only by the supremacy over the economy (sub-structure). In addition, it serves to strengthen class domination in political and cultural areas (cited in Yaylagül, 2010: 109). According to him, ideologies should be evaluated according to the function and utility that organize the class and class segments, not according to the criteria of error and accuracy. For Gramsci, the truth of an ideology is related to its politically mobilizing dynamic nature and its historical realization. Gramsci takes the dynamics of ideologies with a positive expression because they are at the super-structure level. These dynamics are not independent or flexible. For Gramsci, ideology has a complex and contradictory nature, as is the social forms in which they take place. In principle, ideology is expressed as the “*mortar*”, which combines the sub-structure and complex super-structure areas and fuses them together.

Nevertheless, it cannot be predicted whether ideologies will fulfill the duty of “*mortar*” or to what extent they will fulfill this duty.

According to Gramsci, the concept of ideology is the evaluation of a superstructure. His approach to structures/superstructures can be related to the concept of hegemony. In using the power of the ruling class, both physical power and cultural, ideological tools are used. The most important concept in Gramsci's studies on culture and ideology is hegemony. According to Gramsci, the goal of the concept of hegemony in terms of the dominant class is to reveal the worldview of the class that directs the society by examining the relations between the classes and within the classes. The worldview of the ruling class is to penetrate into everyday life with ideological control structures and social institutions and influence every area. According to Gramsci, the production of consent is the acceptance of the ideas and the worldview of the ruling class by the society. Structures such as schools, churches, media institutions are the areas where the dominant thought system is produced and reproduced (cited in Yaylagül, 2010: 112). The question of how the capitalist economic system can reproduce itself in western societies is explained by the concept of “ideological hegemony” (Act. McLellan, 2012: 31). In line with this concept, the bourgeoisie maintains a cultural hegemony in the western society. As long as this hegemony is goes on, it can be stated that the working class must also fight against the bourgeoisie in the cultural field and structure itself in line with the interests of society.

It can be stated that Althusser sees ideology in a common evaluation with Gramsci. Althusser considers ideology as a superstructure. Marx's political economy,

which he refers to as sub-structure institutions, ignores the social relations that determine the production of material life, and highlights the ideological determinations in the super-structure institutions. In this sense, it can be deduced that Althusser denies Marx's definition, "*it is the economic relations that mobilize society*", and economism in terms of the concept of ideology (cited in McLellan, 2012:34). With this idea of Althusser, he embodies the concept of ideology with the idea of the ideological devices of the state he puts forward and considers the human consciousness as a determining force. In fact, he gives some kind of independence to the concept of ideology. In this context, ideology is not produced by people's minds. He states that ideologies are produced by state structures (churches, schools, trade unions, media, etc.) which are defined as ideological devices of the state and which teach people how to think.

According to Marxist approach, it is accepted by historical materialism that the concept of ideology is a force that determines human consciousness. However, this distinction can be expressed as follows: Marx divides social classes into two as the working class and the bourgeois class. The relations of production shaped within the capitalist economic structure are reflected on the super-structure institutions in line with the dominant ideology. Althusser and Gramsci's ideology approach is a critique of the bourgeois ideology. Marx, therefore, defines ideology as an "*illusion*" or "*false consciousness*". Considering that today's design concept is formed by the technological developments and the determinism of the capitalist economic system, today's concept of design is a reflection of the opinion, thought and ideology of the dominant class.

With a Marxist interpretation, it can be said that ideology imitates the reality, therefore, refers to a mistake. Because, reality mentioned here is a draft created by the dominant ideology. This necessitates the reproduction of ideology and the ideology becomes important in the determination of the social consciousness that is its carrier. In this respect, it can be said that each design product constitutes a necessity for the transport of new images and organization of production in order to empower the dominant ideology. Visual design products are now considered as objects of communication from the moment they are converted into images. It is possible to see an example of this in history.

After the industrial revolution, with the technological developments, the diversification and increase in the industrial products led to the diversification of the design products in a similar way. Poster designs, which are visual design products, and Baudrillard's cinema-related determinations can be related. Visual design outputs varying through positivist approaches; although we can reach printing techniques that are developed with technology, high-resolution images and powerful computers with high processing capabilities, the resulting designs can be considered as commodities that capitalism, for which there is no individual or social reflection, continuously diversifies in order to survive. In the context of the study, the separation of the visual design products from the positivist shell, which can be expressed as the dominant approaches, as described above, may make the individual and social reflection of design visible.

Horkheimer has defined knowledge as the reflection of reality and thought as the reflection of the material, and named this view as the reflection theory. The

reflection theory, which is the starting point for the Frankfurt School, is based on human emotions. The common denominator of “*intuitionism*” and the reflection theory, which is also defined as “*positivism*”, is that both approaches consider uninfluenced, direct, principal knowledge as the reality (Horkheimer, 1990:33).

It can be said that the emergence of positivism indicates an important period of the history of philosophy. According to Narski, with positivism, bourgeois ideologists moved away from the gains of culture, which was a proud formation of previous ideologists. It can be stated that positivism emerged as a movement against philosophy. Positivism took a certain philosophical position and emerged as a direct continuation of reactionist tendencies of the idealists and agnostics in the 17th and 18th centuries. After the French Revolution (1789), for the conservative French bourgeois in power, the materialist way of thinking was considered too radical and dangerous. This situation is the actual reason for the birth of positivism. In line with the development of the workers' movement, the bourgeoisie opposed the ideology of the proletariat and based itself on positivism as an opposing approach to the developing dialectical materialist philosophy (Narski, 2006:21-67).

Positivism, as an empirical philosophy, argues that knowledge comes from experience and that nothing can be known in the light of pure reason or intuition. In the dominant approaches, positivism is used to interpret knowledge of its own principles and experience. It is stated that these principles lead to a negative judgment that we cannot know anything about the real outside world. There are certain features of positivism as a philosophical movement. First, contrary to the fictitious system-structuralism, the doctrine that all knowledge must be based on experience; second,

the doctrine that knowledge based on experience only serves to show connection with observations or to anticipate various operations and cannot reflect the objective reality, regardless of experience (Cornforth, 2009: 29).

The positivism of Auguste Comte, which can be expressed as the continuation of the belief that a rational society can be established within the idea of enlightenment, constitutes the first phase of positivism in this respect. Comte was born after the French Revolution and his work in the field of sociology was born as a reaction to the French Revolution and the idea of Enlightenment.

The theory of social change that Comte formulated as the "*Law of Three States*" consists of the theological state, the metaphysical state and the positivist state. It can be stated that the details of these laws have lost the importance with regard to the present-day positivism concept, because Comte's main goal was to guide the society towards a new structure by examining the events related to society with a scientific method. Therefore, he constructed sociology with scientific method (Köker, 2008: 21).

According to Cornforth, positivist theories are in fact wrong and reactionary. It is not that they oppose the wrong philosophical systems and argue that knowledge is based on experience. On the contrary, these approaches are entirely correct. What is wrong, however, is that they deny that knowledge based on experience reflects the existing objective world, independent of experience. This leads them to create new idealistic systems and distort scientific thinking. A correct worldview against positivists is aimed, and this correct worldview is dialectical materialism. Positivist

philosophy is based on the theory of knowledge itself with the expression that only our own perceptions exist. But in fact, what should be done in scientific philosophy is to present a theory of knowledge which examines the development of the origin of our knowledge about the objective world (Cornforth, 2009: 34-35).

Positivism can be expressed as a philosophy claiming that knowledge can be acquired by experience, while in another sense it can be defined as an experimental philosophy. Positivism, as previously stated, uses its own principles as an outcome of the dominant approaches to interpret experience and knowledge. These ideas argue the experience of the real outside world and argue that a different social class and structure cannot be created by the ideology of bourgeois ideology shaped by the “false consciousness” it creates on the public consciousness.

As Marx put forward in his preliminary word of "Contribution to the Critique of the Political Economy", the laws that come out of the real world are detached from it and are brought before it as if they were something independent of it. According to Çubukçu, the scientist appearance of the bourgeoisie was shaped to meet the needs of industrial production. But when science develops and transforms society, the bourgeoisie demonstrates its reactionary attitude, which it adopts against all productive forces, towards science, too. The proponents of positivism produce a narrative of science aimed at distorting science in today's modern capitalist society. Positivists interpret science as sets of rules that do not produce the knowledge of the objective world, but only as formulas and observations (Çubukçu, 1994: 92).

In the study, it was previously stated that the existence and knowability of the objective world is the main idea of the materialist dialectical thought; this idea constitutes at the same time the basis for the scientific investigations to understand the laws of motion of the nature and society.

In the philosophy of positivism, it can be said that the moving universe, which can be understood by the dialectical understanding, can only be faced with the mechanical and metaphysical thoughts.

Köker has described the scientific knowledge according to the positivist understanding; as the understanding of objective reality by the human mind. In other words, the scientific knowledge is a relationship between the knowledge (subject-human) and known object (object-nature / society) and it can be expressed as the perception of the essence of the object by the human mind. Thus, the Positivism acknowledges the existence of an objective reality outside the *human subject* which is the irreversible precondition of scientific knowledge. The main purpose of scientific knowledge is to explain the ideas about the field of objective reality. (Köker, 2008:22).

According to positivism, all knowledge must be based on experience; empirical-science is the only way to positive information. The task of the philosophy is to interpret and illuminate the results of science. It does so by relying on an information theory that argues that the data that provide the whole structure of information is individual perception. At the core of this theory it does not interpret the scientific knowledge as the knowledge of the inner world and the laws of motion but interprets it within the scope of the structure, mutual relations and regularity across sensory

data. From this it is concluded that the essence of positivism is always trying to set limits on the scope and power of human knowledge (Cornforth, 2009:41).

Positivism also limits the knowledge to the interact of the observational data and it accepts this data as the origin of all knowledge. Therefore, the accuracy of the scientific method that claim to be the method of obtaining the information may not be proved. The positivist method that seems to be in a position against idealistic philosophy with the combination of qualities, sensory data, logical structures is a productive method for the production of new metaphysical fictions to ensure the continuity of the bourgeois ideology.

British philosopher Alfred Jules Ayer (1910-1989) has summarized in his work called "Language, Truth and Logic"; the concluded judgment of the logical positivism with the natural structure of philosophy, it is not possible to justify the existence of philosophical fronts or schools in conflict with each other. For this reason, no more consent should be given to the divisions between philosophers interested in the state of the philosophy. Because if the problems that the parties or the schools stand on, have a logical character, it is known that the exact answers can be given by the philosophers. If they are not logical, they should either be seen metaphysically or should be subject to a study based on observation or experiment (Ayer, 1952:133).

With this expression, Ayer concluded that philosophy should refuse all kinds of metaphysical systems, should leave the examination of the facts on observation or experimental science and be contented with language analysis. Ayer takes his position

as a *denial of metaphysics* and expresses that metaphysics is nonsense, because metaphysics consists of thesis which are neither solved nor experienced. These thesis can be valid only if they are analytical or based on experience or a case or observation or experiment. (Ayer, 1952:135).

According to materialism, the thought is a product of the matter, a reflection of the matter.

Logical positivism treats the expression of thought or the language in an absolute abstraction; it completely detracts the language from the function of being an instrument of thought in the reflection and comprehension of the objective world. Two different types of bourgeois knowledge theory see the source of knowledge in the senses or thoughts and isolate these aspects of the individual experience from the real material process of human activity that they emerge from. In contrast, the dialectical materialism examines the knowledge on the basis of the social existence of the people and their interactions as well as their relation with the nature where the real truth was born. But the logical positivism is based on an idealistic abstraction. It interprets alone in its linguistic expression; the thought which is based on material processes, which is a reflection of these processes and is not different from the action of the matter. (Cornforth, 2009:54).

The judgments of logical positivists on science and logic make it clear that positivism is an irrational philosophy. The adaptation of the scientific theory with the material world and its application in practice are denied. The neglect of the mentioned adaptation in practice can be exemplified by demonstrating the awareness created on society the by visual design products which are the main topic of this study. To

remove from the positivist, shell the design outputs created by the leadership of the capitalist production relations; it can be said that the relations of production should be examined first of all. To illustrate this issue; the advertising poster of any clothing company we encounter in everyday life can be examined. From a visual point of view, design objects have been used in technological limitations and the visual validity, accuracy or acceptance of the design output is evaluated based on pragmatism (sales figures, popularity, etc.) determined through positivist approaches. The design success of an ad image is determined by the rate of hedonism and maximized profit generated through the consumption object, which is an artificial need. In this sense, it can be concluded that the visual design products are successful when they are tried to be evaluated through positivist approaches. However, it is not possible to evaluate the working conditions of the designer who produced this design and the exploitation of the workers' labor within the production process within the scope of positivist philosophy.

Aydın Çubukçu (2006) summarizes the typical features of the philosophy of positivism. In a period when the revolutionary movement of the working class was very effective; positivism is the product of the reaction of the bourgeois class, which sees the said movement as a social issue that needs to be resolved, and in this respect it shows a very clear class character. In all over the world, the positivism was dominant in academic circles. Criticism of positivism is not only a philosophical and theoretical objective, but an important aspect of the regime in the political and cultural spheres. Positivism patterned itself on the church as a model of organization which has declared itself as a religion. As in politics and other areas of the class struggle, it was valid for the science and philosophy. The dialectical materialist point

of view should be developed for social progress and the development of scientific knowledge. This is the first condition of a conscious stance against positivism which is the one of the most effective forms of idealism. In the period when the bourgeoisie was on the rise, since the materialist philosophical movements have been developed as part of the struggle against aristocracy, the philosophical ideas of the church were also criticized. The concepts of the church have lost influence due to the social and scientific developments. In philosophy, in art, in literature and in science, the experimental and observation-based movement of thoughts that value human mind have strengthened. (Çubukçu, 2006:9-18).

Within the scope of the critical examination of the language; in the face of the problems arising from the relationship between theory and practice; the scientific demand of thought is expressed by Cornforth as follows;

“We need to see language as a means of thinking; we need to emphasize the relationship between theory and practice; and in order to make clear explanations about things that will assure the realization of what we say, in practice and in experience; that will assume the assets as real; we need to develop a logical technique. In order to make progress on all these issues, a definite break from the approach and methodology of positivism is necessary. It cannot be claimed that this approach and methodology make a new and positive contribution to philosophy. The so-called positive contributions and services create in fact idealistic confusions, metaphysical strings, obstacles and build traps to deceive the good-faith people.” (Cornforth, 2009:284).

Many of the intellectuals who embrace positivist philosophy are in the mistake that they can ignore the fundamental philosophical thought and differentiation between materialism and idealism and keep themselves out of the social conflict that reflects this. To achieve the goal of progress and advancement of knowledge, it is necessary to advance materialist thought and to make a conscious struggle against all forms of idealism, one of the most effective types of modern positivism. Under the understanding of the place of man in the world, the progress of philosophy has always been based on the material conditions of humanity and served to it. But today's schools have reduced philosophy to an abstract study that requires experience about thought and language, and ignored the knowledge of the objective world. Their worldview reflects the crisis of capitalism and serves a completely fragmented social system. This fragmented philosophy is opposed only by the dialectical materialism. (Cornforth, 2009:304).

In this section, it was tried to be shown the way to discuss with a dialectical materialist understanding the positivist approaches shaped by bourgeois ideology and the design outputs created through these approaches. It can be noted that the design masks all habitats encircled by capitalist forms of production, and at the same time, it has an important place in the functioning of the mechanisms of choice, decision-making, and representation etc. of the individuals constituting the society. Because the design creates strong communication efficiency in the basic assumptions of this study and it is expressed that it can change and transform the consciousness of society. Based on the assumption that design is the determinant of all kinds of

consumption, it can be stated that the social dimension of it should be discussed through positivist approaches.

2.8. Consumption Society and Design

It is a known fact that each design product that surrounds people is associated with production and consumption. As the concept of art is assumed to be a design activity, the idea that art should have a social equivalent to human life can be attained. According to Lunacharsky, unlike the purity and simplicity of the artistic principles, the state of extreme complexity, which leads to artificiality and degeneration, is completely sociological. The basic phenomenon of human history is the development of labor, the goal of transforming nature into a source of beings, where human beings can meet all their needs. However, it is not appropriate to conclude that this law is manifested in a rigid manner through this thought. Through many irrational elements, misconceptions, supernatural beliefs, and narratives related to the existence of people, this situation results in meeting improper needs. Historicity creates complex examples within the general structure of human being's ability to overcome nature (Lunacharsky, 2000:57). Among these examples, the ideas expressed as false or artificial needs can be connected with the phenomenon of consumption, in a simple expression; the phenomenon of consumption ensured that the relations of production and consumption penetrated into the masses by reproducing itself under a different mask every day within the capitalist economic system. Adorno, one of the leading names of the Frankfurt School carried out researches on the ideological dimensions of culture used the following statements on the consumption phenomenon; "*Pleasure that man truly finds cannot be separated*

from the devastating consumption. There is no pleasure that does not promise the satisfaction of a socially established desire; but there is also no pleasure in this satisfaction that does not promise anything qualitatively different.” (as cited in Jay, 2014:288).

Bourgeois Revolution (The French Revolution 1789), is said to be the heir of a revolution which, in simple terms, demonstrates equality of people as principle however cannot achieve it. For this reason, the principle of democracy turns from real equality, from the edge of capacity, responsibility, social opportunity and pleasure to the equality before the other images of achievement and pleasure in front of the object. *“The concept of needs is in solidarity with the concept of welfare in the mysterious system of equality. All people are equal before the principle of need and satisfaction. As the need is indexed to the value of use, there is an objective favorableness principle or natural intentionality principle and there is no social or historical inequality before this principle. There is no proletarian or privileged situation as use value is mentioned”* (Baudrillard, 2016:53).

Besides of the efforts to always increase the consumption, the goods uncovered through these studies and the chain of experiences obtained by increasing the consumption perception, the constant creation of new needs is one of the main characteristics of the consumer culture. The new needs created serve to turn the consumption into an appetite and the most efficient disposal of the goods produced in this way. (Baudrillard, 2016:81).

Within the scope of the relationship between the needs and commodities as well as the subjects and objects, it can be stated that the individual has become a structure which maintains the stability of the capitalist economic system instead of being a part of the dialectic (needs/ commodities, subjects/ objects) in which he/she is actually involved. In parallel with the industrial relations that developed after the industrial revolution in the UK, it can be stated that production in western countries has reached a mass level.

It can be said that this production need is planned to enable people to diversify their needs and to address new needs that can be artificially expressed. It can be stated that there is an incredible consumption reality that creates a kind of basic transformation arising from the reproduction of objects, services and goods that surround the people at every point of the social life. It can be said that people in this reality are now surrounded by objects but not by other people, as they were all times and that the functioning of social life continues according to the movement of the objects and their continuous succession.

While the durable objects, vehicles or buildings, which can be expressed as design products in all past civilizations, it can be stated that the design objects in the current economic structure have lost their individual or social characteristics and they become the non-permanent objects of consumption within the daily life of the society.

To give an example, a report was published in the newspapers in February 2018 when this thesis was written. The title of the news was: "*The oldest light bulb in the*

UK has been burning for 130 years”.⁹ Here, it is mentioned a light bulb in a house in the UK, this light bulb was burning since 1883 and have never been turned off. The consideration of the new design concept depending on technological developments from 1883 to the present, can give insight to understand the determinism of capitalism has on the form and usage processes of objects (design products) in order to ensure its own continuity.

The consumption society needs objects to exist, in other words it needs to destroy them. The use of objects only leads to slow disappearance of objects. The value created for the loss of the objects is much more intense. Therefore, the consumption remains the main alternative to the production; the consumption is only an intermediary between production and destruction. The objects are available only in excess only in destruction and they bear witness to wealth in their extinction. In any case, whether under its symbolic and institutional form, or under its systematic and institutional form, the destruction will be one of the main functions of post-industrial society. (Baudrillard, 2016:47).

It may be necessary to include the example of Baudrillard in order to express the imaginary perception that the commodity (design object) creates after that its exchange value has been gained. The concept of image presented when the product enters into the circulation can be exemplified as follows.

The busiest streets of London are crowded with shops whose show cases display all the riches of the world: Indian shawls, American revolvers, Chinese porcelain, Parisian corsets, furs from Russia and spices from the tropics; but all of these worldly

⁹<https://pldturkiye.com/ingilterenin-en-eski-ampulu-130-yildir-yaniyor/>

things bear odious white paper labels with Arabic numerals and then laconic symbols £, s, d (sterling, shilling, pence). In our times, very few objects are presented on their own without the context of objects that speak of them. Therefore, the relationship of the consumer with the object has changed. The consumer turns to a set of objects in a holistic sense, not a specific object with the special benefit that it provides. (Baudrillard, 2016:17).

The main common point in the phenomenon of consumption, can be expressed as the design of manufactured products as promising structures that will meet many different needs. It can be said that consumption is shaped as an idealistic approach by the construction of these structures in the intellectual sense. The consumption goods, which find their place in the illusion world, are continuously transformed into indicator value.

For this reason, the goods consumed in the consumer culture respond in fact to hedonism rather than responding to a need and the perception of need created on the objects of consumption can be shown not as the objects themselves, but as the thoughts that they form on the consciousness of society.

In this respect, it can be stated that the consumption concept created by the capitalist forms of production is an idealistic structure away from historical materialist approach. Adorno expresses as follows the phenomenon of consumption's illusion shown as impossible to satisfy;

“If the consumption had been a desire to swallow or devour, then we should have had a saturation. But we know this is not the case: We always

want to consume more and more. This irresistible demand for consumption is neither a result of a number of psychological factors nor a simple competitive power. If the consumption seems to be an implacable feeling, this is because the requirements are now saturated or it is a complete idealistic practice that has nothing to do with the principle of reality. (Adorno, 1981:24-25).

In the statements of Baudrillard and Adorno on the consumer culture given in this chapter, it can be said that the economic base, in other words the infrastructure is ignored. This approach, in fact, can create the idea that the production forces and the production relations exist automatically by themselves, therefore, the philosophers who criticize the consumption culture by saying that this concept is an idealist structure, can be considered denying the economic basis of the production process. In this context, it may not be concluded that they adopted this historical materialist analysis of the society.

In the “*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*”, Marx” argues that human needs are transformed into an abstract form and this argument is expressed as follows: the only real need is the need for money, since the determination of the needs and the sense of satisfaction are linked to the access to the commodities. When it comes to the market relations of the capitalist economic system, the elimination of the need for money is, above all, only possible by the creation of new human needs, which is assumed to constitute cyclically the source of an incentive element. (Marx, 2014:120).

The production process does not satisfy just by providing a material object to the need, but it also produces a need for the object. The phenomenon of consumption can be expressed firstly in the form of a request through the object, when it is distinguished from its own structure. The need for the object, occurs in relation to the way that the concerned object is perceived. A design object finds expression in the concept of consumption as an object of pleasure and creates an audience. For this reason, the production is not limited by producing an object for the subject, but it also produces a subject for the object. (Marks, Engles, Lenin, 2006:85).

In the phenomenon of consumption, the place of the design concept can be thought can be considered as a discipline of orienting /directing the human beings. Nowadays the people can be designed and directed just like a design object and this management thought can be defined as a structure foreseen by the obedience and approval system. According to Artun, the people apply a form of governance focused on the consent behavior. This is the fact which lies on the basis of neo-liberal cultural policies expressed as “culturalism”. Today, the concept of culture is not considered as a concept based on the production, social life, art and literature and this is only associated with consumption. (Artun, 2010:49).

As a result of the ownership and property relations which were changing since the French Revolution (1789), there have also been fundamental changes in the production of labor. It can be stated that starting from this period, the tastes and thoughts of the bourgeois class have become the dominant ideas. In this context, it

can be said that the design was raised by Art Nouveau¹⁰ (New Art) and Equipped with the necessary tools by the Bauhaus¹¹.

Starting from the period of the emergence of the said art movements, it can be said that the design approach has become widespread through the economic structures and fully implemented with the capitalist economic system. According to Foster, “*the design is today the most basic form of the distorted reconciliation of life with art*” (Foster, 2015:36) and it cannot be argued that this thought is a new concept. In today's competitive environment, it can be expressed that the development of new methods that will affect the consumer has become mandatory. For example, it can be said that the design of a packaging, which is a design product, has become almost as important as the product itself.

According to Foster, the current period indicates mathematically a jump in the quantity increase, with the “*flexible specialization*” of the Post-Fordist¹² production;

¹⁰ The Art Nouveau movement has been called by different names in many different countries. The movement is called as Art Nouveau in France, Modernista in Spain, Jugendstil in Germany, Stile des Vingt in Belgium, Stile Inglese in Italy and Secessionstil in Austria. Art Nouveau movement occurred in two separate phases. The first one is the formation of the first years of the flowering, curved lines that come to mind when Art Nouveau is called. These forms were first seen in England, then continued with different examples in Belgium and France. The second phase of the movement where the lines are flattened and the geometric shaping occurred was developed in Scotland and then under its influence in Austria. With the effort of combining the arts and crafts that William Morris initiated, the craftsmen found employment within his trend, known as “arts and crafts movement” in the UK. In the period of Art Nouveau, significant changes and developments were observed in the art of posters. The Poster designers such as Lautrec, Steinlen, Cheret, Cappiello have reflected especially on their designs, the effects in graphic arts of this movement. (Ayaydin, 2015)

¹¹The State Bauhaus School was founded in 1919 in Weimar by the architect Walter Gropius. In the Bauhaus school, which was founded on constructive thinking, the education and training system was grouped under three main branches: architecture, painting and sculpture. In this school, by seeing the common features of fine arts and design arts; Gropius sought to reestablish the links between craftsmen, artists, architects and the industries and thus combining art and industry. (Bulat, Bulat & Aydin:2014)

¹²The emergence of the concept of Fordism is expressed as a mass production system designed for the production of a single model and this system is intended to create standardization in products. In this sense, Fordism is expressed as the interconnection of the mass production and mass consumption. Af-

the goods which have the exchange value are constantly shaped into different faces and a constant need for demand is created in the markets. Today, each design product goes beyond being an object of desire and is also liberated. The consumer who is interested in reviewing the pages of the thematic magazine catalogs or in online shopping; looking at the products, sees almost himself in the spot of the visual by saying “*yes, it’s me*”. Adapting the consumption to the consumer has played in every way an important role in the creation of the “miniature me” concept and is one of the reasons for today's design inflation (Foster, 2015:37).



ter World War II, the welfare environment, especially in US and many European countries, was replaced by the economic crisis in the 1970s. This economic crisis in the world markets has brought production to a halt, in this crisis, the Fordist mode of production has transformed into the post-fordist mode of production, expressed as flexible production or differentiated production. (Harvey, 2012:93).

3. DESIGN: SOCIETY, CLASS, UNION STRUCTURES

3.1. Society

In order to discuss the effects on the public awareness of the visual design products produced by trade unions; it will be appropriate to bring into question in terms of design, the society and the phenomenon of class which forms the society. Under this heading, the society will be considered under the liberal and Marxist approaches. The reason for this is that Lenin has divided the class phenomenon into two as bourgeois and working class. And under the heading of Post Marxism, it will be discussed how it is distanced from the class phenomenon in the theoretical sense, by the accusations of “economic reductionism” directed against Marxism.

3.1.1. The Society in terms of Liberalism and Marxism

It is important for the scope of this study that the design which is expressed as “(...) *the most basic human activity*” (As cited in Bayazıt, 2008:175) is examined with the historical materialism method of Marx and discussed under the concepts such as commodification, alienation, consumption and consciousness etc. through these outputs. It can be stated that it is possible to analyze the concept of design by using the dialectical method which is the basis of the historical materialism. It can be stated that the visual design products of May 1st, Workers’ Day produced by the Reformist Workers’ Union (DİSK) which will be examined in this study in line with Marx's expression of “*what determines the human consciousness is its social living conditions*”; have been developed and formed as a result of the social and economic relations in Turkey and in the world depending on production relations.

While the Class relations that create the society can be expressed in this context; for the production of material life; the unions in Turkey and in the world operate in order to obtain the provision of the wage labor by the class consciousness; therefore; it can be stated that the establishment of the unions is an important tool of the organized struggle. In this context, Marx's findings on the importance of social relations of production can be consulted.

“People engage in certain relationships which are necessary in their social production and which are independent of their own will; these production relations correspond to certain stages of development of the material productive forces. The whole of the production relations constitute the economic structure of the society.”
(Marx, 2011:25).

Marx classifies the developmental stages of the communal living by separating them into historical periods such as the primitive communal, the Asian production type, the antiquity, feudal, capitalist and socialist society. Marx starts the first period of the humanity with the primitive communal society, the class conflict has an important place in the development of these societies. In the primitive communal period, people were dependent on nature and there was no private property and class phenomenon. The Asian production type is the model of the societies other than Western civilization, the most important feature of this production structure is that it does not allow the accumulation of the capital due to the fact that the land cannot be transferred through ownership. The first societies that emerged after the private ownership concept were the ancient societies consisting of two classes such as the masters and slaves. In the feudal society, the masters were replaced by the landlords

and the slaves were replaced by the peasants who had to work under the ruling of the landlords in the lands of the latter. After the feudal society, the new society was constituted by the bourgeoisie possessing the means of the capitalist production, in other words the capital owners and by the working class that had to sell its labor force in return of a wage. Marx has envisaged a classless society, socialism, as a result of the conflict of the capitalist and working class in the capitalist societies. The bourgeois type of production is differentiated from other social structures in various aspects. The Asian production type, the antiquity, feudal and modern bourgeois types of production can be expressed as the progress of the economic and social formation. And the bourgeois type of production is expressed as a situation of opposition emerging by the conditions of social existence of the individuals. These productive forces within the bourgeois society create at the same time the material conditions that will solve this opposition. With this social formation that emerges, the prehistory of the human society ends (Marks, 2011:40).

“The society is not just a simple sum of the persons who constitute it but it is an organization with a uniform integrity and a system divided into various forms and modified and developed by the people’s practical activities in material production and in class struggle according to specific, objective laws.” (Buhr & Kosing, 1999:419). As it is understood from this definition, regardless of the structure of the society, it can be stated that it occurs as a result of mutual human activities and the basic dynamics of the society is the production relations with economic characteristics.

The change and transformation in the ownership relations with the end of the feudalism; have led to pass to the bourgeois class the control of the (land) ownership which was before in the hands of a particular segment. Above, with Marx's expression, the bourgeois type of production was defined as a situation of opposition to the conditions of the individuals' social existence. It can be said that the Liberal system, which replaces the feudal society, has put forward the individualism that emerged from the bourgeois class. The concepts such as the "freedom, equality, justice, tolerance, community, ideology, capital, property/ownership" which can be related to the concept of liberalism can be expressed as the most strategic objectives of the capitalist system. The name of the new expression of the economic structure that accommodates these strategic goals is liberalism. The capitalism is a mode of production in which the ownership of the production means does not belong to the State, but instead belongs to the owners of the capital, the main idea of capitalism is expressed as the unlimited capital. (Buhr & Kosing, 1999, Dowd, 2003)

The liberalism, which can be expressed as an ideology, is analyzed under two headings as economic and political liberalism. While the economic liberalism provides its economic structure through the capitalist conduct, the political liberalism can be summarized with the slogans of "Liberty, Equality and fraternity" of the French Revolution. The concept of liberalism can be expressed as a system that took place in the period from the 15th century to the last half of the 19th century in Western Europe and replaced the feudal society. The liberalism is a theory and doctrine based on the free market system that accepts away from government intervention, the individualism, individual rights and freedoms, private ownership.

Along with its development process, the liberalism has become in the end an ideology since it was in a position directing the political actions and state policies. Because it is a structure defending the economic and political interests of the capital class and at the same time, it observes the interests of this class. (Akdağ, 2014:77-78).

The capitalism, expressed as the economic structure of liberalism, has survived and continues to exist also today through the structures of the Europe which was living with the monarchy and mercantilism¹³, which were no longer able to reach an advanced point in the economic base. In this structure, the colonialism and nationalism are progressing by increasing their powers due to the dynamic but also inequitable, explosive and dangerous relations of the industrialization (Buhr & Kosing, 1999:144). In the 1640s, in order to obtain the modern industry and capitalist domination, the UK has begun to enter into a structuring that prepares some flexibility in the social and economic sphere. The most important element of this liberalization period, where the stability and social control were replaced by the commercial criteria and rapid change is the movement of “enclosure, inclosure or enclosing” in the last period of the 18th century. This process has resulted in the commodification of the agricultural lands, grasslands or cultivation areas, in other words, of the lands and hence, of the workforce. Since the commodification has created the meaning that all goods and services can be sold; the resulting labor force was actually a slave labor. (Dowd, 2008:39). It can be stated that a rich class

¹³Mercantilism is an economic term that emerged in Western Europe in the 16th century and it can be expressed as an economic term which assumes that the welfare criterion of the state depends on the capital.

possessing the means of the production was created with the acquisition of the agricultural lands by a certain class. Based on the expression of Marx saying that “*The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production*”; it can be said that the richness created on a certain part of the society allowed the creation of a dominant ideology and enabled the people to be managed massively.

This formation process, which coincides with the second half of the 19th century, made possible the mass production, the fast sea and land transportation and a very rapid production in the agriculture and industry with the steam power. With this increase in production, the economy and imperialism were created through huge companies. All these formations created the Second Industrial Revolution and at the same time made it compulsory. It was the theoretical and intellectual enrichment of the economic, political and social diversification that Britain's industrial capitalism needed and maintained. (Dowd, 2008:46).

It can be said that the use of steam power, which makes the industrial production possible, emerged as a design model. This design model makes possible to steer the steam boilers and the steam exhaled from these boilers through the pipes and thus, to give the needed motion to the machine. The machine which is a design product and the industry created by the machinery; by building an economic structure on the world, has contributed to the emergence of the imperialism.

The design elements (machines) developed over the assumption that the human life will be facilitated in fact, has become a tool for massification of the labor

exploitation. In the process until the industrial revolution, the material production was provided by the agriculture and the settlement was in rural areas. The fact that the societies living before in a dispersed settlement system have started to live together in mass, can be expressed with the change in the way of the labor production, the transition from the agricultural life to the city and urban life.

The concept of wage labor has caused mass production as a result of the formation of industrial societies and has created the industrialized societies with the industrial revolution in Britain. This change has also led to a change in the class relations, as a result of which an increasingly powerful class of bourgeoisie has emerged. While the changing class relations created the impoverished working class, this process has also revealed the strengthening unions. With the unionization, the social democratic movement gained power and obtained the political rights prior to the economic rights. The liberal system based on the capitalism's free market economy, argues that the public and social security policies should be taken out of the state control and opened to competition. Those who adopt the liberal economy believe that this system constitutes an objective and equitable income distribution and it can be said that in this system, they consider the free market economy superior to the social state. (Akt: Sallan: 1999).

Although the liberal system emerged with the concepts of the “liberty, equality, fraternity”; it can be stated that the reflections of this system in social economic and cultural fields are not actually like this. Even though the promise of freedom and equality in the economic field emphasizes that everybody has equal rights and freedoms in the free economy, since the liberal economy created by the bourgeois

class is under the control of the owners of capital, it can be said that the concepts of equality and freedom will be valid also just for them. In this concept, the developing production relations have formed almost a system of slavery within the working class. The search for the rights within this slavery system is possible by the trade union struggle. In response to the social structure of the liberal system, Marxist approaches can be emphasized.

Marx expresses the historical development process of the human being as follows; “the human beings need food, clothing, shoes, shelter and other material assets in order to survive”. The human beings need to produce them, so they must be in action. Every society that cannot produce its material existence disappears. For this reason, for every society, the production of physical assets is the first step of the existence and development of the society. (Marx, 2014). It can be stated that Marx's production concept of material assets includes the production process, human labor, production tools and business subjects.

Marx begins with the concept of commodity to analyze the capitalist mode of production.

In this economic structure, everything can be bought and sold or even human labor is commodified. In the social structure, the relations between people are related to the relations between the commodities. The concept of commodity is a concept that includes the most fundamental economic essence of the bourgeois society. Thus, the commodity reflects the fundamental contradictions of the capitalism. (Nikiti, 1995:37). While the bourgeois capital can be expressed as the unlimited accumulation of the commodities; the commodity appears as a simple structure in this

accumulation process. But every commodity should be considered in two aspects such as the usage value and exchange value. The concept of commodity is a means of subsistence with the most comprehensive expression of the word. The commodity is expressed as the production of the products that are not based on the personal consumption and circulated in the market (sales, market etc.) (Marks, 2011:43).

Marx considers the western society and state theory, as a tradition in legal relations and political systems in line with people's activities. This criticism of Marx is based on the idea that the legal relations and state forms cannot be expressed only by themselves, according to him; instead, it can be stated that the basis of the legal and political structures should be questioned in the material relations of the people. (Göçmen, 2011). In the introduction of its work called “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy” he expresses the legal relations and the state forms of the Western societies through Hegel's theory of the state: *“legal relations as well as forms of state are to be grasped neither from them nor from the so-called general development of the human spirit. They all lie in the relations of the material life which they gather under the name of “bourgeois society”. But the anatomy of bourgeois society is to be sought in the political economy”* (Marx, 2011:38). It is known that the starting point of the political criticism developed by Marx is the concept of labor. Nikitin defines the concept of labor as follows; the labor expressed as the business and work is a useful activity of man for the production of the material life. Man, with the action of work, has an impact on nature to meet his own needs. The concept of labor (business) is the basic activity of the human life which is specific to the human beings. It is a concept that human beings must do continuously and naturally. (Nikitin, 1995:12). It can be stated that without the means of production, the

production process of labor, which is a human activity, will not be possible. In this sense, it can be said that the design directs, changes and transforms the means of the production and the process of formation (design) of these means. All kinds of machines, tools and materials, buildings are the means designed in the development process from the early stages of human life to the present, in other words, it can be said that working with the means of production means that people work on objects (design products) which constitute the purpose of labor. Nikitin refers to the role of land in the production of material life; “The land is a universal business tool and is one of the production tools among all business tools, which have a definitive role. The power of man's influence on nature depends on the work tools used by man” (Nikitin, 1995:13). Nikitin expressed that Marx also has separated the economic processes not according to the material production in the production periods, but according to the work tools that provide the material production (Nikitin, 1995:18).

“The classical economy was born with criticisms and attacks against the scattered remains of the political, feudal and mercantilist periods, hence it was an economy related to change and development.” (Dowd, 2008:113). During the nineteenth century, with the developments in the capitalism, it is known that there are radical changes in class relations within the industrialized societies. While the bourgeoisie, who possessed the capital and tried to increase it every day, has impoverished the working class, the working class who had to seek more social rights has struggled to obtain trade union rights and freedoms and so, in this context, an increase has been observed in the number of the unions. In this period, Turkey was ruled under emperorship and the industry was on a small scale just meeting the war requirements. With the beginning of the industrial production; England, seeking for new markets,

and then France and Germany, have adopted the policies that tried to subjugate the Ottoman Empire and other (non-industrial) backward countries (Sülker, 2004:21). Dowd, who has researches on the classical economic political theorists and economists, expresses that the classical liberal economy is an ideology camouflaged in a professional manner rather than an economic structure. This economic structure which guided the global economic policy until 1930s, influences again the whole world after a period that it was thought to be disappeared during the (great depression) economic crisis of 1929 and then in the process of the world wars. This system, which made felt itself in the past through the payment of human and social costs, has caused today the addition of the environmental destruction to the current conditions of production and consumption relations moving in a dizzying speed and this system continues to increase its destructive effects on every aspect of social life. (Dowd, 2008,118).

The Industrial Revolution can be regarded as the beginning of globalization in terms of increasing the momentum of economic and technological advancements. This technical progress recorded in the history of the world has transformed in one sense the era of world wars and has prepared the ground for it in another sense. Between 1914 and 1945, it shaken the world balances in the economic, social and political spheres. This transformation axis is referred to as the age of disasters (Bakırtaş & Tekinşen, 2004).

With the *Employment Theory* of the British economist John Maynard Keynes, published in 1936, in addition to being a political mass in order to create employment, the continuous mass unemployment has taken its place in the literature as an

economic weighted argument. With its employment theory, Keynes has argued that in case of the creation of full employment, the incomes of the workers would increase the total demand and this would create a spark effect in the economy. This idea stems from the fact that the mass unemployment has come to a point of political and sociological explosion. (Dowd, 2008:171). In this sense, it is seen that the Great Depression has destructive effects on every aspect of social life. The Bolshevik Revolution, referred to as the October Revolution of 1917 shows that the Soviet Union, which left the capitalist system, was not affected by the economic crisis in America. Between 1926 and 1936, while most of the countries in the world, especially liberal western capitalism, were in a great crisis and recession, the Soviet Union has experienced significant growth in the industrial field (Bakırtaş, Tekinşen, 2004).

The first half of the 20th century was a period in which the chaos, war and crisis environment prevailed all over the world. In the process from the First World War to the Great Economic Depression of 1929, the United States has become the superpower of the world. In accordance with the requirements of the Treaty of Versailles (Paris Peace Conference-1919), which was signed in Germany at the end of the First World War, Germany was obliged to provide the national structuring and to pay the war indemnity to the victorious countries. The National Socialist Party, which came into power in Germany in 1933 under the leadership of Hitler, has ensured the increase in imports and efficient use of internal resources by providing the necessary investments and the indemnities to be paid. Although the American hegemony dominated the world Between 1938 and 1944, in this period Germany has increased its power in the military field. (Bakırtaş & Tekinşen, 2004, Dowd, 2008).

The United States, which was previously expressed as to become the superpower by the end of the first and second world wars, in the aftermath of the Second World War, held more than 80% of the world's gold reserves. With this power, the US dollar was a kind of gold. (Dowd, 2008:202).

Therefore, it can be stated that The United States of America has made its currency a reserve currency by ensuring that currencies of all other countries are linked to the gold at a constant rate against gold with the Bretton Woods agreements, signed in 1944 in order to create a hegemonic power. This economic orientation aims to manage the currencies and to manage economically all countries in the world. The very known institutions such as IMF (International Monetary Fund), World Bank and GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) can be considered as the products of the Bretton Woods agreements. The United States of America which became a superpower aimed to establish a political and military hegemony over the capitalist world by using the economic superiority that it possessed (Hall & Jacques, 1995:189-195). In 1949 the United States had 400 military bases spread to 56 countries around the world, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), founded in the same year as an international military alliance was signed by 12 countries and in later periods, the number of the signatories to this alliance has reached 17. NATO has played an important role in making the developing countries a market for the imperialist countries (Dowd, 2008:193-194).

In the early 20th century, all societies were affected by the chaos caused by the economic, political and military turmoil lived at the end of World War II. With the

ending of World War II, another element affected by this destruction was the ground that brought capitalism. The United States emerged as a superpower in the economic and industrial area from the World War II which had a devastating effect on every aspect of social life. After the war, the period between the late 1940s and early 1970s was the process in which the capitalism has created the most historical expansion in terms of scope and infrastructure and this expansion has manifested itself in all economic areas. The need for the consumption products has reached a very rapid growth in all sectors such as all kinds of production sectors; especially in the industry, agriculture and service sectors and largely in the areas of transportation and finance. (Dowd, 2008:187). Despite the devastation and the state of chaos after world war II.; the United States has emerged from the war as a superpower, and has also made significant progress in the field of industrial production.

“A new social formation system emerged with economic or political interaction either privately or publicly, consciously or unconsciously: “monopoly capitalism” (Dowd, 2008:188). The concept of *“Monopoly capitalism”*, is a concept used among those who adopt Marxist economics and philosophy. In the light of social and economic relations before and after industrialization, it can be stated that capitalism is a system that started with the beginning of the 19th century and gained maturity after the Second World War. While the capitalist system is expressed as the transition of the product and service market to the private sector after the industrial revolution, the *“monopoly capitalism”* is a system where all social institutions and processes are dependent on the economy.

The reconstruction process of the expansion and extension infrastructure of the economy globalizing after the Industrial Revolution in Britain but interrupted by the destruction and the state of chaos encountered after the World War II, has gained momentum since 1950s.

Another issue more important than this rapid progression, is that the political economy of the American capitalism was also determining the strategies of the world *economic expansion*. Due to the economic and sociological collapse in Europe seen immediately after the end of World War II, the United States has adopted the mission of reviving the economies of countries in various ways (Dowd, 2008:193). The Cold War with the Soviet Union can be seen as one of the most important strategic moves determined with the aim of reviving and keeping alive the capitalist economy after the war. In this process, a bipolar world axis was created. Considering movements created within the scope of anti-communism propagandas all over the world, it is important to consider the relations between this process and the economic structure after World War II. Various interest groups, such as capital owners, political circles making global economic plans, and militarists, can be seen as an artificial threat to the Cold War. In this sense, how and why the Cold War began is a matter to be questioned. According to Dowd, the Cold War was seen as a reaction against the military threat that will or may occur due to the development moves of the Soviet Union and the industrial development of China in the military field. But Dowd defines its interpretation as the opposite view of this statement: The threat of the Soviet Union, which has lost more than 20 million people during the Second World War and has suffered a severe economic collapse, is unfounded and fictitious (Dowd, 2008:197).

The process which can be expressed as an ideological war between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1947-1991); can be defined as a period of conflict between east and west also known as the bipolar world order (socialism-capitalism) in which the US tries to spread capitalism and the USSR to spread communism around the world.

