Iranian Graffiti during Political Transformation: A Semiotic Analysis of Graffiti before and after Revolution

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ABSTRACT

Each movement is associated with political protests from people and political parties. History showed in the biggest revolutions had biggest support from protestors. Tools which uses for protesting are different, some groups choose political dialogue, some protest by writing their critical texts as a letter and some other prefer to use artistic way and most effective method for protesting like 'Graffiti'.

This study attempted to survey on signs in Iranian graffiti mostly during 'Iranian Revolution' in 79 and also after revolution during Iran-Iraq war until 2011. The thing which is certain is undeniable role of governments in this area; controlling public spaces, creating replacing methods for hiding graffiti, these are matters that governments do against protestors' graffiti but these people—'wall writers'—also use their creativity in innovating new techniques which make governments duty hard. Creativity of protestors changes according to time and place. This study does scrutiny about methods that during and after revolution is created with progress of technology.

This study analyzed graffiti in the case of Iran before and after revolution on 1979. The signs—textual and visual—are studied by the position in Iranian culture and religious. In Islamic beliefs there are many metaphorical relations between signs which this study attempt to analyze the small part of these signs in Iran.

Keywords: Graffiti, Wall Writing, Wall Painting, Iranian Revolution, Iran-Iraq War, Green Movement

ÖZ

Her düşünce akımı insanlar ve siyasi partiler tarafından yürütülen protestoları da barındırır. Tarih en büyük devrimlerin göstericilerden gelen büyük destekler ile gerçekleştirldiğini göstermiştir. Gösterilerde kullanılan araçlar farklıdır, bazı guruplar siyasi diyaloğu, bazıları eleştirel metinler yazmayı, bazıları ise 'Grafiti' gibi daha etkin olan sanatsal araçlardan yararlanmayı tercih ederler.

Bu çalışma çoğunlukla 1979 İran Devrimi olmak üzere ve bundan sonraki dönem Iran grafitilerınde görülen gösterge ve semboller üzerine bir araştırmadan oluşmaktadır. Bu alanda hükümet inkar edilemez bir rol üstlenmektedir; kamusal alanların kontrolü, grafitilerin silinerek gizlenmesine ilişkin metotlar uygulamak bu rolün birer parçasıdır. Bunlar hükümetlerin rejim karşıtı protestoculara karşı aldığı önlemlerdir. Ancak duvarlara yazan bu grafiti sahipleri öyle teknikler geliştirmektedirler ki, hükümetin engelleme yönündeki çabalarını güçleştirmektedirler.

Göstericilerin yaratıcılıkları döneme ve yere göre değişmektedir. Bu çalışma İrandaki devrim ve sonraki değişim dönemlerinde gelişen teknik ve teknolojilerle birlikte ortaya çıkan metotlar üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, 1979 yılındaki İran Devrimi ve sonrası dönemdeki grafitileri çözümlemektedir. Görsel ve yazıya dayalı göstergelere, İrandaki kültür ve dinle ilgili bağlantılarıda gözönüne alınarak bakılmaktadır.. İslami inançlara göre bu göstergeler

arasında pekçok metaforik anlamlar vardır ve bu çalışma sadece İrandaki grafitilerde belli bir dönemde görülen göstergelere değinmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Grafiti, Duvar Yazısı, İran Devrimi, İran-Irak Savaşı, Yeşil Devrim

With very special gratitude to my beloved family, and, above all, to my dear brother,

who supported me at every step of my life.

I dedicate this study to my mother-an angel who I owe my life

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

At first, during the prehistoric period, human was creating markings on the surfaces of the caves and, then, since the down of civilization, on the walls of ancient structures. Hence, although in certain cases motivations to produce such marks are covered by mystery, wall paintings and engravings may definitely serve as factual evidence of human's presence along various locations. Accordingly, while the appearance and production techniques of graffiti have been varying throughout decades, cave paintings of prehistoric period, ancient engravings, or contemporary graffiti of today have at least one feature in common-they are all human's product, created with particular purpose and meaning. Correspondingly, graffiti presents the focal point of current research, which will explore the subject in the context of specified location and time periods. However, aims, objectives, and structure of the study, together with its scope and limitations will be discussed further in this chapter, while the current section intends to introduce basic aspects and provide general idea on the graffiti issue.

Usually, the term 'graffiti' is broadly known and implied to define a contemporary form of wall writings and paintings. However, factually, the word refers to any writing or image scratched, engraved, or painted on different surfaces at any point of history. According to Longman Dictionary, word graffiti is defined as being rooted in Italian "Graffiare" that means "to make marks on a surface". Besides, referring to

Rychlicky (2008) 'graffiti' is a plural form of 'graffito', that, in turn, "denotes picture scratched on a surface" (p. 393). These examples probably present the most basic definitions of graffiti, though nowadays researcher may find quite a wide range of graffiti characterizations, varying from generalized to the ones, which make emphasis on certain aspects of this phenomenon. In addition, it is worth noting that although the word "graffiti" exists for centuries, its implication in English language as a specialized term is rather recent, and brought about between 1800 -1900s.

Apparently, graffiti, being the human product and form of social and public expression, attracts particular attention of researchers in different fields (art, sociology, linguistics, communication and the like), and encourages numerous inquiries within various aspects of this multifaceted subject. As it is already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, graffiti, as a phenomenon, has originated within the walls of prehistoric walls and since then evolved and developed into its present form-the contemporary graffiti. Therefore, in the process of research, which concerns graffiti-related issues, it is probably a matter of primary importance to take insight into the past to be able to comprehend the present. For instance, there is a research by L. Iyer, which demonstrates significance of setting parallel between prehistoric cave paintings and contemporary graffiti, particularly a case of wall writings in the Paris, inflamed by events of May, 1968. Moreover, as human's creation, graffiti at any stage of history presents a fertile ground to interpretation of underlying meanings, conceptions, and messages, whether obvious or hidden. Regarding prehistoric graffiti, there are plenty of studies by such researchers as Breuil, Coppens, Clottes and Lewis-Williams, Mullen, and many others, which intend to reveal meaning and interpret countless images left by our prehistoric ancestors. However, while subjects, related to meaning and purposes of cave painting

are still majorly a matter of hypothesis and assumptions, researches on ancient, medieval and especially contemporary graffiti display more exact and definite conclusions. For example, studies conducted by Plesch (2002) present a comprehensive source on writings inscribed over pictorial texts within walls of numerous old Italian churches. Indeed, examination of old graffiti may reveal many facts about lifestyle, customs, and traditions of our ancestors, as well as provide information on various events of local and even global character from the perspective of ordinary people (http://www.ancientworlds.net/aw/Post/985947&alert=0).

Apparently, moving 'hand-in-hand' with the men since prehistoric times, graffiti has undergone a complex process of development and transformation under tremendous impact of various factors, including growth of civilization, advancing technologies, public shifts, and socio-political events. As a result, today we can talk of contemporary graffiti-the phenomenon, significant in every respect. In fact, contemporary graffiti presents a great range of types and styles, each of which differ in accordance with technical aspects of production from the one side, and conceptual approaches from the other. Besides, being a powerful form of public expression, contemporary graffiti may provide a great deal of data on social climate of any specific locale. Academic research on graffiti has approached it in a number of ways encompassing its analysis as sociological subject, as the rise of youth and juvenile delinquency, as a historical phenomenon and as a regulatory problem.

Regarding types of graffiti, nowadays we can differentiate between tags, gang graffiti, murals, latrinalia and many others, where each kind can be characterized by particular features not only by means of application but also in terms of ideological content. For instance, research of Stowers presents data on origination of public

name writing in the context of United States, emphasizing the fact that initially it was implied predominantly by soldiers during military campaigns to mark their presence, and, then, by travelers to trace locations. From the other hand, research by Cassar (2007) and studies of Longencker explore type of graffiti known as 'latrinalia', and while Longencker attempts to classify latrinalia according to its informative content, Cassar (2007) talks of latrinalia as both, communicative medium and form of silent protest against major lack of sexual education within schools of Malta.

Indeed, contemporary graffiti, its types, styles and usages can reveal a great deal of information about an individual, group of individuals, or even the entire society. In this regard, socio-political type of graffiti is probably the most inclusive type, which echoes social ambiance, public opinions, judgments and estimations, as well as indicates public voice disapproval and objections towards governmental activities. Noteworthy, there is a large body of literature, including scholar inquiries, studies and researches, entirely dedicated to various aspects of socio-political graffiti throughout the world. As example, Kane (2009) conducted a comprehensive research on stencil graffiti of Buenos Aires and Rosario, Argentina, implying that Argentinean stencils echoes "collective memory" and plays a role of protestors against "constitutional power". From the other hand, there is research of Miklavcic (2008), which explores conflict of two ethnic groups by means of graffiti readings.

As a matter of fact, socio-political graffiti can be encountered all around the globe, at one or another point of time, as it is mainly provoked by major socio-political shifts and events, related to periods of crisis.

Contemporary graffiti creates a shared public democratic visual space, which symbolically and physically challenges the establishment and the dominant ideologies. It also has an illegal nature' and the creators of graffiti look for an easy access to the writing surfaces' visibility of their art and they use in expensive material like spray-can' which is also easy to carry and to hide.

Graffiti has been a way for political propaganda, promoting a group, a person or political ideals of the times. During the revolutions like Mexico, Chile, Soviet Union they were used to reflect or to support the transformations and the ideals of the revolutions. Besides, in the USA during 1960s and 1970s the murals were used to support the black power movement and to re-(define) the self-image of the black people and black culture.

In this respect, Iran does not stay aside and can exhibit a wide range of graffiti samples of socio-political content, which will be the main focus of the current study. Concisely, this research concentrates on examination and analyses of socio-political graffiti in Iran, induced by major political transformations within three phases, which are Iranian Revolution of 1979, post-revolution period of Iran-Iraq War, and recent events during elections in 2009, which gave rise to Green Movement. As been told previously, graffiti presents a form of public expression, and undertaking research on graffiti in case of Iran will contribute to the major body of literature concerned with the primary role of graffiti as reflector and transmitter of socio-political atmosphere.

1.1 Aim of research

This study will focus on the visual and textual elements of the graffiti work during the political transformations in Iran. The analysis will concentrate mainly on the

graffiti during 1979 revolution, however the recent graffiti created by the `Green Movement` in 2009 and the period between the Revolution and the Green Movement will also be mentioned so as to see the similarities and differences between these times in terms of the use of material and the content in the graffiti.

1.2 Problem Definition

It will be argued that the graffiti in Iran during 1979 revolution and in the aftermath created an alternative public space through which anti-regime views were emphasized and expressed. This experience was strongly influenced by some cultural, social and religious rituals and symbols as well as the then political ideals. Therefore one of the main questions of the study is that what textual contents, visual techniques or locations were used in different political periods. What were the differences and similarities between the graffiti in 1979 revolution and the graffiti afterwards? Semiology has been chosen as a method to analyze the form, color and metaphors used in Iranian graffiti. One other important question of the study is that the ways in which the meanings were created by using some specific symbols and inscriptions in different political periods.

1.3 Layout of the Study

The current research is composed of 5 major parts, arranged into entire chapters as follow:

Chapter 1, the Introduction chapter briefly mentions various definitions of graffiti, the use, types and techniques of graffiti. It also explains the reasons for choosing the Iranian graffiti as the research subject, the main arguments and questions of the study.

Chapter 2 presents the historical development of and relevant literature on graffiti to be able to see the evolution of graffiti and the ways in which the graffiti has been used.

Chapter 3 deals with the graffiti in Iran by providing a brief overview on Iranian political periods starting with the 1979 Revolution. The graffiti used by the anti-regime groups as well as the government to stop and erase the anti-government graffiti is mentioned in this chapter

Chapter 4 is devoted to the analysis of the study, which examines the examples of graffiti during the political changes in Iran by mainly focusing on 1979 Revolution period. The examples chosen for the analysis are looked at in terms of textual and visual strategies and techniques used.

The Conclusion part provides an overview and discussion of the graffiti in Iran by referring to different political periods. It discusses the results within the social, political, cultural and religious contexts, which are considered as the main factors influencing the creation of political graffiti in Iran.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Historical Background

In order to embrace and gain thorough understanding of complex subject of graffiti, it is essential to trace its history from the point of origins. In this respect, considering impact of graffiti as a form of communication and its multifaceted nature, the current section of the research focuses on historical overview of the subject. Hence, with a support of relevant literature, this chapter covers issues of graffiti initiation in the form of cave paintings and engravings during prehistoric period, subsequently outlining process of graffiti evolution throughout decades. Ultimately, to prepare grounds for discussions of graffiti as cultural phenomenon within realms of today's society, the final part of this chapter will comprise information on origination and development of contemporary graffiti to its present form.

2.2 Origins of Graffiti: Cave paintings and engravings

Obviously, a variety of paintings and engravings discovered on the cave walls all around the world can be considered as 'ancestors 'of contemporary graffiti. Indeed, numerous researchers agree that graffiti takes its roots in prehistoric period (L. Mullen, 2008; A.H. Breuil, n.d.; P. Coppens, 2003; D. Ambrose, 2006; L. Iyer, 2001). Particularly, the most well-known and famous for their wall paintings are the caves of Altamira and Lascaux, fascinating viewer with remarkable succession of images, dominated by variety of figures from animal world (Mullen, p. 9). Nevertheless, the purpose and meaning of cave paintings still present unresolved

mystery, giving rise to great range of hypotheses in effort to solve the puzzle, left to us by our predecessors. In fact, theories attempting to enquire motivations of prehistoric 'artists' to produce engravings and paintings at the depth of the caves vary greatly from the assumptions that it served as magic tool to the ones which maintain that it was simply made for the sake of art (Darren Ambrose, p. 137).

Therefore, while conducting research on contemporary graffiti as cultural phenomenon and its interaction with and impact on today's society, it is surely indispensable to turn towards its roots-the cave paintings and engravings, which possibly present the earliest form of visual communication. To quote Mullen (2008):

> … the cave images are understood as coded and organized, not a random set of symbols… Moreover, behind the ideological and environmental aspects is a human being who produced this visual artifacts-not a machine that coldly reproduces ideologies, but someone with prejudice, memory, and feeling. The meaningful form the image takes is the result of a personal interpretation of social and ideological conventions. (p. 9)

In fact, establishing parallel between cave paintings and today's graffiti would significantly aid in both: understanding motivations, lifestyles and perception of surrounding by our prehistoric ancestors, as well as in taking more comprehensive insight into contemporary graffiti, embracing its values, meanings, aims, and power of expression.

2.2.1 Cave Art: Motivations, Subjects, Techniques

Considering cave paintings and engravings as ancestors of contemporary graffiti, it is essential to concentrate specifically on three issues, which are techniques, subjects and motivations. Indeed, brief overview of these subjects will aid in establishing parallel with and understanding of graffiti as it evolved into its contemporary form. In other words, presenting a form of visual communication, graffiti of the past (cave paintings) and graffiti of today emerged as human product and thus are matter of

purposes, motivations, subjects and techniques available, at each point of history to be produced and captured on the surfaces of the walls as a means of communication, as messages to contemporaries or preceding generations.

Along these lines, the current section presents a brief overview of cave paintings and engravings, regarding specifically techniques by which it had been produced, subjects of painting and possible motivation and purposes underlying the process.

2.2.1.1 Techniques

On the whole, it was indicated that there were three main distinct techniques utilized throughout the process of cave paintings, which were used either independently or in combination with each other: "engraving", "painting", and "drawing" (Mullen, pp. 10-11). The engravings were made by carving into the surfaces of the rocks. Remarkably, engraved outlines surround many drawings and painted images.

In general, drawings, presented by black outlines were made mainly by charcoal. Consequently, black pigment for paintings had been obtained from the same material, while red and variations of yellowish-brown had been acquired from rust (Mullen, p. 11).

Significantly, as it is emphasized by various researchers, despite of the fact that cave painting are claimed to be primitive, close inspection, in contrast, has shown that the majority of images are rather accurate and clean (Mullen, p. 11). To quote discoverer of paintings in Altamira cave, Marcelino Sanz de Sautuola (in Mullen, 2008), "when closely examined, these paintings clearly reveal that they are not the product of trial and error. On the contrary, whatever the implement used each line was drawn

cleanly, in one single stroke, in response to the uneven quality of the vault surface"
(p. 11).

2.2.1.2 Subjects

While attempting to gain more comprehensive understanding of cave paintings it is
probably essential first to take a look at images as such. According to Mullen (2008),
cave images can be categorized in two basic groups: "pictographs" and "ideographs",
where "pictographs" refer to the representation of animals and other things and
objects, while "ideographs" stand for representation of abstract concepts (p. 13).
However, such categorization may seem in a way over-generalized, as apart from
distinctive figures, cave paintings present an array of indistinct patterns. In view of
this fact, it is worthwhile referring to an article by D. Ambrose "30, 000 BC: Painting
Animality. Deleuze and Prehistoric Painting", where author argues that there is a
common tendency among prehistoric art specialists to neglect possible presence of a
"radical graphic fluidity" in cave paintings (p. 138). In other words, author considers
it rather illicit to privilege one type of images over the other. Indeed, many
researchers concentrate on examination of more distinct and recognizable figures of
animals and human, while skipping more abstract and vague lines, shapes and
patterns (p. 138). Correspondingly, Ambrose refers to studies of M. Lorblanchet and
Emmanuel Anati, who attempted to develop an approach that can give an equal value
to each element of cave art (p. 138).

Anati suggests that there are three distinctive and entirely interconnected components
in all variety of prehistoric art, which are "pictograms" (distinct images),
"ideograms" (repeated symbols of common importance), and "psychograms" (every
psychogram is exclusive and aimed to express sensations) (Ambrose, p. 138). Thus,
Anati implies that these three components constitute entire foundation of prehistoric

art world-widely (p. 138). Turning to Lorblanchet theory, which brings into view "interpretative approach" to prehistoric art, it is insinuated that there is integrated comprehension of the correlation between clear, pictographic figures and images and rather abstract, chaotic lines, marks and patterns, which imply distinct "metaphysical intention" (in Ambrose, p. 138). In brief, Lorblanchet argues that ambiguous marks and lines hold strong tendency to turn into distinct figures (in Ambrose, p. 138).

Furthermore, another important point considering cave art is highlighted by Guthrie (in Mullen, 2006), who implies that regardless of relatively large time span and variety of cultures which presumably subsisted throughout Paleolithic period, cave paintings and engravings found in various locations exhibit an array of features in common (p. 13). In other words, to quote Mullen, "despite the lack of our ability to clearly understand the meaning of the images, we can understand much of the different cultures and time periods from which the cave art emanated" (p. 13).

2.2.1.3 Motivations

Apparently, while locations of paintings as well as materials and techniques it had been done by are identified, their purposes and meanings, together with the question of why these specific images were preferred over the others and drawn with regular frequency, present unresolved mystery. As a result, these issues offer an open ground to speculations and cultivations of various theories. For example, according to Janson and Janson (in Mullen, 2006), dominance of animal figures within a wide range of cave paintings can be explained by the fact that due to several circumstances, such as hunger and fear, prehistoric man could hardly leave the thoughts of animals they painted over surfaces of the walls (p. 13). Considering aims and meanings of cave paintings there are many theories supporting a viewpoint that such images are products of shamanic actions. As suggested by Clottes and Lewis-Williams (in

Mullen, 2006), prehistoric man were practicing trances and either produced paintings in such condition, or exploited them during the trance (p. 14).

