

**TO REINTRODUCE THE MISSING SOUND:
NATIONALISM IN TURKISH POLITICAL CARTOONS**

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SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
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THESIS SUPERVISOR: PROF. DR. Umut ÖZKIRIMLI

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Türk Politik Karikatürlerinde Milliyetçiliğin Yeniden Üretimi

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Abstract

The study, concerning reproduction of nationalist discourse in political cartoons, aims to analyze nationalist frames and inclinations in Turkish political cartoons. Political cartoons are accepted as expressions of nationalist discourse that define, construct and frame national communities by devising explicit and implicit messages about ‘us’ and ‘them’. It is believed that cartoons clearly have the potential to carry extra weight in shaping or confirming readers’ perceptions, including opinions about ‘others’. The study aims to compare three popular humor magazines namely *Leman*, *Penguen* and *Uykusuz* within the same time-frame. The present study seeks an answer to this question: Do Turkish political cartoonists reinforce our national stereotypes towards ‘others’ by presenting them in a nationalistic frame? In other words, how is the ‘other’ reflected visually? Another crucial question that has to be evaluated is whether Turkish political cartoons have any effect on reproducing the national identity. The motivation behind this study is to reveal the symbols, signs and narratives that foreign countries represented by Turkish cartoonists. The analysis of 58 political cartoons on four countries (namely the USA, England, Greece and Israel) shows that Turkish cartoonists draw on common national stereotypes and visual allusions when depicting foreign countries. That is, ‘us’ and ‘them’ are continuously reminded or ‘flagged’ in Michael Billig’s terms through Turkish political cartoons which means that nationalist discourses dominate even the everyday life of people.

Özet

Toplumların yaşamlarını yansıtan politik karikatürlerde milliyetçi söylemin nasıl üretildiğini konu alan bu çalışma Türk politik karikatürlerinde milliyetçi çerçeveleri ve eğilimleri analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Politik karikatürler ‘biz’ ve ‘onlar’a ilişkin açık ve örtülü mesajlar sunarak ulusları tanımlayan, inşa eden ve tasarlayan milliyetçi söylemin bir ifade yeri olarak kabul edilirler. Çalışma üç popüler Türk mizah dergisinin aynı zaman aralığı içerisinde karşılaştırılmasını amaçlamaktadır: *Leman*, *Penguen* ve *Uykusuz*. Bu çalışma şu soruya cevap aramaktadır: Türk karikatüristleri ‘ötekiler’e yönelik sahip olduğumuz önyargıları onları milliyetçi bir çerçeve içerisinde sunarak güçlendirir mi? Bir başka deyişle, ‘ötekiler’ görsel olarak nasıl tematize edilmektedir? Araştırılacak bir diğer önemli soru ise ulusal kimliğin üretiminde Türk politik karikatürlerinin etkisinin olup olmadığıdır. Bu çalışmanın arkasındaki motivasyon, Türk karikatüristleri tarafından resmedilirken yabancı ülkeler için kullanılan sembolleri, işaretleri ve anlatıları açığa çıkarmaktır. Dört farklı ülkeyi (ABD, İngiltere, Yunanistan ve İsrail) konu alan 58 politik karikatürün analizi, Türk karikatüristlerinin yabancı ülkeleri resmederken yaygın önyargılara ve görsel imalara yer verdiğini göstermiştir. Michael Billig’in *Banal Milliyetçilik* adlı çalışmasına dayanarak görsel veya yazılı basında milliyetçi söylemin insanların günlük yaşamlarına bile hâkim olduğu anlamına gelen ‘biz’ ve ‘onlar’ ayrımının sürekli olarak hatırlatıldığı ya da Billig’in deyişiyle ‘bayraklarla yansıtıldığı’ görülmüştür.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Subject of the Study

To say that today is the day of the picture is not an exaggeration. Cartoons are very powerful symbols and they are worth a closer look. We are highly busy and do not have much time and will to read about the political events of the day. Laughter provides a moment of reconciliation. Therefore, a cartoonist turns into an effective editorial writer who produces the leading article in the form of a picture which is easier to follow for many people. Cartoonists are drawing misdoing and unethical attitudes in order to illuminate the society and the world with a simple line or sometimes support it with a text. Cartoons are popular mass medium and frequently used for promotional purposes. Cartoonists are called as the creators of types and stereotypes. They represent ‘enemies’, ‘rivals’ and ‘victims’ based on those ingrained stereotypes and typologies. Therefore, the power of image and humorist attack can reinforce those stereotypes. That is my motivation in this research – the impact of political cartoon on people’s perceptions always held a particular fascination for me.

The main purpose of this thesis is to get a basic understanding of Turkish political humor, in particular the way it was utilized in Turkish political cartoons regarding other nations across the world. It examines the role of political cartoons as a political and propaganda medium in Turkey, analyzes the political mythology portrayed in the cartoons regarding foreign countries. It illustrates how political mythologies¹ are communicated through the use of images to demonstrate how cartoons, calling on hidden reserves of meaning, serve as a perfect vehicle for political myth-making. And this relationship between iconography and politics offers

¹ In Barthes’s understanding, mythologies ultimately serve political ends, in calling on cultural reserves of meaning to justify and legitimate existing political realities. (see *Mythologies*, Hill and Wang: New York, 1972)

us an interesting lens through which to examine shifts in political practices. Studying political cartoon art tells us much about the culture of the time, Fischer contends. They often mirror currents and opinions circulating in the society and time of their conception. “That the best of Gilded Age cartooning relied so much on references to the Bible, classical mythology, Shakespeare, and other literary sources, moreover, speaks well of the cultural literacy of the period.” (James N. Giglio 1997: 910) By contrast, political cartooning in our own time has to depend much more on popular culture to convey its messages to readers who are often cultural illiterates.

The mass media is the most important way of disseminating representations of the nation and ‘the others’ and to create cultural forms. Media is a good ‘ethnic entrepreneur’ which can mobilize the masses against a fictitious enemy. According to Tim Edensor, “Global news networks, tourist marketing, advertising, films and television all provide often stereotypical representations of otherness which feed into forms of national belonging by providing images which can be reworked in (re)constructing ‘our’ identity as not *like* this otherness” (2002: 142). Edensor concurs with Michael Billig that there is a continuous flagging of the idea of nationhood in the mass media. Undoubtedly, cartoonists have an active role in daily reproduction of nationhood because they are media workers. Even they are more active than other media workers as political cartoon is an effective medium of drawn communication to express opinions and to make accusations, as opposed to news reports, which are to be factually based and not inflammatory. The artistic aspect of the cartoons helps the cartoonist to be freer to express his personal views than for instance the journalist who is under a moral oath to be as objective as possible. That is, they are openly subjective and therefore have more similarities with personal columns than other forms of journalism.

Nationalism is both fundamental to our grasp of modern society and politics and richly rewarding for a more profound understanding of humanity – therefore I choose to undertake the exploration of nationalism through political cartoons. It is known clearly to all of us that every nationality and minority group has been represented stereotyped and biased in all forms of media – visual, print, virtual. So, it is not a

surprise to come across with a blood-drinking Israeli, Bush drawn as monkey, evil and an irredentist Greece in cartoons. All of those representations are the result of our nationalist feelings and ideologies which are created first through education, then the media. Stereotypes² and misperceptions about ‘others’ and ‘minorities’ are mainly constructed through education. But, why do we need those stereotypes? Very simply, we need them for developing a sense of ethnic solidarity and a distinct superior ‘national ethos’ which are essential for making people die for a piece of land when it is needed. That is the reason why I want to study nationalism which generally has little difficulty to make everyone to believe in its assumptions which are mostly mere illusions. It makes individuals to perceive that nation affiliated with a specific territory and nationality as given to them – and themselves as part of that illusionary reality.

Considering above-mentioned observations, I chose to analyze nationalism through Turkish political cartoons which are perceived as a ‘pop-cultural satire’ (Qassim 2007: 5). That is, the dose of nationalist discourse and how it operates in daily life through Turkish political cartoons is tried to be analyzed. By using the nationalist discourse as a reference point, messages conveyed through the mass media are crucial in terms of reproduction of Turkish national identity keeping out the door to the ‘others’ closed. Therefore, this study aims to examine the symbols, signs, narratives of Turkish nationalism in political cartoons that are used to differentiate the superior ‘we’ from the inferior ‘they’ by focusing on the role of political cartoons in societies and the maintenance of ‘imagined homogenous homelands’. Therefore this study has to be evaluated as an attempt to understand how cartoons reproduce national self identity with traces of hatred, enmity and distrust towards the ‘other’.

² Social scientists define stereotypes as “prejudiced beliefs that go hand in hand with strong and ingrained reactions of dislike and disapproval” (John J. Appel 1971: 365). Those stereotypes at times are transformed into negative emotions of hatred or aggressiveness. This result in exclusion and imperil of the humanity.

This research aims to examine Turkish perceptions on foreign countries through political cartoons. It also aims to reveal representational ways, contexts and most dominant motives and themes that foreign countries, therefore ‘foreigners’³, are represented by Turkish cartoonists. To repeat, my main research question is how countries are portrayed in terms of identity and images of ‘other’. Cartoons reflect complex issues of context, history or international relations by reducing the political expression of a country, say Russia or the United States, to a single individual: Vladimir Putin, George Bush, or to a woman who symbolizes that country.

To analyze the ‘others’ of Turkish identity can give us also an idea about Turkish identity. An identity can be determined with the relation to the ‘other’ or to what it is not. As Stuart Hall argues, “The unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure, every identity naming as its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which it ‘lacks’”. (1996: 5) This means that we differentiate our identity from ‘others’ by marking sharp cultural differences. But how did we learn those differences? How did we learn which differences are crucial? Can it be true that we have to be taught to hate?

‘Binary oppositions’ are very crucial in identity construction process. Each identity makes use of these dualisms in order to constitute ‘we’ by excluding the characteristics of ‘them’. ‘Others’ are very crucial in the selection, abstraction and reduction process in order to articulate an identity. According to Teun van Dijk, “*Our* good things and *Their* bad things will tend to be emphasized, as is the case for mitigation of *Our* bad things and *Their* good things” (2006: 124). “As cartoons are based on abstraction and reduction, they are highly useful to reproduce and hyperritualize the self. The very nature cartoons make them a useful category for analyzing stereotypes and beliefs engaged in an interpretive community.” (Janis L. Edwards 2009: 295) Therefore, the binary oppositions in the cartoons are also going

³ Julia Kristeva defines foreignness clearly. “With the establishment of nation-states, we come to the only modern, acceptable, and clear definition of foreignness: the foreigner is the one who does not belong to the state in which we are, the one who does not have the same nationality” (Kristeva in Billig 2002: 79).

to be examined in order to see how the Turkish identity and its 'other' are constructed. That is, common and recurring themes, visions and the messages that are conveyed by cartoonists are going to be investigated.

Many other sub-questions that come to mind are as follows;

- How do Turkish cartoonists view and construct the West⁴ which Turkey wanted to be a part of since the Ottoman Empire? Can they be labeled as nationalist or not? Are the language and drawings stereotyped? Do the degree of stereotypes increase when there is a conflictual situation with the 'enemy'? In which context 'the other' is represented generally? Friend, rival or enemy?
- What kind of public meanings and narratives the cartoons reproduce about foreign countries? What are the recurring themes, symbols, figures and metaphors such as animalistic representations? What are binary oppositions they use?
- Do the cartoonists use some standard narrative symbols that symbolize a country such as 'Uncle Sam for the USA'? If yes, what are those?
- Do cartoonists try to glorify Turkey while ridiculing the 'enemies'? Are cartoonists totally prejudiced or not? Are historical misperceptions very influential? Can it give an idea about how those misperceptions operate in the 'everyday mind of citizen'?
- How is the 'enemy' ridiculed or insulted with a cartoonist's pen? Silly, stupid, undeveloped, incompetent, monstrous, or evil?

⁴ "Throughout history, the Turks have been connected to the West, first as a conquering superior and enemy, then as a component part, later as an admirer and unsuccessful imitator, and in the end as a follower and ally" (Mustafa Aydın 2004: 9) West in this study refers both to Europe and the USA.

- Are Turkish cartoons successful in affecting the imaginary and memory of people? Are they successful in generating change in Turkish deep-rooted nationalist narratives such as ‘a Turk has no friend other than a Turk’, ‘All the Western countries want some piece of land from Turkey’ or ‘No one wants Turkey in Europe’ which feed xenophobia⁵ in Turkish public? Do they nurture the idea of tolerance and pluralism?

I found it very important and interesting to work on this subject because it is a good and easy way of seeing how the enemy is demonized and the Turkish identity is glorified. Cartoons explore, interpret and document everyday life. It is the laughing and critical side of culture. To be critical of the formation process of our ‘national self-images’ and stories is one way to eliminate the fierce results of uncriticized nationalism. It is also important to study this because there are no detailed and nationally based studies on caricatures and cartoons which can give important ideas about the countries’ level of freedom to criticize and their level of impact in society especially on younger generations. Cartoons are often neglected in the field as they are seen as ‘junk’ for children and unworthy of the serious interest of researchers. They are not seen useful for analyzing and exploring. Their role in daily reproduction of nationalism is underestimated most of the times. Furthermore, cartoons provide important data for the students of politics because the cartoonist is part of that linking process which connects the general public to its political leaders—a give-and-take rough and tumble out of which comes what the pollsters call public opinion. (Charles Press 1981: 11) “The emotional power of pictures combined with a critical analysis of social or political behavior have created many unforgettable products which aptly describe the culture, society and everyday life in which they were created” argues Mariam Ginman and Sara von Ungern-Sternberg (2003: 70). Today the impact of cartoons has even gained a new status in social communication research.

This kind of a study can also be done for different mass communication channels such as cinema, daily newspapers, radio channels, internet websites etc. which will

⁵ Xenophobia can be simply defined as hostility and hatred toward foreigners. (Mikael Hjerm 2001)

be highly helpful to see how those channels play crucial roles in daily reproduction of nation and national identities.

Cartoons as a medium of popular culture⁶ are usually overlooked in investigations of political communication and have received a very minor place in either the literary or art curriculum, as they are typically considered trivial or primarily entertainment oriented. In fact, cartoons serve both to articulate and reflect social and political perception in mass culture. According to W. A. Coupe, “the academic study of caricature and political cartooning has suffered from considerable neglect, partly no doubt because it lies in a peculiar no-man's-land where several disciplines meet, and so tends to be scorned by the purists” (1969: 79). On the other hand, the thing that makes political cartoons both interesting and problematic is their overt subjectivity. The limitations of the visual medium mean that cartoonists must rely on easily accessible symbols and metaphors, thereby articulating interpretations of events by reference to cultural mythologies. They recontextualize events and evoke references. Because they are seen as primarily humorous rather than serious, cartoons have significant potential for persuasion, as they reflect and reinforce mythologies. It may be argued that the drawing something is more effective rather than writing about it. Like journalists, the cartoonists are also interested in the creation and manipulation of public opinion. But the manipulation is more hidden in visual art. The argument of this thesis is that political cartoons are perceived as politically dangerous because they articulate certain political and cultural mythologies. It is through cartoons that a common sense can be created; a nation can be distinguished from its ‘others’ with a strict line and ‘otherness’ can be incorporated into everyday life. The public may interpret what they see or experience with those provided frameworks that are generally biased. That is why I am interested in turning a magnifying lens on to the web of unreasonable stereotypes and prejudices conveyed by Turkish cartoonists.

⁶ They have been called ‘encyclopedias of popular culture’ (Michelmore 2000: 37). Political cartoons rely on essential myths and dominant narratives of the cultures within which they are produced, but often they offer alternatives to those myths and escapes from hegemonic patterns (Schmitt 1992, Hammond 1991).

1.2. Background Information

Many cartoonists agree that cartoon is about writing between the lines. That is, the message of a cartoon is loaded into its lines. As powerful visionary symbols, cartoons may “entertain their audience by severely ridiculing people and issues in politics and society” (Qassim 2007: 4). Political cartoons (also known as editorial cartoons) express opinions about newsworthy events or people. Fatma Göçek (1998) argues that the political cartoon is a crucial social force with its ability to generate change “by freeing the imagination, challenging the intellect, and resisting state control”. More than political philosophy, systematic analysis, or intellectual arguments, political cartoons appeal to common sense and thus enable the public to actively classify, organize, and interpret in meaningful ways what they see or experience about the world at a given moment (Ming-Cheng M. Lo and Christopher P. Bettinger 2006: 7). It is the essence of cartooning to belittle and to insult enemies. This way, a kind of public opinion is maintained. For instance, can we say that anti-Jewish cartoons of the Second World War did not affect other Europeans? This is the reason why political cartoons are useful in understanding how public discourses are shaped against perceived ‘others’.

According to Turhan Selçuk, a Turkish caricaturist, the raw material of cartoon is humans and human conflict. For him, cartoon criticizes after evaluating societies, individuals as they are, their conflicts, mistakes.⁷ In addition, Sadun Aren tells us that “(...) in order to rectify the existing social order and its distorted human relationships, it is necessary to criticize it and reveal and show its unfair, mean and comic sides.”⁸ Cartoonists summarize and analyze the events by using visual metaphors in a humorous, satirical and witty way. Using the line, they attack the problem and this makes cartoons more important for a less educated society. We can say that it is a weapon for social criticism and it conveys information and generates reactions. But this does not mean that they are totally free in terms of criticizing. We know that due to press regulations and monopolistic structure of media, cartoonists

⁷ Turhan Selçuk, “Karikatür ve Mizah (Cartoon and Humour)”, p. 3.

Available at: <http://www.kibris.net/kktc/sanatcilarimiz/karikatur/>

⁸ Sadun Aren, “Mizah ve Karikatür (Humour and Cartoon)”, p. 9.

Available at: <http://www.kibris.net/kktc/sanatcilarimiz/karikatur/>

do not have the freedom to criticize and ridicule most of the time. Governments implement various punishments in order to limit artistic expressions and to monitor them continuously.

After giving a short definition of cartoon in general, we can move on to political cartoons which are important for this study. Political cartoons, also known as ‘editorial cartoons’, can be defined as cartoons that appear in the serious editorial pages of newspapers and satirical magazines in order to present their views about events or people that are seen important enough to be reported in the news media. Cartoonists aim to make a critique of state policies and to express their opinions of social, cultural, and political issues by using visual material. They can draw attention; generate controversy, and trouble countries and leaders. They can be very troublesome with their harsh criticisms. For instance, “the corrupt New York administration which Nast attacked with such ferocity and success in 1871, was apparently prepared to buy the cartoonist’s silence at the price of half a million dollars” (Coupe 1969: 82). Or remember the recent controversy (a caricature war) that was generated by the publication of twelve caricatures of the Prophet Mohammad in the Danish daily *Jyllands-Posten*. Thus, cartoonists are not liked very much as they make criticisms and ridiculize. According to Victor Alba, cartoonists’ aim is “to provoke in the spectator a sentiment hostile to the thing ridiculed” and he states that “it is a vehicle for hostility” (quoted in Coupe 1969: 86). Streicher agrees with Alba and points out that “caricature is definitely negative. It laughs the actor out of court ...” and is a vehicle for ‘ridicule and denigration’ (*ibid.*).

At this point, before moving on to Turkish cartoon history, I think to write about media in general is very important to fully understand the role that cartoons can play in societies. It is very clear for most of us the media are seen as channels where certain meanings, thoughts and ideological discourses are constructed and produced. And individuals understand the reality with the frameworks that are limited with ideology and that distort reality provided by the media. They may not be aware of this influence in their daily lives and they may think that the opinions they have are just their own. But, in fact, their life, their speaking, their seeing, their perceptions,

their thinking very much affected and limited with what the hegemonic ideological discourse in a society gives to them. In the same way, the individuals are likely to perceive the news produced by the media as though the texts were ‘pure reality’ rather than as ‘the re-production of the reality’ (Bülent Evre and İsmet Parlak 2008: 332). Teun van Dijk labels mass media as ‘symbolic power’ and argues that:

Mass media may set the agendas of public discussion, influence topical relevance, manage the amount and type of information, especially who is being publicly portrayed and in what way. They are the manufacturers of public knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, norms, values, morals, and ideologies. (1989: 22)

When we look briefly at Turkish cartoon and humor history we see that they developed as a by-product of westernization efforts of the Ottoman Empire. Ayhan Akman divides Turkish cartoons history into two periods. The first one is from 1930 to 1950 and he characterizes cartoons of that period as ‘cultural schizophrenia’. The second period covers 1950 – 1975. In this period, ‘modernist binarism’ was dominant in cartoons. The first period was the years when rapid cultural, political and economic transformations were realized. Cartoons of that period portrayed the lively and crowded streets of people’s everyday lives and the images of Western world. According to Ayhan Akman, cartoonists in 1950s and 1960s “introduced cartoons that were politically conceived and politically motivated. Their understanding of politics involved issues such as the unjust social order, class struggle, critique of the state, the functioning of democratic institutions, and the possibility of social and political revolution” (1988: 108). But he further argues that modernist cartoonists who represents second period differ in various ways from them. Modernists revolutionized their graphic practice by transforming the conventions and techniques of the previous era and they leaned to a modernist/leftist ideology.

1.3. Outline

As it is explained above, my basic aim is to understand simply how nationalistic frames are reflected in Turkish political humor. As background to this examination I will be discussing the terms nationalism, banal nationalism and everyday

nationalism, humor, cartoons and caricatures, Turkish political humor and political cartoons. This study consists of four chapters. In this first chapter the theme of the study, its aims, its methodology are introduced. The second chapter consists of a brief look to nationalist theories, especially new theories of nationalism in order to contextualize the analysis. In the third chapter a brief sketch of the art of political cartooning and the history of Turkish political cartooning is made. In this third chapter the role and impact of cartoons and political cartoons as part of mass media in society is going to be discussed and a brief summary of Turkish cartoon and humor history is going to be provided in order to make it easy to understand the current situation in political cartooning in Turkey. For the study of Turkish political humor I use Turgut Çeviker's and Hıfzı Topuz's books on Turkish cartoon history. An historic overview of Turkish political humor was made in a chronological manner. Material for this discussion is taken from the above mentioned texts, as well as additional literature. And the last chapter focuses on the analysis of 58 political cartoons on 'others' from three popular Turkish humor magazines by using content analysis. The analysis searches for common themes tackled by the cartoonists in the depiction of 'other' and the cartoons are divided into categories according to these findings. An attempt is made at establishing the messages cartoonists are trying to convey and national stereotypes, symbols, and other imagery are identified and their uses and possible meanings investigated. Concluding the essay, it is suggested a study on political cartooning is highly useful in analyzing the famous dichotomy of nationalism of 'we' and 'they'.

1.4. Methodology

First of all, I am going to analyze key studies in the literature and the critical points of the current knowledge on cartoons and nationalism as background information. For showing the role of the visual media in disseminating the nationalist discourse and 'flagging the nationhood banally' as Billig rightly argues, I am planning to use content analysis "which is a social research method appropriate for studying human communications through social artifacts" (Earl Babbie 2007: 345). With content analysis, the researcher tries to answer questions such as "who says

what, to whom, why, how and with what effect⁹. Content analysis is about coding⁹ the manifest and latent content. For my research, manifest and latent content in political cartoons related to nationalism is going to be investigated.

Charles R. Wright points out that “Content analysis is a research technique for the systematic classification and description of communication content according to certain usually predetermined categories” (quoted in Asa Berger 1998: 22). Content analysis is based on the analysis of any particular text, whether a newspaper article, a book, a television clip or an advert. It is based on measuring the amount of something in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular art form, such as a comic magazine. The data collected in a quantitative content analysis are then usually analyzed to describe what are the typical patterns or characteristics, or to identify important relationships among the variables measured. The quantitative aspect distinguishes this method from other more qualitative techniques such as visual and discourse analysis which are less systematic and more subjective. In a quantitative analysis we just count things – how many articles in a given time period; how many instances of a particular word, and so on. It reduces communication content to manageable data such as numbers. This means that findings are given in numerical form and they are replicable. By counting we are able to say about the societal meaning and significance of the messages conveyed, images and representations in the content. That is to make interpretations on the latent side of a social reality from its manifest content.

According to Asa Berger (1998) content analysis is an indirect and inexpensive way of making inferences from people. With this method we examine what they read or watch instead of asking questions to them directly as in survey method. Attitudes, values, and perceptions are highly reflected on what people read or watch. It is worth noting that each person responds to the content in a different way based on their education. Moreover, this method helps the researcher to avoid the problem of researcher influence on individuals.

⁹ Babbie defines coding as “to transform raw data into categories on the basis of formulated conceptual scheme” (2007: 345).

On the other hand, we cannot be sure that the images and messages defined by content analysis match with the perceptions of viewers. There are many factors that determine how people respond to media messages. As Barrie Gunter emphasizes “Quantitative content analyses tend to be purely descriptive accounts of the characteristics of media output and often make few inferences in advance about the potential significance of their findings in the context of what they reveal about production ideologies or impact of media content on audiences” (2000: 81). It describes what is there, but may not reveal the underlying motives for the observed pattern. In brief, it answers the question ‘what’, but not ‘why’.

Another highly used theory for studying cartoons is called Symbolic Convergence Theory. The theory is based on Fantasy Theme Analysis which is a tool propounded by Bormann (1973) for evaluating a rhetorical discourse. According to him, dramatizing comments are “rich in imaginative language and consist of the following: puns, word play, double entendres, figures of speech, analogies, anecdotes, allegories, parables, jokes, gags, jests, quips, stories, tales, yarns, legends, and narratives” (p. 255). By establishing a chain of fantasy themes symbolic convergence can be maintained. That is, shared symbols and fantasies among people turn into shared perceptions easily. Reality is created symbolically through cartoons and meanings, intentions and goals manifest themselves in the content of a message. People build their perceptions of reality, and these perceptions give order to the world and make events that take place around them more understandable and predictable. (William Benoit, Andrew Klyukovski, John McHale and David Airne 2001: 380)

According to Benoit et al. (2001) fantasy themes may be expressed in a single phrase, sentence and a whole paragraph. They mention fantasy type which is formed through the collection of several fantasy themes such as a saga, which is also called a myth. It is another form of often repeated expressions that carry special meanings to the group members for whom they are intended.