1960s in Turkey and the world, can be expressed as an important historical process in terms of the radical changes in economic, social and cultural fields. The French Revolution can be considered as a milestone in terms of examining the effects and consequences of the social change and transformation lived in the period between 1960 and 1980 in theoretical areas. The 1960s can be cited as the breaking point of the transformation into a Post-Modern structure of the concept of modernity which began with the French Revolution and continued with the Industrial Revolution. In terms of the extent and scope of the study, it will be appropriate to focus first on the concepts of the Modernism and Post Modernism in relation to the theoretical expression of the social change and then to address the concepts of Marxism and Post Marxism, which proceed in parallel to this change and transformation.

The period which covers the 1789's French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in Britain and in which the new trends in society, class, religion and production relations have started can be stated as the *modernization* process. As stated by Ahmet Çiğdem in his work "Enlightenment Thought"; In the historical process, the Enlightenment philosophy was replaced by the French Revolution, which was the basis of the political formation of modernism. (Çiğdem, 2015:16). As with

the French Revolution the feudalism was destroyed and the ruling power transferred to the bourgeoisie was creating the new social life and political space and since this period was also a vested struggle against the church¹⁴ in addition to the individual rights and freedoms that people gain; this process was a period in which people were reproducing themselves.

Due to the emergence of the new nation states with the French Revolution which is the political stage of the modernization process, there was a process in which the achievements of the bourgeois class were determined. In parallel with these developments, the infrastructure of the Industrial Revolution, which was the last leg of the process, was created with the ideal of trade and faster financial gain. (Kırılmaz & Ayparçası, 2016). The basic expressions of Kumar about modernism are as follows: The idea of modernism laid in 17th and 18th centuries existed in all areas of life until the middle of the 20th century. This concept was emerged from the word *modernus* derived from the Latin word *Modo*. Kumar considers this concept in two different senses as “modernity” and “modernism” and states that these two terms can sometimes be used interchangeably but sometimes have different meanings. While the term of "Modernity" is expressed as all of the intellectual, social and political changes revealing the modern world, the term “modernism” is described as a cultural movement emerged in the west at the end of the 19th century (Kumar, 2013:88). The idea of modernism is also expressed as a concept used in the sense of westernization. Modernism, which exists in every field of life, is a social arrangement that

¹⁴The struggle which is stated to have been won against the church with the French Revolution can be expressed by the change of religious approaches. The emergence of new sects outside of Catholicism can be shown as one of the most important evidences of this change. (Gombrich, 1977:395)

characterizes societies and creates a society that does not depend on traditions, habits, expectations and beliefs. (Giddens & Pierson, 2001:28).

It can be said that the structure of the idea of modernism is the pioneer of philosophical, social, cultural development and transformation. One of the most important features of the modernism in this development and transformation is the transition from a social structure based on agriculture to a social structure based on industry but as it's another important feature can be shown as the change on the power balance that is formed by the reduction of the church domination. These developments have revealed modernism as a positive structure in terms of democratic and industrial development.

With the field researches on the effects of the use of mass media with propaganda method (determining attitudes and attitude change) during the Second World War (1939 – 1945), some basic theories¹⁵ have been developed in this field.

According to Erdoğan & Alemdar, the field researches carried out in the 1950s at the cold war period should be expressed as follows: *With the continuation of the guidances and inducements that started during the Second World War, the psychology and social psychology have turned into psychological warfare tools used for both political and cultural control and industrial control.* (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010:125).

¹⁵Stimulus-response theory, Hypodermic Needle theory, Information Theory, Lasswell's Formula, two-phase flow theory, First Media Field Studies and Two-phase Process. (see. Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010: 108-118)

From Marx until the establishment of the Lukacs and the Frankfurt School, the concept of critical thinking was adopted as a dominant approach in terms of expressing the ideology and culture until the end of the 1960s. According to Marx and Lukacs, the concept of ideology has taken an important place as the social counterpart of consciousness and thought production. With the concept of “*Cultural Industry*” developed by Max Horkheimer (1895 - 1973) and Theodor W. Adorno (1903 - 1969); the Frankfurt School has focused on the active role of this concept in maintaining the continuity of the capitalist communities, the management of the communities, the consumer society, and cultural studies (Erdoğan, 2007).

Starting from the 1960s, at almost five or ten year intervals, the intellectual circles and the media have put forward the “*end of ideology*” thesis. Looking at the welfare environment in European countries and especially in the USA after the Second World War, some scientists have argued that the industrial society has no longer exists and that it was replaced by the society beyond industry where the service sector is a priority. To give some example of this argument; an American social scientist Daniel Bell has announced that the society beyond industry exists (1959) and the ideology was ended (1960) and on the same axis of thought, an American political scientist, Seymour Martin Lipset asserted that the class struggle had fallen away and became a struggle without ideology far from the idea of socialism. The positivist political science has aimed to establish and protect the democracy in underdeveloped countries by using in national and international platforms some expressions for the conduct, development and needs of democracy such as “*Stability, popular opinion, democratic balance, political participation, nation-building*”.

The positivist political scientists have declared the idea of the “*end of ideology*” in an indirect or direct way (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010:138). Since the “*end of ideology*” thesis is accepted through the change of the working class and production relations and the neglect of the concept of surplus-value, this period may be expressed in some circles as a kind of theoretical end of Marxism.

It was previously stated that the 1960s, when the Cold War effects were felt the most, was called the bipolarity between capitalism and socialism in the world. With the declaration of the end of Marxism, in this period, the theoretical studies of a number of scientists who object to or reject the understanding of Marxist class theory and materialist history has enabled the cultural studies to come to the fore. It can be argued that the post-modern approaches are based on the acceptance of the priority of the discourses in cultures and politics. It can be stated that those who have adopted the post-modern thought has denied that an equalityist and libertarian thought may be decisive for the sub-structure or in other words; the relations of production, therefore; for the post-modernists, the idea of equality and freedom will not result in Marx's definition of social revolution¹⁶.

Kumar expresses as follows the distinction between the concepts of postmodern culture and postmodern society: While the concept of postmodernism is generally associated with culture, postmodern culture is expressed with a new form of society. Postmodern culture is generally referred to as the *post-industrial* concept, but is in

¹⁶“... at a certain stage of the developments, the material productive forces of the society run into contradiction with the existing production relations in which they moved until that time or with the property relations that are nothing more than their legal expression. At this stage, these relations are no longer the result of the development of productive forces, but they become obstacles to this development. Then the era of social revolution begins. The change in the economic base overwhelms the large upper structure with a great or little speed.” (Marx, 2011:24).

fact related to *post-industrial* society. For this reason, at the post-industrial level; the position of the one who adopted the post-modernism is the same position of the culture at the social level. Post-modernism is the culture of the post-industrial society (Kumar, 2013:138).

Harvey expresses the emergence of the postmodernism in the cultural field as follows: In the capitalist economic system, the relations of production are evaluated in two different periods as Fordism and Postfordism. Since in this relation of production, the economic base of the modernism and postmodernism exists with the capitalism, it can be said that these concepts exist in continuity with each other. In the process of the emergence of Fordism, With the mass production system originally designed for the production of a single model, the standardization of the products is aimed. In this sense, Fordism is expressed as the integration of mass production and mass consumption. The “*welfare*” period, lived After World War II especially in the US and many European countries, was replaced by the economic crisis period of the 1970s. This economic crisis in world markets has brought production to a halt. In this crisis, the Fordist type of production has transformed into the postfordist types of production, which are expressed as the flexible production or differentiated production. The postmodernism which can be expressed by the increase in the consumption diversity, realization of production in different countries and regions and the recognition of the different cultures, have found a way to express itself in the cultural sphere (Harvey, 2012).

As previously stated, until the 1970s; the capitalism was able to maximize its expansion process after the World War II. Between 1965 and 1975, the capitalist

mode of production was no longer able to progress due to the slowdown in the world economy, the rise in unemployment and the oil crisis. In one hand, the emerging economic problems reveal that the capitalism is an economic constitution that must be questioned in terms of sustainability. And on the other hand, these problems arise from the foundations such as expansion, exploitation and class domination that create capitalism. With the French Revolution (1789-1799) the feudal structure was replaced by the transformation that started with the transfer of the divided capital to the bourgeoisie, then with the Industrial Revolution in England, it has been ensured that production reaches global dimensions, and this has deepened the class differences as a result. The process up to this period can be considered as the first important steps of the commencement of commodification of the land and labor. After the 1970s, the new formations in capitalism manifested themselves in many different dimensions. Dowd described this period as follows: *“we are on the verge of a seriously dangerous period that nothing and no one will be left without price. “Everything is for sale” is written in a recent book.”*

In this sense, it can be predicted that in order to consume and exploit everything that we see in our environment, capitalism will seek to find its way out of the various kinds of crises that it enters and after each crisis, it will bring more destruction, exploitation and consumption. For Marx, it is important to express the crises that the capitalist economic system enters or will enter between the periods. This is expressed as follows in *Communist Manifesto* which is one of the first works of Marx: The periodic economic crises are shaking the bourgeois society more and more in a dangerous manner each time. (Marks & Engels, 1976:47). Marx continues to write similar articles also in the first volume of *Capital*; *“The contradictory dynamics of*

capitalist society manifests itself during the periodic wavings, in the most striking way in the bourgeois practice. The contemporary industry lives within it and the highest point of the attacks is its general crisis.” (Marks, 1966).

It was previously stated that the most important change of the new production organization launched by the capitalism in the 1970s as a way of liberation from the crisis of accumulation and expansion with globalization was seen in the Qualitative change of labor used in the production process. This new type of power, which can be expressed in late capitalist societies or post-industrial societies, as an information society or a post-fordist society can be described as follows according to Dursun : “*A force that is not spatially condensed, homogenous, and not subjugated to uniform working conditions but highly specialized, individualized, isolated, flexible and fragmented.*” (Dursun, 2004). While the model of production based on industrial capitalism, which can be expressed as the old type, is a working-class model based on arm strength; the capitalist mode of production, which evolved as the new production model mentioned above, highlighted the “*white-collar*” working class that produces abstract labor. With the increase in the white-collar workforce based on intelligence in the service sector compared to the quantitative decline in blue-collar workforce in the countries adopting the advanced capitalist model of production, it can be said that the struggle of the working class brings new topics of discussion in the theoretical field.

Yeldan expresses in four main headings, the dynamics of the economy that leads the globalization process started in order to overcome the world capitalism crisis that it struggle since the 1970s :

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C

crisis environment, based on excessive production, caused by the excessive accumulation due to the welfare environment of capitalism after the Second World War; (2) Contraction in profit rates generated by Fordist industrial relations that marked the contradiction between capital and labor during this period; (3) Increase of the competition created by the capitalist economic system in the international market. (4) Abandonment of the fixed exchange rate system of gold against US dollars (Bretton Woods) and the industrial investments which were left behind the capital accumulation preferred as a result of liberalization of financial markets (Yeldan, 2002).

The idea that *the most important obstacle to capitalist type of production is the capital itself*, as it can be expressed by Marx's prediction and as it was stated previously the link of the capitalism with the labor and capital are important to express the crisis that capitalism has entered in the 1970s. According to Yeldan, the contradiction of the wage labor and capital can be seen as the reflection of economic dynamics, therefore, the accumulation speed of the capital in the 1970s within the national boundaries required a high rate of profit to make new investments. As a solution to the profitability situation limited by the size of the national market in which the capital is located, it could be considered to stimulate domestic cash demand within the national market and to give such a movement to the capital formation. However, this method was not attractive in terms of the capital profitability as it would mean increasing the wage labor. Therefore, when it was necessary to transfer

the capital to financial investment areas and gain an international dimension, this situation had to be matured in economic and political terms. (Yeldan, 2002).

With the spread of neo-liberal system in Turkey and in the world since the 1980s, the concept of welfare state was abandoned and the market value has increased. In an environment where money has become almost the only sovereign value, the sovereignty of the financial capital has gained strength. This period led to radical changes particularly (in terms of the subject of this study) in the ownership structures of visual and written media, as in all areas of social life. In this sense Kadioğlu means the follows: "*The existence and rise of the global commercial media took place with the rise of the neo-liberal global capitalist economy. We can see the effects of the globalization, called the new economic order, in every corner of the social sphere.*" (Kadioğlu, 2010:115).

In terms of the limitation of this study, regarding the periodic definition of the concept of liberalism, it will be correct to consider the year of 1980 in which it was seen the most intense effect of this structure on the entire world and in Turkey and beyond. To express the transition process experienced in Turkey as of 1980 is important for this study. Kaya expresses the concept of "*new world order*" which can be expressed as the Turkey's overcame the crisis that it was gone through in 1970s; it can be said that the liberalism has become a dominant ideology in national and international fields with the economic discourses in Turkey and the world such as the "*Globalization of the economy and capital*", "*privatization and integration with the new world order*" as the "*new liberalism*"; and with the politic discourses such as the

“disengagement of the state and the political sphere”, “the civil society” and “the full sovereignty of the free market system”. (Kaya, 2009:117).

The examination of the 1980 and the period after 1980 in which the new economic policies were expressed as neo-liberalism; the social, economic and political change and transformation and the investigation of the effects of these changes on the visual design products is very important in regard of this study. The visual design products that can be expressed as both carrier and producer of the ideology can be expressed as areas where the impacts of the political and social changes in Turkey and in the world. According to Akdağ, it can be said that the class politics was replaced by the identity politics with the ideological structure expressed as “the new world order” after 1980 in Turkey and in the world (Akdağ, 2014). This situation can be considered as that the individual and individualization which is the main element of the economical, political and social life has come to fore in the liberalism. In this context, the effects of this approach can be seen when the visual design products before and after 1980 are evaluated. While it is seen in the context of the study that on the union posters belonging to the period before 1980 the class struggle is emphasized with a collective design approach; on the design products belonging to the period after 1980, the effects of the discourse and hegemony come to the fore and it can be stated that such a design concept has been adopted in the new period. With the rapid creation of the need for the consumer products globalized after 1980 in the free market system, after this process, the design has become a means of consumption rather than being the carrier of the ideology.

The postmodern tendencies that started in the theoretical direction since the 1960s led to the changes especially in the industrial design. In this sense, to give an example in the industrial design field; in the mass production band system, which was identified with Henry Ford, the uniform and fast production was possible. Meanwhile, by taking into account the economic and social conditions of that period, it was necessary to also convince the people that they needed just a vehicle. But, as of 1960s, the situation changed and since the industrial design was integrated with postmodern approaches; beyond convincing people to buy a vehicle, the personalized vehicle production has been started. Haskett, in his work named “Design”, expresses the framework of the interaction between designers and users as follows: “(...) *It is clear that some designers put more emphasis on their original ideas than on users' thoughts. The strengthening of such approaches has led to the emergence of theoretical ideas gathered under the title of postmodernism in the 1980s.*” (Haskett, 2013:60). This expression can be explained in other words as the basic criterion in the design and use of a design object is the semantic expression of that product rather than the usages attributed to the object. Haskett expresses as follows how the relationship between design and users is shaped by poststructuralist approaches: “*the approaches in the design and use of the design object are determined by the designers. It is the designers who open the door to the design products having arbitrary forms that have little or no relevance to their usage but justified by their meaning.*” (Haskett, 2013:61). In order to give an example to this approach, it can be stated that the Italian company Alessi produces designs that support the aforementioned approach as a company that produces household goods in simplicity. The lemon squeezer designed by Philippe Starck under the name of “Juicy Salif” can be shown as one of the most memorable design products. It can be said that Starck

has created a formally unusual design with this design object. However, while this design product has moved away from meeting its simple purpose, it is placed in the position of a *fetish object* rather than its function. Because the lemon squeezer, which has a very simple purpose, is transferred to a household appliance position from its kitchen appliance position, thus, the design emerges as the product of the capitalist economic structure in the postmodern thought of the object. It can be said that such approaches to design are adopted in order to provide *added value* to the products with low profit rates. Thus, it can be stated that postmodern ideas in design are formed within the capitalist economic structure to convert cheap and easily accessible products into useless, expensive and relatively privileged images.



Figure 3.1. “Juicy Salif” – Designer: Philippe Starck 1993

3.1.2. Post Marxism

Among the most prominent philosophers of the School of British Cultural Studies founded in England in the early 1960s were Stuart Hall, Richard Hoggart and Raymond Williams. These philosophers, with the influence of French geophysicists

and linguists of that time, began to express the human reality with the texts revealed by man. In the ends of 1970s, in line with the opinions of Louis Althusser (1918-1990), Jacques Lacan (1901 – 1981), Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and then Michel Foucault (1926 – 1984) it was given weight to the texts and discourses. In this way, the cultural studies and structuralist approaches were focused on the areas of interest ranging from the linguist Saussure to the structuralist anthropologist Levi-Strauss, from the semiotics Barthes, to the psychoanalyst and psychiatrist Lacan (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010:360).

The Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies which started its studies in the 1960s by adopting the historical materialist approach posed by Marx against the idealist philosophy has expressed as follows: *“together with the post - structuralist, post - modern and post - Marxist transformation, the link of the language, thought and culture with the type of production and its relations was first ignored and subsequently rejected.”* (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010). In the school of cultural studies where the text and discourse came to the forefront, by considering the work areas, the common approach can be explained as the expression of the systems arising from the processes of giving meaning and representation.

The movies, books, journals and photographs can be given as examples.

It can be stated that Marx's scientific method in the field of social sciences has been subjected to many critiques of the historical materialism concept. In this sense, Kaygalak expresses that the criticisms attributed to Marx are not produced only by the rightist ideology: *“(...) in addition to the liberal, conservative, nationalist and similar environments of the right, the criticism based on the shallow and dogmatic*

interpretation of Marxism, which positions itself in socialist politics, has an important place.” (Kaygalak: 33-59). According to these statements, it is necessary to emphasize the validity of the criticisms against Marx. In terms of expressing the intellectual basis for the production of culture, ideology and consciousness, the statements in the preface of Marx’s “Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy” can be considered. According to Marx, regarding the production of the ideas and thoughts; the control of the distribution of this production is in the hands of the ruling class and the thought of the ruling class as a result of this control structure is the dominant thought among the other groups, thus, this ruling class plays the most important role in carrying out the class inequality ideologically (Marks, 2011:26). Therefore, it can be said that in the production of culture, ideology and consciousness; the importance of the relationship between media ownership and its control under the capitalist class should be taken into consideration. The dominant thought created by the message transmitted by the media through these ownership and control relationships is expressed as follows by Marx: *“The ruling class having the means of material production also controls the means of mental production.”*

In order to fully resolve the cultural production process, only a class-based analysis will not be sufficient in the audit process, it is necessary to highlight at the same time the economic conditions in this audit process. Those who criticize Marx, accused him with “economic reductionism” by claiming that people's thoughts and activities are determined only under economic conditions beyond their control and in the course of the process, the school of cultural studies was completely distanced from Marxist discipline. Marxism is a guide for the social analysis of culture and communication. In the process of cultural production or production of consciousness,

the fact that the complex relationship between material and intellectual production cannot be fully developed or neglected by the accusation of “economic reductionism”, undermines the theoretical power of Marx (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010:363).

This kind of criticism against Marxist thought has been influential in many parts of the society (academia, politics, economy) especially in the 1980s, when neo-liberal policies were felt all over the world. Especially in the 1980s when the *New Right* was on the rise, it is known that the concept of *radical democracy* that came up in academic studies with the social change and transformation, was called as post-Marxism in terms of its philosophical and theoretical equivalents.

It can be expressed that Political theorist Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe who developed the *Radical Democracy* concept in their work called “*Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*”; tried to say in essence that it is possible to create a field of discourse by devising the working class with a reductionist approach and that this field can be considered as any category. The feminist movements, environmental organizations, peace etc. can be shown as examples of different areas created against the struggle of the working class. In this direction, the post Marxism which moves away from the concepts which Marxism treats as a priority such as subject, society, historical processes and objectivity can be defined as an anti-Marxist structure that advocates the production of conceptual practices that can be expressed as an alternative to the struggle of the working class, which was preceded by Marx. According to Kaygalak, what is desired to be assimilated with the post Marxist thought is expressed as follows: “*Instead of the*

Class policy based on the position of the working class in the relations of production, the recognition of democratic struggles with various social people or groups brought together through discourse” (Kaygalak: 33-59).

In terms of the scope of this study, the class concept should be emphasized due to the consideration of the Turkish trade union structuring as of 1960. In this study, it is assumed that the class phenomenon in Turkey is weakened due to the process of change and transformation since the 1960s when it was seen on the class phenomenon the effects of the post-Marxist and post-modern tendencies which replaced the Marxist thought and it is aimed to analyze the traces of this period through the “1 May” poster designs produced by the trade union structures.

In this context, it would be correct to first examine the theoretical implications of Marx about the concept of class. In the “Communist Manifesto” produced by Marx and Engels in 1848, the historical mission of the working class is expressed as the “History is the history of class struggles” because according to them, the decision-making power of the social being that constitutes the historical process will be possible in the class struggle. In line with this idea, it can be said that Marx established the working class in a basic structure in order to create a political movement. The neglect of Marx approach based on a class-subject centered history philosophy which can be expressed as the most important basis of Marxist thought can be shown as one of the criticisms tried to be developed against Marxism. According to Öngen, Weber opposes to the Marx’s relationship between the movement of the class (subject) and the movement of material life and considers the materialist conception of history established between the production relations and

historical progress as an economic reductionist approach. Weber, considers that a historical unity cannot be formed between the class action and the social movement that he expresses as an economic phenomenon. (Öngen, 2002).

While Marx established a relationship between the class and history (revolution and the working class) and the economy and politics (class conflict and social practice), he expressed that the political class struggle has an importance for the classes in terms of the fact that the classes can be an effective force on the society. While Marx contributed to the theory of history with the relationship that he established between the class and history in his analysis of society, he established the connection between the existence of classes and the development of the production relations to a scientific structure. (Öngen, 2002:10). As discussed in previous chapters, it can be said that by transforming into a materialist understanding of history, the dialectic (idealism) that he inherited from Hegel, Marx aimed to reveal that everything that is social depends on the activity of the human being, which is also the product of social life.

Marx, in his work called “*German Ideology, Theses on Feuerbach (Thesis 11)*” published in 1845 which can be defined as a *guide to action*; considered the philosophy as an intellectual tool for only understanding or interpreting the world but he expressed that what he actually wanted to do was to see the philosophy as an important tool that will change the world. It can be observed that Marx therefore has put the class phenomenon into a sociological structure. Starting from the relationship between the liberation of society and the liberation of the lower social class (proletariat); it can be stated that he aimed to guide the motion- action to be formed in

order to eliminate the class by the class struggle. Again, in his work “*German Ideology*”; in connection with the concept of consciousness; he discussed how the living conditions and social relations produced the people and how they shaped the people's thoughts and feelings (Marks & Engels, 2013).

According to Öngen, the development of the class consciousness requires to master the historical knowledge of the capitalist economic system; because the phenomenon of class consciousness is the visible state of the will created in a scientific structure by the owners of the capital gathered in the context of the relations of production. This reflection will only be possible by making the distinction between the subject and the object or in other words; by seeing that the human will that produces the material life is also the product of this material life and what will ensure this is the class struggle. (Öngen, 2002:17). The concept of struggle for Marx, is the dialectic itself, which is the combination of the unity and contrast. There may be a dialectic relationship carrying a contrast and unity between the “class in itself”¹⁷ and the “class for itself”¹⁸. Marx abstracts the phenomenon of class in a bipolar structure based on two main classes of labor and capital within the capitalist economic system. The reason for this may be to make visible the basis of the class relations (dependency and opposition) within the capitalist economic system. According to him, the class phenomenon can be understood only by the dialectic approach because of the contradictions it contains, it can be expressed by the polarization (labor and

¹⁷ According to Marxist doctrine, it can be expressed as a group of unorganized people with a perception in which the class consciousness is not developed/ created or couldn't be created.

¹⁸ According to Marxist doctrine, it can be expressed as a group of unorganized people with a perception in which the class consciousness is developed / created.

capital) between the working class which produces labor and the capitalist class, which is the owner of the capital.

it can be said that the phenomenon of class continues through the relations between labor and capital in Turkey and in many countries of the world. The trade unions can be shown as the legal struggle area of the organized class struggle between the labor and capital. To discuss through the union struggle, the historical, social change and transformation of trade unions in Turkey forming the universe of this study carries an importance within the scope of this study.

It can be said that the main idea of the trade unions established in the capitalist countries under the leadership of Marxists is the class struggle. In this struggle, *some unions were the class collaboration organizations formed by the Christians against an understanding limited by the labor-employer relations at work or the Marxist understanding of the class struggle* (Koç ve Koç, 2008:18).

3.2. Trade Union Structures

To discuss the trade unions through the social structures in Turkey and in the world is important in terms of the scope of the study. In this concept, it can be said that the effects of the liberal and socialist doctrine on unionization should be emphasized. Adam Smith, the founder of the classical school of economics (1723 – 1790), has emphasized the Fundamental principles of liberalism in his book called “*Wealth of Nations*”. Smith, while stating in his book that the unionization (labor - employer) is a negotiation tool, he believed that the labor produced by the worker should be

maximized and at the same time the interests of the employer should be prioritized. The fundamental philosophy of the liberal economic structure is to evaluate everything that hampers the functioning of the free market economy as harmful. It can be said that Smith's "*invisible hand*" theory rendered a balance in the free market economy and discredited the position of the guilds and trade unions. It can be said that David Ricardo (1772 – 1823) who defined the "*Labor Value Theory*", has ignored the trade union structures by introducing the *Bronze Law*¹⁹ in a period when the labor supply has increased. As a reflection of this situation, it is said that he concluded that the remuneration of the worker's labor must be at the minimum subsistence level. To express the effects of socialist doctrine on the unionization, it can be stated that Marx's idea of classless society should be taken into consideration.

In this context, according to the socialist thought, since the society will be of a classless nature, it may be thought that there will be no need for a struggle in production and political relations. But this conclusion does not mean that the left wing, which has adopted a socialist structure, will oppose the formation of trade union structures. But it has been stated previously that Marxism's idea of classless society was being ignored by the post-modern, post-structuralist and post-Marxist concepts that emerged in the 1960s. Actually, it can be said that by the theoretical approach; the real aim was to move away from the class phenomenon, that the effects of the socialist doctrine on trade unionism were limited and the idea that the liberal pluralist democracy rules associated with Marx's idea of classless society were

¹⁹It can be expressed as the opinion that workers' wages should be determined at minimum subsistence level.

willing to bring some freedoms widely accepted.²⁰ In the study, in order to analyze the social change seen in Turkey after 1960 and the reflections of this change on the visual design products the first periods of trade union structuring should be discussed.

The birth of the working class and the organization of the workers in Turkey correspond to the first half of the twentieth century. The reason for this may be noted as the late start to industrial production in Turkey. In the Ottoman Empire, which has been an agricultural country for centuries, the hand industry and feudal production system were dominant. But in England, the industrial revolution (1771-1825) has started, the factories were established along with mechanization, the use and development of the steam engines brought the developments in the mining sector and the ongoing discoveries showed their positive effects in the economic sphere in this period.

The capitalist class has arisen by the struggle of the urban communes with the feudal lords and the workers' class has arisen with the emergence of the industry and its rapid development. The fact that the paid factory labor was born in England showed its effects in all European countries. As a result of the economic developments starting with the strengthening of industry in England, Germany and France which allowed the creation of a Market war; the First World War has started. (28 June 1914) (Sülker, 2004:39).

²⁰ "... The socialism of Marx remained utopian with the idea that a stateless order would be achieved where the state would disappear. Nevertheless, the socialists who have a great role in reaching the trade unions have a majority. However, the unions' ability to play these roles depends on the functioning of the pluralistic rules of democracy created by the liberal doctrine. Such as the freedom to establish new unions, the right to strike or even to general strike etc." (Yazgan, 1982:10).

While the function of the unions was limited to the class struggle until the First World War (1914); after the second World War, the direction of the union struggle has changed in the new world order. While the capitalist world faced two major dangers; the peoples of the countries that could be described as colonial and semi-colonial have shown a revolt against imperialism and they started to use the unions as an effective force in this struggle. The trade unions in these colonial and semi-colonial countries were more than just an executive of the class struggle, they became an intermediary to win the independence struggle of the peoples they were affiliated with. In response to this situation, the states of the imperialist countries and the capitalist classes have entered into cooperation with the trade unions of their own countries for the continuation of the exploitation order. This approach, expressed as the “*Union Imperialism*” gained importance after the Second World war. After the Second World War, while one third of the world was under the rule of communist parties, beyond the class struggle; the primary task of the trade unions in these countries was the establishment, protection of the socialism and the construction of the state in the direction of communism. In this period, the struggle for capitalism against socialism continued throughout the world and it remained dependent on an inter-state struggle. Such influences have led the trade unions which are the natural products of the relations between classes, to adapt to the changing conditions, with the class struggle gaining a multi-faceted structure (Koç ve Koç, 2008:19). It can be said that in our age, the struggle of the countries in the colonial position that fight for independence against the imperialist countries and of the countries governed by a socialist state structure has shaped as a different form of class struggle. This new structure of this class struggle which takes a different form, caused some significant

changes in the basic purpose and working style of the trade unions, which were the products of the class relations and struggle.

After World War II, the most important political factor in the world was the Cold War²¹. The effects of Socialism were seen all over the world during this period and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was the power that changed the direction of the Second World War and ensured the victory of the humanity against fascism. In this period, in one-third of the world's countries, the communist parties were in power. In the countries of Europe that could be described as imperialist, the Communist parties, which led the struggle against fascism and occupation, had an important prestige and sanction power on trade unions (Sülker, 2004:38).

Despite the fact that there were groups who adopted socialist thought during the Ottoman Empire period, these groups did not provide a comprehensive mass organization. The concerned groups were generally small organizations, but they were the bearers of socialist thought at that time. Mustafa Suphi was exiled to Sinop due to the opposition during the period of the Government of Union and Progress²² and then he went to Russia and taken captured there. Suphi, who was influenced by Bolshevism after the revolution of October and the revolutionaries he met during his captivity in Russia, has collaborated with soldiers who were exiled as him and with leftist groups in Turkey and they established the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) by a congress held in Baku on September 10, 1920. TKP, which was closed down on 12

²¹ It can be defined as Political and military tensions between the United States (Western Bloc) and the Soviet Union (Eastern Bloc) during the Cold War. (Between 1947and 1991)

²²The Committee of Union and Progress can be defined as a political movement leded the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in the Ottoman Empire and the ruling party that dominated the state administration between 1908-1918.

September 1922, continued its illegal struggle until the 1930s. In June 1946, the ban on class-based organization was abolished. Although this law article, which was only valid for 6 months, has provided a mobility in the new left organizations, these initiatives were soon suppressed (Çelik, 2010:87).

The Law No. 5018, signed on 20.02.1947, concerning the workers' unions, employer unions and union of unions was the first trade union law which was specifically enforced in Turkey. Trade union rights brought by this law are separated from today's rights by a number of characteristics. Together with this law, it is forbidden for trade unions to engage in politics or to be in contact with political parties. Again, to organize collective labor movements was prohibited under this law. Under this law, the ministry of interior and the ministry of labor had the right to inspect the trade unions and demand their closure by the court decision. The right to a collective labor dispute in order to increase the wages of the workers was recognized under this law. (Yazgan, 1982:52). Ensuring the constitutional and legal protection of trade union rights by the Constitution of 1961, Trade Unions Act No. 274 and Collective Labor Agreement Strike and Lockout Act No. 275 (TİSGLK), has significantly increased the political importance and effectiveness of the trade unions and has allowed trade unionists to develop their political tendency on a legal basis. Since then, the role and importance of trade unions in social and political life has been accepted by politicians and bureaucracy (Yazgan, 1982:50-55).

The emergence and development of the unionization in the world was a widespread process, which differs in every country. But, according to Yıldırım Koç, in the first phase of unionization, "spontaneity" was commonly observed. During this

period, the trade unions of skilled workers emerged, while the mass and class organizations in the UK and the US also emerged (Koç ve Koç, 2008:18). The workers' resistance, which started in Istanbul on June 15-16, 1970²³ and later spreaded in other provinces can be shown as an example to the fact of spontaneity within the scope of the trade union struggle in Turkey and it can be said that resistance had an importance in Turkish working-class struggle.

These events, in which the DİSK managers were not actively involved, can be assessed through the *class consciousness* reached by the working class as a result of the generally growing political consciousness after 1960 in Turkey. It can be stated that this workers' resistance in which the DİSK was not actively involved took place due to the consciousness reached by the working class, as a reaction in order to defend their own rights. (Koç and Koç, 2008:138-156).

In the period between 1962 and 1975 in Turkey; the rise of the socialist-communist movement in trade union struggle and the growth of the working class took place in parallel with the deterioration of Turkey- US relations and the Development of the Turkey- Soviet Union relations. The Soviet Union introduced a

²³ This amendment which was intended to be made on the Unions law (No. 1317) in order to distract DİSK from organizing labor movements or political movements has led to the Turkey's labor movement. And one of the most important events of the Turkey's labor movement has been the 15-16 June workers' resistance and its consequences. AP and CHP intended to amend the Laws no 274 and 275 by arguing that these laws damage the business life and the rights of the working class by causing the formation of too many unions. This process can be summarized as follows: This law (1317) which recognized only to TÜRK-İŞ the right to union organization stipulated that in order to allow that a trade union actively carry out activities in Turkey, at least one third of the unionized workers should be included as members, at least one third of the total number of workers in the branch of employment should be recorded as members of the concerned trade union. (Özsever, 1998:451). The draft, which was discussed in the parliament on 11 June, was adopted by 230 votes against four denials and sent to the senate. About 150 thousand workers who leaved their jobs have been involved in the events which started on June 15, 1970, lasted two days and resulted in martial law. As a result, 200 people were injured and hundreds of people were taken into custody. (Özsever, 1998).

limitation against the imperialism and exploitation in the years of 1960-1961 and established a planning based on maintaining the class struggle more sharply in the imperialist countries. In Turkey, the TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) has also set its planning in order to maintain the class struggle on a sharper ground. The process generating DISK (Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey) has begun in this atmosphere in 1962 and despite all the struggles of TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) in providing trade union unity, the trade union movement has been divided in the way that the United States (United States of America) wanted and thus, it started a process in which a large part of the Socialist Communist working class was isolated (Koç ve Koç, 2008:22). The basic structure and activities of DISK and TÜRK-İŞ observed in 1967-1980 period should be distinguished from the structure and activities of DISK observed from 1980 until today. DISK, which was founded in 1967 differs from its today's structure in terms of targeting a socialist order and its relations with socialist organizations due to the current political and economic developments of that time.

In this period, DISK whose organization activities in the cold war period had close relation with the socialist-communist movements, has adopted the class consciousness and even the socialist consciousness as the basic principle within the scope of the its workers' organizations. This can be considered as the reflections in the areas of trade union struggle of the political and social atmosphere and of the strong relations between USSR and Turkey after 1970. In the period between 1975 and 1980, the goal of the USSR was create an *anti-imperialist and anti-fascist* side in Turkey and the US goal was to create an *anti-communist* side. It is a known fact that during this period of such discussions, imperialist powers caused division within the

left groups in Turkey and in the period before 1980, a polarization environment was created within the country. These developments which are not a result of the class struggle can be deemed as the consequences on Turkey of the world cold war process. It can be stated that DİSK lost power in this process in the conditions where the socialist- communist movement began to divide and where the differences of opinion emerged between the left groups. The effects of the class and trade union struggle areas were decreased with the left-wing divisions and the polarization across the country that prepared the ground for the 1980 coup. By considering the constitution of 1946 which can be determined as the first sprouts of the trade union struggle especially for the left-wingers in Turkey, the constitution of 1963 after the transition to the multi-party period, the main features of the union structure and the class struggle as well as the historical features; the basic characteristics of the trade union structure in Turkey were tried to be expressed in this section. The process of change and development of DİSK which witnessed the change and transformation of the movement of class struggle in Turkey will be dealt chronologically from its foundation to the present in the following parts of this study. In this context, the examination of the change in the working-class struggle through visual design products designed by DİSK determines the scope of this study.

3.3. The Trade Union Movements In Turkey

3.3.1. The Trade Union Movement In Turkey Before 1980

Within the scope of the examination of the trade union movement in Turkey before 1980, it can be stated that many rights and freedoms in terms of trade union struggle have been won by the law of trade unions, which was adopted by the 1960

constitution mentioned in the previous chapters of this study. For this reason, DP (Democrat Party) which came to power in Turkey by the multiparty elections has ended on May 27, 1960 by the military coup that would also lead to the beginning of the *second republic*²⁴ (Çelik, 2010:318). The process after the 1960 military coup can be described as a new era in Turkey in the economic, social and political areas or in short, in every aspect of the social life. In terms of trade union struggle, this period can be shown as a period in which the labor relations were institutionalized; the new trade union organizations, collective negotiations and strike took part in working conditions. The basic features of this period according to Man can be stated as the new classes which became more visible; the deepening of the politics by the ideological structures that contain different identities, a number of dynamics that have led to the emergence of a relatively new social structure that has reached the class consciousness. It can be said that DISK acted as a complementary element in this structure (Man, 2009).

The existence of industrialization on the basis of syndical structuring and the change in the quality of labor by the transition of the society from the agricultural society to the industrial society was mentioned in the above sections of this study. In Turkey, although there were many initiatives and structures within the struggle for trade union rights before that these rights have been acquired by the 1961 constitution, In terms of the struggle of the working class in Turkey, it can be stated that the post-1960 period has a very important position. Çelik Steel expresses his

²⁴Contrary to the common thought, the concept of the *Second Republic* was not used for the first time in the 1990s by those who adopted the liberal pluralist structure but it was started to be used after the 1960 coup by the Kemalists. As it is known, it was observed 5 republics in the French Revolution after 1792. The 5th Republic started in 1958 by the election of de Gaulle with the constitutional amendment that brought the semi-presidential system. This concept is used as a reference to the political structure in France after the French Revolution after the 1960 military coup. (Çelik, 2010:318).

thoughts about this period as follows; *the most significant aspect of the period after the coup of May 27, 1960 is the rise of the working class in terms of quantity and quality, and its gain of motion as a class.* And the 1946 - 1960 period can be defined as the transition of the working class in Turkey to the early adolescence (Çelik, 2010:317). With this expression, it can be considered that the class consciousness and the union organization that started in 1946 but developed after 1960 has matured in this process within the framework of the laws in a pluralist and libertarian environment.

By taking into account the relationship between trade union struggle and industrial production, it can be stated that the relation between the rise of the social movement as well as of the working class and the industrial production in Turkey should be evaluated separately as before and after 1960. In this process, according to Man; the emergence of industrial structures in Western European countries and the formation of trade union struggles were realized in parallel. Also, the increase of the political dynamics in Turkey has developed in parallel with the industrialization (Man, 2009). In this context, It can be expressed that the industry in Turkey has relatively developed until the 1960s along with the legal arrangements for the union struggle. As Ahmad stated, before 1960s, while Turkey was a country mainly engaged in agricultural production in addition to a small industrial sector owned by the state, by the 1960s, it had a private industrial sector, although it not was not yet developed. Starting from 1960, the contribution of the industry to the GDP (Gross National Product) reached almost the same level as of the agriculture, and as of 1973 this rate has gone beyond the agricultural production rate. These developments led to the migration to the cities and towns, with the desire to have better living conditions

of the peasantry living by the agriculture until this period and this caused a rapid urbanization. The shift of the economy to the industrial production has enabled the new social groups to manifest themselves in the cities (Ahmad, 1995:160).

The Cold War, which made its impact all over the world in 1950s, left its place in the mid-1960s to the tendency to soften in international politics. Although the anti-communism and anti-socialism perception was strengthened during the Cuban crisis²⁵ in 1962, towards the middle of the 1960s, it has risen this time with the perception of anti-America and anti-imperialism. During this period, the United States has reacted to the position of Turkey on the Cyprus issue and in 1964, the President Johnson has threatened²⁶ Turkey in a letter that he sent to Inonu, the Prime Minister of the period.

The effects of the anti-American and anti-imperialist upward movement in the mid-1960s were seen in the area of trade union struggle. In the early 1960s, there has been a consensus within the TÜRK-İŞ based on the relations established with the US trade unions and the US trade union training aids (ICA and AID). For this reason, during the establishment of the disagreements in TÜRK-İŞ and the establishment of DİSK the trade union relations with the United States have led to a serious divergence. It can be said that anti-American and anti-imperialist policies of TİP, which was established in 1961, played an important role in the development of this divergence. (Çelik, 2010:323).

²⁵“ The Cuban Missile Crisis can be expressed as the political crisis which began with the placement of nuclear missiles in Cuba by the USSR. It can be said that the solution of the crisis without causing a nuclear war had some consequences. It can be shown as a process (softening period), in which the effects of the cold war which is the most important of these results were decreased. (see. Çelik, 2010:323)

²⁶“*It is noticed that the Turkey cannot use the weapons without the permission of the US and that NATO will not ensure security against the Soviet threat if Turkey intervenes in Cyprus*”(Man,2009).

As it was stated above, in the period which started with the law of unions adopted in 1963 with the 1961 constitution has mobilized the social struggle, the collective rights and freedoms which were not recognized until that time by Turkey, have been ensured and at the same time the collective bargaining, strike and trade union rights have been secured by law. According to Güzel, in this process which can be deemed to be libertarian (constitution of 1961), by the initiative of 12 unionists, the TİP (Workers Party of Turkey) has been founded. TİP was the first socialist party whose candidates have been elected as deputies in the political history of Turkey. The adoption of the trade union law in 1963 has started a process in which many ideas could be discussed in a pluralist and libertarian environment and especially in terms of the working-class struggle; the ideas of the left ideology could be expressed and discussed freely. It can be stated that many socialist and social democratic based and periodical publications emerged and became widespread in this period. The weekly newspaper which had a socialist base and called “Social Justice” was started to be published in 1963 (Image 3.1). Affiliated to the weekly newspaper “Social Justice”; as of 1964; the monthly political opinion magazine “Social Justice” has started to be published. The “Social Justice” magazine is one of the magazines where the first graphics with left and socialist content are published. (Aysan, 2013:17) (Image 3.2).

In the first edition of the “Social Justice” newspaper, published in 19 March 1963; there was a text expressing the purpose of the publication of the newspaper; in this text, it was expressed in summary that this initiative took part of the labor, democracy and the constitution and it aimed to reach to the people sharing the same opinion. And the publication staff of the newspaper consisted of the workers and intellectuals from

many fields of the social life (writers, journalists, artists, academicians) who were earning their lives with their efforts. The authors staff included many names such as; Mehmet Ali Aybar, Behice Boran, Kemal Sülker, İbrahim Güzelce, Kemal Türkler, Adnan Cemgil etc. A common feature of these names was that they were the persons who were related to TİP; in its establishment or in later periods.

The monthly political opinion magazine “Social Justice” which was published as the publication organ of TİP as of 1964, was one of the first magazines with a socialist content in which visual design came to the fore. Since 1965, the original designs of Abidin Dino have been included in the cover and inner pages and the pages are authentic in terms of visual design (Aysan, 2013:17). The populist visuals in Turkey which were designed until that period by using the photos of the poor peasants, workers and rural handicrafts; have included for the first time the visuals where the class struggle was in the foreground and designed by using the images of urbanites, rebellious People in collective action (Image 3.2).



Figure 3.4 Yön Weekly Newspaper, Issue: 130, 3



Figure 3.5 Yön Weekly Newspaper Issue: 135, 55

The newspaper called “Yön/Direction” can be shown as another publication organ that emerged in the atmosphere of libertarian and pluralistic social structure, which started with the 1961 constitution. Doğan Avcıoğlu was the owner and editor-in-chief of “Yön/Direction” which was a weekly newspaper. The newspaper has been started to be published in Ankara on December 20, 1961 and its last number was published on June 30, 1967. In the first number of the newspaper “Yön/Direction”; the declaration called as “New Statism” signed by about 1041 intellectuals has been published. Another name of this declaration of claims for westernization, enlightenment and development was the “Yön/Direction Manifesto” and among its signatories there were names as: Doğan Avcıoğlu, İlhan Selçuk, Mümtaz Soysal,

Çetin Altan, Korkut Boratav etc. According to Aysan; with the declaration of “New Statism”; the “Yön/Direction” has initiated a movement aiming a state-based, socialist structure.

The authentic cover designs of “Yön/Direction” publication designed by Doğan Avcıoğlu has constituted the first examples of the Visual language of dissident segment especially starting from 1965 until June 1967; when it was closed (Aysan, 2013:34) (Image 3.4).

Türk-İş which has been known since its foundation to adopt the concept of providing rights through the collective bargaining agreements or before the government and to stay away from politics with its political stance; gathered since its very first foundation (1952) under the same roof those who cannot be accepted as having similar visions in every sense. Because in that period, the DP (Democratic Party) was the ruling party and the Republican People's Party (CHP) was the main opposition party, therefore So there were trade unionists representing both parties. (Man, 2009). As one of the main foundation grounds of DİSK, it can be shown the trade union policy that Türk-İş conducted (collective bargaining agreement). According to Koç, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Turkey whose director was Mehmet Kılınç has joined DİSK, and again for the similar reasons in 1964 Türk Hür-İş (Confederation of Democratic, Socialist and Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey) has been founded but this initiative couldn't succeed and Mehmet Alpdündar, who became president in 1966, became one of the founders of DİSK. (Koç & Koç, 2008:123-134). The SADA agreement (Inter-Trade Unions Solidarity Agreement) prepared during and prior to the foundation of DİSK; is a ground formed

After Paşabahçe Strike²⁷ by the gathered trade unions, namely; Turkish Maden-İş (Kemal Türkler), Basın-İş (İbrahim Güzelce), Lastik-İş (Kemal Ayav), Gıda-İş (Kemal Nebioğlu). In this sense, even SADA seemed like only a solidarity organization, in fact beyond this, it has been shaped as a new confederation structure and then has revealed DISK (Man, 2009).