Furthermore, concerning the question of purpose and meaning of cave paintings, one of the mysteries is an actual location of images, as they are found in the deepest, hardly accessible parts of the caves. Many researchers made attempt to lit a light on this obscurity. For instance, Lewis-Williams (in Coppens) explains it by assuming that cave paintings served religious goals and, being of sacred character, were drawn at the deepest parts of the caves, which turned out to be "the cathedrals of the Stone Age". Besides, while some theorists suggest that cave paintings are nothing but unconnected, fragmented, random pieces, Lewis-Williams (Coppens, n.d.) maintains that systematic pattern do exist, as cave images are the "logical sequence" of what our ancestors saw and experienced during their shamanic practice and trance states. In addition, various researchers assume that drawn animals served as totems, or so-called "spirit guides" through the shaman's journey to the "otherworld" (Coppens, n.d.). Likewise, A.H. Breuil, archeologist and priest, considered as one of the major character regarding exploration and interpretation of cave art, has developed theory, concerning purposes and meanings of cave painting, which was widely implemented by specialists in related field. In brief, Breuil maintains that cave paintings belong to the category of "sympathetic magic" (term utilized by J. Frazer in 19th century), which were produced in order to pledge a successful hunt. Besides, while producing multiple images, prehistoric artists intended to raise productiveness of migrating groups. Concisely, while noting precise and accurate accomplishment of drawings and paintings, Breuil yet emphasizes that cave images were not created for the art sake but rather as "attempts to ensure survival by means of magic under the difficult circumstances of the Ice Age" (Zabel, n.d.).

Another research, worth mentioning in regard to meanings and purposes of cave painting, is the one of L. Iyer, who, relying on Blanchot's studies, attempts to locate an analogy between cave paintings and graffiti writings on the walls of the streets of Paris, associated with events in May 1968 (p. 32). Accordingly, author implies Blanchot's term "signature" to draw a parallel between actions of our ancestors, particularly in terms of prehistoric art, and engagement of our contemporaries into graffiti wall writing during revolution in France. Briefly, "signature" in Blanchot's terms stands for "a fragmentary recite or narrative that the painter of the cave walls leaves in order to indicate his own mastery over the work of art: the fact that he and he alone was responsible for it…"(Iyer, 2001, p. 32).

Noticeably, the cave paintings of Paleolithic period are dominated by representations of animal that drawn vividly and accurate in comparison to few representations of human figure, which are drawn rather rough and crude (Iyer, 2001, p. 37). For instance, referring to the paintings of Lascaux cave, Blanchot (in Iyer, 2001) talks about portrayal of human figure with the head of the bird and erect penis, stabbing a bison:

> the meaning of this obscure drawing is nonetheless clear…the first signature of the first painting, the mark left modestly in a corner, the furtive, fearful, indelible trace of man who is for the first time born of his work, but who also feels seriously threatened by this work and perhaps already struck with death. (p. 37)

Nevertheless, though at the first sight variety of theories and assumptions on the meanings and purposes of cave paintings may confuse, while examined closer, there are quite distinct tendencies within basic assumptions of each theory that may let us roughly categorize them along three main directions. Indeed, despite of variations in approaches, there is a supposition at the basis of each theory that cave painting were

created either as religious/rituals means, as bare representation of daily environment, or for the sake of aesthetics.

2.2.2 Graffiti through Decades

According to data, gathered and reviewed in the previous sections, cave paintings and engravings can be considered as ancestors of contemporary graffiti. However it took decades to pass before graffiti acquired features and forms as we know it today. Indeed, one may think that graffiti is relatively recent phenomenon, which occurred in the middle of 20th century, and, in fact, it is true regarding wall writings in its contemporary form. Nonetheless, derivation of graffiti inscriptions are rooted in Ancient times and was found all around the world, including areas belonging to Roman Empire, ancient Greece, Egypt, and the like. Variety of graffito has been discovered on remains of Pompeii, the Mayan locale in Guatemala, as well as Rome and at Newgrange Mound in Ireland (Xtreemli, 2007).

As a matter of fact, basically, in historical terms, graffiti (or graffito) is utilized to define any inscriptions or drawings on the surfaces of ancient structures and ruins outside as well as indoor, usually made without agreement with owner. Remarkably, such inscriptions were made on exteriors and interiors of different buildings, regardless of their function. Therefore, graffito could appear on the walls of ordinary apartment blocks, as well as on governmental buildings and even places of worship. For example, V. Plesch (2002), conducted a comprehensive research, reflected in article titled "Memory on the Wall: Graffiti on Religious Wall Paintings". Staring an article with an example of graffito, inscribed in bishop's private apartment by one of the citizen's of Trent, Italy, Plesch (2002) emphasizes an importance (in Plesch's terms "appropriation") and role of architectural settings, selected for inscription:

> By making this mark, right at the core of a building that stood as a symbol of power, this Trentine graffitist expressed the inhabitants' reappropriation of

their town… In doing so, he also recorded for prosperity this momentous event, leaving a material trace of the insurgents' presence in the bishop's apartments. The graffito celebrated the event and expressed its importance: it was worth writing down, and in a special place. (pp. 167-168)

Furthermore, regarding selection of surfaces for inscriptions, Plesch (2002) attributes particular significance to the writings made specifically on painted walls. Plesch (2002) argues that writings, inscribed on top of images reflect distinct feelings, and intention to preserve those feelings by passing its memory to next generations. In other words, in accordance with Plesch's research, wall inscriptions were made somewhat with a desire to leave a material trace in history about certain event, memory of one's presence, or simply expression of feelings like love or hater. For instance, ruins of Pompeii contain a variety of graffiti samples, disclosing different aspects of Roman lifestyle, like:

"Lovers, like bees, lead a honey-sweet life."

"I don't want to sell my husband."

"Someone at whose table I do not dine, Lucius Istacidius, is a barbarian to me." (Xtreemli, 2007)

Moreover, graffiti of the past reveal much about peculiarities of linguistics that is, simply saying, the ways ordinary people of various educational and social backgrounds communicated in daily life. To illustrate the case, it has been discovered through examination of wall inscriptions that common inhabitants of Roman Empire usually implied language known as "vulgar Latin" rather than "classic Latin" encountered in samples of early literature (Graffiti, 2008). Besides, numerous samples of ancient graffiti verify basics of knowledge to write and read among different segments of society. As example, there are inscriptions found in the

brothel at CIL VII, 12, 18-20, which present numerous graffiti samples belonging not only to the hands of prostitutes, but also to their customers (Graffiti, 2008).

Distinct group of ancient graffiti in various locales belongs to pilgrims, who visited sacred places, leaving wall inscriptions as simple evidence of their visits, as prayer, or spell. D. Mazzoleni (Mazzoleni, 2000) in the article "Ancient Graffiti in Roman Catacombs" presents several examples of pilgrim inscriptions, emphasizing its significant role for the ones intending to take insight into history. Though, Mazzoleni highlights that despite of their importance, frequently it is rather problematic to identify precise date of such inscriptions, as they often being written in rush, sometimes incomplete, with fonts, greatly ranging in types and styles. According to Mazzoleni, apart from Roman catacombs and basilicas, pilgrims' inscriptions have been encountered beyond Roman borders in other ancient Christian locales, like Holy Land and catacombs of Hadrumetum; the Euphrasian Basilica of Poret, Croatia, St Michael on Mount Gargano in Apulia, and the like.

Noteworthy, pilgrims were not the solely authors of inscriptions found in the places of worship. According to research of Plesch (2002), already mentioned in the current section, writings made on top of pictorial texts within religious buildings frequently were inscribed by ordinary inhabitants of surrounding local rural settings, depicting events which ranged from natural disasters to news of regional scale and happenings in the local community. For instance, as one of the cases, Plesch (2002) discusses graffiti encountered on the walls of Oratario di San Sebastiano chapel at Arborio, which are significant in terms of its scale (over 150 graffiti entries) and "uniformity of many of its features" (p. 170). In this respect Plesch (2002) writes, "all the inscriptions follow the same structure: starting with a date, generally the year first,

they record significant events in the life of this community, using a simple vocabulary and grammatical structure that remain constant over the course of the centuries" (pp. 170-171). As was noted above, inscriptions normally contained certain information on climate and natural conditions, as well as social events of local scale. Plesch (2002) lists down several samples of graffiti from mentioned chapel, which were translated from original Italian and Latin inscriptions, like "on the 10th of March 1677 snow came to the knees and remained for five days; it killed many sheep", or "in 1570 there was the greatest shortage" (pp. 171-172). Introducing cases of inscriptions from various churches and emphasizing similarities in their content and structure, Plesch (2002), therefore, claims that "instead of statement by an individual who hopes to leave a mark of his passage, all these graffiti made in a religious setting represent the recording, and thus the preservation and memory, of data which is of concern to an entire community" (p. 180).

Regarding ancient inscriptions within architectural settings, there is interesting phenomenon encountered in some of Romanesque churches, termed 'tacherons' (from French), or, simply saying 'builders mark' (Builders Marks (or Tacherons) on Romanesque Churches, 2011). In brief, 'tacherons' are the marks in form of letters, symbol, or geometrical figure, which were inscribed on the stones by craftsmen taking part in construction process. Therefore, today builders marks, discovered within various historical architectural settings can provide a link to and certain information about the builders. Moreover, it was revealed that 'tacherons' could be left both, by individual craftsman, as well as identify a specific group of builders (Builders Marks (or Tacherons) on Romanesque Churches, 2011). In addition, various researches indicated that utilization of 'tacherons' has begun before Romanesque period, and range of visual evidence has been found at different locales,

including St Sophia, Constantinople; Eastern Mediterranean; Italy, and Spain (Builders Marks (or Tacherons) on Romanesque Churches, 2011).

To conclude, it appears to be obvious that phenomenon of graffiti accompanies human race since down of civilization. Evolving through decades, it was acquiring new forms and dimensions, however in essence, graffiti today and inscriptions of the past have a point in common: they were and are being used as a mean of communication.

2.2.3 Derivation and Development of Contemporary Graffiti

Referring to the discussion in previous section, it might be suggested that graffiti originated within walls of prehistoric caves and since then evolved and developed into what acknowledged today as contemporary graffiti. Evidently, various social shifts and events, together with advancing technologies influenced appearance of graffiti as it is known nowadays. However, despite all, it has been and remains as one of the popular form of public expression. Therefore, this section of the research introduces a brief overview on contemporary graffiti, regarding the history of its origination and development.

According to various sources, contemporary graffiti originated in United States, though its birth city is still subjected to arguments, and while some researchers claims that motherland of graffiti is New York City, others insist that it is actually Philadelphia (Longo; Stowers, 1997). Nevertheless, at this point it might be essential to review research by Stowers, "American graffiti: The tradition of illegal public name writing in the United States", while discussion on birth city of contemporary graffiti will be held later in this section.

An article of Stowers focuses particularly on phenomenon of graffiti in terms of public name writing, known as "tags", in the context of United States, which, in a

way, pre-dates contemporary graffiti as such, and, thus is worth reviewing. Historically, the earliest known sample of public name writing- the scratched name of Jewish soldier- has been found in Syria and dated to 4000 BCE (Stowers, p. 62). Numerous discoveries of name engravings throughout the world indicate that public name writing has long history in human customs. In this respect, United States does not stay apart as history of illegal public name writing in various locations of the country can be traced to its origins in late 1800s (Stowers, p. 62). Notably, in case of United States origination of tendency of public name writing can hardly be connected to the specific site, as it has been emerging concurrently at various locations. Essentially, according to Stowers, despite of ranging types and styles, the phenomena of illegal public name writing have one thing in common: "the desire to express oneself and to leave one's mark in public places along American landscape" (p. 62).

Referring to Stowers, earliest samples of public name writing throughout United States emerged during Civil War, as soldiers were engraving their names to mark locations. For example, one of the most comprehensive array of signatures was found in Virginia state in so-called "Graffiti house", and, though graffiti related issues are portrayed majorly as destructive phenomenon, presenting an open subject to disputes, the collection of signatures of "Graffiti house" is thought of as a "national treasure" (Stowers, pp. 62-63). Besides, majority of colonists used to leave their names along the rotes of their wagon trips throughout the country. Later on, with emergence and spread of gang movements, illegal public name writing appeared across Los Angeles in the 1930s as a "visual claims to territory" (p. 62).

In brief, referring to Stowers, illegal public name writing across United States has developed and spread due to several factors to serve various aims, and thus can be

categorized accordingly. The basic categories are the engraving of soldiers' names during war time to indicate location; set of names and symbols developed by travelers to trace journey and indicate location; name writings used by gangs groups in order to define boundaries of their territory; as well as name writing by youth groups of same race, social, and economic background who joined together for the sake of "socializing and protection from enemies" (pp. 64-66). To quote Stowers:

> The presence of such street-level writing system presented the opportunity for declarations of identity, association, discontent and creativity. The code itself may appear to be secret, but through the decades it has told the stories of average Americans who did not want to be average. In the United States, illegal public name writing has been woven into the national fabric and connected with various cultural revolutions. (p. 68)

Nevertheless, as been mentioned above, the birth city of contemporary graffiti remains under question. It is suggested by many sources that popularization and spread of graffiti in its contemporary form begun with tagger called Taki 183, of New York. However, Longo in his article "A Full History of Graffiti-1965-2002" states that careful examination reveals that in fact, birthplace of graffiti is Philadelphia, and credits for initiation of graffiti movement can be given to graffiti writers, named Cornbread and Cool Earl. Noteworthy, though graffiti bombing effort in Philadelphia encountered in late 1960s gave consequent rise and spread of contemporary graffiti, wall writing were widely used by political extremists since early 60s, in order to express concerns and dissatisfaction with various governmental activities (Graffiti, 2008). However, such pieces generally had poor aesthetical value regarding styles and techniques that are essential attributes underlying evolution of graffiti culture.

In general, contemporary graffiti has its history of evolution and development, influenced by several factors. Apparently, initial wall writings did not have a wide

variety of styles and types, first of all due to poor material choice. As a matter of fact, before production of aerosol paints, writings were made by newly invented water-resistant markers, which, by definition, set limits to size, scale, color range, and other aspects involved into formation of specific features of contemporary graffiti (Graffiti, 2008). However, invention of aerosol paints, together with its recognition and spread expanded boundaries of creativity and presented opportunity to produce unique, larger scaled pieces. The other factor, which considerably influenced development of graffiti, is its actual rapid spread and popularization. Simply saying, as a number of graffiti writers begun to raise hastily, creation, development and establishment of more outstanding, distinguished styles turned into the number one issue on agenda (c). Moreover, graffiti rapidly spread and moved from the streets into subways, covering entire cars of metro trains. Consequently, increasing desire to produce larger, visually unique pieces, as well as raising competitive character of an activity, caused formation of crews, since group work is more productive and time consuming than individual (Deal Cia, E. A., & Tfp, S. O., 1998). Apparently, after a short while, graffiti movement expanded beyond New York and Philadelphia borders into the other cities all around U.S, and then spread worldwide. For example, Docuyanan (2000) in an article "Governing Graffiti in Contested Urban Spaces", talks of emergence of graffiti in Los Angeles. According to Docuyanan (2000), even though graffiti writing in Los Angeles can be dated to the early 1930s and attributed mainly to gang groups, a remarkable raise in quality appeared only in 1970s-1980s and being caused by influence of hip-hop culture and fascination with graffiti of New York trains among youngsters of L.A.

Remarkably, rising popularization of graffiti in 1970s and early 80s attracted attention of mainstream and art elite, resulting in exhibition of numerous graffiti

artists in galleries across U.S. and abroad. Among street artists, whose exponents were displayed were Robert Combas, Harold Naegeli, Kenny Scharf, Keith Haring and, most famously, Jean-Michel Basquiat, and others (http://melbourneartcritic. wordpress.com/tag/graffiti-history/).

Nevertheless, by beginning of 1980s, spreading popularity of graffiti instigated the heaviest graffiti 'bombing' on the streets and especially subways, resulting in initiation of graffiti removal programs, severe penalties and legitimate punishments (Deal Cia, E. A., & Tfp, S. O. 1998). Graffiti representation by press and political authorities took more negative character, regarding street writings as damaging, criminal activity and mere act of vandalism.

In brief, graffiti today presents significant and intact element of urban surrounding. Moreover, it is widely implied for great range of purposes, like advertisement or distribution of various messages of social, political, or even personal character. Besides, it is accepted by many as modern form of art and, in this regard, displayed in galleries worldwide. Hence, whether one supports or opposes graffiti writing, it is still undeniable fact that contemporary graffiti presents significant cultural phenomenon within society today.

2.3 Cultural Phenomenon of Graffiti: Contemporary Graffiti and Society Today

The current section of the research focuses on phenomenon of graffiti in its contemporary context. In this respect, a large body of literature has been reviewed and studied, in order to gain a thorough understanding of a subject and, subsequently, to prepare a strong theoretical ground, which should supplement and underlay the

following case study and analyses. Thus, this sub-chapter will concentrate specifically on contemporary graffiti within realms of today's society, covering issues related to types and styles of contemporary graffiti, as well as touching ongoing debate which brings graffiti on the edge between art and vandalism. As a final point, the current section will introduce several examples of political graffiti throughout the world, obtained out of studies of relevant literature, which will be helpful in defining approach towards investigation and analyses of Iranian graffiti belonging to revolution and post-revolution periods.

2.3.1 Graffiti Today: Types, Styles and Techniques

In general, many sources present classification of graffiti according to three basic categories: "tagging", "bombing", and "piecing", where "tagging refers to the simplest and fastest type in terms of its implication (include just marks of writers' initials, or simple symbols); "bombing" refers to type of graffiti which requires more time to finish and normally introduces more detailed, multicolored implication, and finally "piecing" is a category of graffiti is considered to be most professional and therefore requires larger time span to be completed. For instance, Georcarson, considering the case of U. S., maintains that there are two major distinct categories of graffiti can be found that are "street gang graffiti" and "hip-hop"/"tagger" graffiti. Each group characterized by certain features which make them to differ one from the other. First of all, gang graffiti is predominantly "territorial", that is gangs groups utilize graffiti to define territory by means of implication of gangs signs and symbols. Hip-hop graffiti makers, on the other hands, are commonly use tags for the sake of "fame", and usually work in organized groups-"crews", where each participant possesses an individual "graffiti moniker". Besides, while gang graffiti usually does not stand out and not counted as the main target activity of the group,

hip-hop graffiti, in reverse, is commonly prominent and intend to appear in locations that would provide highest possible degree of visibility.