A rhetorical vision is a collection of fantasy themes and types, a “unified putting-together of the various themes and types that gives the participants a broader view of things” (Bormann, Cragan & Shields, 1994, p. 281). Rhetorical vision provides a shared consciousness necessary for interpreting events. People behave on the basis of those fantasy themes which are symbolically constructed. For instance, a fantasy theme such as ‘all politicians are corrupt’ influences his or her reactions to the politicians. The key element of a rhetorical vision is *dramatis personae*, argue Benoit et al. (2001). We can define *dramatis personae* as the characters depicted in messages that give life to a rhetorical vision. (p. 381)

To analyze characterizations, dramatic situations and actions, the setting is very important in order to understand the intended message of a visual image. In order to examine the characters, scenarios, and scenes in the cartoons that constitute our rhetorical texts we can use Bormann’s suggestions. In order to understand the symbolic language of cartoons we must be familiar with common icons and symbolic figures. If there is a historical cartoon we need more contextual information in order to interpret it. In the cartoons, foreign countries are mostly portrayed along the lines of friend or foe and they are very effective in uniting us against to a common foe. When we apply this to Turkey, we can say that political cartoonists articulate a rhetorical vision that appropriate the elements of the rhetorical visions presented by the two key antagonists: Turkey and Others.

The period under scrutiny, two years from 2008–10, implied a reasonable amount of cartoons to go through. I managed to collect approximately 2300 cartoons from three well-known comic magazines of Turkey: *Leman*, *Penguen* and *Uykusuz*. Most of the cartoons in my analysis were published in those three popular magazines; yet the selection should not be seen as representing the Turkish psyche as a whole. Indeed, this is the main disadvantage of content analysis method. In order to study a sizeable amount of material one need to do selection. But can this selection represent the whole?

After classifying cartoons with quantitative content analysis, I will be interpreting the cartoons in an attempt to establish the messages the cartoonists want to convey to their readers. In the interpretation stage, I am not using any specific theory for examining the cartoons. I just try to understand them, which is sometimes easier said than done. It requires a deconstruction of symbols, a decoding of expressions and colloquial passages, and an establishment of the historical context to understand what the cartoons are commenting on. There is no one way of interpreting these visual forms. Undoubtedly, one's own attitudes and outlooks will influence the analysis as interpretation can only be done through the filter of one's individual world experience.

CHAPTER 2

NATIONALISM and the NATION-STATE

Nationalism as a European invention is the most successful ideology of human history. It was entirely man-made engine of social change. It is a concept that is debated a lot recently due to the resurgence of the nationalist sentiment and the disappearance of the virtual barriers that divide nations as a result of globalization. The need to identify the causes and the results of nationalism are more pressing than before as it is turned out to be a very powerful force of the modern world. Today, many people are very much aware of their national identity, they continue to discover and keep their perceived unique characteristics and put pressure for the recognition of their distinctness. People demand the preservation of their culture and traditions and the restoration of their dignity. Some still tend to produce a state of their own by using the right of self-determination which they believe it is a prerequisite for continuing their existence. But those new states resulted from the application of the principle of self-determination also contain heterogeneous population which means the process of nation-building may never reach to an end. On the other hand, to divide the world into nations has not brought the expected peace and stability.

“An historical inquiry into nationalism seeks to elucidate how this manner of speaking about politics came into existence, as well as the character of the intellectual context in which the doctrine was fashioned and articulated” points out Elie Kedourie (1996: 136). He argues that after the French Revolution, nationalism as an ‘ideological style of politics’ which promotes a common language and a sense of common membership became attractive and popular. Then it spread to the rest of the world under the dominance of Europe. It is worth noting that it did not become, however, the subject of historical inquiry until the middle of the nineteenth century and for a long period of time just historians dominated the field.

2.1. Defining Two Blurred Concepts: Nation and Nationalism

Nation and nationalism are two concepts that are confused and contested. Even though those concepts have been very much in evidence since the end of the eighteenth century and are one of the most hotly debated issues of our time, there is no consensus on exact definitions till now. Indeed, this is the main hardship in the study of nations and nationalism. In order to explore and understand a concept to its full extent, first we must come over the problem of ‘imprecise vocabulary’ by agreeing on basic definitions.

A quick look at the literature on nationalism shows us that the scholars have been very busy with defining those concepts. Seems simple but highly puzzling... For sure, those concepts cannot be very easily defined because of their multidimensionality. Even there is still no consensus on those slippery concepts; all the writers have made significant contributions to the understanding of nationalism. Some scholars define it as a social movement, others as an ideology and also a form of discourse¹⁰. Nationalism has multiple definitions due to social and political changes. The reason behind the emergence of nationalism is contested too. Some believe that nationalism generates the process of modernization; and for others, it helps us to preserve our traditional identities and institutions. Furthermore, for some it is ‘a function of class interests’ whereas for some others ‘an identity need’¹¹. It is used for referring to too many things such as ideas, sentiments and actions.¹² “Nationalism is a ‘doctrine’ for Kedourie (1994: 1), an ‘ideological movement’ for Anthony Smith (1991: 51), a ‘political principle’ for Ernest Gellner (1983: 1), both an ‘idea’ and ‘a form of behavior’ for J. G. Kellas (1991: 3) and a ‘discursive formation’ for C. Calhoun (1997: 3)” (Özkırmılı 2000: 59).

¹⁰ Umut Özkırmılı (2000) treats nationalism above all as a form of discourse, a way of seeing and interpreting the world and he proposes a framework of analysis for studying the concept.

¹¹ According to Stuart Hall, identities are about using “the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we might become...” (Stuart Hall 1996: 4)

¹² “Each definition will have different implications for the study of nationalism: those who define it as an idea will focus on the writings and speeches of nationalist intellectuals or activists; those who see it as a sentiment will concentrate on the development of the language or other shared ways of life and try to see how these ‘folk ways’ are taken up by the intelligentsia or the politicians; finally, those who treat nationalism as a movement will focus on political action and conflict” (John Breuilly 1993: 59).

Elie Kedourie (1996) defines nationalism as an ideological doctrine 'invented' in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Kedourie, the doctrine of nationalism sees the world as divided into nations which have certain distinguished aspects and based on the principles of national self-government. Therefore, nationalism is an ideology that concentrates on what divides human beings rather than what unites them. Moreover, it is not an inward-looking ideology. It is an international one with its own discourses and hegemony. At the root of it there is a kind of rigidity that compels its victims to keep strictly to one path, to follow it straight along, to shut their ears and refuse to listen. It aims self-government or autonomy, unity and autarchy, and authentic identity. That is to say, it revolves around three themes: autonomy, unity, and identity.

In order to define nationalism, Gellner uses two basic concepts namely, culture and organization. According to him, "Nationalism is a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture as the basic social bond" (1998: 3). In this definition, to belong to similar culture opens the door to the legitimate membership to that nation-state. This definition in a way is exclusionist. What about the people who do not share the suitable culture? They have to accept the painful second-class citizen or subservient status unfortunately; or they have to assimilate or to migrate. That is why many scholars think that to define 'nation' in terms of sameness in culture, religion, language does not provide an exact definition of the 'nation'.

Moreover, nationalism is regarded as an ideology of 'first person plural' as it tells 'us' who 'we' are. Michael Billig (2002) adds that nationalism is also an ideology of 'the third person' as there can be no 'us' without 'them'. To define who 'we' are is equated with to define who 'we' are not. This means that nationalism includes both patriotism and xenophobia. Kedourie defines patriotism and xenophobia as follows: "Patriotism, affection for one's country, or one's group, loyalty to its institutions, and zeal for its defence, is a sentiment known among all kinds of men; so is xenophobia, which is dislike of the stranger, the outsider, and reluctance to admit him into one's own group" (1996: 68). As George Orwell (1945) puts it well nationalism is "the habit of assuming that human beings can be classified

like insects and that whole blocks of millions or tens of millions of people can be confidently labelled 'good' or 'bad'." From all those above-mentioned observations we can reach the conclusion that nationalist feeling can be purely negative. A nation always claims superiority not only in military power and political virtue, but in art, literature, sport, structure of the language, the physical beauty of the inhabitants, and perhaps even in climate, scenery and cooking.

Like all other ideologies nationalism includes contradistinctions within it. Basically, it divides world to binary groups of 'us' and 'others' and it sees 'us' as homogenous group composed of similar individuals and assimilates 'others' in order to erase differences. It is true that the nation creates harmony, links our past to our present and sustains a sense of identity to people. But it also exaggerates and politicizes differences, fosters generalizations and causes discriminatory thinking. "Such a group, absorbed in a foreign state, is doomed to death; its members become, in Fichte's eloquent metaphors, 'an appendix to the life' which bestirred itself of its own accord before them or beside them; they are an echo resounding from the rock, an echo of a voice already silent; they are considered as a people, outside the original people, and to the latter they are strangers and foreigners." (Kedourie 1996: 62) So with this in mind, we can easily say that nationalism is exclusivist one way or another. That is to say, it excludes and most of the time is intolerant of outsiders. It just sees them as they are polluting the atmosphere of the nation. Therefore, it longs for unmasking, neutralizing and driving out them to a humiliating status.

According to Stephen Nathanson (1997) nationalism is 'a fanatical form of group egoism' that is carrying the dual message of love and hostility. It becomes quite useful to a nation at times of war when internal solidarity and external animosity have to be promoted. Most of the time nationalism causes conflict, suffering, and cruelty. Unfortunately nationalist sentiments go very deep in our heart and it is very difficult to untie those bonds. They are inescapable. Newly-created concepts such as world government and world citizenship which refers eroding the national barriers and realizing that we are all humans seem impossible yet. But it is as much illusionary as the assumptions of nationalism. Moreover, to look to events

with nationalist eye results in reluctance to listen, know and understand those 'others'. This creates an ethnic hatred, hostility and mistrust that can be easily led to bloodshed. On the other hand, cultural exchange enables such understanding through promoting interaction and non-imposed knowledge sharing and gathering. Sharing and learning is essential to create a reciprocal relationship that will enable mutual understanding. Promoting cultural and interpersonal partnership is essential for the exchange of information is motivated by appreciation of the 'other' as well as expression of oneself.

In this respect, we can say that a community is formed when people clearly define what they share in common and who does not share those commonalities with them. This is to say, communities are 'mental constructs' based on agreement of those particulars and determined by imaginary boundaries between different groups. "The true natural frontiers were not determined by mountains and river, but rather by the language, the customs, the memories, all that distinguishes one nation from another [...]" urges Eric Hobsbawm. (1998: 98) The commonalities, common practices, they share contribute to their feeling of 'we-ness' and their differentiation with other communities. And those 'otherized communities' are used in the identity formation process of the group.

In sum, nationalist theory sees humanity as naturally divided into nations and each nation has its peculiar character. For freedom and self-realization, men must identify with a nation. Loyalty to the nations overrides all other loyalties. Nationalism can be used as a powerful tool for mobilizing the masses politically and shaping their identity with controlling and directing their ways of life. Moreover, nationalism is based on obsessions because the community thinks that their nation has more rights than other nations. And it is paranoiac as in Turkish case: Turks have no friends other than Turks. And it contains feelings of inferiority which are tried to be hide by casting light on the glorious and superior past of the nation: "Europe, Europe hear our voice" as Turks cry out in football matches.

The same argument goes for the term ‘nation’. There is also a deep controversy on the definition of this term. Defining it simply, we can say that nation is the body whereas nationalism is its soul. The nation state –this form of political organization– finds its origins in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th century. Yet, the model of the nation state since its emergence in Western Europe has been ‘globalized’ and has become the prevalent form of political organization. The concept of nation has both cultural and political dimensions. Cultural aspects are the shared ways of life, language and religion such as distinctive cuisines, architectural styles, literary and artistic traditions, music, and dress. This sharedness makes members of a nation feel at home and binds them in terms of their ideas and thoughts regarding many things. But the primary meaning of nation is political. That is, most scholars relate it with the ‘state’ or the ‘country’. People and the state are equated as in nation-state and each nation is destined to form only one state with its unique political institutions. According to Lichtenberg (1997), to equate the nation with the state is problematic in two ways. First, some communities may generate nationalist aims even if they do not have a state. Second, a vast number of states are today multinational – that is, they encompass more than one nation.

For Özkırmı (2000), communities drawn in national lines are very unique and *sui generis*. ‘Why some groups become nations while others not’ is answered by various scholars by putting emphasis on different criteria. For some scholars the term ‘nation’ can be defined by considering objective criteria such as race, language, ethnicity, material interest, shared religious affinities, common culture, geography and military necessity that may bind the members of a nation together. Yet some others focus on subjective criteria such as a common heroic history, great leaders, self-awareness or solidarity. “At the subjective level, most adult members of a nation must share a sense that together they constitute a distinct group and that belonging to this group is a constitutive element of each member’s individual identity” argues Jeff McMahan. (1997: 107) Ernest Renan (1994)¹³ adds to these subjective criteria for

¹³ In his famous lecture of 1882, entitled *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*, Renan declared: “A nation is a large solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation’s existence is...a daily plebiscite.” (1994: 18)

example – ‘collective forgetting’ of their cultural differences or simply their past (older consciousnesses) as an important ingredient of nations. Even he argues that the development of historical studies may often be harmful for the nations.

According to Hobsbawm (1992), both kinds of definitions are inadequate and they are also misleading. He stresses that to define a nation in terms of subjective criteria as the belief of the people to belong to is too ‘tautological’. Moreover we cannot define ‘nationhood’ only with one dimension – cultural, political, economical... This kind of definition results in reductionism and may not be able to capture the whole. He defines the nation as “any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a ‘nation’ are a nation” (*ibid.*: 8). He clearly states in his book that we can only understand nation inductively with taking into account the changes and transformations of the meaning of the concept.

According to Hobsbawm there are three criteria that can help us to determine a group of people as nation. These are:

1. The historical ties with a current state or with a very long and rooted past.
2. The existence of a cultural elite who possesses ‘national literary and administrative vernacular.’
3. To show the capacity to conquest that reminds people of their collective existence as a nation. (*ibid.*: 37–8)

We can summarize as follows: It is a general tendency in the literature to find a clear-cut definition for what a nation is. Many scholars define it by putting emphasis on different subjective or objective markers. This result in emergence of many definitions those are partly correct in the field. For Anderson (1991) to give a scientific definition of the term ‘nation’ is impossible. That is, only a workable definition can be given. According to him a nation is born when a few people decide that it should be and every nation has something peculiar. That is, there is no blueprint of a universal model of nationalism and the nation-state.

2.2. An Historical Sketch of Nationalist Theories

Nationalism as a subject of academic investigation developed recently although its long past and significance in today's world. Mainly, theory of nationalism is divided into three stages. But, Özkırımlı (2000) added one more stage to the generally accepted, three-staged academic scholarship on nationalism because he thinks that the scholars started to question the primary assumptions of the 'classical debate' in the last decade which is a novelty. These stages are "the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the idea of nationalism was born; 1918–45 when nationalism became a subject of academic inquiry; 1945 to the late 1980s when the debate became more diversified with the participation of sociologists and political scientists; from the late 1980s to the present when attempts to transcend the 'classical' debate were made". (*ibid.*: 15) Recently, the study of nationalism has also been transformed in method and scale.

Initially the historians and social philosophers were attracted to the topic with their mainly ethical and philosophical concern. This was the first period when the idea of nationalism was born. In this period, German philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Johann Gottfried Herder contributed heavily to the theoretical debates on nationalism in contemporary times. They planted the seeds of German Romanticism which appeared as a reaction to Enlightenment had the political task to develop the linguistic, historical and ideological foundations for ethnic nationalism. The thinkers of this first period saw nationalism as a temporary stage in human history.

The second period started in 1918 and lasted until Second World War. In this period, nationalism started to be seen as not a compelling norm was defined as a specific subject of investigation. Scholars of this period saw nationalism as a positive historical development. This can be regarded as the novelty of the period but the attitude of taking nation for granted is still prevailed among scholars. Comparative analysis and typologies of nationalism were done by this period's scholars such as Carleton Hayes and Hans Kohn.

According to Özkırımlı (2000), with the 1950s, the world encountered with anti-colonial movements of Third World countries. In this third period the academic debate on nationalism was highly affected by those movements. Newly entered scholars to the field from diverse backgrounds such as sociology, political science started to handle the phenomenon from very divergent aspects. All the influential works within modernist camp were published in this period. It can be said that the debate on nationalism matures in this third stage in which the main theoretical camps were emerged among scholars. ‘Classical scholars’ attempted to explain why doctrine of nationalism emerged, whether its roots were in modern times or ancient times and various kinds of nationalisms. They accept the diverse nature of nationalism. But they always see nationalism and nation as natural.

The last period witnessed the studies which question the naturalness of the nation-state and nationhood and try to show the production and reproduction of those concepts in everyday practices. Today, nationalism is seen as a form of discourse which can be daily reproduced. Furthermore, scholars in this period started to add the experiences of marginalized people such as women, ethnic minorities, gays and lesbians into the picture which were ignored by mainstream scholars. Özkırımlı also expresses alternative epistemological approaches to the mainstream such as feminism or post-modernism made the study of nationalism more diversified and gave way to relate it with other studies such as ‘diasporas, multiculturalism, identity, citizenship and racism’ (2000: 56).

2.2.1. New Theories of Nationalism

Conventionally general tendencies in the field of nationalism are accepted as threefold: Primordialists, Modernists and Ethno-Symbolists.¹⁴ To give an exhaustive summary of all the mainstream theories in the field does not coincide with the purposes of this study. Main purpose of this study is to show how cartoons are crucial in the production and reproduction of the ethnically marked national identities and stereotypes and this is what Michael Billig precisely explores in his book *Banal Nationalism*.

¹⁴ But some scholars add two more to this classification namely Perennialists and Instrumentalists.

Today scholars who work on nationalism are more critical than the mainstream scholars. Mainly new scholars aim to explore the issues that are neglected or ignored by the mainstream scholarship which is regarded as Eurocentric ('Westocentric' in Yuval-Davis' term) and gender-blind in its outlook. Thus, they work hard for transcending the classical debate by offering new modes of thought and subjects to work and analyze. Without doubt, new scholars do not totally disregard the previous insights on the subject. But as Özkırıklı rightly says "(...) scholars of the last decade question their visual habits and try to unearth what lies behind their commonsense assumptions" (Özkırıklı 2000: 191). Scholars of the last decade use many other disciplines or perspectives such as feminism, post-colonialism, race relations theory, discourse analysis, postmodern theories in their works. Also they use very different approaches from Gramsci to psychoanalytic approaches, as Özkırıklı points out. The subordinated and oppressed people started to be the subject of the inquiry for the new generation scholars. That is, they reread the history of non-western countries from the view of subordination. They started to explore women, ethnic minorities, post-colonial states and the oppressed classes.

Scholars transcend classical mainstream arguments further with their concentration on the nationalism of 'everyday life'. This kind of analysis of nationalism has been ignored by the mainstream scholars. They focus on the historical origins of the nation and its political aspects. But, according to Tim Edensor (2002), they do not make a critical analysis in terms of how the nation is represented and experienced through popular culture and in everyday life. Michael Billig who wrote an influential book called *Banal Nationalism* argues that nationalism must be reproduced daily in order to be persistent.

Two themes dominate postmodern analysis of nations and nationalism. The first is the analysis of (re)production of national identities through popular culture. Scholars started to focus on communication technologies and popular genres which are neglected to this day. They try to reveal the power relations and deconstruct the meanings and values promoted by communication technologies. Films, photography, television, video, books, magazines, even dresses are analyzed from a postmodern

outlook. Second theme is the affect of ethnic minorities, foreign workers and immigrants in defining national identities. That is, hybrid populations oppose the dominant national constructions by their counter-narratives.

According to Özkırımlı (2000: 192), nationalist studies have gained theoretically from these new studies in two ways. First of all, the gender-blind and Eurocentric character of the mainstream scholarship was highly criticized. Secondly, the relationship of nationalism with multiculturalism, migration, race and diasporas increased. As a result nationalism studies become more interdisciplinary.

2.2.1.1. Banal Nationalism

What does happen to nationalism after a nation-state was established? Does it suddenly disappear? The British social psychologist Michael Billig's answer to these questions is that nationalism does not entirely disappear but it just becomes surplus to everyday life. It becomes active again when the routines are disrupted and a kind of crisis occurs and in Anthony Giddens' terms a "sense of ontological security is put in jeopardy". (Anthony Giddens quoted in Billig 2002: 44) Communities with a state keep also having nationalist feelings. Those feelings are necessary as they make people to be loyal and partial toward their own nation. To love requires partiality and nationalism generates love to a specific bounded entity.

Billig, who is probably the first scholar who analyzed the daily reproduction of nationalism systematically, asserts that the classical theories have narrowed the concept to its hot and extreme versions in which those who strive to create their nation-states. They have overlooked the routine and familiar forms of nationalism. And a result of this the reality that nationalism is also effective in established nations are neglected. Nationalism is defined as something dangerously emotional and irrational and therefore it is the property of 'others' who have not completed their nation-building processes. 'Our' nationalism is overlooked and ignored (unnoticed) mostly. But this is not true, of course. In subtle ways 'our' nation and nationalism are also reproduced through daily practices. 'Our' nationalism is invisible but ever-present. Billig tries to cover ideological means by which nation-states are

reproduced. The main thesis of Billig's book as he states is that there is a non-stop 'flagging', or reminding, of nationhood also in established states. Nationhood is reminded and reproduced daily and continually and people unconsciously accept that they are in a nation which is also positioned 'in a world of nations'. This kind of reminding of fusion of participation in a national collective into routine daily practices causes people to unnotice that they live with nationalist sentiments with every step they take. Billig argues that the reproduction of nation-states is based on collective remembering and forgetting in dialectical terms. That is to remember involves forgetting within it. (2002: 10) This is to say that we forget the historically constructed character of nationalism through its daily reproduction and we see the world of nations as natural.

Billig emphasizes that the routine and familiar habits¹⁵ of language or symbols of nationhood such as coins, stamps, bank notes are being continually used as reminders of nationhood. "Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making 'our' national identity unforgettable", says Özkırmılı (2000: 93). Unmindfully we are reminded who we are and where we are. This continual reminding, taken for granted by most people, transforms national identity into a form of life, a way of seeing and interpreting the world, thereby securing the nation's existence (Yumul and Özkırmılı 1997). Billig introduces the term '*banal nationalism*' in order to define this constant reminding of nationhood even in established nations. He uses the term banal not to imply benign. Instead, he introduces the concept to cover all unnoticed practices and representations that make the daily reproduction of nations possible: "The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" points out Billig (2002: 8). Nationalism embraces ways of thinking and patterns of common-sense discourse which colors the background in nationalist hue. It is a social construct which represents, thus renders meaningful, the world through a

¹⁵ "Patterns of social life become habitual or routine, and in so doing embody the past. One might describe this process of routine-formation as *enhabitation*: thoughts, reactions and symbols turned into routine habits, and, thus, they *enhabited*. The result is that the past is *enhabited* in the present in a dialectic of forgotten remembrance." (Billig 2002: 42)

particular perspective. According to Özkırmılı (2005), the nationalist discourse¹⁶ is what constructs nations and national identities. “This suggests that people live and experience through discourse in the sense that discourses impose frameworks that limit what can be experienced or the meaning that experience can assume, thereby influencing what can be said or done.” (*ibid.*: 29–30) As a form of discourse it permeates our perceptions and our very thinking and way of interpreting the world around us based on this false consciousness. Reproduction¹⁷ is necessary for the diffusion and sedimentation in the environment of nationalism as it is a social construct.

Billig’s most important argument is about homeland deixis of little words that make the world of nations familiar to us. He defines deixis as “a form of rhetorical pointing (...). Words, such as ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘we’, ‘here’ or ‘now’, are generally used deictically” (*ibid.*: 106). Billig argues that national identity is reproduced through the use of habitual assumptions about belonging that dominate media. Politicians, sports writers, broadcasters, and academics use a routine deixis, where the term ‘we’ is used as a signifier of ‘us’ as members of the nation. As elite discussion has to be widely accessible via the mass media the rhetorical forms and deixis of politicians are conveyed by the newspapers. Thus, newspapers can evoke a national ‘we’ by becoming a ‘form of popular memory’. “In that sense, it can be argued that all texts on nationalism –even the critical ones– contribute to its reproduction”, impresses Özkırmılı (2000: 203). As we all know every language contains ready-made formulas and stereotyped phrases. It is not just a medium of communication. It stores the experiences and culture of a nation. And banal nationalism involves the ongoing

¹⁶ Özkırmılı mentions four different ways in which the nationalist discourse operates:

- The discourse of nationalism divides the world into ‘us’ and ‘them’.
- The discourse of nationalism hegemonizes.
- The discourse of nationalism naturalizes itself.
- The discourse of nationalism operates through institutions. (...) National identity has to be learned and internalized through socialization. (2005: 33)

¹⁷ Özkırmılı (2005) defines two forms of reproduction, one is formal and the other one is informal. He shows family, school, the workplace, the media and the army as the institutions which the nation-state reproduces itself. Only when we are taken from our habitual environment we become aware of this reproduction.

circulation and the use of the symbols, themes, rituals, and stereotypes of the nation embedded in its language.