What makes catchy DISK having an important place in the field of trade union struggle in Turkey is the socialism and the socialist-communist organization. The trade unionists who established DISK used TİP in 1967-1971; but they did not give the socialist segment the opportunity to work in the trade unions, they did not transfer an important resource to TİP during this period. DISK management strengthened its relations with the CHP between 1971 and 1975 and it gave the impression that DISK was disconnected from socialism. In the history of the working class and trade union movement of Turkey; it can be referred to the periods that the socialist-communist formations have been effective in a way. In Turkey, even it could be observed some formations in the union struggle area in the period of 1920-1922²⁸ and in the second

²⁷It is a 85-day strike realized between the dates of January 31, 1966 and April 26, 1966 in Paşabahçe Bottle and Glass Factory (1966 strike of Paşabahçe). It has been a strike with distinctive features and consequences in terms of the working class and trade union struggle relations in Turkey. The effect of this strike on the establishment of DISK has caused many debates in many respects. Although Paşabahçe Bottle and Glass Factory has a collective bargaining agreement at the business branch level previously signed by the Cam-İş union, The collective bargaining request of the Kristal-İş Union, authorized at the workplace level, has not been accepted; as a result of this 2200 workers went on strike. Türk-İş who supported the strike at the beginning of the events, signed a protocol as result of the negotiations made with TİSK (Confederation of Employers' Unions of Turkey) and despite of the decision declaring that Kristal-İş was authorized to enter into collective bargaining agreements (9th Civil Chamber of the Supreme Court) it continued to adhere to the said protocol. However, the Council of Ministers postponed the 85-day strike for one month due to *endangering the health of the people*. Upon this event, the president of the Kristal-İş union, Mehmet Şişmanoğlu, closed the union and handed the key of the union to the Prime Minister of that period. After these events, the fact that the other member trade unions of Türk-İş have supported Kristal-İş, paved the way for the separation within the union. In essence, this strike can be seen only as an event that opened the way for the separation in Türk-İş. (Çelik & Aydın, 2006)

²⁸In the period before the establishment of the Republic, in the essence of the movement of the working class and trade union struggle in Turkey, the effects of socialist structures can be seen in general. Especially in the period following the October Revolution, it can be said that trade union political organizations were more socialist.

half of 1946²⁹; generally advanced structures have not been created. The socialist-communist movement has been able to interact with the large masses of workers between 1975 and 1980 for the first time. For the reasons such as divisions in the socialist-communist movement in Turkey; the revival of the Cold War starting from 1978 and its effects on Turkey; the economic distress of 1978 lived in Turkey; DİSK, lost its effectiveness, weakened and turned into a target against the state (Koç & Koç, 2008:638).

It can be said that today DİSK has a very distant structure especially from its structure covering the socialist-communist movement in 1975-1980. Until 1980, one of the most important issues separating DİSK from TURK-IS was, “the force determined as responsible for the problems” (Koç & Koç, 2008:639). While TURK-IS was not accepting the class phenomenon in 1962-1980 period and targeting employers and employer organizations as responsible for workers' problems, it certainly did not go beyond the state policy. DİSK, in addition to criticizing employers and employers' organizations, has been in an attitude towards the class of capital (class consciousness), at the same time, it advocated the establishment of the socialist structure instead of capitalism. (Ersan, 2014:128).

As a result of political developments affecting the whole world; the interaction between trade unions and socialist ideology, has showed visible effects also on Turkey. As a result of this formation; at one side; some socialist parties were founded in Turkey, at the other side, the trade unions emerged under the influence of these parties. The first of these was the *Socialist Party of Turkey* Founded by Hüseyin Hilmi between the years 1919 and 1923. TSF, which was acting as a union structure rather than a political party, was highly influenced by British unionism. It adopted the reformist line of the International II. and was able to influence the trade unions for a short period of time (Aydanoğlu, 2009:125).

²⁹On June 5, 1946, the prohibition on establishing an association on the basis of the class according to the Association's Law, was abolished. The Socialist Party of Turkey and the Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey has contributed to the foundation of a large number of trade union organizations. But this situation doubted the political authority. With the apprehension arising from the organization of the ideological grounds on the basis of *class unionism* in the formation process of Turkish trade union structure; the concerned parties and the unions established under the leadership of the said parties have been closed on 17.12.1947 with martial law decision (Işıklı, 2005:157).

As the most important contribution of DISK to the working class and the trade union movement in Turkey; it can be cited its anti-imperialist and independent structure³⁰. Starting from its foundation (1967); the DISK's activities especially on the policies of US imperialism and its explanations on the NATO, US bases, IMF, World Bank, Vietnam War as well as the visits of US 6th Fleet to Turkey and especially the policies and of US imperialism reflect an important period in the history of DISK and the trade union movement in Turkey. (Koç & Koç, 2008:643).

In order to examine the May 1 posters designed by DISK, which constitutes the universe of this study, the trade union activities that form the foundation of DISK and the period from the beginning of these activities until 1980, are discussed in a chronological order in this chapter in terms of its historical, social effects in Turkey.

In the light of Turkey's history of trade union struggle; it can be stated that the design outputs produced in the context of the 1 May celebrations of DISK reflect the historical, social, political and economic traces of the period. In this respect, it can be said that especially the social conditions of the years of May 1 celebrations organized under the leadership of DISK, should be addressed.

In February 13, 1976; The 9th Anniversary of DISK was first celebrated with a mass feast. During this year; DISK has become the union assurance of a significant number of workers who were in a class struggle accompanied with the new

³⁰The expression of independence is used here, as previously stated, by referring to the financial support that TÜRK-İŞ received from the United States.

participations and growing areas of trade union struggle. DISK announced that it will celebrate 1 May international unity-struggle-solidarity day after an interval of about 50 years (Kürkçü, 1988).

DISK Secretary General İbrahim Güzelce who died on April 11, 1976 has stated on March, 1976 as follows in the preface of the May 1 brochure of DISK:

“(...) to break the working class of Turkey from May 1 means to break it away from the world of labor. May 1 is not a strike, May 1 is the day when all the workers of the world show their international unity and solidarity. (...) May 1 is a day when the world laborers imposed the bourgeoisie their invincible power and become an example to all workers. May 1 is not a Spring and Flower Festival. On that day, we leave the fun of the countryside and flower collection to the bourgeoisie and the class reconciliation unions, TÜRK-İŞ.” (Güzelce, 1976).

It can be said that in the year of 1976 the class struggle was emphasized almost in terms of many segments of the society and with this dynamic; it was the year leading to the production of May 1 visual design products in Turkey. May 1 celebrated for the first time in 1976 under the leadership of DISK; gave a new dimension to the trade union struggle movement in Turkey and has created a wealth of design in terms of visual design products. According to Kösemen; as a common feature; it can be shown that in almost all design products produced by DISK between 1976 and 1979 there was the mention of “May 1”, one pattern and the signature of the union. Mostly, the basic distinctive phrases such as “Unity, Struggle, Solidarity” or “Long Live May 1”

were used together with the mention of “May 1” or rarely all alone. The posters of this period aimed to emphasize that the workers form a class rather than to say a word or voice a demand (Kösemen, 2006).

An intensive work was conducted to celebrate under the leadership of DİSK May 1 in 1977 with greater participation. May 1 call has reached every corner of Turkey with common press releases and announcements. On May 1, nearly 300,000 workers from all over the country gathered in Taksim Square. Laborers voiced their democratic demands with the slogans of “No to 141-142”; “No way to Fascism”³¹; “We are workers, we are strong, we are leaders in revolutions”. With a conspiracy pre-planned by a number of groups within the state known as “*counter guerilla*”; it was opened fire on the laborers on May 1, 1977 which was passed into history as “Bloody May 1” and the May 1 has been bloodstained. Then; all democratic organizations, especially DİSK, have announced that May 1 celebrations could not be prevented and May 1, 1978 will be celebrated more strongly. (Koç & Koç, 2008:347). In many of the visual design outputs of May 1, 1978; it can be stated that the design arrangements were made for the memory of the event in 1977.

In an environment in which the responsables of the May 1, 1977 massacre were not found, the attacks and murders continued; DİSK get ready to celebrate May 1, 1978 with the slogan “On 1 May, go to the May 1 square” to show that the working

³¹The development after 1951 of articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, which was adopted by the reform package in 1936 and prohibited class-based organization and propaganda, reflects the change of official ideology and class discourse. While the first appearance of these articles in 1936 was based on a classless society fiction in conformity with the principle of populism; the amendment made in the period of DP government has transformed to a crime to seek a “classless society”. This approach difference can be interpreted as the transition from a phase where the law considered the sensitivities of the nationalization process to a phase where the capitalist structure of Turkey was defended by law. (Örnek, 2014).

class is not afraid of the struggle. (Kürkçü, 1988). The most familiar design of Orhan Taylan who signed many of the May 1 visual designs has been used in 1976 and 1977 as the May 1 call poster of DISK, the design was constituted of a visual with a mention of May1 and a red earth on two hands. This visual came in first in the same year in the World Federation of Trade Unions competition (Taylan, 2006). DISK organized a poster competition in 1978³², thanks to this competition, it can be said that the year of 1978 was the most enthusiastic year in terms of the quantity and quality of the May 1 visuals. As another approach to the poster competition, it can be shown the characteristics of the artists participating in the competition. It can be said that the participants including artists and designers such as Painters, cartoonists, graphic designers and illustrators are today the important names in their respective fields. It can be concluded from this that the May 1 celebrations organized between the years of 1976 and 1979 were not limited to an area where the workers were organized and have defended their rights and freedoms; they also represented a mass movement that covered a large part of the society. It cannot be said that the participants or the ranking participants of the concerned competition have today design activities in the politic fields. Only in terms of emphasizing the phenomenon of social change after 1980, it can be said this topic which is not included in the scope of the study, can lead to the judgment that the production process that constitutes the

³² Şekip Davaz's work was the winner of the May 1 poster competition organized by DISK in 1978. Emre Senan came in second and Aydın Erkmen came in third. Yaşar Kemal, Tahsin Saraç, Kemal Nebioğlu, Mustafa Aşier, Bülent Erkmen ve Yücel Yaman were the members of the jury whose president was Semih Balcıoğlu. The jury gave honorable mentions to 16 posters among 134 posters. Gürbüz Doğan Ekşioğlu, Orhan Taylan, Emre Senan, Kâzım İşgüven, Ayşe Çetkin, Vedat Bodur, Gülsün Karamustafa, Hüseyin Özdemir, Ali İhsan Akülke, Erdal Ekşi, Halis Başarır, Sadık Karamustafa, Ayşe Yıldırım, Mehmet Sönmez and Mutlu Aydınöğlu have been prized by honorable mentions in the end of the selection. (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 9 April 1978 p:5).

design is far from the be social as the society moved away from the class struggle in every way.

In 1979, the Ecevit government, which came to power in the 1977 local elections, did not allow to celebrate the May 1 in Taksim. DİSK headquarters were searched, May 1 posters and newspapers were confiscated after the following declaration of the DISK Presidents Council : *“As the chairman and managers of the DİSK management and affiliated unions; on May 1, 1979, we will be in the May 1 Squares”*.

DİSK chairman Abdullah Baştürk and the executive Board members have been taken into custody on 28 May. A curfew was declared for 1 May. DİSK chairman has used the following expression in his message: *“All Istanbul is a May 1 field/square”* (As cited in Kürkçü, 1988). On May 1, 1979, many laborers celebrated May 1 in various parts of Istanbul and Behice Boran, the chairman of TİP and a group of party members have made a protest walk in front of the DISK building. And the DISK members Maden-İş, Banksen and Baysen trade unions could be able to celebrate May 1 under authorization in Izmir. In mid-1979; the Confederation of Employers' Unions of Turkey (TİSK), Turkey Union of Chambers, Turkey Metal Industrialists' Union (MESS) and Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD) launched an attack against the working class by acting together. Almost all of the demands of these organizations against the union struggle became after 12 September, 1980 the provisions of the Constitution or the law (Koç & Koç, 2008:527-542). May 1 which was celebrated with great enthusiasm in 1978 by being supported by many sections of the society and the working class, on May 1, 1979; has entered into a process that it

began to lose its strength due to the divisions within DİSK, the State oppression and the bourgeois class, which began to take side against the working class.

It can be expressed that due to the social conditions of May 1, 1979 the Visual design products of this year remain very few in quantity. May 1 visual design products that many of which have not been reached until today or have been confiscated by the official organs; will provide a limited expression in order to follow-up the reflections of the effects created in terms of visual design products.

In the beginning of 1980, in order to establish cadres, which adopt the nationalist view, the current workers of the Izmir TARIS yarn factory of the Süleyman Demirel's minority government have been dismissed. The police attacked the workers who resisted to the attempt to recruit the other group. The TARIS resistance, which began in this way and spread all over the city, has an important place in the history of working class struggle. The resistance has started upon the search attempt of the police on January 22. The DİSK management of the period decided to end the resistance on 31 January 1980 in order to keep things from getting bloody. Following the TARIS resistance that took place in the beginning of 1980, a large number of strikes and resistance actions took place and the number of the street murders increased rapidly (Aydoğanoglu, 2011:88).

In 1980 DİSK has announced that the May 1 was willing to be celebrated in many cities and all over Turkey could be interpreted as May 1 square but DISK could be able to organize a mass celebration only in the city of Mersin with the decision of the Council of state. Prior to May 1, the intensive pressures were made to DISK and its

member unions. The attacks on the working-class struggle movement have continued by the murder of Kemal Türkler who was the founder of TİP and DİSK; he was assassinated on 1980, July 22. On 25 July with the walk organized by DİSK; about 1 million workers have participated in the funeral of Turkler. The 25 July walk of the laborers who interpreted the bullet fired to him as the bullet fired to the working class; has taken its place in the history of the working-class struggle in Turkey as the last glorious labor protest before September 12, 1980 (Kürkçü, 1988).

The period between 1960-1980 can be considered as the most important period of the working-class struggle in Turkey in terms of organization and creating an area of struggle.

But, both in terms of polarization within the society and state sanctions; it can be said that the same period corresponds also to the years in which the pressure and violence actions increased to the highest level. It can be said that the class struggle which has increased due to the polarization in all the segments of the society has increased to the highest level in 1980.

3.3.2. The Trade union movements in Turkey after 1980

In Turkey; starting from 1929; the import substitution development plans, which were tried to be applied especially in the field of industry, entered into a downturn between 1978-1980. DİSK was the force that started an effective struggle against the

so-called stability program named as “January 24 decisions”³³ in the agenda for the transition to export-oriented industrialization. During this period, while the AP (Justice Party) was the main opposition party; January 24 decisions couldn’t be implemented in parliamentary democracy and then after the September 12 coup took place (Koç & Koç, 2008:637). The process that brought the coup of September 12, 1980, may not be expressed only by the economic developments seen in the last two years; however, the following can be deemed as the justified reasons; the replacement of the import substitution development plans by privatizations; foreign capital, global market and media ownership relations etc. together with the replacement of the Global capitalist economic structures by the neoliberal structures. While the coup realized in Turkey can be deemed as a consequence of the bottleneck of the global capitalism, It can be stated that in this period, a civil war environment has been created with the party conflicts seen within the country; and the society has almost consented to the coup with the economic troubles encountered in the last two years.

The most enthusiastic mass protests occurred in the 1970s with the rise of the working class in the 1960s by the social movement and the trade union struggle areas brought by this dynamic. The trade union and political movements were suppressed by the 12 September 1980 coup. In 1980, the total number of union members was over three million and this number constituted 20 percent of the total labor force. After the coup, all of the trade unions except TÜRK-İŞ were closed and their assets

³³“January 24 decisions” or in other words “January 24, 1980 Stability Decisions” can be displayed as a breaking point of the transition of Turkish economy to the neo-liberal economy. After these decisions the economic approach in Turkey has been tried to be guided by the market economy. With these decisions, the concept of free market economy has been tried to be integrated into the global capitalist world and the profit maximization and competitive price practices have been adopted. With these decisions; the state's share in the economy has been reduced and the ongoing *Statism Policy* was restricted. The foreign capital inflows have been supported (Öztürk, 2013).

were seized. With the constitution of September 12 and the trade unions Law no.2821 entered into force in 1983 the most basic activities of the trade unions were suppressed by strict rules, the re-strengthening of the trade union struggle was tried to be controlled by the constitution. In this period, the right strike, the general strike was banned, even the call for a general strike became a crime. The most important feature of this period is the strict prohibition of the participation of trade unions in political life. The September 12 coup has evacuated DISK, one of the most important actors of the trade union struggle movement; prohibited collective bargaining arrangements and has reorganized with a suppressive understanding of capital, the rules and institutions that constitute all the working activities (Aydođanođlu, 2001:91).

After 1980; the capital class tried to discredit trade unions and to impose sanctions to restrict rights and freedoms. The employers and their political spokesmen, in particular in the 1990s, made efforts to ensure that legislation protecting the rights of the working class remains ineffective. By the means of the illegal labor, non-standard forms of employment and flexibility; the workers have been tried to be excluded from legal protection and collective bargaining agreements and have been tried to be deprived of unionization, collective bargaining and strike rights (Koç, 2003).

In Turkey, in the process of September 12 which started with the *January 24 Decisions*; more powerful capitalists were created by neo-liberal economic structures. After 1980 in Turkey, the workers and public laborers who couldn't remain silent to the growing increase in the disproportion of the income distributions; have began between 1988 and 1989 to react again to express their economic-democratic demands. The difference separating this period from 1980; is the fact that in this period in

addition to the workers, the public laborers were now involved in the class struggle movement. This period, with the increase of the protests of the public officials; has been passed into history of the working-class struggle as *Spring Protests*. Following to the 1989 Spring protests, the Great Zonguldak strike and walk in Ankara have been realized as a mass protest of a class in an atmosphere where the thesis such as; “The working class is over” or “this is the end of the history” have become prevalent (Aydoğanoğlu, 2001:92).

In a structure underdeveloped in industrialization and having many problems such as the unemployment; high rates of inflation, unplanned urbanization, rapidly growing population; the long-term stability policies cannot be achieved by disabling the unions. So; the unions have been obliged to be more radical, since they were transformed into social audit structures by the collaborative policies adopted due to the disadvantageous developments against the working class and the disproportion in the wages. The spring protests of 1989 can be considered as the first indicator of this radicalization and the opposition against September 12 unionism (Akkaya, 2002).

The working-class movement that started again with the Spring protests of 1989, after 1991, has continued with the purposes of the Collective agreements, prevention of the privatization and unionization. Starting from the second half of the 1990s; all of the sanctions such as the privatization, base price applications in agricultural products, regulations on agriculture and husbandry; Paid Education and health were implemented by global capitalist segment. With the implementation of the neoliberal economic structures all over the world; the working class recognized the social and

economic sanctions imposed by the globalizing economy and thus; began to realize that it was necessary to fight for the same demands as the workers of the world.

DISK, which was closed after the September 12 coup, held its first General Assembly on 19-22 January 1992, after the commencement of its activities. In the evaluation made by DISK during its 8th General Assembly; the followings have been stated: “*The contemporary trade unionism, instead of the goal of transforming society on the basis of the class struggle adopted by DISK in its establishment; stands now with the social consensus due to the social and economic changes in Turkey and in the world based on the idea that the classes should live together freely.*” (Uygar, 1993:190-191)

The understanding of “*The contemporary trade unionism*” argues that the workers who integrated with the capitalist forms of production; have gained qualifications in the business spaces and now, have a position to dominate the means of production.; for this reason; the old struggling trade union understanding should be replaced by a consensual approach. In this context; the trade unions should investigate the professional and cultural aspects of their existing members and assist in providing services for the social needs of the member and his / her family. Therefore; “*the contemporary trade unionism*” can be predicted as an instrument of reconciliation with the capital and a member unionism aiming to protect the existing order (Tokol, 1994:62).

With KESK founded on December 8, 1995; in the labor movement; the weight of the public workers increased. The actions and activities carried out by the unions

affiliated to Eğitim-Sen and KESK by dealing with the problems of their own businesses and the general country led to the mass movement of the public laborers, which defined themselves as a *functional-legitimate struggle*. The protest carried out by KESK in Ankara Kızılay Square on 4-5 March 1998 against the draft law defined by it as the “*Fake Union Law*” which does not include the strike and bargaining agreement; was terminated by the use of gas bombs and tear gas by the law enforcers. After this resistance; the draft law on the agenda of the Parliament has been withdrawn (Koç & Koç, 2009:571).

In the post-1980 period; considering the confederations; through the gradual weakening of the impact of class-based trade unionism in this period; it can be concluded that in general, the structural differences in the 1960-1980 period have decreased. It can be said that in the world and in Turkey, the radical changes and pressure in economic, social and political structures are decisive after 1980. As it was stated above, before and after the 1980 coup; due to the pressures on DISK, to make changes within its structure have become mandatory. While the 1960-1980 period corresponds to the most enthusiastic years of the social, political and trade union struggle in Turkey; in the post-1980 period; due to the fact that the trade unions lost power as a result of the government pressures on the trade union struggle; the confederations had to act together and with civil society organizations. For this reason, it can be stated that by establishing common platforms; the confederations have tried to search a way to struggle against the social, political and economic changes.

On 14 July 1999; TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK, MEMUR-SEN, HAK-İŞ and TÜRKİYE KAMU-SEN have gathered on a common point and established the *Labor Platform*. The *Labor Platform* which is willing to expand its extent by incorporating in the future the labor and professional groups into its own body, has performed its first protest with the participation of about 500 thousand workers and laborers on July 24, 1999 at the Kızılay Square in Ankara against the Social Security Act, which was related to raising the retirement age (Koç, 2001).

It can be said that the 2000s were the hard years in the world and in Turkey for the working class and trade union struggle movement. Since the bourgeoisie and state structures wanted to accuse the workers and laborers for the consecutive crises of the capitalist economic system; it can be stated that this period has passed through difficulties for the working class. On the date of 22/05/2003; with the *Labor Law No. 4857*; the flexible working hours applications that could not be applied on legal grounds before; have been started to be legally enforced in accordance with the article of this Law. In the same year, with the privatization of public enterprises; the workers were employed as provisional contractors and subcontractors; thus the unionization rate has fallen to 6 percent. (Aydoğanoglu, 2001:91).

The privatizations, started in 1980s in Turkey with the neo-liberal economic policies; has continued after 2003. Upon the privatization of the TEKEL enterprises; the resistance of TEKEL workers which started in Ankara on December 15, 2009 and lasted for 78 days has taken its place in the history as an important protest for the worker class struggle in Turkey. The solidarity strike have been carried out on February 4, 2010 in many parts of Turkey for Tekel workers. On February 20, the

Branch Representatives of the confederations of Türk-İş, DİSK, KESK and Kamu-Sen held a meeting in Ankara. TEKEL workers have undergone an important test on how workers' culture and class solidarity should be in their decisive struggle.

Regarding the reflections on visual design products of the social, economic and political changes after 1980; it can be said that in this period; the Visual design products produced by trade unions, which started their activities again in 1990, was the reflections of the worker class struggle understanding of that period that contains discourses which preceded self-defense but failed to determine its agenda; that tries to prevent the loss of rights but remained limited to expand only the democratic space. It can be said that the mass protests of the specific periods in the 1990s have been reflected on the May 1 visual design products. In this period, visual design products were mostly produced by the several confederations or non-governmental organizations. Unlike the 1960-1980 period, it can be said that the signatures of public workers, trade unions and confederations can be seen in visual design products. Since the 2000s; a global anti-capitalist agenda was created with the slogan of “*Global Resistance*” on May 1 visuals.

4. METHODOLOGY

The starting point of this study is the association of the consciousness phenomenon with the visual design process. Whereas the reference point is, unlike idealist approach accepting that human consciousness determines his existence, the idea that social conditions determines human consciousness as the argument of materialism. In this context, it can be assumed, with the acceptance that the concept of design creates a powerful communication activity, that design objects have an impressive/transformational power on society consciousness. The study consists of DİSK's 1 May posters specific to the political and social changes in Turkey after 1960. With the analysis of the posters, it is aimed to understand the change/transformation process of proletarian class struggle theoretical and applied areas within the context of trade union struggle in Turkey. The posters of DİSK are chosen for the analysis since it has been active in all the stages of social and class movements rising after 1960 in Turkey. Through the design objects (DİSK posters) assumed to have an effective communicative power on the society, the historical-social traces of the periodical dynamics can be followed.

1 May posters, created by DİSK after 1976 are analyzed with social semiotics and semiotic analysis. The need for this can be explained as follows: as social semiotics is a method of visual analysis, the indicators other than the visual analysis of the posters as the samples shall be analyzed within the relation between signifier-signified through semiotic method. In this context, first of all semiotics that grounds the basis for social semiotics will be analyzed, it will be put emphasis on the relation between signifier-signified within semiotics and following that the theoretical ground of social

semiotics set forth by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen and DİSK 1 May posters will be analyzed through visual analysis.

It can be said that semiotics which is used³⁴ for the academic researches consisting of the visual analysis in Turkey (The Actantial Model, The Semiotic Square) has not meet all the requirements in all stages of visual analysis of 1 May posters created by DİSK within the scope of the sample.

4.1. Semiotic Analysis

The term semiotics is derived in the light of the term linguistic and defined as “*the study/science of sign process*” or “*scientific analysis of signs*”. Today, semiotics has gained a different dimension from the semantic expressions of the word itself. Sign is any form, object, phenomenon, etc., which represents anything other than itself and therefore can replace what it represents. People use natural *languages* (Turkish, French, English etc. to communicate. *Natural languages*, a social system enabling communication among people consist of the relations that the words named sign establish among themselves. To extend the meaning of semiotics, besides the *natural languages*, the systems like publicity posters, fashion, architectural arrangements, literature, art, music etc. can be given as examples. These systems created by using different tools (sounds, writing, image, moves etc.) are meaningful wholes processing

³⁴ Bkz. Becan, C., 2012, Yeni (Duyuşsal) Reklam İletileri Bağlamında" Göstergeleri" Okumak: Göstergebilimsel Yöntemden Yararlanarak Bir Reklam İletisi Çözümlemesi. Yalova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 2(4).

Bkz. Günay, V. Doğan; Parsa, Alev Fatoş., 2012, Görsel Göstergebilim, İmgenin Anlamlandırılması. Prof. Dr. V. Doğan Günay, Dr. Özge Sonmaz, “Reklam Bildirilerinin Kültür Göstergebilimi Açısından Değerlendirilmesi” (s. 107-118). İstanbul: Es Yayınları.

within certain rules (Rifat, 2014:11). Many scientists have produced ideas on the term sign since the ancient times and it can be said that the signs in many field have been examined primarily the linguistic signs.

“Semiotics meaning ‘göstergebilim’ in Turkish originates from the term ‘semeiotike’ in Greek, and ‘semiotic’ originates from the combination of semeion (sign) and logia (logos meaning ‘theory’, ‘word’)” (Rifat, 2014: 30).

Semiotics needs to be both described and explained as an interdisciplinary structure. Semiotics is descriptive in terms of usability of linguistic, physical, visual, plastic products and the products in relation to the manmade, meaningful music or odor. Semiotics includes the descriptive features of the structures that are tried to be given the meaning, however, it does not give information about how the true communication in relation to the images would be, how the people communication could easily be persuaded or what kind of specialty would be gained in the use of Morse alphabet. However, it can explain how a picture in Morse alphabet consisting of black drawings on a white surface divides a space into pieces. Semiotics is a design of both a social (materialist) and psychological (idealist) semiotics (Kiran:2).

The relationship of semiotics with objects can explain, instead of giving information technically, how meaning has emerged and how people give meanings to objects. Mehmet Rifat defines the fact that people trying to give meaning to the environment through mass media that determines/transforms the environment with its visual and audio features: *“The new name of humankind trying to give meaning to the surroundings is ‘Homo Semioticus’ (a person giving meaning). The whole life of a*

person giving meaning now is a reading adventure” (Rifat, 2014 :45). It can be said that we live in a world surrounded by stimulus like signs, forms, symbols and images etc. It can also be said that these signs around us are consciously created by humankind to create communication. It can be said that a thought, opinion or the existence of any product can be transferred to another person by the way of sign, which means thinking and speaking occur through signs.

“The primary aim of semiotics is to explain the perception and production conditions of the meaning within a conceptual structure regardless of what semantic-based (visual, audio, written, literary, food or odor-related) is. It is defined by methodology, not by a science object. In this case, it can be said that semiotics does not have a certain object, but it has developed analysis patterns and tools for certain phenomena. It establishes the relations between these phenomena by asking the question of what constitutes its originality.” (Kiran: 6).

The primary feature of semiotics is that it can be analyzed *“from the general to the specific”*. It can analyze the relations between the different expressions through its analytic structure. Semiotics examines the direction, function and description of meaning. It presents how to classify and evaluate the systems of meaning. The area of specific semiotics is narrower. Linguistic can be one of the examples for specificity (specific semiotics). Discourses bearing codes more than one can also be specificity. For example, theatre semiotic benefits from specificity theoretical grounds of semiotic structures such as language, narration, space, behavior, body language etc. Applied semiotics is shaped in the light of the results caused by specificity. A

scientific method can be applied to a number of objects (literary, non-literary texts, advertising, film, painting, building, etc.) (Kıran: 17).

Ferdinand de Saussure, the Swiss linguist (1857-1913) was the pioneer name of linguistic in the 20th century. While including the languages into linguistic study, Saussure created a field of study called semiotics in order to analyze the signs other than the signs in language. Saussure, using the term sign for the first time, defines the model of sign as follows: language sign does not combine an object and a name; it gathers a concept and an audio image (Saussure, 1976:36). He states; *“Language is a system of signs that express ideas, and is therefore comparable to a system of writing, the alphabet of deaf-mutes, symbolic rites, polite formulas, military signals, etc. But it is the most important of all these systems.”* (Saussure, 1985:19).

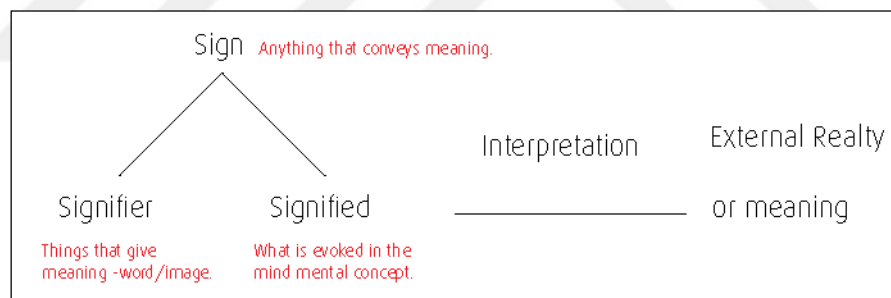


Figure 4.1 Saussure Model

According to Saussure “sign” is related to its physical structure and the concept it connotes; in other words it can be seen as the physical object that constitutes the meaning. The concept represented by a sign with visual and audio object(s) is “signified”. Anything including- but not limited to- text, image or something producing meaning can be defined as “sign” within the scope of semiotic method (Elden, Ulukök, Yeygel, 2015: 470).

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), the American philosopher, logician and mathematician who contributed to semiotics to be an autonomous discipline designed a theory related to both linguistic and non-linguistic signs and named it “semiotic”. Peirce put emphasis on the semiotic method he used and the relation between the signs and logic through the definition of “semiotic”. He supports that logic and “semiotic” are the same and both analyze abstraction and symbolization. The matter for Peirce is the logical function of the signs; in other word, sign is important because it represents logic, and needed to be studied (Rifat, 2014: 38).

Semiotics can be defined as the theoretical ground that tries to make sense of all kinds of objects related to human beings. According to Algirdas Julien Greimas, which can be said to have an important role in semiotics studies, semiotics shows the roles of linguistic and non-linguistic signs in communication process and examines their process of producing meaning and the junctions occurring in this process and the meaning value of the signs has gained in the process (Akt. Sönmez, Günay: 2012:108). According to Floch, “*semiotics is primarily meaning relation, it draws attention to anything has meaning. It might be written text, but at the same time it might be any object that bears meaning such as a logo, film or human behavior... etc.*” (Floch, 1990:3).

Greimas, a French-Lithuanian semiotician and linguist is one of the most important representatives of the Parisian School of Semiotics (Rifat, 2014:51). Greimas, carrying out studies on structural semantics, is the founder of the Parisian School of Semiotics. The method of Greimas is deductive. Putting the “*meaning*” in the center of studies carried out within the scope of Structural Semantics, he describes

semiotics as a discipline analyzing the abstract structures, the product of human thought and human imagery instead of concrete reality (Küçükdoğan, 2009:175). In this context, Greimas can be said to go beyond the linguistic framework of Saussure and enable semiotics to perform a broader analysis. Greimas worked on linguistic and non-linguistic texts. For example, he can talk about a literary or scientific text, a painting, an architectural structure, a stage show, a musical work, a movie or an ad message.

Greimas states there is a common “semantic axis” that emerges meaning in all texts. The planes in a text creating this semantic axis are basic semantic dimension, actantial syntax and superficial dimension (Erkman, 2005:149). Basic semantic dimension is one of the most important interpretations that Greimas brings the semantics. The level named basic structure or logical semantic is the most abstract and the deepest structure of semantic universe (Rifat, 1996:34). This structure is created through semiotic square. Before stating basic structure or logical semantic level, actantial syntax and superficial dimension will be examined.

Greimas, assuming that language has two different structure: superficial and semantic, emphasizes that the superficial structures is inefficient; in order to reveal the construct of the narrative, the semantic should be analyzed. The term actant by Greimas is “an existence or object actively or passively included in the presence/formation stated by act” (Kıran, 2011:271). The actants, are the different persons of narratology. A. J. Greimas created a model consisting of six basic actants in 1966: Subject, Object, Helper, Opponent, Sender, Receiver. According to Rifat, the basic utterances, which occur as a result of the relations between subject and

object with the six actants in the narration that would be analyzed with semiotic method, need to be determined (Rifat, 2007:95).

Semiotic square is a tool used to describe the different relationships between a concept and the other concepts in the same systems. In this structure, it is possible to see the different relationship like oppositions of concepts, contradiction, assumption etc. (Sönmez, Günay: 2012:108). Opposite concepts complement each other in the same semantic axis. The contradictory terms in which one requires the absence of the other does not complement each other. In the square the inclusion relationship may also be observed, which helps to produce different meanings. Through the semiotic square including opposition, contradiction and inclusion the values which occur as a result of analysis are classified and the transmission from one value to another can be expressed (Yücel, 2005:136-137). It can be said that The Actantial Model and The Semiotic Square, one of the semiotic methods, are mostly used in analysis of films, stories, tales etc. 1 May Posters created by DİSK and used in this study are ideological signs bearing the social and historical traces of the period of Turkey analyzed rather than being design objects with a fictional content. Therefore, to analyze the design object in this study, it is more appropriate to refer to Social Semiotics. The design objects consisting of 1 May posters which are created by DİSK are analyzed through social semiotics and the analysis of the sign is supported with the relationship between signified-signifier, which is the basic approach of semiotics.

4.2. The Social Semiotic Theory of Visual Representation

4.2.1. Social Semiotic Analysis

The need for a method of visual analysis in this research arises from the content of posters discussed in the sample of the research. It can be said that 1 May posters by DİSK between 1976-2018 (51 years) differ from each other due to the social, political, economic and technological factors. The visual expression created in posters used between 1976 and 1994 is illustrated by the use of painting, photographs or mixed techniques. The expression created by posters by using painting, photographs or mixed techniques after 1994 supports of the text content. Therefore, it can be said that the signs need to be determined within a methodological structure rather than “arbitrary “choices. For this reason, while social semiotics is the main methodology of this research, it is aimed to support the main methodology with the signified-signifier relation which is the basic analyzing approach of semiotics in the cases in which it is gone beyond the use of the sign.

In order to formulate the methodological framework of social semiotics, it can be stated that the content of semiotic method which has been studied for 88 years should be overlapped with social semiotics and should not be separated from the context of semiotics. Therefore, it is required to emphasize the emergence of semiotics. The three schools in Europe carrying out studies and researches on semiotics have carried out researches on linguistic and non-linguistic methods on communication. The first of these is the Prague school, active in the early 1930s and early 1940s. In the Prague school, the Russian Formalists carried out researches on linguistic (Rifat, 2014:36). In the Prague school, some concepts like “foregrounding” were applied to language and

there were researches on art (Mukarovsky), theatre (Honzl), cinema (Jakobson) and costume (Bogatyrev). Each of the aforementioned semiotic methods fulfills the same communication function (poetic reference). The second was the Parisian School, active in 1960s and 1970s (Rifat: 1998: 169). There were and Saussure and other linguistics in this school: art (Schefer), photography (Barthes-Deruelle), fashion (Barthes), cinema (Metz), music (Nattiez), comics (Fresnault-Deruelle) etc. The ideas developed in the Parisian school are still taught in the fields of media studies (design and art). These doctrines are accepted by post-structuralism even though they are under the title of semiotics. The concepts and terms created by Charles Sanders Peirce, the American Philosopher and Semiotician in the semiotic schools are still used by the researchers who apply this method. The terms “*langue / parole*”; “*signifier*” / “*signified*”; “*arbitrary*” / “*motivated*”, *signs*; “*icons*”, “*index*” and “*symbol*” etc. are generally included in the frame of semiotics. This approach can be said to be generally adopted because the researchers carried out studies in this field are not guided that there might be different alternatives to semiotics theory. The third one, the new movement forming the other representation forms of linguistics, has two sources, based on the ideas of Michael Halliday. The first one is the formation of the outline of a theory which could include the other semiotic methods (Hodge and Kress), derived from the works of "Critical Linguistics" by a group of researcher in the University of East Anglia in the 1970s. The second one is: as source of the development of systemic-functional linguistics of Halliday in Australia in 1990s, there are works on sign-oriented literature studies (Treadgold, Thibault), visual signs (O’Toole, Kress, van Leeuwen) and music (van Leeuwen) (Kress & Leeuwen: 2006: 6-7).

The basic concept of semiotics is sign. According to social semiotics, besides the contribution of color, perspective and line to the formation of meaning, the roles of these structures in the formation of meaning should also be examined. Social semiotics does not object to the idea of semiotics, set forth the Parisian School of Semiotics, on the contrary it focuses on the meaning formation process by feeding on it. In the production of signs there is representation. The process of creating representations is also directly related to the cultural, social and psychological history of the ones creating sign. In that case, the creators of meaning produce representations that are directly proportional to the objects they encounter. However, it would be wrong to say that these representations constitute or reflect all of the objects, because representations are a reflection of the individual relations that they create with the object or a consequence of the features that attract the attention of those who enter the process of meaning-related production (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006:7).

In Social Semiotics, it can be said that the process of meaning production does not consist of an invariable relationship between signifier-signified, which ground the basis for the field of semiotics. According to social semiotics, this relationship denies any relation that has become mold, or any kind of relationship between signifier-signified, the chosen, existing and accepted. Since this relationship is created by the producers of the meaning as soon as the meaning production process starts, by expressing it in the most appropriate, most meaningful or most reasonable way without relying on any semiotic code. In this respect, it can be said that the meaning producers have their own semiotic ways of producing meaning.

The social semiotic approaches of Kress and Leeuwen (2006) deny the arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier-signified, which is stated in semiotics, they claim that signs are motivated. The act of producing meaning in semiotics is not generally seen as related to causality, but rather as a structural relationship. These thoughts contradict with the main concepts in semiotics defined by Pierce, which are “icons”, “symbol” and “index”. While “icons” are founded on the basis of a kind of similarity or resemblance, “index” is a result of causative relationship between signified-signifier. The third term symbol is formed in the production of sign based on a convention or alignment. This, of course, makes it causeless and arbitrary, making it a meaning that is formed as a result of a decision rather than an active meaning production process (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006:8).

From this point of view, the signs in social semiotics are produced based on the reasons/motivations by the producer of meaning. The contexts in which they are produced are not arbitrary, and similarities can be expressed in relation to the production of classifications. The producer of meaning can use any structure that is reasonable for their own meaning. The ways they choose in the production of meaning in their mind are part of the meaning production process and therefore language cannot be excluded from the production of meaning. In fact, it can be stated that all grammatical structures are mediated by the expression of meaning and used in a way that is far from arbitrariness.

Saussure, as he stated in *Course in General Linguistics*, discusses semiotics with the terms “langue” and “parole”. Here, “langue” is accepted as a term between the subjects and expresses an abstract potential of a language system; it is used to express

the thought of the speaker. However, “parole” is a subjective utterance where language fulfils its potential. For example, the term “langue” expresses the idea that social and linguistic habits are produced socially whereas “parole” means that we express our own subjective, unique, singular language actively in the meaning production process (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006:9).

It is often possible to say that the producer of signs have their own representative resources. Signs are produced non-stop and individuals refer to the representations used in the previous sign production process for every sign production action. In this sense, it can be claimed that the production of sign depends on the social, political and cultural conditions of the individual experiences. According to Kress and Leeuwen (1996) this dynamic and production-oriented process is also far from the semiotic approach based on an objective similarity relationship between signifier-signified a social convergence, as it implies the change and transformation of the individuality of the sign producers (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006:12).

As these are all taken into consideration, it will be seen sign and the relationship between signifier-signified as in Sasure's semiotic approach is not arbitrary but motivated. Thus, the focus of the social semiotic approach is the society and the transformative effects of the actors as individuals are predominantly involved in forming the meaning. These influences can be manifested in the fact that the actors continue to use the existing mediation channels in their individual and social backgrounds in historically shaping the sources of meaning production. Moreover, the communication between representations and actors can occur in the contexts. But beyond all of these, it can be shown as the roles that individuals constantly undertake

in transformation, which constantly renews, transforms and transforms their resources, makes sense production as social subjects.

The visual analysis by Kress and Leeuwen (2006) with Social Semiotic method based on Semiotics is formed by under three main title. These can be expressed as the analysis of meaning that sign forms with representation, interaction and composition. As Kress and Leeuwen express in the formation of the methodological framework of social semiotic method, the historical, social and cultural equivalents of the signs will be examined through the visuals created by DISK, which is the sample of the study, through the social semiotic methods unlike the causal relationship between signifier-signified which is used to determine the sign in semiotics.

4.2.1.1. Representative Meaning

Described/pictured (abstract or concrete) “participants” (persons, places and things). The source of representative meaning is the emphasis of images on “syntax”

4.2.1.1.1. Narrative Process

The distinctive feature of a visual narrative is the existence of the direction of movement: the narrative structures have this; it is not seen in the conceptual structures. The vectors mentioned in the visuals are generally formed by very strong description elements that form curved line (diagonal).

4.2.1.1.1. Action Process

The actor is the participant who produces the vector itself, either partially or wholly, in which the vector emerges. It is the most prominent participant in the visual with its size, its place in the composition, its contrast against background, its saturation or conspicuousness, the sharpness of focus. Participants taking part in the movement process are examined in detail as transactional and non-transactional.

4.2.1.1.1.1. Transactional Process

As there are two participants of a narrative visual representation, they are actor and goal. In such a transactional process, we cannot say that the actor is the initiator of the action. On the contrary, it can be stated that the goal is effective in directing the action. More specifically, goal is the most decisive factor in the transactional process; the actor need to be in an action towards the goal, and there is no transactional process without a goal.

4.2.1.1.1.2. Non-Transactional Process

Participants are presented as if they are involved in an action for themselves when they are associated with the vector. As the vector appears the actor becomes a participant. The actors are the most prominent participants in the images. These might consist of size, place in the composition, contrast against background, saturation or conspicuousness, the sharpness of focus and etc. In cases where there is only one participant in a visual or diagram, this participant usually becomes an actor. This is

defined as “Non-Transactional” structure. The goal or objective of the non-transactional process is not for anyone or anything. In *Figure 4.2*, the process is seen as non-transactional process, and it is seen that there is no arrangement indicating the action of water and wind in the visualization of the gulf flows.

4.2.1.1.1.2. Reactional Process

When the vector is formed by an eyeline, by the direction of the glance of one or more of the participants (actor) the process is reactional. In this process, it is not spoken of actors and goals but of reactors and phenomena. The reactional process is created by the one who performs looking and it must necessarily be human. In *Figure 4.3*, an advertisement for mineral water, the man is actor in a transactional action process in which the water is goal. Determination of goal is shown through the strong vector of his body and representation of two participants. Here, the man drinking water creates a reactional process (the phenomenon of the reactional structure) whereas the woman is reactor. The vector is formed by the direction of the woman’s glance and the angle of her left arm, which is towards the man drinking water. She reacts to the action by smiling. Like actions, reactions can be transactional or non-transactional. Sometimes photographers or picture editors crop photos back to close-ups of non-transactional reactors who look bored or animated or puzzled, at something we cannot see. This might be a source of representational manipulation.