However, list of graffiti types is not limited to three mentioned groups but expands far beyond it. As follow, an article, retrieved from the internet page of Vandal Watch Society, apart from picturing graffiti practice as criminal activity, presents quite detailed list on types and styles of graffiti images, which worth reviewing for the objectives of the current research. Therefore, referring to Vandal Watch Society, there are the following types of graffiti, regarding techniques, meanings and aims implied:

- **"Hip Hop or Wild Style"** (characterized by complexity of shapes and colors, usually pre-planned; involve incorporation of graffiti maker's tag, where typographical elements are presented in three-dimensional or bubble-like forms);

- **"Tag or Signature"** (an individual assumed name of a graffiti maker, writing of which does not, usually, require extensive time and detailing. Generally made by spray paint or marker of single color);

- **"Gang"** (implied by gangs' groups for recognition and marking territorial boundaries);

- **"Non-descript"** (considered to be meaningless in terms of writer. For example it might be written name of music band or favorite sport team);

- **"Bubble gum"** (the eternal proclamation of love);

- **"Socio-political"** (predominantly oriented towards adult members of society, and involves commentaries and criticism of particular unsatisfying socio-political situations, conditions and events);

- **"Skateboard"**

- **"Racist"**

- **"Satanic"**

- **"Religious"**

- **"Stencil"** (usually implied for the purpose of reflecting socio-political statements);

- **"Eulogy"** (graffiti in memory of friends or the loved ones)

2.3.2 Different Usages of Contemporary Graffiti

Recalling data, gathered in the first part of current chapter, it might be said that cave paintings can be considered as preliminary ancestors of contemporary graffiti. Thus, as centuries ago, wall writing and painting (graffiti) present a human's product, created due to certain circumstances, with various meanings, reasons and purposes. However, while motivations of prehistoric men to produce visuals on the surfaces of caves are still a subject to speculations, purposes and usages of contemporary graffiti are rather clear and distinct.

Nowadays, there is a great variety of graffiti's kinds and styles, already partially outlined and listed in the previous section, ranging in accordance with techniques and tools implied (e.g. stencils), location and placement (e.g. private; public), as well as peculiarity of visual features (e.g. tags; pieces) and underlying messages (e.g. socio-political). Consequently, it might be suggested that a great deal of question related to usages of contemporary graffiti can be answered through examination of existing types, as their names give hint or clue to the reason and purpose of their creation. For instance, Longencker in the article "Sequential Parody Graffiti" discusses graffiti type known as 'latrinalia', simply saying the wall writings which can be encountered in public bathrooms. According to Kan (2001), "bathroom" graffiti appears through the course of history at various locations and civilizations, and been produced

generally by socially suppressed individuals (slaves; prisoners). Referring to A. Dundes's terminology, Longencker introduces 'latrinalia' as 'traditional inscriptions' which might be called as 'commentary graffiti' (p. 355). In addition, Longencker presents Dundes's classification of 'latrinalia' graffiti into five categories, where name of each category talks for the purposes of writer:

1) Advertisements or solicitations;

2) Requests or commands;

3) Directions;

4) Commentaries;

5) Personal laments or introspective; (in Longencker, p. 355)

Furthermore, considering 'latrinalia' graffiti, there is noteworthy research by Cassar (2007) "Unveiling Desires: Adolescents' Hidden Graffiti about Sexualities and Romantic Relationships in Schooled Settings". Considering writings in the female bathroom of postsecondary school in Malta "as subversive processes of learning, which reproduce and resist dominant discourses of sexuality and sexual conduct" (p. 179), Cassar suggests that graffiti presents silent protest against lack of sexual education at school and, at the same time, used as communicative medium among girls to share experiences, ask questions and make commentaries. Likewise, Kan (in Art Education, January 2001) in the article "Adolescents and Graffiti" implies that "latrinalia at schools may be a form of silence and mindless protest for them (adolescence) against the large educational system that alienates their primary needs" (p. 19).

Additionally, while Cassar (2007) discusses educational aspects of graffiti in terms of unspoken at school issues, like sexuality, Beck (1982) suggests that graffiti may

educate about humor, as well as great deal of "poetic and other stepped-up language" (p. 74).

Nevertheless, while "bathroom" writing presents a type of private graffiti and, according to Kane (2001), done mostly unconsciously, there is a great range of public graffiti, created with specific intentions and purposes. As a matter of fact, the most common and known types of public graffiti have been listed and defined in the previous section, which may provide at least basic idea of its usages. For example, kind of graffiti, known as 'gang graffiti' emerged in U.S. and been used by gang groups to mark territory (Kane, 2001; Stowers, 2009; Vandal Watch Society). Tagging, on the other hand, though similarly to gang graffiti is used to mark a place, present a sort of signature left by individual as signifier of his/her presence in the area (Whitehead, 2004). Regarding usage and purposes of tagging, it might be worthy to emphasise an article by Stowers, already discussed in previous parts, Thus, referring to Stowers, despite of ranging types and styles, the phenomena of illegal public name writing have one thing in common: "the desire to express oneself and to leave one's mark in public places along American landscape" (p. 62). Noteworthy, the desire to express one's self through graffiti is emphasized in many researches. For example, significant studies of Wilson (2008) give comprehensive insight into graffiti found in Australian prisons. Wilson (2008) claims that in its basis reasons and purposes of prison graffiti are in many ways similar to those of outside world, that is "artists' subjective sense of voicelessness" (p. 54). Besides, Wilson (2008) suggests that many samples of examined prison graffiti present a form of "brief diary entries than messages to others" (p. 54).

Concisely, contemporary graffiti presents a great range of types and styles, and, accordingly, ranges in their usages and purposes. Nowadays, due to its rapid spread

into visual language of mainstream, graffiti undergoes processes of globalization and commercialization, consequently being utilized as powerful marketing tool. On the other hand, possessing strong communicative properties and possibility for writers to preserve their anonymity, graffiti turn into one of the dominant mediums to reflect social conditions and transmit political statements. As a matter of fact, socio-political graffiti is a primary concern of this research and, therefore, the last section of the current chapter will be entirely dedicated to discussion of political graffiti with examples, obtained through previously conducted researches throughout the world.

2.3.3 Graffiti: on the Threshold between Art and Vandalism

Within the realm of contemporary society the question whether graffiti should be considered as an art form or pure vandalism raised a continuously ongoing debates and speculations among various members of society, including representatives of media and governmental establishments, scholars and academicians, as well as common beholders. Hence, monitoring and examination of academic documentations, including articles, theses and dissertations, together with mainstream media representation of graffiti practice, reveal that view of graffiti writing as an act of vandalism seems to predominates among different segments of society, and thus turning into conventional notion. Consequently, while graffiti practice remains illegalized, it will posses dual character, hanged on the edge of the threshold between an art and vandalism.

In this respect, the current section of the research concerns and examines an ongoing argument, (which drags idea of graffiti practice along two extremes: art and vandalism), through overview of several media pieces and academic documentations particularly in terms of overall representation of graffiti.

Probably, it is best to start with two selected articles retrieved from WEB page of BBC News, titled accordingly as "Graffiti vandals damage listed church ruin in Eastwell" (BBC News, October 2010) and "Graffiti: Free speech or vandalism?" (BBC News, April 2006). Thus, while without further insight into the text, first article directly pictures graffiti as an act of vandalism by means of its title, the second article seemingly invites readers into discussion. However, further text discloses information on recently applied laws which aim to reduce if not illuminate graffiti practice within urban and sub-urban spaces, as well as accounts the damage caused by graffiti during various periods of time across New York City and possible legitimate penalties for anyone, involved into illegal wall writing. Nevertheless, second part of an article "Graffiti: Free speech or vandalism?" talks of graffiti in rather positive terms, featuring it as "vibrant expression of modern cities" (BBC News, April 2006). Moreover, further text implies that nowadays, while urban landscape is majorly shaped by commercial interests, graffiti practice presents an opportunity to direct interaction of common beholder with city space, by expressing his/her feelings, emotions, and experiences. Finally, as a conclusion, article brings forward an assumption that "by imposing unjustifiable punishments and police action, they are trying to take action against a mostly harmless group of people, perhaps only to distract the public from the failure of politics in much more important questions" (BBC News, April 2006).

Another media representation of graffiti as criminal activity and act of vandalism can be exemplified by an article, retrieved from CNN WEB site (March, 1996), named "Graffiti: art or vandalism. U.S. cities fear its spread". Starting with an account of recent damage graffiti caused across the country, author states that graffiti writers are mostly gangs groups that mark territory and taggers, polluting surfaces with their

signatures. It follows by the brief from anti-graffiti conference, arranged in Washington, D.C., and quoting of R. Condon, organizer of mentioned conference, who states that "the neighborhood begins to deteriorate, and then that invites first minor crime and then major crime. We can see this in a lot of our cities where graffiti has just taken over" (in CNN, March, 1996).

Indeed, it is essential to note that stereotypically, in many cases graffiti practice is represented as being in connection or leading to other criminal acts including drug use. In other words, it is common assumption that process of graffiti writing is a "slippery slope downwards into criminality" (Halsey and Young, p. 289). However, research, conducted by Halsey and Young emphasizes absurdness of such notion, as "distinction needs to be made here between crimes committed in order to write illegally, as against other crimes committed by those who happen, at certain times, to write illegally" (p. 290). In other words, it is widespread myth that process of graffiti writing leads to other, heavier kinds of criminal activity; and vice versa it does not necessary mean that various crimes would be followed by graffiti. Besides, concerning issue of drug use, Halsey and Young figured out that, although some of the interviewed graffiti writers admitted irregular smoking of marihuana, the usage of heavier drugs is somehow a taboo, as it may cause a negative impact on the quality of their works, which "require sustained concentration and skill over several hours" (pp. 290-291).

Noteworthy, a great range of internet sources undoubtedly picture graffiti as nothing but an act of vandalism, presenting a vast amount of pages, which feature damages caused by graffiti vandals and all sort of possible penalties following such acts. Besides, such sites, by and large, present extensive information on graffiti-removal

techniques, as well as tips on prevention of graffiti vandalism and what has to be done if graffiti vandals nevertheless left their traces.

Along these lines, to illustrate ideology underlying particular sort of WEB sites, pages and articles, it might be useful, without going into further details, to give a brief overview by referring to most striking quotations exemplifying the case. As follows, for instance author of article "Graffiti: vandalism posing as art?" (with further extension as "graffiti is vandalism, not art. How teens can get rid of it) (www.creationtips.com/graffiti.html) sets parallel between graffiti and stealing stating that "it [graffiti] is a crime, like stealing, because it steals the property owner's right to have their own property look clean and nice". Another article by anonymous author, retrieved from http://www.hrps.on.ca, "Vandalism & Graffiti", defines graffiti as "willful act of vandalism that involves writing, drawing or symbols applied to any surface without the consent of property owners, authorized agents or designates. If left unchecked, graffiti crime can grow into a larger problem…"

In addition, in order to illustrate less formal, more intolerant and rigid opinion on graffiti, which might be a commonplace view among many beholders, an article by (so called) C. Purcell titled "Hey Banksy, graffiti is vandalism not art" can serve as a good example of a case. Retrieved through Internet, an article was written as response to upcoming visiting of graffiti artist Banksy to Australia. Naming graffiti writers as "brainless herd that ruin neighborhoods", author states that "the art community might be willing to idealize Banksy, but for average person, there is nothing arty or glamorous in graffiti, no higher messages of rebellion against authority or the artistic expression to be gleaned. Just mess that has to be cleaned up by someone" (Purcell, C., 2010).

In this respect, considering negative, radical responses to graffiti practice and ones involved into process of graffiti writing, Halsey and Young suggest that:

> …the vast majority of such bodies [graffiti writers] are neither problematic nor dangerous but are taken as such because they interrupt the familiar, the known, the already named-in short, the categorical. Illicit writers are cast, in other words, as an Other and this is chiefly because the execute what has been called *nomadic* rather than a Royal or concrete art. (p. 295)

Accordingly, Dickinson in his article "The making of Space, Race, and Place. New York City's War on Graffiti, 1970-the Present" surveys emergence and development of contemporary graffiti, particularly in terms of "racialization" and "criminalization" of graffiti practice among youngsters within city environment (p. 27). Moreover, author sets parallel between graffiti practice and "neoliberal restructuring process" during which it has developed and begun its rapid spread (p. 27). That is, according to Dickinson, "allow us to understand something of the specific contours of the racial formation of this place and time. That is we can see the links between social structure and cultural representation" (p. 27).

Focusing specifically on the case of graffiti across New York City from 1970s to present, author highlights that the first media responses to graffiti practice were of rather positive character, picturing graffiti artists as young people "with an interesting pastime". However, just within a year graffiti was declared as a "form of visual pollution", which been followed by initiation of anti-graffiti campaigns, portraying graffiti as criminal activity and graffiti artists as vandals and, thus, criminals (pp. 28-29). In brief, Dickinson states that it becomes a common course of action to link graffiti practice predominantly to marginal elements of society; to individuals of certain social status, background, and race.

To exemplify further portrayal of graffiti writing by media (specifically press), it might be useful reviewing research by Varshavsky "The street art plague. How graffiti is framed by the press". In this respect, Varshavsky argues that recent textual analyses of the press reveal that despite of the fact that contemporary graffiti as a form of urban art is more appreciated and even moved from the streets to art galleries, graffiti still viewed by mainstream predominantly as vandalism, while graffiti artists and writers are thought as criminals (p. 70). Referring to "Broken Windows" theory, Varshavsky writes, "…the public landscape represents society, and graffiti writers mar that landscape, as a result, tying graffiti to a wide array of urban ills" (p. 70). As a matter of fact, many foes of graffiti often utilize a core idea of "Broken Window Theory", which claims that "if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken" (Willson and Kelling, 1982, pp. 2-3), to support anti-graffiti arguments. Therefore, frequently opponents of graffiti set a parallel between "broken windows" and wall writings, presenting it as nothing but an act of vandalism, which, if unattained, invites further spread of graffiti/window breaking and, by and large, leads to other, heavier forms of crime. As suggested by Willson and Kelling (1982), authors of a paper "The Police and Neighborhood Safety. Broken Windows", "untended property becomes fair game for people out for fun or plunder" and "untended behavior also leads to the breakdown of community controls" (p. 3).

Regarding the dominant view on graffiti in mainstream, Varshavsky refers to the "textual analysis of the top 1, 000 results for daily newspaper stories from a LexisNexis search on graffiti" (p. 72). As a result, author emphasizes that the terms "vandalism" and "crime" in relation to graffiti predominate, while the word "art" comes into view with apparently less frequency. Moreover, examination of headlines

of graffiti related articles brings forward expressions like "strike", "bombing" and "attack", featuring graffiti as "destructive" phenomena, and any matters connected to graffiti as a "social problem" and "public battle" (Varshavsky, p. 72). Concisely, according to Varshavsky's studies, major portrayal of graffiti in mainstream press barely highlights its artistic aspects, rather featuring process of graffiti making as "criminal" and "anti-social" (p. 73).

Nevertheless, according to Varshavsky, despite of predominantly negative presentation of graffiti particularly in press (specifically considering news headings), the general view on graffiti related issues and its representations within media in general are of more complicated character. To quote Varshavsky:

> The content of the stories themselves are often a little more forgiving, or at the very least, far more cognizant of the rich cultural heritage that graffiti has and its special meaning within seismic shifts in culture and politics that urban centers have witnessed over the course of the past decades. (p. 75)

Further, considering question whether graffiti practice should be taken as artistic activity or act of vandalism, it is essential to review research conducted by Halsey and Young, which is significant in view of the fact that authors present vision and perception of graffiti practice from perspective of graffiti writers themselves-a point that usually missing in various documentations (ranging from academic records to media representation), encountered by me throughout process of literature review. To quote Halsey and Young, "drawing on detailed interviews with graffiti writers, we wish to approach the problem otherwise, by focusing on matters of desires, pleasure and vision in the act of illicit writing" (p. 276). Indeed, rather than labeling graffiti practice according to ones assumptions and judgments, I suppose it is vital to obtain a thorough understanding of its meanings, purposes and motivations (what is called by Halsey and Young as "hidden aspects of graffiti culture") from the first hands-

from the perspective of the ones directly involved into activity. The "hidden aspects of graffiti culture", according to Halsey and Young, are as follow:

- the complex of motivation for graffiti writing;

- the sense of cultural belonging graffiti can generate for young people;

- the shifting threshold between 'art' and 'vandalism';

- writers' reaction to 'blank' surfaces and 'clean' spaces;

- graffiti's interconnection with other criminal activities. (p. 276)

According to Halsey and Young, nowadays graffiti practice, viewed and represented predominantly as negative, destructive activity, turn out to be a subject of active debates and discourse within contemporary society. Listing examples of 'war' against graffiti and actions undertaken in order to prevent and eliminate this activity, Halsey and Young mention case of graffiti removal and further prevention program in the subways of New York City; graffiti and the removal campaign initiated by Australian candidates to local government; as well as case of Britain, where graffiti practice considered as 'anti-social behavior' and ones involved into it are targets to legitimate punishment (pp. 275-276).

Relying on interviews, conducted with number of graffiti writers, Halsey and Young maintain that process of graffiti making is considered by the writers as 'affective process', which has impact on both writers bodies and bodies of surfaces and objects it is applied on (pp. 276-277). Therefore, in Halsey's and Young's terms, "graffiti as image connects bodies", that is graffiti connects writers to the city and vice versa (p. 278). As a result, through the process of graffiti writing, writers bond themselves

with the city and all sorts of upshots that might follow from the city in response to specific writings and images.

Furthermore, referring to results of interviews, Halsey and Young claim that, in many cases, 'fame', though is important, but not the most essential aspect of graffiti writing. The other motive to graffiti practice, which equivalent to, and sometimes even more imperative than 'fame', is the sense of 'pleasure' delivered through the process of creating a graffiti piece (p. 278).

In this regard, Halsey and Young suggest to put aside 'commonplace assumptions' about reasons for graffiti writing (such as boredom, desire to damage, lack of respect to others properties, and the like), which generally dominate the view of mass media and municipalities, in order to disclose and understand rationales of the ones involved in process of writing and 'graffiti culture' as such (p. 279). Therefore, referring to interviews results, Halsey and Young outline the following motivations (p. 279):
 -aesthetical appeal of graffiti;
 -opportunity of social interaction;
 -powerful emotional and physical sensations in the act of writing (e.g. pride, pleasure,   recognition obtained from writing community, etc.);

Significantly, majority of interviewed graffiti writers do consider graffiti to be an art, as it takes great effort, considerable time span, and intellectual involvement (p. 279). Consequently, it has been found that there is a sense of threshold between artistic activity and act of vandalism within ones involved into graffiti culture. According to Halsey and Young, predominantly type of graffiti called "pieces" is considered as art

due to the fact that it requires "skills, intent, and aesthetics" (p. 279). In brief, to quote Halsey and Young, "overall, writers' positioning of the threshold dividing art from vandalism had very little to do with graffiti's status as a demonstrably illegal activity, and far more to do with the perceived impact of the image upon the environment" (p. 279).

Furthermore, it was highlighted by Halsey and Young that there is a considerable divergence in vision and perception of urban environment between graffiti writers and the ones who is not engaged in the process of writing or stands far from graffiti culture in general. For instance, Halsey and Young state that graffiti writers perceive a single-colored surface as 'boring', 'negative space', which should be 'filled out' or 'brought to life' (p. 288). Therefore, "there is little if any conception of illicit writing detracting from or destroying the urban aesthetics. Rather, such activity adds to, and induces a performance from, otherwise 'lifeless spaces'" (Halsey & Young, p. 288).