Tim Edensor's *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (2002) is a book based on the line of thinking close to Michael Billig's concept of banal nationalism. This book focuses on the "spatial, material, performative, embodied and representative expressions and experiences of national identity", as Edensor himself states (2002: vii). Edensor do not see the cultural expression of national identity as spectacular or remarkable – but he searches it in mundane, quotidian forms and practices. The spatial dimension that Edensor offers focuses on the centrality of territory in the nation-building process and national identity construction. He shows map-making as crucial in this respect. For him, maps are strong tools for imagining nation. They have always been tied to identity and are the site of struggle between opposing sides.

Edensor continues with the search of different national forms of spatialisation such as 'ideological landscapes, iconic sites, sites of popular assembly' which generate a powerful cognitive, sensual and habitual sense of national identity based on the assumption that a nation is a spatially distinguished and bounded entity. "Particular sites are selected by the nationalist discourse either to provide evidence of a glorious past, or a 'golden age' or to commemorate significant episodes in the nation's history". (2002: 45; Özkırımlı 2005: 182) With the clearly defined borders a specific population is put under a hegemonic administration which is expected to respect the sovereignty of other nations. To have a soul controlled by geography seems meaningless. Recently, nations are threatened both outside and inside. There are many supra-national institutions which organize trade, social legislation and law. On the other hand the integrity of national space is in danger because there many nations seeking state within the borders of the larger nation.

Edensor focuses on 'quotidian worlds' in his terms. This refers to mundane, banal signifiers that are not present when we are in abroad. "They are a fundamental, living part of our national heritage, a visual marker and a sensually coding space that

is part of everyday motoring.” (*ibid.*: 52) He also takes our attention to the soundscapes that provide a background to everyday life. He believes in that every nation has a distinguished sound; i.e. in Muslim countries muezzins whereas in Christian countries church bells.

According to Edensor the missing part from the Billig’s account is the unspectacular, contemporary production of national identity through popular culture and in everyday life. By ‘culture industries’ –the commercial enterprises that sell culture to the masses– nationalism is produced and reproduced in a daily manner. He suggests that the significance of popular cultural products may even outweigh more traditional components and contributors to national identity. He emphasizes that national identity is grounded in the mundane details of social interaction, our specific habitus, routines, and the ‘second-nature’ and practical knowledge which enables us to perform unreflexive and conscious actions in everyday life. The state enforces and prioritizes specific forms of conduct and induces particular learning experiences and good habits. In this way, thoughts, reactions and symbols that form and maintain a belief system transform into mundane habits.

Edensor further argues a sense of national belonging can be generated via images and descriptions. National ‘we’ is represented mostly when we have to portray ‘us’ against ‘them’ i. e. in a political or sporting conflict “when stereotypes are more likely to be bandied about, and this is also the case when ‘exotic’ otherness is being sold via commodities and by the tourist industry” (*ibid.*: 140). National identities¹⁸ reinterpreted, rediscovered and reconstructed continuously through discursive practices with references to the myths, memories and symbols of the past which generate ‘partial truths’.

Both for Billig and Edensor, media in general and visuals such as cartoons in particular are highly important in the production and reproduction of the national identities and stereotypes. Therefore, by examining mass media channels we can work banal nationalism out. Following the steps of Anderson they attach importance

¹⁸ Scholars argue that to reduce oneself to only one dimension is great impoverishment as we have many different attachments to many different sub-groups.

to modern communication, by way of books, the telephone and more recently radio and TV, as a condition for the existence of a national community. For Billig, reading the same newspaper and magazine which are mass-produced commodities is crucial in the (re)presentation of imagined community in technical terms and (re)production of nationalism every day. “They operate directly, through their messages, stereotypes and deictics, rather than by setting up the possibility of what Freud called ‘secondary identification or a perceived feeling of similarity’”. (2002: 125) Various socializing institutions, most importantly education and the media, aim to spread knowledge of national symbols, narratives, traditions, and rituals to people. In this way personal experiences of people can be engaged with the national experience so that discourses of national identity become part of people’s everyday life. In newspapers, journals, music, sports, cinema, soap operas, advertisements, literature, educational institutions, almost everywhere, the traces of conveying cultural codes could be found.

National identities are articulated by selecting symbols, myths and images. Therefore they have to be reproduced continuously in order to maintain those identities. Nationalism is present and perpetuated every day through these communication channels. Mass media convey messages in order to control the minds and hearts of people (even our souls are pressed in their hands) and change the ideas. The control of information determines understanding and the control of attitude determines evaluating the issue at hand. The media sets the agenda, shape the public’s issue-awareness and public opinions by controlling the information flow and transform the context to homeland. It draws people in widely dispersed locations into a single discursive space by producing and distributing of news and information. Media use nationalist rhetoric which inevitably distorts perceptions regarding external and internal threats facing the country. It portrays events in the perspective of ‘friend-enemy’, ‘Muslim-Christian’, ‘European-Eastern’ by making ‘us’ and ‘them’ in a very strict sense. Media presents currents of opinion, fads, prejudices and stereotypes which are used for reshaping individual attitudes continually.

CHAPTER 3

THE ART of CARTOONING in the WORLD and in TURKEY

3.1. A Brief History of the Art of Cartooning

In this chapter, I will give a brief historical background of cartooning and political cartooning. Firstly, I am going to seek an answer to two questions: How and where was cartooning born?

Before embarking on to answer those two short questions, I want to note that to write the history of humor and satire¹⁹ is very difficult but interesting as Alexander Herzen (quoted in M. Bakhtin 1970: 69) claimed. François Georgeon concurs with Herzen and argues that to try to write the history of humor is to add a new page to social history (2000: 80). That is, to search for the history of humor is a way to understand the collective mentality of a society and to reach the insights of its societal institutions. As an art form cartooning conveys its message in an indirect way by using symbols. It attacks the convenient traditional habits and thoughts. Cartoons contain information about the society with reflecting the hopes, choices, imaginations of people. That's why the art cartooning takes attention of sociologists, psychologists, and historians as they give clues about the societal life and traditions.

For Georgeon (*ibid.*: 80), laughing together is a sign of capacity of sociability and it is a vital part of society. Laughter produces a strong fellow feeling among participants and joint aggression against outsiders. Laughing at an ethnic group serves to stereotype it and to marginalize it, make it 'other'. For Henri Bergson (2008), laughter is an intellectual response. We laugh because we feel comfortable when the unexpected occurs. "In laughter we always find an unavowed intention to

¹⁹ Satire is to describe reality by putting it into a form of fantasy with the use of a language special to satire. The word means "to write or draw something in a witty, mean, ironic and sarcastic manner in order to ridicule and belittle individuals, groups or events." (Andreas Qassim 2007: 8)

humiliate, and consequently to correct our neighbour, if not in his will, at least in his deed. This is the reason a comedy is far more like real life than a drama is”, points out Bergson. (2008: 70) Therefore, humour is both playful and serious, a vital quality of the human condition. Humor often mirrors deeper cultural perceptions and offers us a powerful device to understand our culturally shaped ways of thinking and feeling.

3.1.1. Defining Two Blurred Concepts: Cartoon and Caricature

Cartooning is an art form of transforming the comic and unnatural sides of people, entities, events and even emotions and ideas to a humorous expression with exaggerated drawings with the support of captions and narrative elements. Isabel Simeral Johnson defines cartooning as an ‘outgrowth of caricature’. “Cartooning is not caricature evolved to a higher plane. Rather, a division seems to have occurred at some time in the seventeenth century, and thereafter two simultaneous developments are apparent *caricature*, or the distorted representation of an individual, and *cartooning*, which is the more or less distorted representation of issues, situations and ideas.” (Johnson 1937: 21) Then we encounter a new question: If cartooning is the natural result of caricature, then what is caricature?

Annibal and Augustin Carrache brothers were accepted as the creators of caricature due to their art school called ‘Accademia degli Incamminati’ that they established in Italy for organizing classical art of Renaissance with explicit rules and making it eligible to teaching (Charles Baudelaire 1997: 31–32). I find it important to note that after Renaissance, the art of humour transformed into a form of high culture in the West (Ali Akay 2008: 44). The term ‘caricatura’²⁰ first appeared in this art school during the Italian Renaissance and became especially popular in seventeenth century France in articulating the opposition to the crown. Therefore, it is not a surprise that both the word caricature and cartoon were derived from Italian language. The word caricature came from the Italian word ‘caricare’ which means to load over and over, to fill with many details like in painting, to exaggerate and to fantasticate whereas cartoon is derived from the word ‘cartone’ meaning a durable,

²⁰ They used the term ‘rittattini carichi’ for the motives they drew. As one can realize there is a relation between ‘carichi’ and their surname ‘Carrache’ (Charles Baudelaire 1997: 32–3).

hard paper. It came to be used to signify a line drawing on paper (Üstün Alsaç 1994: 7). The term ‘cartoon’ itself made its appearance in 1843 in the British magazine *Punch*.²¹ Caricature, by definition, represents its cultural material in a distorted way. It is a parodic and ironic representation of reality – not an imitation.

The development of caricature cannot be separated from the development of portrait art²². For Turgut Çeviker, caricature appeared as a portrait art form. Therefore, the earliest cartoonists focused on personal caricature based on exaggerated drawings of individual’s deformities. They distorted the essence of a person using exaggeration of some characteristics and oversimplification of others. The aim of this type is to portray characters with all of their ambitions and passions. Caricature was diversified in time and portrait caricature continued its development as a different genre (1997: 107).

On the other hand, Charles Baudelaire does not just accept caricature as an expression method of the unbeautiful and distinctive. He thinks that this view leads us to see caricatures in abundance in each era and place through the art history (1997: 28). He emphasizes that caricature is not the result of complete artistic beauty. Rather it relies on the biased relationship of the caricaturist with reality. Caricaturist aims not to embellish the reality; but it aims to explain it with characterizing (*ibid.*: 29–30). Therefore, he believes that perfect deformation (*perfetta diformita*) that is unattainable by nature is maintained to some extent (*ibid.*: 33).

Henri Bergson highlights that “comedy is a game, a game that imitates life” (2008: 40) and therefore it “lies midway between art and life”. (*ibid.*: 85) Baudelaire agrees with Bergson and says that “Cartoons are like documents that contain the life story of human mind”. (1997: 2) Turgut Çeviker supports this idea and for him a cartoon, especially a cartoon in a daily newspaper, gives us the history of that society (1997: 30). So we can easily say that humor is a very deeply rooted phenomenon within societal life and it reflects the real face of society. After all, this is a graphic

²¹ This is an English satirical magazine that was published by H. Mayhew and Mark Lemon in 1841. This magazine aimed to struggle with societal inequalities.

²² The art of portrait developed mostly in Bologna, Italy.

art form and a powerful visual vehicle that deals with historical, political, economic, or social issues; simply with human experience.

“The cartoon simply shows. It helps us ‘see’.” It performs through caricatures and exaggerations. Through this performance it showcases the performance of democracy: its inherent contradictions thus propel an incessant quest, a ceaseless questioning”. (Sushmita Chatterjee 2007: 305) A cartoonist ridicules others around him as well as himself. He does not hold a serious attitude. He has both internal and external look. To criticize life and society humor looks at phenomena and processes from outside in order to assess them. It is a question of the ability to see the absurd in every situation. Therefore, cartoons can trigger great reaction due to their ambiguous visual and verbal symbolism. For instance, in 2005 Muhammad cartoons that were published in a Danish newspaper under the heading of “The Face of Muhammad” created a cartoon fight. Domestic crisis turned into an international crisis with demonstrations and embassy burnings in a number of predominantly Muslim countries. Many people linked this cartoon fight to the polarizing thesis of “the clash of civilizations” of Huntington through arguments of freedom of expression and taboos as argued by Sabine Küper-Büsch (2008: 75).

3.1.2. Then, What is Political Cartooning?

“Political cartooning is a special genre of political editorials that represents an excellent setting for the accumulation of commonly held and dominant views” points out Orayb Aref Najjar (2007: 264). They are based on political criticism. They are watchful, sarcastic, and appear to be recording events. To put it in other words, they are like radars that daily record the most sensitive fluctuations of the feelings of a society. This feature of cartoons is also a sign of the political culture of a nation. According to Sabine Küper-Büsch & Nigar Rona, “The style and form of cartooning is directly linked to history of a society and its societal taboos and political systems”. (2008: 90) Political satire must be caustic and unfair in order to be more effective. It criticizes, undermines, challenges, and devalues categories and events that appear natural. It questions taboos and unquestioned.

Political cartoons can be often in line with the public mood more than words can. “An old saying which is generally attributed to Confucius states that a single picture is worth a thousand words. A cartoon is a simplified picture. As such, it is a learning symbol that can be used to develop desired skills of comprehension, translation, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation”. (Michael J. Fuller and Donald A. Prible 1982: 9) A single image can contain an infinite number of meanings. According to Randy Kluver, “All the emotional, cultural and historical elements of the myth can be attributed to a single signification”. (2000: 210) Political cartoons are very effective in reinforcing predetermined views and stereotypes. They seize upon and reinforce common sense and thus enable the public to actively classify, organize and interpret in meaningful ways what they see or experience about the world at a given moment. They seek to influence public opinion and shared symbolic consensus through the use of widely and instantly understood symbols, slogans, referents, and allusions. “Thus the context of the effective editorial cartoon, disregarding altogether its ideology or the issue at hand, can tell us much about the popular culture of its day.” (Dean A. Minix 2004: 79)

By using political cartoons enemies can be trivialized and allies can be embellished. They are especially crucial in mobilizing people during nation-building process. According to Göçek, they are used at home to mobilize the population morally, to generate a feeling of superiority of the fatherland and to ridicule the enemy by displaying their ineptitude, cowardice, and effeminacy.

3.1.2.1. Political Cartoons as Sites of Representation

Fatma Müge Göçek defines political cartoons as ‘sites of representation and resistance’. Göçek insists that they are sites of negotiation “often borrowing, mixing and inventing forms” from both Western and indigenous concepts (1998: 7). She stresses that political cartoons draw on existing symbols and characters. She further argues that cartoons not only “captured the nature of the revolutionary transformations taking place, [but] they were a potentially transformative political medium in and of themselves” (*ibid.*: 7). For Göçek, satire is helpful in changing social conditions and it can work as a guide to test the parameters

that a society uses for defining itself during revolutionary periods. According to her, political cartoons have the power to generate change – ‘by freeing the imagination, challenging the intellect, and resisting state control’.

The same idea is propounded also by Palmira Brummett who works on Ottoman satire. For her satire especially in the cartoons change both the perception styles of the revolution and personify the revolution. “Cartoons make obscure the boundaries between the real and the imagined. They are perfect vehicles for portraying the inadequately imagined society and state and for expressing the anxieties of people who are undergoing a radical transformation”. (2000: 137) Humor helps individuals to identify with their societal groups. Therefore, cartoonists are always part of the building process of national consciousness. They help with creating symbols and political messages that are in line with the revolutionary ideals.²³

3.1.2.2. Political Cartoons as Weapons

Political cartoons are seen as the most powerful weapons by many people as no one wants to be ridiculed. Satire is destructive and critical in its character and achieves its biting force with belittling and ridiculing even the most powerful people such as kings or statesmen of a nation. In Anne Kazazian’s words, “Today political cartoon is a frightening weapon; it contributes to chafe the enemies with ridiculing them in front of the public.” (2000: 168–69) ‘Like an evil eye’ it always damages ‘others’.

Many scholars find satirical magazines more important than serious newspapers. Georgeon argues that “if we lose comedy and humor then we do not have any weapon in our hands to wipe out misdoing. The things that serious newspapers cannot do are done by satirical magazines”. (2000: 88) Satirical magazines aim at explaining problems to the masses by making them laugh, as people believe in the idea which they read by laughing and liking more quickly. This also explains why

²³ On the other hand, there are some other scholars who are hesitant about the role of the cartoons in transformation periods. For instance, Balaghi argues that “cartoons are unable to produce a blueprint for the nation. Subsequently, they fail to be a more effective revolutionary tool”. (Shiva Balaghi 1998: 75)

they are more effective in terms of forming public opinion. Many people focus on recreative, educative and didactic aspects of satirical magazines. Çeviker argues that cartoonists must give advices under the curtain of satire, and direct people to morality by criticizing and belittling bad morale (1986: 26). That's why Sedat Nuri, one of the important cartoonists of the Tanzimat period, highlights that "one must not search politeness in nations which do not care about the arts of painting, cartooning and satire". (Sedat Nuri quoted in Çeviker 1986: 110)

To summarize, cartoons should not be defined as primarily vehicles of entertainment. Cartoons which are a societal and political criticism mechanism can be used for teaching history, raising political consciousness, and to introduce to the populace the role models on whom they could model their lives. At the very least they may serve the interests of the dominant groups in a society (Randy Kluver 2000: 199). With their persuasive messages, thanks to their visuality, political cartoons are playing a significant part in reinforcing and building on our prior beliefs, values, and prejudices. One can say that cartoons feed our stereotypes. Dominant discourses, that is, conventional standards of meaning of a society are expressed latently with the use of symbols in cartoons.

3.1.2.3. Political Cartoons as Political Discourse

Political cartoons are perfect media for political discourse. With their simplified messages they can access a vast audience. "Although the abstract debates in legislative councils and governing bodies might remain both inaccessible and incomprehensible to large sections of the populace", propounds Randy Kluver (*ibid.*: 2000: 200), political cartoons bring political issues down to the level of the audience that is uninterested. They make events understandable for the mass audience.

3.1.3. Shared Features of Cartoons

One of the crucial features of political cartoons is that they can easily create ambiguity; this allows for an infinite number of interpretations due the limited content they provide and those interpretations may differ from meanings intended by the cartoonists markedly. "These messages, highly visual and generally critical,

freely use metaphor and allusions, allowing multiple interpretations and rendering the fantasy themes in these dramas accessible to readers with widely divergent attitudes”. (William Benoit and et al. 2001: 377) The effectiveness of the cartoon is limited by the reader’s knowledge of the issues and contexts surrounding it. In other words, cartoons “leave a large *cognitive space* for the viewer –reader– to interpret their meaning”. (J. Maggio 2007: 237)

The openness of the meaning to various interpretations of cartoons is regarded as an important rhetorical feature “because it permits readers with quite different attitudes to appreciate the same theme and fit it into their rhetorical vision”. (Benoit and et al. 2001: 392) This helps us to reach another feature of cartoons: “In images with few elements (...) where the details are not as rich as photographs or paintings, a form of shorthand arises, in which slight variations assume mythic functions”. (Kluver 2000: 211) Cartoonists heavily use mythic forms and images stored in the minds of people. Those are conventional or standardized symbols which are accepted and understood by the whole of a social group. The author must evoke simple visual elements to communicate much deeper meaning and a continued flow of experience.

Kluver argues that the cartoonist must necessarily evoke the audience’s assumptions, prejudices, and values to frame situations, “thereby using the audience’s own belief structure to create a signification” due to the limited information capacity. Cartoons portray complex and subtle realities by simplifying with using metaphors and symbols. Therefore, they are very effective for use in political propaganda.

Allen McLaurin summarizes this as follows:

Political cartoons occupy contested ground. They usually combine words and images, though the visual nature of their appeal may enable them to cross national borders and linguistic boundaries with comparative ease. In making a case for reason and common sense they often draw upon the irrational and the surreal. They can appeal to a mixed audience using common denominators which link diverse groups. These shared references are often proverbial, or drawn from popular culture, though they may require sophisticated decoding. In fact the “puzzle” aspect of cartoons can be an important aspect of their persuasive effect as they draw in the reader by setting up a visual conundrum. (...) They implicitly claim to be

revealing truth behind lies and hypocrisy, but use simplifications and caricatures to do so. As they work along these borders, political cartoonists may break down, or create, barriers. The view of one nation through the eyes of another often takes the form of caricature (...) (2007: 696)

3.1.4. Elements of Cartoons

Cartoons are graphic media which are primarily visual²⁴ that contain short narrations or depictions of episodes. According to Eishner, “Artwork dominates the reader’s initial attention. This then lures the artist to concentrate his skills on style, technique and graphic devices which are designed to dazzle the eyes”. (2003: 123) To repeat, the art of cartooning is based on individual style or “art personality”, quality and draftsmanship of the artist.

Mainly, cartoons have two aspects: line and idea (humor lies in it). The strictness of line and the sharpness of idea are combined in cartoons. “The regimens of art (e.g. perspective, posture, symmetry, brush stroke) and the regimens of literature (e.g. grammar, plot, syntax) become superimposed upon each other. The reading of [cartoons] is an act of both aesthetic perception and intellectual pursuit”. (*ibid.*: 7)

We can summarize three essential elements of cartoons as follows²⁵:

- **Likeness** – If you can’t tell who it is supposed to be, then it is not successful.
- **Exaggeration** – Without some form of exaggeration, or a departure from the exact representation of the subject’s features, all you have is a portrait. The level of exaggeration can vary wildly, but there must be some departure. A straight portrait is not a cartoon. “The caricaturist who alters the size of a nose, but respects its ground plan, lengthening it, for instance, in the very direction in which it was being lengthened by nature, is really making the nose indulge in a grin”. (Bergson 2008: 20–1)

²⁴ Will Eishner (2003) defines a visual “as a series or sequence of images that replace a descriptive passage told only in words”. That is, a visual replaces the text. On the other hand an ‘illustration’ reinforces (or decorates) a descriptive passage. It simply repeats the text. (p. 138)

²⁵ <http://www.tomrichmond.com/blog/2008/02/14/how-to-draw-caricatures-1-the-5-shapes/> Accessed at: 13 April 2010

Exaggerated gesture and expression and deformation (such as imitation or parody) are what make the cartoon to be received easily by the audience.

- **Statement** – The artist must be trying to say something about the subject. It might be something to do with the situation the subject is drawn in, it may just be a play on their personality through expression or body language, it might be as simple as making visual fun of some aspect of their persona or image. A cartoonist can form the content of his cartoons from many sources such as public problems, mentalities, sensitivities, taboos, violations. Cartoonists use many means such as misunderstandings, repetitions, playing with words (puns), connotations, homologies and analogies (Üstün Alsaç 1994: 9). They naturally draw on formulas, euphemisms, proverbs and even clichés.
- **Characterization** – Cartoonists highly use characterization to develop their art form. Simply, characterization is used to represent ideas, political parties, groups of people, or even entire nations. Such characters become easily recognized. For instance, war has been symbolized as the skeletal Grim Reaper, equality before the law has often been shown as blindfolded justice, and food is generally a symbol for the entire labor process (Michael J. Fuller and Donald A. Prible 1982: 9). Another well-known characterization is Uncle Sam of America familiar to people the world over as the fellow with a top hat, goatee beard, and striped pants. In a similar manner, Great Britain has been characterized by John Bull, a short, pudgy man who wears his nation's Union Jack as a vest. There are also nations that are characterized as animals such as The Soviet Union as a bear, China as a dragon, African nations as any of the various exotic animals of that continent (*ibid.*: 9). Moreover, the Statue of Liberty, a patriotic icon, has evolved into a cartoon characterization. Allen McLaurin emphasizes that “The play on the changing size of the figures of Uncle Sam and John Bull is an amusingly self-aware acknowledgement of the familiar move in cartoon rhetoric of indicating power and importance by the relative size of the figures depicted”. (2007: 710)

In sum, we can single out the elements of cartoons as narrative that is essentially short and conventional, composition, characters, and draftsmanship (perspective, drapery, gravity, and light/shade). Cartoonists make use of generalization, popular imagery and stereotyping, irony, analogies, lateral thinking and paradoxical juxtapositions, characterization, the use of language and documentary style, abstractions, images and the world of images, sophisms (*quiproque*) and play with words, mock with oneself. All serve as ingredients to the making up of the comic character.

3.1.5. Strengths and Weaknesses of Cartoons

Cartoons are an inexpensive and easily used medium of expression. They can be used for raising political consciousness. Cartoons interpret ongoing political currents, point to problems, offer social criticism, educate and inform the people, caution the politicians – all the while constructing new tropes of nationhood. Cartoons of this nature provide a critical means not only to express dissent, but also, as one cartoonist stressed, to raise awareness about political and social issues, especially in the rural areas where illiteracy is highest and access to information is lowest.

Because of their communicative potential for a wide range of people, cartoons have become very popular in politics, social criticism, and advertisement. The communication media seem to unanimously exploit their influence. Usually based on everyday content, cartoons are perceived as a common, intellectually non-demanding way of expressing ideas. They have a unique ability to crystallize complex ideas or a vast amount of information into a succinct symbol (Harrison, 1985). The popularity of cartoons, and their vast distribution in the media, is training viewers in visual literacy that eventually will enhance cartoons' popularity even more (Lucie-Smith, 1981).

Another strength of cartoons is that they can be understood relatively quickly by people who have minimal literacy. Cartoons can easily translate commentaries and political messages to the illiterate. Therefore, the use of images in daily

communication is seen to be very useful by many people. Visualized information helps the receiver to comprehend the message better. Thus, the messages in the form of cartoons are better noticed by people instead of traditional written message. This also makes cartooning a universal art as it requires no translation. Surely, there are some challenges such as the ability of the cartoonist to create the visual metaphors and the adapted interactivity for the message to be conveyed (Mariam Ginman and Sara von Ungern-Sternberg 2003: 69).

Cartoons that contain visualized messages can be easily remembered by people and they are easily caught by the audience which is less motivated to receive the message. The cartoon expresses a message clearly by using shared visual symbols and myths. In addition to this, cartoons relieve us from the strain of thinking by making its message interesting and lively. Cartoons stay in the mind longer as they stimulate the process of recalling experiences. Furthermore, many people take our attention to the contribution of humorous messages to the socialization process of individuals. Some scholars argue that the most important strength of cartoons is their ability to show people the better way of living. Henri Bergson argues that cartoons are used as a space where moral values are reproduced. Bergson says that "...only that laughter 'corrects men's manners'" (Bergson 2008: 16). Even a Latin proverb supports the idea of Bergson: *castigat ridendo mores*²⁶ (François Georgeon, 2000: 90). Cartoonists search for the ugliness in the social life in general. If a person behaves badly he turns to be a bad person physically in the cartoons.