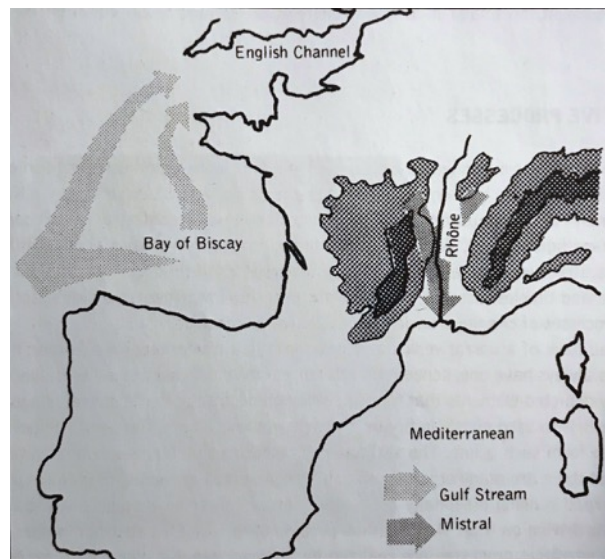


Figure 4.2 Gulf Stream and Wind (Northwester) Diagram (Bender, 1988)

Pure Vitality

Health-conscious Australians everywhere are turning to VITTEL. Pure, still mineral water, bottled at the source at VITTEL, in France. A natural source of the essential minerals, calcium and magnesium. No additives or bubbles. Pure VITTEL.




CLEAN & REFRESHING AS THE EARTH CAN MAKE IT.

FONTE: GUSTAVO NICO VITTEL is a trademark of Société Générale des Eaux Minérales de VITTEL.

Figure 4.3 Potable Water Ad (New Idea, 5 December 1987)

4.2.1.1.2. Conceptual Visual Analysis

The images that do not have direction of action are “conceptual”. Images visually “define”, “encode/analyze” or “classify” human beings, places and things. Conceptual models defines participants in accordance with their class, structure or meaning. In other words, the narrative patterns serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006).

4.2.1.1.2.1. Symbolic Processes

Symbolic processes are concerning what a participant means or is. In symbolic processes, the meaning or identity of carrier is established by the symbolic attribute. In Symbolic Suggestive Processes, the meaning or identity of carrier is determined through the qualifications of the carrier. In Symbolic Attributive process, the meaning given to the carrier represents the identity.

Symbolic Attributive process can be exemplified as follows; in the image (*Figure 4.4*) in which a scientist is depicted there are mushrooms positioned in the foreground and the scientist posing by holding a mushroom in his hand. In terms of his relationship with the mushroom, the scientist's pose seems contrived, where the function of the mushroom represents the identity of the scientist as a mushroom expert.

As far as Symbolic Suggestive Process is concerned, it has only one participant, which is the carrier. They cannot be interpreted as analytical because the details of this kind of image detail tend to connote like ‘mood’ or ‘atmosphere’ (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006). According to Kress & Leeuwen: “*This can be realized in a number of ways: the colors may all blend together, into a hazy blue, for instance, or a soft golden glow; the focus may be soft; or the lighting may be extreme, rendering the participants as outlines or silhouettes.*” The relation established between golden color and mild taste of coffee, which is used in coffee ads is a typical example for this.



Figure 4.4 Fun with Mushrooms (Sydney Herald Newspaper, July 18, 1992)

4.2.1.2. Interactive Meaning

4.2.1.2.1. Frame Size and Social Distance

Images can bring people, places and things near the viewer. Social relationship norms determine the distance we have for each other. The distance is converted to the frame size of the shots. Close-ups can provide insight into the individual and personal characteristics of people. The choice of distance, such as the option between the offer and the request, gives an idea of the relationship between the

participant and the audience. The choice of distance suggests different relations between participant and viewer like the choice between the offer and demand.

4.2.1.2.1.1. Close-up

Image is formed with a frame where head and shoulders can be seen. This social distance is used to refer to a very close / personal relationship.

4.2.1.2.1.2. Medium Shot

The image created by framing the human figure from a place between the waist and the knee is used to express a social relationship with the person (s).

4.2.1.2.1.3. Long Shot

The framework created by the complete representation of the human figure implies a non-personal relationship.

4.2.1.2.2. Image Act

4.2.1.2.2.1. Demand

There are two choices that determine the image act within the interaction process; there can be examined under the titles of offer and demand. As the choices are made, it is required that human should be in the image; and they are not only used to suggest different relationships with others, but some of the viewers must be

interacted with and separated from others. At the same time, it can characterize picture types. In some contents, for example television news and magazine photos, demand images are preferred. They want to create a bond between the audience and authority figures through the authority figures, celebrities and role models wanted to be imaged.

4.2.1.2.2. Offer

The other option determining the image act in the interaction process is offer. Indirect expression is used in this approach. Here, the viewer is not an object, but the subject of the gaze, and the represented participant is subject to an objective examination by the viewer. The audience's role is invisible. All participant images directly facing the viewer and not including human are included in this type. In television series and scientific illustrations, there is a sense of disconnection between the participants and the audience. The audience has no idea where the represented participants in the illusion look, and at the same time, the represented participants create the impression that they are not being watched.

4.2.1.2.3. Perspective and Subjective Images

It is possible to mention perspective in the image brought about the relations between the viewer and represented participant. Gunter Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006) state: *“Producing an image involves not only the choice between ‘offer’ and ‘demand’ and the selection of a certain size of frame, but also, and at the same time, the selection of an angle, ‘a point of view’ and this implies the possibility of*

expressing subjective attitudes towards represented participants, human or otherwise.” Subjective attitudes do not always mean individual or unique attitudes. Actually, these are attitudes formed or built socially. Although they are always said to be subjective, individual and unique, they have always have the traces of society in which the individual was born and lives. The system of perspective expressing attitudes was developed in the Renaissance. In this period, individuality and subjectivity became important social values and images were formed with subjective points of view. According to Gunter Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006):

“Paradoxically, while there were the meanings encoded, perspective rests on an impersonal, geometric foundation, a construction which is a quasi-mechanical way of ‘recoding’ images of reality.” The views that are socially determined could be adopted in this way, reflected as ‘studies of nature’ and described as *faithful* copies of empirical reality. However, it has only recently had its place in the discussions. In Pre- Renaissance, the completion or closure of an object’s view is not determined by a particular relation with the viewer but by a particular relation with its surroundings. From the Renaissance, the object’s view has started to be expressed with its centralized viewpoint; therefore, the work became an autonomous object, detached from its surroundings. According to Panofsky, the images detached from surroundings were expressed a ‘window on the world’ (Panofsky, 1971).

At this point, it is possible to make the following inference: from the Renaissance onwards, there are two kinds of images in Western cultures; one is subjective and the other is an objective image. Images with perspectives are subjective and images without perspective are objective images. In subjective images the viewer can only see what can be seen from a particular point of view, whereas in

objective images, the image reveals everything needed to be known about the represented participant.

4.2.1.2.4. Horizontal Angle and Involvement

The difference between frontal and oblique angle is the involvement detachment of the viewer to the image. The horizontal angle shows whether the image producer is involved with the participants or not. In this sense, the frontal angle allows the creation of the relationship at the highest level. If an image is described from the oblique angle, the viewer is out of the expression; in other words the viewer looks at the represented participants (with detached attitude), which means the viewer does not engage with them.

4.2.1.2.5. Vertical Angle and Power

Perspective allows expressing people, places and things from low angle, high angle and frontal angle, from side or back. In a sense, perspective creates the power of expression. This does not necessarily mean that it is possible that to tell what each perspective exactly express. However, it is possible that perspectives express the creation in the audiences'/viewers' mind created by the image producers. What is meant here is the expression of the diversity of symbolic relationships between people, places and things in images and viewers. This relationship in vertical angle will create a symbolic expression power. If an object is viewed with high angle, a symbolic power is created over it. If an object is viewed with low, this thing has

created a force on the viewer. If an object is viewed at eye level, there is a symbolic equality relationship with that object.

4.2.1.3. The Meaning of Composition

4.2.1.3.1. Information Value

4.2.1.3.1.1. The Given and The New: The Information

Value of the Right and Left Placement

The right part, especially in magazine layout is the part where the key information that the readers pay attention is given. The left part is shown as the parts for the information already give, which is assumed to be known by the readers. The left part is given and the right part is new. The problematic which is new is debatable information related to the things in question. Given refers to a known situation or a judgement.

4.2.1.3.1.2. Ideal and Real: The Information Value of the

Top and the Bottom

The information value of the top and bottom can be expresses as follows: if the things constructing a visual composition are put in the top and the other elements are at the bottom of the image, the things on the top are ideal and the things at the bottom are real. Presentation of something as an ideal is the idealization or generalization of information, besides, being the most prominent. Real is opposite to this; the real makes you reach more specific, deeper or more practical information.

4.2.1.3.1.3. The Information Value of the Center and Periphery

If there is an important center use in a visual composition, if one object is in the center and the others are arranged around it, the ones in the middle are the central elements and the ones around it are peripheral elements. The center for the presentation of something is to put knowledge in the core. The objects in the center and the other objects are arranged dependent on each other.

4.2.1.3.2. Framing

The term framing refers that the objects in a composition can be represented with separate identities or together. Framing either connects or disconnects the objects. The framing scheme is related to the frame line that the field contains, the space between objects, the color, the format, or any visual shape contrast. For joining, shape, color repetitions and the like; long distance movement, the space between objects and the absence of the frame line. In a sense, it express what the continuity or discontinuity is between the objects; the objects are either separated or connected.

4.2.1.3.3. Drawing Attention

In the composition made in the attention approach, there can be many cultural differences such as size, focus sharpness, tonal variations on objects, color differences (such as warm cold), visual placement, perspective and so on. For example, a person's appearance or potential cultural symbols, etc. The design principles of dynamic,

asymmetry, balance and contrast arrangements can be examined under the head of attention.

It is aimed to analyze the DISK posters between 1976-2018 –examined in the study as the sample- through applying both social semiotics and semiotic methods. The posters between 1976 – 2006 are taken from the archive of TŪSTAV and the posters between 2007-2018 are taken from the official webpage of DISK. As it has been mentioned in the methodology, social semiotic method allows analyzing the texts in the posters in terms of style and content. Therefore, all the other signs being out of the scope of social semiotic method will be analyzed within the frame of signifier-signified relations, the Saussure model. Moreover, representative, interactive and compositional meaning referred under three main titles in social semiotic method and their sub titles will be studied under the title(s) required in accordance with the content of the posters. It can be said that the social semiotic method allows a comprehensive visual analysis, there the signs identified within the image may not be seen under all the titles of the method.

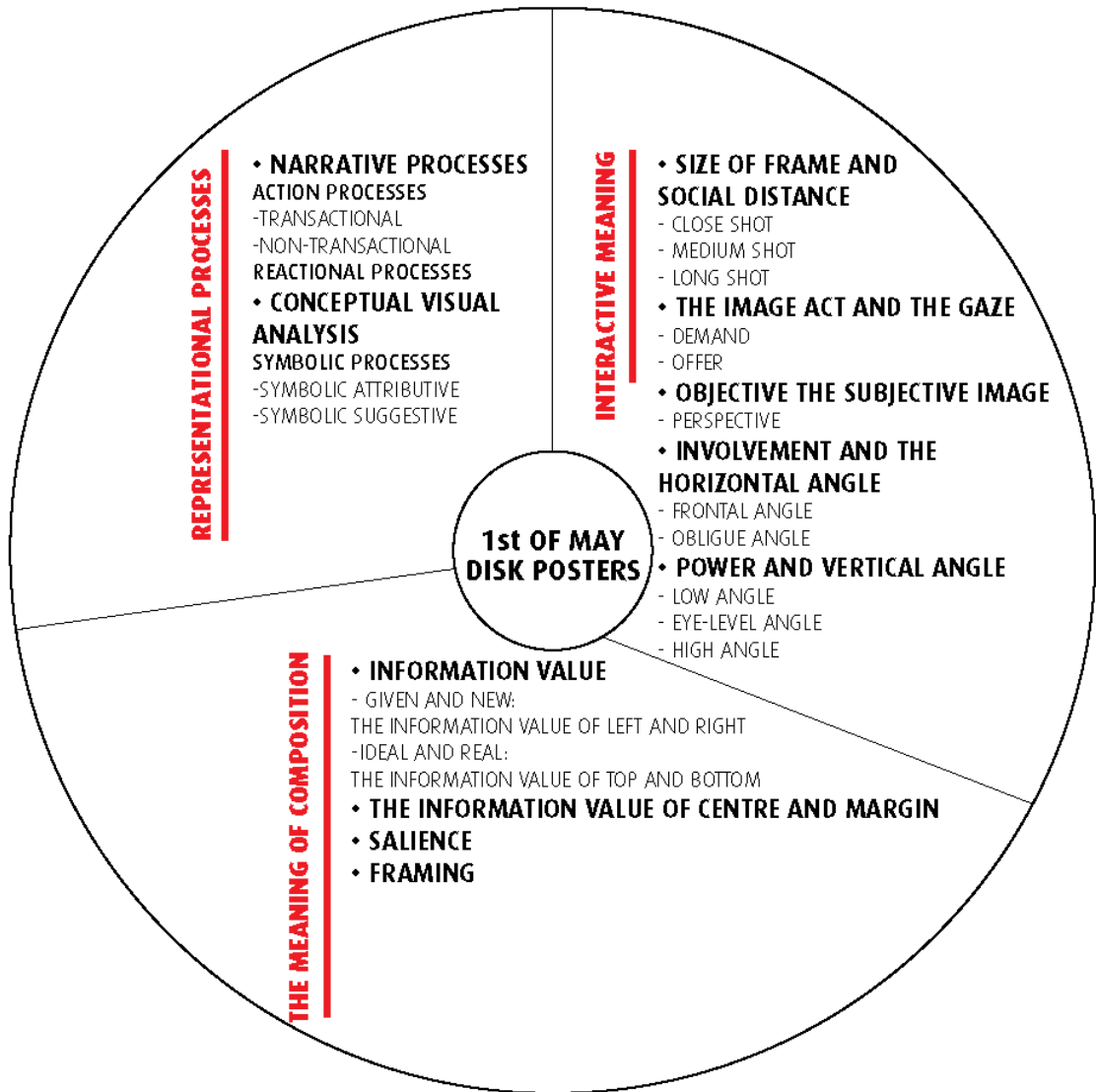


Figure 4.5 The Social Semiotic Method Diagram

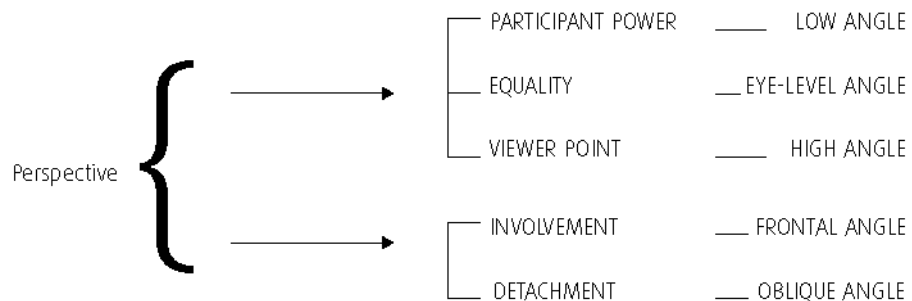


Figure 4.6 Perspective (Social Semiotics)

5. EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS

5.1. Disk's 1 May Posters Since 1976

5.1.1. Disk Posters (1976 – 1980)



Figure 5.1 1976 DISK / TURİZM-İŞ Pattern Canol Kocagöz Size 27.5 x 41 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.1) The five male figures in the middle part of the poster produced by DISK / TURİZM-İŞ in 1976 are the figures that determine the direction of movement by forming a right-to-left loop in the poster arrangement. The figures have the same characteristics in terms of style, but are differentiated only by yellow or black hair colours and hair cuts. Successive figures create a loop at the center of the flower. The world in the "center" of the flower is placed as a symbolic expression. The fact that male figures understand the world and they are in a process of movement for

themselves represents the process of “*non-operational*”³⁵ movement. In the middle of male figures, there is a flower arrangement consisting of black, yellow and red colours. The appearance of the leaves of the flower as if they were separated from the soil, and the green colour and water vessels in it represent vitality, human, life or struggle within the life cycle in the “symbolic attributive process”. In the “*symbolic attributive process*”, the symbol of the flower used in the poster was compared with the partial industrial wheel with stylistic fractures; and the representative of the industrial working class was tried to be created in the design. The fact that the head and shoulder parts of the male figures in the center of the flower are visible shows that “*close shot*”³⁶ is used, which creates the interactive meaning process and the notion that it is intended to establish a close relationship with male figures; that is, it establishes an interaction of meaning with worker figures. Male figures are intended to be displayed as workers in terms of “*symbolic attributives*”³⁷ through their costumes and muscular structures. It can be said that the workers' different hair types and hair colours create the “*symbolic suggestive*” process as a reflection of bipolar world policies created by the USA – USSR relations on Turkey, by emphasizing the active internationalism³⁸ within the social movements. Holding on to each other tightly in the center, workers are carrying an elliptic world in the middle of the flower. The fact that the world image is located in the “*center*”³⁹, the seed region of the flower, can be associated with concepts of production. Thus, the relationship of

³⁵ In the *Symbolic Suggestive Process*, meaning and identity are determined via the carrier's own characteristics.

³⁶ **Close Shot:** (Head and Shoulder Shot) Very close / it is used to refer to a personal relationship.

³⁷ In the *Symbolic Attributive Process*, the meaning given to the carrier represents the identity.

³⁸ The poster produced by DISK / TURİZM-İŞ in 1976 took part in the international poster exhibition for the 30th anniversary of the World Trade Unions Federation (Kösemen, 2006:28).

³⁹ **The Information Value of the Center and the Edges:** If there is an important center use in a visual composition; that is to say, if an object is arranged in the middle and others around it, the object in the middle is the center and those around it are auxiliary elements as margin. The center for a presentation means that information is in the core. The objects in the center and other objects are organized interdependently.

workers with the world in the middle can be associated with their production and creation activities. The world image placed in the center of the flower represents the seed of the flower within the “*symbolic attributive process*”. This sign creates the idea that workers and labourers all over the world have to multiply and strive in order to transfer the class consciousness for generations. The colours of the design are used in the composition scheme for “*drawing attention*”⁴⁰ to certain individuals or phenomena, and it can be said that the similar colours are used in Disk's 1 May posters discussed in the sample. While the blue colour used on the background (signifier) shows the symbolism that can be associated with freedom (signified), the red (signifier) can be used as an indicator of struggle (signified) and the green (signifier) of peace (signified). And in yellow (signifier), it can be said that the red star on the red flag in socialist literature corresponds to the symbolism of light and guidance (signified).

“BİRLİK", "MÜCADELE", "DAYANIŞMA” ("UNITY", "STRUGGLE", "SOLIDARITY”) (sign) writing is at the bottom of the poster and to the left of “1 MAY” caption in red (signifier). The fact that the formal slogan of Disk is in red and a contrast is made with the blue colour on the background is arranged to “draw attention”. The relationship between red colour and struggle concept is associated with the wheel simulation used in the center of the flower (signified).

⁴⁰ **Drawing Attention:** Dimensions, focus sharpness, tonal differences on objects, colour differences (such as hot and cold), visual field placement, perspective and many special cultural differences can be shown in the arrangements within a composition. Arrangements like dynamic, asymmetry, balance and contrast in design principles such as the appearance of a person or potential cultural symbols can be examined under the heading of drawing attention.

The caption “1 MAY” (sign) in red (signifier) is located in the middle of other captions at the bottom of the poster. The use of red colour to state this poster is for 1 May activities is also associated with the struggle (signified).

"DÜNYA İŞÇİLERİNİN BAYRAMI" (THE HOLIDAY OF WORLD WORKERS) caption (sign) is arranged in red at the bottom of the poster to the right of “1 May” caption (signifier). The caption supports the emphasis of internationality formed by the worker figures in terms of the visual aspects.



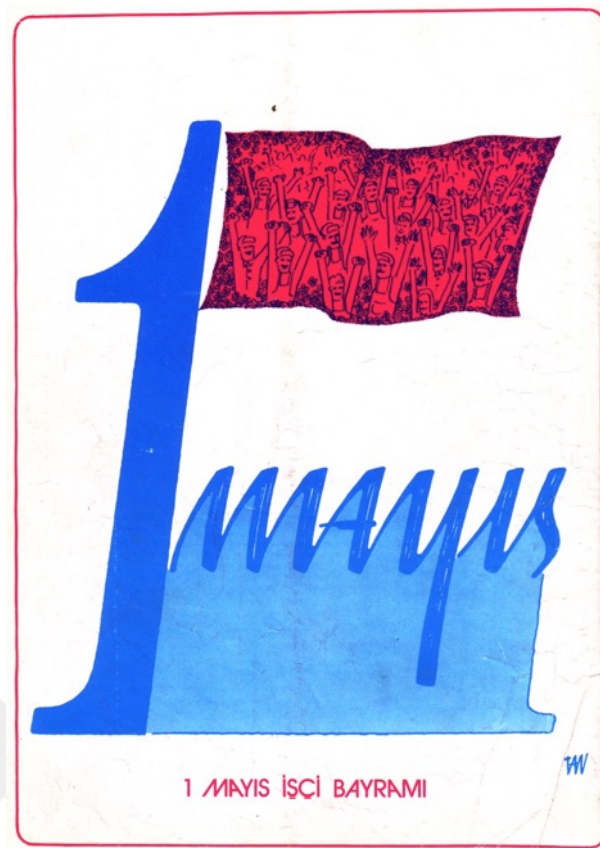


Figure 5.2 1976 DISK MAGAZINE Pattern Tan Oral Size 19.5 x 27 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.2) in the 1 May posters published in the 1976 Disk Magazine, human figures arranged in the form of a contour on the red background colour are on the move for themselves. This movement can be understood from the fact that figures on the background are shown with their hands raised. The movement direction is represented by the “*non-operational*” structure on the red background that is shown upwards. The meaning of the figures displayed on the red background is symbolic. In this approach, which constitutes the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, the fact that the figures drawn with contour are wearing helmets shows that they are workers. The social distance as “*middle shot*” with the figures of workers, reflects an establishment of a social relationship with the worker figures and therefore, represents a mass movement. The power relationship between the worker figures and the audience is “*at eye level*” and this point of view reflects an equality relationship with them. This

approach represents a symbolic attributive created to mobilize classes in the struggle of the working class by establishing a link of equality between the worker figures and the audience. The arrangement of the worker figures on the red background colour is shown as “*drawing attention*” in the composition. When the red colour is associated with the background (the fact that the arms of the worker figures are in the air), it can be interpreted as workers' riot or seizure of the current situation. With this interpretation, it can be said that by creating a “*frame*” under the “MAYIS” (MAY) caption, an industrial workshop or factory roof is formed. The deduction of seizure of the current situation is based on the tendency of the workers of a factory or an industrial workshop to show a struggle for their rights. The background that the workers are in a “*non-operational*” movement represents the flag. Flag can be understood from that “1” is shaped like a flagpole and from the shape of the red background. This assessment defines the representation that constitutes the meaning of the image as “*symbolic attributive*”.

The caption “1 MAYIS İŞÇİ BAYRAMI” (1 MAY LABOUR DAY) (sign) is centered in red (signifier) at the bottom of the poster. In the posters published by DISK Magazine, the texts that can be described as slogans are not used. The text in red associated with the flag represents struggle (signified).

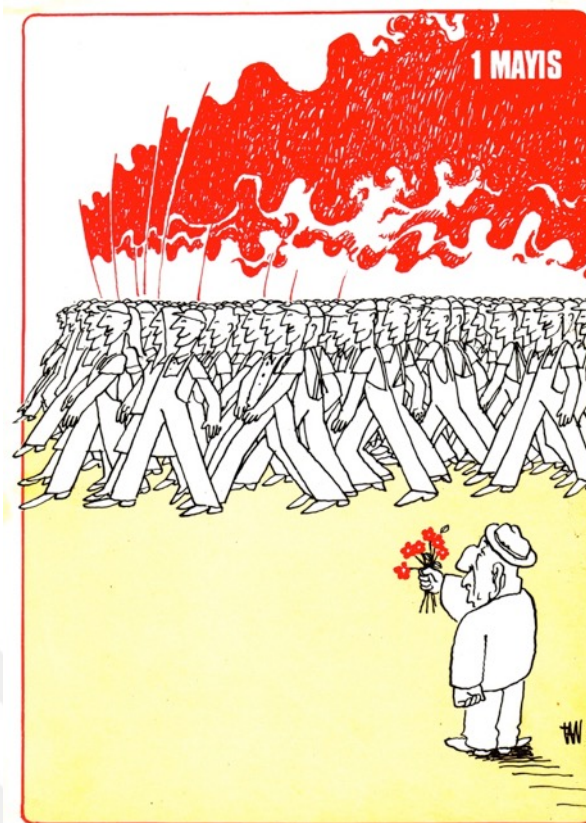


Figure 5.3 1977 DISK MAGAZINE Pattern Tan Oral Size 19.5 x 27 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.3) The human figures in the mid-section of the visual poster, published by DISK Magazine in 1977, are presented in a movement for themselves. The human figures shown in a movement from right to left are walking towards a linear view, so the human figures represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement. The fact that the human figures are workers can be understood from the clothes on them (boiler suits and helmets). And therefore, they are “*symbolic attributive*”. The social distance that constitutes the interactive meaning that the poster creates on the audience is defined as “*middle shot*”. In this sense, it enables the establishment of a social relationship with the worker figures; and therefore, reflects a mass movement. The point of view created with the worker mass is determined as “*frontal*”. So, participation is ensured with the highest level of relationship with the worker mass. A

perspective plane image has been created between the yellow background and the worker mass, and the images with perspective have been identified as “*subjective visuals*”. The reason for determining of the working class as subjective is the anonymization of the figures that are in the back row of the workers by the subjective interpretation of the perspective. The power relationship between the worker figures and the audience is determined by the perspective established at “*eye level*”. This point of view establishes an equality relationship between the audience and the worker figures. This approach reflects a symbolic expression of the mass movement of the working class with the same feeling, thought and determination by establishing a link between the worker figures and the audience. The fact that the feet of the worker figures are out of the left “*frame*” of the poster represents the decisive march that is required to be carried out. That the red lines, which can be seen in the perspective plane from front to back, meet with red background in the upper part of the image constitutes the “*subjective visual*”. The red-coloured subjective visual at the top of the image takes place as a tendency to “*draw attention*” on the composition. It can be said that the red background colour (subjective visual) of the flags over the worker mass reflects the struggle of ideological unity (working class). The male figure at the bottom right of the poster is shown in “*profile*”. We understand that the male figure, which is shown as disconnection, is not included in the working class in terms of the “*symbolic attributive*” process because of his clothing and posture. The hat of the figure can be assumed to represent one of the intellectual figures with which the working class is an alliance, from the perspective of “*symbolic attributive*”. The sad and frustrated appearance of the male figure (interaction), which is left alone and out of the image of the workers, is similar to the weak-looking flowers in his hand.

"1 MAYIS" (1 MAY) (sign) is written in white on the red background at the top right of the poster (signifier). In the posters published by DISK Magazine, the texts that can be described as slogans are not used. The caption "1 MAYIS" (1 MAY) is made visible on the red background with the intention of "drawing attention" and represents the theme of the poster (signified).





Figure 5.4 1977 DISK/BANK-SEN
 Pattern Sadık Karamustafa Design Sadık Karamustafa Size 48 x 66 cm Edition Renkler Matbaası

(Figure 5.4) The poster is the 1 May image published by DISK / BANK-SEN in 1977. Symbolic meaning will be determined by visual analysis because there is no structure that creates a process of movement in the poster. The image placed in the "center" of the poster is separated by a "frame". The symbolic structures forming the image, the background layers, the rose and thorns placed in the center will be examined as separate structures. The surface of the image separated from the black background consists of three layers. In the process of "symbolic suggestive", the pessimistic and complex color scheme that creates the sky represents the pessimistic structure of the period, i.e. the social and political situation which the working class is in. In the process of "symbolic suggestive"; the white background colour, which shows the horizon in the middle of the painting, reflects the hopes of the currently pessimist and confused working class to grow up and rise again. The soil, consisting

of green and yellow colours shown at the bottom of the painting, reflects the vitality of life in the process of “symbolic attributive”; and thus, the hope and struggle. The rose placed in the "center" of the poster and the barbed wire "framing" it are related. Prohibitions and pressures created on the working and labourer classes in this period are expressed by barbed wire. The red rose, positioned in the “center” of the poster, shows the renewed struggle movement of the working and labourer class when it is associated with the background.

“1 MAYIS 1977” (1 MAY 1977) (sign) is written in white with black frame at the top of the poster (signifier). The date is written in black representing the events of May 1st, 1977 and it highlights the difficult social and political conditions of the period (signified).

“Birlik, Mücadele, Dayanışma” (Unity, Struggle, Solidarity) (sign) is written in white (signified) on the black background colour at the bottom of the illustration. Writing the theoretical slogan of the DISK on the black background also emphasizes the difficult social and political conditions of the period (signified).

“DISK / BANK-SEN” (sign) is written in white on the black background colour (signifier) at the bottom of the “Birlik, Mücadele, Dayanışma” (Unity, Struggle, Solidarity) caption. The caption shows the signature of the BANK-SEN union (signified) affiliated to DISK.



Figure 5.5 1977 DISK / MADEN İŞ Pattern Gülsün Karamustafa Design Gülsün Karamustafa Size 29 x 41 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.5) The symbolic meaning constituting the movement process on the 1 May poster published by DISK / MADEN İŞ is constituted in two parts via four figures. The male figures in the upper part are holding the flag pole in the air. A male figure lying on the lower part and a female figure trying to lift him are seen. The figures are illustrated in a process of movement for themselves; therefore, they represent the process of “non-operational movement”. In the sense of “symbolic character”, male figures wearing boiler suits and female figure wearing workshop outfit show them not in a familial connection but in a class (working class) connection. In terms of the participation of the figures in the poster arrangement, three figures are illustrated in “frontal” view, while the male figure lying on the floor

is seen in “profile”. This deduction indicates that the audience has the highest level of relations with the workers shown in “frontal” and that the worker shown in “profile” is out of visual expression. In this analysis, the worker's shown in "profile" being left out of the expression is supported by the fact that he is dead or injured and the blood he has seen underneath. The information value of the upper (*"ideal"*) and lower (*"real"*) poster can be expressed as: red (light-dark) tones between the red backgrounds (flag) at the top of the image and the other red flag structures show that the situation is not singular. The diversity of the struggle is represented by flags of different colours and the struggle reflects a social structure. Therefore, the value of "ideal" knowledge is the idealization of the continuation of the struggle of the working/labouring class. The value of "real" knowledge points to the fact that people died because of the pressures and obstacles that were experienced in the working class struggle (May 1st, 1977). The information value of the lower-upper can be interpreted as follows: in order for the struggle of the workers and labourers to be meaningful in the struggle for the rights of the people who lost their lives, it can be said that the struggle flag they left needs to be kept upright. In 1977, while the social struggle areas were idealized at the top, the current situation, which represented the reality, was the demonstration of the pressures and obstacles encountered in social and political conditions. The red flags as a *"drawing attention"* approach mean the struggle, while the yellow colour reflects the light that will come with the class struggle.

“1 May” (sign) is positioned in white (signifier) in the flag waving at the top of the poster. In the poster, the flag was used as an indicator of the struggle. And

therefore, a judiciary was established for the continuation of the struggle in all circumstances with the “1 MAY” Workers' Day.

“DİLEĞİMİZ HASRETİMİZ GELENEĞİMİZ” (OUR WISH, OUR LONGING, OUR TRADITION) (sign) is written in black on the “framed” part of the white ground colour (signifier). In terms of visual expression, showing the caption with bold black text on white background colour is for “drawing attention”. The fact that the caption supports the intellectual structure can be expressed by the common use of black colours; the caption emphasizes the relationship between the past and the future by linking the male figure holding the flag with his dark-coloured boiler suit.



Figure 5.6 1977
KONUK YAYINLARI Pattern Erkal Design Erkal size 48.5 x 67 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.6) The symbolic meaning of the 1 May poster by DISK in 1977 was created in two layers. The movement direction of the white bird figure, which forms the movement, is shown from right to left. It shows a “*non-operational*” process because the bird figure is in a movement for itself and does not have an action towards a target. The white bird figure can also be expressed in terms of conceptual visual analysis through the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The symbolic use of a white dove is for a figure of peace within the political movements of the period. The fact that the human figure placed inside the dove figure is wearing a helmet, in terms of the representation of meaning, indicates that he is a mining worker or a worker in heavy industry in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The flower, which is located in the mouth of the worker figure, expresses vivacity along with the renewed nature

of spring in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The social distance, which establishes the interactive meaning in the poster, has been set as “*close shot*”. The close shot shows a top-level relationship between the dove and the worker figure and the audience. The formation of the meaning of the composition of the poster is as follows; the “close shot” deduction is supported by the worker figure at the “center” of the poster and the doves around it (margin). Therefore, the main deduction of the poster will be made on the figure of worker, dove and flower. The tendency to “*draw attention*” is given through colours. When we look at the use of the background colour of the illustration, we can say that the middle part is dark red, the lower parts are orange and a dark-light relationship is established with a transition towards yellow. It is seen that a beam of light from bottom to top is rising in the visual image and it is getting brighter. This sun mimesis is emphasized by the dove founding the dominating structure in the middle. The light beam extensions on the wings of the visually positioned dove can be explained as an expression of the relationship between the working class and the future.

”1 MAY” (sign) is written in white on the red background at the top of the poster (signifier). In the posters published by DISK Magazine, the texts that can be described as slogans are not used. The caption “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) is made visible on the red background with the intention of “drawing attention” and represents the theme of the poster (signified).

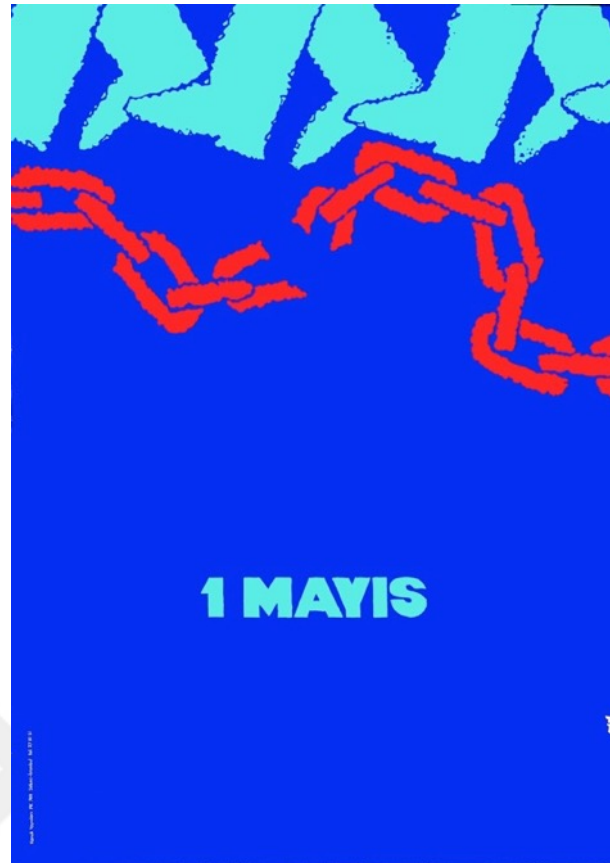


Figure 5.7 1977 KONUK YAYINLARI Pattern Unknown Design Unknown size 48.5 x 67 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.7) The poster produced by Konuk Yayınları for DISK in 1977, the people who are seen below the knees in the upper part are moving for themselves in an unclear direction. The figures shown in the direction of movement from right to left are in a “non-operational” structure. The structures forming the “symbolic attributive” process in the poster represent a decisive and disciplined struggle against oppression and prohibitions in the red chain, which is at the bottom of the people walking, decisive and disciplined. The human figures whose legs are seen below the knee on the top of the poster, are “framed” and a new form of foot is entering the frame on the right side. The hot (chain) and cold (background) colours used in the poster are used as a tendency to “draw attention” in relation to objects. “Framing” shows that there are more people here. In the illustration, human figures and the point of view towards the chain are shown with the “low angle”. With the human figures

and the red chain, this approach demonstrates the power relationship on the audience, which is established by the determined and disciplined struggle against repression and prohibition. The information value of the upper and lower one, in which the composition is analyzed, can be expressed as follows: the human figures and the chain relation in the upper part of the poster ("*ideal*"), i.e. a determined and disciplined struggle against oppression and prohibitions reflects idealized information; and in the lower part ("*real*"), 1 MAYIS (1 MAY) caption represents the Workers' Day. The value of knowledge of the upper and lower one can be interpreted as follows; the struggle against oppression and prohibitions is idealized and the real thing is that the working class is represented in unity, struggle and solidarity against these oppressions and prohibitions by gathering together on 1 May.

"1 May" (sign) is written in light blue on the blue background in the middle of the bottom of the poster. The colour of the caption is the same colour (signifier) as the feet representing the worker figures. In the posters published in Disk Magazine, the texts that can be described as slogans are not used. The caption "1 May" is associated with the working class, which is walking with determined steps despite the prohibition, and represents the purpose of the poster (signified) using light blue on the blue background.

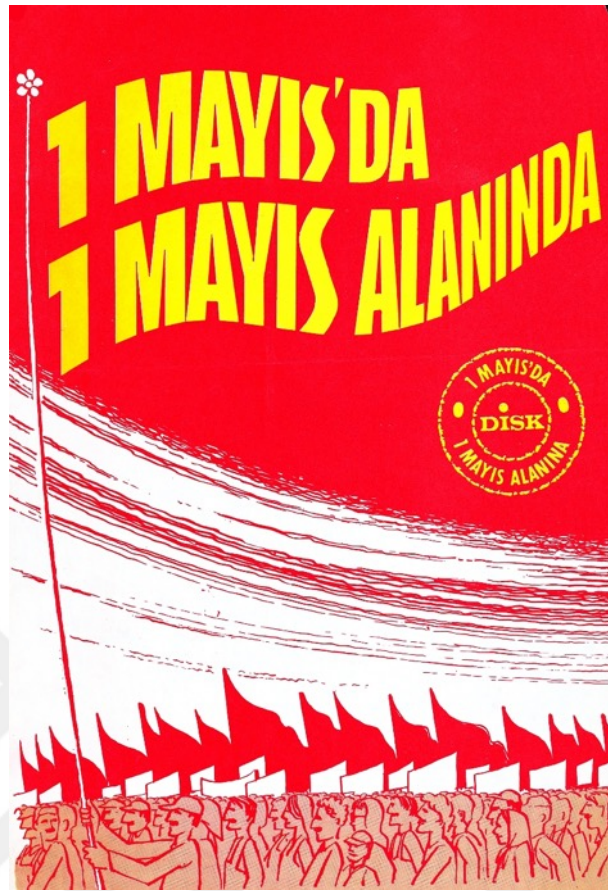


Figure 5.8 1978 **DISK** Pattern **Tan Oral** Design **Tan Oral** Size 27 x 39.5 cm Edition **Unknown**

(Figure 5.8) In this 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1978, human figures at the bottom of the image are in a movement for themselves. The direction of movement of people is right-to-left. Human figures appear to be walking towards a linear view, but there are no targets. So, human figures represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement. It can be said that human figures are composed of people from different professional groups in terms of “*symbolic attributives*” of their hair and clothing. In the 1 May posters used in the previous years (figure 5.3), it can be seen that the crowded figures were used instead of the workers marching, which display a disciplined and firm position. A white flower is seen at the tip of the flag pole held by a worker. This flower expresses vivacity along with the renewed nature

of spring in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The social distance that the poster creates on the audience is determined as “*middle shot*”. This point of view enables the establishment of a social relationship with the community; and therefore, it reflects a mass movement. The point of view created with the mass is set as “*frontal*”. So, their participation is ensured with the highest level of relationship with the mass. A perspective plane image has been created between the mass, flag and the banner; and the images with perspective have been identified as “*subjective visuals*”. The reason why the audience is created subjectively is to try to create the impression of a crowded community in a large area where people from all walks of life join, with the subjective interpretation created by the perspective. The relationship of power to be established with the perspective of the audience is set at “*eye level*”. This point of view reflects an equality relationship between the audience and the community. This approach reflects a symbolic expression of the movement of the mass with the same feeling, thought and determination by establishing a link between the worker figures and the audience.

“1 MAYIS’DA 1 MAYIS ALANINDA” (ON 1 MAY, AT 1 MAY AREA) (sign) is arranged in a wavy structure in yellow on the red background colour at the top of the poster (signifier). It can be said that the visual expression of the text has a flapping effect and the upper part of the image is transformed into a flag or a pennant. The caption serves as a call for pronouncing that the 1 May 1978 Workers' Day will be celebrated in Taksim.

The “DISK” (sign) is located in a circle, “1 MAYIS’DA 1 MAYIS ALANINDA” (ON 1 MAY, AT 1 MAY AREA) is at the center of the caption. While the DISK logo

is shown in a corporate structure, the caption and logo shown in two different circles serve as a corporate call, as an armature (signified).



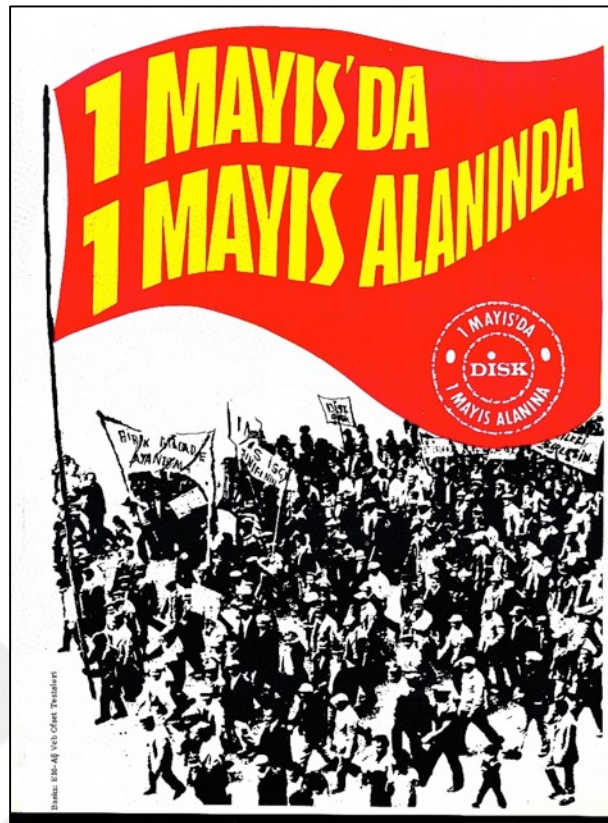


Figure 5.9 1978 DİSK Design Unknown Size 29 x 41 cm Edition Em-Aş Ofset

(Figure 5.9) In this 1 May poster produced by DİSK in 1978, human figures at the bottom of the image are in a movement for themselves. The movement direction of human figures is shown right to left. Human figures appear to be walking towards a linear view, but there are not seen any movement towards a target. So, human figures represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement. The words “DİSK” and “BİRLİK, MÜCADELE VE DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY, STRUGGLE AND SOLIDARITY), which are seen on the various banners and pennants that people hold in their hands, can be said to represent the working class in terms of their “*symbolic attributives*”. The social distance that the poster creates on the audience is determined as “*middle shot*”. This point of view enables the establishment of a social relationship with the community; and therefore, it reflects a mass movement. In the poster, the

mass create a perspective image with a diagonal space from the right-center to the left-bottom, and the images with perspective are identified as “*subjective visuals*”. The reason why the audience is created subjectively is to try to create the impression of a crowded community in a large area where people from all walks of life join, with the subjective interpretation created by the perspective. And this approach can be said to emphasize the concept of class struggle and identity together with quantity.

“1 MAYIS’DA 1 MAYIS ALANINDA” (ON 1 MAY, AT 1 MAY AREA)

(sign) is arranged in a wavy structure in yellow on the red background colour on the flag pole carried by a worker (signifier). It can be said that the visual expression of the text has a flapping effect and the upper part of the image is transformed into a flag or a pennant. By keeping the mass under its own roof, the caption serves as a call for pronouncing that the 1 May 1978 Workers' Day will be celebrated in Taksim.

The “DISK” (sign) is located in a circle, “1 MAYIS’DA 1 MAYIS ALANINDA” (ON 1 MAY, AT 1 MAY AREA) is at the center of the caption. While the DISK logo is shown in a corporate structure, the caption and logo shown in two different circles serve as a corporate call, as an armature (signified).