Concisely, contemporary graffiti is complex and multifaceted practice, which is viewed by researchers, governmental structures, or common people generally as either artistic or criminal activity. However, to quote Halsey and Young, "…illicit writing cannot be adequately described in binary terms (good vs. bad art, criminal vs. legal activity, creative vs. destructive images, etc.)" (p. 279). Referring to conclusion, drawn from Halsey's and Young's research, representation of graffiti as crime and illness of society, which has to be treated and illuminated, is majorly caused "as much as from the general failure to take stock of the relationship between illicit images (what occurs on city surfaces) and illicit bodies (the thoughts, motivations and feelings of various writers) as from the ineffectiveness of any regulatory strategy" (Halsey and Young, p. 292).

2.3.4 Graffiti as a Mean of Communication: Linguistic and Graphical Marks

Regarding the aims of current research it is vital to investigate phenomenon of graffiti as communicational implement within realm of contemporary society. Apparently, numerous researchers conducted comprehensive studies taking into account particularly communicative attributes of graffiti. In this respect, D. D. Gross, Walkosz and T. D. Gross (1997), while focusing specifically on the type of graffiti known as 'tags', argue that tagging presents a form of "international discourse of individualism that crosses international borders both physically and discursively" (p. 227). Therefore, while graffiti can be considered either as criminal or artistic activity, at the end it is a "human product" and, thus, a "form of human communication", which can be interpreted, analyzed and comprehended (D. D. Gross, B. Walkosz and T. D. Gross, 1997, p. 227).

Considering graffiti writing exclusively in terms of linguistic, it might be useful over viewing research by R. A. Hall, Jr. titled "The Grammar of Graffiti", in which author maintains that examination of graffiti writings presents a fertile field for the ones who intends to take a thorough look and comprehend culture and language of the folk, as graffiti might be studied along multiple ways, including phonology, morphology, syntaxes, and semantics (p. 234). Focusing on the four directions, noted above, research of Hall, Jr. exemplifies re-shaping and re-constructing of language as a new means of communication through the medium of graffiti. Thus, it might be insightful to list several instances given in Hall's Jr. article to obtain basic conception of variations in utilization of language to communicate messages by means of graffiti. Hence, according to Hall, Jr., there are number of processes involved into language modifications through graffiti. To illustrate the case, following bellow are

several examples of linguistic peculiarities involved into graffiti writing ((in Hall, Jr., pp. 235-238)):

- **phonological processes** (e.g., alteration of vowel, alteration of consonant, homonymy, pun on variant senses of the same word, etc.)

- **morphemic processes** (e. g., words are altered in accordance with their roots and affixes)

- **punning on re-division of words;**

- most productive syntactic pattern in graffiti begins with "Help…", "Due to.." and "In memory of…" (e.g., "Help! I'm slowly being bored to death", "Due to a lack of originality this desk has been canceled", In memory of those who died while waiting for their TV set to brake")

- **alteration of already existing expressions** (e.g., original: "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away", alteration: "Old soldiers never die; young one does")

- **graffiti based on reader's expectation of parallel syntax** (e.g., "It's normally warmer in the summer than in the country")

- **implication of questions with no legitimate answers** (e.g., Did Adam and Eve have belly buttons?")

- -**conditional patterns** (e. g., "Would you be more careful if it was YOU that got pregnant?")

- **patterning after political slogans, protests against trials of political activities, or mocking of election slogans** (e. g., "Shriver for something", "Free Huey-and Dewey and Louie")

- **graffiti based on types of common expressions** (e. g., "In case of emergency-Panic!")

- **negative admonitions and affirmative exhortations** (e. g., "DO NOT WRITE ON THIS DESK!!!!!!!", "Let's put some life into our funerals")
- **dialogues graffiti** (planed or spontaneous)
- **common expressions are put at the end** (e. g., "Vasectomy means never having to say you're sorry")
- **broadening scope of an original expression** (e.g., "Breathing is habit forming")
- **narrowing scope of original expression** (e. g., Hire the morally handicapped")

Furthermore, thinking of graffiti as means of communication through combination of linguistic and graphical imagery, there is research of Chmielewska (2007), which focuses predominantly on "signature graffiti", which entered as significant element into visual language of mainstream. Thus, while signature graffiti embraces complex interaction of language and imagery ("graphic marks"), its analyses should go in parallel with both "linguistic and graphic expression" (Chmielewska, p. 149).

To quote Chmielewska:

> …the practice of graffiti is certainly that of writing. It involves language forms as much as it implicates graphic marks; ways of phrasing and those of forming letters; composing words and skillful use of tools to inscribe surfaces with markings; engagement with sound; and committed training of hand in penmanship, calligraphy and typography. (p. 149)

Chmielewska maintains that due to ongoing commercialization and globalization of graffiti practice, today wall paintings and writings at different locales may appear extremely similar to each other if observed causally. However, closer and detailed examination may reveal numerous "place specific" details and nuances

(Chmielewska, p. 154). Referring to Chmielewska, cautious "reading of inscriptions accounts for their specific locale, their place of attachment-the urban surface, with articulations of the built form, urban scale, building morphography, and the textures of exterior walls-all forming the graphic space of graffiti writing" (p. 155).

Research of Chmielewska presents studies of graffiti writings within two urban spaces: Montreal and Warsaw in terms of "iconographic, spatio-temporal and linguistic dimensions" (p. 145).

Comparing spaces of two selected research sites (Montreal and Warsaw), Chmielewska highlights that physical characteristics of each spaces and surfaces have a great impact on character of wall writing. Thus, describing physical features of surfaces and character of graffiti writing in Montreal, Chmielewska (2007) writes:

> Mixed types and the scale of building within the center of Montreal provide a heavily textured, brick canvas, with plentiful and varied angled surfaces. Graffiti here needs to be bold, large, and persistent to compete with its surroundings, to write over building detail and make itself visibly present. (p. 156)

In case of Warsaw, on the other hand, Chmielewska notes:

> The city core offers long stretches of smooth plaster, whether on facades, in passageways, or on walls surrounding churches or building complexes…surfaces at street level along the main roads are densely covered by markings that were rendered quickly…For the most part graffiti art is displayed on the "walls of fame"…this impressive stretch of cement panels is covered with large and stylistically varied pieces…(p, 157)

As a matter of fact, apart from research of Chmielewska (2007), outlined above, there is a large body of studies on graffiti conducted by various researchers in different locales, which demonstrate significance of graffiti in terms of its communicative properties by means of linguistics and graphical signs. For instance, Kalerante (2006) in paper "Graffiti as a Form of Social and Cultural Conflict. The Greek Case", emphasizes that the words and visuals of graffiti in suburbs of Athens

may frequently speak of socio-cultural background and origins of their creators-immigrants, who, according to Kalerante (2006) "often experience feeling of xenophobia, racism and fear of otherness" (p. 129). On the other hand, Kane (2009) in the research on Argentinean graffiti (case of Buenos Aires and Rosario), suggests that stencils of specified locales can be seen as a exhibitors of and public protectors against transgressions of the state.

In brief, whether phenomenon of graffiti is taken negatively or positively by media, government, municipality or ordinary beholders, there is an undisputable fact that it presents a form of visual communication by linguistic and graphical means or combination of both.

2.3.5 Graffiti and Politics: Implication of Political Graffiti throughout the World

Apparently, before conducting analyses of political graffiti in Iran during revolution and post-revolution periods, it is essential to overview similar cases throughout the world. As a mater of fact, there is a large body of literature, including books and scholarly researches, dedicated to specified subject, and, while conducting studies of relevant literature, I have encountered a great number of such texts. However, keeping in mind the aims and purposes of this research, the current section will review only a few selected examples which might clearly illustrate utilization of graffiti writing as a means of communicating political messages and reflecting social climate, public opinions, protests or dissatisfactions towards ongoing events and governmental activities. Indeed, political graffiti is multifaceted phenomenon, and its complexity can be reflected in various terms and aspects. For example, in the article "Stencil graffiti in urban waterscapes of Buenos Aires and Rosario, Argentina", author defines graffiti in different ways, attributing it role of reflector of "collective

memory", means to "confront institutional power" and "enhancement of local lives" (pp. 9-12).

Nevertheless, regarding the question of whether graffiti belongs to realms of art or vandalism, discussed throughout previous section, it was reveled that major representation of contemporary graffiti carries rather negative character. Indeed, the ones, standing against graffiti practice, including governmental members, representatives of mass communication and media, as well as considerable number of scholars and researchers, in one way or another refer to "Broken Window Theory" in order to underline and strengthen idea of graffiti as negative, destructive phenomenon. However, belonging to realms of visual communication, the power of graffiti to communicate various messages can not be discounted. Thus, considering graffiti as means of delivering political and social messages, it might be best to start with research of S. C. Kane "Stencil graffiti in urban waterscapes of Buenos Aires and Rosario, Argentina". Significantly, while being agreed that one stencil graffiti may attract further implication and distribution of graffiti images and writings over surfaces, which is one of the primary concern of "Broken Window" theory, author offers exceptional approach, which suggests to examine street graffiti (specifically stencil) "as open, rather than broken, windows through which one can learn about local culture and politics" (p. 11).

Reviewing history of social and political events, which possibly influence rise and spread of stencil graffiti in Argentina, Kane mentions "El Siluetazo", which was described in documentations of Indij as "undoubtedly the most important work of collective political art in the social history of Argentina, by means of which thousands of faceless human figures 'appeared', in a representation of the 30, 000 disappeared by the dictatorship 1976-1983" (in Kane, p. 14).

Kane attributes to Argentinean stencils the role of a public protector against government's misdeeds, stating that "a clear current of anti-dictatorship stencil imagery continues to mount its visual and visceral defense of the people against the invisibility and silence that swathed the heinous activities of mass murder and torture of the US-supported dictatorship" (p. 14).

For instance, among examples of stencils, presented and analyzed throughout the article, one sample might worth deeper insight as it seems to be of strikingly distinct political context and thus may aid in more comprehensive analyses and understanding of Iranian graffiti (which are the primary aim of the current research). Hence, Kane writes about stencil that been noticed on the side of the National Monument of the Flag (see figure 5, Kane, year, p. 22), in which combination of images provides information on latest crimes of the state (Kane, p. 22):

1) The murder of young piqueteros 'Dario and Maxi' (Dario Santillan and Maximiliano Kosteki) in 2002 protests;

2) The 2006 disappearance of Julio Lopez hours before he was to testify against the criminal head responsible for his torture in a police detention center during dictatorship;

3) The murder of protesting schoolteacher Carlos Fuentealba 2007 by police.

Moreover, according to Kane, mentioned stencil, with its distorted image of American "flag-weapon", integrated with distinguished writing "NO Iran", foresees "the possibility of, and organized opposition to, a future Bush-inspired attack on Iran" (p. 22).

In brief, according to Kane, interplay, interaction, and integration of stencils with their surroundings, as well as selected sites for imageries, present a "form of social

action" as such (p. 23). In addition, street art might be read as a book of social struggles and experiences, exposing quandaries, crises, and problems of particular society/groups at a specific period of history. In other words, to quote Kane, "stencils are a form of social agency that offers insight into social experience before it is organized by more formal or systematic belief, before experience is fixed and framed in the past" (p. 24).

Attributing to graffiti role of transmitter and reflector of public and social experience, it might be essential to mention research by Iyer "Cave Paintings and Wall Writings. Blanchot's Signature". Comparing cave painting of Lascaux and graffiti writing in Paris during events in 1968, Iyer (2001) refers to the Blanchot's concept of "signature", that both are basically stand for expression of experience (p. 40).

Recalling memories of movement that took place in Paris in May of 1986, Blanchot (in Iyer, 2001) writes that anonymity of the words written was nothing but attempt of the group "never declared themselves the words of an author, being of all and for all, in their contradictory formulation" (p. 40). In fact, walls were covered with a range of statements, such as "Imagination has seized power", "Run comrade, the old world is behind you!", We are reassured, two and two no longer make four", Dream is reality", "It is forbidden to forbid", "alone we can do nothing", Politics is happening in the street", and the like (p. 40). Therefore, the wall writings of this particular case are the traces of memories and experiences of the movement which once took place in the streets of Paris.

On the other hand, Miklavcic in the research titled "Slogans and graffiti: post memory among youth in the Italo-Slovenian borderland", focuses on the role of collective memory of traumatic events of the past in the process of shaping current ideology among new generation and which is used as "weapon" in order to "exclude,

make demands, or simply provoke…" (p. 441). Though differing in approach and selected locations, researches of Kane (2009), Iyer (2001) and Miklavcic (2008) have a point in common, which present graffiti as medium to transmit a "collective memory" and reflect "social change". This fact displays complex and multifaceted character of political graffiti and variety of ways and perspectives from which it might be approached and explored. Nevertheless, while Kane (2009) discusses stencil graffiti of Buenos Aires and Rosario as "multi-vocal, visual urban discourse in after-the-crisis 2007 Argentina" and considers it as "successful moment of peaceful resistance to violent repression" (Kane, 2009, pp. 11-14), Miklavcic (2008) makes emphasis on role of graffiti in ethnic conflict. In particular, Miklavcic (2008) concentrates on the case of Trieste, city of Julian region inhabited by Italian and Slovenian communities, whose complex relationships are rooted in the past; by examining ethnic conflict through studies of local banners, chatters, and graffiti writings. Thus, research of Miklavcic (2008) exemplifies "how the reproduction of the language of past violence deepens divisions in the present" (p. 441). Miklavcic (2008) states that youth can turn into "active agents of society", who is capable to switch on the processes of "cultural transmission and memory persistence" (p. 441). Studies conducted by Miklavcic (2008) display how language of the past turns into slogans and, thus, weapon to be used against ethnic minorities as well as immigrants. Miklavcic (2008) emphasizes that in case of Trieste processes of re-shaping and contemporary implication of collective memories and language of the past are generally moving along two main directions, which are ethnical (Italians-Slavs) and ideological (Left-Right). To quote Miklavcic (2008):

> …memory has become a constituent part of public discourse…Memory can be conceived as a container from which one can select what to remember, what to forget, and what, eventually, to forgive. The mechanisms of selection, forgetting, and forgiving are not clear-cut and belong as much to

psychological domains as to the political one. In the crafting of a national history, how and what is represented has to do with access to means of persuasion and power and is often framed dualistically in terms of "winner and looser. (p. 443)

In terms of persistence of politically oriented graffiti on the surfaces of urban spaces, Miklavcic (2008) states that "graffiti messages, whether historical or new, consistently convey the discourse of exclusion, denying minorities their right" (p. 448). Referring to Phillips (in Miklavcic, 2008), an examination of "anonymous and politically motivated graffiti practice is a useful barometer of an area's political atmosphere" (p. 448). Simply saying, graffiti of city walls presents interplay of "language-race micropolitics" (Miklavcic, 2008, p. 449)

In brief, to quote Miklavcic (2008):

> Slogans, banners, and graffiti, when used as political symbols, are highly malleable and powerful and have no ownership: they can create inclusion and strengthen solidarity or contribute to exclusion and deepen divisions. In national and bilateral relations, they can sustain the narrative of the nation (Danforth, 2001), support reconciliatory attempts, or provocatively challenge them. (p. 450)

As Miklavcic (2008) conducted comparative studies of graffiti illustrating ethnic conflict within Italo-Slovenian community, there is a research of Chmielewska (2007), which tends to compare graffiti within urban spaces of Warsaw and Montreal. According to Chmielewska (2007), "graffiti is an important cultural site for negotiating local identity" (p. 148). Chmielewska (2007) argues that both selected sites involved into extensive practice of wall writing predominantly of political character, and current struggle to determine their identities "under the tremendous pressure and ubiquitous presence of the global visual language and sameness of urban imagery" (p. 148).

Examination of graffiti within urban spaces of Montreal and Warsaw by Chmielewska (2007) in terms of political contexts showed that in case of Montreal political slogans stay apart from more sophisticated, complex signature graffiti, and in general are typographically plane and simple (p. 158). The graffiti of Warsaw, in contrary, exhibits "commemorative inscriptions of collective history" (Chmielewska, p. 159). Moreover, even graphically dominating pieces are frequently contains slogans or texts, referring to social state and culture of the locale, where texts and graphics seem to be in continuous interplay and integration. In short, to quote Chmielewska (2007), "the local history of public contestation is strongly present here, with symbols of the wartime inscriptions drawn into the contemporary subcultural or current political confrontations" (p. 159).

Furthermore, regarding implication of graffiti as means of communicating political messages it might be useful to review interview by Black with Tomasz Sikorski, titled "From The Grey Ranks: Graffiti in War & Peace in Poland" (http://libcom.org/library/grey-ranks-graffiti-war-peace-poland). First, Sikorski talks of his father, who used graffiti in resistance during World War II in Warsaw, noting that during this period wall writings were one of the most effective forms of 'counter-resistance', along with underground radio and press. To quote fragment of interview, "One of the duties of my teenage father (he was 15 when he joined the Stare Szeregi), was to write slogans on the walls to manifest the resistance against Nazis, to build up a confidence in Polish people that Germans will fail, sooner or later". For example, according to Sikorski, instead of creating completely new slogan, it was common to alter inscribed earlier Nazis' propaganda, as changing only one letter in fraise "DEUTSCHLAND SIEGT AN ALLEN FRONTEN" ("Germans **Win** on Every Frontline"), the statement would acquire absolutely new, reverse

meaning: "DEUTSCHLAND LIEGT AN ALLEN FRONTEN" ("Germans **Lie** on Every Frontline"). In this respect Sikorski states that "writing on walls is a very quick and direct way of communication. It catches you by surprise whether you want it or not. Everybody is a potential receiver". Remarkably, there are many parallels between implication and utilization of graffiti during Iranian Revolution and this particular example, and, thus, will be discussed further throughout the following sections of the research, dedicated specifically to the role of graffiti in Iran during revolution and post revolution periods. In addition, while talking on his first experience with encountering graffiti in Warsaw, Sikorski recalls graffiti, which suddenly emerged in the beginning of 1970s at one spot of the city. It was a striking example of wall painting, exposing to viewer men silhouettes of real human-scale size, 'freezed' against the surface in various positions. It is suggested that this particular graffiti sample is dedicated to victims of Nazis, killed brutally exactly at the spot of the Warsaw, where, thirty years later, mentioned graffiti took its place.

Explaining phenomenon of post-war graffiti Sikorski summarizes:

> Most graffiti in postwar Poland, if not all of it, was political; its source was disagreement. Besides strikes, demonstrations, and underground press, wall writings were the true evidence of this disagreement…
> All of political graffiti was generally against something, against the occupant, against the system, against the government. Only in the late eighties there appeared graffiti which brought messages that were not against something, but rather for something, let's say for normal, real and joyful life, without hypocrisy and pretense… (http://libcom.org/library/grey-ranks-graffiti-war-peace-poland)

In conclusion, it is perhaps worth emphasizing that there are a wide range of numerous graffiti samples all around the world, utilized with particular purpose to communicate socio-political messages, and current section of research is just a brief review of very few cases selected in order to introduce basic concept of socio-political graffiti and underlie following analyzes. Indeed, socio-political graffiti

presents a significant contemporary phenomenon, studies of which may disclose many aspects of social and political climate of the specified community. Referring to Sikorski, "graffiti lives in the context of the real environment, it originates from it, is a part of it, and transforms it".