On the other hand, the main weakness of the cartoons is the information content in cartoons can be interpreted flexibly and personally which may result in misinterpretation. According to Mariam Ginman and Sara von Ungern-Sternberg (2003) the communication is made better among people who share similar cultural identity which help them to understand the symbols used in the cartoons very much the same. Moreover, cartoons have been still regarded as a sign of low intelligence by many people. They are just seen as a way to entertain and a medium just for children.

²⁶ To correct mores through laughter.

3.1.6. Studies on Political Cartoons

Political cartoons have been studied from a variety of perspectives in the literature. Some research focused on their capability of affecting readers' attitudes and perceptions (Brinkman 1968); others assert that cartoons may reflect shifts in public opinion (Wheeler & Reed 1975). There are also studies that concentrate mainly on the nature of cartoons and their ability to communicate visually. Some scholars such as Cahn (1984) suggest that it is better to use universally comprehended symbols such as cartoons to inform people who do not have much time about events or persons (William Benoit and et al. 2001: 378). According to Maggio, there are also works based on the analysis of the content of the art form. He finds it important because cartoons offer a critique of the dominant power structure. He points out that "Because comics are often popular in subcultures and generally fly below the radar of the intellectual elite, cartoonists can often tackle serious issues in ways that would not be tolerated in mainstream media. (...) In fact, the radical cultural elite has often exalted comics as a kind of exotic 'other' art". (J. Maggio 2007: 238)

The classification of several studies on political cartoons in an essay written by William Benoit *et al.* (2001) can be very useful to see them in an organized way. They separate the studies into two categories: studies focusing on the nature of cartoons and those focusing on the rhetorical function of cartoons. Below is their categorization:

Works Focused on the Nature of Cartoons

1. Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) identified four major inventions topoi: political commonplaces, literary/cultural allusions, personal character traits, and situational themes.
2. Bostdorff (1987) proposed grounding the understanding of political cartoons in Burkean rhetorical theory.
3. Edwards (1997), examined political cartoons concerning the 1988 presidential campaign, analyzed them as image, metaphor, and narrative.

Works Focused on the Rhetorical Function of Cartoons

4. Thibodeau (1989) argued that cartoons reflected the impressions of the public, providing negative representations of their subjects.
5. Cahn (1984) argued that political cartoons were negative because they represent the biased point of view of the cartoonist.
6. Morris (1992) examined political cartoons in the United Kingdom and Canada and found political that cartoons attack the democratic and public segments of the decision-making process. Cartoonists can promote the democratic process by exposing its shortcomings.
7. Although cartoons are generally viewed as negative or critical, Edwards and Winkler (1997) claimed the cartoonist can be positive and elevate actions through complementary comparison. The interpretation of cartoons can be a cultural consideration.
8. Carl (1970) concluded that Cartoon readers may not interpret cartoons as the cartoonist intended and that no two persons see a single cartoon in exactly the same way, which suggests that cartoons are polysemic. (ibid.: 378)

3.2. A Brief History of Turkish Cartooning Art

3.2.1. The Ottoman Empire Period

To understand today's cartooning we have to link it with its past first. Cartoons can reflect the social and cultural life of a period. That is, they have documentary value. Cartooning in Turkey was born as a part of press like every country in the world. In the very beginning, cartoons were published in humor magazines weekly or every few-day; not in daily newspapers. Always in the history of our press we came across with strict censorships and press regulations. Humor could only succeed to live if only it serves the aims of politicians. However, as an art form, cartooning is based on critical humour and aims to criticize the administration and defects of the system. Cartoons do not know taboos and laws. So they cannot do their job under the control of politicians. Recalling this may show us why this art did not develop in the Ottoman Empire which was a theocratic monarchy. Ottoman Empire which was too despotic and conservative opened its doors to this critical art very lately as one can guess. In the Empire, to caricature the Sultan, political leaders or ministers was often an imprisonable crime for a very long time. Governments frequently found ways of blocking free expression and blocking unwanted

cartoonists. Humor magazines that criticized political powers are often shut down. That is what shows us the political face of cartooning as a visual art form. Georgeon (2000) argues that the main resources of the humor of the Empire were the portrayals of diversity of the Empire and the use of ethnic-religious stereotypes. Cartoons were drawn mostly by minority groups during the Ottoman Empire. Çeviker (1991) links this to the technique of zincography that was used for drawing and publishing caricatures. Minorities knew this technique well, Çeviker says. He also draws our attention to the ban of paintings in Islam. With the birth of the Turkish Republic the Ottoman humor was wiped out.

The art of cartooning in the Empire appeared a very long time after the first Turkish newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Chronicle of Events) had been published (1831). The first cartoons were seen in 1856 in newspapers belong to Armenian and Rum millets. As one can easily grasp, the date of the first cartoon in Turkish cartoon history was much later than Europe. Balcıoğlu (1987) articulates several reasons for that. First and the most important one is the ban on the pictorial representation in the Ottoman Empire with the influence of religion as mentioned earlier. Because of this ban, artists leaned on to other line arts such as writing, *tezhip* (ornamenting something, written by hand, with gilded and painted designs), *çini* (piece of earthenware decorated with opaque colored glazes and motifs that are characteristic of Turkish art), *tahta oymacılığı* (wood carving), material ornamentations, marble crafting rather than figurative arts. Balcıoğlu cites the other reasons for the late development of the art of cartooning as being a closed nation to accept the ideals of West, education was completely based on religious fundamentals and artists were directly under the service of the Sultan.

Cartoons emerged in the West during the Enlightenment period and appeared in the Empire as the by-product of Westernization efforts. Fatma Müge Göçek explains this development as follows:

[Political cartoons] accompanied Europe's gradual technological, economic, and political domination over the rest of the world. The non-Western world including the Middle East promptly started to employ this medium to scorn their own Westernizing selves and to

ridicule and delegitimize their Western rulers. Local myths, folktales, and aesthetic forms were quickly synthesized into these new interpretations, first to symbolically authenticate the burgeoning nationalist movements and then to resist them. (1998: 6)

In Tanzimat cartooning, we see *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* as two main characters. Cartoonists drew those characters as more like real paintings rather than caricatures. That is they did not use deformed lines when they were drawing. Çeviker (1997) mentions two artists in Tanzimat period of cartooning: Tinghır and Ali Fuat Bey. In this period, essays were generally organized as a dialogue between *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* which are the characters of shadow theater. Soon, the despotic period of Abdülhamid II started when he dissolved the Parliament (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) and abolished The Constitution of 1876 with the beginning of Ottoman–Russian War (1877–1878). During the Hamidian era, cartoon magazines were published mostly in Europe. This art form was continued in Cairo, Paris, Geneva and London by Young Turks. This turned cartooning into a vehicle of resistance for Young Turks. According to Çeviker, deformed lines first appeared in the cartoons made during the Ottoman–Russian War and they made peak with the Abdülhamid caricatures.²⁷

In the Second Meşrutiyet period with the end of the despotic period of Abdülhamid, Ottoman dynasty was not the dominant dynasty anymore and Ottoman cultural values were belittled and ignored because of the success of European armies and economies. This resulted in the creation of huge and conflicted repertoire of images (European, traditional or mixed). Those images appeared in government, fashion, ideology, education, daily manners, bureaucracy and technology (*ibid.*: 140). In humor periodicals that were published in Meşrutiyet II period there were two dominant approaches: modern²⁸ and descriptive (traditional)²⁹. Modern cartoon

²⁷ The same continued to be the case in the cartoons of Independence War period.

²⁸ *Kalem* (1908), *Cem* (1912), *Boşboğaz ile Güllabi* (1908), *Dalkavuk* (1908), *Davul* (1908), *Laklak* (1909), *Kartal* (1909), *Kara Sinan* (1911), *Karikatür* (1914), *Hande* (1916), *Diken* (1918). *Kalem* was leader of those types of periodicals. *Kalem* realized a revolution in cartoon similar to the revolution in the society. In *Kalem*, we came across with European cartoonists. *Kalem* created a new, modern cartoon in terms of captions and lines. In publications of Tanzimat and Despotism period, cartoon was seen as mere painting. That is not to say that in Meşrutiyet period, there were not cartoonists who continued this tradition. Of course there were. But modern cartoons were more common. *Kalem* used the word cartoon for the first time and it tried to describe that word. Again for the first time, it drew attention to cartoon's historical and functional aspects. (Çeviker 1986)

followed European approach of cartooning. Çeviker points out that “Artists like Cemil Cem, Sedat Nuri (İleri), İzzet Ziya, A. Rigopulos, A. Scarselli, d’Ostoya, Placěk and Fellah produced a cartoon revolution in parallel to the social revolution” (1997: 47–8). On the other hand, descriptive cartooning is the developed form of Tanzimat cartooning. It was based on folk humor and traditional humor culture. Similar to the literature, cartoons of that sort also contain dualist characters such as Cadaloz-Cavaloz, Hacivat-Karagöz, and Feylosof-Ebu Nevvas. Processes and phenomena are explained by means of those dual and opposite characters (*ibid.*)

In the Independence War period, cartoonists saw the imperialist powers and their collaborators that are equipped with modern armories as threatening to the independence of their country. With no doubt, they criticized their enemies harshly. Caricatures of this period glorified their own front; vilified and belittled the opposite front. Their ambition, anger and national feelings were expressed through lines. Therefore, they began to distance further themselves from ‘painting-like caricatures’³⁰, even though they borrowed lines and drawing styles of the art of painting (*ibid.*: 48). In this wartime period, we came across with cartoons portraying occupying powers (English, French, Italian, Greeks); collaborators (Sultan Vahidettin, Damat Ferit Pasha, Ali Kemal, Sait Molla, Refik Halit (Karay) etc.); and warriors of liberation (Mustafa Kemal Pasha, İsmet Bey/Pasha (İnönü), Mehmetçikler (Turkish soldiers) and women). Çeviker points out that even if the war was a multi-national war, the main enemy in the cartoons was Greece. He continues “It is like a Turco-Greek War. Therefore, we came across with Greek King Constantine, Venizelos and Eftos in cartoons”. (Çeviker 1991: 23) Another aspect of this period cartooning is its portrayal of Turkish soldiers as brave, courageous, militant, forgiver and warrior. On the other hand, Greek soldiers were always

²⁹ *Karagöz* (1908), *Nekregu* (1908), *Zuhuri* (1908), *Tasvir-i Hayal* (1908), *Hacivat* (1908), *İbiş* (1909), *Geveze* (1908), *Nekregu ile Pişekâr* (1909), *Eşref* (1909), *Hayal-i Cedit* (1910), *Cadaloz* (1911), *Baba Himmet* (1911), *Köylü* (1913), *Feylosof* (1914), *Nasrettin Hoca*. Those periodicals applied the model of the periodicals of Tanzimat such as *Diyojen* (1870) and *Hayal* (1873). In those periodicals visual play characters and folk humorists’ names were used. (Çeviker 1986)

³⁰ Illustration-type cartoons (photo-realistic drawing type) – The form of İhap Hulusi who started to draw cartoons in *Akbaba* in 1923 by using poster technique was distant from caricatural forms. But cartoonists were affected highly from this new form. In the republican period, we all know that Cemal Nadir cut off all the links of caricatures from paintings which already started in Meşrutiyet caricature.

represented as coward, fugitive, submissive, backstabbing, slothful, unskilled and predatory. Those aspects were relevant also for commanders and officers. To say that humor was seen as a way to defend the country visually cannot be an exaggeration.

Çeviker argues that the line gained new insights in the Independence War cartooning. It did not totally free itself from 'painting' for sure. But we came across with cartoonists who tried hard to free themselves from it. The most important reason behind this emancipation from 'painting-likeness' is war. "During war times, cartoonists and press-drawers have to be quick. Therefore, they will write and draw hastily and carelessly. Functionality overrode artistic expressions in those periods". (1991: 33–4) According to Çeviker (1991), the anger the war brought deformed the descriptive line of the disgusting portraits of events and people. Those forced cartoonists to reach the caricatural line which was highly beneficial in the long run. About the use of captions Çeviker argues that this period's caricature made use of the word-meaning plays and poems heavily. According to Çeviker, captions comprised half of cartoons as they are the voice of the line. (*ibid*) That is, in this period too, humor was embedded in the captions. Without reading the captions, one could not understand cartoons.

In the first days of Armistice, Sedat Simavi's *Diken* (1918–1920) began its publication. We can say that *Diken* was the third crucial periodical after *Cem* and *Kalem* in our modern satire publishing (Çeviker 1991: 17). In 1922, Refik Halit Karay published *Aydede*. *Aydede* was opposed to the liberation movement headed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha and it supported the Porte and occupiers. In *Aydede*, Refik Halit with his essays and Ahmet Rifki³¹ with his cartoons tried to paralyze the liberation movement.

³¹ Ahmet Rifki was the most important cartoonist in terms of forms. According to Çeviker (1991), his lines were the most suitable ones to the caricatural lines. None of the caricaturist of the period achieves the caricature aesthetics that he reached in line. He published his cartoons in *Tatlı-Sert* (1921), *Aydede* (1922) and *Zümriüanka* (1923–1925).

3.2.2. The Period of Turkish Republic

After the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, Turkish people began to distance themselves from traditional folk arts such as shadow theater with the advent of Western culture and mass communication channels such as radio, TV and cinema. “The comic of old times were belittled by Republicans”, says François Georgeon. To put it another way, Ottoman type of comic was kicked out. In the Republican period, satire was approved if only the past was laughed about and ridiculed. The Republican period brought more individualist, critical, distant, modern and secular satire. (Georgeon 2000) It depicted the situation “in terms of a set of dichotomies: the old and the new, the Ottoman and the European, freedom and subordination, glory and dishonor.” (Brummett in Göçek 1998: 1)

Turgut Çeviker (1997) claims that one can talk about three important cartoonists in Turkish cartoon history. Those are Cemil Cem, Cemal Nadir and Turhan Selçuk.

1. Cemil Cem is the first to mention. Accepted as the architect of modern cartoon art in Turkey he tried to distance himself from 19th century cartooning with the early years of republic. He erased the deep links between caricature and picture. He leans on to a cartoon world based on deformation. One can argue that the effects of French cartoonists such as Gustave Doré, Jean-Jacques Grandville, Jean-Lois Forain and Sem can be seen in Cem’s cartooning. Also, the first cartoonist in real terms in our cartoon history was Cemil Cem. For Balcıoğlu (1987), Cem is a ‘man of struggle’ with his art similar to Western insight. He criticized dauntlessly his period which was the period of despotism of Abdülhamid. He published the magazine *Cem* in 1910. He affected the forthcoming cartoonists very much as he published his cartoons also in the Republican period. His own definition of caricature is as follows:

Caricature!... Its context is wide and it is a big word! In order to laugh, a caricaturist draws an eye as half-squint; a nose as big; a mouth as lopsided. But all of those can also create anger. It makes people angry instead of making laugh. It turns an angel idea to a demon enmity. Is that belittling the aim of caricature? Or is it glorification

and ennoblement? My understanding is glorification, but without ceremony.
(Quoted in Çeviker 1997: 175)

2. Cemal Nadir (Güler) is the second one. Cemal Nadir, who entered into press life after Ramiz Gökçe, started into his cartoon career in *Akbaba* and *Zümrüdüanka* after his initial trial in *Diken* (1918). According to Çeviker, Cemal Nadir animated Turkish cartoon art and he outpaced many cartoonists of his day in the Republican era. He was the pioneer of a new trend of creating wordless cartoons without using speech balloons which were less culture specific. He also played an important role in the dissemination and adoption of cartoons in Turkish society with ‘his warm and lovely drawings’ and his humors addressed to the masses. His deft draftsmanship and style of humor have endeared him in the hearts of countless readers. He published ten caricature albums, opened five exhibitions and organized numerous conferences on caricature. Cemal Nadir’s well-known cartoon character *Amcabey* with his descriptive and pure line attracted great attention from many people. It is worth to note, Cemal Nadir was a professional cartoonist who earned his life by just drawing cartoons which differentiated him from other cartoonists. He defines caricature as “(...) no longer a fantasy or luxury; it has become a medium with which we can communicate each other our problems and our imperfections”.(Quoted in Göçek : 90)
3. Turhan Selçuk was the last. In the aftermath of Second World War Selçuk started to be professional. In 1960, he won his first international reward. And his works were published in important newspapers and magazines by means of cartoon agencies.

Turgut Çeviker (1997: 89) rightly states that Cemil Cem managed to get through his cartoons to Istanbul and its environs with the suitable caricature form of 1900’s modernity. Cemal Nadir reached the whole country with daily newspapers and Turhan Selçuk reached the places beyond our own boundaries. For Çeviker those three artists comprise the ‘charming golden triangle’ of our cartooning art.

According to Ayhan Akman (1998), Turkish cartoon history can be investigated in two periods: (1) 1930–1950, when cartoons were characterized by ‘cultural schizophrenia’; and (2) 1950–1975, when ‘modernist binarism’ dominated cartoons. Hıfzı Topuz (1997) defines those two periods as classical cartooning (1930–1950) and modern cartooning (1950–1975) and he also mentions a third period which covers the timeline from 1975 to date as under the title of new cartooning.

3.2.2.1. The First Period: Classical Cartooning (1930–1950)

Under the framework of Kemalist regime, those years underwent dramatic and rapid changes. A series of cultural and political reforms in order to modernize the country were the marker of this initial period. According to Akdağ Saydut (2008), cartoonists of the Republican period were very much in line with Republican ideals and principles as the Republican People’s Party (RPP) consolidated itself as the only ruling party. Çeviker (1997) supports Saydut when he points out that for a country which was restructuring itself cartoonists must also be tolerant and constructive. They have to see the positive things and instill hope and motivation to the masses. The victory of a war that was left behind must arouse such national emotions.

After the declaration of the Republic, the styles and forms that were used by cartoonists of the period were distinguished. The effects of Cemal Nadir and Ramiz Gökçe were seen clearly in this period. Cartoons of this period contains local symbols which the later coming cartoonists will try to avoid. Local types were caricaturized perfectly. We can say that the change of alphabet marks this period. According to Akman (1998), with the change of alphabet in 1928 Turkish print media turned toward graphic material especially to cartoons in order to prevent their circulation level. We can say that cartoons became a common feature in newspapers in this era. On one hand, line has been purified, and details have been ignored. On the other hand symbols that were borrowed from West have been used. Countries started to be represented as animals. Captions were still very important in expressing the message of the cartoon.

But all those democratization process of Turkey was cut down by religious fundamentalists' rebellions, 1930 economic downturn, the start of the Second World War and the pressure of USSR on Turkey. The new democratic process started in Turkey in 1946 with the transition to the multi-party system once more. Saydut (2008) argues that in this period, the most effective satirist movement was the satirical periodical called *Markopaşa* (1946–1950)³² published by Aziz Nesin, Sabahattin Ali and Rıfat Ilgaz. The cartoons of *Markopaşa* were drawn by Mim Uykusuz who had pure lines. *Markopaşa* turned into a primary venue of political mobilization and activism. It always spoke the language of the public and fought for the real democracy. *Markopaşa* differs in terms of its class-based handling of economic and social events. This difference caused many trials and closing downs of the magazine. But it always continued its publication under different titles. One was silenced but many other were born.

For Akman (1998), cartoons of the era mark a general 'cultural schizophrenia'. Furthermore, he divides cartoons into two categories: cartoons depicted lively and crowded street scenes of ordinary people's everyday lives; cartoons that were stylized images of Westernized world. The second category included fewer people, more indoors scenes, and activities foreign to the masses (balls, parties, etc.). He singles out three different aspects of local cartoons from western cartoons as stylization, stereotypification, and crowded scenes.

Between 1942 and 1951 we see cartoonists who were going to be named as 'Middle Generation'³³ in the forthcoming humor magazines. 1942–1943 was the first period of this generation and 1943–1951 covers the second period. The first group comprises Selma Emiroğlu, Mim Uykusuz, Semih Balcıoğlu³⁴, Turhan Selçuk³⁵ and

³² *Markopaşa* is a Turkish comic magazine that identified itself with leftist agenda and it was the first to introduce class struggle as a theme in cartoons. (Akman 1998)

³³ See for more detail Semih Balcıoğlu, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Karikatürü (1923–1983)* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1987)

³⁴ Semih Balcıoğlu started to work in Akbaba. Semih Balcıoğlu is the first caricaturist who draws three-dimensional caricatures in Turkey. The caricatures he made with ceramics were exhibited in Istanbul and Ankara in years 1964 – 1965 – 1966. He opened 19 personal exhibitions. Four of them were in foreign countries.

³⁵ The geometrical line world of Turhan Selçuk is admired by many people around the world. Even his line is accepted as one of the ten lines in world caricature. Turhan's line affected many forthcoming

Nehar Tüblek. “The affect of Cemal Nadir can be seen in the early works of these artists. But in time, they all formed their own style of drawing” (Balcıoğlu 1987: 7). The second period of ‘middle generation’ was also affected by the style of Cemal Nadir. Eflatun Nuri Erkoç, Ali Ulvi, Ferruh Doğan, Altan Erbulak³⁶ and Bedri Koraman were the artists of this period. Artists of first period and second period of the ‘Middle Generation’ converge on their ideas about the functions of cartoons. With the ‘Middle Generation’ Turkish caricature started to gain new insights. The most important societal factor that influenced the ‘middle generation’ was the transition from single-party regime to the multi-party democratic period. ‘Middle Generation’ accepted the contemporary understanding of cartooning. Balcıoğlu says that “When we look at the cartoonists of the previous periods we see that they carried only humorous aspect. That is, when we erased the subtitle of the cartoon the meaning of the cartoon was lost. Our reader got used to these types of cartoons in which they laugh without using their intellectual capacity too much” (*ibid.*: 8). A transition to abstract and decontextual cartoons that exhibit minimalist graphic representation marked the period after 1950. Cartoonists of the period shared in common to create a humoristic motive that is called graphic humor. It affects the reader slowly and makes them think first and then laugh. Its entire message is in the line. There are no speech balloons.

3.2.2.2. The Second Period: Modern Cartooning (1950–1975)

1950 is the beginning of a new understanding both in the art of cartooning and in politics. In 1950, the dominant magazine *Akbaba* was closed down and many new magazines were born. Also a new generation of cartoonists appeared. In political area, the authoritarian single-party regime came to an end with the coming of power of Democratic Party (DP) in Turkey. The intense economic liberalism brought by the party caused deformation in terms of social and economical

cartoonists namely Nezih Danyal, Dr. İhsan Ünlüer, Mete Göktürk, Metin Peker, Ali Fuat Süer, Semih Poroy and Sami Caner.

³⁶ He generated a qualified and successful line world which was ahead of his contemporaries. When we look at the first cartoons of Erbulak we see that he was highly affected by American drawer Virgil Partch (Vip). He was affected by Vip’s humorist reason rather than his line, style and characters. Çeviker points out that “His drawing style is lovely, optimist, warm and elegant. Furthermore, his drawings are smooth. He draws very comfortably as he is drawing from a blueprint” (Çeviker 1997: 124). He defines Erbulak as a ‘caricature factory’.

statute of the middle class. DP came into power by offering great freedoms to a society ruled many years under single-party regime, Republican People's Party. But DP soon acted in a similar manner as its predecessor and put strict censorship on press. In the last years of DP government it became highly impossible to draw caricatures of officials. This period ended with the coup d'état of 27 May 1960 with the shut-down of DP.

Certainly, 1950 signaled a new era also in Turkish art. Turkish cartooning became freer and more influential even when there was a strict political pressure on the press. From now on, Turkish cartoonists entered into the 'new life' and they started to discover the life, lifestyles and poverty outside Istanbul. Çeviker draws our attention to the increasing interest in Anatolian life during the 1950s. Even painters were sent to Anatolian villages to make their paintings and show the village life. Çeviker (1997) argues that the new life that started with 1923 has two themes: politics and metropolis. Metropolis is always Istanbul in the cartoons. With the Republican period, we came across with another metropole: the capital city Ankara, argues Çeviker.

With the start of 1950s, cartoonists had to refocus their work due to brand new social and political circumstances in Turkey and beyond. Akman argues that the second era were full of new cartoons based on abstraction and universalism. Those new 'modernist' cartoons started to use words less and to make more universal statements. Artistically, they were highly stylized and reduced to minimalist graphic forms. Akman observes that modernist cartoons employ binarisms to explain the political and social world, central among which are "the dualisms of civilized versus backward, West versus East, workers versus capitalist, poor versus rich" (1998: 121). Ayhan Akman insists on boundaries of time frames, artistic expressions and worldviews which contradict the view of the dynamic nature of meanings and symbolism.

"In contrast to the earlier cartoonists who regarded cartooning art as a craft, modernist cartoonists worked to develop cartooning as an Art Form" expresses

Akman (1998: 114). They worked to make cartooning a true art. Cartoonists of the Akdağ Saydut (2008) concurs with Akman that 1950 Generation were the first drawers who started to discuss cartoon art theoretically with taking into account worldwide developments in this art form. He summarizes the characteristics of this generation under three categories (*ibid.*: 20):

1. They change the traditional approach of drawing heavily on daily events and people to drawing on phenomena.
2. They acquire originality in their lines and they use different methods of expression.
3. They form their caricatural language only with lines. They do not use words either or they use it less when the topic is required.