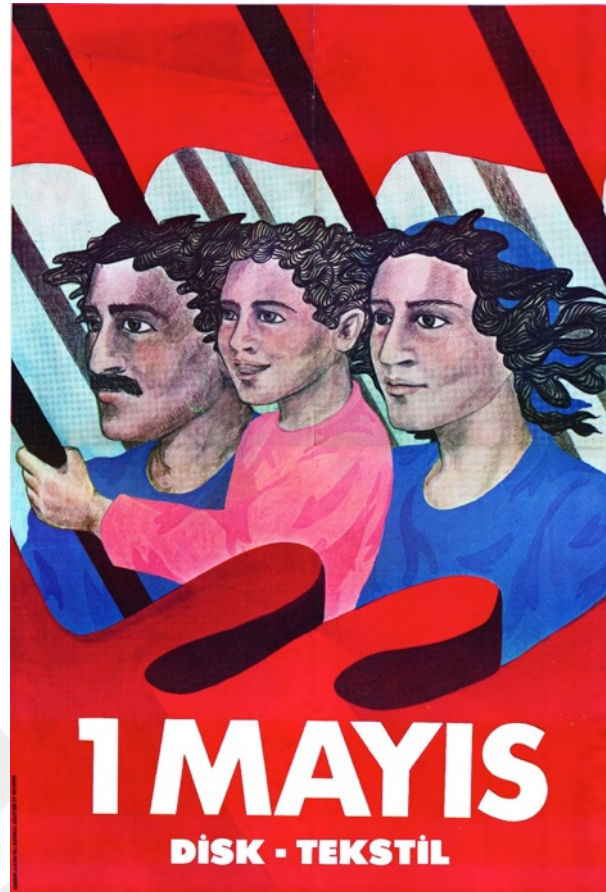


Figure 5.10 1978 DISK / TEKSTİL
 Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 58 x 84.5 cm Edition Em-Aş Veb Offset

(Figure 5.10) Since the social distance established with the three figures placed at the center of the poster in 1 May, 1978 produced by DISK / TEKSTİL is “*close shot*”, it is aimed to establish a personal relationship with them. It will be possible to carry out a conceptual visual analysis of figures and symbolic structures that are not shown in the process of movement towards the target. Three figures placed in the center of the poster can be evaluated in terms of their “*symbolic attributives*”. The blue work clothes of the male and female figures characterize them as workers based on man-handling during the industrial production process. The child in the middle is shown with the mother and father. The flag pole that the child holds shows that he joins the struggle together with his family. The interaction of human figures used in design is supported by horizontal and vertical angles. The figures shown with the

"frontal" angle allow to establish a high level relationship with the audience. The perspective established by the figures at the "eye level" establishes a symbolic relationship between the audience and the figures. The "drawing attention" approach used to form the compositional meaning is designed to increase the effect of blue background colour on the back of the figures with white geometric stain-like forms. Behind the figures, with "framing", a section was taken from the crowds on the background that is formed as a "drawing attention" tendency. This arrangement represents a mass structure. In the figures placed at the center of the poster, it can be stated that a figure arrangement was made, which can be related to the early republican monument statues or Soviet statues as a *drawing attention* approach. Within the framework of this regulation,⁴¹ it is intended to establish a cubic structure, which is an expression of the constructivism current. It can be said that cubic structures create a movement effect within the image. The forward-looking axis of the human figures standing in the center of the poster represents the relationship between happiness, hope and the future, in the process of "symbolic attributive".

"1 MAYIS" (1 MAY) (sign) is written in white on the red background at the middle-bottom of the poster. The red colour, which is used as the background colour, surrounds the figures representing the working class (signifier). The "1 MAYIS" (1 MAY) caption associated with figures located at the center of the poster represents

⁴¹ It is a known fact that constructivism was an important art movement in 20th century. This art movement emerged in Russia and began to show itself after the 1917 revolution. With the October revolution, in the new world order, artists can be said to oppose bourgeois prejudices. In the materialist approach, it can be said that it is aimed to create an aesthetic that is beneficial to society, whose principle is integrating society and art, in accordance with the changing social order. It can be stated that geometric volumetric forms are used in this movement. See <http://gmk.org.tr/uploads/news/file-144709567333076244.pdf>

the struggle area (signified) of the 1 May activity organized under the leadership of the DISK.





Figure 5.11 1978 DISK / GENEL-İŞ Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 42 x 58 cm Edition Em-Aş

(Figure 5.11) Since there is no structure that constitutes the process of movement in the 1 May poster above produced by DISK / GENEL-İŞ, symbolic meaning can be found through conceptual visual analysis rather than the process of movement. Symbolic structures were set as hammer and rose figures in the poster arrangement. The hammer form can be seen as a symbol of the working class, the productive class, within the “*symbolic attributive*” process. The rose positioned on the hammer, can be identified with the struggle, while the rose's red colour can be said to represent those who lost their lives in the struggle when we look at the general design. A clear representation of the thorns on the rose indicates the hardship of the working class's struggle conditions. In determining the compositional meaning, the “*knowledge value of the center and edge*” is set again through rose and hammer. While the hammer

placed in the center is the main element of the design, rose is the auxiliary element of the hammer. Therefore, the hammer represents the working class; and the rose figure symbolizes the hard conditions and losses of the working class. The structures associated with the rose and hammer in the center of the design are supported by the arrangement of the background as “*drawing attention*” approach. In the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”, the creation of the background through the transition of the dark-light colours from top to bottom can be considered as an expression of the transition from light to darkness. “1 MAYIS”, “DİSK/GENEL-İŞ” (sign) is written in white on the black background at the bottom of the black hammer in a right-and left-aligned way (signifier). The fact that the names of the unions and “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) are written together and in a similar way represents the gains that can be achieved within the struggle area to be created by DISK (signified).

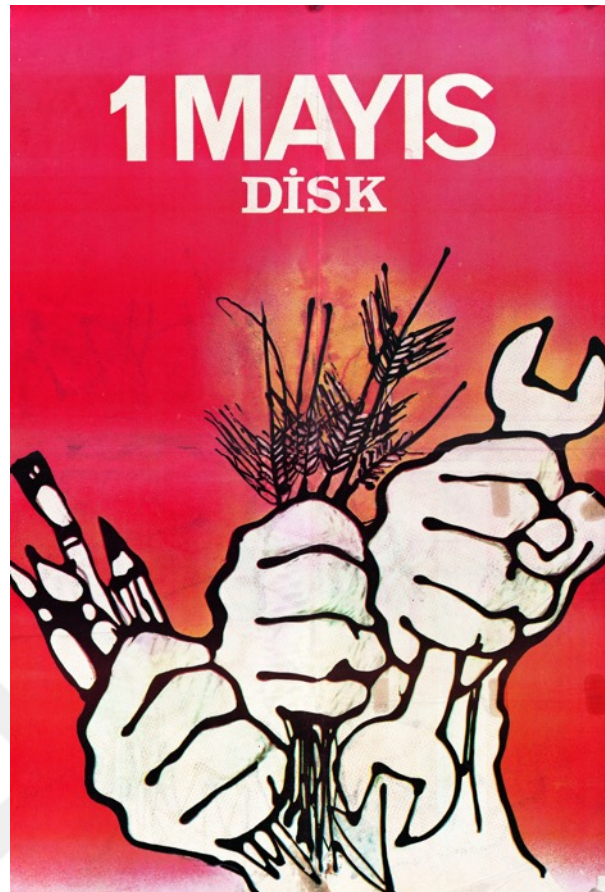


Figure 5.12 1978 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 58 x 84.5 cm Edition Em-Aş Veb Offset

(Figure 5.12) Since there is no design elements that constitute the process of movement in the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1978, symbolic meaning can be determined through conceptual visual analysis rather than the process of movement. The “*symbolic attributive*” process in the poster is constituted by wrench, ear of grain and pen-brush. It can be said that the figure holding the wrench represents the working class, the figure holding the grains represents the peasant class, and the figure holding the pen-brush represents the intellectual class. The information value of the upper and lower one, in which the composition is analyzed, can be expressed as follows: in the upper part, the identification of the 1 May Labour Day with DISK was idealized, and in the lower part, the workers, peasants and intellectuals come together and participate not only in the working class (factory workers) but also in the struggle

by joining with the participation of the working people from different sectors that make up the society. It is tried to form a judgment that the communities of different walks of life should take part in the class struggle, and that 1 May 1 Workers' Day, which is associated with DISK, should continue the struggle with a wider mass. With “*framing*”, the arms entering the image from the bottom of the poster are shown as coming from the same source. The strong and bony appearance of the contours of the figures used in the composition represents a strong identity that produces with hand labour in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. This form of representation is also referred to as the force of the union formed by three different identities at a common point. “*Drawing attention*” on the poster is set by the background colour. Yellow and red colours are not in single tone, but are formed with intertwined tones. As an example of light and dawn, it is tried to show that a light is spread around the hands when this unity is achieved.



Figure 5.13 1978 DISK / GENEL-İŞ Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 42 x 58 cm Edition Em-Aş

(Figure 5.13) Since there is no design elements that constitute the process of movement in the 1 May poster produced by DISK / GENEL-İŞ in 1978, symbolic meaning can be found through conceptual visual analysis rather than the process of movement. While the carnation symbolizes those who lost their lives, in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, it can be said that the world map is transformed into a heart and associated with a global symbol of inner conscience. It can be said that this global conscience phenomenon is portrayed as a wound through the middle of the earth in the form of a carnation-heart rising from the soil to the sky. When we look at the power relationship of design objects (carnation, earth) on the viewer, the point of view is set as “*eye level*”. This approach establishes an equality relationship with the form of earth and carnation. It can be said that a “*frame*” is formed on the poster with black border and the visual perception is concentrated at the center of the design. The

black the border gives an idea of the general expression of the poster as well as the intensification of the visual perception at the center. Black colour brings together suggestive processes such as pessimism, obstruction and death as a “drawing attention” approach. In the process of “symbolic suggestive”, the complex arrangement that is shown in blue and red colours as the theme of the sky in the poster represents pessimism and chaos-like judgements.

”1 MAYIS" (1 MAY) (sign) is illustrated in white on the top of the blue-red background arrangement (signifier). The visual expression created in terms of colour is associated with the white area used as the horizon between the upper and lower backgrounds, which is shown as chaos and confusion, creating a positive judgement on the brightness and future through “1 May”, the present difficult conditions. “DISK / GENEL-İŞ” (sign) is shown in white on the blue-red background arrangement at the bottom of the poster (signifier). The trade union signature, which is associated with “1 May” in terms of colour, supports the symbolic relationship between the white area shown as horizon, and light and future.

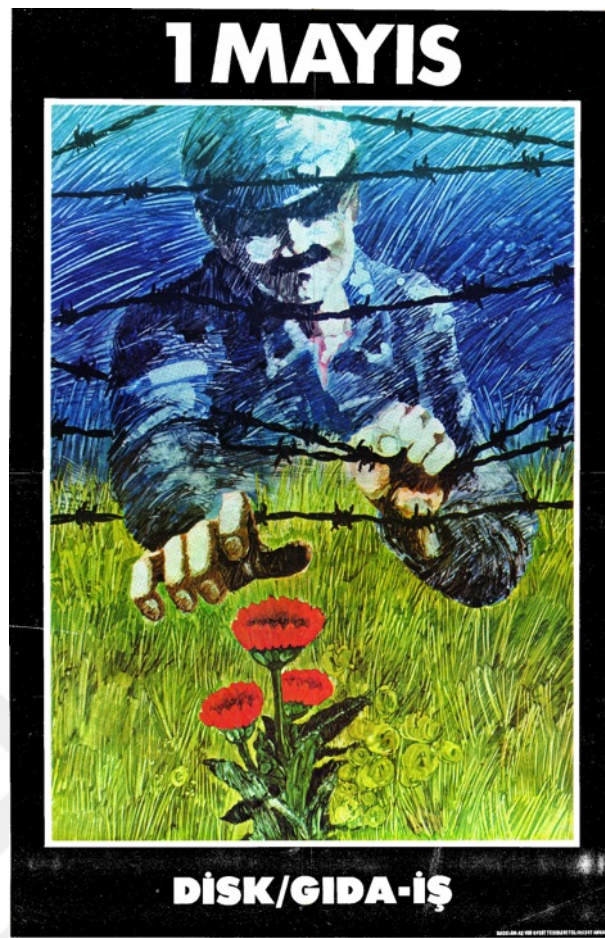


Figure 5.14 1978 DİSK / GIDA-İŞ
 Pattern **Unknown** Design **Unknown** Size 58 x 84.5 cm Edition **Em-Aş Veb Ofset**

(Figure 5.14) The process of movement which constituted the symbolic meaning in the 1 May poster produced by DİSK / GIDA-İŞ in 1978 is formed by the male figure's reaching out for the red flower. The target-actor relationship identified in the visual creates an "*operational process*". In order to define the symbolic structures of design elements used in the poster design, we need to focus on conceptual visual analysis. The male figure represents the figure of a worker in terms of "*symbolic attributive*", wearing a worker outfit and a helmet. The shadow of the helmet on the figure's eyes, who represents the working class, in the process of "*symbolic suggestive*" the character becomes personally unidentifiable and in this sense, an arrangement suitable for the general structure of all classes' characters has been

created. The red flower, on the other hand, symbolizes the struggle and the vitality of spring in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. Barbed wire is shown here as a obstructive element, and in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, it represents pressure and obstructions. The meaning of the interaction formed in the poster sets a “*demand*” image. That the worker figure reaches out for the flower despite the barbed wire aims to establish a sensory connection on the audience. According to the poster's point of view forming the interactive meaning, an angle that is “*close shot*” and at “*eye level*” is set by the worker figure. This approach indicates the establishment of a close relationship with the worker figure, and also an equal relation of power between itself and the viewer. It can be seen that the poster uses semantic and formal perspective. The perspective is constituted formally with green and blue background colours. The visuals in which the perspective is used are determined as “*subjective visuals*”. It determines the relationship between the use of perspective and the front-back depth in the visual. The visual expression of the relationship between depth created allows the barbed wire to be positioned between the worker figure and the red flower. It can be said that a “*frame*” is formed on the poster with black border and the visual perception is concentrated at the center of the design. The black the border gives an idea of the general expression of the poster as well as the intensification of the visual perception at the center. Black colour brings along suggestive processes like pessimism, obstacles and death as “*drawing attention*”.

“1 MAYIS 1977” (1 MAY 1977) (sign) is written in white with black frame at the top of the poster (signifier). The black background colour, representing a negative judgment, is associated with “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) and represents the difficult and pessimistic conditions of the working class. The “DISK/GENEL-İŞ” (sign) is

arranged in white in the black frame at the bottom of the poster (signifier). The trade union signature, which is associated with the colour of “1 MAYIS” (1 May) caption, represents the working class in harsh and pessimistic conditions and the situation in which the union determines the field of struggle.





Figure 5.15 1978 **DISK / OLEYİS** Pattern **Unknown** Design **Unknown** Size **48 x 68 cm** Edition **Unknown**

(Figure 5.15) The 1 May poster produced by DISK / OLEYİS in 1978 does not show a structure that constitutes the movement process. Therefore, symbolic meaning will be determined by conceptual visual analysis. In the shape forming the symbolic expression at the top of the poster, the dove is associated with freedom and peace in terms of “*symbolic attributive*”. In the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, the world and clenched fist form represent the working class, while the world symbolizes a global event. It can be said that in order to “*draw attention*” in the composition of the world, dove and hand constituting the symbolic expression; latitude and longitudes were drawn with black geometric forms in the lower part, and two-dimensional form was tried to be perceived as three-dimensional. The red colour used in the background

of the poster can be associated with the struggle in the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”.

The caption “1 MAYIS” (1 May) (sign) is shown in white on the red background under the world figure that forms the symbolic expression (signifier). The text “1 MAYIS” (1 May) is associated with the symbolic structure representing the world, freedom and the working class (signified) in terms of colour.

The “DISK / OLEYIS” (sign) is arranged in white on the red background, right-aligned with the “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) caption (signifier). The text representing the union signature is associated with “1 MAYIS” in colour, representing the 1 May activity, which is organized under the roof of DISK / OLEYIS (signified).



Figure 5.16 1978 DISK Pattern Şekip Davaz Design Şekip Davaz Size 48 x 66 cm Edition Basım Sanayii Merkezi

(Figure 5.16) The symbolic meaning was created in the process of movement on the 1 May poster produced by DISK. The bird that forms the movement is arranged like a silhouette and the direction of movement is shown diagonally towards the upper right corner. The bird, arranged with a flower branch in its mouth, is not engaged in a targeted action; it is involved in a movement for itself, and therefore represents the process of “*non-operational*” movement. It can be expressed that the bird figure forming the movement process and the branch in its mouth represent peace and freedom in terms of the “*symbolic character*” process. The silhouette of the bird is formed by a colour transition from red to white. In the *symbolic suggestive* process, this indicator can be interpreted as follows: when the historical social conditions of 1978 are taken into consideration, it can be stated that a relationship is established between the prices paid in the struggle of workers and laborers and the

bright days to come. Human figures at the bottom of the poster were set as “middle shot”. The middle shot establishes a social distance between the viewer and the image, so the human figures shown in the lower part represent a mass structure. Human figures are represented by a visual format of large points called *bitmap* as a “drawing attention” trend. The reason for showing human figures in this format is to anonymize the mass, that is, to represent people from different parts of society rather than representing only a certain class. The “the information value of the center and edge” in the poster is created as follows: “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) caption is placed in the center of the poster and the surrounding (edge) dove form. With this sign, it can be said that freedom and peace can be achieved by the struggle of the working class under the roof of DISK.

The caption “1 MAYIS” (sign) is arranged in the middle of the dove silhouette and the outer contour of the letters are determined as white (signifier). It can be said that by creating a two-way contrast, the visual effect of the poster is tried to be increased. The contoured text used in the dove figure indicated by the transition from dark red to light red increased the power of visual expression on both white and dark colours. The positioning of “1 MAYIS” caption in the center of the dove is made to relate to the concepts of freedom and dark-light (signified).

The “DISK” (sign) is shown in black at the top of the poster (signifier), and the corporate logo is associated with the mass in terms of colour, representing the trade union identity that opens the struggle area to the audience (signified).



Figure 5.17 1979 **DISK** Pattern **Tan Oral** Design **Tan Oral** Size **58 x 84.5 cm** Edition **Em-Aş Veb Ofset**

(Figure 5.17) The process of movement on the 1 May poster by the DISK was created in 1979, by human figures' reaching out to the wheel placed on the upper part of the image. Arms reaching out to the wheel determine the direction of movement, so the movement process represents the “*non-operational*” structure. The representations of the participants in the design can be expressed via conceptual visual analysis. The male and female figure at the bottom of the poster represent the working class in terms of “*symbolic attributives*”. This representation is determined by the male and female figures wearing worker clothes. The position of the male and female figures representing the working class back to back shows that the relationship between them is shaped in the struggle for labour in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The relationship between the world and the wheel positioned at the top

of the poster is determined by the information value of the “*center and edge*”. The world form is surrounded by the industrial wheel. In the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, this arrangement shows that the world is based on labour and it creates a visual context between the world and labour on the poster. Because the working class, which is the main element of the relations of production, determines the production of material life. Worker figures at the bottom of the poster are shown in “*profile*”. This point of view, which represents the connection between the audience and the figures, excludes the worker figures at the bottom of the expression. This can be interpreted as follows; it can be understood that the arms of the figures do not actually belong to them, and the wheel and world arrangement placed at the top of the poster indicate the main implication of the design. This interpretation can be supported by the information value of the ideal and the real as follows: “idealized” thought is shown at the top of the poster as the relationship between the wheel and the world is based on labour. The “real” refers to the struggle of labour with the worker figures positioned back to back at the bottom of the poster. The “*mediator*” between the ideal and the real is shown with two reaching arms. The idea of the establishment of the world on labour is idealized by the idea that it will bring freedom and equality to the working class. In the lower part of the poster, the worker figures representing the real represent the current situation, that is, the ongoing struggle for labour. For this reason, the figures of the workers in the lower part are excluded from the expression, in a sense. The process of “*symbolic suggestive*” in the poster constitutes the expression that humanity and the world can reach the light with labour and struggle through the arrangement made with the transition from dark tones to light tones on the background.

The bleeding of the hand (sign) is shown in the hand holding the wheel by reaching from the bottom (signifier), and this sign emphasizes the difficulties of labour struggle (signified).

The caption "1 MAYIS" (sign) is shown in blue on the white background colour with which the worker figures and arms are shown (signifier). In terms of visual expression, number "1" is supported by vertical arms and vertical layout is highlighted in the poster. The fact that the "1 MAYIS" caption is arranged in blue forms a global expression by being associated with the world figure (signified).

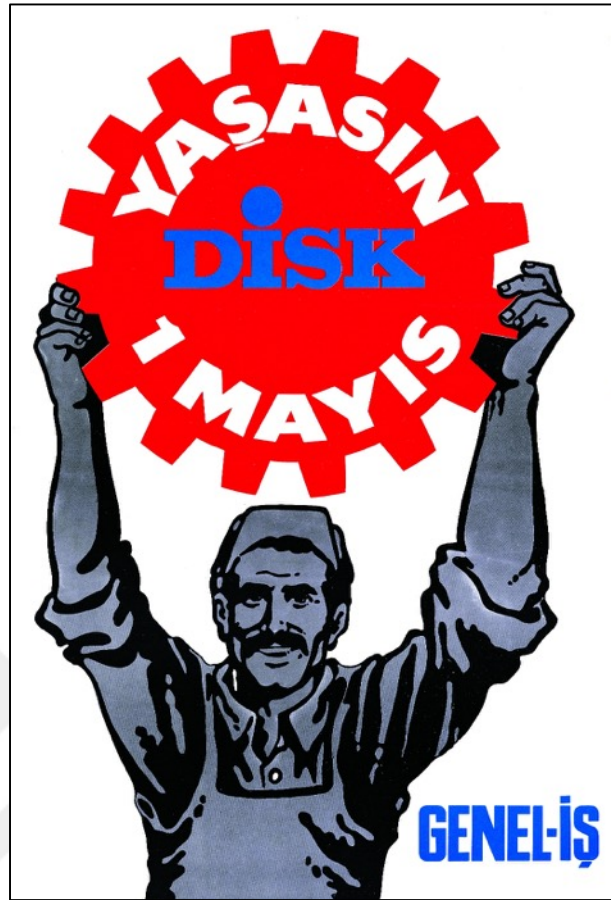


Figure 5.18 1976-1980 DISK / GENEL-İŞ Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 40.5 x 57 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.18) 1 May poster produced by DISK/GENEL-İŞ was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. The male figure, seen to lift the red wheel up on the poster, represents a process of movement for himself. The process of movement, which constitutes the symbolic meaning in the poster, is shown with a “non-operational” structure. Symbolic structures used in design can be defined with “symbolic attributive” features. The male figure, which is located at the bottom of the poster, wearing a helmet and a boiler suit, and also with the outer contour that expresses the muscular structure of his hands and arms, represents the working class. The red wheel held by the worker figure represents the industrial production based on men-handling through its feature of being an industrial wheel.

The representation of the worker figure above the waist determines the social distance between the figure and the audience as “*middle shot*”. The middle shot represents a social relationship, so it can be said that a single worker figure actually represents a mass of workers. The eye contact of the worker figure with the audience can be defined as “*demand*” visual. The worker figure with a happy expression, holding the wheel in his hand, establishes a sensory connection between the audience. It can be stated that while the worker figure calls for 1 May, he also points out the identity of the trade union in a sense by raising the name of DISK in the trade union struggle as the address of the celebration. The eye contact of the worker figure with the audience and the red wheel in the air are “*highlighted*” with “YAŞASIN 1 MAYIS” (LONG LIVE 1 MAY) slogan via its white colour on red background and shape. In this sense, the poster carries the theme of 1 May Labour Day, and it can be said that it is mainly a union call. The identity of the trade union is positioned in the central call of the poster, beyond being a signature as in other posters. The worker figure, whose legs are left out of the “*frame*” and arranged in dark colours, can be considered as a visual factor for the slogan to be seen in the wheel.

The “GENEL-İŞ” (sign) is shown in blue (signifier) in the lower-right corner of the poster, showing the GENEL-İŞ, a union affiliated to DISK, in blue to form a corporate expression representing the trade union signature (signified).

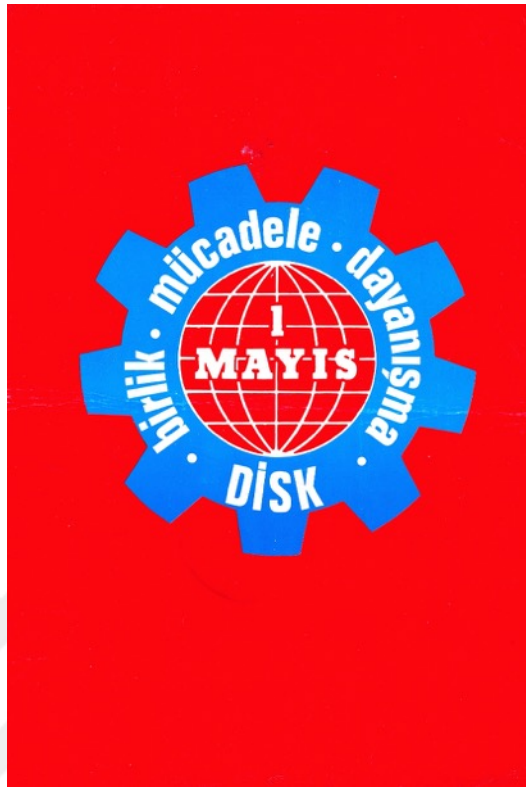


Figure 5.19 1976-1980 DISK Design Unknown Size 28.5 x 42 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.19) 1 May poster produced by DISK / GENEL-İŞ was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster does not constitute a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. At the center of the poster there is a wheel surrounding the world figure. With this arrangement, the relationship between the world and the wheel is determined by the information value of the “center and edge”. The world form is surrounded by the industrial wheel. In the process of “symbolic attributive”, this arrangement shows that the world is based on labour and it creates a visual context between the world and labour on the poster. Because the working class, which is the main element of the relations of production, determines the production of material

life. While the wheel used in the poster represents the industrial wheel in terms of “*symbolic attributive*”, it can be thought that it is organized in blue colour, referring to the boiler suit in the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”. The red colour used on the background of the poster can be expressed in the process of “symbolic suggestive” as follows; considering the production of the poster for the purpose of a rights struggle, it can be said that red colour is a sign of the struggle.

“1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) (sign) is shown in white on red (signifier) in the middle of the linear world form at the center of the poster. Showing that caption in the world figure forms a global expression (signified).

The “BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY, STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY) (sign) caption is arranged in white around the blue industry wheel. This caption is the corporate slogan of DISK. With the decision taken at the founding congress of the Second International in 1889, 1 May was declared as the International Union, Struggle and Solidarity Day (signified).

Considering the visual expression of “1 MAYIS” and “BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA”, the poster is a union call. The caption “1 MAYIS” is placed on the world figure and can be said to be a reference to the Second International.

The caption “DISK” (sign) is shown in white under the blue industry wheel (signifier). Although the logo is not shown in a corporate structure, the slogan is complementary, so it can be said that an emphasis on corporate identity is placed at the forefront (signified).



Figure 5.20 1976 – 1980

DISK / DEV MADEN-SEN Pattern Ruhi Kavasoglu Design Ruhi Kavasoglu Size 40.5 x 57 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.20) 1 May poster produced by DISK / DEV MADEN-SEN was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. The figures that can be seen on the poster are presented as if they were in a movement for themselves. The illustration created in three different aspects of motion represents the process of “*non-operational*” movement, because the figures do not have a target-oriented action. It can be said that, in terms of “*symbolic attributives*” of male figures forming the campaign process on the posters, they are mining workers because they wear helmets and black boiler suits. The interaction that constitutes the meaning of the poster is established with the “*frontal*” and “*perspective*” angles. The worker figures are organized with the “*frontal*” view, which establishes a high-level relationship

between the viewer and the worker figures. In addition to this, “*perspective*” is used in the settlement of the figures, and the painting representing the mining workers in the perspective plane shows different production and struggle structures. The subjective visuals are used in this painting to create the perception of mass. At the bottom of the illustration, workers in the work activity can be seen, while at the upper left there are workers in the strike or inaction. It is seen that in the parts of the workers are shown as masses, there are more of the red flags in the back. The red flags emphasize both massiveness and struggle. In addition, in the “*symbolic suggestive*” process, the red flags and the yellow pennant with the DISK's slogan are associated with the red-yellow colours used in the USSR flag, which is shown as a representation of socialist struggle. Number "1" figure rising from the middle of the mass in the perspective plane can be seen as a monumental form in terms of "symbolic attributive" by gaining a secondary meaning. The background and the surroundings of the "1" figure, which can be expressed as a monumental form, is arranged with white background colour and in the process of "*symbolic suggestive*" it can be thought that the vital class struggle of the workers has been acquired.

The “1 MAYIS” caption (sign) is arranged in blue in two parts, above and below the illustrations of the working mass. It can be said that the blue colour used in the caption represents workers' boiler suits and DISK's union identity. When we look at the colours of "1 MAYIS", it can be seen that vivid colours are used, and the caption is both a part of the visual image used there and an expression of its own (signified).

“DISK” “DEV, MADEN-SEN” (sign) is shown in white to the left of a logo, centered at the bottom of the poster (signifier). The sign representing the corporate

union signatures is associated with the white colour used in the external contour of “1 MAYIS” and identified with “1 MAYIS” (signified).





Figure 5.21 1976-1980 DISK / LASTİK-İŞ
Pattern Design Unknown Size 48.5 x 67.5 cm Edition Gözlem Basımevi

(Figure 5.21) The 1 May poster produced by DISK / LASTİK-İŞ was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. The figures that can be seen on the poster are presented as if they were in a movement for themselves. They represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement because the figures do not seem to have actions towards a target. In terms of their “*symbolic attributives*”, the actors who form the process of movement on the poster show that they represent the working class. The use of blue in the background colour of the poster represents the workers' boiler suit. The dove figures seen at the bottom of the poster can be associated with peace and freedom in the social and political movements of the period (1976-1980) in terms of their “*symbolic attributives*”. Some arrangements were made

on the poster as a tendency to "*draw attention*". With sequence strings composed of worker figures, spiral arrangement on the poster, and with the front and back relationship, the perception of depth and space has been tried to be created. At the bottom of the poster, white doves are shown as if they are flying, and doves are kept in the foreground, which increased the sense of depth with the spiral movement of the figures on the background.

The "DİSK" (sign) caption is shown in corporate red under "1 MAYIS İşçi Sınıfının Birlik, Mücadele ve Dayanışma Günü" (1 May, the Day of Unity, Struggle and Solidarity of The Working Class" (signifier). The caption "LASTİK-İŞ" (sign) is positioned to the right of the dove figures in the lower corner of the poster (signifier). The colour use of the logos is arranged in a way that does not create a contrast and the identity is deliberately not emphasized. Instead, it can be said that the slogan texts emphasizing the call for the 1 May are kept in the forefront to "*draw attention*". One important reason for this is that the DISK's slogan is included in the call.



Figure 5.22 1976-1980 DISK Design Unknown Size 34 x 48.5 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.22) 1 May poster produced by DISK was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. The movement direction of the male and female figures shown in a red sphere is set to be right-to-left. The figures are presented as if they are in a movement for themselves and represent the “*non-operational*” movement process because there is no actions towards a target. It can be said that in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, with the figures forming the movement process on the poster, the red sphere and the human types whose identities are not emphasized; an internationality⁴² emphasis is put forward. This deduction can be achieved by displaying a global structure with human figures in the sphere and as

⁴² With the decision taken at the founding congress of the Second International in 1889, 1 May was declared as the International Union, Struggle and Solidarity Day.

well as displaying the DISK's slogan under "1 MAYIS" (1 MAY) caption. It can be said that the blue colour used on the background of the image is dedicated to the workers' boiler suits in the process of "*symbolic suggestive*". In addition, the background colour, which is organized through the transition from dark blue to light blue, which forms the process of "*symbolic suggestive*" in the poster, can be associated with freedom and enlightenment concepts. It can be said that the human figures shown in the red sphere represent the working class all over the world, along with the intellectual relations established on the poster. The use of the sphere in red may create two different ideas in terms of its tendency to "*draw attention*": first, the formal contrast relationship of the red and the white colour can be considered as a factor in making visible the forms that are not emphasized in the sphere. The second thought is that the relationship between the red colour and struggle is found in the red sphere that brings the workers of the world together.

"1 MAYIS İşçi Sınıfının Birlik, Mücadele ve Dayanışma Günü" (1 MAY Unity, Struggle and Solidarity Day of the Working Class) (sign) is shown in white under the red sphere (signifier). While it represents the corporate slogan of DISK, it constitutes a judgement about the 1 May is celebrated all over the world by relating them in terms of colour with the human figures shown in the sphere (signified).

The "DISK" caption (sign) is shown in light blue at the bottom of the poster (signifier). The colour of the logo, which is shown in a corporate structure, is different from the international expression of 1 May. The separation of the "DISK" logo from the slogan by showing it in light blue represents the 1 May Labour Day will be celebrated in Turkey under the name of DISK (signified).

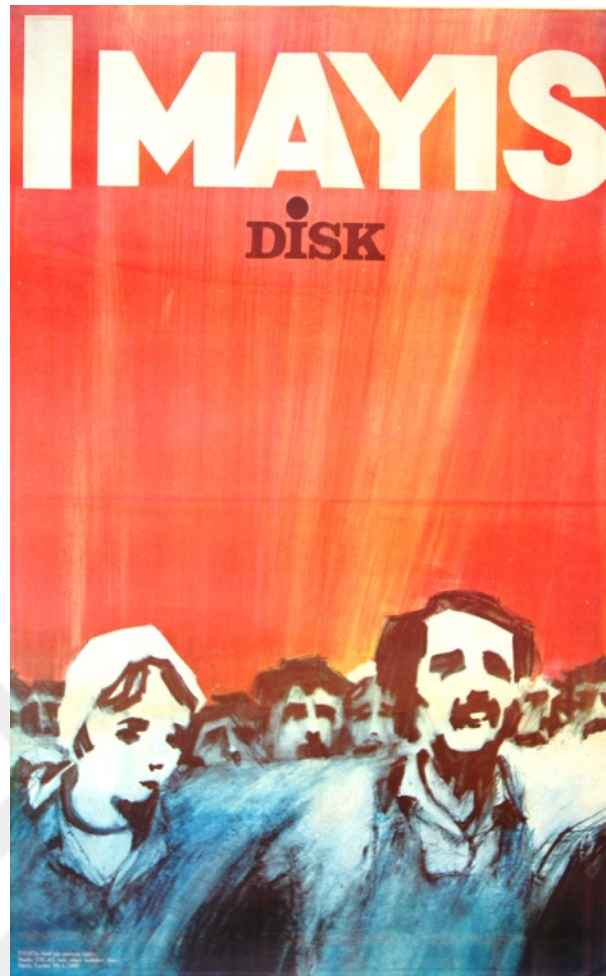


Figure 5.23 1980 DISK MAGAZINE Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 19.5 x 27 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.23) The process of movement is created by human figures placed in the lower part of the image on the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1980. The human figures forming the group are shown in a halay dance (anatolian folk dance), which represents a celebration, so the direction of movement may be to the left or to the right. The figures are presented as if they are in action for themselves. They represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement because the figures do not seem to have actions towards a target. The human figures forming the movement in the poster represent the working class because they wear blue boiler suits during the “*symbolic attributive*” process. At the bottom of the poster, the social distance between the

woman and man and the audience is set as *close shot*. The close shot established with the audience is used to show a very close relationship. The two figures highlighted in this context are shown in a celebration scene, shoulder to shoulder. The human figures at the bottom of the poster are shown with "*perspective*". The images shown on a perspective plane are subjective, and the display of human figures on a perspective plane on a poster is used to highlight the massiveness. The point of view that establishes the power relationship between the viewer and the figures is defined as "*eye level*". This point of view sets an equality relationship between the audience and the worker figures. The equality relationship established by the working class in "unity, solidarity and struggle", which is shown in a mass structure, is a call for struggle in some sense. The information value of "*bottom (real) and top (ideal)*" which constitutes the composition of the posters can be expressed as follows; "1 Mayıs" (1 May) and "DISK" inscriptions are displayed at the top of the poster; that is to say, the ideal thing is to celebrate 1 May under the name of DISK. The real is the message of the power of the working class being together in a mass. When the social conditions of the period are considered, the interpretation of the information value of upper and lower will be more meaningful. The social and political conditions of 1980 have been discussed before, so it can be said that the working class is in an organized structure during this period. But in this period, changing political conditions, creating pressure on the working and working class, the celebration of the 1 May was banned. For this reason, while 1 May is idealized in the poster, the real situation is the mass representation of the working class in an organized way. The background colour of the poster is a mediator in the creation of the information value of the upper and lower, and the space (background colour) between the upper where there are inscriptions and lower where there are working figures is put as a tendency to "*draw*

attention". In the process of "*symbolic suggestive*" the background colour, which is arranged as a tendency to draw attention, can be expressed as follows; the red colour represents the sky. It can be expressed that the red colour depicts the class struggle, enthusiasm and pain; and the yellow lines coming from top to bottom symbolizes the light.

The caption "1 May" (sign) is arranged in off-white with a large and bold font at the top of the poster (signifier). The reason for this is the caption "1 May" is associated with a picture that is displayed in a mass format. This sign represents the struggle power of the working class, which is shown in a mass form (signified).

The caption "DISK" (sign) is arranged in a dark red (signifier) under the caption "1 MAYIS". The sign, in the formal sense, is associated with the "1 MAYIS" and the illustration of the working class, represents that the struggle power of the class of the masses is organized under the umbrella of the "DISK" (signified).

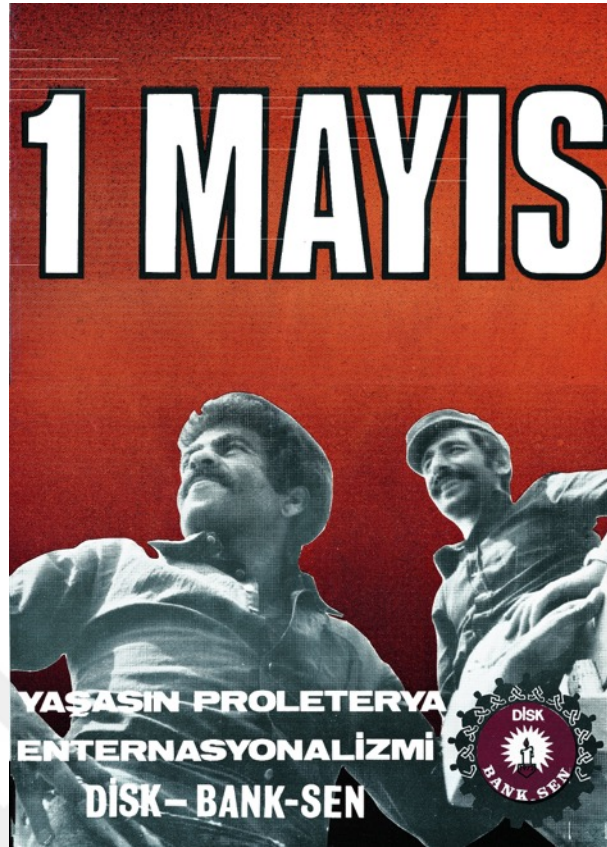


Figure 5.24 1980 DISK / BANK-SEN Pattern Unknown design Unknown Size 48 x 67 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.24) The process of movement on the 1 May poster produced by DISK / BANK-SEN in 1980, is created with human figures placed in the lower part of the image. The positions of figures who are facing the light determine the direction of movement. The figures are presented as if they are in action for themselves. They represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement because the figures do not seem to have actions towards a target. The two male figures forming the poster's movement are shown in a photograph that has been decoupled, in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. It can be said that the photograph showing two male figures gains meaning in the light-shade arrangement. The figures are seen facing the light, which can be thought of as an expression of their hopes and expectations for the future. In the photograph showing male figures, a “*frame*” is used, which makes up the judgement that two male figures are shown among a particular person or persons.

The social distance established with two male figures in the poster is defined as “*middle shot*”. The middle shot arrangement, which reflects a social relationship, represents a mass structure. The power relationship between the figures and the audience is determined as “*low angle*”. This point of view is designed to establish a power relationship between the figures and the audience. The audience's looking at the figures from a low angle represents figures' dominant stance on the audience. There is no judgement on which branch of work they represent because of the symbolic attributives of the figures seen in the photograph. It can be assumed that the figures represent the working class because the poster was produced for the 1 May event in order to carry out a struggle for rights. With the demonstration of the figures with low angle, it is tried to create a perception that the togetherness of the working class under a trade union structure will make them stronger. The transition from dark colour to light colour in the background of the poster is arranged to be in the clearest at the part where the “1 MAYIS” is. It can be said that within the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”, this approach tries to form a judgement that it will be possible for the light to have a supremacy over darkness with the power of unity, struggle and solidarity of the working class.

The “1 MAYIS” caption (sign) is arranged in white at the top of the poster, with large font and black contour (signifier). This approach is intended to increase the visibility of the caption. The “1 MAYIS” caption, which is shown in interaction with the background, reflects the struggle power of the working class in the intellectual sense (signified). “YAŞASIN PROLETERYA ENTERNASYONALİZMİ” (LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM) (sign) is positioned below the white worker figure in the lower left part of the poster (signified). The slogan can be said to

be used as an auxiliary element in reinforcing hope for the existence of an international union (signifier). The “DISK, BANK-SEN” (sign) is arranged in white in the lower left corner (signifier). The sign represents the signatures of the DISK and its affiliates, BANK-SEN unions. "DISK, BANK-SEN" in terms of visual expression “1 MAYIS” and “YAŞASIN PROLETERYA ENTERNASYONALİZMİ” signs are associated with each other in terms of colour.





Figure 5.25 1980 DISK / PETKİM-İŞ Design Unknown Size 40.5 x 57 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.25) In the May 1 posters organized by DISK / PETKİM – İŞ in 1980, symbolic meaning was not created in a process of movement, so conceptual visual analysis and symbolic representations of structures will be determined. At the top of the poster there are red forms around a yellow circle and two thin lines under them. Within the” information *value of the center and edge*”, the inside of the structure is determined as yellow and the components forming the wheel are determined as red. In the process of “*symbolic attributive*”, it can be stated that the round shape of the wheel is arranged in such a way that it can refer to the sun. The fact that the wheel is arranged in a round yellow colour instead of a single red colour constitutes this judgement. The cogs of the wheel have been transformed into abstract human figures. The fact that the cogs act together and are in harmony is shown as a necessity for the

continuation of production as well as for the continuation and spread of unity, struggle and solidarity. This judiciary is supported by the slogan “Birlik Savaşım Dayanışma” (Unity, Fight, Solidarity) which is circulated around the wheel. The idea of enlightenment (class consciousness), which can be established by the sun, is shown as a gain of consciousness in order to liberate the workers in the struggle for rights. The red background colour, which is arranged as a rectangle at the bottom of the poster, is arranged in order to "draw attention" to the area by creating a “frame”. The tendency to draw attention brings the names of “DISK” and “PETKİM-İŞ” to the fore.

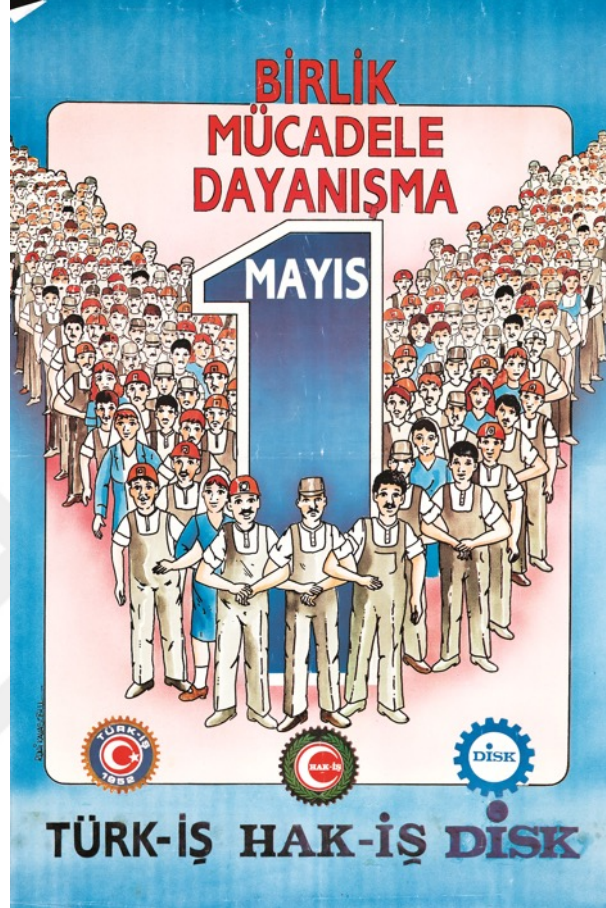
“HAYDİ 1 MAYIS 80’E” (LET’S CELEBRATE 1 MAY 80’)(sign) is arranged in black on the red background where the union names are located at the bottom of the poster (signifier). The fact that the “HAYDİ 1 MAYIS 80’E” is in black is visually associated with the slogan “BİRLİK, SAVAŞIM, DAYANIŞMA”. The slogan is a call for 1 May, 1980 (signified).



Figure 5.26 1980 TÜRK MADEN-İŞ Pattern Orhan Taylan Design Unknown Size 41 x 56.5 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.26) In the May 1 posters organized by DISK / PETKİM – İŞ in 1980, symbolic meaning was not created in a process of movement, so conceptual visual analysis and symbolic representations of structures will be determined. On the poster, the arms reaching from the upper part play drums and the background consists of red flowers arranged on yellow. This approach is demonstrated in the process of “symbolic suggestive” by identifying the arrival of spring and the enthusiasm for meeting it. The “drawing attention” approach in the poster shows the drums and arms playing it with black contour, while the “1 MAYIS” text is also written in white and the text is displayed with black contour around it.