Chapter 3

ROLE OF GRAFFITI DURING IRANIAN REVOLUTION

According to information, gathered through literature review, contemporary graffiti greatly ranges in styles and types, along with intentions and purposes of the writer. However, socio-political graffiti presents outstanding phenomena, which takes a very special niche in the range. As been revealed in the last section of previous chapter, due to several factors, including expressive properties, anonymous character, and opportunity to approach general public, skipping scans, filtering and censoring, commonly performed by mainstream; graffiti writing stands in the raw of the most popular way to expression, especially in a time of political transformation and social instability. Indeed, in different periods, along various locales, graffiti have always accompanied socio-political movements. In this respects, Iran does not stay aside and have its own history, regarding socio-political graffiti. As maintained by Macphee (2009), "graffiti and street art have long existed as a safety valve for individuals to vent their anger and frustration, whether in the form of scrawling angry messages on bathroom stalls or pasting posters on the windows of government buildings." Indeed, graffiti, as a form of socio-political expression, appears, when a larger number of people come to the common point, the edge, where they begin to perceive that other ways to communicate are being shut, or blocked one by one. According to Macphee (2009), in such cases people sense that information passages, opened by the media, are unidirectional and they are on the receiving end of a string of lies and half truths, that street art can act as an antidote to our visual space being used as a social control

mechanism." Likewise, that is what exactly had happened in Iran leading people to search for convenient and effective ways of expression, addressed to their contemporaries from the one side, and governmental misdeeds from the other. Along these lines, the following sections will present historical overview of political transformations during three major periods as a focus of current study, considering formations and alterations in Iranian socio-political wall writings.

3.1 Historical overview: Iran during Revolution and Post Revolution Periods

People, religious leaders and political groups—during 15 years before revolution—were attempting to display their opposition to royalty regime of Iran. First of all, due to different system of believes and varying set of purposes, these groups followed diverse strategies. Nevertheless, their main aim was to reform or overthrow the regime. As a matter of fact, dictatorial regime constituted one of the main problems of Iranians. Shah[1] had mainly inclined towards west oriented point of view which, in some ways, was indeed advantageous for nation. However, at the same time, some aspects of such views were not consonant with Iranian culture, as well as with Islamic culture. That was a chief reason for people to rise against regime. Referring to Habibi, Hosseiniyan, & Jafariyan (2005), "According to many close relatives in the court of Pahlavi, Shah absolute reliance on the West and is not specific to the United States and Britain, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, but rely on the exceptional character of American and British and survived his reign and their survival depends on its continued support Western Power."(Habibi, Hosseiniyan, & Jafariyan, 2005)

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[1] 'Shah' is meaning of the 'King' in Farsi, In that period represent 'Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi', Iran Great King

In this regard, Ayatollah Khomeini was one of the religious leaders, considered as the main leader of Iranian revolution, which established 'Islamic Republic of Iran'. Indeed, he gained support of the large number of population. As a matter of fact, Ayatollah Khomeini was exiled several times to different countries—Iraq, Turkey and France. Noteworthy, periods of Khomeini's banishments from the country are more important, since he managed to lead the movement from abroad without any appropriate ways of mass-communication. Voice-Cassettes, illegal newsletters, wall writing and face to face communication between people were important ways which cause that mass group of people access the messages of this great leader. For example, the recorded messages, which were sent by phone line to Iranian groups, present the most efficient method which has played a great role in success of Iranian revolution. Notwithstanding, government and army appointed difficult condition to protesters, but they distribute Khomeini's message by the means of all those varying ways mentioned above.

3.1.1 Role of graffiti during political turmoil in Iran

The history of graffiti in Iran can be divided into three major parts, where each part, in turn, contains some sub-sections, which is affected by needs of society and possibilities in that period:

- Iran Before/During the Revolution (1979)

- Iran After the Revolution (During Iran and Iraq War, 1979-1987)

- Iran in Developing Period (1988-1996)

- The Green Movement (2009-2011)

Therefore, the main focus of the current section of the research will be on brief review of mentioned periods. Besides, limitations, needs, and other factors belonging to each period will be discussed and explained.

3.1.1.1 Iran Before/During the Revolution (1979)

During last years of Shah's reign Iran appeared to be a country on its initial steps to advancing and development. It included construction complexes, industrial plants, development of urban roads, investments in foreign companies, creation of public places for entertainment —cinema, parks, free trade islands and etc.—as well as many other projects, which were in the process of verification (research). Shah had promised to people—workers—a bright future which could be achieved by following and relying on Shah's modern views. In short time the working style was changing, as, for instance, women were allowed to be occupied in outside in the industrial plants and actually in different form of clothes.

However, modernization caused dual cultural and religious feedbacks which, in some cases, were positive, while in some other extremely negative. Granting the cultural, economic and political opportunities to foreigners and immunity of them instead of Iran rights—capitulation rule—were major cases resulted in the considerable rise of people against regime.

In fact, though opposition, which contained religious individuals, elite, and some other deviation groups, were against governmental acts, mentioned above, indisputably, religious aspects were in a way dominating Iranian culture. Consequently, Iranian culture, formed majorly along with religious believes couldn't accept these reformation regardless of many possibilities to gain benefits for country. People in this case looking for somebody to lead them, most of people according to Islamic culture confer with Mullahs which had duty of adverting Islam between people.

SAVAK[2] was the secret organization, established by shah for controlling people and also movement. The main focus of this organization was Islamic and religious people who were acting as a medium between leaders and people. As mentioned before Islamic movement groups were not the only target of SAVAK and the regime other political groups which had different views critical of the Shah were also the victims of SAVAK.

Accordingly, Anti-Shah graffiti in Iranian revolution of 1979 can be considered as the first comprehensive experience of Iranians in socio-political protest. Factually, skilled wall writers together with ordinary people cooperate in wall writings across various public spaces, using different mediums like aerosols, markers and paints, trying to be kept out of military's and SAVAK's sight. Importantly, general public played important role in the process of graffiti spreading, by arranging 'defense walls' between writers and Iranian regime's agents, as well as hiding writers from representatives of regime.

3.1.1.1.1 Government Techniques for Removing Graffiti

In effort to eliminate graffiti and hide its contents —slogans, announces, events and etc.—from public exposure, supporters of regime were attempting to over-paint writings by homogenous color. However, such solution had not been effective, as people claimed that "stigma can not be erased by color" and writings were going on being written again on the painted surfaces with contrasting color. Regime employed some local people to report wall writers to SAVAK. However, some of them, instead of reporting took advantages of situation, but in general, most of them made reports owning to their beliefs to Pahlavi regime.

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[2] (Sāzemān-e Ettela'āt va Amniyat-e Keshvar) National Intelligence and Security Organization of Shah's Period

3.1.1.2 Iran after the Revolution (During Iran and Iraq War, 1979-1987)

Iraq -a country with dictatorial regime- in the period of Iranian revolution was one of countries which had a particular interest in Iran's revenues. Saddam Hussein seized the opportunity and in his own dreams thought that can take advantage of Iranian governments' weakness and can violate to the territorial integrity of Iran. However, he skipped the fact that revolution have strengthened and doubled potentials of Iranians in comparison to pre-revolution period.

Noteworthy, some examples of the anti-regime graffiti of this period contained swearing and hush unti-regime slogans. Moreover, writers frequently referred to private affairs between the Iranian first lady (F. Diba) and the then USA president (J. Carter). (Wall Writing in Iran, n.d.)

Iraq attacked Iran on September 1980, when almost 19 months past after Iranian revolution victorious. Iran-Iraq war had lasted eight years; years during which common people, as well as the Iranian regime suffered great losses. Nevertheless, Iraq and its supporters—West—failed in their aims in the Iran-Iraq war. One of the most important consequences of this war was losing of young generation of Iran who made revolution under leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. Assassinations of top political and religious figures, together with the external bombing of the National Parliament and their agents in Iran, were other reasons which stopped new regime to achieve its goals in safety.

3.1.1.3 Iran in Developing Period (1988-1996)

The early post revolution period in Iran has begun with re-initiation of production within industrial plants; export, import and international investments. Moreover, roads' development and re-building out of post-war ruins became most essential

issues on a national agenda. In this respect, billboards turned out to be one of the best and efficient ways in presenting products-cultural, commercial, traditional, ideological etc.—to customers. Replacement of advertisements drawn directly on walls with such boards within urban environment was one of the after-war developments in metropolises. Culture is one of the important issues considering changing advertising methods in different regions, thus new advertising ways usually become prevalent regionally later than in big cities…

3.1.1.4 The Green Movement (2009-2011)

2009 has become a new start in Iranian political movements against the regime, Indeed, Iranians of all ages and from all regions initiated a movement with a belief to reform the country with their vote. Before the election, Mir Hussein Mousavi Campaigns began presentation of their programs to people. To note, Mousavi was the first minister in Ayatollah Khomeini's period and, therefore, people already familiar to general public. Consequently, in a short time this campaign has attracted large groups of people, and everything changed- the dead souls of people were replaced with freshness and novelty. They were full of hope to finally regain their legal rights, including freedom of speech, and basic rules of democracy, which government and regime withhold from them all these years. Apparently, among general public there were individuals who has never join election since Revolution, and it became their first and maybe last time. However, hopes for better future did not last long and ended with announcement of election's results.

In first step, people from Green Movement requested permission for the meetings and demonstrations, which was almost instantly refused by the government. Moreover, they ignored the request from other candidate, joining elections, to

investigate the case. Nevertheless, despite of all requests and the first wave of objections, the religious leader Khamene'i confirmed the results.

All these lead to establishment of 'Green Movement' that started to protest the regime with silent meetings and other kind of protesting methods. However, they were always convicted, as government was catching related people, and some groups called Basiji, there were shootings and battles, resulting in death of many.

Apparently, there is a wide range of options regarding the ways protest may be carried out, and graffiti in this respect, probably one of the most efficient and popular protesting tools. Therefore, the following section of the research will focus on Iranian graffiti as a mean to express protest and variety of socio-political ideas and concerns, which were occupying minds of masses. In addition, visuals in form of photographed graffiti samples will be presented and analyzed in accordance with its socio-political content.

3.2 Graffiti in Iran: An Overview

In general, the most pronounced wall writings and epigraphs, which can be encountered in today Iran, are the ones made on surfaces of historical, ancient buildings. As a matter of fact, ancient walls and various remarkable public spaces are covered with many Arabic manuscripts, written after attack of Arabs on Iran. Besides, Iranian kings during their visits of various significant sites, like Persepolis intended to leave messages on the walls. Such messages became a great aid to historians to make historical records more accurately. However, apart from kings' messages, one may encounter numerous tags, left by ordinary visitors, as well as

individual stories, love messages and the like. All these included writings on the walls, engraving on the trees, tables and other objects of public use.

Ancient craving which were founded in Iran shows that Iranians like other people from different parts of the world, created cave paintings, draw animals and maybe their dreams on rocks.

Nevertheless, in time of Iranian revolution graffiti came to scene as a psychological weapon and as a means of political protest. In fact, affective qualities of graffiti, together with relative accessibility of materials and ease of implication lead to rapid spread of this particular protesting method among Iranian population of varying age, social status and educational level. During post revolution period, however, graffiti was widely used by government to present ideological issues, as well as by advertising agencies as advertising tool accordingly. Besides, in hands of some youngsters, graffiti was utilized for tagging and, in rear cases, to protest the government.

Presidential elections of 2009 caused new wave of protests among population of Iran. The objections were directed towards new president Ahmadi Nejad and the process of elections in particular. The protests were accompanied by major raise of people in the streets of the cities, and publications of slogans and news. It was call for people to come out to the streets; social networks and other communication mediums were full of calls for strikes and demonstrations.

3.2.1 Iranian Graffiti: Art or Vandalism?

City space envelops us with the billboards, differentiating in size, type and quantity. In fact, we live among the signs and images, presented on these billboards and in a

time memorize the contents. Billboards are considered as legal forms of graffiti, and being legal, they have a commercial value and do not pose any threat to the regime. Therefore, they are not cleared or removed by the authorities.

Tags and wall writings, on the other hand, distributed throughout the city's space and ancient places in Iran are called vandalism. However, some graffiti which present a political and social message, presented by skilled, aesthetically strong and artistic design are generally not counted as vandalism.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

The current chapter will focus on methodology of the research and the analysis of the graffiti during the political transformation in Iran. In this respect, a discussion will be held on data collecting method and approach towards analyses towards gathered information. As a matter of fact, graffiti consists of many components, which might be examined separately or in combination. Thus, for the aim of this study, several visual and textual elements have been chosen and semiotics has been selected as the major analyses method.

4.1 Methodology: Semiotics as an Approach to Reading Graffiti

Signs and symbols are important in daily life. The way that 'images become meaningful' can be found through the studies of signs. Referring to Rose, "the visual is central to the cultural construction of social life in contemporary Western societies." (Rose, 2002)

The book by Richard and Kelli Fuery refers to the theory of Roland Barthes on signification and various approaches to the signs to present meaning, as "All images begin with a blank 'canvas': literally, such as a blank page, empty book, blank computer screen, grey cinema screen, grey television set; or metaphorically, such as empty social space, lack of cultural expression." (Fuery, 2003, p. 87) Fuery (2003) emphasizes an importance of image's position and the ways a particular culture match in with an image and vice versa, instead of 'the artistic elements of an image'

and other elements. Thus, consistent with Barthes perspective, graffiti also starts with a blank canvas—wall or other surface within public spaces. However, there is an obvious difference between the canvases meant by Barthes, and the canvas implied for graffiti uses. Hence, there is no doubt in the materialistic quality of both elements, rather it is important that each of these materials designed for a particular aim.

Our contemporary environment is full of visual elements-natural and man-made-which are used by people, consciously or instinctively, every day. Indeed, these elements can be encountered in a wide range of implications, including traffic symbols, advertisings, guidance symbols of buildings, and the like. Besides, there are other signs, which are not observable at the sight and require more focus and attention. According to Rose "All different sorts of technologies and images … render the world in visual terms" (Rose, 2002) Of course, the way we look at the world and various signs within it helps us to understand it. The point of view of observer towards a sign is affected by different factors which may hold personal significance for observer. For this reason, different individuals may perceive same sign in varying ways. To quote Stafford, "in a process beginning in the eighteenth century, the construction of scientific knowledges about the world has become more and more based on images rather than on written texts" (Rose, 2002)

4.1.1 Metaphor

Marcel Danesi in his book explains 'metaphor' as a sort of procedure by which a word or phrase replaced by another word or phrase, suggesting resemblance between the two. Likewise, Chandler (2007) explaining issues related to metaphor, writes that "a metaphor involves one signified acting as a signifier referring to a different signified"(p. 127). Noteworthy, it is essential to understand and differentiate between

basic terminologies, as in the analysis part of current chapter the metaphorical issues are touched in relation to visual representation during Iranian revolution.

According to the specific usages of words, in some cases they are required to be replaced by visual alternatives to illustrate and present the aims of a message in more effective manner (Danesi, 2004, p. 116). Thus, in case of graffiti—which contains visual and textual elements—metaphor has many useful implications. For example, political graffiti is a complex language of protesting, where protestors need an indirect, but clear ways to represent their aims.

Significantly, frequent uses of a metaphorical symbol during a substantial period of time makes it to be commonplace in that culture, and not more as a metaphor. According to Chandler (2007):

> While metaphors may require an imaginative leap in their initial use (such as in aesthetic uses in poetry or the visual arts) many metaphors become so habitually employed that they are no longer perceived as being metaphors at all. (p. 127)

Regarding relation of culture and metaphor, every region diverts in geographical position, and differentiates one from the other in terms of people's custom, traditions, cultural and religious believes. Consequently various locales are marked by usage of different symbols which embrace specific meanings. Such metaphorical issues are surveyed in this study according to the context of Iran. As an example, animals' names and symbols used in different regions with different cultures to represent attributes which may characterize the human. As Danesi (2004) implies:

> "The gods of many early cultures were conceived as animal figures— Egyptian gods had animal heads, the principal god of the Hindus is Ganesha the elephant, the godhead of the Aztecs was the green-plumped serpent Quetzalcoatl, and the list could go on and on." (p. 134)

As already mentioned above, regional characteristics, geographical position, and demographic features have great impact on formation of symbols and metaphors. Considering the case of Iranian culture, some animals like lion, or horse, turned into symbols, begin to represent an array of meanings, which are further utilized as visuals in national flags, or herbs. Therefore, lion for example is a sign of bravery, while the horse is a symbol of decency.

4.1.2 Myth

By and large, in every culture, myths play an important role among people who live inside and outside the borders of that culture. A myth is defined by Danesi (2004) as "a narrative in which the main character are gods, heroes, and mystical beings, the plot revolves around the origin of things or around the meaning of things, and the setting is a metaphysical world juxtaposed against the real world." (p. 145)

Discussing an idea of myth, Rose (2002) refers to Bathes concept of mythology, reflected in statement that "myth is not defined by object of its message, but by the way in which it utters this message: there are formal limits to myth, there are no 'substantial' ones" (p. 90). Besides, according to Barthes (in Rose, 2002) "mythology is defined by its form, not its content" (p. 90)

Along these lines, this study attempts to find visual elements which were used in Iranian graffiti during the last decades. The relation between these elements in the same period and also relation between visual signs of different period will be the main focus of the analysis. Culture, religion and other social and historical events, narratives, images and symbols will be considered as the significant factors which influence the creation of political graffiti.

4.1.3 Color

Color is one of the elements, which indeed plays a great role in graffiti. According to Danesi "colors are, in effect, signs that we can use to represent whatever we deem appropriate" (Danesi, 2004, p. 75) Noteworthy, color may carry a lot of symbolic significance, especially in the context of different cultures and religions and, therefore, can be understood and interpreted in many various ways. For instance, red color in one culture is a symbol of war and slaughter, while in another culture it may symbolize vitality and entertainment. According to psychological view, colors can express inner spirits of a person;

> While perceptions of color are somewhat subjective, there are some color effects that have universal meaning. Colors in the red area of the color spectrum are known as **warm colors** and include red, orange and yellow. These warm colors evoke emotions ranging from feelings of warmth and comfort to feelings of anger and hostility. Colors on the blue side of the spectrum are known as **cool colors** and include blue, purple and green. These colors are often described as calm, but can also call to mind feelings of sadness or indifference. (Cherry, n.d.)

Along these lines, it might be said that color acquires different meaning in context of different cultures, and when, beside, its is framed by other factors like religion.

It is important to note that Iranian culture is not exception regarding color issue, as traditions of symbolic significance and meaning of color in Iran are rooted in ancient times and have been developed since then under considerable impact of religion. For example, green color in Iranian culture represents refreshing and spring. Besides, religiously, green color refers to family of Muslims' prophet—Mohammad—, this color is a symbol for people, descendants of Mohammad. Wall writings apparently display many religious and symbolic aspects in context of Iranian culture.

4.1.4 Form and Symbols

Apart from color, forms and symbols are other important elements that affect a graffiti work. In this study forms will be divided into two major groups: Western and Islamic (native) forms. From artistic viewpoint, "In a broader sense, **form**, in art, means the whole of a piece's visible elements *and* the way those elements are united. In this context, form allows us, as viewers, to mentally capture the work and understand it." (Esaak n.d.) Apparently, there are numerous sub-elements which may greatly aid in understanding a graffiti piece. For example, common, widely recognized symbols like symbol of peace, war and etc.—and signs—arrow signs, traffic signs, fire sign and etc.—may greatly help in disclosing the meaning of the work and its intended message.