Ayhan Akman talks about the new generation of Turkish cartoonists who in the 1950s and 1960s “introduced cartoons that were politically conceived and politically motivated. Their understanding of politics involved issues such as the unjust social order, class struggle, critique of the state, the functioning of democratic institutions and the possibility of social and political revolution” (*ibid.*: 108). Turkish cartoons became more politically ambitious rather than using lighter forms of satire and ridiculing problems of everyday urban life. The modernist cartoonists were highly influenced by American cartoonist Saul Steinberg³⁷ and the ‘New Yorker Style’³⁸. This forced them to break with previous aesthetic conventions, such as the utilization of lines, shading, toning and dotting. Thus, in addition to the use of fewer words the cartoons became simpler and more stylized. “[M]odernist cartoonists were revolutionary both in their graphic practice, which drastically transformed the conventions and techniques of the previous era, and in their espousal of a modernist/leftist ideology” (*ibid.*: 112). Therefore, cartoonists of the period took their art more seriously and they started to produce universal works that can be understood by many people by transcending cultural barriers which are artificial such as

³⁷ After 1945, Saul Steinberg published *All in Line* and this affected the cartooning all over the world. Steinberg’s new cartoons created a radical revolution in world cartoon art. He erased captions from cartoons; line is used both as a language and as a word. The idea a perfect cartoon is able to express its message purely through graphic representation without putting an artificial barrier such as language was adopted. (Önder Şenyapılı 2000: 38)

³⁸ Akman ties the birth of this new understanding also to the death of the two great masters of the previous era within a few years of each other: Cemal Nadir and Ramiz Gökçe. This new generation cartoonists produced ‘modernist cartoons’. They revolutionized the graphic form and thematic concerns of cartoons.

language and nationality. That is, modernist cartoonists did not want to do merely local or daily cartoons; they wanted to be permanent with producing universal works. They produced cartoons that were independent of time which made them long-lasting and place which made them universal. “Universality was the key to going beyond the merely temporal or ephemeral; to reaching a level that would be valid across cultures and time” (*ibid.*: 113). With the elimination of words and humor striving for universality the cartoons were distanced from their historical and social context with cleansing them from historical and cultural details which makes them difficult to understand and least appealing for ordinary people. This resulted in marginalization of many people during the 1970s and 1980s, but modernists managed to survive through an institutional network, Cartoonists’ Association founded in 1969, as Akman observes.

Saydut singles out *Akbaba*, *Karakedi* (1950–1953), *41 Buçuk* (1952), *Tef* (1954), *Dolmuş* (1956), *Gölge* (1957), *Karikatür* (1958), *Taş* (1958), *Taş–Karikatür* (1958) as important periodicals of the ‘1950 Generation’. Among the topics, structural criticisms of the society, employer-employee, agha-villager relations, and class-based conflicts³⁹ can be mentioned. The structural change of Istanbul due to high immigration and ruralization was also a highly handled topic by cartoonists of this generation (*ibid.*: 22). Furthermore, in the 1950s socialist views which offered support for Kemalism turned into the dominant ideology of Turkish cartooning. The most important magazine which defended this ideology was *Yön* which was published by Doğan Avcıoğlu.

1960s was a period that witnessed high industrialization in Turkey. Immigration inside Turkey and even migration to Europe created gecekondu with bad infrastructure. Saydut believes that cartoonists did not communicate with those migrated population to cities for a very long time. That is, they could not develop a shared language with those people easily. (2008: 24) 1960s also set the scene for the

³⁹ “Caricature examines the relationship of man to man, man to nature, and man to society from a critical perspective. Paintings do not possess this quality. For a caricature, however, this [criticism] is its *raison d’être*. (...) Previously the subject of caricature was individual criticisms, bride/mother-in-law relations, or urban problems. (...) What makes caricature “social” is its class orientation, and this began after 1950.” (Ali Ulvi quoted in Göçek 1998: 108)

emergence of a new group of intellectuals and technocrats with leftist tendencies, students' activities, conflicts between leftists and rightists and first unsolved murders.

This period signals also stagnation for Turkish cartooning: a very less cartoonists grew in this period and the interest of public on cartoons decreased. The number and quality of comic magazines were decreased. Newspapers and magazines started to give more place to foreign cartoonists. "Another reason is that cartooning art turned into a highly abstract graphic art form which made use of it complex symbols and drawing styles make it difficult to understand it. This also makes it more serious and pessimist." (Akman 1998: 115)

Turkish cartoonists published their works mostly in leftist periodicals. That stagnation also diversified the interests of the cartoonists. During the 1960s cartoonists leaned against theater, pantomime, comic stories, animated films, cinema and even three dimensional 'sculpted-cartoons'. An interest in international competitions and events which provide financial benefits and prestige was also deepened as a consequence of the stagnation in the publishing scene.

The observation power was very important for the cartoons that were produced before 1960s. We cannot say that observation does not matter anymore. Of course, it is still important in all forms of art. Without seeing what you look at you cannot transfer it into an art form. With the 1960s, 'consciousness cartoon' in terms of Çeviker appeared (1997: 92). Mim Uykusuz's view of classes was the watershed for the 'consciousness cartoon'. "Masses need to be illuminated. The change in the society required this obligatory change in the caricature" (*ibid.*). They took the vanguard role and aim to educate and enlighten people. "Their oppositional stance towards the "established order" coupled with a vanguard consciousness provided a new politicization of cartoons, significantly different from the earlier period." (Akman 1998: 110) The cartoons of this period were regarded as 'thought cartoons' which based on raising consciousness.

Two important changes in this era are as follows:

- *Akbaba* which was the last chain of a tradition that started with *Doyen*, *Hayal* and *Çingiraklı Tatar* has ended its publication in 1977. *Akbaba* was a humor magazine that combined humor literature and caricatures. This kind of tradition made its peak with *Kalem*, *Cem*, *Karagöz*, *Diken* and *Aydede* and it lasted 55 years.
- The birth of *Gırgır* which did not follow this tradition in 1972. *Gırgır* brought new insights during 1970s. It turned its back to the traditional understanding of humor magazine publishing which assembled literature and cartoons. It led to an understanding of ‘sassy humor’ which was first done by Suavi Alp in 1960. (Çeviker 1997: 409) Çeviker notes also that with the coming of *Gırgır* the cartoon period of two signatures began which differentiates the one who draws the cartoon and the one who creates the joke. That is, cartoons started to be done with two cartoonists together. Moreover magazine publishing business also entered into a new phase. Until 1970 the appearance of cartoons in periodicals resembled the pre-1970 period. But after 1970 a new policy for caricatures was executed. Vignette took the main role and a main cartoonist was hired.

Çeviker argues that two different humor understanding was already in place when *Gırgır* which is accepted as the third biggest comic magazine after American *Mad* and Russian *Krokodil* was born. The first one is to draw without using texts as it emerged in the West with the efforts of Saul Steinberg. This generation of artists was named as the ‘1950 Generation’ or ‘Middle Generation’ as we noted earlier. The second camp was formed by those who care about texts very much. The first camp who adopted the ‘line without text’ approach did not gather around a periodical. The second camp, on the other hand, created a lot of periodicals and their new type of target readers. In both camps, any cartoonist produced cartoons for exhibitions and albums because they just saw cartooning as a means to earn money on a daily basis.

Gırgır positioned itself in this second camp. Oğuz Aral divided a place in his magazine *Gırgır* to new cartoonists under the name of ‘Çiçeği Burnunda Karikatürcüler’ and *Gırgır*⁴⁰ turned into a school for them. But those new cartoonists began to just imitate the style of Aral which caused them to lose their originality. Oğuz Aral taught to the cadre that he created in *Gırgır* his adopted cartooning style. His style was based on the understanding of humor in text rather than in line (*ibid.*: 403, 405). He also rejected the national and international competitions. For Çeviker, *Gırgır* made people to go away from poems. The cartoonists of *Gırgır* used slang, rude and immediate sayings very much. There are many words embedded to Turkish public language from *Gırgır*. For him, *Gırgır* embraced an arabesque world whereas the first camp worked hard to caricaturize the realities of the Turkish society (*ibid.*: 407). It brought readers who have different political orientation together.

In this period, cartooning gained popularity which has not realized until now. It turned into a resistance and expression method for the youngs. Avoidance from the use of highly symbolized and abstract-complex cartoons marked this era. Just to read line is difficult as one must seize the unseen by the seen evokes. Therefore, visual language –for instance how emotions are visualized– has also to be learned. This understanding of modern cartoonists caused a decrease in interest of people on cartoons. Oğuz Aral noticed this and tried to publicize cartoons. He helped people to form a relation with cartoons and he increased the number of cartoon readers. Captions were gone, speech balloons seized into cartoons. Drawings became more detailed than the previous period. The sophisticated characters of previous era were replaced by more ordinary characters. Oğuz Aral kept himself outside the tradition of 1950 Generation. He did not care about the official and formal ‘saloon humor’ and ‘artistic concern’ of elitist cartoonists. He was close to popular culture, slang language of everyday people and he paid high attention on the simplicity of his drawings which can be easily captured by ordinary people. Moreover, he distanced himself from west cartooning as he believed that cartoonists can become masters if

⁴⁰ *Gırgır* divided into many other periodicals as an amoeba in terms of Çeviker. *Fırt* (published by Tekin Aral), *Mikrop*, *Limon*, *Hıbr*, *Pişmiş Kelle*, *Nankör*, *Deli*, *LeMan*, *Avni*, *Fır-Fır* were among them.

they can explain Turkish society. *Gırgır* produces characters that it took from the public. They are usually man, poor, abazan, kurnaz but middle intellect and not too handsome. They see richness as an hope for kutrulmak from their yenik, dependent and being controlled situation. By özdeşlemek with a character in a cartoon those people try to live a catharsis and take their revenge from the world they do not reach as in arabesque music.

In 1975, a caricature museum was established. Many exhibitions are held in this museum. Main problem is that there are inadequate exhibitions for the foreign cartoonists. Today, in our cartooning art there is two different tendencies. One tendency is to use the techniques of comic series. The second group is pure single-framed drawings with or without captions. The first group cartoonists are very popular inside the country but they do not show themselves in international arena whereas the second group gains highly popularity internationalist but do not draw in Turkish comic magazines. Moreover, in this period, women cartoonists also increased in number. (Özden Ögrük, Ramize Erer, Gülay Batur, Piyale Madra, Eda Oral, and Meral Onat – They drew under the name of ‘We without Moustaches’.)

3.2.2.3. The Third Period: New Cartooning (1975–)

With the coup of 1980, all democratic mass organizations were closed down and their publications were banned. In this atmosphere Turkish Cartoonists’ Association was closed down as well. New cartoonists lost their jobs. They all started to distance themselves from cartooning art.

Today’s caricaturists publish their works in humor magazines and newspapers. They also open exhibitions. Some of them cannot have opportunity to publish their works because syndicates and job associations were closed after 1980.

On the other hand from the 1980s, taboos were begun to be transcended in Turkey. Feminist activism that started in 1980s created new discourses on sexuality and this became an important topic for the cartoonists during the 1990s. That is why we come across with ‘maganda’ (lout) character in those years. (See Sabine Küper-Büsch & Nigar Rona 2008) During this period, *Gırgır*-like magazines increased.

Among these *Mikrop*, *Limon* (after *LeMan*), *Hıbrır*, *Dıgıl*, *Deli*, *Pişmiş Kelle*, *Avni*, *Fırfır* can be singled out. Magazines of the previous understanding were closed as they could not compete with those magazines.

The 1990s caused ‘individualization’ of people due to new technological advances in communication epoch. Today, we see that youth formed their own sub-groups such as feminists, pacifists, rockers and so on.

- ***LeMan Magazine (25 November 1991)***: *LeMan* was published by Mehmet Çağçağ and Tuncay Akgün. *LeMan* adopted a style of direct criticisms. Only *LeMan* published a special volume on Gaza in 2009 and during the Israeli attacks the magazine gave place to the cartoons on Gaza in page 2 and 3. In *LeMan* we see Metin Fidan with his ‘Pantolon’, Tuncay Akgün and Kemal Aratan ‘Gatana’, Kaan Ertem ‘Erkut Abi’ and ‘Erdener Abi’, Can Barslan ‘Hain Evlat Ökkeş’ and ‘Terelelli’, Gökhan Dabak ‘Ziftli Sütlaç’, Behiç Pek ‘Cürek ile Dumrul’ and ‘Kahraman Masa Esat’, Feyhan Güver ‘Masal Masal Maskaradır’, İpek Özsüslü with her ‘İpeksim’ any many other cartoonists. Page 15 contains cartoon on unprofessional cartoonists who send their cartoons from different cities to the magazine. One of the most important features of *LeMan* is that it has women cartoonists more than *Penguen* and *Uykusuz*. *LeMan* group publishes different magazines targeted at different reader. *LeManyak* targets young people with its less political content and *Atom* which is a place for new cartoonists. *LeMan* shares the market with *Penguen*, *Uykusuz* and *Fermuar*. The first three pages are generally used for political cartoons on actual events. In 15th page of *LeMan* the cartoons of amateur cartoonists from different cities are published under the title of ‘Inbox’.
- ***Penguen Magazine (2002)***: Bahadır Baruter, Metin Üstündağ, Erdil Yaşaroğlu and Selçuk Erdem started to publish *Penguen* after they left *LeMan*. This magazine has a profile contains absurd, fantastic, naïf and black humor examples by putting emphasis on the enjoyable and comic side of opposition rather than harsh and judging side. (Nigar Rona 2008: 213)

Penguen differs from other magazines of its attitude of being closed to ideologies. In *Penguen* we see Cem Dinlenmiş with his ‘Her Şey Olur’, Serkan Yılmaz with ‘Dudullu Postası’, Kenan Yazar ‘Psikoz Hikâyeleri’, Fatih Solmaz and Bahadır Baruter ‘Lombak’, Selçuk Erdem ‘Eskiz Defterim’, ‘Erdil Yaşaroğlu ‘Komikaze’, Semra Can with her ‘Böyleyken Böyle’ and many more. In 15th page of *Penguen* the cartoons of amateur cartoonists from different cities are generally published under the title of ‘Eggs’.

- ***Uykusuz Magazine (27 August 2008)***: *Uykusuz* was the last entered magazine to Turkish cartooning history. This magazine was published by Yiğit Özgür and Memo Tembelçizer. They try to save themselves from the clichés and shared shorthands of their predecessors. *Uykusuz* has a critical voice with its slang usage and sexism. Its radical, annoyable, enjoyable and funny style was grasped soon by Turkish university youth. According to Ali Akay (2008), *Uykusuz* focuses heavily on Tayyip Erdoğan similar to *Gırgır*’s attitude towards Süleyman Demirel and Necmettin Erbakan in 1970s. The magazine is generally based itself on actual politics and anti-democratic discourse in Turkey. The cartoonists of *Uykusuz* see humor as an important vehicle for questioning traditions and rules in a society. For them, humor as two aims: to attack and to defense. We see in *Uykusuz* Fırat Budacı with his ‘Bir Şeyler Duydum’, Umut Sarıkaya ‘İşimdeyim Gücündeyim’, Cihan Kılıç ‘Ama Arkadaşlar İyidir’, Uğur Gürsoy ‘Fırat’, Memo Tembelçizer ‘Memoşko’, Ersin Karabulut ‘Sandık İçi’, Yılmaz Arslantürk ‘Otisabi’ and many others. In 15th page of *Uykusuz* the cartoons of amateur cartoonists from different cities are published under the title of ‘Inbox’.

It is important to note that the art of cartooning as a means of political interpretation has always occupied a crucial place in Turkish art history. That is to say, the humour that a cartoon provides has become an important outlet for political criticism due to literacy level of the public. For instance, there are cartoons as interpretation tools of social, economical or political events in many daily newspapers rather than articles. There is no doubt that cartoons are embedded in

Turkish political and social sphere. Cartoonists comment on myriad aspects of Turkish life, from general elections, economic liberalization, foreign policy decisions, corruption, and red-tapism to the dreary monotony of the common-man's life, which remains placidly unchanged despite the sensational changes occurring all around. Besides providing a sharp commentary on broader policy issues, they cover all matters that touch the common-man's life: the daily routine 'progress' of life in a democratic country. A wrong-doing adds material to the cartoonist's repertoire. Some cartoonists do not use gods, demons or folk tales to illustrate a political event. No supernatural or fantastical elements enter into their cartoons. Everyday life with its familiar and easily recognizable features forms the basis of their cartoons.

To conclude, in Turkey when we make an assessment on arts we have to consider also the political life. In Turkish cartooning, press still continues its decisiveness. Cartooning survives by keeping its link with press. Therefore it follows daily politics. In the words of Çeviker, "Cartooning is the daily history of a society collected in line" (1997: 401). Cartoonists note many things to the book of history. Weekly humor periodicals also give place to daily politics as well as comic-strips and cartoon strip stories. Societal defects and contradictions are handled in periodicals. The rest of the drawings are based on fantasies. According to Şenyapılı (2000), humor magazines of today are societal and progressive. This can be easily understood from the level of criticism in the context of cartoon conveys an important political and societal event of the week in its front page.

West in the Turkish Satire

Palmira Brummett (2000) separates cartoons on the West in the Ottoman Empire into two categories: cartoons focused on Europe in political and economic terms; cartoons focused on European culture and its effects on the Ottoman Empire. The West had already colonized the Empire economically but the press was highly busy with giving an answer to an important question: Is Europe going to colonize the mind and heart of the Empire? Among European images Brummett singles out "greedy consumers, soldiers who covet the honor of Ottoman Empire especially Ottoman women, frivolous exhibitionists of the last fashion, carriers of physical and ethical

illnesses” (2000: 140–1). According to Brummett, Europe which was especially portrayed as a man was comic aggressor in the Ottoman satire world. Generally, Europe was threatening. Europe was both a magician and despot. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was a collaborator at times, an ignorant foolish, or skeptic observer at others. Ottoman satire ordered European countries based on the level of damage that they could give to the empire. For instance, England was characterized as the most dominant of allies and an empire that swallows other states, triggering fear and admiration with its strong navy and conquering ability. France was a less important military threat. In time, it lost its revolutionary image and was portrayed with its wine, fashion, sex and cafe culture and it was blamed as lighthearted and tempting of women and men. Bulgaria was portrayed as a small clown who cannot carry the weight of crown and medals in Ottoman cartoons. And this country also symbolized the end of the power of the Empire and its inability to keep *millets* under its control. It is important to note that cartoons reflected “distrust of the West as a whole” and became a pressing reminder of the fact that an “independent media was an integral part of national independence and freedom” (p. 142).

“In many cartoons, England, France, Russia or Austria were portrayed as fat men who sat on table in order to eat Iran or Turkey”, says Brummett (*ibid.*: 150–1). Yet in many others those countries were shown as soldiers in military uniforms as the symbol of the countries who aim at harassing Ottoman women, therefore Ottoman honor. To put it another way, the empire was shown as a pure, innocent woman whereas rapist Europeans were portrayed as greedy men who want to own this woman. Many cartoons of this era struggled with contrasts of “East and West, honor and shame and glory and weakness, to produce a set of visions of the revolutionary situation” (Göçek 1998: 17). To put it in other words, Ottoman satire was both a way of resistance to Europe’s political and cultural domination and also a way to stay in agreement with it. The West was the source of the nightmares of the Empire. Balkan nationalisms that threatened the existence of the Empire affected the Empire very deeply. According to Efthymia Canner (2000), all the Balkan nationalisms were labeled as the spoiled children of Europe and an accomplice of Europe which started a conspiracy against the Empire.

CHAPTER 4

PORTRAYAL of ‘OTHERS’ in TURKISH POLITICAL CARTOONS

4.1. The Sample Data

This study aims to reveal how ‘others’ who are not accepted within our in-group are represented in Turkish political cartoons. I am going to analyze the recurring labels and images used for each country. For this aim, I chose to use content analysis in order to quantify the content and then analyze those results in qualitative terms. This method is best suited for analyzing exaggerated ethnic or gender stereotypes to answer questions about how those stereotypes are learned in the public mind; or analyzing the violent content of television shows; or movement of political issues on and off the media’s content agenda during political campaigns. The method is also suitable in analyzing cartoons that are means of visual communication⁴¹.

As I am interested in visual coverage of individual foreign countries such as USA or Egypt in political cartoons, my unit of analysis will be political cartoons in all pages of satirical magazines. I determined the frequency of occurrence of the countries in each political cartoon. An operational definition of political cartoon can be given as visual/verbal, non-narrative commentary, typically in single-panel form, appearing originally on the first three or four pages of satirical magazines. For each cartoon, I recorded the date it appeared, the paper it appeared in, the page number, and the artist’s name (if possible).

Therefore, I collected political cartoons that were published between January 2008 and December 2009 in three popular satirical magazines in Turkey: *Leman*, *Penguen*, *Uykusuz*. This time period was selected randomly. I choose to work with

⁴¹ Visual communication includes still visuals, such as photographs, and motion visuals, such as film and video. Still visuals are often easier to content analyze than motion because stills freeze the relationship among visual elements.

comic magazines published in 2008 and 2009 in order to compare those two years' cartoons. Cartoon images were collected directly from the satirical magazines, not via Internet. From the collected data I chose a sample data for analyzing cartoons based on random sampling. There are three important things that must be kept in mind. The editorial stance, the target audience, and the circulation rate can affect a content analysis. All of these can influence the way the cartoonists portray some countries. Their target audience is generally young people, especially university students. And all of them are published nation-wide.

4.2. Reading Turkish Political Cartoons

Reading cartoons is a perceptual activity and means decoding symbols. Cartoons, using the line, make the symbols readable. Cartoonists borrow aspects of popular culture, politicize them and redistribute them to the people. They reveal some form of undercurrents of the period. They reflect underlying tensions, instability and uncertainty. This paper aims to reveal how 'others' are portrayed by Turkish cartoonists. Keeping this aim in mind, I collected 2317 cartoons in total. 31% (819 cartoons) of those were published in *Leman*, 47% (1036 cartoons) in *Penguen*, and the rest in *Uykusuz*. All of these cartoons have been drawn between January 2008 and December 2009. Cartoons usually incorporate a verbal element, either within the frame of the cartoon as caption or outside it, as a title. Unless otherwise noted, all translations of the verbal part of the cartoons are my own.

The initial search of 306 number of periodicals (n = 104 *Leman*, n = 98 *Penguen*, n = 104 *Uykusuz*) with each having 16 pages yielded 2317 cartoons. All three periodicals used cartoons far more often on their first four pages. 22% of cartoons were published on third page, 17% on second page during the study period. Six volumes of *Penguen* were missing: 19 March 2009, 26 March 2009, 9 April 2009, 23 July 2009, 26 November 2009 and 31 December 2009.

There were 426 cartoons (18%) about the USA. England followed it with a percentage of 7 (173 cartoons); Greece with a percentage of 6 (131 cartoons) and Israel with a percentage of 4 (103 cartoons). We can single out Peru, Jordan, Poland,

Finland and Lithuania as the less portrayed countries. Cartoons were drawn mostly by Behiç Pek (108 cartoons with a percentage of 13) in *Leman*; by Cem Dinlenmiş (175 cartoons with a percentage of 17) in *Penguen*. *Uykusuz*'s cartoons were mostly unsigned in which cartoonists did not write their names under the cartoons or they did not sign those (112 cartoons with a percentage of 24). Mostly cartoons were published in the 3rd page in all three magazines with the percentages of 26 in *Leman*, 17 in *Penguen* and 26 in *Uykusuz*. In *Uykusuz* there were no cartoons in pages 13 and 16.

I used quantitative content analysis method in order to analyze cartoons on foreign nations. I investigated the rhetorical vision articulated in these rhetorical artifacts. I examined the most specific 58 cartoons to see how they depicted foreign countries and political leaders. Those are the most suitable ones for the intended aim of the thesis and that amount of cartoons are enough to make the aimed analysis. I tried to analyze how images used by cartoonists produce stereotypic beliefs. By analyzing the representation of 'others' we can also understand how Turkish identity is constructed and reconstructed in cartoons. Viewers are invited to look at the attributes of the characters, their artistry, their setting, their costumes, and their moods to analyze the relationship Turkish characters have to 'others' as a way of establishing their identity. Cartoons that I analyzed in general remind us the commonly shared views on those countries and political figures in an amusing and pointed way.

4.3. Portrayal of 'Others'

The below-analyzed countries were chosen as their percentage of appearance in all three magazines. Those four countries were the most being represented on these three magazines. And for each country the most recurring themes were determined and countries analyzed in this way. First, I determined the most recurring themes for each country and then I formed categories based on those themes. Then I assigned the political cartoons into each category and analyzed them. Each of these encompasses issues or themes that I found that the cartoonists frequently returned to

in their work. I will be discussing these themes and issues as well as analyzing some cartoons of each category.