5.1.2. Common Union Posters (1992-2008)



Şekil 5.27 1992 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK Design Ruhi Kvasoğlu Size 46.5 x 69 cm Edition Yazır Yayıncılık

(Figure 5.27) The poster is the 1 May image produced by TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ and DİSK unions in 1992. According to TÜSTAV sources, the visual is the first 1 May poster published in 1992 by different trade union confederations with the decision to celebrate 1 May jointly. In the poster, the process of movement is determined by the direction of movement of the human figures placed in the lower part of the image, towards the number “1”. The figures are presented in a movement towards the “1” number; and therefore, they represent the process of “operational” movement. The figures placed at the bottom of the poster are composed of men and women, and they can be said to represent the working class because the figures wear boiler suits during

the “*symbolic attributive*” process. The social distance established with the worker figures is defined as the “*distance shot*”, which indicates a non-personal relationship between the viewer and the figures. The worker figures on the poster gathered in the center, and this arrangement is formed with the “*perspective*” plane. This form, which is described as a subjective image, is used to create the judgement that the worker figure is in a mass structure. At the same time, it can be said that the perspective plane coming from two different points and uniting under the “1 Mayıs” caption represent the unions with different political backgrounds and their merger around 1 May. The poster contains two “*frames*”, blue and white. The fact that the worker figures arranged in the perspective plane overflow out of the white frame supports the fact that the figures form a mass structure. The interaction of the front-row worker figures with the audience is created with “*eye contact*”, and the eye contact established by worker figures can be examined under the title of “*demand*” image which determines the depiction law. All of the worker figures are facing the viewer, but the depth perception within the perspective plane does not allow for a definitive judgement about the rest of the mass. The three male figures in the front row of the working class represent three different unions that organizes the 1 May activity. The worker figures, which are expressed as “*demand*” image, are depicted in a way that the three different worker confederations come together and are positioned in front of the “1 MAYIS” caption arm-in-arm. This arrangement is made in order to establish a sensory connection between the worker figures and the audience. This interaction brings together the worker communities affiliated to different unions and forms the unity and solidarity perception. The expression power of the meaning of the worker figures in the poster is defined as “*high angle*”. With this point of view, the expression power of the worker figures on the viewer is shown to be low.

The slogan of 1 May which is declared as the "International Union, Struggle and Solidarity Day" (sign) with the decision taken at the founding congress of the Second International in 1889 is organized in red on white frame at the top of the poster (signifier). In this context, it can be said that the corporate slogan used by DISK determines the discourse of the 1 May poster where the three unions have gathered together (signified).





Figure 5.28 After 1994 TÜRK-İŞ, DISK, K.Ç.S.K.K, TMMOB, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMÖB, TURKISH VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, İHD, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INSTRUCTORS ASSOCIATION, ÇHD, ÇGD, TURKISH AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION Design Unknown Size 49 x 66 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.28) Designed by TÜRK-İŞ, DISK, K.Ç.S.K.K, TMMOB, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMÖB, TURKISH VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, İHD, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INSTRUCTORS ASSOCIATION, ÇHD, ÇGD, TURKISH AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION, 1 May poster was used in the period of 1994 and later according to the archives of TÜSTAV. The meaning constituting the representatives on the poster is determined by depicting four bird figures in the process of movement. The movement direction of the bird figures is set from left to right, there is no target in the direction that birds fly, so they are in a process of movement for themselves. The process of movement represents the “non-operational” structure. The analysis of the bird figures and the

number “1” can be determined in the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”. While the number “1” forms the blue sky, the white doves on the number “1” represent a struggle area that represents the freedom and democracy of the workers' and labourers' day. The relation of “1” with the blue sky in the “symbolic attributive” process was created by “*framing*” in the composition. A certain part of the dove is seen in the number “1”. The use of this framework constitutes the opinion that the dove is coming out of the number “1”. In “1”, a volume depth is given using black shadow, and this approach is used as a “*drawing attention*” approach. The doves are positioned in a “*perspective*” plane, the subjective designation of the image is used to create the judgement that the doves fly in a wide area by coming out of the number “1” that represents the sky. This broad area represents freedom, democracy and struggle in the area provided by 1 May.

“BAĞIMSIZLIK BARIŞ VE DEMOKRASİ İÇİN” (FOR INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND DEMOCRACY) (sign) is shown in a yellow italic font on red in the upper left corner of the poster (signifier). The use of contrast colours in terms of visual expression is intended to “draw attention” to the caption. Intellectually, it represents the addition of national and civilian demands to the theme of in 1 MAY, as well as the union and class demands (signified). “1 MAYIS İşçi Sınıfının Birlik, Mücadele ve Dayanışma Günü” (1 MAY Unity, Struggle and Solidarity Day of the Working Class) (sign) is shown in yellow under “1” (signified). While the caption represents the corporate slogan of the DISK, the visual expression is associated with dove figures and the “BAĞIMSIZLIK BARIŞ VE DEMOKRASİ İÇİN” (FOR INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND DEMOCRACY) slogan in terms of colour. This situation of the visual relationship constitutes the opinion that the 1May Unity,

Struggle and Solidarity Day of the Working Class will lead to gains such as peace, independence and democracy.

"TÜRK-İŞ, DISK, K.Ç.S.K.K, TMMOB, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMOB, TURKISH VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, İHD, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INSTRUCTORS ASSOCIATION, ÇHD, ÇGD, TURKISH AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION"

(sign) captions are shown in yellow under "1" (signifier). In the poster, the names representing trade unions as signatories, non-governmental organizations and professional organizations are shown. In terms of visual expression, the sign is associated with the slogan "BAĞIMSIZLIK, BARIŞ VE DEMOKRASİ İÇİN" (FOR INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND DEMOCRACY) in terms of colour; and trade unions, non-governmental organizations and professional organizations are shown as references in the provision of democratic gains (signified).



Figure 5.29 After 1994 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown, Size 32 x 68 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.29) The poster was used in the period of 1994 and later according to the TÜSTAV archives, which was produced jointly by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions. The poster was published with the reunification of the three main worker confederations, and the addition of the Public Employees Union Confederations (KESK) like the 1 May 1992 poster. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. Placed in a vertical position on the left side of the poster, the carnation is used as a memorial for those who lost their lives during the “1 May” activities which were celebrated in the past years in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. It can be said that this carnation element is supported by the use of red and purple stain-like forms on the

background colour of the poster during the “*symbolic suggestive*” process. The carnation figure is determined by the “*frame*” at the bottom of the poster and the root is left out of the image. The flower, whose body is alive and green, symbolizes the memory of those who lost their lives in the union struggle.

“ÖZGÜRLÜK DEMOKRASİ BARIŞ VE KARDEŞLİK ...için” (FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD...) (sign) is arranged in five lines on the right of the carnation at the top of the poster (signifier). The text that constitutes a didactic expression sets a contrast relationship with the background colour and “draws attention”. It can be said that the poster is a call to the masses, unlike the other 1 May confederation posters. It is tried to establish the judgement that democratic demands expressed in the slogan can be realized with the “1 May” struggle (signifier).

“1 MAYIS’a” (To 1 May) (sign), is arranged in white on the names of the unions as the carnation could pass through the ”1” number (signifier). When “1 MAYIS’a” (To 1 May) is considered as a continuation of “ÖZGÜRLÜK DEMOKRASİ BARIŞ VE KARDEŞLİK ...için” (FOR FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, PEACE AND BROTHERHOOD...), it is a call for 1 May. In terms of visual expression, when the colour of the text is associated with the white contour of the carnation, there is a call for the continuity of the struggle fought by those who lost their lives for it (signified).



Figure 5.30 After 1994 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown, Size 50 x 70 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.30) The poster was used in the period of 1994 and later according to the TÜSTAV archives, which was produced jointly by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions. The poster was published with the reunification of the three main worker confederations, and the addition of the Public Employees Union Confederations (KESK) like the 1 May 1992 poster. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. In the upper part of the poster, under the slogan, a white area and the signatures of different people are seen. These areas can be considered to be a participant in the 1 May activities. In the process of “symbolic suggestive”, it can be said that a background layout has been formed to give the impression that each participant has created

certain white areas, so that each participant can have an active role in turning black to white. “*Drawing attention*” in the poster is arranged using the contrast of black and white background colours. It can be said that the elements used in the design are used to create a clear meaning.

“Özgür Emek Demokratik Türkiye!” (Free Labour Democratic Turkey!) (sign) text is arranged in red in the white area on the black background colour (signifier). The text displayed in the white space created as a struggle area is a slogan, so it is necessary to focus on the message of the slogan. The slogan has made two demands interdependent. Democratic Turkey can only be possible with free labour, and free labour can only be possible with democratic Turkey. Likewise, this demand targeted a mass perception (signified) with its emphasis on also democracy, not just on labour.

The “1 MAYIS” (1 May) (sign) is arranged in white above the “Birlik, Mücadele, Dayanışma” (Unity, Struggle, Solidarity) caption (signifier). The text “draws attention” by creating a contrast effect on the black background colour. The use of white colour is associated with the white area on the black background at the top of the poster, representing the struggle area of 1 May against darkness (signified).

“Birlik, Mücadele, Dayanışma” (Unity, Struggle, Solidarity) (sign) is shown in light grey under “1 MAYIS” (1 May) (signifier). “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” (sign) is shown on the light grey at the bottom of the poster (signifier). “Birlik, Mücadele, Dayanışma” (Unity, Struggle, Solidarity) and “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” texts are shown with a common colour, showing that unions gathering under the roof of the confederation use the slogan of DISK (signified).



Şekil 5.31 2000 TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, HAK-İŞ DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size 49.5 x 68 cm Baskı Unknown

(Figure 5.31) The poster is the 1 May image produced by "TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK and KESK" unions in 2000. There is no sign that the poster has a symbolic and interactive meaning. Because the poster includes 1 May posters and celebration visuals of various continents', and countries', including Turkey. Tags containing information about the images used in the poster are "framed" separately. The frame layout is designed to separate the images of 1 May posters and celebrations from the different countries in the world. The use of images with black and white and old textures as a "drawing attention" approach in the poster increases the emphasis on historicity and permanence.

The text "1 MAYIS 1886 – 2000" (1 MAY, 1886 – 2000) (sign) is shown in black on the white background at the top of the poster (signifier). The images used in

the posters are arranged in a row by collage arrangement and the background of the text is white. With the contrast arrangement of the text, “attention is drawn” to the text in the white area. From the intellectual point of view, the text represents the events of the workers' rally held in Chicago, USA on May 1, 1886. This date was accepted as first “1 MAY” (Taş, 2012).

The text “Küresel Saldırıya Karşı Küresel Direniş” (Global Resistance against Global Aggression) (sign) is shown in black on the white background at the top of the poster (signifier). The images used in the posters are arranged in a row by collage arrangement and the background of the text is white. With the contrast arrangement of the text, “*attention is drawn*” to the text in the white area. From an intellectual standpoint, it is associated with the global struggle, which is formed by 1 May posters and 1 May activities celebrated all over the world (shown).

“YALNIZ DEĞİLİZ” (WE ARE NOT ALONE) (sign) is shown in a frame above the union names (signifier). It can be said that with the text, which is a slogan, it is tried to create a judgement that 1 May is celebrated all over the world and the demands have a common characteristic everywhere (signified).



Figure 5.32 2000 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size 50 x 67.5 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.32) The poster is the 1 May poster produced by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions in 2000. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The process of the movement in the poster is determined by the female image, which is “framed” in the number “1”. With conceptual visual analysis, the process of “symbolic suggestive” can be determined through the female image. The smiling woman's face has been used as a design element in reinforcing faith and hope for the future. At the same time, an interactive meaning is created by reinforcing the participatory role in the visual image by showing the woman with the “frontal”

angle. The background colour of the image is arranged by the transition from red to white. In the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”, the red colour that can be associated with the struggle is shown by transition to white. This approach represents the light that can be achieved by struggle, that is, the faith and hope of the future. The tendency to “*draw attention*” in the design is also provided by depicting the “MAYIS 2000” (MAY, 2000) in white on the black background and in black on the red background.

The slogan used in the design creates a separate judgement apart from the visual analysis. For this reason, the slogan can be analysed with the interpretation of the content. “KÜRESEL SALDIRAYA KARŞI GÜCÜMÜZ BİRLİĞİMİZDİR!” (OUR UNITY IS OUR STRENGTH AGAINST THE GLOBAL ATTACK!) (sign) is arranged in red and yellow (signifier) in five lines to the right of ”1”. Writing in five lines shows a didactic expression. Using red in the areas with light background and using yellow in the areas with red background is for “drawing attention”. The main theme in design can be thought of as an attempt to create a common solidarity emphasis in favour of labour in the international conflict of capital-labour. Two different ideologies on a global scale are considered as opposed to each other and unity emphasis on global capital demands is highlighted. In a global sense, it can be said that a judgement that will lead to a new future with this unity is trying to be created.



Figure 5.33 2001 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size 56 x 68 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.33) The poster is the 1 May poster produced by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions in 2001. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The background of the poster is arranged with visual abstraction, which represents a mass rally determined by “high angle”. The fact that the representation of the mass is determined by “high angle” shows the expression power of the mass on the audience as weak. As a tendency to “draw attention” on the poster, the ground has made the visual transparent and thus, other design elements (slogan, 1 May, 2001, union names) have been brought to the fore.

“Yolsuzluğa, yoksulluğa karşı” (Against corruption, poverty) (sign) is shown in red and black with large font at the top of the poster (signifier). Writing it in three

lines shows a didactic expression. The inference that can be made with the slogan in the poster is governed by the theme of social justice rather than the struggle or class emphasis (signified).

The “İşçi sınıfının birlik, mücadele ve dayanışma günü” (The unity, struggle and solidarity day of the working class) (sign) is arranged in black with small font under the “MAYIS” (MAY), which is shown in red. Writing the DISK's slogan in small font constitutes a periodic May 1 call.





Figure 5.34 2002 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK, MEMUR-SEN, TMMOB, RETIRED WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY, TURKISH RETIRED WORKERS' SOCIETY, UNION OF TURKISH BAR ASSOCIATIONS, TURKISH DENTAL ASSOCIATION, TURKISH PHARMACISTS' ASSOCIATION, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMOB Design Unknown Size 44 x 62.5 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.34) The poster is the image of the TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK, MEMUR-SEN, TMMOB, RETIRED WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY, TURKISH RETIRED WORKERS' SOCIETY, UNION OF TURKISH BAR ASSOCIATIONS, TURKISH DENTAL ASSOCIATION, TURKISH PHARMACISTS' ASSOCIATION, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMOB institutions, which was published for 1 May. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The symbolic expression in the poster consists of hand figures arranged in different colours. In the process of “symbolic attributive”, the hands are depicted as from wrists, clearly meaning to stop or disapprove. The background colour of the poster is

arranged with a transition from black to red. In the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”, the present bleak social and political conditions and the demands expressed (slogans) constitute the opinion that all demands can be achieved with the field of struggle for which 1 May paves the way. Visual design elements (hands) created on the poster do not allow to make any other inferences except discontinuation or disapproval. So, the slogan and the expressions functioning as a call must be interpreted.

“SOSYAL ADALET, EŞİTLİK, BARIŞ, ÖZGÜRLÜK VE DEMOKRASİ İÇİN, HAYDİ 1 MAYIS’A!” (FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, EQUALITY, PEACE, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY; LET'S CELEBRATE TO 1 MAY!) (sign) is shown in white and red at the top of the poster. The slogan is a call for democratic demands. The word “HAYDİ” (LET'S) is shown in a different font (signified). The dynamically generated word “HAYDİ” (LET'S) has a different arrangement. Thus the call is brought to the fore.

“Küresel sömürgeciliğin emeği kuşatmasına hayır!” (No to the domination of global colonialism over labour!) (sign) is arranged in white in the middle of the right side of the poster (signifier). In the formation of the visual expression, the text is written on black background in white and it is aimed to "draw attention". It constitutes a reaction to the sanctions of the international structures, which are seen as obstacles to the democratic call at the top of the poster. At this point, all classes defined as labourers are called to resist it (signified).



Figure 5.35 2003 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size 49 x 68 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.35) The poster was produced by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions in 2003. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The poster is designed on a two-piece background structure. In blue and red, this two-part structure is formed as a “drawing attention” tendency. The reason for this is that the blue is a cold colour, and the red is a warm colour. In this context, “drawing attention” tendency is created using contrast colours. In the process of “symbolic suggestive”, the blue colour can be associated with the concepts of freedom and peace while red creates connotations of struggle, resistance and worker movement. Visual analysis can only be done in the process of “symbolic suggestive” through the symbolic expression of colours and

forms of writing. For this reason, the slogan and the wording that functions as a call must be interpreted.

“KÜRESEL SALDIRGANLIK açlık, işgal, yıkım ve kölelik getirdi” (GLOBAL AGGRESSION brought hunger, invasion, destruction and slavery) (sign) is arranged in black on the blue background at the top of the poster (signifier). Writing in black represents a negative expression in terms of visual expression (signified). The text “Şimdi özgürlük, adalet ve barış için MÜCADELE ZAMANI!” (Now it's TIME TO FIGHT for freedom, justice and peace!) (sign) is arranged in white on the blue background at the top of the poster (signifier). Writing in white represents a positive judgement in terms of visual expression (signified).

“YAŞASIN 1 MAYIS” (LONG LIVE 1 MAY) (sign) is arranged in yellow on the red background at the bottom of the poster and the structure of the font is shown in a dynamic structure (signifier). The form of writing, which can be shown as a call for celebration in the intellectual sense, represents the enthusiasm gained by struggle.

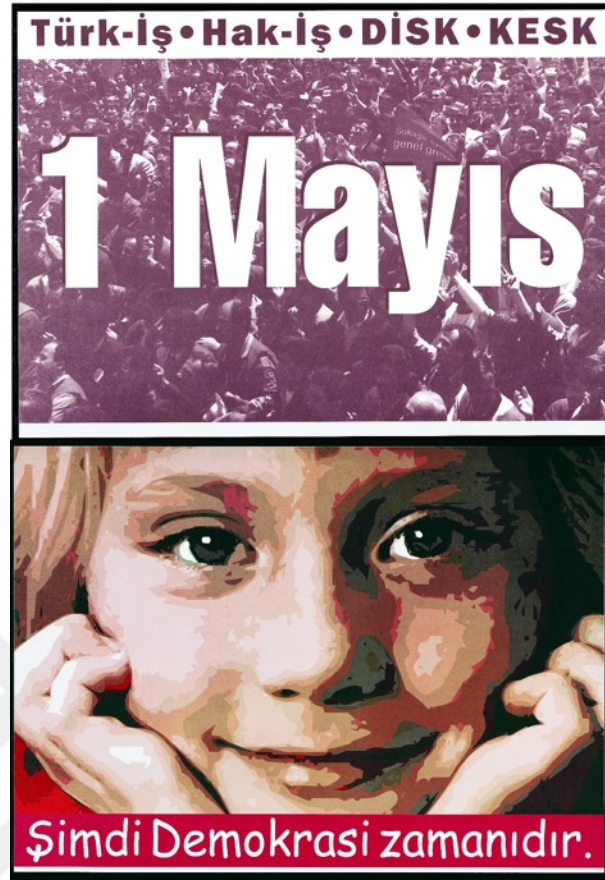


Figure 5.36 2003 TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size 48.5 x 68 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.36) The poster is the 1 May image produced by "TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK and KESK" unions in 2003. In the poster, an arrangement is made using two different photographs in two different "frames" separated from the center. They cannot be identified in the narrative structural movement or reaction process that constitutes the representative meaning in the poster; the two separate visuals separated by the "frame" are independent from each other. Therefore, it must be examined in terms of symbolic structures. The symbolic expressions of the photographs can be explained in the process of "symbolic attributive". Some of the human figures in the photograph at the top can be seen with banners in their hands while some of them are raising their hands in the air. Photography is an image of an action that represents the working class in the struggle for rights. The mass in the

image at the top of the poster is shown with the *"front angle"*. This angle arrangement establishes a high level relationship between the mass and the audience. On the photograph representing the action image, there is the caption "1 Mayıs" (1 May). In the frame in the lower part, a young girl is seen, the social distance established with the child is defined as *"close shot"*, which represents the establishment of a close social relationship with the child. In terms of the *"symbolic attributive"* the girl depicted with a happy expression is associated with the image of the action that represents the working class in the struggle for rights, it is assumed that the struggle will continue over the younger generations. The young girl at the bottom of the poster is also a *"demand"* image that interacts with the audience. Demand images aim to establish a link between the audience and the figure. So, the girl with a happy smile can be associated with the child, hope and future concepts. This deduction supports the *"symbolic attributive"* process. A red colour filter was used as a tendency to *"draw attention"* in a photograph representing a mass action. The use of red filters along with the overall image of the poster points to the anonymized nature of the long-lasting struggle.

"ŞİMDİ DEMOKRASİ ZAMANIDIR" (NOW IS TIME FOR DEMOCRACY) (sign) is written in white at the bottom of the poster (signified). The slogan, which is shaped in white in formal sense, is associated with "1 MAYIS" (1 May); whereas in intellectual sense, it represents a demand for future and freedom emphasis (signified) that can be achieved via "1 May".



Figure 5.37 2008 TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.37) The poster is the 1 May image produced by "TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DISK and KESK" unions in 2008. The process of movement, which constitutes the symbolic meaning of the poster, is determined by four hand figures. The upward movement is shown with the hand figures. The hand figures are shown in a process of movement for themselves, so they represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement. The symbolic meaning of hand figures can be expressed in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The hand figures, four fists raised up in the air, form the expression of sharpness and struggle in a sense. The gradual rise of the fists from left to right represents the rise of the struggle. The white area, which forms the

background of the "1 Mayıs" (1 May), represents the flag form in terms of "*symbolic attributive*" with the limitation of the hand figures. The text "1 Mayıs" (1 May), which is positioned in the white area, is formally displayed in a fragmentary way. The arrangement of the caption in this way is shown as incomplete formation in the "*symbolic attributive*" process. This form of arrangement can be seen as representative of a situation in which the 1 May Labour Day in 2008 has not actually completed its formation. The poster is organized in red and white in the process of "*symbolic suggestive*" so that it can create a national connotation, in a sense.

In the slogan used in the poster, concepts such as "social justice, independence, democracy, freedom, equality, peace, for everyone"(sign) are placed under the four hand figures arranged tightly (signifier). The slogan constituting the caption "1 MAYIS" (1 MAY), which is associated with the white background, expresses mass demands rather than class demands (signified). The phenomenon of national connotation is consistent with the content of the slogan of the poster. The phrase 1 MAY (sign) is arranged in a fragmentary layout structure on the white background of the poster (signifier). The interpretation of this sign can be expressed as follows: The 1 May Labour Day celebrated in 2008 represents a situation that has not been completed (signified).

5.1.3. DISK Poster (1980 – 2018)

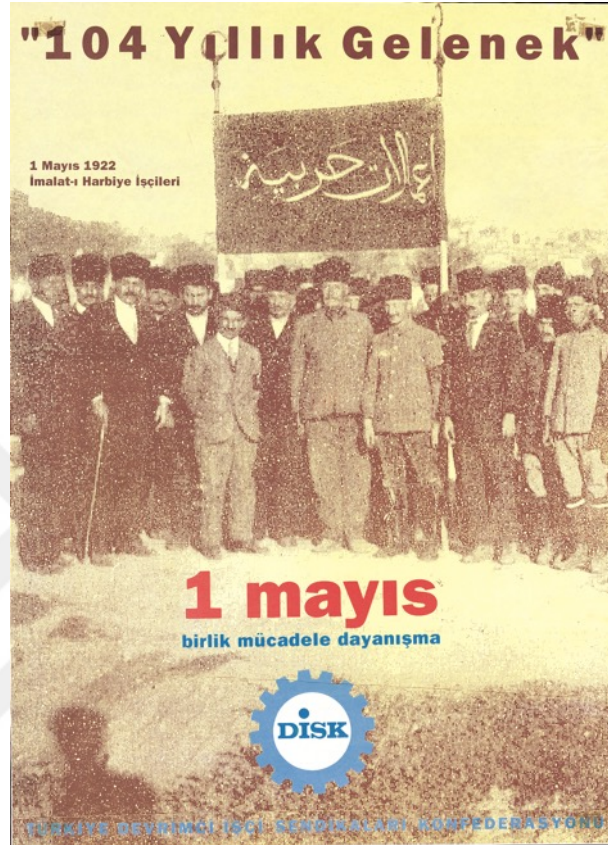


Figure 5.38 1990 DİSK Design Unknown Edition Unknown Size 47 x 65.5 cm

(Figure 5.38) The poster is the 1 May image published by DISK in 1990.

According to the archives of TÜSTAV, on the background of the image there is a full-page photo of “May 1, 1922, İmalat-ı Harbiye (Military Manufacturing) Factory Workers”. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The “symbolic attributives” of the people in the photograph are expressed by written sources, both because the photograph was taken at an old date and because it represents the Ottoman period. The picture shows a

banner saying “İmalat-i Harbin” (Military Manufacturing) in the hands of the workers, but it can also be seen that the banner is not fully opened. Official sources indicate that the image represents “İmalat-ı Harbiye (Military Manufacturing) Factory Workers” (Tunçay, 2006). After the 1980 coup DISK's activities were suspended, and then it was acquitted on July 16, 1991 by the decision of the Military Court of Appeals as a result of the legal process lasting 10 years. In the “1 May” themed poster in 1990, an image featuring a photograph of “May 1, 1922, İmalat-ı Harbiye (Military Manufacturing) Factory Workers” was designed. According to Tunçay, the reason for using this photography may be because 1 May activity was held legally for the first time in 1922 (Tunçay, 2006). In the photograph, the social distance established with the worker figures is defined as the “*distance shot*”. While the distance displayed a non-personal relationship with the worker figures, the power relationship between the worker figures and the audience is defined as “*eye-level*”. This angle establishes an equality relationship with figures.

The slogan “104 Yıllık Gelenek” (104-Year-Old Tradition) (sign) used in the poster is placed at the top of the image (signifier). This statement can be shown as a retroactive appropriation thought of Turkey's trade union movement, with all aspects. It also can be seen as a call for re-organization of the working class movement which had declined due to the political environment and structure of Turkey between 1980 and 1990; and we can see that DISK is highlighted as the address of union struggle (signified).

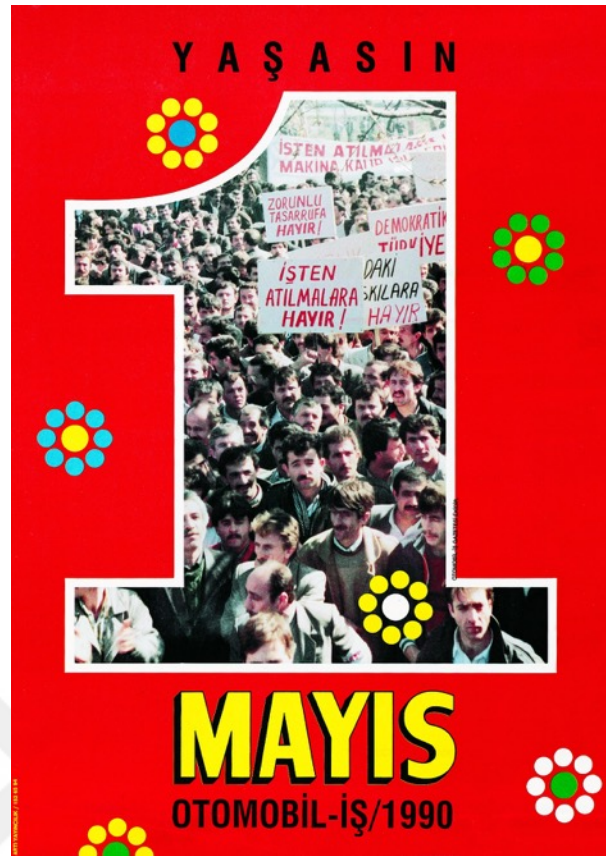


Figure 5.39 1990 DİSK /OTOMOBİL-İŞ Size Design Unknown 40.5 x 57 cm Edition Artı Yayıncılık

(Figure 5.39) The poster is a 1 May image produced by “DİSK / OTOMOBİL-İŞ” unions in 1990. It is one of the first posters of DİSK's, with the “1 May” celebration theme after 1980. The poster movement process is determined by a photograph showing a group of people who are “*framed*” in the “1” number. The direction of movement of people is determined from top to bottom. The people seen in the photograph are in a process of movement for themselves, so they represent the process of “*non-operational*” movement. In order to express who the human community identifies, which is shown in the text “1”, they need to be evaluated in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The attributives of human figures can be defined by the expressions of slogans in the banners they hold in their hands. Slogans such as “İŞTEN ATILMALARA HAYIR, ZORUNLU TASARRUFA HAYIR,

DEMOKRATİK TÜRKİYE” (NO LAYOFFS, NO FORCED SAVINGS, DEMOCRATIC TURKEY) etc., show that the community represents workers who make some demands. The social distance established with the audience and the workers community in the photograph is “*middle shot*”. Middle shot establishes a social relationship between the audience and the participant; and this deduction represents the community as a working class. A “*perspective*” plane is used in the photograph of the working class, and these structures, which are defined as subjective visuals, are used to show the working class in a mass structure. There are flowers created in different colours on the poster. These flowers can be associated with spring in terms of their “*symbolic attributives*” and represent different identities and groups in them. The poster highlights that these groups will be together at 1 May event under the roof of DISK. As a “drawing attention” trend in the poster, the photograph is designed with colours for the first time “İŞTEN ATILMALARA HAYIR, ZORUNLU TASARRUFA HAYIR, DEMOKRATİK TÜRKİYE”.

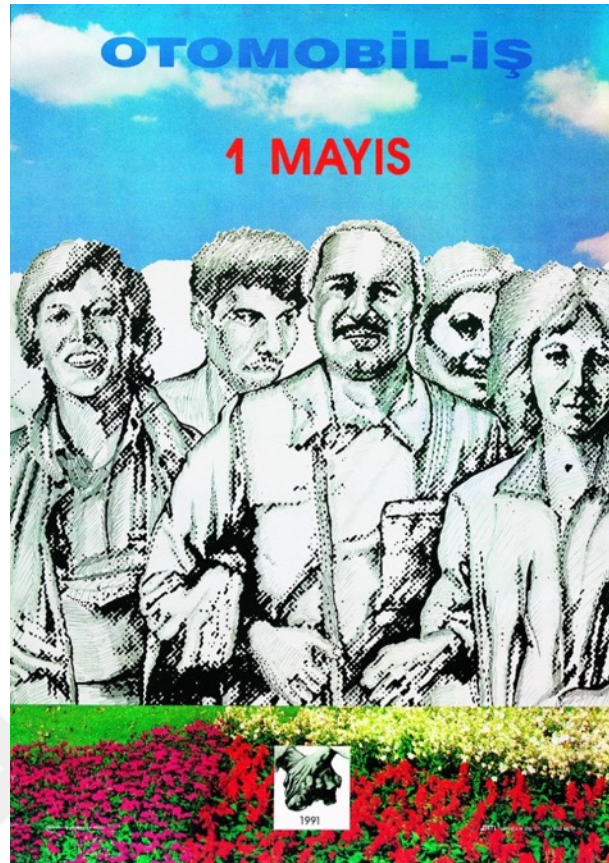


Figure 5.40 1991 DISK /OTOMOBİL-İŞ Size 40 x 57 cm Design Unknown Edition Artı Yayıncılık

(Figure 5.40) The poster is the 1 May image published in the Otomobil İş newspaper supplement owned by DISK in 1991. It can be said that the technique of photography is mainly used in the visual. Since the symbolic meaning of the poster is not constituted by a process of movement, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The symbolic expression process of human figures seen as participants can be determined by their “*symbolic attributives*”. A community is formed by bringing figures from various classes and ages together. Unlike the posters before 1980, it can be seen that each figure is associated with an identity in detail. These identities are organized to emphasize not only the branches of work and gender, but also their ethnic origins. For example, the worker figure at the center of the photograph is more conservative, while the second figure from the left is shown as a young man of eastern origin.

The social distance between the audience and the human figures in the participatory position is defined as the “*middle shot*”. This point of view establishes a social relationship with the participants, in other words with the human figures. It can be said that this social relationship and figures represent a mass. The power relationship between the human figures and the audience is determined as “*low angle*”. The low angle enables the human figures to establish a power relationship on the viewer, so that the human figures representing a mass society represent strong identities. The flowers of different colours at the bottom of the poster are formed on a “*perspective*” plane; these structures, defined as subjective visuals, create a sense of depth on the viewer. The aim of a subjective arrangement on the poster is to show the human figures as if they were rising from the horizon. The sky seen at the top of the poster is used as a trend of “*drawing attention*”, the sky is made up of white clouds, in accordance with the spring season. These clouds are not created as a threat or to darken the visual, but as an auxiliary element in the regeneration of nature.

Although the holding hands figure in the square in the lower middle part of the image does not provide an organic harmony with the poster, and the image here can be seen on the cover of the book “Unissez-vous! L'histoire inachevée de l'unité syndicale” (4th Edition, 1995) It is likely that this image was taken from the cover of one of the previous editions of the book and placed on the poster.



Figure 5.41 1992 DISK / OTOMOBİL-İŞ Size 41 x 57 cm Design Unknown Edition Yazır Yayıncılık

(Figure 5.41) The poster is a 1 May image published in the Otomobil İş newspaper supplement owned by DISK in 1992. The human community, which can be seen at the bottom of the poster, is not shown in action towards a target. The direction of movement of figures is depicted from top to bottom. The figures are in a process of movement for themselves, so they represent the “non-operational” structure. The social distance established between the audience and the community is defined as “close shot”, thus the social distance established between the audience and the figures represents a close relationship. The power relationship between the community and the audience is defined at “eye level”. The eye level establishes an equality relationship between the audience and the figures. The figures displayed as a community in the poster represent the society, and the fact that the power relationship established with eye level represents equality reflects the class relationship established with society. The social distance established with the close shot does not

show the community as a mass. It lets viewers focus on different identities to show different political and intellectual structures.

The bird figure at the center of the poster is arranged in an abstract structure and the direction of movement is not shown, so conceptual visual analysis will be conducted. In the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”, the dove figure is composed of blue and white colours, this form and colours symbolize the concepts of peace and democracy. Also the wings of the dove have stripes of different colours. Different colours represent different identities as well as different political and intellectual views. The dove figure used as the symbol of peace is shown by the blue outer contour. The existence of all these in peace shows that the demand is shifted towards the theme of peace where the lines and movements are very different from the class struggle.

The main slogan used at the top of the poster is parallel to these narratives. The main slogan “Her türlü ayrımcılığa, eşitsizliğe, sömürüye ve ırkçılığa hayır! Barış, dostluk ve dayanışmaya evet!” (No to discrimination, inequality, exploitation and racism! Yes to peace, friendship and solidarity!) (sign), is at the top of the poster, below the “OTOMOBİL-İŞ” caption (signifier). The concepts of peace, friendship and solidarity demanded against the current conditions (discrimination, inequality, exploitation and racism) are supported by the dove figure and the colours used as symbols of peace (signified). “Özgür ve yasal 1 Mayıs’lara!” (To free and legal 1 Mays!) (sign) is shown in the red “1” caption (signifier). “1” refers to a demand for the legal status of 1 May, by raising from the community.



Figure 5.42 1993 DİSK, OTOMOBİL-İŞ, EĞİTİM-İŞ, EĞİT-SEN, TÜM BEL-SEN, TÜM MALİYE-SEN, TÜM ENERJİ-SEN, TÜM YARGI-SEN, TÜM HAVA-SEN, TÜM HABER-SEN, TARIM-SEN, DEMİRYOL-SEN, OR KAM-SEN, MADEN-SEN, SOSYAL HİZMET-SEN, TÜM SOSYAL-SEN, YAPI YOL-SEN
Size 66 x 48 cm Design Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.42) The poster is the “1 May” image produced by the DİSK, OTOMOBİL-İŞ, EĞİTİM-İŞ, EĞİT-SEN, TÜM BEL-SEN, TÜM MALİYE-SEN, TÜM ENERJİ-SEN, TÜM YARGI-SEN, TÜM HAVA-SEN, TÜM HABER-SEN, TARIM-SEN, DEMİRYOL-SEN, OR KAM-SEN, MADEN-SEN, SOSYAL HİZMET-SEN, TÜM SOSYAL-SEN, YAPI YOL-SEN unions in 1993. The poster is formed by the figures that are side by side in a single plane on a dark blue background. The visual is designed in a horizontal position unlike other “1 May” posters. In the poster, the direction of movement is determined from right to left and human figures are shown in a process of movement for themselves. These structures represent the process of “non-operational” movement. The symbolic expression of human figures can be explained in the process of “symbolic suggestive”. The figures are shown in a silhouette structure and the colours of the forms are created with an arrangement that refers to the colours of the rainbow. While figures can be expressed as representing individuals who have come together with different colour schemes,

there is no class identity structure. The social distance established with the human figures that make up the interactional meaning is defined as "*distance shot*". The "*distance shot*" represents a non-personal relationship. Human figures are shown with "profile *angle*". This perspective excludes the viewer from the expression. In other words, the viewer cannot make a connection with the figures. The background is arranged in a dark blue colour in the process of "*symbolic suggestive*". The blue colour as the symbol of sky can also be seen as a symbol of freedom. At the same time, the fact that blue forms different colours by entering into the figures can represent the determination of the colours of everyone by taking different shares from this atmosphere of freedom. In addition, the formation of other colours that determine this atmosphere can be considered as a secondary meaning. The visual does carry a class emphasis not only with its figures, but also with this secondary meaning.

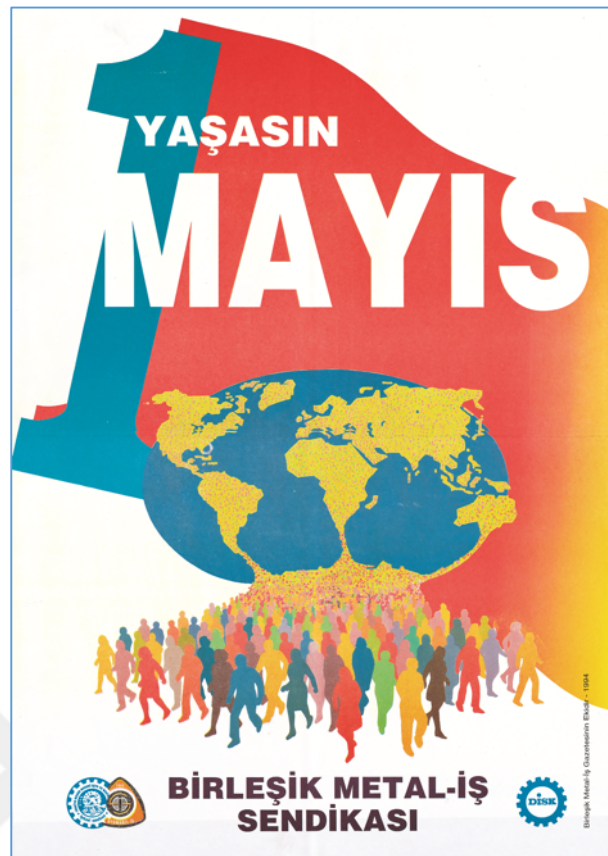


Figure 5.43 1994 DİSK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ
Size 48.5 x 68.5 cm Design Unknown Edition Yazır Yayıncılık

(Figure 5.43) The poster is the “1 May” image published in the newspaper supplement of the DİSK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ trade union in 1994. Human figures made of different colours have been shown in different directions in motion. The figures represent a “non-operational” structure because they are in the process of movement for themselves. Human figures moving in different directions are composed of different colours in terms of “symbolic attributive” and represent different identities. The social distance established with the human figures is defined as “distance shot”. This social structure represents a non-personal relationship. In the center of the poster, an ellipse-shaped world and continents of the world are shown as a “drawing attention” approach. These structures are removed from being part of a land by using fine dots in the continents and shown as areas where people are. The human figures gathered at the bottom of the earth are moving towards the ground.

Human figures are shown in a "*perspective*" plane. With this perspective, expressed as subjective visuals, the colours of the figures provide a unity and similarity towards the back. And the figures leading to the front of the image do not establish any relationship with each other in terms of both movement and colour. While the world is represented by dots resembling each other by not showing the borders of the countries, as independent nations; people are divided according to their individual identities. The perspective plane is used to show a mass structure and it also highlights the universality of 1 May.

The colour of the background, which is shown in a diagonal way from red to yellow, is arranged to "*draw attention*" to the world form and figures. In the "Yaşasın 1 MAYIS" (LONG LIVE 1 MAY) (sign), "1" is in blue, "YAŞASIN MAYIS" (LONG LIVE MAY) is in white. The slogan is above the red-yellow background and the world figure (signifier). The slogan, written in a white and blue arrangement, represents the enthusiastic celebration of 1 May (white) around the world (blue) (signified).



Figure 5.44 1995 DISK Size 45.5 x 57.5 cm Design Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.44) The poster is the 1 May image published by DISK in 1995. The symbolic meaning in the poster is determined by the human figures raising their fists in the photograph, which is shown by “*framing*” in the number “1”. With the fists raised in the air forming the movement direction, the human figures are shown in a movement for themselves. This process of movement represents the “*non-operational*” structure. The direction of movement represented by the photograph, which is shown in red in the “1”, is associated with the struggle within the “*symbolic suggestive*” process. The social relationship between the viewer and the male figure in the photograph, which is framed, is defined as “*middle shot*”. The middle shot establishes a social relationship between the viewer and the figure. This social relationship represents a mass structure. The male figure shown in the photograph and the fists raised in the air are shown with the “*frontal angle*”. The front line represents

the highest level of interaction with the audience. The caption “1 May” is arranged on the red background colour in yellow and used to "draw attention". The caption “BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY, STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY), which is arranged in black under the ”1 MAYIS" (1 MAY), is shown as the representative of the disk. The slogan “EMEĞİMİZ, EKMEĞİMİZ, GELECEĞİMİZ İÇİN...” (FOR OUR LABOUR, FUTURE, BREAD AND BUTTER...) (sign), centered on the “1” and blue background, is positioned with white and blue shading (signifier). The use of slogan in white represents a positive judgement, while it represents an individual message rather than a class demand.



Figure 5.45 1996 DİSK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ Size 50 x 68 cm Design Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.45) The poster is the 1 May image published in the newspaper supplement of the DİSK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ trade union in 1996. In the poster, symbolic meaning is not created in a process of movement. Symbolic meaning will be determined by conceptual visual analysis. The world map forming the symbolic structure, and on it, the flowers created in different colours are seen. In terms of “symbolic attributive”, flowers can be associated with spring, while showing different sizes of flowers represents different identities. Symbolic structures represent the universal dimension of different identities when the world is considered as a whole with flowers of different colours and sizes. In the process of “symbolic suggestive” on the poster, the background colour was formed with the transition from

red to blue. The blue colour represents the sky and freedom while red can be associated with struggle.

“Yaşasın 1 mayıs” (Long Live 1 May) (sign) is shown in red at the top of the world figure (signifier). While the slogan generally represents the call for 1 May, red can be associated with struggle. The slogan “Çiçeklerle donatacağız tüm Dünya meydanlarını” (We will decorate all squares around the world with flowers) is arranged in yellow as three lines at the bottom of the world figure (signifier). The holistic meaning of the world figure shows parallelism with the slogan in terms of content and design. Writing in three lines and arrangement of yellow on the red background creates a contrast visual expression (signified).

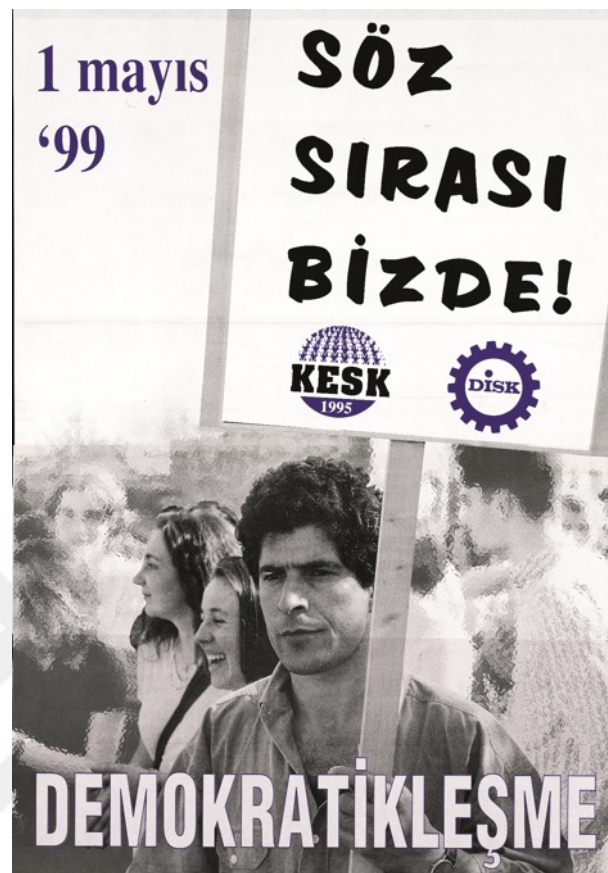


Figure 5.46 1999 DİSK, KESK Design Unknown Size 48 x 68.5 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.46) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DİSK and KESK in 1999. In the poster, symbolic meaning is created within a process of movement. The direction of movement is determined by the banner in the hand of the male figure positioned at the “center” of the poster. The figures are in a process of movement for themselves, so they represent the “non-operational” structure. The male figure at the “center” of the poster and the figures consisting of men and women in the background (“information value of the edge”) represent a young community in terms of “symbolic attributive”, and it can be observed with the social distance established as “close shot”. The expression power of the community on the audience has been determined at “eye level”, and this perspective establishes an equality relationship

between the audience and the community. The “drawing attention” approach has been demonstrated by focusing on the community, with a male and two female figures being deblurred. The other figures entering the frame are shown in a blurry way with the technique of photography.

“SÖZ SIRASI BİZDE” (IT IS OUR TURN TO SPEAK) (sign) is arranged in three lines on a white background with a bold black font on the banner (signifier). The slogan creates a strong visual effect in formal way; and in the intellectual sense, it reflects the demand of the young people to have the right to express their own ideas and thoughts (signified).