4.1.5 Names and linguistic signs (Words, Names Verbal Communication and Writing)

"Language is truly a remarkable phenomenon. Without it, human life as we know it would be inconceivable" (Danesi, 2004, p. 94)

What is constituting the basis of language? Basically, language is formed by sounds—single sounds. However, single sounds do not make much sense, but in combination several single sounds begun to produce more advanced and more pronounced sound, which is called "word". Normally, known words are pointing to us at something distinct, like an object or non material matter, like feelings. Further, when words are used side by side, it forms sentence, more advanced form of communication which may, for example, imply sense of action or completion of certain processes.

4.2 Case studies: Semiotic Analysis of Iranian Graffiti

This section of the research concerns with semiotics analyses based on visual and textual elements of graffiti samples, gathered from the various books and internet sources. In particular, current section will discuss color, form, meanings and typography within the context of Iranian culture. Mentioned elements of Iranian graffiti will be first classified and examined by periods in accordance with same parameters. As a final step, the analyzed materials will be compared, and discussed in the final part of the study.

4.2.1 Before/During the Revolution

"Cutter, x-ray radiology films, fiber board, black aerosol spray, a calligrapher, a painter, support of the demonstrators, brave heart and the white wall. These all became the internet of revolution period." (Nazemi, 2011)

As mentioned by Nazemi, radiology films were most important materials which could be found in every home. This material was one of the essential requisite for stencil technique of graffiti. Probably, everyone, to certain extend, could do graffiti on the walls, but this study focuses strictly on how political messages were presented by means of graffiti and the ways they had been created.

4.2.1.1 Color in this period

Survey on graffiti pictures which were colorful show that color in the revolution period didn't had clear supporting role. Most of the graffiti and posters are made by black and red colors, which have specific meaning in different culture.

Red color throughout revolution and after revolution during Iran-Iraq war predicate to red of martyrs' blood. Besides, it is a color of tulip, symbol of martyrdom. As it is

shown in figure 36 a stencil graffiti intends to show these relation by implication of design that include slogan; "tulip grows up from blood of our homeland's youth", establishing connections between red of blood and tulip with red of 'homeland's youth blood'—martyrs. There are other works, in which their creators attempted to transfer meaning figuratively, through implication of forms.

Black color; this color used for normal slogans. Black is color of mourning and also is a formal color for serious official issues. In Iranian culture black and dark blue are kind of formal colors.

4.2.1.2 Forms in this period

Additionally, mirroring forms is one of the other approaches used by people to display collapse of their topics. In figure 30 and 31 the slogan "down with Shah" is designated by a form that shows collapsing of the Shah's regime. The word of "Shah" is written in mirror way and it makes capsizing sense for the viewer. As in figure 1 see two signs of "good luck" and "collaps" in top and two types of writing the word "Shah" in down is showing how it make difference.
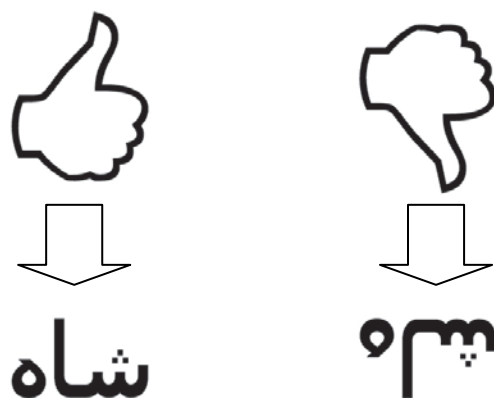
Figure 1. "Shah" is written collapse in right side

Most Iranians have certain religious beliefs. In Shia[3] culture Ali—the first Imam for Shias after their prophet, Mohammad—is the symbol of 'Justice and Equity'. In their culture Ali was not presented merely by writing his name. Indeed, apart from the voice and text which represent 'Ali' there are other visual metaphorical symbols that refer to Ali and his distinguished features—Justice and Equity. During and after Mohammad's leadership, Ali cooperate in many conflicts and wars, which were called by Muslims 'Battle of the right against iniquitous'. They believe that sword of Ali—'Zolfeghar'[4]—establishing justice and destroy injustices, symbolizing the right. Also Ali is symbol of bravery and power for Muslims. Throughout Iranian revolution people called Ayatollah Khomeini as Ali of his period, meaning destruction and collapse of the Pahlavi regime and establishment of Ali's justice in the states.

Examination of graffiti belonging to revolution period, its textual, visual and symbolic elements, made by protesters and captured by photographers, show that not only justice was one of their requests but it was most important one. Thus, Ali was also represented in paintings as a man with handsome face (Figure 2). The belief that Ali was very attractive and powerful is one of other Shia beliefs. Such ideology resulted in production of drawn and painted images, maybe in earlier decades, and people, subsequently, referent it to their Imam. Remarkably, Muslims believe that the face of prophets and Imams shouldn't be exposed by making pictures, but in this case elegances of Ali make significant exception.

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[3] One of the two main branches of orthodox Islam; mainly in Iran (What does shia means?, n.d.)
[4] A sword with two edge
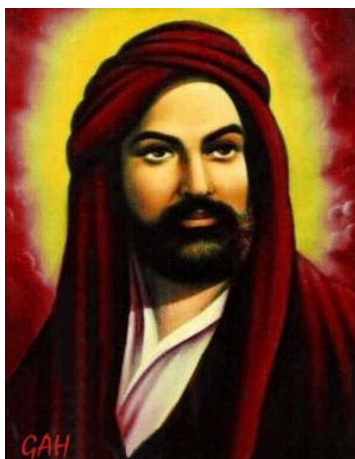
Figure 2. A picture that germane to Imam Ali (Alevilik & Bektaşilik)

Figure 3. A necklaces which build like Ali's sword (google search)

'Zolfeghar' (Figure 3) is not a revolutionary symbol, it roots in traditions, religion and culture of Shia, and there are other usages of this symbol in Iranian flag (Figure 4) which established before revolution in 1886 by Qajar kings. This flag consists of three colors—Green[5], White[6] and Red[7]—representing character of Iranians, with a lion at the center holding sword in its lap. Here, a lion represents power and bravery, while sword is the reference to Iranian Shia tendency to Ali. As a matter of fact, this symbol can be connected to a slogan used by folk for Ali; 'Ali, the lion of God', 'Lion of God' shows brave nature of Ali in establishing justice in his region.

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[5] Green represent fresh and religious in Iranian flag
[6] White represent peace and friendship in Iranian flag
[7] Red represent martyrs' blood color

Figure 4. Iranian Flag before Revolution

The post revolution flag (Figure 5) is somehow similar to the one, used before revolution, but only in color selection. Though colors preserve their meanings, slogan —'God is great'[8]—has been added. Besides, there are sacred scripture obtained from Muslim's holy book, Quran 'there is not any creator except Allah'[9], and all these words stabled on sword in the center symbol vertically.

Figure 5. Iranian Flag after Revolution

The short historical overview above may help now to examine wall writing in Iran during revolution, where symbols of Ali and sword, as well as textual components, like Ali's name, constitutes foundation of protesting system and relevant strategies.

For example, in Shia beliefs, mentioned previously, Ali presents the most important figure, and, therefore, equate Ali to a Leader of revolution makes much sense to the ones, who believe and follow Shia. In this respect, most common symbolic elements in graffiti which stayed behind after revolution include one of these symbols. Figure 6 present metaphorical relation of Imam Ali with symbols.

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[8] Allah-o-Akbar (الله اكبر)—This word is Arabic
[9] La Elaha Ellallah (لا اله الا الله) —This word is Arabic

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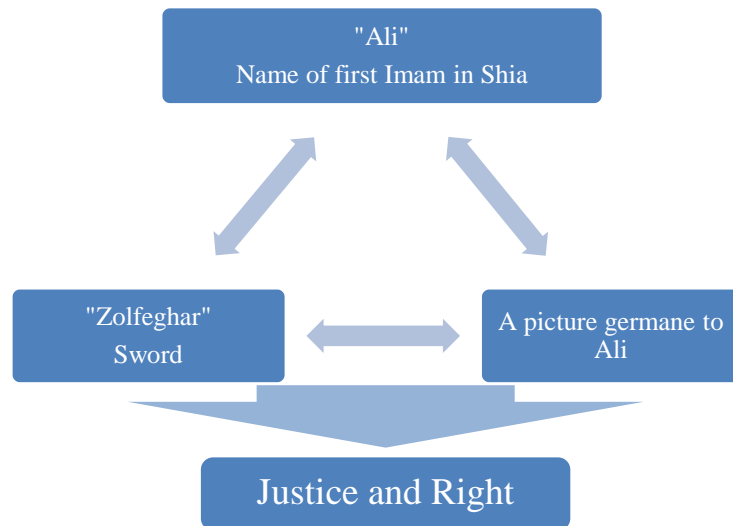
Figure 6.This figure shows exists metaphors between Ali and symbols

In cases of some graffiti, usage of names can point to specific facts and abilities of individual or a group, Slogan "Ali strike on Pahlavi's head" (Figure 10) refers to the power of Ali to regulate rights, while Ali's sword symbolizes regulation tool. In this example, writer probably has attempted to expose unfairness of Pahlavi regime and by use of symbol of justice—Ali—revealed desire and deep need in establishment of justice regime.

In addition, frequent utilization of symbols could be encountered not strictly in graffiti with religious content, but also across many samples of anti-west political wall writings (Figure. 29). For example, many countries use abbreviation of their full names (U.S for United States; U.K. for United Kingdom). Thus, observing Figure 29, it can be implied that in illustrated graffiti sample, a designer attempted to deny power and put down United States and Russia, by positioning Allah at the top of the image. Besides, such distribution of visual materials points at author's idea of God's priority in relation to other elements. .

4.2.1.3 Textual Messages and Visual Effects

Textual slogans and textual symbols which remind viewer of certain ideas are other spread cases shown in Iranian graffiti. Titles which used for persons are most used elements in textual graffiti; these titles help viewers to imagine the addressed person in the suggested character and give specific sense to viewer about particular person. For instance, "Down with Dictator Shah" (figure 41) is a slogan which was frequently used by protestors. In this slogan Shah is introduced as a dictator, using of dictator for Shah in several graffiti in several places during a short time makes needless protestors from using the 'Shah' in their graffiti because "Down with Dictator" is enough for showing that they refer dictator to Shah. Some examples are listed below:

Dictator	➡	Shah
American Shah	➡	Shah
Colonialist	➡	Pahlavi Government
Despot	➡	Radio and TV and Shah's Government
Traitor	➡	Shah
Justice	➡	Ali
Heart of History	➡	Martyr
Shame of History	➡	Shah
Iconoclast	➡	Khomeini
Anti-God	➡	Shah
Demon	➡	Shah
Angel	➡	Khomeini
Involuntary Servant	➡	Bakhtiyar

In some of these titles graffiti writers used duality of components, or so-called binary oppositions. For example, we can encounter such phrases as 'Demon' and 'Angel', 'Anti-God' and 'Iconoclast' and also 'Heart of History' and 'Shame of History'. (Figures 11-12, 35, 42-45)
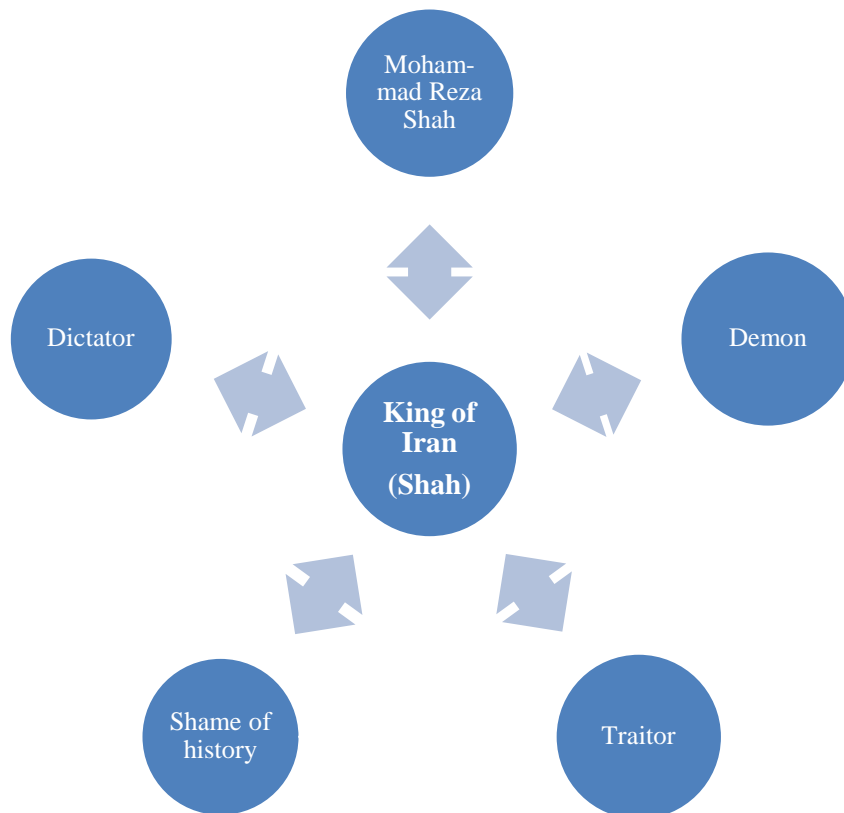
Figure 7. Representing of Iraninan king by different signifiers

4.2.1.4 Hand Writing in Graffiti as an Indicator of Cultural

According to graffiti and pictures which are founded about Iranian protestors' graffiti before revolution, the case of typography and its relation with culture an education of writer can be discussed as a matter in this part.

As a matter of fact, gathered samples of graffiti, which include textual elements, can be examined in terms of typography and handwriting. Generally, Farsi alphabets,

which have some similarities with Arabic alphabets VS English letters and words, made by the means of conducted characters. This kind of typography can be performed in different models. A simple one which students learn in elementary school is mostly used by low educated class of people. Other kinds of this writing with Farsi alphabets are usually used by people with more awareness and knowledge, who might belong to more advanced educational background. However, certainly, there are many people—with poor educational background—who still may perform good handwriting. As a result, this points to fact that this case is problematic for accurate examination, though still, in some cases, might serve as a tool for comparative analyses of graffiti writings.

According to photos from graffiti, most graffiti which include abusive word usually are written in basic handwriting methods which show that which group used which political or latrinalia for graffiti.

4.2.1.5 Solution for Clearing Graffiti

Most used method for erasing written slogans and drawn symbols during Iranian Revolution in 70s was covering graffiti by color. Indeed, there are many examples of cases where people wrote slogans again over re-painted, graffiti-free surface. For instance, figure 46 illustrates protesters' response to Shah's supporters, declaring that "The color that SAVAK uses could not clear the shame of Shah".

A kind of graffiti used by protestors to record events in history; replacing and changing streets' and alleys' names with a name of event that happened there, is another sample of graffiti usage in 1970s in Iran. (see Figure 15-18). In fact, Iran introduces an array of streets, which were renamed by people right before revolution.

Palestine St., Shohada[10] St., 17th Shahrivar St. and other names which are using currently by government.

4.2.2 After the Revolution (During Iran-Iraq War)

Iranian revolution was followed, almost instantly, by the war with Iraq. Consequently, new regime—Islamic Republic of Iran—didn't have any time to rebuild the system. Youths entered into new battle and conflict almost immediately after their last battle with 'Pahlavi's Regime'. Along these lines, post revolution graffiti acquired certain features. Thus, regime's ideological graffiti took an important place in post-revolution society, and can be categorized as follows:

- Epic Graffiti

- Religious Graffiti

- Political Graffiti

- Advertising Graffiti

Perhaps, Jerusalem's picture is one of the most pronounced visuals in graffiti of post-revolution period during war time. At this point the logical question may rise, as what kind of relationships can be between Iranian war and Palestine issue?

Iranian leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, called last Friday of Ramadan[11] "Qods Day"[12] for all Islamic nations and invited them to protest Israel while making demonstration in the streets. This day holds particular importance for Muslims and even more comprehended by Shia. It was believed that they can gain freedom for Palestinians from 'Israel's grip' by their 'alliance'. Besides, during Iran-Iraq war Ayatollah

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[10] Martyrs

[11] Ramadan is the name of one of Islamic Calendar months which people did not eat anything from sunrise until sunset.

[12] Jerusalem Day

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Khomeini also claimed that "the road of Jerusalem crosses from Karbala[13]" This sentence became one of the epic slogans which gave stamina to warriors to fight with Iraqis until liberation of Jerusalem. Accordingly there are graffiti samples belonging to this period (Figures 56, 60-65) displaying a picture of 'Al-Aqsa Mosque' in the Palestine. In figure 63 writers implied slogan which states 'Warriors will save Palestine from Israel's grip'. This graffiti include several elements like Soldiers, Muslim's shrine, Karbala, Al-Aqsa Mosque, Intifada[14] Soldier, Mecca, Star of David and a wild bird—shown as eagle. In Figure 63, there are two kinds of warriors, distinguished one from the other by several signs:

In this regard, first soldiers, with guns in hands and headband[15] , represents Iranian soldiers who fight in Iran-Iraq war, as well for freedom of Palestine. Uniform of Iranian soldiers is colored by dark green, which represents one of Iranian armed forces which called "Sepah"[16]. These soldiers are directed towards a bird with three holy buildings—Mecca, Karbala and Al-Aqsa Mosque—in hands; that is representation of the goal of the fight.

Second soldier displays a man dressed in traditional clothes and a kind of scarf—Kufiya[17]—on his head on top which a stone is thrown. Throwing stone and fighting the enemy by using stone symbolizes Palestinians' battle which called 'Intifada'. It makes difference between two soldiers in this picture. 'Star of David' or 'Hexagram' is a Jewish symbol, which is drawn behind the Intifada soldier. Hexagram is showed in broken form, pointing at losing of Israelis instead of Palestinians. The way that designer used to locate Al-Aqsa Mosque (on top) highlights an importance of 'this

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[13] Karbala is the name of holy city in Iraq which has most Shias inside and also one of Shia's important Imams—Imam Hussein—is buried there.
[14] This is an Arabic word which means 'Shaking' and it uses for battle
[15] Iranian soldiers usually use headbands which include some slogans and Imam's name
[16] right oriented group under control of Iranian Religious leader
[17] Keffiyeh is a kind of scarf that Arabian men use it

symbol'[18]. These two anti-Israel graffiti concerning Palestine are made in the street which is called 'Palestine'.

Furthermore, utilization of green color in graffiti of post-revolution time sends religious messages that are other features which used by designer to emphasis its orientation towards Imams. (Figure 49-69). Besides, the color of headbands on soldiers head is red, which is the sign of martyr, while green is the sign of Mohammad's inmate.
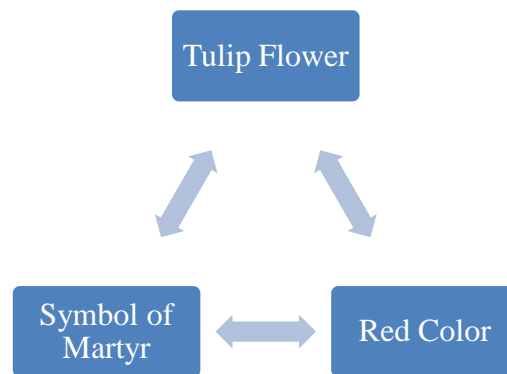
```
                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │ Tulip Flower │
                    └──────────────┘
                     ↗            ↖
                    ↙              ↘
        ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
        │  Symbol of   │ ←──→ │  Red Color   │
        │   Martyr     │      │              │
        └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
```

Figure 8. This figure shows relation between colors and signified things

As mentioned previously in the section reviewing revolution period, sometimes religious symbols and colors may affect people much more than any other elements. Hence, in every ideological graffiti made, such elements carry a particular significance. For example, illustrating scene which involves martyrdom can bring an epic tint to the graffiti, affecting viewers' every sense. Indeed, portraying youth at the war-martyr pictures (Figures 55, 59-60)-effectively persuaded youth to join the soldiers in the battle.