4.3.1. The USA

There are 144 cartoons on the USA in *Leman*, 167 in *Penguen* and 115 in *Uykusuz*. When we look at years, 254 cartoons were published in 2008 and 172 in 2009. From 426 cartoons 7 cartoons were drawn white-and-black. All the others were colored. Those cartoons are mostly placed on page 3 in *Leman* with a percentage of 34 and *Uykusuz* with a percentage of 37, on page 2 in *Penguen* (22%). In *Leman*, America-related cartoons were mostly drawn by Behiç Pek (14%). In *Penguen* cartoons are double-signed which means they are drawn by two cartoonists together (21%). In *Uykusuz* they are unsigned which means cartoonists do not write their names under the cartoon (32%) as the cartoons contain very provocative and biting political satire. There are 4 cartoons on page 1 in *Leman* and *Uykusuz*; 2 in *Penguen*. Cartoons on the USA were mostly published on September in *Leman* (15%); on January in *Penguen* (15%) and on July in *Uykusuz* (18%). The appearances of George Bush and Barrack Obama were quite equal, with Bush in 140 cartoon images and Obama in 145. They are mostly drawn paired in an image with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, or alone and to a lesser extent with other political figures. The other American political figures are as follows: Dick Cheney appeared in 20 cartoons; Condoleezza Rice in 14; Bill Clinton in 9; Martin Luther King in 8; John McCain in 5; and Robert Gates in 3 cartoons. America in Turkish cartoons was portrayed negatively as killer, problem-creator, blood-drinker, war-seeker... The well-known figures of America are Uncle Sam, *Coni* (Johnny) and Yankee⁴². They are highly used by Turkish cartoonists. Moreover, they created a new symbol Aunt Samantha who is very old and ugly. We see White House, Statute of Liberty (which conveys a significant message about America as the guardian of liberty) and American Flag in the background as reminders of America. Those

⁴² Here one important thing to note is ‘personification’, which is the case in almost every cartoon. Personification enables the cartoonist to represent complex issues and relationships in a much simpler and easily understandable form. Thus to personify is to reduce national communities to one stereotypical image. For instance, in order to represent the prototypical German we use ‘Deutsche Michel’.

reminders are highly important as an attack on one of them is regarded as an attack to the idea of America. According to Edensor:

Typically these spatial symbols connote historical events, are either evidence of past cultures, providing evidence of a 'glorious' past of 'golden age' and antecedence (Stonehenge, the Great Pyramids, the Taj Mahal), or they are monuments erected – often within larger memoryscapes – to commemorate significant episodes in an often retrospectively reconstructed national history (Statute of Liberty, Arc de Triomphe, Nelson's Column). They also frequently celebrate the modernity of the nation, are symbols of its progress (Empire State Building, Petronas Towers, Sydney Opera House). (2002: 45)

Not all the cartoons are harsh. There are also cartoons that are subtle and controlled. I analyzed cartoons by categorizing them in terms of the most commonly depicted topics.

4.3.1.1. American Wars and Interventions

The unchanged topic of most cartoons regarding the USA is the war on Iraq. I think the cartoon below (Figure 4.1) that documents American war on Iraq is highly ironical, therefore effective. The cartoon levels a highly clever criticism to the USA. USA is criticized for its idea of bringing democracy to Iraq and to increase the level of welfare and happiness of Iraqi people. The heading says: An American company plans to establish Disneyland in Baghdad. We see Disney characters as shooting the Iraqi children with great joy. And we see the fear in children's eyes whereas there is a great joy in faces of Disney characters. Inside balloons it is written "Welcome to Disneyland, Amusement is just starting". The cartoon's latent message is that the reason behind establishing Disneyland in Iraq is not to amuse Iraqi children. It is just another way of killing them which is assimilating them culturally. I believe that killing is used symbolically by the cartoonists. It directs our attention to the exploitation of the future of Iraqi children culturally by diffusing American culture. American culture becomes a dominant culture due to its diffusion of some of its popular brands to the other countries. In this way, America confronts with no problem of controlling the minds of those people who get used to the American popular culture icons. Nations which have high technological infrastructure can transmit their own images to the whole world as they wish. In every perspective, it is

a win-win game for the USA as it tries to portray itself as a friendly and children-caring nation in the eye of the world. That is what America is: hypocritical and



imperialist as always. It hides its dangerous ambitious on Iraq of being able to control Iraqi oil resources with making such attempts of establishing Disneyland for Iraqi children who have no chance of living peacefully and happily in their own country. Before Disneyland, children of Iraq need a piece of land in peace in order to be able to continue breathing. America always forgets this idiom: One must not better oneself worsening another.

Figure 4.1 *Uykusuz*, 30 April 2008, p. 3

Another cartoon (Figure 4.2) in the same manner shows America again in Iraq. We see two soldiers: one of them is black and the other one is white. And the soldiers were portrayed in an exaggerated way. The lips of black soldier and the nose of the white soldier are too big. The background of the cartoon which is Iraq was represented as ruinous due to the Iraqi war. The caption reads: The 6. Anniversary of the American Occupation of Iraq. White soldier is saying that “Democracy powers are established, now we can withdraw.” The democracy powers that he mentions are various oil brands such as Shell, Bp, ExxonMobil and Chevron. There is a direct reference to the brands. The main message is that America is making war all over the world in order to reach the oil resources. The real intention of America is not bringing democracy to the Middle East as it is always stated. On the other hand, it aims to have the control of those countries with oil resources and to exploit them economically. And the oil brands clearly put the real intention of the USA in front of us. I think it is important to note here that probably a Turkish reader who does not know about these brands would not have understood the message conveyed by this cartoon. As it is stated before many times cartoons transmit messages in a visual

form based heavily on symbols, metaphors and analogies which can create difficulty in interpretation. They provide important symbolic messages. That is, visual metaphors are implicit rather than explicit and that they are often open to a wide range of possible interpretations, which depend on the attitudes and the level of knowledge of the reader.



Figure 4.2 Uykusuz, 18 March 2009, p. 3

The cartoon (Figure 4.3) showing Bush with long ears –in the shape of an ear of a donkey–shares the same message with the above-mentioned cartoon. The caption says that experts have explained that 13% of unexplored oil resources and 30% of natural gas resources of the world are in the North Pole. We see Bush speaking in a meeting: We are going to bring democracy to the North Pole from tomorrow. The message is same: America wishes to control all the natural resources of the world and in order to achieve this it does not care about giving countries damage and killing people. This is just what America is. Americans see a right in themselves to control the world’s resources. Even they have created a myth of the Muslim threat in order to justify their strategic operations in order to control these resources. The main character of the cartoon is George Bush, the president of the time. His head is too big compared to his general posture. The size of the head, the wrinkles in his face and the movements of the mouth and eyebrows are exaggerated. This is done intentionally in order to take our attention to the face of Bush which is so disproportionately drawn. This cartoon depicts Bush as greedy and self-serving at the expense of the material welfare of people of the world. The main American symbol

in this cartoon is the American flag which makes the scene American. That is, a person who does not know Turkish but knows American flag can understand that the cartoon is about America.



Figure 4.3 *Penguen*, 31 July 2008, p. 2

4.3.1.2. America and the World

America is portrayed as an abuser of the world in the cartoon below (Figure 4.4). World resources are in the hands of America and it uses them without thinking the rest of the mankind. The caption reads “Obama’s economic package is said to be inadequate too”. Typical American symbols are the red and white striped hat of the male character and sheriff star on his arm. His hat is covered with American flag which symbolizes Americanness of the figure. He is portrayed as delighted and satisfied. Generally the body posture of the male character is well-drawn. Only we see an exaggeration of his red nose which is too big. Mostly, our globe is personified not as Mother Earth but as a man. But in this cartoon Earth is depicted as a woman who is harassed sexually by America. Earth has a tendency to show up when things look bad. Usually he is depressed or in agony over all the trouble he has to put up with. There are cartoons of earth in red referring to the bloods of victims all over the world. Even another cartoon in *Leman* (9 April 2008, p. 3) shows the Earth in blood and Bush as a mosquito worries that this completely

red Earth is not still seen from space unlike The Great Wall of China. Using the symbol of Earth is perhaps a way of showing solidarity with the victims of war, or just an expression for the hopelessness felt worldwide about the never ending wars and conflicts. Uncle Sam says that “I left a bund of money there, honey. You do what is necessary”. The Earth seems highly tired, sad and desperate due to rude and aggressive attitude of America. But America does not care about her situation after the sex. The body of Earth is raped and pillaged. He is strong and always takes what he wants to take with his money.



Figure 4.4 *Leman*, 25 February 2009, p. 3

The cartoon in Figure 4.5 is another example that criticizes the damages that America gives to the Earth. Bush, portrayed highly negative, defecates on the Earth with a great joy. Flies around his defecation reinforce the loathsomeness of the scene and increase the effectiveness of the cartoon. I think that this is a kind of situation that nobody wants to be caricaturized. But it is a good way of showing the dimensions of American exploitation. We encounter with such grotesque imagery of the body and defecation in England and France in early periods of modern cartooning. “Satirists often symbolically disempowered politicians by depicting them engaged in action below the belt, and heads of state often became the literal butt of the joke” argues Elizabeth Childs (1992: 31). We see also a servant who is highly happy. He is waiting Bush to finish with a toilet paper in his hand. Bush seems as he also enjoys the situation. Immoral and improper conduct of Bush is emphasized in this cartoon. The important American symbol here is cowboy boots which refers to Bush’s Texas decent. Again his ears are too big and face is too disproportionate. The rhetorical vision examined here was almost unreservedly critical. The cartoon asserts that “Bush (therefore, the USA) defecated on the world” That is, he embroiled and

gave damage to the entire world. This cartoon is biting, powerful, and imaginative. But it is important to quote Bergson here “laughter cannot be absolutely just. Nor should it be kind-hearted either. Its function is to intimidate by humiliating.” (2008: 97) This cartoon shows us how cartoonists look similar to the loaded guns. The cartoon must be highly annoying for Bush and the after-taste of this cartoon is probably bitter.



Figure 4.5 *Leman*, 28 January 2009, p. 4

4.3.1.3. Economic Crisis in America

USA is criticized because of the US economic downturn affected every country in the world. USA is thought as being more aggressive as the economic downturn continues. The main framework is that it tries to revitalize its economy by occupying oil areas and it creates sources for armory industry by waging wars.

The cartoon drawn by Mehmet Çağçağ shows an old woman who began to work as a prostitute because of the economic crisis in America. This is the woman version of Uncle Sam which is generally used for symbolizing America. Aunt Samantha is saying “I want you honey” similarly to Uncle Sam. Her hat, her underwear and her boots are covered with US flag. The cartoon criticizes America of the economic crisis that it caused all over the world and made people hopeless. (Figure 4.6)



Figure 4.6 *Leman*, 26 November 2008, p. 2

4.3.1.4. American Political Figures

Almost all the American political figures are drawn as ugly, bad and evil. They are portrayed well-dressed and modern but their unseen cruel intentions are illuminated out with some small details. Cartoonists exaggerate even the size of their ears, the bags under their eyes, or the way they wear their underpants of every new prime minister or leader of the Opposition. For instance, Dick Cheney who is seen as the architect of Iraqi war is depicted as a shark and it is said that the smell of blood is pulling him always to Middle East (*Uykusuz*, 12 March 2008, p. 3). Cheney is also portrayed as a calamity, dragon which is a winged, scaly, fire-breathing creature —used to symbolize of evil and destruction— and as a monster in many cartoons. The cartoon below (Figure 4.7) depicts Dick Cheney as a well-known Turkish film character *Recep İvedik*. The caption reads: Recep İveDICK Cheney: War Bumpkin. *Recep İvedik* character is highly repulsive, ugly, dirty, rude and ignorant. Cartoonist makes a clever pun with using the last name of the Turkish character as the first name of Dick Cheney. In this way, all the negative characters of *Recep İvedik* were transferred to Dick Cheney. That is, if readers are familiar with *Recep İvedik* and can identify that in this political cartoon image of Cheney, they can easily ascribe qualities of this character to Cheney. The political cartoonist needs not

to explain qualities or characteristics of an individual but can instead represent them through these types of ‘allusion’ which can be elite allusions from history, folklore, or literature or may be from the popular arts and mass media. (DeSousa and Medhurst 1982) In this cartoon the allusion is a Turkish film character. We see him while he is scratching off his penis as it is done heavily by the *Recep İvedik* character in his films. Dick Cheney is labeled as ‘War Bumpkin’ because he is seen responsible for American wars in the Middle East.

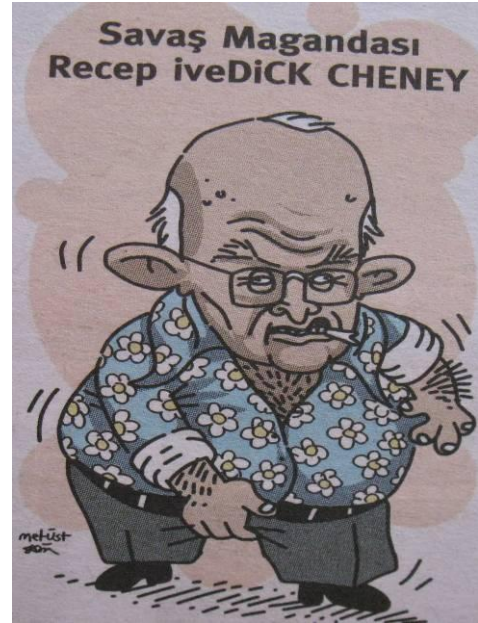


Figure 4.7 *Penguen*, 27 March 2008, p. 3



Figure 4.8 *Leman*, 7 May 2008, p. 2

The only cartoon regarding the private life of American political figures is related with Dick Cheney. (Figure 4.8) “After the suicide of ‘Washington Madam’ Deborah Jeane Palfrey, it was asserted that “Dick Cheney was also the customer of

the Madam””, reads the caption. We see Cheney and a reporter together in the cartoon.

Cheney: All those are speculations and aspersion.

Reporter: How can we believe in you?

Cheney: Is there any time left from dicking (fucking) the mother of Earth!.

Both of these two cartoons related to Cheney based their humor on Cheney’s first name. His name evokes a highly-used abusive word in Turkish and it is belittling beyond criticizing him. The pronunciation of Dick evokes a Turkish word *sik* which means penis. So his name provides a valuable source of humor to Turkish cartoonists. In this cartoon he is saying that he has no time because he is too busy with fucking the entire world. I think it is a clever insult for showing Cheney as the creator of all conflicts in the Middle East.

Bush is generally portrayed as blood-drinker, devil, demons ugly, rabid dog that bites Iraq, Iran and many other countries (*Leman*, 4 June 2008, p. 3), Hitler-*Führer* (*Leman*, 23 April 2008, p. 3), a mosquito, demon Bush, an ugly woman (*Leman*, 16 April 2008, p. 3), monster (*Leman*, 19 March 2008, p. 3; *Leman*, 30 January 2008, p. 2), The US Butcher Bush with referring to Serbian equivalent Milosevic (*Leman*, 30 July 2008, p. 3), a murderer, a bastard (*Uykusuz*, 27 August 2009, p. 3) and a fag as his name evokes *puşt* which means fag in Turkish. The pronunciation of the Turkish word is highly similar to the pronunciation of Bush. Moreover, he is depicted as a person who makes brothers enemies to each other and makes them to kill each other (*Leman*, 2 April 2008, p. 2). Even in a cartoon “We have to take out Bush from inside of Devil” says a priest in order to show how devilish Bush is, more than the Devil itself. He is drawn always lecherous, grasping, and evil.

In the cartoon below, the portrayal is highly negative again. To tell the truth I never came across a positive cartoon regarding Bush. This cartoon is based on Bush’s wish of declaration of a ‘World Praying Day’ in which all the people in the world can pray at the same time. He is shown in hell with a devil and he asks that “What is happening?”. The devil replies “All the prays are accepted” which indicates that all the people in the world wants Bush to go to hell because of paying all the evil

things that he did. The cartoon presents the common view regarding Bush. By this way, it strengthens our belief and perception of evil Bush. That is, it contributes to our view of Bush on hand. We see the worry and fear of Bush in his face. He is again drawn as ugly with his big ears. Almost in every cartoon his ears are too big. His clothes look torn and old. (Figure 4.9)



Figure 4.9 *Uykusuz*, 7 May 2008, p. 3



Figure 4.10 *Leman*, 7 May 2008, p. 2

The cartoon is *Leman*'s version of Bush's wish of 'World Praying Day'. Bush is defined as 'Dabil Denyo' (Double Idiot) and he is portrayed with a gun and an Iraqi who is bend down in front of him and is crying. Bush is saying to him that "Make your last pray" and with a low volume "I wish I could do this to all world". That is, Bush wants to kill everyone as he is just a killer. He is depicted as *hostis humani generis* –an enemy of all mankind. In the background we see Iraq as burned out because of American war. It turned into a place where to live becomes impossible. Indeed, there will be no Iraqi people left to live. Bush continues kiling them with fervent passion.

The next cartoon depicts Bush as a blood-drinker. The figure is drawn too disproportional as it is too difficult to understand that this is even a human-being. His teeth look like a vampire. His ears and nose are also too big. His black cloth and the time frame of the cartoon strengthen our understanding of Bush as a vampire. He is strolling with a serum full of "Iraqi blood" at night in Iraqi streets which we

understand from the minarets of the mosques behind. The caption of the cartoon says that “In Israel Bush gives guarantee of ‘Operation on Iran’ before his presidential term finished”. In the balloon it is written that “Original Iraqi blood drink is highly diminished”. The lettering style determines the affect of cartoons on the viewer. In this cartoon, the lettering style implicates violence, terror and it brings the text into direct involvement. It provides the mood and emotional quality. (Figure 4.11)



Figure 4.11 *Leman*, 28 May 2008, p. 3

The portrayal of George Bush in Figure 4.12 is stereotypical. He is drawn very ugly with his big ears, and very old skin which is wrinkled. The cartoon directs our attention to Bush’s condemnation of the violence in Georgia. He is urging that “Global violence is our job”. The cartoon interprets his saying in a way that the things that Bush did and said are not same. He is inconsistent. He is saying that one cannot accept the violence in Georgia but he did more violence in the Middle East. His hypocrisy is criticized by the cartoon. Cartoonist instills into the minds of people unbelief and hatred of America by emphasizing its hypocritical aspect. In the body of Bush also America is depicted as a country of the producer of ‘Global Violence’. The cartoon publicizes the evil US. The tie of Bush is American flag which symbolizes America. If the cartoonist does not use this flag in representing Bush and if we do not know to read, it is probable that we cannot understand the message. But American flag directs our attention to America and helps us to interpret the cartoon easily and correctly. Those visual symbols help us to capture the message easily and rightly.



Figure 4.12 Penguen, 14 August 2008, p. 3

The cartoon below shows us Bush as a devil. The cartoon's aim is twofold. In one way it devilizes Bush. In another it criticizes Vatican's attitude towards Bush. It is said in the cartoon that Vatican is preparing an army of priests in order to decrease the ill-doings in the world. The army is shown in Iraq and a war-torn Iraqi says that "Brother, if we combine our forces we may push the devil out". And the priest says that "How are you mentioning about Mr. President". The Bush administration's ambitious plan for the future of the region and the help of other countries to America caused an avalanche of sarcastic comments like in this cartoon.



Figure 4.13 Uykusuz, 26 March 2008, p. 3

The shoes are used highly when portraying Bush as a reminder of Bush's farewell visit to Iraq. That's because when Bush was organizing a press conference in order to say goodbye to Iraq, an Iraqi journalist called *Muntazar El Zeydi* heaved a couple of shoes at Bush. Even in a cartoon (*Leman*, 17 December 2008, p. 3) a new Iraqi flag was depicted with a shoe on it as the start of Iraqi independence struggle against America. In the cartoon we see a person's leg who is preparing himself to take out his shoes in order to throw it to Obama as it is believed that he started to resemble to Bush.



The cartoon shows Uncle Sam with a great horror in his face and Bush with a great joy of having completed his mission well. He is saying to Uncle Sam that "I completed my mission as it has to be, Uncle Sam". Uncle Sam says to him "Watch Out! Shoe is coming!" In the farewell visit of Bush to Iraq, an Iraqi journalist threw his shoe by shouting "Here's your farewell kiss, you dog".

Figure 4.14 *Uykusuz*, 17 December 2008, p. 3

Another American political figure who is portrayed heavily by Turkish cartoonists is Condoleezza Rice. She is mostly depicted as a snake (*Leman*, 29 April 2009, p. 3), a worm, a toad, and a rat. Condoleezza Rice is generally the ugliest rendered politician of all in Turkish political cartoons. Her lips are shown always too big and distorted. I guess this has to do with her being a (black) woman with a lot of power, which is probably seen as something intimidating in patriarchal Turkish society. She is criticized because of her biased attitude towards Israel in many cartoons. While the U.S. paid lip service to talks about sustainable peace in the Middle East, they were at the same time secretly delivering more weapons to Israel.

In the cartoon we see Condoleezza Rice with her big mouth and teeth. The drawing of her face is highly exaggerated. She is criticized of saying that “In Gaza it



Figure 4.15 Uykusuz, 14 January 2009, p. 2

is impossible for Israel not to kill civilians as the population density is too heavy in Gaza”. She says such ridiculous things in order to show the Israel’s killing of civilians in Gaza as normal. In the speech balloons Rice points out that “In Israel even a needle does not touch ground when you throw.” This is a well-known Turkish saying in order to imply that a place is too crowded. And a Palestinian with a bomb in his hand says “Look at the needle, motherfucker”

The following cartoon depicts Condoleezza Rice, Dick Cheney and George Bush as blood-drinkers. The caption reads “Blood-drinkers do not stop to drink. USA searched itself. It found out the level of its bloodshed. If USA attacks on the nuclear facilities in Iran, 3 million people will die”. Bush says that “We drink than we become pretty.” Cheney asks “Who says that we are not?” Bush answers “the one who is in the cup.” Condi is just laughing. Their eyes and mouth are red. Bush’s answer helps us to link this red drink to human blood and probably the blood of Iraqi people. We understand from their speech that they regard themselves good. Even in this kind of a situation they are making jokes and laughing together.



Figure 4.16 Leman, 2 April 2008, p. 3

Barrack Obama is portrayed as ugly Black with his big lips and big white teeth similar to Rice (*Penguen*, 6 November 2008, p. 3). Sometimes we see that his Muslim origin is brought forth by the cartoonists. The hope of Turkish society when Obama was elected is always presented in cartoons. We came across with Obama's famous slogan 'Yes we can' in almost every cartoon. Obama's war budget 96, 7 billion dollar that is planned to be used in Iraq and Afghanistan is also criticized. Bush is telling Obama that "Do not deceive people. I killed one million people with a budget less than this". (*Uykusuz*, 13 May 2009, p. 3) This reproduces our view of American presidents as war-seeker and evil. Some labels used for Obama are as follows: president with chocolate color, darky, colored, bronze democrat, dark boy, dark knight, global Negro... 'New America new world order' and ' you are our hope, you are going to plant democracy seeds to the world from now on' (*Leman*, 13 November 2008, p. 7).

The cartoon below portrays Barack Obama in a river which is red in Iraq. The color of the river reminds us the dead people in Iraq because of American violence. Obama's ears, mouth and teeth are drawn too big and therefore he is too ugly. The



cartoon criticizes him because of saying that "I am highly unhappy with violence in Iran." Again the cartoon presents America under the frame of hypocrisy. He is saying that but what about the violence in Iraq? Who is responsible for that? If you feel unhappy for Iran why do not for Iraq then? Generally, where the US is, there is the doomsday. This is a deeply entrenched stereotype and it is reinforced with this cartoon.

Figure 4.17 *Uykusuz*, 25 June 2009, p. 2

Moreover there are cartoons on Barack Obama's Nobel Prize in which Bush became very angry and found the world as unfair. A cartoon in *Uykusuz* shows Obama as asking for a bigger prize because a new bomb has been just exploded in Pakistan and 50 people were killed. (*Uykusuz*, 15 October 2009, p. 3) This is an effective criticism of Nobel Prize winning of Obama for peace as they are still keeping killing innocent people.

4.3.1.5. American and Turkish Relations

In one cartoon (*Leman*, 8 April 2009, Page 3), Hilary Clinton, Bill Clinton and their daughter Chelsea are portrayed in a meeting area when they came to Turkey. There are many Turkish people who came to watch them. Bill Clinton says "They suppose us as their god." And Hilary Clinton replies "Indeed we are". This is how Turkish cartoonists see the US-Turkish relations. Turkey always gets instructions from America. Therefore, Turkey is not a free country. To ridicule an individual Turkish political leader is very frequent in Turkish political cartoons. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan willingly unrolls Turkish lands, in the form of a red carpet, a sign of welcoming for the Israelis. They portray Erdoğan as a Superman, Hulk, King Kong which are the Hollywood characters. This kind of representation is ironic as he is depicted as 'Americanized'.

We see Bush and Erdoğan together in many cartoons. In one of these cartoons (*Penguen*, 13 November 2008, p. 2) Bush is depicted as a cowboy and he puts a lasso around the neck of Erdoğan. The cartoon refers to the American domination over Turkey. Moreover, Erdoğan seems not uncomfortable with being in this situation. The cartoon mainly is drawn with the purpose of criticizing Turkish government of sending its troops to Northern Iraq in line with American strategic plans. A Turkish song called *Bağdat Yolu* (Baghdad Way) is written in order to strengthen the message. Lyrics of the song are as follows:

"You make a look and burn my heart
Hang the lasso of love to my neck
I am willing to be a rose in your garden;
a slave in your door my darling
I can die for you
I can pay for your sins

Let's go to the Baghdad way together
You are a falcon and I am a miserable sparrow
You claw to my heart"

Turkey's dependence on America is always criticized in the cartoons. Turkey is shown in the image of docile tool of US power. The cartoon below is very typical in this regard. The caption says "It is said that America can choose Turkey to establish Missile Shields Project that it discarded to establish in Poland. We see Uncle Sam as he is talking on the phone. He seems angry. He is saying that "We are thinking to establish elsewhere." The person on the phone says "We can help you!" "I hope your opinion won't change when you see the shield" There is a clever pun here with the meaning of the word 'shield' (*kalkan*). In Turkish the word *kalkan* both refers to the shield and the erection of penis. When we look to the cartoon once more we see that the penis of Uncle Sam is erected. This cartoon says that America is going to exploit Turkey as it always did. The tail of the Uncle Sam is used to show him as an animal although he seems as a human. Cartoonist refers here to the latent intentions of America.