“DEMOKRATİKLEŞME” (DEMOCRATIZATION) (sign) is positioned in a horizontal position in off-white colour at the bottom of the poster. As a “*drawing attention*” approach, the text is arranged with a dark blue outer contour, while the “KESK” and “DISK” logo and “1 mayıs ‘99” (1 May 99) are arranged in the same colour (signifier). This arrangement constitutes the judgement that democratic rights and freedoms can be gained by giving the young people the right to speak in the struggle area opened by 1 May and organized under the roof of DISK and KESK (signified).



Figure 5.47 2000 DİSK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ
Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 48 x 67.5 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.47) The poster is the 1 May poster produced by DİSK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ in 2000. The poster shows that a group of human figures turn their back to the sun and raise their hands in the air. The direction of movement of people is towards the viewer. Human figures have been shown in a process of movement for themselves, which is defined as a “*non-operational*” structure. The symbolic structure of the community can be determined by the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. In the hands of the figures forming the community, flags of different nations are seen including the Turkish flag; with this sign, the community gains an international identity. The feet of the community are depicted towards the viewer, which indicates that they turn their backs to the sun. The social distance between the human society and the audience has been identified as “*distance shot*”. The "distance

shot" represents a non-personal relationship. This detection is supported by a black silhouette of the community. The “*symbolic suggestive*” process, which is established with the sun figure on the horizon, can be expressed as follows: it is seen that the sun illuminates the dark areas in the composition. With this inference, it can be stated that sunrise is depicted. The “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) caption, which is displayed in red, represents the struggle within the process of “symbolic attributive”.

The “BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ SENDİKASI” (union's name) (sign) is arranged in turquoise colour on the black background where the human figures are shown as silhouettes (signifier). The text is shown in the same colour as the union logo and visual expression on the black background is highlighted (signified).



Figure 5.48 2002 DİSK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.48) The poster is the 1 May image published by DISK in 2002. The pattern designed by Orhan Taylan in 1976 was used without any changes. This pattern used by DISK on May 1st in 1976-1977 was also used in 2002 in a similar way. The process of movement on poster is illustrated by hands holding a red circle. The falling colourful flower forms show that the direction of movement is upward. In the process of movement, no action is seen towards a target, so the process of movement can be defined as “non-operational” structure. The hands shown in dark tones of the outer lines on the poster represent the worker identity based on hand labour in terms of “symbolic attributive”. The red circle, which says “1 MAY” in it, represents the world by showing it with latitudes and longitudes. Flower figures of red colour tones represent the spring season that can be associated with renewal. The depiction of the world form in red in the process of “symbolic suggestive” establishes a relationship between the concept of struggle and the world.

“BİRLİK MÜCADELE DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY STRUGGLE SOLIDARITY) (sign) slogan is placed in red on the right side of the DISK caption (signifier). The slogan is the official slogan of DISK (signified). The slogan "BARIŞ, ÖZGÜRLÜK, DEMOKRASİ” (PEACE, FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY) (sign) is placed in red on the left side of the DISK caption (signifier). Although the slogan is identical in form with the DISK slogan and the world form; the judgement, which constitutes the general expression of the poster in the intellectual sense, and that the world can flourish with the labour struggle, contradicts the slogan. Massive democratic demands are expressed in the slogan when visualizing the world's ability to flourish with class achievements (signified).



Figure 5.49 2003 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 48.5 x 69 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.49) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2003. In the process of movement, the direction of movement is determined from left to right. The movement of the bird figure towards the DISK's logo makes the DISK's logo a target. The poster, where the target is identified as the DISK's logo, represents the “operational” process. In the poster, the symbolic expression is shown with three different structures. The hands and arms reaching up from the bottom of the poster in a “framed” way are shown in two different colours. In the process of “symbolic attributive” these colours represent people of different identities. Three barbed wire, shown diagonally in the center of the poster, represents an obstacle to something or a situation. The bird figure shown at the top represents the dove in terms of “symbolic attributive” and the olive branch is seen in the mouth of the dove. And the dove

shown with the olive branch can be associated with the concepts of peace and freedom. Barbed wire divides the visual structure into two in the poster: the dove figure is behind the barbed wire and the hands shown in different colours are front. This visual arrangement created with “*perspective*” plane is described as subjective visuals. By the dove's action towards DISK, which symbolizes peace and democracy, the subjective structure of the barbed wire constitutes a judgement that these concepts can be realized by turning towards DISK. While it is emphasized that the concepts of peace and democracy can be gained by turning to DISK, it is also implicated that the people who are not under the roof of DISK will be excluded from these gains.

The slogan “Barış, demokrasi, özgürlük” (Peace, democracy, freedom) is written in white and with black outer contour at the top of the “1 MAYIS” (1 May) (signified). The outer contour of the text associated with the colour of the barbed wire in formal sense creates a power of expression that supports the concepts of “democracy, peace and freedom”.



Figure 5.50 2004 DİSK / KESK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 48.5 x 69 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.50) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DİSK / KESK in 2004.

The background of the poster is red and a lighter red tone is used in the center of the poster to "draw attention". The pattern on the poster, designed by Orhan Taylan in 1976, was used without any changes. The process of movement on poster is illustrated by hands holding a red circle. The falling colourful flower forms show that the direction of movement is upward. In the process of movement, no action is seen towards a target, so the process of movement is defined as "non-operational" structure. The hands shown in dark tones of the outer lines on the poster represent the worker identity based on hand labour in terms of "symbolic attributive". The red circle, which says "1 MAY" in it, represents the world by showing it with latitudes and longitudes. Flower figures of red colour tones represent the spring season that can be associated with renewal. The depiction of the world form in red in the process of

“*symbolic suggestive*” establishes a relationship between the concept of struggle and the world. The flower arrangement, supported by the worker and labourer emphasis created by hand figures representing the working class, constitutes a judgement that the world can be beautified by the struggle for labour.

The caption “BİRLİK MÜCADELE VE DAYANIŞMA İÇİN” (FOR UNITY, STRUGGLE AND SOLIDARITY) (sign) is arranged in yellow on the dark brown background at the top of the world figure (signifier). With this arrangement, the slogan was intended to "draw attention". The “UNITY, STRUGGLE AND SOLIDARITY”, which is used as the official slogan of DISK, has been transformed into a call by integrating with the 1 MAYIS (1 MAY) caption within the figure of the world. “Savaşa, işgale ve sömürüye karşı” (Against war, occupation and exploitation) (sign) is written in white at the top of the poster (signifier). The text is shown as the front text in the creation of meaning, so it is written smaller and in lower letters than the "FOR UNITY, STRUGGLE AND SOLIDARITY" caption. In the intellectual sense, two captions are conditionally bound to the opposition.

The logos of “DISK” and “KESK” are placed at the bottom left and bottom right of the poster. And the text colour is white (signifier). The depiction of the logos in white is associated with the text “Sgainst war, occupation and exploitation”. This relationship constitutes the argument that war, occupation and exploitation can be resolved with the struggle to be created under the roof of DISK and KESK (shown).



Figure 5.51 2005 **DISK** Pattern Unknown Design **Rauf Kösemen** Size **47.5 x 68 cm** Edition **Unknown**

(Figure 5.51) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2005. The poster does not include a structure representing the movement process. Therefore, symbolic meaning will be determined by conceptual visual analysis. The visual effect on the poster is determined by blue and red colours. In the process of “*symbolic suggestive*”, the blue colour can be associated with concepts of democracy and freedom while the red colour represents the struggle. The use of red and blue colours in the poster creates a contrast effect and “*draws attention*”. The upper and lower right corners of the background of the poster are “*framed*” with an oval shape. This frame format represents a new visual tendency in a sense rather than constituting a single visual expression power. Positioning the DISK logo in an oval shape in the upper right corner is for “*drawing attention*” to its corporate identity.

“HAYDİ 1 MAYIS'A” (LET'S CELEBRATE 1 MAY) (sign) is arranged on a white banner on the red background (signifier). This red-white arrangement of the text is for "*drawing attention*", too. The text that is brought to the fore functions as the primary call (signified).

“İŞSİZLİĞE YOKSULLUĞA BASKIYA VE SAVAŞA KARŞI” (AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY, OPPRESSION AND WAR) (sign) is arranged on the blue background, with extended forms visible in certain parts of the letters so that they interact with the banner at the bottom (signifier). This slogan describes the ideological content of the first call. Against unemployment, poverty, oppression and war; a 1 May call has been made (signified).

The DISK's logo (sign), which is the indicator of the institutional structure, is placed in white on the upper right side of the poster, not on the bottom of the poster as usual (signifier). The overall design of the poster, it can be seen that the trade union identity is in an ideological change and is beginning to create a new design orientation (shown).



Figure 5.52 2005 DISK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ
Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size 34 x 49 cm Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.52) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK / BİRLEŞİK METAL in 2005. The process of movement in the poster is formed by four different arms holding each other from the wrist. The direction of movement is set from left to right. The arms represent a “non-operational” structure because they are in a process of movement for themselves. The visual form of expression created by the arms holding each other can be associated with the concepts of unity and solidarity within the process of “symbolic attributive”. On the red round form placed in the center of the symbolic expression created by four different arm arrangement, the latitudes and longitudes can be seen, and this structure represents the world in terms of “symbolic attributive”. The arrangement of four different arms holding each other from the wrist is shown in a “framed” way in a square form. The use of frame shows the arms

starting from the elbow. So, it “*draws attention*” to the movement of the arms and the world figure in the center. The “*information value of the center and edge*” can be expressed in this arrangement as follows; the red world figure, which is placed in the “*center*” of the arm figures and which says “1 MAYIS 2005” (1 MAY, 2005), interacts with the arm figures around it. The “information value of the center and edge” creates the judgement that the 1 May Labour Day will be celebrated in unity and struggle all over the world. The background of the poster is formed by multiplication the arrangement of four different arm figures in a “perspective” plane. The underlying forms are made visible by making the blue colour transparent on the background, and the arrangement of the forms as subjective visuals aims to “draw attention” to the dynamic structure that is created.

“BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY, STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY) (sign) is arranged in red, horizontal and vertical positions around the square showing the hand figures (signifier). The text supports the arrangement of four hand figures in terms of visual expression and form and content. While writing it in red can be associated with the concept of struggle, it supports the concepts such as unity and struggle that hand figures create as visual expressions (signified).

The caption “HAYDİ 1 MAYIS'A” (LET'S CELEBRATE 1 MAY) (sign) is written in dark blue under the square form showing the arm figures (signifier). The text in the same colour as the DISK logo represents the 1 May call for celebrating under the roof of DISK (signified).

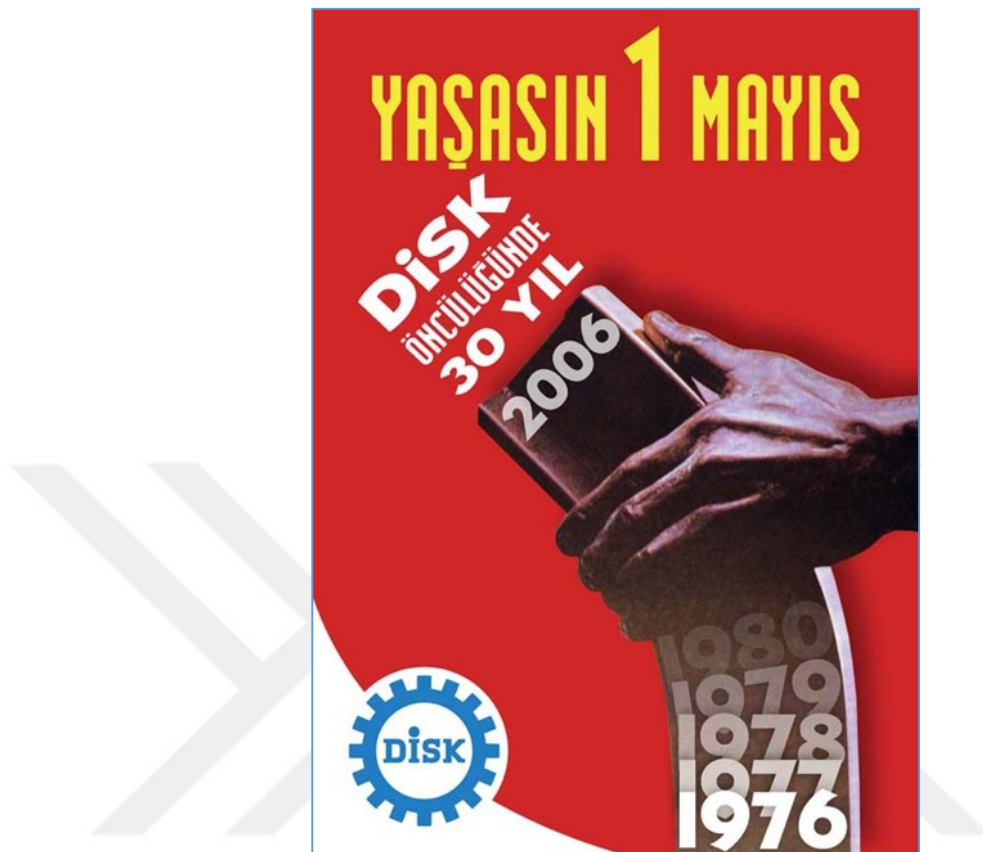


Figure 5.53 2006 **DISK** Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.53) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2006. The process of movement in the poster is formed by the hand figure lifting a black object saying "2006" on it with a spiral movement from the bottom to the top. The movement that does not create an action towards a target represents a “*non-operational*” structure because it is in a process of movement for itself. The depiction of the human hand in a bony way and black in terms of “*symbolic attributive*” constitutes the judgement that it represents the working class. The black object with “2006” on it represents a calendar in terms of “*symbolic attributive*” as it shows the years between 1976-1980 with a spiral movement.

“YAŞASIN 1 MAYIS” (LONG LIVE 1 MAY) (sign) is arranged in yellow on the red background at the top of the poster. The number “1” is written in larger font than the other words (signifier). The text, which is a call for celebration, is formally written in yellow on the red background and has similar colour characteristics with the USSR flag. This approach shows the yellow and red tones traditionally used by the socialist doctrine (USSR) (signified).

The “DİSK ÖNCÜLÜĞÜNDE 30 YIL” (30 YEARS UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF DISK) (sign) is arranged in three lines on the red background in the upper part of the calendar held by the worker's hand. The single line format of “DISK” and “30 YIL” is arranged for “drawing attention” (signified).

The logo of “DISK” (sign) is arranged in blue and placed inside the red spiral. The display of the DISK logo on a red spiral is associated with the worker figure holding the calendar arranged in a spiral structure. The arrangement of the logo reflects the design orientation of DISK as described in the Figure 5.51. It also "draws attention" by creating a contrast with the DISK's logo and the background colour.



Figure 5.54 2007 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.54) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2007. The symbolic meaning in the poster is illustrated by the symbolic structure. The two arrows placed in the center of the poster are arranged upwards and rightwards. Arrows showing two different demands in the poster for 1 May, 2007 represent the two political goals that DISK foresees in terms of “symbolic attributive”. Around the arrows shown, the black contour is used to “draw attention”. In addition, the upward arrow is shown on the other arrow. With this approach it is again intended to highlight the text that is written in the arrow in order to “draw attention” to it.

The logo of “DISK” (sign) is arranged in blue and placed inside the red spiral. The display of the DISK's logo on a red spiral ground reflects the design orientation

of the DISK at that time as described in the *Figure 5.51* (signified). DISK's logo also "draws attention" by creating a contrast with the background colour.

“1 MAYIS 1977’NİN 30. YIL DÖNÜMÜNDE İKİLİ GÖREV!” (DOUBLE DUTY ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF 1 MAY 1977!) (sign) text is arranged in white on the red background at the top of the poster (signifier). Here, visual orientation is made to the two arrow symbols, which are shown in the commemoration of the events that took place on May 1, 1977 (signified).

“1 MAYIS 1977 KATLİAMININ SORUMLULARI MESLİS ARAŞTIRMA KOMİSYONU KURULARAK AÇIĞA ÇIKARILSIN, YARGILANSIN!” (THE PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1 MAY, 1977 MASSACRE SHALL BE FOUND AND BROUGHT TO TRIAL BY THE PARLIAMENTARY INVESTIGATION COMMISSION!) (sign) text is written in white in the upward arrow on the green background. The arrow is also arranged to be on the other arrow (signifier). In terms of visual expression, showing the arrow at the top reflects the upper demand. In the text, there is a demand of DISK for the current government to find and prosecute the responsables for the events taking place 30 years ago (signified).

“1 MAYIS 2007 EMEĞİN BAYRAMI OLARAK ‘RESMİ TATİL’ İLAN EDİLSİN” (MAY 1, 2007 SHALL BE AN OFFICIAL HOLIDAY AS THE FEAST OF LABOUR) (sign) text is written in white and in the rightward arrow on the red background. The arrow is also arranged to be under the other arrow (signifier). In terms of visual expression, showing the arrow at the bottom reflects the lower

demand. The text includes a demand of DISK for the 1 May 2007 to be an official holiday (signified).





Figure 5.55 2008 DİSK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.55) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DİSK in 2008. The symbolic meaning in the poster is set by the symbolic structure. At the top of the poster, the “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) phrase, which forms the border of the red and blue background colours, is in white with a partly fragmentary text arrangement. The effect of optical arrangement with scattered dots on “1 MAYIS” is evaluated with Gestalt⁴³ approach and makes “1 MAYIS” caption perceivable. The arrangement of the caption in this way is shown as incomplete formation in the “*symbolic suggestive*” process. This form of arrangement can be seen as representative of a

⁴³ The Gestalt theory, which defines visual perception, is based on the principle that “*the whole is more meaningful than the sum of the constituent parts*” (Tanyeli & Sözen, 1996: 237). When the principles of Gestalt theory are considered one by one; the figure is the part where people while the background is the part that is not paid attention behind the figure. The proximity principle states that objects that are close to each other in terms of time and space tend to be perceived in groups. Similarity principle emphasizes that similar stimuli in terms of shape, colour, texture, gender and many aspects, tend to be grouped and perceived together. The completion principle explains that incomplete events, shapes and sounds tend to be perceived by completing. The continuity principle states that points, lines, and stimuli that go in the same direction tend to be grouped and perceived together. The simplicity principle explains that stimuli tend to be perceived in their simplest way (Graham, 2008).

situation in which the 1 May Labour Day celebrated under the roof of DISK in 2008 has not actually completed its formation.

“BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY, STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY) (sign) is written in white on the blue background at the top of the poster (signifier). The text is the corporate slogan of DISK. The slogan is positioned on blue, the corporate colour of DISK, and with this approach it is aimed to "draw attention" to the visual identity of DISK. A white stripe positioned in the center of the poster divides the middle part into two parts. “SAĞLIĞIMIZI, EMEKLİLİĞİMİZİ, KIDEM TAZMİNATLARIMIZI, DEMOKRATİK HAK VE ÖZGÜRLÜKLERİMİZİ, İNSANCA YAŞAMA HAKKIMIZI, SAVUNDUK, SAVUNUYORUZ, SAVUNACAĞIZ!” (WE HAVE DEFENDED, WE STILL DEFEND AND WE WILL DEFEND OUR HEALTH, OUR RETIREMENT, OUR SEVERANCE PAY, OUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, OUR FREEDOMS AND OUR RIGHT TO LIVE HUMANLY!) (sign) is written in white and in nine lines right-aligned on the left side of the stripe. The mass demands expressed in the text are arranged in a didactic visual expression format. The purpose of this arrangement is to increase the emphasis on each demand (signified). The text “BAĞIMSIZLIK, DEMOKRASİ, ÖZGÜRLÜK, EŞİTLİK, BARIŞ” (INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, EQUALITY, PEACE) is written in white and in five lines left-aligned on the right side of the stripe. The democratic demands expressed in the text are arranged in a didactic visual expression format. The purpose of this arrangement is to increase the emphasis on each concept (signified). The DISK's corporate logo (sign) is placed at the bottom of the poster, under the white stripe, centered in white (signifier). The visual counterpart of the corporate logo, which is

under the text arrangement that is divided by the white stripe, represents that democratic demands expressed will be realized under the roof of DISK.





Figure 5.56 2009 DISK Pattern Tan Oral Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.56) The poster was published for 1 May event by DISK in 2008. The process of movement that forms the symbolic meaning is created by the arms shining a flash light from right to left, coming out of the white area which can be seen on the right side of the image. Weapons are shown against the target-oriented lights. This structure, which constitutes the process of “operational” movement, is based on light and dark contrast. The light-dark relationship established through the flash light and the weapon is created on the idea that the light will prevail over the darkness in the process of “symbolic suggestive”. With this visual arrangement, the contrast of black and white colours “draw attention”.

“1 Mayıs 77 Katliamı” (The Massacre of May 1, 77) (sign) is written in red on the top of the poster (signifier); “AYDINLATILSIN!” (IT SHALL BE REVEALED!) (sign) is written in white under the “1 Mayıs 77 Katliamı” (signifier). In the poster, two different discourses are arranged to represent a single meaning; the clarification of the events that took place on May 1, 1977 is established through the light-dark relation and supported by the visual arrangement. In terms of visual expression, the phrase “1 Mayıs 77 Katliamı” is depicted in red and represents the struggle for the clarification of the situation. “AYDINLATILSIN!” is shown in white in capitals and represents a call to the present situation and a symbolic expression. “Taksim Emekçilere Açılsın” (Taksim Shall Be Opened to the Labourers” (sign) caption is written in red under the “AYDINLATILSIN!” caption (signifier). The text, as a demand, is arranged in red in terms of visual expression. This approach represents the struggle needed in order to celebrate the 1 May Labour Day in Taksim. The DISK's corporate logo (sign) is arranged at the top of the image, and the wheel part is arranged in red and the inner part is in white (signifier). The colour scheme of the DISK's logo is associated with the “1 Mayıs 77 Katliamı” and “Taksim Emekçilere Açılsın” expressions, which constitute the opinion that the demands can be realized within the trade union struggle area opened by DISK.



Figure 5.57 2010 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.57) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2010. The hand figure, which determines the symbolic meaning, is not shown in a direction of movement, so the representation of symbolic structures will be determined by conceptual visual analysis. The outer contour of the hand figure is formed with thick black lines and different colours are used. The hand figure, which is often shown as a fist in terms of “symbolic attributive”, represents the struggle of the working class. The “1” caption to the left of the hand figure represents the head of the hammer, and a symbolic expression is created between the fist and the hammer. The “MAYIS” (MAY) on the right side of the hand figure is associated with the hammer and the hand figure in terms of “symbolic attributive”. And the visual expression of the 1

May Labour Day is created. This arrangement can be seen in the USSR's 1 May poster in 1980⁴⁴ in a similar way.

The text “YILMADIK DİRENDİK KAZANDIK” (WE HAVEN'T LOST HEART, WE HAVE STOOD UP, AND WE HAVE WON) (sign) is written in red and blue in three lines at the top of the poster (signifier). To acquire the demand to celebrate 1 May in Taksim Square, which DISK expresses in its 1 May posters, constitutes the intellectual expression of the article. The fact that DISK is the institution that carries out this struggle and the expression “YILMADIK DİRENDİK” is blue, which is the corporate colour of DISK, shows the current struggle. The expression “KAZANDIK” complements the slogan in red which is associated with the working class and socialism. At this point, it is emphasized that the DISK's struggle is a gain for socialism and the working class. “1 MAYIS'DA 1 MAYIS ALANINDAYIZ!” (WE ARE AT THE 1 MAY AREA ON 1 MAY) (sign) is arranged in black under the “YILMADIK DİRENDİK KAZANDIK” (signifier). The text is arranged in black in terms of visual expression to be separated from the other text above. Due to the opening of Taksim Square for 1 May celebrations, a call is made to emphasize the tradition of Taksim Square by calling the Taksim Square "1 May area". The DISK's corporate logo (sign) is arranged at the top of the "MAYIS" caption, and the wheel part is arranged in red and the inner part is in white (signifier). The colour arrangement in the DISK's logo is associated with “1 MAYIS” and “KAZANDIK” expressions, and it is aimed to emphasize the gain for the celebration of 1 May Labour Day in Taksim.

⁴⁴ Also see: <http://sendika62.org/2018/05/gecmisten-gunumuze-dunyanin-dort-yanindan-1-mayis-afisleri-258880>



Figure 5.58 2011 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.58) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2011. Since there is no visual structure showing any direction of movement, it will be possible to identify the symbolic meaning through representations of symbolic structures and conceptual visual analysis. On the left side of the image, a form of red, purple, green and orange is formed with “1” numbers. This form represents a star in terms of “symbolic attributive”. The star form, created in different colours, represents the gathering of people of different identities for the 1 May event organized under the roof of DISK. “1 MAYIS, 1 MİLYON, TAKSİM!” (1 MAY, 1 MILLION, TAKSİM!) (sign) is associated with star figures consisting of “1” at the top of the poster. “1”, “MAYIS” and “MİLYON” words are not written formally by a typefont, but are arranged in a structure in which partial spaces can be seen. The text “TAKSİM”, on the other hand, is formally arranged with a typefont (signifier). This

sign represents an expression that May 1, 2011 event is intended to be celebrated in the Taksim with a million people from different identities (signified).

“MİLYONLAR AÇ MİLYONLAR İŞSİZ” (MILLIONS ARE HUNGRY MILLIONS ARE UNEMPLOYED) (sign) is arranged in red at the bottom of the image (signifier). “İŞTE KAPİTALİST SİSTEMİNİZ” (THIS IS YOUR CAPITALIST SYSTEM) (sign) is arranged in white under “MİLYONLAR AÇ MİLYONLAR İŞSİZ” caption (signifier). The expression, which can be seen as a criticism of the unemployment and unfair distribution of income created by the capitalist economic system, and the red colour of “MİLYONLAR AÇ MİLYONLAR İŞSİZ” represents a negative judgement in terms of visual expression. The white text “İŞTE KAPİTALİST SİSTEMİNİZ” is designed to emphasize the criticism of the capitalist system which is shown as the cause of the negative judgement.

The DISK's corporate logo (sign) is arranged at the bottom left of the image, and the wheel part is arranged in red and the inner part is in white (signifier). Two different discourses are associated with red colour of the wheel of DISK. The demonstration of "1 MAYIS" in red shows that the celebration of 1 May event with a million people of different identities will be realized under the roof of DISK. The phrase “MİLYONLAR AÇ MİLYONLAR İŞSİZ” which is again associated with red colour constitutes the judgement that the current situation can be overcome by the gains that DISK will provide.



Figure 5.59 2012 DISK / KESK / TMMOB / TTB
Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.59) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK / KESK / TMMOB / TTB in 2012. The direction of the movement in the poster is determined at the eye level of the two human figures. Human figures forming the movement process are shown in a process of movement for themselves, which is why they are defined as “*non-operational*” structures. One of the human figures forming the movement process, the figure with orange helmet and hammer in its hand, can be defined as a mining worker in the process of “*symbolic attributive*”. The figure holding a pencil can be said to be a student in relation to education. The social distance established with the figures is defined as “*close shot*”. This approach represents a close relationship between the figures and the audience. The close relationship between the audience and the figures is supported by the “*frontal angle*”. This point of view

establishes a high level relationship between the figures and the audience. The power relationship between the audience and the figures is defined as “*eye level*”. This point of view establishes an equality relationship between the audience and the figures. The fact that the background colour of the poster is red and the “1 MAYIS” (1 MAY) and “TAKSİM’deyiz!” (We are in TAKSİM!) captions are in yellow is arranged in order to “*draw attention*”. Also Soviet Socialist struggle is emphasized by associating the colours with the USSR flag.

In the upper left corner of the poster, the “1” number in yellow (sign) rises below the worker figure with an antiquant effect caused by the spaces in the caption (signifier). The rise of “1” below the worker figure is associated with the “1 May” Workers' and Labourers' Day. The antique image of the “1 MAYIS” caption represents a visual expression of tradition. This tradition covers the workers' and labourers' festival, which has been celebrated under the roof of DISK since 1976 (signified).

“TAKSİM’deyiz!” (sign) caption is written in yellow below the “BİRLİK MÜCADELE DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY STRUGGLE SOLIDARITY) (signifier). The visual relationship, which is organized in the same colour as “1 MAYIS”, is a call for 1 May (signified).

“BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA” (sign) is arranged in white under the “1 MAYIS” (signifier). The text used as the corporate slogan of DISK is written in the same colour as “DISK, KESK, TMMOB, TTB” and a visual relationship is established.

“DISK, KESK, TMMOB, TTB” (sign) captions are in white and right-aligned with other writings on the right side of the poster (signifier). The names of the unions and professional organizations gathered under the roof of DISK are organized in the same colour as the slogan “BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA”. This approach means that it is a common call of the working class and professional organizations.





Figure 5.60 2013 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.60) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2013. The process of movement, which constitutes the symbolic meaning in the poster, is determined by the human figures and waving the flags in different colours at the bottom. The direction of movement of the flags is shown from right to left. Human figures are shown in a process of movement for themselves, which is why they are defined as “*non-operational*” structures. The flag and human figures displayed in different colours represent different identities in terms of “*symbolic attributive*”. The flags and human figures are shown on a “*perspective*” plane. Structures that can be expressed as subjective visuals represent a mass indicator.

“1 MAYIS” (1 May) (sign) is arranged on the top of the poster with a yellow and an aged image (signifier). The fact that the caption is yellow is in order to "draw attention". Also Soviet Socialist struggle is emphasized by associating the colours with the USSR flag. The aged image of “1 MAYIS” represents a visual expression for tradition. This tradition covers the workers' and labourers' festival, which has been celebrated under the roof of DISK since 1976 (signified).

The “Sömürünün, savaşın ve gericiğin kalesi” (The fortress of exploitation, war and reactionary) (sign) caption is arranged in black under the "1 MAYIS” (signifier). This sign is associated with the “TAŞERON CUMHURİYETİ’Nİ YIKACAĞIZ!” (WE WILL DESTROY THE REPUBLIC OF THE SUBCONTRACTING!), which is located on the bottom line of it. The arrangement in black in terms of visual expression represents a negative judgement (signified). “TAŞERON CUMHURİYETİ’Nİ YIKACAĞIZ!” (sign) text is arranged in white on the bottom line. The white colour arrangement of the text, as a reaction to the subcontracting structure that determines the working conditions of the workers and the labourers, is shown to be a positive judgement against the current situation (signified).

The DISK's corporate logo (sign) is arranged at the bottom right of the image, and the wheel part is arranged in red and the inner part is in white (signifier). The red background colour associated with the wheel of the DISK logo represents the area of struggle to be opened under the roof of DISK.



Şekil 5.61 2014 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.61) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2014. The process of movement that determines the symbolic meaning is determined by a hand holding a carnation with a glove, reaching out from the bottom of the poster. There is no target for the direction of movement that is determined from the bottom to the top. It is in an action for itself. Therefore, it is defined as a “*non-operational*” structure. The carnation hold with a glove symbolizes an act of mourning associated with death in terms of “*symbolic attributive*”. The glove-wearing fist sign represents the working class shown in struggle in terms of “*symbolic attributive*”.

“1 MAYIS” (1 May) (sign) is arranged on the top of the poster with a red and an aged image (signifier). That the text is arranged in red is associated with the struggle to “*draw attention*”. The aged image of “1 MAYIS” refers to the struggle for tradition in a sense (signified).

“EŞİTLİK, ÖZGÜRLÜK, BARIŞ, ADALET ve DEMOKRASİ İÇİN #DİRENİŞÇİ” (#RESISTERS FOR EQUALITY, FREEDOM, PEACE, JUSTICE and DEMOCRACY) (sign), is written in black under the “1 MAYIS” and “#DİREN” (#RESIST) part is written in red (signifier). It was written as a representative of the “Taksim Gezi Park” events that started in a period when democratic rights and freedoms were restricted day by day. The #DİRENİŞÇİ social media hashtag, which emphasizes the resistance struggle starting in June 2013, is displayed in red in terms of visual expression and associated with the 1 May Labour Festival.

The DISK's corporate logo (sign) is arranged at the bottom left of the image, and the wheel part is arranged in red and the inner part is in white (signifier). The red “1 MAYIS” and “#DİREN” captions, associated with the wheel of the DISK logo, represent the struggle area to be created under the roof of DISK.



Figure 5.62 2015 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.62) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2015. Since there is no process of movement determining the symbolic meaning, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. Six abstract human figures of different colours are seen in the flower section of the green-stemmed flower form shown in a diagonal structure on the poster. While the flower form can be associated with life in terms of “symbolic attributive”, abstract human forms that can be seen in the flower section represent different identities. In this context, the flower figure is associated with life and represents a sense of vitality and different identity structures. The red colour used as background colour is used to "draw attention" by creating a visual contrast with other design objects on the poster. Another sign of red colour highlights the concept of the struggle associated with red of the USSR flag.

“1 MAYIS” (1 May) (sign) is arranged in yellow on the red background at the bottom of the poster with an aged image (signifier). The fact that the caption is yellow is in order to "draw attention". Also Soviet Socialist struggle is emphasized by associating the colours with the USSR flag. The aged image of “1 MAYIS” represents a visual expression for tradition. This tradition covers the workers' and labourers' festival, which has been celebrated under the roof of DISK since 1976 (signified).

“İNSANCA, ÖZGÜRCE, KARDEŞÇE, YAŞAMAK İÇİN” (TO LIVE HUMANLY, FREELY, BROTHERLY) (sign) is in the middle of the "DISK" logo and “1 MAYIS” caption, arranged to be four lines in white (signifier). It is written in white in four lines in terms of visual expression. In the text, four different concepts are written with didactic writing order and the power of expression is increased (signified).

The logo of “DISK” (sign) is shown in white by aligning with other writing elements on the upper right side of the poster (signifier). The logo, which represents an institutional expression, is similar with “İNSANCA, ÖZGÜRCE, KARDEŞÇE, YAŞAMAK İÇİN” caption with regard to arrangement and colour in terms of visual expression. This indicates that the DISK is the manufacturer of the discourse (signifier).

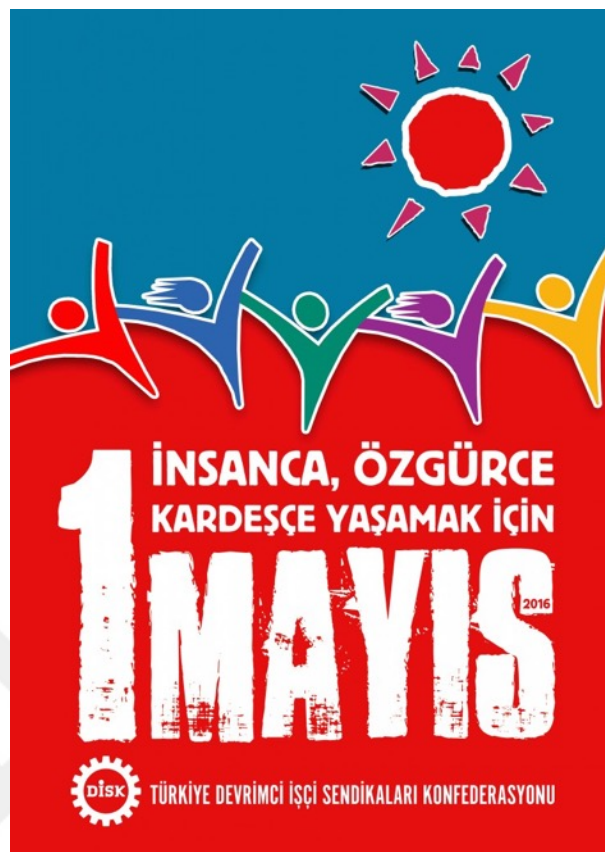


Figure 5.63 2016 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 6.63) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2016. Since there is no process of movement determining the symbolic meaning, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. Abstract human forms which are arranged with different colours that form a border between the red and blue background colour in the poster represent different identities in terms of “symbolic attributive”. The sun figure, which can be seen at the upper right of the poster, can be associated with spring's arrival and therefore, renewal. In this context, the renewal of the spring in nature is associated with people of different identities and creates a visual expression of unity and togetherness.

“1 MAYIS” (sign) is arranged in white and with an aged image above the DISK logo (signifier). The aged display of “1 MAYIS” refers to the struggle for tradition in a sense (signified).

“İNSANCA, ÖZGÜRCE, KARDEŞÇE, YAŞAMAK İÇİN” (TO LIVE HUMANLY, FREELY, BROTHERLY) (sign) is over the “1 MAYIS” caption, arranged to be two lines in white (signifier). Four different concepts in the text, written in white as two lines in terms of visual expression, are above the “MAYIS” caption and aligned with the higher “1” number (signified). It is tried to create a judgement that these demands can only be realized with 1 May Labour Day organized under the leadership of DISK (signified).

The logo of “DISK”(sign) is shown in white on the bottom part of the poster, with the name of the “Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu” (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Trade Unions", which stands for DISK. The logo, which is organized as the signature of the union, is intended to highlight the trade union identity by being associated with “İNSANCA, ÖZGÜRCE, KARDEŞÇE, YAŞAMAK İÇİN” and “1 MAYIS” captions in terms of colour.



Figure 5.64 2017 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.64) The poster is the 1 May visual produced by DISK in 2017. The pattern designed by Orhan Taylan in 1976 was used without any changes. This pattern used by DISK on May 1st in 1976-1977 was also used in this poster of 2007 in a similar way. The process of movement on poster is illustrated by hands holding a red circle. The falling colourful flower forms show that the direction of movement is upward. In the process of movement, no action is seen towards a target, so the process of movement is defined as “non-operational” structure. The hands shown in dark tones of the outer lines on the poster represent the worker identity based on hand labour in terms of “symbolic attributive”. The red circle, which says “1 MAY” in it, represents the world by showing it with latitudes and longitudes. Flower figures of red colour tones represent the spring season that can be associated with renewal. The red representation of the world form in the process of “symbolic attributive” establishes a relationship between the concepts of struggle and world. The flower

arrangement, supported by the worker and labourer emphasis created by hand figures representing the working class, constitutes a judgement that the world can be beautified by the struggle for labour.

Within the white circle form, dates from 1967 to 2017 are written in a round arrangement. On the outside of the round form, again with a round arrangement “1 MAYIS 1977 KATLIAMININ 40. YILI“ (The 40th Anniversary of the Massacre of May 1, 1977) (sign) is written in white on the blue background (signifier), and the “DİSK’İN KURULUŞUNUN 50. YILI“ (50th Anniversary of the Foundation of DISK) (sign) is written on the red background (signifier). This text shows the process of DISK's trade union activities from 1967 to 2017, and it commemorates the events of 1 May 1977, which is shown as the most important “1 May” event. The “DİSK’İN KURULUŞUNUN 50. YILI“ (sign) on the red background represents the trade union struggle shown by DISK for fifty years when it is associated with the background colour (signified). “1 MAYIS 1977 KATLIAMININ 40. YILI“ text on the blue background colour (signifier) represents a more libertarian and democratic environment of today when compared to the death-resulting violence and prohibitions of back then, when it is associated with the background colour.

“ZORBALAR KALMAZ GİDER!” (TYRANTS WON'T SURVIVE, THEY LEAVE!) (sign) is arranged at the bottom of the poster on the red background colour. “ZORBALAR” (TYRANTS) and “GİDER!” (LEAVE) words are black, “KALMAZ” (WON'T SURVIVE) is white. On the dot of the “!”, there is a design representing the DISK's 50th year (signifier). The word “KALMAZ”, in the regulation that conveys a democratic demand, is written in white to “draw attention” (signified).

The logo of “DISK” (sign) is arranged in white at the top right of the poster (signifier). The logo associated with other design objects that are in white is representative of the visual expressions in the middle (signified).





Figure 5.65 2018 DISK Pattern Unknown Design Unknown Size Unknown Edition Unknown

(Figure 5.65) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK / KESK / TMMOB / TTB in 2018. Since there is no process of movement determining the symbolic meaning, it will be possible to identify the representations of symbolic structures through conceptual visual analysis. The posters include a yellow half circle and a repetition of the slogan “BİRLİK, MÜCADELE, DAYANIŞMA” (UNITY, STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY) around it. The form, which is shown as half circle in yellow, represents the sun in terms of “symbolic attributive”. The repetition of the DISK's slogan placed around the sun represents the beam of light. In this context, the sun form, which can be associated with enlightenment, is supported by the DISK's slogan and emphasizes the concept of unity, struggle and solidarity that will come with enlightenment. The blue colour used on the background of the poster is

associated with the concepts of freedom and democracy and is used to "draw attention".

“GÜZEL GÜNLER GÖRECEĞİZ” (WE WILL SEE GOOD DAYS) (sign) is arranged in black and three lines on the right side of the sun form (signifier). Expressing a democratic demand, the text is visually associated with the sun form. This relationship and the relationship established between the good days and the enlightenment constitute the judgement that they can be provided by “unity, struggle and solidarity”.

The black stain-like form under the “GÜZEL GÜNLER GÖRECEĞİZ” text and on top of the “1 MAYIS” text (signifier) supports the “GÜZEL GÜNLER GÖRECEĞİZ” text in terms of visual expression. Supported by colour, this spot-like form represents the discourse of the “DİSK / KESK / TMMOB / TTB” institutions written in black within a white “frame” at the bottom of the poster.

5.2. Evaluation of the Findings

5.2.1. Evaluation of the DISK Posters' (1976-1980) Findings

The period, which was enacted in 1963 in the 1961's constitution and started with the Trade Unions Law, is a period of social struggle. It was stated earlier in the study that this period was a period that brought individual collective rights and freedoms in Turkey, and collective agreements, strikes and trade union rights were guaranteed by law. The 1 May posters produced by DISK, which constitute the samples of the research, were produced in the freedom environment brought by the above-mentioned constitution and the law on trade unions. 1 May was celebrated in 1976 for the first time under the roof of DISK⁴⁵. For this reason, the 1 May poster samples produced by DISK cover the years after 1976.

These posters designed between 1976-1980, will be examined with the use of social semiotics and semiotics methods in consideration of the hypothesis, assumptions and research questions of the research. Also in this section, the traces of historical, social and political dynamics in the posters will be followed. In the third part of the study, if the period covered under the title of “Trade Union Movements before 1980 in Turkey” was to be expressed briefly, it could be said that there was a libertarian atmosphere in every aspect of social life after the 1960 military coup (Man, 2009). It can be observed that the wave of social struggle, which reached its

⁴⁵ On February 13, 1976, DISK's 9th Anniversary was celebrated with a mass feast for the first time. That year, DISK became a trade union guarantee for a significant number of workers in the rising class struggle thanks to new participations and increasing trade union areas. DISK announced that it would celebrate 1 May international unity, struggle and solidarity day after an interval of nearly 50 years (Kürkçü, 1988).

peak in France in 1968, constituted the highest level of struggle in Turkey, as well⁴⁶.

In this context, the findings will be evaluated considering the social atmosphere in Turkey between the years 1976-1980.

(Figure 5.1) The poster produced by DISK / TURİZM-İŞ in 1976, took place in the international poster exhibition of the 30th anniversary of the World Confederation of Trade Unions and on the May cover of the 1979 DSF calendar, according to TÜSTAV archives (Kösemen, 2006:28). In the poster, it can be determined that the Internationalism which is active in social movements as a reflection of bipolar world policies created by US – USSR relations in Turkey is emphasized in visual analysis. The life cycle of the world workers who are shown in a struggle together in the poster, forms the visual perception of the transfer of class consciousness to the next generations. The 1 May event represents the struggle of the working class around the world in order to maintain class consciousness. The poster aims to expand and convey the class consciousness to the future generations through the struggle movement of the working class. Therefore, the ideological layers that are created in the posters, the design elements, bear the traces of the social and political structure of the period.

(Figure 5.2) The working class shown in a mass seeking for their rights in the 1 May poster published in the 1976 DISK Magazine, calls for participants for this struggle. In the poster, the perception that rights and freedoms can only be achieved after a druable mass struggle is created. The unions' and workers' sanction for strike, lockout, collective bargaining or improving working conditions can be determined in

⁴⁶ For more information, see. (Kürkçü Ertuğrul., 1988, Türkiye’de 1968, Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi, 7th Edition, p. 2097-2110, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul).

visual analysis. It is tried to express that the trade union struggle would rise with organization. The class and struggle in the social and political atmosphere of the period are also highlighted in the poster.

(Figure 5.3) The mass representing the working class in the 1 May poster published in the 1977 DISK Magazine is shown with happy faces. With this approach, the fact that creating a class-based struggle instead of personal struggle is important in the acquisition of rights and freedoms is tried to be expressed. The working class, shown in a mass structure moving out of the poster's frame, creates the perception that the struggle will continue with increasing quantity and quality. The red flowers held by the intellectual figure who approaches the worker mass with self-confident steps from a distance, are a reminder and a condolence for the events that took place on May 1, 1977. In the poster, the struggle of the working class, which is shown as mass, is also supported by other sections of society.

(Figure 5.4) The 1 May poster produced by DISK / BANK-SEN in 1977 was arranged in accordance with the pessimistic structure of the working class after the events that took place on May 1, 1977. While the pessimistic structure is shown by framed black background, sky and barbed wire; the hope and expectations for the future are represented by the red rose that out of the soil. Despite the pressure and prohibitions imposed on the working class during this period, the judiciary of the poster is that the struggle will continue even under difficult conditions. With this struggle, it is emphasized that the difficult conditions of the working class will be overcome.