Observing samples of political graffiti made by government during post-revolution times, viewer can directly perceive Anti-West propaganda, especially Anti-America

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[18] 'Al-Aqsa Mosque' is Muslims first holy house

perspectives (Figure 66). For instance, figure 66 illustrates graffiti where a flag of USA is drawn on the one of the Tehran's walls. This flag originally include some stars and lines but in this graffiti instead of stars cranium of human is used. Moreover, if the red line is followed, bombs which threat nations are coming into view. Accordingly, the slogan declares, "we never comport with America even for a moment"

Finally, figures 49, 50, 52, 54 exhibit graffiti samples from one of the cities, which was grabbed by Iraq forces. Thus, according to graffiti visuals found in this locale it can be suggested that both Iranian and Iraqi soldiers used graffiti to represent themselves and their ideas. Additionally, in these picture one of the most used elements in Iranian religious and also their graffiti is visible. Painting which is germane to Ali was hanged from wall and entrance of buildings and hospitals (Figure 51, 52). Remarkably, on the photo this image is still taken place on the wall, the fact which may suggest that Iraqi soldiers might had a certain degree of respect to Iranian religious symbol, as they also did not destroy or perform an act of vandalism on the image.

4.2.3 The Period after the Iran-Iraq War and during 2009 Iranian General Election

In general, until elections of 2009, there was no major or significant political development in Iran. Therefore, until the events, that took place in after-election period, the graffiti usage for political campaigns and protests showed a very low profile.

To start with, before the 2009 election, Mir Hossein Mousavi's campaign which was more popular between all groups of people chose a color which carries a particular

meaning and importance for Shia fans. As mentioned in the previous sections, 'green' is the color attributed to family of Muslim's prophet, Mohammad. Green T-shirts, scarfs, mantoux and other pieces of clothes were common elements during campaign and after election.

As a matter of fact, during pre-election period people were utilizing specific signs to make clear their belonging to one or the other supporting camp. Regarding 'green movement', the most spread and recognized sign in use was 'V', shown by raise of two fingers (Figure 8) with an aim to show their believe in victory as well as a check mark which confirms their candidate in the election to all. In a short while, this sign became symbol of 'green movement'. As can be seen on the figures (Figure 70-158) which contain photos of graffiti after election, most of these wall writings include sign of V or checkmark and also green color is considerable.

Figure 9. V symbol of 'Green Movement' Protestors

Protestors used some codes in their graffiti to make announcements to public about important upcoming events by utilization of the engineering symbols which used by telecommunication organization and also water and electricity offices on the streets' walls (Figure 122 and 123). For example, in the images illustrated by figures 122 and 123, the date—25—and time—3—are written by protestors and beside these codes

the symbol of 'Green Movement', which at the first sight appears as arrow symbol. Indeed, causal observer may perceive this graffiti as sign system, usually implied by organizations dealing with communal services (water and electricity supplies). However, factually it is a political announcement that is a call for a mass meeting on the specific date and time.

Furthermore, natural settings, like rural sites, are also used by 'Green Movement' supporters for graffiti purposes. Thus, figures 128-135 display various graffiti, which spread beyond the cities' boundaries to the suburbs and villages. To note, this can be considered as one of the developments that differ implication of graffiti throughout 1979 revolution period from recent graffiti produced by Green Movement.

Another strategy, utilized by 'Green Movement' involves altering of the original texts within context of the streets by adding some names, words or symbols to the existing ideological governmental graffiti, in order to modify and revert an original meaning to suit ideology of protestors. This can be illustrated by figure 113, which shows graffiti writing implying, "Every martyr, **Neda and Sohrab**, is a flag for independence and honor of this nation" (Figure 113). In the given example the original text is altered and names "Neda" and "Sohrab" are added later. Further, another example, illustrated by figure 95, exhibits danger message in the construction place, which originally states "danger of downfall", altered by protestor to "danger of system—regime—down falling" (Figure 95). Additionally, figure 96 shows how the original slogan—"should be erased from world scene"—is changed to "Ahmadi Nejad should be erased from world scene"

In some cases some graffiti remind the revolution period to elders because same slogans used for giving revolutionary sense to the protests, "The shame can not be removed by paint" (Figures 104-105) is one of these graffiti that the same used in 1979s revolution (Figure 46).

The period, marked by protesting against election results, was decade of new communication technologies like computer, internet, cell phones and other new communication tools. In fact, Iranian protestors did not neglect these methods. They used SMS as a fast communicating tool to spread messages about election through friends and announcing the events to mass group or calling them for demonstrations. However, these tools could be used by specific and limited number of people. To solve this problem, protestors used public spaces like walls, telephone booths, elevators' cabins, bills, bus stations and other spaces of public access. Apparently, comparing to revolution period, the protestors of 2009 had advantage in utilizing more advanced techniques in order to achieve their goals. For example, protestors printed slogans, pictures, symbols, and other visuals easily by printer on bills, stickers and other materials. They used computer to design stencil for making and painting signs and symbols on the walls.

4.2.3.1 Used Techniques of Regime for Thwarting Graffiti

Apparently, one of the most important elements in graffiti of post revolution period was implication of specific colors, which were aimed to differentiate graffiti works by protestors from the ones, implied by government supporters. Indeed, viewer, who saw green color had no doubts to which group it belonged and without further inquiries referred it to 'Green Movement'.

It is important to remark that government and its supporters were applying various techniques in order to camouflage slogans in public spaces. Obviously, the most common and simple way was to paint over the graffiti. Worth mentioning, such methods were also implied by SAVAK during revolution of 1979. However, as the years passed, government became more inventive in terms of graffiti eliminating techniques and started to utilized methods, similar with the ones, used by protestors. In particular, it involved alterations of certain elements in the graffiti of protestors, to obtain new meaning, or inverse of original. As example, figures 118-120 illustrate how the supporters of the regime changed the slogan in figure 120 -"We are" to "We are with Imam[19]" , or like in figure 119 "V"-sign of 'Green Movement', was changed to "WC".

Moreover, government supporters also began to make wall writings with red color-which is complementary to green-and which was commonly used by supporters of Ahmadi Nejad during presidential election of 2009 (Figure 118). As the photograph of figure 118 displays, the supporters wrote "V=WC" to distribute this negative mentality between people and strike to 'Green Movement' by this kind of graffiti.

Finally, symbols which were drawn by green colors was another strategy that government supporters used for lynching 'Green Movement'. For example in figure 83 the symbol of Israel is drawn on Iran walls with green color, that is unprecedented because the main philosophy of 'Green Movement' is to follow rules and values of Islamic Republic of Iran, and its members stand for establishment of these rules in Iran and every member of this movement believe that if government follow up the

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[19] Imam in this slogan used instead of Iranian religion leader Ayatollah Khamene'e

rules, if democracy established, the most problems in Iran will be solved without any battle.

4.2.4 Other Social and Commercial Graffiti

The visual data of graffiti, most of which were created in the period after the Iranian revolution belong to taggers and other individuals. These kinds of graffiti can be categorized as:

- Personal Chats

- Protesting Social Issues (Like child workers, women in Iran)

- Love Stories

- Swearwords

- Organ Selling Ads

- Commercial ads

In most of these graffiti, their creators attempted to share personal needs and problems on the wall. Probably, this could be a result of their loneliness and depression, reflected on city walls. In general, the personal confabulation is counted as unpleasant graffiti which wounded people's opinion. (Figure 172)

Furthermore, the second category presents the most popular and acceptable kind of graffiti which work on problems of society, oppressed people and mostly on child labour and women. Samples for this kind of graffiti are presented by figures 159-166 where designer attempted to show pedestrians empty place of individuals which are absent in the street sides. Moreover, the persons who are in the other region of the city but are unknown in our region, for example in figure 162 designer made an effort to show a child who sitting beside the wall and selling divination. Indeed, maybe through daily routine one would not notice these children, but they are there.

Thus, designer attempts to show that in a corner of streets there are so many wretch people of whom we are hardly even aware. In other example, the most famous picture of Iranian woman, covered by veil and backed to viewer, painted on the wall that embosom a child with a template of "peace" in hand. If we compare this graffiti with real scene of daily life pictures, we will see the metaphor implied by designer to create connection between "peace" and toy or food which child should have in hand. On the other side, this image can present the importance of peace for all people belonging to different ages and classes, the need of children to have peace and comfort in their life and world in general.

The category of love story is mostly similar to personal chats. In this types of graffiti, writer expresses on the wall his/her love experience and expose his/her love to public and to a beloved person by implying lover's first character of name, or with writing complete name. Besides, some graffiti of this category contain texts, which expresses hate of writer towards his/her partner. (Figure 171)

It is worth emphasizing, that selling organ announcements are among the latest new types of social graffiti, which are usually placed in specific region of the city, particularly near the hospitals, the institutes of kidney bank, and some central illegal medicine selling area. In the figure 170 one of this type of graffiti is presented. These graffiti usually made by marker and sticker techniques, and commonly contains blood group and phone number of seller person. (Figures 167-170)

Last category of this section is advertising, which is different from other categories in several respects. Probably the most outstanding differentiating aspect is that such graffiti introduces and presents product, which hold commercial values, while other

mentioned categories present personal issues, or non-profit concepts oriented towards advantage for humanity. This kind of graffiti is a fixed type of graffiti which occurred in revolution period—1979—and sustained till today. (Figures 173-178)

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Caves are the initial spaces used by prehistoric men to draw images. Studies on cave paintings covered in the literature review section show us that most of these ancient works embrace metaphorical contents, which had a special usage at that time. As decades were passing, cave paintings were advancing and transforming, until obtained its contemporary form with an array of underlying contexts. Indeed, graffiti is made with specific purpose, to reflect certain ideas and meanings, addressing to specific individual or a group of people.

This study attempted to analyze this kind of wall paintings—graffiti—in Iran during last 35 years, by focusing on graffiti which have been created during Iranian revolution in 1979s and after the revolution periods. Signs and symbols which are used by people to reflect their protests against regimes are important for the study and these materials have been analyzed by employing semiotics. The denotative and connotative usages have been explained by analyzing various signs in Iranian political graffiti. Also the myths, metaphors, the specific symbols used were analyzed by referring to Iranian culture and Iranian history, including signs, which manifested in rich lyrics, several proverbs and even illustrated scenes. The familiar materials used in new graffiti include variety of elements, which reflect culture and common knowledge of Iranian people and thus, when utilized in graffiti piece, brings forward intentions of the writer.

Furthermore, religion is another important factor that affected Iranian culture for 1400 years. The effects which religion had on the Iranian culture have their impact on graffiti visualization as well, showing how indispensible the Iranian culture is to religion, its rituals and symbols. Indeed, these signs and symbols have been repeatedly used during last decades, telling us once more that religion and everything around it have been absorbed by all aspects of the society. During and after the Iranian revolution it became obvious that these kinds of signs, drawn on the walls are carriers and reflectors of mass's consciousness. Observing the photos documenting graffiti of Iran, it becomes clear that most of these works have many points in common in terms of religious contents or signs. Besides, it emphasizes importance of such signs and symbols in Iranian's Islamic believes, which were implied by people throughout socio-political turmoil in order to express their feelings, emotions and thoughts. These included drawings which made reference to Imams; words which simulated specific characters for religious person; mentions of union between Muslims, top position of God in relation to powers, and some metaphorical believes.

As a matter of fact, the narratives, metaphors and the symbols remained almost unchanged, but the new forms of presenting the issues have been invented. The contemporary Iranian revolutionary graffiti used different type of visual elements to present its goals in innovative ways. Thus, people who are now 33 years older than the revolution period had a request of the dismissal of dictator in 79s, the new generation are about 30 years old today request the same thing. Indeed, there are many parallels can be made between expressions during revolution period and graffiti of today in Iran. For example, at the time of Iranian Revolution people wrote on the walls "Ali" with red and black color. Nowadays, the youth of Green movement wrote "Ya Hussein" with green color. Moreover, the older generation

mentioned the braveness and justice of 'Ali', while today the revolutionaries refer to the innocence of 'Hussein'. Walls and phone booths find new rivals, which are easy in accessing and carry low risk through the process of graffiti making. New techniques that help protestors to publish large number of slogans on ideal and mass accessible materials—bills, stickers, papers and etc.—these all are the gifts of technology for protestors. The wall are not limited anymore to a physical vertical surfaces which build by bricks. Apparently, majorities have the virtual walls in the virtual space—internet—and he/she publish slogans, political events and protests on the specific wall in his/her page by means of 'Social Network System'. Surveying on these graffiti shows us the aftermaths of every revolution can be similar to the latest regime in some ways, but it is important how people realize their rights from governments.

The examples chosen for the analysis also displayed that Iranian graffiti is very much influenced by their religion, and that Iranian protestors do stay within the borders of religion. In Iranian society, politics, and even economic and financial issues follow the religion. In fact, Iranians displayed this tendency even in the royalty period, when national flag was designed. Factually, in royalty period some religious leaders were involved in governmental decisions.

In democratic countries, people are expected to have the right to freedom of speech and the right to be critical of the regime and other social issues. If any regime thinks that freedom of people is a must to be met in a democratic society, the government should provide the means for this. Freedom of speech firstly helps governments to understand the needs of people; they also understand their shortages in governing their country, most important thing is governments rebuffs later arises in the future

because people with free dialogues are communicating with regimes and if regimes show reciprocal positive reaction to their requests can control crisis which can happen in the future.

As a final point, I would like to mention a fact in everybody's lifetime. Imagine a child who wants to start walking, he/she chooses a vertical column or surface to lean and stand, when he/she could stand start to walking beside and under support of that surface, child touches that, his/her hands leave footprint on it and he/she learn to illustrate his/her first drawing! Wall helped the child to stand, to learn to illustrate, to draw when he/she is upset or happy, and now when he/she becomes a youngster, he/she writes and draws on the wall because walls wants to assist them be alive…

Who can tell us that not to draw or write on the wall?

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    %20Magic/My%20Documents/Hunting%20Magic%20and%20Abbe%20Breuil.h

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APPENDICES

APPENDICE A. Photo of Graffiti During Iranian Revolution

Figure 10. Graffiti with Symbol of Ali's Sword and Slogan
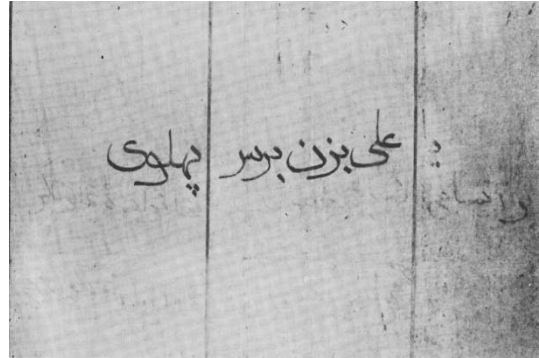
Figure 11. Slogan (Contain Ali's Name)
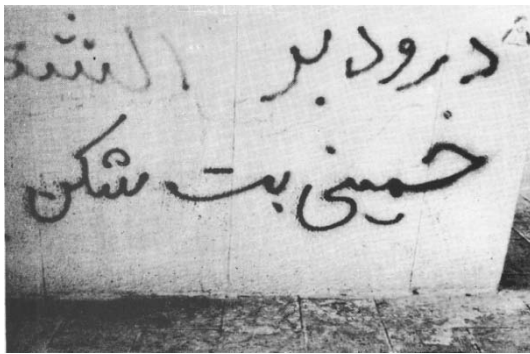
Figure 12. Slogan (Viva to Iconoclast-Khomeini)

Figure 13. Slogan
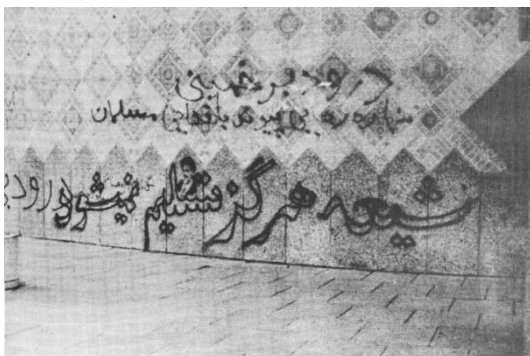
Figure 14. Slogan (Shia will never surrender)
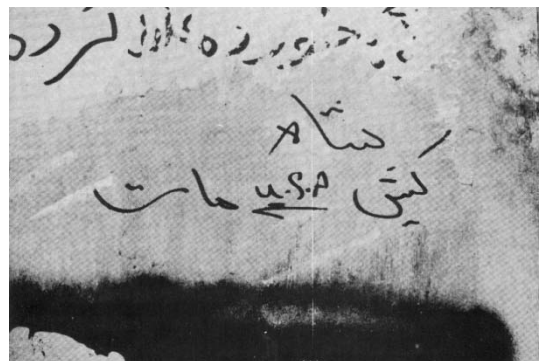
Figure 15. Slogan (Shah ckeck, U.S.A checkmate)

Figure 16. Replacing Alley Names (Down with shah alley)

Figure 17. Replacing Alley Names (Palace to Palestine)

Figure 18. Replacing Alley Names (Zhaleh to Shohada— Martyrs)

Figure 19. Replacing Alley Names (Goethe to 17 Shahrivar—8 September)

Figure 20. Statue of Greate Leader, Imam Khomeini

Figure 21. A picture of Imam Khomeini

Figure 22. A picture of Imam Khomeini

Figure 23. picture of Imam Khomeini

Figure 24. picture of Imam Khomeini
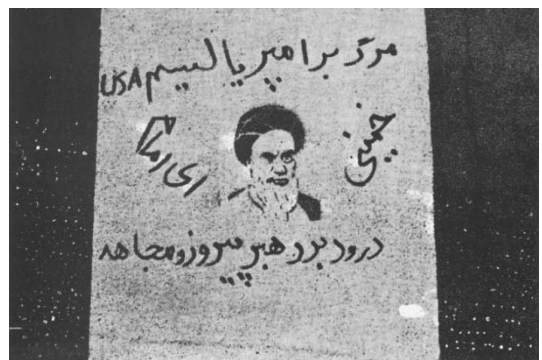
Figure 25. picture of Imam Khomeini and Slogan

Figure 26. A picture of Imam Khomeini and Slogan (Viva to Khomeini)

Figure 27. Allah-o-Albar (Arabic Word— God is great)

Figure 28. Allah-o-Albar (Arabic Word—
God is great)

Figure 29. Allah (Arabic word—God)

Figure 30. Allah (not USA, not Russia)

Figure 31. Slogan (Say—"Ghulu" is Arabic
Word and Means "Say"—Down with Shah)