Figure 4.18 *Leman*, 2 September 2009, p. 3

Bush is drawn as a devil again in the next cartoon. His teeth are like a shark's teeth. His fingernails are sharp like devil. His smile is too devilish. The cartoon is about his invitation to all Americans to use American goods with organizing local goods week. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan calls Bush with great anxiety "Then what am I going to be, Mr. President". This is a simple reduction of Erdoğan to a good which can be used. Bush says back to him "Do not fear, my boy. You are accepted as local. Be calm!" Cartoonist targets the draining of national resources by an exploitative government. They say we are making political progress, but we say we are still

prisoners in our own larger Turkish homeland. The things we consume belong to the 'others' as we distance ourselves from our own culture.



Figure 4.19 Uykusuz, 28 May 2008, p. 3

In the cartoon we see again Bush and Erdoğan together looking to a coffee fortune-telling. Bush again with his disproportionately big donkey-like ears tells Erdoğan that “I am seeing a group of people carrying guns. There are 300 or 400 people”. And Erdoğan says “Is this what you call information?” “Just listen, I see a way to go for you” “A way?” This cartoon is about the support of USA for shared information regarding Iraq. It raises criticism against American cooperation with Turkey in order to finish PKK terrorism in Turkey and in Iraq. America promised to share information regarding northern Iraq with Turkey. But as always it is a big lie: Bush is sharing information with Erdoğan through fortune-telling which means all of the information shared by America is meaningless and irrelevant.



Figure 4.20 Uykusuz, 8 October 2008, p. 2

This cartoon aims to critique the obedience of Turkish prime minister to the various foreign political figures. The cartoon is about Obama's call of Erdoğan to Washington. Cartoonist drew Tayyip Erdoğan as a caretaker with typical Turkish clothing of a local man. Cartoonists use dress markers to define the job of the figure in the cartoon. The use of clothing makes the cartoon all the more striking in some



cartoons. There are six buttons on the wall and a diaphone. The buttons turn red when a political leader calls for Erdoğan. There are six buttons and names of various political figures are written on those six buttons; respectively Obama, Berlusconi, Merkel, Sarkozy, Putin and Brown. Erdoğan's wife is telling that "The first number is calling you". Erdoğan seems highly tired and reluctant. His mouth and nose are framed too big.

Figure 4.21 *Uykusuz*, 22 October 2009, p. 3

4.3.1.6. American–Israeli Alignment

Another common theme of criticism is American–Israeli alignment. In Turkish political cartoons Israel is generally shown as the accomplice of America and as both are keeping their murders in the Middle East. The strong Israeli lobby in America which is able to influence American politics and Israeli-owned American media enterprises which is believed to present information filtered through an exceedingly pro-Israeli media lens to American public is heavily criticized in Turkish cartoons.

Cartoonists take our attention to the murder of civilians in which among them there are many children in this cartoon (Figure 4.22). And during this murder, the world stays voiceless. Perceived as threatening and rapacious, Israel generally is represented as virile, menacing, militaristic man. The powerless country are on the

other hand portrayed as female: a mother, a wife, or daughter or as a child generating patriotic sentiments through her need for protection and her guardianship of national honor. In this cartoon this tendency continues. We see the soldier who is disproportionately big than the child in order to emphasize the innocence and weakness of children. There is frequent presence of children in cartoons regarding Israel and Gaza. We see the bodies of children, being dragged out from underneath the rubble of collapsed buildings in many cartoons. Cartoonists use Gargantua's body as a metaphor for the soldier whose power has become disproportionate and inflated. And this also shows us the inability of the solution in Gaza as one side is too big and equipped with guns whereas the other side is only a child who is weak and unequipped. Moreover the soldier's face looks like an ugly monster. Another important figure of the cartoon is Bush with his exaggerated ears that are similar to donkeys as the small ears, mouth, hands and feet are seen as a sign of beauty and superiority. With exaggerating and deforming the events and people, cartoonists try to make them frozen in readers' memories. Bush is saying that "Do not get involved, this is their problem" which supports his own aims in Gaza. This cartoon reveals that there is an imbalance in terms of power between Israeli and Gaza people.



Figure 4.22 *Uykusuz*, 5 March 2008, p. 3

Another cartoon (Figure 4.23) depicts Bush as he is kissing Israeli Prime Minister and Condeleezza Rice as she is warning Bush of his behavior. The theme of this cartoon is so clear even without reading the caption. America and Israel are too close to each other as they love each other because of their common strategical needs. Now, let's look at the caption: US President Bush got a warning from Minister of Foreign Affairs, Condeleezza Rice, when he exaggerated to exalt Israeli

Prime Minister in the Middle East trip. Israeli Prime Minister and Bush are portrayed in a conference together. They are kissing each other lustfully. People who are listening to the conference are looking with surprised eyes. And Condoleezza Rice is saying “Easy!” to Bush. But it seems that both Israeli Prime Minister and Bush do not care about the others around them. This cartoon aims to reveal the special bond



among two countries and what sustains this strategic partnership is shared intentions and interests in the Middle East. As usual, Bush's ears are similar to donkey's ears. Donkey is generally used to denote limited intelligence, extreme rudeness or bad manners. That is the reason of drawing the ears of Bush similar to donkeys as all the negative attributes attached to this animal are also attached to Bush.

Figure 4.23 *Penguen*, 17 January 2008, p. 3

4.3.1.7. US Presidential Election of 2008

US Presidential election of 2008 is another theme that was framed in Turkish political cartoons. The election of Barrack Obama was portrayed as ‘a black was put into a white palace’ (*Penguen*, 13 November 2008, p. 2). In many cartoons we see Obama and Bush together as Bush leaving the office or giving advice in terms of administration. On the other hand we come across with John McCain whom Obama defeated in the elections in only one cartoon. The cartoon in figure 4.24 shows newly-elected US President as highly surprised when he entered in his new office. The caption of the cartoon is as follows: Fuck off Bush, fuck off! Devil Bush, who since he was elected as a president turned world into a hell due to the bloodshed he caused all over the world, global warming and financial crisis, said in his congratulation note to newly elected president Obama “Go enjoy yourself”. In America what will change other than the color of the skin [of the US President]? In

the speech balloon of Bush “Here is a little bit messy. But, anyway, you enjoy yourself” is written. We see Bush as he collects his stuff and ready to leave the office to Obama. But on the table we see feces written terrorism, economic crisis, Iran and Iraq on them. The cartoon conveys visually the message that the Bush administration left serious problems to Barrack Obama. We understand that the most serious one is economic crisis because the feces are different size and the biggest one is the one economic crisis written on it. The ears of Barrack Obama are round-shaped and big. Their heads are bigger proportionally to their overall body. The main visual American symbol in the cartoon is the American flag near the chair. The office is drawn too simple and small which in a way is banal. It is the dirtiness of the room that makes Obama this much surprised. I also want to stress that we are able to smell the stinking atmosphere of the room in real terms due to the mists over the feces which make the scene real and increase the effectiveness of the cartoon.



Figure 4.24 *Leman*, 12 Nov.2008, p. 3



Figure 4.25 *Uykusuz*, 5 Nov. 2008, p.3

Look at the cartoon in Figure 4.25. We see Erdoğan in a tattoo shop in order to erase his previous tattoo of ‘I love Bush’ due to Barack Obama’s election to US presidency. This shows Erdoğan’s venal and deceptive character. He plans to change his tattoo in accordance with US elections in order to be sympathetic to US presidents. Erdoğan is going to serve Obama after his election. Therefore he does not

need this tattoo anymore. In sum, this cartoon depicts Erdoğan as venal and deceptive. Together with Bush he is generally the victim of cartoonists' pen.

The next cartoon is highly critical of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkish Prime Minister. He is depicted as a dog with his long tongue outside as dogs. There is a rope around his neck which is generally used to symbolize American domination and power of controlling Turkey. After the US elections, that is after Barrack Obama was elected, Bush brought the dog to Obama saying "Do not forget to give its food."



Lower-left-side of the cartoon it is written that: Keep us, my *Hüseyin* (Turkish equivalent of Hussein), we are hungry, feed us, flatten us my buckwheat... In brief, this cartoon aims to critique the effects of Western cultural influences on Turkey. In this cartoon, cartoonist emphasizes the fear of losing manliness, health, richness, identity and morality of Turkish people in the body of Erdoğan.

Figure 4.26 *Penguen*, 13 November 2008, p. 7

4.3.2. ENGLAND

There are 34 cartoons on England in *Leman*, 89 in *Penguen* and 50 in *Uykusuz*. When we look in years, 96 cartoons were published in 2008 and 77 in 2009. From 173 cartoons only one cartoon was drawn white-and-black. All the others were colored. Those cartoons are mostly placed on page 6 in *Leman* with the percentage of 18, on page 13 in *Penguen* (15%) and on page 4 in *Uykusuz* (38%). In *Leman*, England-related cartoons were mostly drawn by Behiç Pek and Can Barslan (12%); in *Penguen* by Serkan Altuniğne (13%); in *Uykusuz* by Umut Sarıkaya (48%). In total in *Penguen* and *Leman* two cartoons were published in the first page. Cartoons on England were mostly published in September and November in *Leman*

(15%); in October and November in *Penguen* (11%) and in March and November in *Uykusuz* (16%). We see Queen Elizabeth in 15 cartoons and Winston Churchill in only one cartoon. Other cartoons are generally related with English language and the wish of Turkish people to be able to talk English. To go to English courses, the words that are pronounced difficult such as congratulations are highly used in Turkish cartoons. Main symbols are London Bridge, Buckingham Palace, and tea at five. Conventionally when cartoonists want to symbolize England they use John Bull. But in Turkish cartoons we do not see John Bull. Many cartoons we see a reference to the cloudy and depressing weather of England. The mostly portrayed political figure is Queen Elizabeth and she is depicted in a tea at five with the Knights of the Round Table which are well-known British mythic characters. Double-deck busses that come on time (*Leman*, 9 January 2008, p. 11) are criticized as there is no excitement or surprise. Everything is too monotonous unlike Turkey.

4.3.2.1. The Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Turkey



Figure 4.27 *Leman*, 14 May 2008, p. 1



Figure 4.28 *Penguen*, 15 May 2008, p.1

The cartoon above (Figure 4.27) is about the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Turkey in 2008. Queen's visit determines what Turkish president Abdullah Gül and his wife is going to wear. It is said that Abdullah Gül is going to wear dress-coat and some

fashion designers are designing a turban in the form of a hat. The cartoon reminds us and criticizes the superiority of England as it determines even the clothing of our president. This means that normally our president does not wear modern clothes. But the person who is coming is too important that our president must change his clothing style and wear in a way Queen Elizabeth wishes. This is also mentioned in the caption: Queen of England, Elizabeth II, is coming with strict protocol rules which Abdullah Gül must obey. Watches, pets, umbrellas, canes and stockings are used to identify European styled fashion and a Europeanized costume symbolizes commercial and cultural dependence of Turkey as it is the case in this cartoon.

The cartoon (Figure 4.28) shows two Turks as rapists. They are talking about the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Turkey. One is saying that “Queen of England is coming to Turkey” and the other one “She is old but it doesn’t matter.” In the caption we read: Tourists who come to our country are facing with rape. On one hand, this cartoon refers to the murder of Italian artist Pippa Bacca⁴³ who took a journey from Italy to Israel for peace. On the other hand, it refers to the deviant nature of Turkish men. Their portrayal is highly exaggerated and nasty. This is the right drawing technique as it generates feelings of hatred in us toward this kind of people.

In the cartoon below (Figure 4.29) we see Queen Elizabeth sitting on a chair which is made from English plastic. The most remarkable thing is the portrayal of the Queen. She is so ugly. Her face looks like a man’s face. She takes off one of her shoes and she has callus on her feet which makes her uglier. The cartoon is about giving the ‘Sir title’ which is seen as very important to Elton John. Queen Elizabeth says that “I declare you ‘Sir’ because of your contributions to foreign music. From now on, you can go to football matches free.” Elton John replies with disappointment “If I know that the difference between being a ‘Sir’ and an ordinary citizen is just entering the football matches free, I will not work this hard.” Queen continues: What

⁴³ An Italian woman artist who was hitch-hiking to the Middle East dressed as a bride to promote world peace has been found murdered in Turkey. Turkish media gives this news under the titles of ‘We are disgraced to Europe’. This is highly criticized by cartoonists. The message is striking: An enjoyable news to people who worry about to be disgraced to Europe: as usual this time victim is Turkish woman.

do you expect? Are we going to give the administration of the country to Elton John



as he released two cassettes? You do not know economy; you do not know gross national product... Go to the matches and also put this on front window of your car –you will not have problem with the traffic police. The cartoon portrays the snobbish and arrogant side of the English people.

Figure 4.29 Uykusuz, 29 October 2009, p. 4

4.3.2.2. American English vs. British English

Under this theme there are many cartoons. The cartoon in Figure 4.30 is a specific one. A British is begging to an American in order to join two countries together as they have same language and same religion. But American seems highly unconcerned with this wish. The eyes of British man were drawn too big because he seems surprised of pronouncing some words in a same manner with the American. Symbols of Britishness here are the long white curly hair of the man which is highly used when representing England as English judges wear this wig. In the cartoon we seize the belittling of England due to the begging attitude of the British.

British: Are you saying also Kangırçılıns [Congratulations]?

American: Yes brother we, Americans, are also saying Kangırçılıns, do not keep on asking...

British: Then, my boy, both our language and religion is same... Well, why is this separateness... Let's combine England and America... Why are we living under the burden of having two separate countries... Let's be united.

American: No, my sweetie... Those businesses are not like that... [Having the same language and religion is not a reason for the unification]

British: Witney Hüstin [Whitney Houston] as well?

American: It is just a proper noun. The entire world says Whitney Houston 'Witney Hüstin'...



Figure 4.30 Uykusuz, 17 December 2009, p. 4

Another mostly framed topic is the compulsory learning of English due to its universality. Not only our country, the entire world tries to learn English in order to get better education, better job and so on. In this respect, there is a cartoon which depicts a boy who hands out brochures for English course in *Taksim* which is a place in Beyoğlu in Istanbul. It is a major shopping, leisure and tourist district. The boy gives also a brochure to Shakespeare. (*Leman*, 10 April 2008, p. 8)

4.3.2.3. Mythical Characters of England

Among the mythical characters of England we can single out King Arthur and his famous sword called Excalibur which could only be used by King Arthur himself according to the myth and the Knights of the Round Table and Robin Hood who is known for robbing from rich and giving to the poor. We see in the cartoon the sword in the stone which is Excalibur. The mythical heroes in cartoons reflect values and convictions that are common in the prevailing culture and symbolism. Here, the mythical power of this British symbol and Turkish mythical belief of saints in Turkish culture were blended in this cartoon. A Turkish woman with a headscarf thinks that the sword was put there by a Muslim saint. Therefore, she is seeing the

stone as sacred and praying there. We also see candles on the stone which strengthens the sacredness of the stone.



Figure 4.31 *Penguen*, 25 December 2008, p. 14

There are also cartoons that are related to the depressive weather of England, British cars and the British media which were portrayed as heartless.

This cartoon in Figure 4.32 turns around a clever pun. It makes reference to the always cloudy –therefore depressive– weather of England by showing a person who has cloud above his head. It is a kind of analogy. When analogies are drawn from a specific aspect of a country like in this cartoon the resultant intertextuality appeals to a narrow cultural memory that positions most viewers as outsiders. That is, if the reader does not have any idea about the weather of England he probably does not understand or misreads the cartoon. The figure who is drawn dark in order to show his depressing character says to the other one “Brother, for instance, I do not like England. Its weather is depressing; cloudy...It is difficult to live in there, isn’t it?” The other one denotes his agreement with a surprise.

4.3.3. GREECE

There are 39 cartoons on Greece in *Leman*, 80 in *Penguen* and 12 in *Uykusuz*. When we look in years, 77 cartoons were published in 2008 and 54 in 2009. From 131 cartoons only one cartoon was drawn white-and-black. All the others are colored. In *Leman*, Greek related cartoons are mostly drawn by Güneri İçoğlu (15%) and Ahmet Yılmaz (13%); in *Penguen* by Özer Aydoğan and Selçuk Erdem (18, 8%). Cartoons in *Uykusuz* are unsigned (33%). From 12 cartoons in *Uykusuz* only one cartoon was published on the first page and mostly cartoons were published on page 15 (33%). In *Penguen* there is no cartoon published on the first page. Mostly, cartoons were published on page 14 (18, 8%). *Leman* differs than the other two because the cartoons related Greece were published mostly on page 3 (18%) which is the page that we come across with cartoons regarding current issues and events. The Greece-related cartoons were mostly published in December in *Leman* (26%) and *Uykusuz* (33%); in January in *Penguen* (15%). This is because the riots and protests started in December 2008 after the police shot a Greek youth. The cartoonists drew in December and continued to draw in January 2009 on those events. The only political figure portrayed is Costas Karamanlis. We see him only in 3 cartoons in *Penguen*. Cartoons about Greece are based on five general topics.

4.3.3.1. Greek Mythology and Mythical Characters

There are numerous cartoons on Greek mythology and mythological characters such as Zeus, Atlas, Chiron, and Poseidon... Those mythological characters are used to perpetuate and reaffirm the polytheist structure of ancient Greeks which is equated with atheism for Muslims. Cartoons generally render the Greek mythology meaningless. In some cartoons we see a sculptor when he is making a statute of a god and the god is saying to him “Make my penis big”. In another, a man supposedly a Turk with moustache⁴⁴ illuminates unethical behavior of Greeks by urging a Greek sculptor that “why are you so keen on doing statutes with huge penises”.

⁴⁴ Men in the western cast never have mustaches whereas almost every single male in the local cast irrespective of social status or class has one.

The cartoon of Tuncay Akgün and Kemal Aratan shows Greek mythic character Chiron which is a half-human and half-horse creature. Turkish tourists are asking Chiron “Brother, we know you as Greek. Are you convert or Greek?” Chiron answers as “All of those are city legends... I am Turk and Muslim” by carrying a bead in his hand. This bead helps us to regard Chiron as Turkish because being a Muslim is an important marker of Turkish national identity. Then he asks for information of national football matches whether Greece national team is eliminated. Cartoonists give place to international football matches deliberately here. Those matches strengthen the ‘we’ feelings of members of an imagined community and help them to internalize their identity. And as Chiron asks for learning that the Greek national team was eliminated it is understood that he has already internalized Turkish identity. Turks look very surprised because of Chiron’s feeling of Turkishness. Visible differences in our physique are used to point to distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ as it is done in this cartoon: Turks are drawn with moustache but the Greek mythic character of Chiron with long hairs.



Figure 4.34 *Leman*, 25 June 2008, p. 5



Figure 4.35 *Leman*, 29 April 2009, p. 11

The other cartoon above (Figure 4.35) is another example of cartoons on Greek mythological characters. In the cartoon we see Zeus, which is the main God in Greek mythology, with lightning in his hands. He is speaking to the ancient Greek people: I

warn you but you do not obey your God. Therefore, you are going to pay your fine. But someone throws a stone to him and he is surprised with that and says again “Who is this cursed Greek who throws stone to his God?” But then he notices that he is not in Greece. He came to *Yozgat* which is a city in Turkey due to the movements of the clouds. And he thinks of running away as Turks will damage him. The irony here is that even Greek Gods fear from Turks. They cannot use their power on Turks. Turks are strong and brave. In artistic terms, mythic characters are generally portrayed in this way with their white dress and long, curly hair and beard.



Figure 4.36 *Penguen*, 5 February 2009, p. 15

The cartoon in Figure 4.36 compares ancient Greek culture with ancient Turkish culture. In one side we see a Greek philosopher in front of Greek Academia in which the entrance of people who do not know Geometry is forbidden. On the other side, we see Jalal al-Din al-Rumi who is sitting in front of a dervish lodge on which “Whatever who you are, come again” is written. The cartoon glorifies the Turkish culture as “our” culture which is the one more humanist, open and tolerable. Greek is saying that you are making the environment stressful. And Jalal al-Din al-Rumi replies as “Then do not behave as if you are too important and privileged, boy”. Also the cartoon rejects in a subtle way Greeks supposing of themselves superior and important. Briefly the message is “we are better, superior, and tolerant than Greeks”

and most of the Turks who see this cartoon understand this with ease. To present ancient Greeks –therefore modern Greeks– as snobbish serves political interests and communicative goals and seems to be intended to convey the impression of ‘otherness’.

4.3.3.2. “Greeks are Burglars who Steal Our Culture”

Cartoons portrayed Greeks as mere burglars who are taking the things that do not belong to them form the second category. Erdil Yaşaroğlu’s cartoon below is the typical one of this category. There are four male characters in the cartoon. Two of them are Greeks and two of them are Turks. Greeks are the one with red jacket and with black suit who wears a hat. Greek with red jacket says “Let me tell you a joke. An English, a French and a Greek are walking in the street...” One of the Turks behind Greeks got very angry and started to shout as “You claimed that you own our *Baklava*... You said that “Hacivat-Karagöz is ours”... You stole our *Döner*, and now do you covet our jokes. I will show you...” Angry Turk attempted to beat Greeks. The myth of Turk as an action man who is courageous, excited, outspoken and audacious is reproduced through this cartoon. The other Turk is trying to help him calm down by saying that “Brother, never mind, they are not worth... The world already knows...” The message is that Greek people are trying to Hellenize determinants of Turkish culture and to present it as theirs to whole world. The cartoon characters reflect values and convictions that are common in the prevailing culture and its symbolism. Those help people a lot to identify themselves with the presented types, situations and thoughts. “The image of reality reflected in the cartoons, however, is not always exclusively anchored in the actual reality but often transmits instead an idealized and incisive image of everyday life.” (Ginman and von Ungern-Sternberg 2003: 71)



Figure 4.37 Lemay, 2 January 2008, p. 16

The cartoon below depicts Greeks as burglars again. A Turk beats a Greek by counting the things that most of the Turks believe that Greeks try to steal from Turkish culture. Those are Turkish coffee, Turkish raki, Karagöz-Hacivat, and Turkish *dolma*. The T-shirts are reflexive of the nationality of the characters, again male characters, as t-shirts are covered with Turkish and Greek flags. Flags similar to maps are highly important symbols in visual media. They create and reinforce ‘we’



Figure 4.38 Penguen, 18 December 2008, p. 2

consciousness and they help us to distinguish between ‘us’ and ‘other’. Moreover, they assist us in order to realize the ‘we’ that is in our imagination.

4.3.3.3. 2008 Greek Riots

Riots have broken out across Greece after police shot dead a 15-year-old student in Athens. Those events are portrayed in Turkish cartoons heavily.

This cartoon (Figure 4.39) makes a self-criticism by presenting Turkish and Greek democracy in comparison. The upper caption says “That is our democracy. That is our homeland”. “With this cartoon published several weeks ago, we have questioned the insensitivity of civil society organizations, politicians, media, aristocrats and youth against violence of police in Turkey... The sensitivity of the public and youth of our neighbor Greece who experienced a small part of the violence that becomes daily in our country showed us that humanism is dead in our country not in the world...” The below caption says “That is the democracy of neighbor. That is Alex’s homeland. That is the Greek society that is behind the young Greek boy Alex who lost his life with a police shot”. This cartoon is highly positive towards Greece. It praises Greek society of being watchful and sensitive to



the events. On the other side, it is highly negative and desperate of Turkish society. That is, here, the function of the laughter is to make people question by creating admiration towards Greek democracy. The Turkishness of the scene is maintained with Muslim symbols. That is, we see a mosque behind. There are many people passing around the man who is damaged by police batons but no one cares about him and the violence made by Turkish police.

Figure 4.39 Leman, 17 December 2008, p. 3

This cartoon that is drawn by Tuncay Akgün also shows the Greek riots. We see Greek youth throwing stones, bottles with fires to the police. In *Leman* it is said that one of Nazım Hikmet’s poem is used in the manifesto of protesters: “If I don’t burn, and if you don’t burn, how will darkness come to light?” The use of Hikmet in the protests was told to the Turkish public deliberately as Greeks, our neighbors, embrace this poet more than us.



Figure 4.40 *Leman*, 7 January 2009, p. 10

Another cartoon that depicts student protests in Greece was published in *Uykusuz*. Cartoonist takes our attention to the words of Ahmet Ersin from Republican People’s Party as he says that the protests in Greece can make butterfly effect in Turkey. There are two policemen and a newly-dead person who is portrayed as an angel, therefore innocent. One of the police has his gun on his hand. The smoke on the gun helps us to understand that the boy is newly shot by the police. He says that “Did you see the butterfly effect?” and the other one replies “I saw. Please, make a new one”. This cartoon criticizes that in Turkey police can kill people



Figure 4.41 *Uykusuz*, 17 December 2008, p. 1

without facing protests and riots such as in Greece. In fact Ahmet Ersin thinks that there will be protests in Turkey too. But cartoonists do not agree as Turkish people are reckless. The use of black evokes fear and sadness for the death and the situation in Turkey.

4.3.3.4. The Shared Past with Greeks

Every Turkish reader can remember the below-mentioned theme from their history books. It is about the Greeks who escaped from Izmir with the re-capture of the city by Turkish forces. This is known by Greeks as Asia Minor Catastrophe whereas by Turks as a victory. The history of this two neighboring countries run across each other. Two countries have bitter memories, misleading images which create a sense of continual harassment and thus a 'security syndrome' within the country. Turkey built its identity by using the Greeks as the 'other', which is in the last analysis nothing but defining yourself by telling what you are not. This forms the core antagonism between the two countries and understanding Turkish-Greek relations requires a complex analysis that should connect the past to the present. We cannot deny the significance of cartoons as a medium of warfare. Cartoons can motivate and mobilize people during the wartime. That is why they are thought to be nearer the sentiments of the public.