(Figure 5.5) The image on the 1 May poster produced by DISK / MADEN-İŞ in 1977, it is represented that for those who lost their lives in the event of May 1, 1977, the working and labourer class need to diversify and keep the flag of struggle upright in order to make the struggle meaningful. While the diversification of the struggle flag can be considered as the expansion of the struggle area, holding the flag upright is an indicator of the continuity of the struggle for rights regardless of the current situation.

(Figure 5.6) The figure of the mine worker placed in the center of the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1977 represents the working class. The flower shown in the mouth of the worker figure and the dove shown around it represent peace. The demonstration of the dove as a silhouette along with the dark-light transition used on the background colour of the poster and the peace and freedom relationship established by the working class are supported with enlightenment. The illustration shows that the bright future, peace, spring and happiness can be created by the struggle of the working class.

(Figure 5.7) The struggle against oppression and prohibitions is shown with a broken red chain in the 1 May poster published by Konuk Yayınları for DISK in 1977; and it tries to convey the message that the working class who continues to struggle can overcome these pressures and prohibitions with the field of struggle opened by 1 May. The broken chain that is associated with the struggle of the working class is mentioned in Marx's work "The Communist Manifesto" as such: *(...)The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."*

(Marx, 2015: 51). In this context, the poster emphasizes that the working class has no choice but to seek a struggle for rights against the bourgeois class.

(Figure 5.8) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1978, there is a call for the celebration of the 1 May Labour Day in Taksim. The massification put forward in the poster is demonstrated by bringing together people from different backgrounds. It can be said that the quantity of the working class associated with the mass and the strength of the struggle within the union are brought to the fore.

(Figure 5.9) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1978, which is similar to the *Figure 5.8*, there is a call for the celebration of the 1 May Labour Day in Taksim. The organizationalism put forward in the poster is demonstrated by bringing together people from different backgrounds. It can be said that the quantity of the working class associated with the society and the strength of the struggle within the union are brought to the fore.

(Figure 5.10) The figures of men, women and children placed in the middle of them were brought to the fore in the 1 May poster produced by DISK / TEKSTİL in 1978. The emphasis of massification shown by the flag poles around the figures is placed in the red background colour. The red background associated with the "1 Mayıs" and "DISK - TEKSTİL" captions represents the struggle area of the DISK-led 1 May celebrations. In the poster, showing family members together in a struggle represents the basic reaction of society in search of rights struggle. In this way, acquiring class consciousness would be transferred to the next generations. The

struggle carried out in the poster is shown not only as a struggle for the rights of workers and labourers, but also as a social gain.

(Figure 5.11) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK / GENEL-İŞ, the hammer represents the productive class, i.e. the working class, and the red rose represents those who lost their lives in the struggle. The light-dark relation created in the background colour of the poster is used as an auxiliary effect to the general message of the poster. The idea of gaining access to the beautiful one in the poster can be explained in the class struggle as follows: the difficulties and sufferings of the working class that play a decisive role in the relations of production, can be overcome by the class struggle to be carried out under the roof of DISK.

(Figure 5.12) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1978, the union of different professional groups is highlighted. The main reason for this situation is the efforts of the different sections of society to unite within the class struggle against the pressure and attacks of May 1, 1977 and later.

(Figure 5.13) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK / GENEL-İŞ in 1978, it can be said that an arrangement is made for the people who died during the 1 May events of 1977. This design of the poster is for commemorating May 1, 1977 rather than being a call for the 1 May Labour Day.

(Figure 5.14) There is a double expression in the 1 May poster produced by DISK / GIDA-İŞ in 1978. The price to be paid to achieve the beauty is that barbed wire is opened our with bare hands in this visual. Nevertheless, the willingness of the

worker to reach still draws attention, although it is evident from the expression of worker's face that it hurts. The secondary meaning can be said to be that the working class is kept in achieving the beautiful one, imprisoned in a sense, but it still tries to create the idea that this struggle is continued or should be continued.

(Figure 5.15) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK / OLEYİS, it can be said that the dove's relationship with peace is emphasized and the perception of the world as a home of peace is tried to be created. The use of the fist form, which is understood to represent the working class, together with the dove abstraction in the same structure that represents the world, constitutes the idea that the struggle of the working class and the gains that will be achieved by the struggle of the working class can bring peace and freedom to the world.

(Figure 5.16) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1978, the peace dove with a branch in its mouth represents the society together with the human figures shown in an anonymous structure. The dove figure shown in a silhouette structure is shown with a transition from red to white. While this sign shows the society in a dark structure, enlightenment is shown to bring gains such as freedom and peace to the society in difficult conditions as well as the struggle area of 1 May under the roof of DISK.

(Figure 5.17) In the 1 May poster produced by DISK in 1979, a didactic arrangement is made using inactive figures and forms rather than using organizationalism and enthusiasm, which is different from the previous posters of DISK. The world form used in the poster is surrounded by the industry wheel. With

this arrangement, the poster states that the world is based on labour, and that the working class determines the social dynamics of their material lives. Also a visual context between the world and labour is established. The fact that the world is based on labour and the freedom/equality judgement for the working class is established. It can be said that in Turkey, the 1 May of 1979 was under authoritarianism and therefore, the withdrawal of the organized movement could be felt from the stasis of the design, as well.

(Figure 5.18) 1 May poster produced by DISK / GENEL-İŞ was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. In the poster, the red wheel that the male worker figure lifts up is seen. The message of “LONG LIVE 1 MAY” and “DISK” written in this industrial wheel representing the factory makes it feel more like it is organized for the workers of a specific business segment. Because, instead of the emphasis on organizing the campaign, the message is that the worker who apparently works in a specific branch of work is invited to the 1 May event. While there is a call for 1 May in the poster, as the address of this celebration, the union identity of DISK, which constitutes the trade union struggle area, is brought to the fore.

(Figure 5.19) 1 May poster designed by DISK was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. The industrial wheel and the world form, which is brought to the forefront in the poster, establishes an intellectual relationship between the world and labour. Surrounding the earth with the wheel symbolizes the idea that the world is based on labour, in a sense. It can also be said

that the 1 May unity, struggle and solidarity day, which will be held under the roof of DISK in Turkey, is a call for the whole world.

(Figure 5.20) 1 May poster designed by DISK / DEV MADEN-SEN was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. In the poster, it is stated that the struggle of the working class and the struggle for rights can only be achieved if it is carried out under a roof of a union. This struggle for rights, which is carried on, will turn into a mass struggle with the unification of all the working and labourer classes on 1 May International Labour Day.

(Figure 5.21) The 1 May poster designed by DISK / LASTİK-İŞ was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. Apart from the fact that the general judgement of the poster is a call, the future of peace and cooperation in the struggle of the working class are emphasized.

(Figure 5.22) The 1 May poster designed by DISK was used in the period between 1976-1980 according to the TÜSTAV archives. It can be said that the message of a call for unity and struggle all over the world is tried to be conveyed with workers and the labourers holding hand. Their struggle for rights is celebrated all over the world on 1 May Labour Day, and DISK is shown as its equivalent in Turkey.

(Figure 5.23) It can be said that DISK's class consciousness gained in the union struggle between 1976-1980 turned into an organized structure in the 1 May poster published in DISK Magazine in 1980. 1 May Labour Day was celebrated under the roof of DISK between the years 1976-1980. And in 1980, the economic problems of

Turkey entered into a radical restructuring with the 24 January decisions⁴⁷. With the economic restructuring process, the political conflict in the country increased to the highest level. In the process of political, social and economic change in Turkey, the 1 May celebrations in 1980 was banned. While a society that can be organized under the roof of DISK is shown, considering the political and social conditions of the period, it is idealized to celebrate the 1 May.

(Figure 5.24) In the poster produced by DISK / BANK-SEN in 1980, the figures are seen facing the light, which reflects their hopes and expectations for the future. While it is not possible to make a full judgement about the qualities of the figures, they can be regarded as workers representing an international identity with the reason of production of the poster and the slogans used.

(Figure 5.25) Symbolic structures shown in the 1 May poster organized by DISK / PETKİM – İŞ in 1980 are symbolized by the struggle to continue in unity and solidarity and the hopes and expectations for a bright future. In the May 1 posters from 1976 to 1980 that are discussed in the research, it (Figure 5.25) has the characteristic of being the first to make a call for “1 May” with a direct expression.

(Figure 5.26) In the 1 May poster organized by DISK / Petkim – İş in 1980, 1 May Labour Day is shown as a spring celebration, and this language of expression

⁴⁷ "24 January 1980 Decisions" or in other words, "24 January 1980 Stability Decisions" can be seen as a breaking point of the Turkish economy's transition to the neo-liberal economy model. After these decisions, the economic understanding of Turkey has been tried to be guided by the market economy. With these decisions, while the concept of free market economy was being tried to be integrated into the global capitalist order in Turkey, profit maximization and competitive price practices were adopted. With these decisions, the state's share in the economy was reduced and the ongoing "Statism Policy" was limited. Foreign capital inflow was supported (Öztürk, 2013).

also shows ideological breakage. The struggle, which has been put forward so far, is left behind by the concepts such as labour, class, production and it is emphasized that 1 May is not a struggle but a celebration. Forming only a spring celebration message for the first time since 1976 it (Figure 5.26) is one of the first examples of the change and evolution, in which post-1980 social and political structures became depolitized. In this context, while DİSK's trade union structure and activities after 1960 are discussed in the previous sections of the study, it is necessary to include the DISK Secretary General İbrahim Güzelce's statements⁴⁸ in the preface of DISK's 1 May brochure in 1976. The poster, which is discussed (Figure 5.26), is the pioneer of the 1 May posters with the theme of spring celebrations, which can be seen frequently on "1 May" posters after 1980. After 1980, it could also be considered as a visual reflection of how DISK can move away from the concepts like class, struggle and solidarity within social and political change and transformation within the union struggle.

At this point, among the DISK's 1 May posters produced between 1976-2018, it can be said that the period between 1976 and 1980 was the most important period in terms of the dynamic structure of the working class, the determination of organization and struggle. It can be expressed that this was the period when the repressive and violent acts developed in terms of divisions within political structures, polarization within society and state sanctions went to the highest level. It can also be said that the

⁴⁸ "(...) To break off the Turkish working class from 1 May means to break it off from the labour world. 1 May is not a strike, 1 May is the day when all world labourers show international unity and solidarity. (...) 1 May is a day when world labourers impose their invincible power on the bourgeoisie and set an example for all workers. 1 May is not 'Spring and Flower Festival'. On that day, we leave the fun of the countryside and collecting flowers to the bourgeoisie and the class reconciliation unions, we leave them to TÜRK-İŞ." (Güzelce, 1976)

class struggle, which continued gradually through the polarization and decomposition of all the segments of society, increased to the highest level in 1980.

The period between 1976 - 1980 in Turkey, which was a period of political and social dynamics at the highest level, and at the same time, it can be observed that "political visual design objects" were rich in terms of quantity, diversity and quality. When the 26 posters produced by DISK between 1976 and 1980 are examined, it is clearly seen that the political and social structure of this period carries the ideological traces. According to Kösemen, the posters produced during this period were produced not to say a word or to express a demand but to emphasize that the workers constitute a class (Kösemen, 2006).

5.2.2. Evaluation of The Findings of Common Union Posters (1992-2008)

After the 12 September 1980 coup, the union activities of DISK were stopped until 1993. Although DISK started trade union activities in 1993, it is understood that visual design products have been produced since 1990 according to TÜSTAV archives. It can be said that the neo-liberal economic policies adopted in Turkey with the decisions of 24 January 1980 brought radical change and transformation in social, political and economic fields after the 12 September 1980 coup. DISK also positioned itself in a trade union structure that was different from before 1980, and took place in the 1 May events between 1990 and 2008, where different trade union confederations were together. The developments expressed can be said to be an indication of the ideological transformation of DISK after 1980. In this context, in these posters between 1992-2008, when DISK was included in the 1 May events as confederation,

the findings obtained by considering the political, social and economic conditions in Turkey will be evaluated.

(Figure 5.27) The poster is the 1 May image produced by the TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ and DISK unions in 1992. For the first time after 1976, the 1 May event was organized under the roof of a confederation. The poster shows the masses of workers celebrating 1 May by gathering different trade union groups. After the 1980 military coup in Turkey, the characteristic changes in social, political and economic structures can also be said to cause radical changes in the trade union organizationalism. In 1992, the ideological break, which can be seen with the 1 May poster in 1980 (Figure 5.26), went beyond the criticism of the fact that 1 May was a spring celebration. While the mass in the poster does not represent an action towards production or struggle, it can be seen that different trade union structures constitute unity and solidarity. Therefore, it can be said that this sign was created in order to show the unions in harmony with the different political views.

(Figure 5.28) Designed by TÜRK-İŞ, DISK, K.Ç.S.K.K, TMMOB, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMOB, TURKISH VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, İHD, COMMUNITY CENTERS, INSTRUCTORS ASSOCIATION, ÇHD, ÇGD, TURKISH AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION, 1 May poster was used in the period of 1994 and later according to the archives of TÜSTAV. It is a 1 May celebration themed poster organized on another platform without the participation of some of the union and confederation stakeholders (HAK-İŞ). The poster consisting of signs that the working and labouring class movement

after 1993 when DISK was re-established was intended not only for the class gains but also for the mass democratic gains.

(Figure 5.29) The poster was used in the period of 1994 and later according to the TÜSTAV archives, which was produced jointly by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions. It can be said that the carnation used in the visual, represents the people who died in the events of 1 May 1977, especially the journalist Uğur Mumcu who was killed in 1993. 1 May is not shown as a field of struggle, and the concepts such as struggle, working class and production which have been put forward until today are pushed into the background and calls are made for 1 May in order to realize demands such as "Freedom, Democracy, Peace and Brotherhood".

(Figure 5.30) The poster was used in the period of 1994 and later according to the TÜSTAV archives, which was produced jointly by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions. The black surface on the posters is arranged as full page, and the white area on the black background constitutes the judgement that “It will grow with the increase in the participation to 1 May”. While the current political and social conditions are shown to be dark, the white area, which interacts with the slogan, feels like it will dominate the current conditions with the struggle area opened by 1 May.

(Figure 5.31) The poster is the 1 May image produced by "TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK and KESK" unions in 2000. It is observed that the international historical feature of 1 May is brought to the fore. While the international character of 1 May is emphasized, it is also tried to establish the judgement that the struggle for rights has continued from the past to the present in Turkey. In the collage arrangement used in

the poster, the 1 May pattern illustrated by Orhan Taylan in Turkey is seen. It indicates the struggle of the working class especially between the years 1976-1980, which is the highest level, not the current political and social conditions. The slogan “küresel saldırı, küresel direniş” (global attack, global resistance) is used as a symbol of the struggle for the rights of the working class against the bourgeois class in the world.

(Figure 5.32) The poster is the 1 May poster produced by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions in 2000. There is no visual structure that represents the working class on the poster; the expression of the poster is determined by the slogan and a mass demand is expressed under the roof of 1 May. Class struggle, working class and production concepts are pushed into the background and the struggle area to be formed on 1 May is determined via a mass demand.

(Figure 5.33) The poster is the 1 May poster produced by the “TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK” unions in 2001. While a class demand message can not be seen in the poster, a relationship between corruption and poverty is established and information is given about the end of corruption and that social enrichment could be provided. It is observed that this effort is provided with the visual on the background of the poster.

(Figure 5.34) The poster is the image of the TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DİSK, KESK, MEMUR-SEN, TMMOB, RETIRED WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY, TURKISH RETIRED WORKERS' SOCIETY, UNION OF TURKISH BAR ASSOCIATIONS, TURKISH DENTAL ASSOCIATION, TURKISH

PHARMACISTS' ASSOCIATION, TURKISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, TÜRMOB institutions, which was published for 1 May. There is no indication of class struggle on the poster. While the 1 May call for democratic demands is highlighted, the idea that the workers representing different identities should be in a movement of resistance against international colonization and siege is formed.

(Figure 5.35) In the poster produced by TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DISK, KESK unions in 2003, while the message is conveyed by a text (discourse), the visual expression is used as an auxiliary to support the text. In the 1 May poster in 2003, whose global attack discourse is similar to that of 1 May poster in 2002 (Figure 5.34), there is a different message that gains could be acquired with the struggle area that 1 May opens.

(Figure 5.36) The poster is the 1 May image produced by "TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DISK and KESK" unions in 2003. The poster shows the mass that represents the continuity of the long-lasting struggle in the upper visual field, which is framed. When the upper and lower visual fields are considered together, the judgement is made that the struggle will continue over the younger generations. Therefore, the two visual, mass and child images separated by frames gain meaning when they are associated with each other. The slogan, besides the visual expression, reflects a democratic demand.

(Figure 5.37) The poster is the 1 May image produced by "TÜRK-İŞ, HAK-İŞ, DISK and KESK" unions in 2008. The "1 Mayıs" caption, which is shown in a fragmented form, shows a situation that is incomplete. Fists rising from left to right

positioned next to the caption represent the rise of the struggle. The contradiction in the visual expression of the poster brings to mind the question of how to increase the struggle with the 1 May Labour Day that has not completed its formation. The evaluation can also be done as follows: “Only with the rising struggle, will it be possible for the workers and labourers to achieve the purpose of the 1 May Labour Day. When the slogans that constitute the demands of workers and labourers are put into practice in social life, then they will be gained in the sense of class and struggle.” While it is felt that the visual message that makes up the poster does not reflect the social situation of the period, slogans and democratic demands pointing to the rise of the struggle are expressed. After May 1, 1980, democratic demands and expectations have often been expressed in DISK posters, while no visual trend towards the rise of the class struggle has been observed.

Between 1992 and 2008, 11 posters produced for 1 May events that DISK participated as a confederation are discussed. These posters can be said that the trade unions, which maintain their existence with different organizational structure and political dynamics, have come together and tried to form a unity and solidarity judgement. Yıldırım Koç summarizes the political and social conditions in Turkey between 1980 and 2003 as follows:

After the murder of journalist Uğur Mumcu on January 24, 1993, DISK organized mass events throughout the country. Cooperation and union of forces between the powers defending the integrity and independence of the national state and the state of secular and democratic social law began to flourish during this period. Especially in

the period between 1993-2003, there has been new policies in Turkey in the political and social sphere. After the end of the Cold War and the threat to the Turkish state, the Turkish nation and the working class, upon the arrival of the IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization, which are primarily the US, European Union and transnational capital and their means, the importance of the "right" - "left" isolation of the Cold War period lost (Koç, 2003: 91).

In this context, it can be said that the traces of the historical social conditions of the period can be traced with the concepts such as democracy, freedom, peace, justice, global resistance, global colonialism, which all can be observed in the posters produced. With the end of the Cold War era, it can be said that the understanding of class and mass trade unionism lost their impact in society with the organization created by political polarization at the center of social life. In addition, trade union activities were affected by social and economic change after 1980 and this effect distanced DISK away from the class and mass trade unionism.

5.2.3. Evaluation of the Findings of the Disk Posters (1980-2017)

In the previous sections, the change and transformation of Turkey after 1980 in the social, economic and trade union structure are discussed quite in detail. After 1980, we could see that DISK was included in the confederation in certain years and also in the 1 May events under the roof of DISK. In this section, the 1 May posters produced by DISK since 1990 will be evaluated by considering social, political and economic conditions.

(Figure 5.38) The poster is the 1 May image published by DISK in 1990. Visual functions as a certificate for the historical background of the working class in Turkey, and in the period when it was designed, the working class which had political, social and economic problems, was presented as an example of unity, struggle and solidarity. With the legal process in which DISK was also in and the working-class struggle that lasted 104 years in Turkey, it can also be said that it is intended to re-gain the social consciousness in the poster.

(Figure 5.39) The poster is the 1 May poster designed by DISK and OTOMOBİL-İŞ trade unions in 1990. It is one of the first posters of DISK's, with the "1 May" celebration theme after 1980. It seems different from the DISK posters with the theme of working class consciousness and the leadership of the working class. The general idea is not that different flowers combine to form a motif, but they can stand side by side. It can easily be said that this idea reflects the transformation of the post-1960 class struggle movement in Turkey into the search for social and trade union identity after 1980, which is considered as one of the assumptions of the research. With the flower arrangement shown on the poster, 1 May is shown as a field where different identities are gathered and democratic rights and demands are expressed by avoiding the concepts such as worker, class, production, struggle and organization.

(Figure 5.40) The poster is the 1 May image published in the "OTOMOBİL-İŞ" newspaper supplement owned by DISK in 1991. It is understood that the struggle of

the working class is not shown as a basis in relation to production, while different professional groups are shown together under the roof of 1 May.

(Figure 5.41) The poster is a 1 May image published in the OTOMOBİL-İŞ union's newspaper supplement owned by DISK in 1992. Different colours represent different identities as well as different political and intellectual views. The dove figure used as the symbol of peace is shown by the blue outer contour. The existence of all these in peace shows that the demand is shifted towards the theme of peace where the lines and movements are very different from the class struggle. The “1 Mayıs” and “dove” figures rising from the community also show these themes as the demand of the community.

(Figure 5.42) The poster is the “1 May” image produced by the DİSK, OTOMOBİL-İŞ, EĞİTİM-İŞ, EĞİT-SEN, TÜM BEL-SEN, TÜM MALİYE-SEN, TÜM ENERJİ-SEN, TÜM YARGI-SEN, TÜM HAVA-SEN, TÜM HABER-SEN, TARIM-SEN, DEMİRYOL-SEN, OR KAM-SEN, MADEN-SEN, SOSYAL HİZMET-SEN, TÜM SOSYAL-SEN, YAPI YOL-SEN unions in 1993. The blue colour as the symbol of sky can also be seen as a symbol of freedom. At the same time, the fact that blue forms different colours by entering into the figures can represent different shares that everyone takes from this atmosphere of freedom and that they form this atmosphere. Although the figures create an image of halay dance, which represents gaining rights in the working-class struggle, this visual does not constitute a class emphasis. The case of representing different identities of different colours highlighted in the posters of Figure 5.39 and Figure 5.41 can also be seen in this example.

(Figure 5.43) The poster is the 1 May image published in the newspaper supplement of the DISK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ trade union in 1994. While the universality of 1 May is highlighted in the poster, the community is created by gathering different identities from all over the world. The demonstration of the community in different directions is a call for 1 May, where different identities are combined, rather than a class unity of the struggle area opened by 1 May.

(Figure 5.44) The poster is the 1 May image published by DISK in 1995. The number “1” in the poster symbolically represents the area of struggle that 1 May opened. The slogan “EMEĞİMİZ, EKMEĞİMİZ, GELECEĞİMİZ İÇİN...” (FOR OUR LABOUR, FUTURE, BREAD AND BUTTER...) is not associated with production and class. The struggle of the working class on the poster is defined as the area in which the demands that are reduced to the individual are expressed, in a sense.

(Figure 5.45) The poster is the 1 May image published in the newspaper supplement of the DISK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ trade union in 1996. As stated earlier, the celebration of 1 May as a spring festival in the period after 1980 is transformed into a global structure in the poster. It is observed that the flowers representing different identities do not unite and form a motif, but they can stand side by side. The struggle of the working class is not regarded as a basis for production but a call to represent the demands of democracy and rights of different identities.

(Figure 5.46) The poster is the 1 May image of DISK and KESK in 1999. On the poster of 1 May 1999, it can be said that the demands of young people for democratic

rights and freedom are expressed. The demand to have a say with the “SÖZ SIRASI BİZDE” (IT IS OUR TURN TO SPEAK) sign is shown as a democratic win in the trade union struggle. The KESK trade union affiliated to DISK shows that democratic rights and freedoms can be demanded from this frame by creating a discourse area for young people to work in the public.

(Figure 5.47) The poster is the 1 May poster produced by DISK / BİRLEŞİK METAL-İŞ in 2000. The judgement is made that the struggle can be won on 1 May and this victory will bring enlightenment with it. The human community which represents an international identity, welcomes the enlightenment, the sun, which is shown as the triumph of the struggle.

(Figure 5.48) The poster was published for 1 May event by DISK in 2002. The flower arrangement, supported by the worker and labourer emphasis created by hand figures representing the working class, constitutes a judgement that the world can be beautified by the struggle for labour. Besides being a 1 May call, the poster also refers to tradition of 1 May and 1 May 1977. The democratic demand shown in the poster is identical to the corporate slogan of DISK, thus creating the judgement that unity, struggle and solidarity will bring peace, freedom and democracy.

(Figure 5.49) The poster was published for 1 May event by DISK in 2003. The dove, barbed wire and hands reaching to the dove are visual expressions directed at the corporate logo of DISK on the poster. The dove, associated with the concepts of peace, freedom and democracy, represents the area of freedom; and the barbed wire that is placed in front of the hands reaching for it represents the obstacles and

prohibitions. “Peace, democracy and freedom” concepts can be realized within the freedom area of DISK.

(Figure 5.50) The poster was published for 1 May event by DISK / KESK in 2004. The flower arrangement, supported by the worker and labourer emphasis created by hand figures representing the working class, constitutes a judgement that the world can be beautified by the struggle for labour. Besides being a 1 May call, the poster also refers to tradition of 1 May and 1 May 1977. The poster, based on the historical identity of the visual (pattern), seems to be a commemoration in a sense, but the discourse constitutes a different judgement than the pattern drawing. In the discourse, the struggle area against war, occupation and exploitation is tried to be created, and in the drawing of the pattern, there is an idea that production and class organization can change the world. From a trade union's point of view, there is no expression for class, production or mass production. Although the use of pattern drawing represents the tradition of 1 May, the discourse only expresses a periodic demand.

(Figure 5.51) The poster was arranged by DISK in 2005 for 1 May event. The poster shows a more organized call, other than a class. This is also the characteristic of a democratic organized society rather than a union movement call.

(Figure 5.52) The poster was produced for 1 May event by DISK / UNITED METAL in 2005. The concept of unity, struggle and solidarity, which are the corporate slogan of the DISK, is shown by the four-hand figures holding each other. While there was no class unity in the poster, there was no demand at the same time.

(*Figure 5.53*) The poster was arranged by DISK in 2006 for 1 May event. The regulation, which emphasizes the thirty-year history of the poster, is based on the idea of adopting the tradition of corporate identity. It is stated in the poster that the May Day event was celebrated for 30 years under the roof of the DISK, but there was no class gain or discourse towards a union struggle for the future.

(*Figure 5.54*) The poster was arranged by DISK in 2007 for 1 May event. 1 May poster of 2007 was arranged by DISK can be seen as a design where demands are expressed rather than a call. The DISK did not include intellectual expressions of class struggle and a visual design arrangement when expressing a number of demands on the posters. It can be seen that the DISK is not the leader of the class struggle within the trade union structure. It can be said that instead of the class struggle, it is aimed to bring the corporate identity of the union to the fore.

(*Figure 5.55*) The poster was produced by DISK in 2008 for 1 May event. In 2008, DISK took part in two different poster arrangements for 1 May Labor Day. In comparison with the poster issued jointly with the three confederations (figure 5.37) and 1 May poster produced by the DISK alone, it can be seen that there are common points in the visual and intellectual sense. The demands on both posters were created in a similar manner; however, in the poster produced by the DISK alone, the trade union identity was brought to the fore. In order to highlight the corporate identity, two different points are noted: these are the position of the corporate logo in the image and the blue, which is the corporate color of the DISK, are arranged as the basis of the “1 MAY” article. The visual and intellectual message of the poster shows that the

union structure of the DISK is moving away from the class struggle and goes towards the field of democratic struggle.

(Figure 5.56) The poster was arranged by DISK in 2009 for 1 May event. It can be seen in the poster that the trade-union structure, in terms of the DISK, moves away from the class struggle and leads to the democratic struggle. The discourses, expressed by the light-dark relationship that constitutes the visual expression, show the passage of meaning between freedom, justice and prohibitions.

(Figure 5.57) The poster was arranged by DISK in 2010 for 1 May event. Instead of the demands of the class in the poster, the visual expression of a struggle for the celebration of 1 May in Taksim was created. It is aimed to highlight the trade-union identity of DISK in the poster, which emphasizes the gains of organized demands through union struggle. The hand figure in the “1 May” arrangement used in the poster is also seen in 1 May posters arranged in the USSR in 1980. Hammer and fist symbols represent the class and labor struggle.

(Figure 5.58) The poster was arranged by DISK in 2011 for 1 May event. Instead of a class call, it represents an organised action. In Taksim, DISK's trade-union identity is brought to the fore with the coming together of a million people consisting of different identities and against the negative effects of the capitalist economic structure. The poster also features the call for a democratic mass organization rather than the call for a trade union movement.

(Figure 5.59) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK / KESK / TMMOB / TTB in 2012. Although “1 MAY”, which was designed with an old appearance on the posters, is perceived as a visual for tradition, it can be said that the concepts of class, production, struggle and masselization, which were brought to the fore before 1980, were taken away. The poster is a call for workers and professional organizations to celebrate 1 May Labor Day, which will be held in Taksim.

(Figure 5.60) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK in 2013. 1 May poster of 2013 arranged by DISK can be seen as a poster arrangement in which the call is expressed rather than the nature of the call. The poster, which emphasized the tradition with 1 May article, has no indication of class struggle. The demands created by the gathering of organized structures with different identities in the posters restrict the class struggle area of the DISK and highlight its corporate identity emphasis.

(Figure 5.61) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK in 2014. The carnation flower was used as a symbolic sign to commemorate those who lost their lives in the “TAKSIM GEZI PARK” events that took place in June 2013. It can be said that "TAKSIM GEZI PARK" events was a struggle for resistance against the restriction of democratic rights and freedom and a public organization. 1 May poster of 2014 that is addressed was not a call. It can be said that it is aimed to maintain the struggle area which started with the public organization of the DISK with the “1 May” event. In this field of struggle, where the DISK emphasizes its corporate identity, it also highlights democratic demands.

(Figure 5.62) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK in 2015. The flower arrangement formed by the use of different identities in the poster is supported by the slogan. Although “1 May” article formally reminds us of the traditional 1 May celebrations, the way to create a class struggle area in the poster is determined by a combination of different identities. Democratic demands have been expressed under the roof of the poster, which is not a visual reflection of a union call or struggle.

(Figure 5.63) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK in 2016. The design, which is similar to the DISK's 1 May poster (figure 5.62), was completed with the solar figure in figure 5.63, representing life and liveliness. Although "1 May" article formally shows an arrangement for traditional 1 May celebrations, it points to a combination of different identities as a way of creating a class struggle area in the poster. Democratic demands have been expressed under the roof of the poster, which is not a visual reflection of a union call or struggle.

(Figure 5.64) The poster is a 1 May image produced by DISK in 2017. The poster, which does not bear a visual reflection of a union call or class struggle, can be seen to regulate the historical background of the DISK. This arrangement was produced with Orhan Taylan's drawing of the pattern associated with May 1, the events of May 1, 1977 and the indicators representing the 50th anniversary of DISK's founding. The slogan used in the poster represents a demand for political structuring of the period, not for the formation of a trade union struggle.

(Figure 5.65) The poster is a 1 May image designed by DISK / KESK / TMMOB / TTB in 2018. The “UNITY, STRUGGLE, SOLIDARITY”, which is the corporate

slogan of the DISK, is associated with the idea of enlightenment associated with the solar form and forms the opinion that a democratic discourse will take place. Under this discourse, a black-spotted form representing the signatures of the chambers of trade unions and professions was seen, while no indication of the class struggle was used. Instead of creating a trade union struggle, the DISK shows itself as a mass organization that expresses democratic demands and positions professional organizations as supporters of this democratic discourse.

It would be useful to remind the social and cultural atmosphere of Turkey in order to make an overall evaluation of the findings obtained by analyzing the indicators determined by using social indicator and indicator methods in 65 "1 May posters", which were included in the DISK between 1976 and 2018. From the mid-1960s to the September 12, 1980 coup, the process in Turkey can be summarized as a period where political activism rose to the highest level, the class struggle and the demands for democracy and freedom were put forward, the class consciousness has been gained, the social upheavals were taken place, as well as the impact of the coup. Therefore, it can be seen that propaganda activities, posters, wall posts, newspapers and magazines concentrated during the social and cultural mobilizations observed during this period are composed of visual materials rich in quantity and quality.

According to Aysan, during the period between 1975-1980, anti-war and ecological problems were highlighted, issues such as gender discrimination were introduced for the first time and the reflections of these issues in visual design products were seen. At the same time, the first political design products were designed by the professional chambers to draw attention regarding the issues such as World Environment

Day, the activities of the revolutionary women's associations towards women's problems and World Peace Day by the political groups (Aysan, 2013).

In this climate, DISK, whose activities were stopped with the coup of 12 September 1980, was stated to have been reorganized into union organized life since 1990. The general message of the May Day posters produced by the DISK after 1990 is as follows: in most of the May Day posters included in the DISK, the signature of the confederation or the alliance of wider civil society organisations are seen. In this period, it can be said that the different political identity structures were shown in harmony and so unity and struggle could be achieved as a confederation or on posters produced only by DISK. It can be seen that the DISK has not developed a practice of struggle other than to prevent the loss of rights as a trade union activity and to extend the democratic sphere, and therefore it is reflected in 1 May posters. Unlike the DISK posters before 1980, the Public Workers Union (KESK) and confederation signatures can be demonstrated in this period as the new actor of the struggle.

The statement of Koç's as the starting point of the terms “*Democracy, Freedom, Peace, Justice, Global Resistance, Global Colonialism*”, which can be seen frequently on 1 May DISK posters in the post-1990 period:

(...) cooperation and union of forces between the powers defending the integrity and independence of the national state and the state of secular and democratic social law began to flourish during this period. Especially in the period between 1993-2003, there has been new polices in Turkey in the political and social sphere. After the end of the Cold War

and the threat to the Turkish state, the Turkish nation and the working class, upon the arrival of the IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization, which are primarily the US, European Union and transnational capital and their means, the importance of the "right" - "left" isolation of the Cold War period lost (Koç, 2003:91).

In this context, it can be said that after 1990, the understanding of class and organized trade unionism lost its social support. Since 2000, the discourse of "Global Resistance!" has been an important message of 1 May posters by moving to the agenda of the working class. Therefore, it can be said that 1 May posters contain an anti-capitalist discourse. Apart from the discourses such as "*Democracy, freedom, peace, justice, global resistance, global colonialism*", it can be observed that the trade union identity was highlighted in the posters of 1 May after 2000, and the tradition of 1 May was adopted. Drawing patterns drawn by Orhan Taylan in 1976 have been used in many posters after 2000. The DISK, which was found in a different discourse and structure from the period in which the pattern was produced, was again a 1 May tradition based on the historical identity of the pattern.

The demand for the opening of Taksim on May 1 celebrations has been shown as the mass gain in the 1 May poster of 2010 in the poster of DISK dated May 1, 2007. The call for 1 May to be celebrated in Taksim on 1 May posters by the year of 2012 was the general judgement and no call post was produced after this date. The reason for this situation is that the events of Taksim Gezi Park which started in June 2013 turn into a mass resistance of people. From this date on, 1 May celebrations in Taksim are prohibited. On the poster of May 1, 2014, those who lost their lives in the

park were commemorated. The statement of the poster is based on the “#resister” which was produced through social media during the events. This can be said to be a reflective indicator of the visual design products that the DISK is unable to develop class struggle practice.



6. CONCLUSION

The design of which existence based on the first human communities has come out as a development of needs brought by communal life with the transition to settled life of the communities based on hunting and collecting for agriculture. Design products developed in parallel with the value of use and sometimes with vital features have evolved in line with the production needs of people's material lives and have been transferred for generations as an experience and have formed the foundations of the communal society. The ability to design is a feature possessed by many living things in nature and is at the center of existence. By planning the production practices of design products and livelihoods that enable human material life, it organizes a different design activity from animals. This also means that human material life is produced and separated from other living beings. This design activity, which is created by man, shows the awareness created by the design in the historical process and starts to form/create itself and its environment with material awareness.

The conception of awareness and design that develops in proportion to human history is the basis of today's capitalist economic system. Therefore, the awareness that develops on this basis creates the interests and thoughts of the ruling bourgeois class. In this way, the design activity developed in line with the prevailing approaches of today is both a medium and a goal in maintaining the capitalist economic system. Because of this function of design, objects play an important role in determining people's preferences such as decision making, knowledge acquisition, usage and consumption. These implications encapsulated the design surrounding the living spaces

of the people based on the relations of production and consumption through the commodity produced within the capitalist economy into the alienation and transformation of the individual connected to positivist utilitarianism. Therefore, it can be easily stated that the visual design products that emerge in capitalist relations are the result of social, economic and cultural factors that are consciously put forward. In other words, man creates every design product that makes up his environment in his awareness. Thus, the “wrong awareness” created by the objects in the human mind has alienated to its own reality.

The example of Philippe Starch's lemon squeezer, mentioned earlier in the research, supports these inferences in both sociologically and economically. The lemon squeezing design, which was created to perform a simple function, is accepted by transforming into an abstract form within capitalist production relations with the “fetish” object characteristic. This example also shows us that the individual who thinks that he can exist by consuming himself in the relationship between the subject and the object is a powerful element that sustains the stability of the capitalist economic system. In other words, the perception of the need created on consumption objects is the idea that consumed objects are created not themselves but actually on the awareness of society.

In academic education and research, the concept of design is talked and discussed in a limited framework by dividing production and consumption processes into technical competencies, in other words, by separating abstract parts from the whole. However, the design that dwells at every point of human life can be understood by keeping

the abstract parts that reveal it. Therefore, why the object exists, its appearance, production and consumption processes can only be conveyed to the design through the thought system created through abstract parts. The object of design that is accustomed to this approach is thus transformed into a concept of social, political and economic reciprocity. When Steam Machines that make Industrial Revolution possible and firearms that turn into the body of countries during World War II are considered as a product of design, this will also explain the transformation of the formerly captive person or community into a slave in the post-industrial capitalist production relations. In the process of production and consumption, both the summarized life and the communication of the design, which revolves like a ghost, clearly reveal its ideological and hegemonic effects.

As important historical facts leading to the transformation of labor, the French Revolution and then the Industrial Revolution have deepened the class difference between the working class and the bourgeois class, which holds the capital in capitalist relations of production and consumption and tries to increase it with each passing day. Imperialism is among the most decisive consequences of the economy created through machinery, a product of design after the Industrial Revolution, and mechanisation (industrialization). Design elements (machines) developed on the assumption that they will facilitate human life are actually a mean of massification the exploitation of labor. These developments have caused the poor and exploited working class to take part in the trade union struggle to achieve social rights and freedoms.

In today's academic and social researches, which are expressed in positivist limitation in spite of Marxist doctrine that adopts class-based approach by prioritizing

production and labor, there are determinations over only certain institutionalized structures (universities etc.) by taking material and intellectual life into consideration. In order for material and intellectual life to be solved with scientific data, control needs to be established not only by a class-based analysis, but also by prioritizing these economic conditions. In similar cases, the theoretical power of the historical materialist doctrine introduced by Marks, which is accused of “economic reductionism”, is deliberately tried to be ignored. The areas of struggle such as feminist movements, environmental organizations and peace supporters caused by this ignorance can be cited as strong examples. This course, which distanced from concepts such as the subject, society, historical processes and objectivity put forward by Marxism, has created a field of study under the name post-Marxism in academic research. Post-Marxism stands out as an anti-Marxism structure that advocates the production of conceptual practices that can be expressed as an alternative to the working class struggle that Marks prioritize. While this understanding ignores the working class, which adopts the class policy within the relations of production, on the one hand it creates areas of democratic struggle for the various individuals or groups that are brought together by discourse and/or text analysis known as the field of cultural studies. The will of the capitalists who hold capital within the relations of production in the scientific structure is in anti-position to gain and develop class awareness. For this reason, in order to develop class awareness, it is needed to have historical development knowledge of the capitalist economic system. This contrast between the bourgeois class and the working class will be possible by making distinction between the subject and the object, in other words, by the human will that produces material life, as well as the fact that material life is its product.

In Turkey and the world, economic structures that got global form with the impact of neo-liberalism especially after 1980 has become prominent in the political sense by finding a place with privatizations and free market economy. The active role of the private sector in the production process and the effects of changing political dynamics have led to profound changes in the trade union struggle. As the known name of this change, the 'new world order' has transformed ideological and class politics into identity politics. The main backbone of economic, political and social life in the new world order is the emergence of individualism. In line with these ideas, the effects of the new world order can be easily seen when political design products are examined as before and after 1980. The traces of this inference can also be followed in the designs of May 1 DİSK posters where the effects of before and after 1980 discourse and hegemony were observed.

As it is understood from all, the main problem of the study is the social and sociological outcomes associated with the visual design process of awareness. The sample was formed by examining the political and social change after 1960 through the "DİSK 1 May posters" in Turkey. The indicators of the changes and transformations of the working class in the trade union struggle in Turkey, especially reflected in the May 1 posters produced by DİSK after 1976, were examined through the methods of 'social semiotics' and 'semiotic analysis'. In the period from 1976 until the present day, the political, social and cultural structure has changed in terms of form and content as a result of the transformation. For this reason, two methods have to be applied in the visual analysis of posters. Social Semiotics method that dealt with the receipt of these forms of research in social sciences research in Turkey can be an example. The change in the form and content of posters in years has shown that the social semiotics

method cannot be sufficient in visual analysis alone. For this reason, in the visual analysis, the method of social semiotics and semiotics was used together. In the research, it can be said that it is a first in the field of social sciences with the way the method is expressed.

This review was carried out in three different periods and topics: DİSK posters before 1980, common union posters after 1980 and DİSK posters after 1980. The findings obtained in the DİSK posters before 1980 can be evaluated as follows: in the posters designed between 1976 and 1980, the energy generated by organized awareness of the working class and the traces of the organized struggle determination were clearly and conveniently followed. It can be said that political visual design products were in a rich period in terms of quantity, diversity and quality. Among the general characteristics of these period posters, it should be noted that any word or demand should not be put forward, while it should be noted that the working groups of different branches of work groups shown in order to realize organized struggle and class phenomena. In general, the idea that the working class can be liberated by continuing its organized struggle despite all the pressures and obstacles experienced by the events of May 1, 1977 was established. As a result, 26 posters of DİSK produced between 1976 and 1980 reveal the political and social structure of this period on a scientific level.

Between 1992 and 2008, 11 posters were designed at May 1st events in which the DİSK participated as a confederation. In these posters, the unions that maintain their existence with different organizational structure and political dynamics have come together and try to be in solidarity and unity. Concepts such as democracy, freedom,

peace, justice, global resistance and global exploitation and the effects of political polarization, which is the centre of social life after the Cold War period ended in 1991 has detected. As a confederation or just in the period posters that DİSK produced, the idea of unity and struggle can be achieved has been shown together and in harmony with the structures of different political identities. In this period, it is possible to say that the DİSK could not develop a practice of struggle other than to prevent the loss of rights as a trade union activity or to extend the democratic area, and therefore this was reflected in the May 1 posters.

From 2007 to 2012, DİSK's celebration in Taksim in 2012 was determined as a massive success in the poster designs of this period, which was created through the general message "May 1st should be celebrated in Taksim". In addition to the lack of a call poster after this period, democratic rights and demands are expressed in the May 1 posters designed in the process from 2012 until today and it is clear that it has been carrying on the activity as a kind of mass organization. In such a way that DİSK could not create an organized area of struggle in 2013, even in the social movement which developed under the name of 'the Gezi Resistance', and even did not appear properly in the message of the May 1 poster in 2014. These observations can be shown as evidence of the DİSK's long-standing policy away from organized struggle and class struggle.

In this study, the theoretical framework of communication through the hegemonic effects of visual design products on society awareness, and the sample in the research universe, the results of which can be expressed as follows: posters designed between 1967-2018 can be said to be transformed into ideological outputs that can be traced as

visual messages in the period of social, political and economic. Therefore, the research hypothesis that we determined as ‘the concept of design, which cannot be denied in every region where human life can be observed and in all historical processes, constitutes strong discourse areas which characterize contemporary societies and form their cultural structures with different forms of practice. As with many design products, poster designs also maintain a powerful communication activity that has ideological reflections as an image field and transforms society awareness’ has been scientifically proven.

The concept of design, which is ignored in the social and individual aspect, has been taken from the positivist approach that is established in capitalist relations of production and has been evaluated from the critical theory window. The communication power of design that creates awareness was evaluated from the critical theory window and was proved scientifically. The practice of understanding design on a scientific plane can be realized with the way it is handled in this research, i.e. a historical materialist perspective. It is possible to discuss the concepts such as consumption, isolation, hegemony, manipulation and ideology through design outputs with the social dimension of design as the subject of scientific economics politics. The design, which is discussed in a limited context by ignoring the production and consumption processes, that is, abstracts from the whole, is the subject of scientific academic training and research. Therefore, the hypothesis, assumptions and research questions presented in the research have resulted in an academic study area that enables the scientific discussion of design in the field of social sciences. This research will contribute to the field of social sciences by creating a critical point of view in terms of the scientific discussion of design.

With the approaching format in the research the process of scientifically revealing the impact of design on society awareness can be expressed with a conceptual term. The concept of "critical design literacy" can be used as a new term in academic studies in order to understand the role of design, which maintains its existence in capitalist production-consumption relations, in ideology and hegemony in the process of production. The concept of "media literacy" used in the field of media studies can also be used in the field of design as "critical design literacy". How the concept of 'media literacy' creates a critical point of view in the field of media studies, so the concept of "critical design literacy" will also create a critical point of view in academic education and research.

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