Figure 32. Graffiti (Down with Shah)
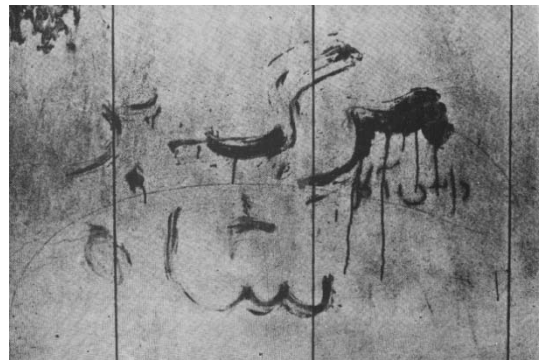
Figure 33. Slogan (Down with Shah and
Tagging)

Figure 34. Graffiti (La Elaha Ellallah, Viva to Khomeini)
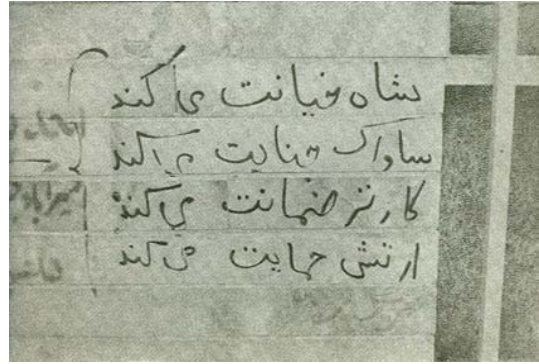
Figure 35. Slogan (Shah Betrays, SAVAK Does Crime, Carter Guarantees, Army Supports)
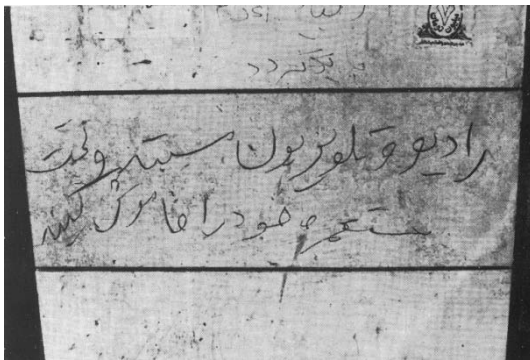
Figure 36. Switch off your Tyranny Radio and TV

Figure 37. Slogan and 'Tulip', Symbol of Martyrdom
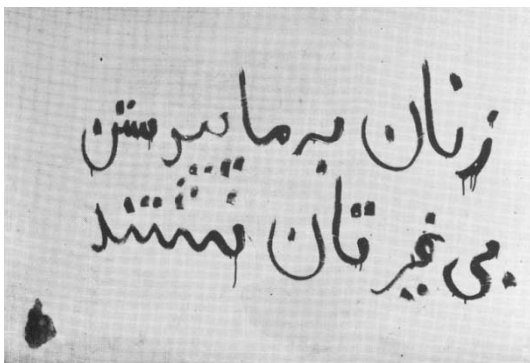
Figure 38. Women joint us but
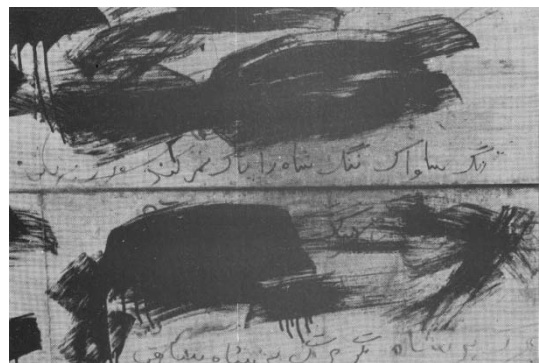
Figure 39. Shame of Shah can not be removed with paint of SAVAK
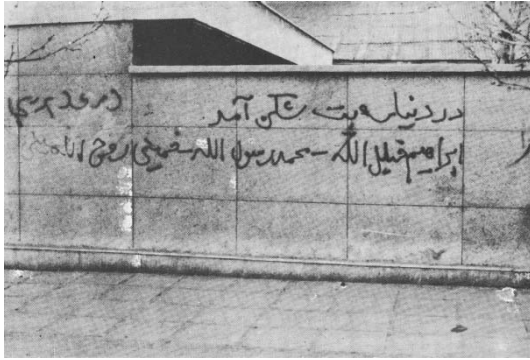
Figure 40. The world has three iconoclast; Ibrahim Khalil-o-Allah, Mohammad Rasoul-o-Allah and Khomeini Ruh-o-Allah
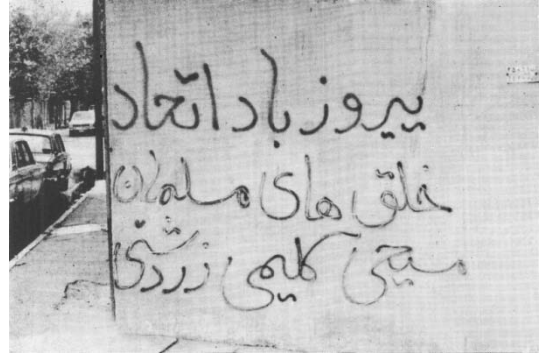
Figure 41. Victorious to Muslims, Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian

Figure 42. Down with Dictator Shah

Figure 43. This American Shah should execute, Martyr is Heart of History

Figure 44. When demon left, angel comes
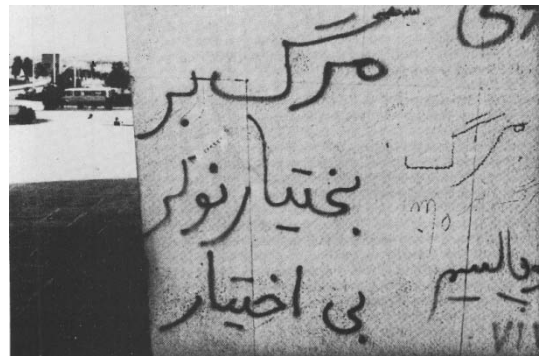
Figure 45. Down with Bakhtiyar , Involuntary Servant
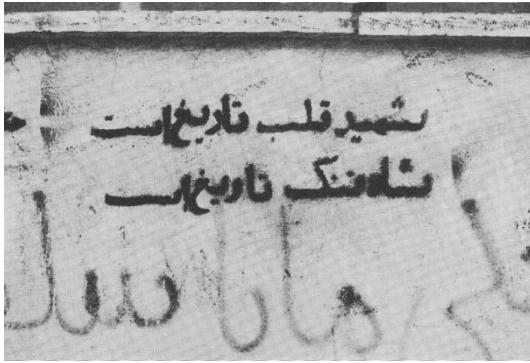
Figure 46. Martyr is Heart of History, Shah
is Shame of History
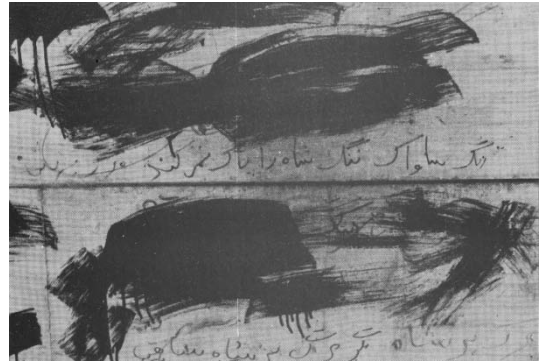
Figure 47. The color which SAVAk uses
could not clear the shame of Shah

Figure 48. Graffiti

Figure 49. Slogan about Martyrdom

APPENDICE B. Photo of Graffiti after Revolution During

Iran-Iraq War

Figure 50. Stencil Graffiti (Iran-Iraq War, Khoramshahr)

Figure 51. Graffiti (Iran-Iraq War, Khoramshahr)

Figure 52. Ali's Symbol (Iran-Iraq War, Khoramshahr)

Figure 53. Graffiti—texts are written by Iraqi Soldiers (Iran-Iraq War, Khoramshahr)

Figure 54. Welcome to Khorramshahr, Population 36 Million (Iran-Iraq War, Khoramshahr)

Figure 55. We Defense until Last Drops of our blood (Iran-Iraq War, Khoramshahr)

Figure 56. Khomeini and Iran Soldier and martyr
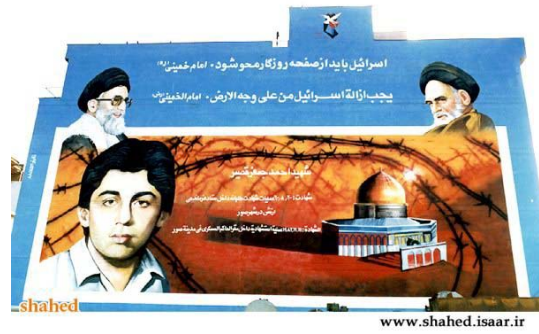
Figure 57. Anti Israel Wall Painting

Figure 58. A Child on the her Martyr Fathers

Figure 59. A picture of Imam who has Martyr in hug

Figure 60. Anti West Wall Painting (Down with America)

Figure 61. In Supporting Palestinians

Figure 62. Imam Khomeini in Billboard

Figure 63. Al-Aqsa Mosque and a Hand which is Holy Symbol for Shia

Figure 64. Anti Israel Wall Painting

Figure 65. "Palestine is Part of Islam World"

Figure 66. Anti Israel, in supporting of Palestinians

Figure 67. Slogan (Down with America-We never comport with America even for a moment)

Figure 68. Religious Leaders

Figure 69. Billboard in Anniversary of revolution Succeed

Figure 70. Hossein Fahmideh, The Iranian Young Martyr

APPENDICE C. Photo of Graffiti after Iranian Presidential Election in 2009

Figure 71. New Year (89), Years of Patience and Endurance

Figure 72. Down with Dictator

Figure 73. Neda is Alive

Figure 74. We are Green

Figure 75. New Year (89), Years of Patience and Endurance

Figure 76. New Year (89), Years of Patience and Endurance
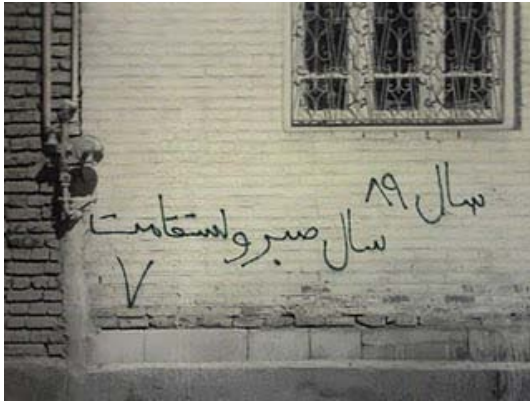
Figure 77. New Year (89), the Years of
Patience and Endurance

Figure 78. New Year (89), the Years of
Patience and Endurance

Figure 79. Down with Dictator

Figure 80. Ya Hossein (a religious call which
greens use for their protesting)

Figure 81. Down wit Mousavi

Figure 82. Mousavi

Figure 83. Sacrifice my life leader

Figure 84. Sacrifice my life for leader

Figure 85. Using public equipments for movement

Figure 86. Cleaned Telephone Booth

Figure 87. Greens are

Figure 88. Green

Figure 89. A Religious Symbol with Green Color (A Hand)

Figure 90. Bye Bye Ahmadi (Nejad)

Figure 91. Erasing Graffiti

Figure 92. Erasing Graffiti

Figure 93. Basiji[20] die but don't accept abasement

Figure 94. Green Bullets

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[20] Basiji is a group which support regime and it is a part of one of military powers which called Sepah, during issues after last election this group repressed protestors.

Figure 95. Down with Karroubi

Figure 96. Danger of the regime's failure

Figure 97. Ahmadi Nejad should be erase
from world scene

Figure 98. Viva to green student

Figure 99. Cemetry of Microb

Figure 100. Microb is yourself

Figure 101. Stencil Graffiti Used for Protesting

Figure 102, (we are green) We will stay green

Figure 103. Greens are Hopeful

Figure 104. Viva to green movement of Iranian Nation

Figure 105. Shame can not be removed with paint

Figure 106. Shame can not be removed with paint

Figure 107. Not Lebanon, sacrifice my life for Iran

Figure 108. From Ashoora till green '22 Bahman'

Figure 109. Green Movement (Public spaces)

Figure 110. V symbol of 'Green Movement'

Figure 111. Ya Hossein, Mir Hossein-Don't clear I will write again

Figure 112. V symbol

Figure 113. Greens are Hopeful

Figure 114. Neda and Sohrab are the martyrs which in this picture their names added to written slogan.

Figure 115. Remembering the martyrs of green movement

Figure 116. A Gallery of 'Green Movement' works

Figure 117. down with dictator
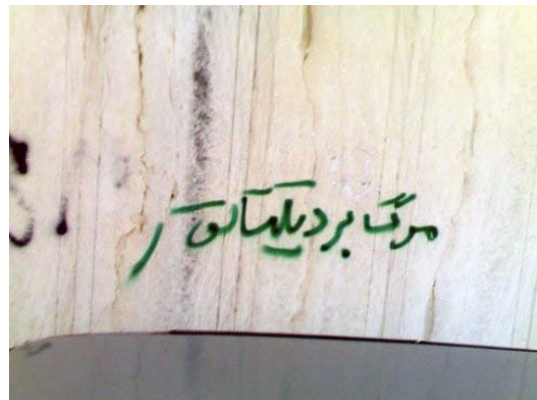
Figure 118. down with dictator

117

Figure 119. V=WC

Figure 120. Changing V to WC

Figure 121. We are changed to 'we are with Imam (Khamene'e)'

Figure 122. "Our vote, Ahmadi Nejad" is crossed by green color

Figure 123. Using date of protesting like written information of walls

Figure 124. Using date of protesting like written information of walls

Figure 125. A slogan about avenger of Hale Sahabi on of 'Green Movement' Martyrs

Figure 126. A slogan about avenger of Hale Sahabi on of 'Green Movement' Martyrs

Figure 127. Viva to Montazeri

Figure 128. '25 Ordibehesht' the day of protesting University
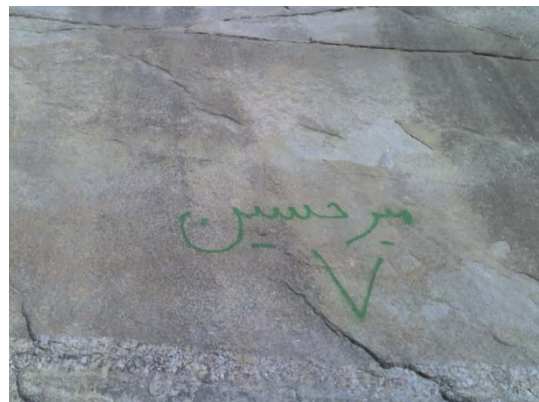

Figure 129. Mir Hossein, 'V' Symbol of 'Green Movement'

Figure 130. Mir Hossein, 'V' Symbol of 'Green Movement'

Figure 131. Mir Hossein, 'V' Symbol of 'Green Movement'

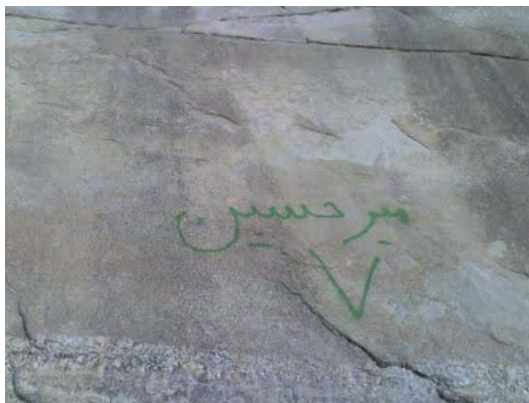Figure 132. 'V' Symbol of 'Green Movement'

Figure 133. Mir Hossein

Figure 134. Ya Hossein, Mir Hossein

Figure 135. New Year (90), The year of awareness till freedom
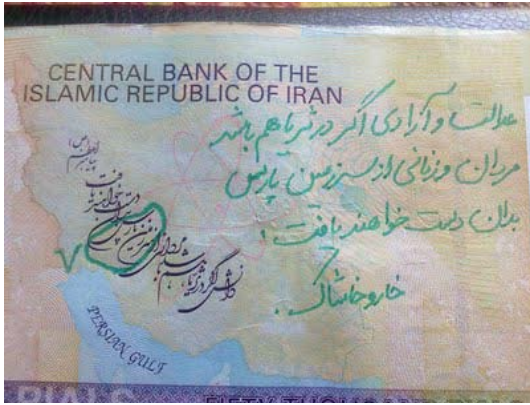

Figure 136. Mashad Green Movement

Figure 137. Writing on money in protesting of regime

Figure 138. Ya Hossein, Mir Hossein (Mir Hossein Mousavi was one of candidate of presidential election)

Figure 139. Ya Hossein, Mir Hossein

Figure 140. Down with Dictator

Figure 141. Stamped Bills

Figure 142. Stamped Bills

Figure 143. Cartoon of Ahmadi Nejad on Bills

Figure 144. Where is my Vote

Figure 145. Slogan on Bill

Figure 146. Slogan on Bill

Figure 147. The Day of Jerusalem

Figure 148. The green Jerusalem day

Figure 149. They stole incomes of oils and they are giving it to Chevz

Figure 150. Ya Hossein, Mir Hossein

Figure 151. Ya Hossein, Mir Hossein

Figure 152. What happen for oil incomes? It spend for Basijies

Figure 153. Equipment for making stamp

Figure 154. Stamp made by eraser

Figure 155. New effective technique (Color printing) "They killed according to which sin"

Figure 156. New effective technique (Color printing) "They killed according to which sin"

Figure 157. New effective technique (Color printing) "Down with Dictator"

Figure 158. Our Shame, Our Radio and TV

Figure 159. Don't afraid, don't afraid, we are all together

APPENDICE D. Advertising and Social Usage of Graffiti in

Iran

Figure 160. Bus Station and a Stencil of Woman

Figure 161. Peace in Child's Hand

Figure 162. Iranian Innocent Woman Picture

Figure 163. Children beside Streets

Figure 164. Iranian Tradition Woman Picture

Figure 165. Observers inside Post Boxes

Figure 166. Iranian Innocent Child

Figure 167. Iranian Homeless Child

Figure 168. Kidney Selling Ad

Figure 169. Kidney Selling Ad

Figure 170. Kidney Selling Ad

Figure 171. Kidney Selling Ad

"Price; everything that you suggest"

Figure 172. "You All are in my Heart"

Figure 173. "Respecting to mother's teardrops, I repented"

Figure 174. Ads in Outside the Cities
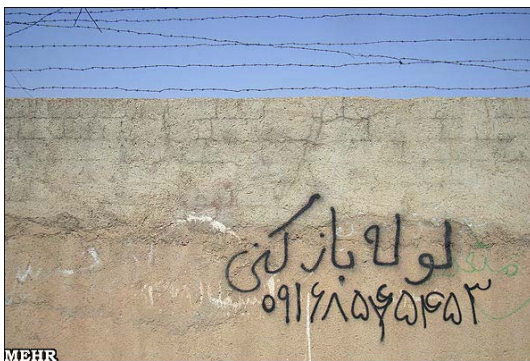

Figure 175. Ads in Outside the Cities

Figure 176. Ad for Piping Serviceman with Phone Number

Figure 177. Addressing Augur

Figure 178. Ads for College and Laundry

Figure 179. Addressing Couturier

Figure 180. Advertising for 'Veil'; "Hejab—
Veil—is Security"