In the following cartoon we see a Turkish war veteran and his grandchild. He shows to the child the Greeks in the sea which makes reference to the defeat of Greeks in Izmir. One of the Greek says 'Would you like to compete until the pontoons for a coke, commander?' and the other replies 'My boy, do not go there. There are mosses. The language is highly belittling. The war theme is used to remind



the old victories to the Turkish people. It confirms belief in the superiority of the fatherland by belittling our enemy Greece by displaying the ineptitude, cowardice, and effeminacy of Greeks. We can say that this cartoon is based on deep-rooted antipathies and prejudices of our historical 'other'. Turks are reminded of past and present Greek violence continuously in order to keep those prejudices alive.

Figure 4.42 Uykusuz, 23 July 2008, p.15

4.3.3.5. Greeks in Turkey

Cartoonist Sefer Selvi drew this cartoon in order to take the attention of the public to the Fener Greek Patriarch Bartholomeos. He says that “In Turkey I feel as I am crucified” in order to take the attention of Europeans and to help them to construct a negative image of Turkey which has no religious freedoms. And another



male character is saying to him “That is enough, you do not tense the atmosphere too”. As costumes provide information on class and status and place characters within their interpretive community we understand this male is a local ordinary man. This cartoon has many signs of otherness such as cross and clothing of the Patriarch which signify his Christianity. They act as identity marker and determine the boundaries of the community.

Figure 4.43 *Leman*, 23 December 2009, p. 3

In sum, the cartoons on Greece are generally about the ancient Greeks rather than the modern Greeks. When cartoonist mentions modern Greeks they call them as our neighbors rather than as our enemies as many would think. I cannot say that there is no cartoon that Greeks are portrayed negative. Negative portrayal is being done for ancient Greeks which is a surprise for me. Before the research, I expected that there will be many cartoons that are highly negative toward Greeks as they are our historical “other”. But the general tendency is not to mention present-day Greeks. In almost all cartoons characters are male. In *Uykusuz* not all the cartoons belittle Greece. For instance, a cartoon criticizes Turkey of broadcasting a Turkish song called ‘Memleketim’ in Eurovision Song Contest when Greece took stage. I also found it important to note that there is only one cartoon on Turkish-Greek Population Exchange (*Penguen*, 20 November 2008, p. 2)

4.3.4. ISRAEL

There are 46 cartoons on Israel in *Leman*, 28 in *Penguen* and 29 in *Uykusuz*. When we look in years, 31 cartoons were published in 2008 and 72 in 2009. From 103 cartoons five cartoons were drawn white-and-black. All the others were colored. Those cartoons were mostly placed on page 3 in *Leman* with the percentage of 52, on page 2 in *Penguen* (43%) and on page 3 in *Uykusuz* (48%). In *Leman*, Israel-related cartoons were mostly drawn by Behiç Pek (24%); in *Penguen* by Cem Dinlenmiş (29%). *Uykusuz*'s cartoons were unsigned (55%). In total in all three magazines five cartoons were published in the first page. Cartoons on Israel were mostly published in January in *Leman* (48%), in *Penguen* (54%) and in *Uykusuz* (28%). We see Ehud Olmert in 10 cartoons, Shimon Peres in 7, Tzipni Livni in 5, and Benjamin Netanyahu only in one cartoon. The evil monsters are often used to represent Israelis, probably a metaphor of arrogance. The demonization of the Israelis takes on different forms in the cartoons. Aggressiveness, arrogance and blood thirstiness are qualities often ascribed to them. Another commonly used symbol in order to communicate strong messages to the readers is the Star of David.

4.3.4.1. Israel Attacks on Gaza

As we are going to see with the cartoons below, the Israeli attacks on Gaza and blocks on humanitarian aid convoy are very recurring theme of cartoons. The second important sub-theme is child soldiers and Israel's murder of children. In the cartoon in Figure 4.44 we understand that those soldiers are Israelis because of the Star of David in their helmet. They are shown as evils. Their teeth look like a shark's teeth. The cartoon is about Israeli attack on humanitarian aid convoys to Gaza. There is clever pun here. The man in the vehicle says that "My brother, I understand the situation. Indeed, those need 'humanitarian aid'". There is a play with the meaning of 'humanitarian' in Turkish. Cartoonist uses this to refer to the inhumanness of Israelis and that there is an urgency to teach them to be human. The impact of this cartoon derives from its appeal to the intellect, conscience and emotion at the same time. This aspect of the cartoon helps a lot to orchestrate public opinion through political cartoons.



Figure 4.44 Uykusuz, 24 December 2009, p. 2

The cartoon below is drawn for the same purpose in order to criticize the behavior of Israelis regarding humanitarian aids to Gaza Strip. The caption says: Israel hit the ship that brings aid to Gaza from Lebanon. The Israelis who are on the missile are saying that “Don’t you want to go near Gaza people?” Cartoonist criticizes Israel for killing innocent people with this question. ‘To go near Gaza people’ means to die as they have already died and took their place in paradise or hell after death.



Figure 4.45 Uykusuz, 15 February 2008, p. 3

The cartoon in Figure 4.46 is highly controversial and attacking as it draws the face of an Israeli soldier as an ass. It is to say that Israelis are always doing wrong. It is a part of a pervasive hateful discourse towards Israelis. The meaning and

emotional impact of the image are so strong and effective. The cartoonist succeeds to face Israeli army in the body of a soldier with a simple cartoon. His skill of rendering the issue and the universality of form chosen helps a lot in this regard. Political cartoons⁴⁵ such as this criticize political and social events. Their messages convey moral judgments on important issues and political figures. Cartoonists ridicule everything that can be ridiculed, scratch everything that can be scratched and spit out every person. This is the reason behind the impact of this cartoon. Another important thing is the composition which is essential for ease of interpretation and appreciation. In this cartoon we see that a complex and abstract event such as the inhumanness and horrible nature of Israelis is transformed into a simple image of ass in black and white. An essay on the brutality of Israelis can be written. But this cartoon cuts the entire story in a single frame. It writes thousand words with a single image. Here, the cartoonist uses a visual analogy effectively in order to animate our thought and emotion. “Rather than making a literal statement about an issue, the artist likens it to something else, and through this comparison invites interpretation”. (Walt Werner 2004: 1) According to Werner, cartoonists use three sources in order to draw analogies. These are: mundane situations and everyday objects that most newspaper readers have experienced, contemporary popular culture – such as current movies, TV shows, national sports events, etc. – with which many readers have some acquaintance, and historical events and personages, and past literary and aesthetic texts, that fewer readers recognize. This cartoon uses the first source by framing a topic by suggesting its likeness to an object drawn from the reader’s everyday life which is a shared memory. In *Uykusuz* we see references to Torah as it starts with ‘Do not kill’. Israel’s actions are defined as worse than the cruelty of Egyptian pharaohs. The caption says that: Palestinians who wanted to take refuge to Gaza by running away from clash were taken into custody by making them totally naked by

⁴⁵ Werner sees political cartoons as part of the mundane world as long as viewers share four areas of understanding. The first one which is the most obvious is “the contextual knowledge of what the cartoonist is commenting upon, whether an immediate social problem or a specific news item. Second, there is knowledge of how the cartoon works, including its visual language of signs (images, symbols, captions, and quotes), conventions (expectations about what a sign is meant to signify), and rhetorical devices (caricature and analogies) used to convey satire, irony, and ridicule. Third, allusions to historical events and personages, or to past cultural texts (e.g., poems, novels, famous quotations, art), are only successful as the reader is able to access the allusionary base from which the analogies are drawn. And lastly, there is some understanding of the broader discourse itself that distinguishes political cartoons from the comics, political or commercial ads, and photojournalism.” (2004: 3)

Israeli soldiers. The Israeli soldier is saying that “Now, we can talk face to face.” To change the face of an Israeli soldier with an ass aims to criticize the behavior of Israeli soldiers for making the Palestinians naked. Showing Israeli soldier in this way provide a catharsis in us as it makes us feel that a kind of visual revenge is taken by belittling Israel. The cartoon mocks and wounds Israel with an effective caricature. It delivers its message effectively convincing a reader to see an issue or a character in a specific way.



Figure 4.46 *Uykusuz*, 6 August 2008, p.3

The cartoon below uses the same metaphor with the previous one. The caption reads: The images of Israeli soldiers who condemned 1.5 million Palestinians to hunger by blockading Gaza Strip showing their asses to the Palestinians were broadcasted in Israeli TV channels. Cartoonist drew Israeli soldier as they are showing their ass in the border. And a Palestinian father with his traditional *kufiyah* in his head is saying dramatically to his child “These are the asses that condemn us to hunger, my boy”. In this regard, cartoonist labels Israel as an ass which is a great insult in Turkish language. This ultimately horrifying image was designed to provoke feelings of humiliation to Israel, and to invoke a patriotic response. It conveys subtle nuances of meaning with regard to the degree of antipathy for the Israeli soldier and the degree of closeness and sympathy the viewer is invited to feel for the

Palestinians. By helping Turkish people to live the same bitterness, the anger towards Israel is reinforced. The implication is clear that we ought to condemn Israel. The cartoon emphasizes the distinction of 'Israel' and 'Gaza' and Gaza people are always shown us as just, victim, sharing same pains, being hurt, not being understood, whereas Israeli people are identified as bad, enemy, traitor, hypocritical, sneaky, capricious, killer.



Figure 4.47 *Uykusuz*, 6 February 2008, p. 2

The caption of the cartoon in Figure 4.48 reads: War planes of Israel organized a bombed attack to the Gaza Strip. Cartoonist criticizes the attitude of Israel's military institutions and the State. Two characters are drawn in a small room which seems gloomy. They are Israeli soldiers with their military uniforms. On the table there are warplane, missile and tank models and a piece of paper. Their noses are highly exaggerated. The face of one of the characters seems like he is a monster with saliva around his mouth. Israelis are represented as having a thirst to kill. Their teeth are drawn as the teeth of a shark. Saliva around their mouth shows them as very brutal. They do not hesitate to kill innocent people. We understand this from the face of the soldier who stands. He seems highly pleased of the oppression of Israel on Gaza. The commander asks the soldier whether this bombed attack caused death of any person. And soldier answers no. Commander continues with saying that so why they are criticizing. Soldier says "There did not remain many people to die for a long time". We also see the symbol of Israel: The Star of David on the caps of the soldiers. There are no female characters as always. Another important thing to note is that Arab

world was silent in all those Israeli attacks. By joining the silent majority, they increase the prospect of peace on their own land.



Figure 4.48 *Uykusuz*, 26 November 2009, p. 3

4.3.4.2. Turkey–Israel Relationships

This is the second recurring theme of the cartoons on Israel drawn by Turkish cartoonists. This first cartoon caricatured Turkish and Israeli Prime Ministers. Both figures seem angry with the situation. It is about the attitude of Erdoğan in Davos Summit (World Economic Forum) toward Israel. Erdoğan tried to defy Israel. But he did not think of the militaristic and economic agreements and strategic partnerships between two countries. Erdoğan left the summit by getting angry with the moderator because he did not give the right to speak to Erdoğan as he stated after he returned to Turkey. His statement ‘One Minute’ became highly popularized then. The childish setting of this cartoon makes the scene look silly and is clearly intended to ridicule, but also suggests that Erdoğan does not understand the consequences of his actions, i.e. he is not in touch with reality. He was also criticized as he did this in order to increase the vote for his party. This cartoon is not simply to amuse but also to stimulate thought and discussion. It is designed to make the reader think about both the event and people being portrayed and the message the cartoonist is trying to communicate.



Figure 4.49 *Leman*, 4 February 2009, p. 2

4.3.4.3. Israeli Political Figures

We mostly see Ehud Olmert, Shimon Peres and Tzipni Livni in political cartoons. Below we see the depiction of Ehud Olmert as a vampire who drinks blood from a cup. He is simply depicted as a blood-thirsty barbarian, dehumanized. The caption reads: Israel shed blood in Gaza. Israel organized a ground attack after the air-attacks. It spreads death without caring for civil targets of mosque, hospital and school. The West, the USA, Europe take the side of Israel. The hearts of the world beat with those innocent people in Gaza. Inside the speech balloon which are confined to thoughts of the vampire in black is written that “You asperse also our name because of your excessive devotion to blood. We dismiss you from the Union of World’s Vampires! ...” Ehud Olmert in response says “I don’t care. You all are mollycoddle... Wolf men, too.” In this cartoon facial expressions that affect narrative are given in close-ups. His teeth and his fingers are too sharp which increases the evilness of Olmert. His eyes are purple because of drinking blood. We see also blood around his mouth which makes us understand that he drinks blood. Moreover even if we do not see the thing inside the cup as red we understand that it is blood due to the caption. The background that is stage setting is part of the narration. We see the figures in a dark place which increases our belief in

the idea that they are vampires. In brief, the attacks of Israel in Gaza were depicted as the blood-thirstiness of Israel. The cartoon adopted an attitude more in line with the popular mood. I would also say the cartoonist has combined outstanding draftsmanship with an ability to comment on an event or situation in a vivid, perceptive and imaginative way here. The use of close-ups, shadows and exaggeration made the cartoon highly vivid and effective and it makes us easily grasp the intended message of the cartoonist.



Figure 4.50 *Leman*, 7 January 2009, p. 3

The second cartoon (Figure 4.51) on Olmert depicts him as an aggressive dog whose mouth and feet are full of blood which aims at ridiculing Olmert. The caption reads “Olmert, an ownerless dog of the Middle East which has many owners indeed.” It is a word play. This means that Olmert looks like a dog which has no owner. But, indeed, it has many namely European Union, the USA, Israel and England. We know them as we see the flags as their signifiers. All of them are trying to control the dog but it is highly aggressive. It has sharp teeth and it has a cap on its head which we see the Star of David. The use of black and red reinforce our perception of evilness of Olmert. There is no need to say that the rhetorical vision articulated in this cartoon is quite critical of the major character of this drama of Gaza. There are no real heroes in this negative vision, only villains (and fools). Moreover, all those who try to control this brutal dog are held responsible for the evils of Israel. As they are supporting Israel overtly or latently, they become responsible for the bloodshed in the Middle East. The main message is not to direct our attention to the atrocities Israel committed in the Middle East. This is a secondary aim. But the main message is Israel does not decide on its own for the future of the Middle East. All the big powers

collobarate with Israel as they have different or shared interests on this area which makes a strategic alliance a must.



Figure 4.51 *Leman*, 7 Jan. 2009, p. 3 **Figure 4.52** *Uykusuz*, 24 Dec. 2009, p. 2

Another mostly represented political figure is Tzipni Livni who is Israel's Minister of Foreign Affairs. The cartoon in Figure 4.52 shows Tzipni Livni with two male figures: one symbolizes America and the other England. They are highly angry and they seem as if they are screaming to Livni. Even the saliva that comes out when England is speaking makes the scene more real. The heads of all three figures are bigger than their body. Especially Livni's head is too big when we compare it to her hands. There is a surprise on her face. Again we see American and English flags as signifiers of national identity of the male figures. They are depicted as very similar to each other with their light-colored hair. In the caption it is said that "The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel, Tzipni Livni, could not enter England as she was declared as a war criminal by a court in England". This caption evokes the idea of hypocritical England in our minds. They supported Israel of its attack first and then they labeled them as war criminals and forbid their entrance into their countries.

American: You are guilty.

Tzipni Livni: You are also guilty as much as I am.

English: No, we are not. We attacked also to Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

American: You attacked only to Palestine.

4.3.4.4. America's Support of Israel

As we discussed when we analyzed America, we see many cartoons that portrayed America and Israel as strategic partners. America's support of Israel and its attacks are a highly depicted theme among Turkish cartoonists.



Figure 4.53 *Penguen*, 8 January 2009, p. 3

The cartoon above caricatures three figures. Before looking at the captions and the text in the speech balloon, let's look at those characters carefully. Can we understand who those figures represent? I would argue it is difficult for people who do not have any information on how some countries are represented. We do not see any direct signifier in this cartoon. So this cartoon is somewhat difficult for a reader who is illiterate. That is, the cartoon asks for the reader's imagination or knowledge. But for a reader who has some idea about some specific countries can easily understand who those characters represent. The biggest figure is George Bush who was the previous president of the USA. Big donkey-like ears, big mouth and sharp teeth are generally used by Turkish cartoonists when depicting Bush. The middle figure represents Israel as it is the conventional depiction of Jews with their curly long hair and their hat. The teeth of this figure are also too sharp which shows us its evil side. But the smallest figure represents people who were killed in the Middle East due to Israeli attacks. His teeth are broken, his nose is bleeding and his body is

damaged and his clothes are darned. This is what Israel did in the Middle East. The stars and clouds around the head of this injured figure reinforce his injury in our eyes. That is, they are deliberately used by the cartoonist in order to strengthen the meaning. The jagged outline of the speech balloon implies an emotionally explosive action. All those set the climate for the narrative. This manipulation enables the artist to clarify activity, orient the reader and stimulate emotion. The caption reads as follows: According to Bush the guilty is HAMAS! The US President George Bush held Hamas responsible for the Israeli operation that caused the death of 500 people in Gaza. In the speech balloon “In the new world order the one who is beaten is the guilty one” is written. This sentence criticizes the situation ironically. Those powerful countries do not take any responsibility on themselves and always exploit the situation in order to be able to attain their strategic purposes.

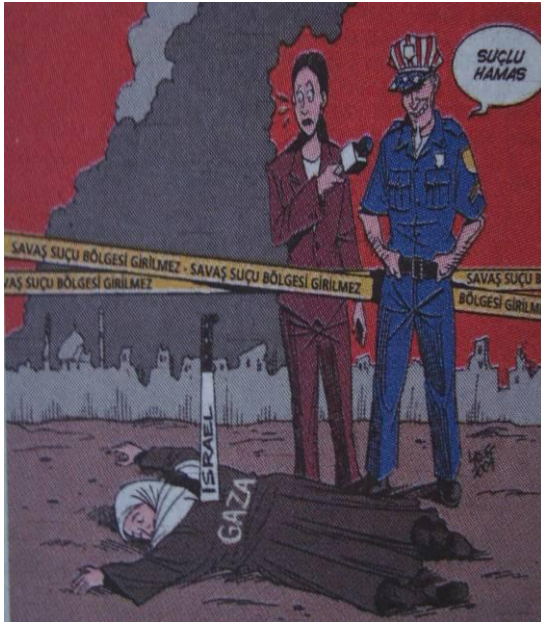


Figure 4.54 *Leman*, 14 January 2009, p. 3 **Figure 4.55** *Leman*, 21 January 2009, p. 3

The same theme in *Leman* depicted as more metaphorically. We see a reporter, Bush and a dead person Gaza written on him. The clothing of the dead person reinforces our perception of him as an Arabic person. We see Israel depicted as a sword – which is a harmful and lethal object. The sword stuck in the body of the dead person refers to Israel’s murder of people in Gaza. Moreover, Israel killed civilians as the dead person in this cartoon wore civil clothing rather than military.

This aims to remind us Israel's attitude towards civilians who have no guilt during the attack. Further, the black cloth of the dead person reinforces our sadness and dissatisfaction. We see the surprise on the face of the reporter as Bush shows Hamas as guilty in this situation even when he is looking at the dead people. Bush, therefore, America is shown as a person who is unreliable as he sees the real guilty but accuses Hamas for the atrocities for his own sake. We see yellow lines around the dead people. "The area of guilty – entrance is forbidden" is written on it. The background is important too. The background is red and black in order to stimulate our emotions. It is red in order to remind us the dead people. It is black for feeling sad for the Gaza people as their land was burning. In general, color is used in order to strengthen the message and emotional impact of the cartoons. (Figure 4.54)

The caption of another cartoon on the same theme reads: Israel has apologized... This statement is used ironically by depicting Bush and an Israeli soldier as shaking their hands which are full of bloods. Bush is presented in a form quickly and easily grasped by his audience, using objects and concepts which are familiar to him such as his Texas descent as it is written on his handbag. The Israeli says "We are so sorry! We succeeded to make this much at the last moment. We could do a better farewell". Bush replies "Ah, you're welcome... What could be done more? There cannot be more than this within twenty days". The dialogue reflects the reality: the alliance between Israel and America. We see many dead babies in the ground with bloods around them. Israel is so violent that it kills even the innocent babies. The buildings behind are burning. Cartoonist attaches the Swastika to each figure in order to establish links to the Nazis. The Star of David on the cap symbolizes Israel. The clothing and the posture of figures are all necessary elements to convey nuances, support the dialogue and deliver the message. That the face is a window to the mind is not a false saying. The teeth of the soldier are threatening and show us his evilness and brutality. Using such sharp teeth increases our sense of feeling that the figure is inhuman – more similar to animals or monsters. He still carries his gun and bombs. This is the sign of his intention of continuing to kill the innocent people such as babies. In this cartoon panel characters are shown from an eye-level perspective to

reinforce realism. This provides a ‘realistic’ representation rather than a ‘cartooney’ style.

In some cartoons we see the effect of Israel on America with the words of Bush: Israel, you, also caused us to choose a president named Hussein. This is a direct sign of Israel’s influence on America. Even it affected the American choice of their own president. In *Leman*, we see depictions of Israel as a rabid dog which disseminates death in Gaza and it makes an offer to keep this rabid dog calm: Vaccination for Rabies (31 December 2008, p. 3)

4.3.4.5. Israel and the United Nations

The United Nations has been often a target to ridicule as the organization is described as passive and powerless. The Security Council is unable to do anything, since it is under US/Israeli control. The turtle, or the snail, is the standard metaphor used by the cartoonists to indicate slowness or disguised unwillingness. In one cartoon in *Uykusuz* we see a meeting in a UN conference. France and Italy with their blue eyes asking why Chad is always coming to the meeting everyday even if it does not have a role in decision-making process of UN. UN meetings are made similar to school lessons which provide the analogy of ridiculing and rendering the UN meetings unimportant and ineffective. Cartoonists criticize UN on what it is united and towards whom they are united. And cartoonist also emphasizes and criticizes the role of ‘developed countries’ in the UN meetings. *Penguen* publishes many cartoons on the passivity of the world.

The cartoon below criticizes Israel of killing children in Gaza. The caption reads “Israel makes massacre in Israel without caring of children and the world is watching”. The scene is a very well-known scene of 23 April National Sovereignty and Children’s Day. This national day in Turkey is a unique event. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey was established on 1920, April 23. The founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, dedicated April 23 to the children of the country to emphasize that they are the future of the new nation. Later this day was began to be commemorated as a world children’s day. We see children from various

nationalities. Focusing on clothing style, facial types, and hair styles of people caricaturized we can infer ideas on stereotypes. We understand the nationality of each nation with their common symbols which are the standard narrative tools for their national identities such as a Mexican hat, blond hair of a European origin, slanted eyes and buckle of Far Eastern, full lips of an African and an Arab with his unique clothes. There is also an Israeli soldier with his gun in order to make an irony. The Arab child was killed by the Israeli soldier as a smoke is still spreading from his gun. As in many cartoons Israel is shown as never doing something good or in another saying always doing devilish things. “Looking at a scene from above it the viewer has a sense of detachment – an observer rather than a participant. However, when the reader views a scene from below it, then his position evokes a sense of smallness which stimulates a sensation of fear” argues Will Eishner (2003: 89). This cartoon depicts the scene from below and it uses a long Israeli soldier as a sharpening device to draw the distinction with the little Arab child.



Figure 4.56 *Penguén*, 8 January 2009, p. 1

4.3.4.6. Elections in Israel

Even the elections in Israel are framed with the topic of the murder of children and babies. Look at the cartoon below. In this cartoon main characters are depicted as strong men. But they shoot the babies who are weak. This is one of the sharpest images. What makes this cartoon so striking is the degree to which its human figures become generic and abstract. The caption reads: The propagandas for the elections in Israel are being constructed over the children... Netanyahu who is the leader of opposition criticizes Olmert. He screamed for war: I will destroy Hamas if I win the elections. Israeli soldiers are talking together. One of them is saying that

“I am giving my vote” by shooting a child. And the other one says “I am not giving my vote to the one you did... I am giving to the other one because there is democracy.” The soldier urges “You vote more than once. Yours is stuffed ballot. The smoke and fire around the guns of the soldier increase the realness of the scene. (Figure 4.57)

The last cartoon that I want to analyze is about the National Union Party of Israel which is an excessive right-wing party. The minister of this party, Aryeh Eldad, suggested the Palestinians to take the citizenship of Jordan. The cartoonist shows this sentence as an ultra-nationalist discourse of Israeli political party. Inside the balloon it is written that “Our Parliament has authority of making decisions on Iran, Syria, Iraq and Palestine. Here is its explanation...” The explanation is a clever one. By taking some letters from the Turkish of those countries the cartoonist reached the name of Israel Parliament. The nose of the figure is too big and it is difficult to call it a human nose. It is this exaggeration where the cartoonist points by emphasis: this is a subhuman who is a nationalist and who see the right himself to make even decisions that are related with the future of other people from a different nation. Thus, the election campaign is pictured as a contest, such as a child shot here.



Figure 4.57 *Leman*, 11 Feb. 2009, p. 13



Figure 4.58 *Uykusuz*, 3 June 2009, p. 3

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This conclusive chapter presents an overall remark of the whole study by emphasizing how a particular piece of cartoon reflects the people of different nations, how it produces and reproduces them and how they are visualized. To this end, in this work, we use cartoons as a barometer to measure the attitude of Turkish cartoonists towards other countries. That is, this study is an analysis of nationalism through humor magazines. The thesis is based on the idea that cartoonists draw on stereotypes when they portray people of other countries. Therefore, the aim is to question those stereotypes that are in the stock of the political cartoonist, especially when depicting foreigners. We know that total impartiality is almost impossible because we are born into a culture and we are raised with particular frames which we use when we are interpreting events, acts, emotions and thoughts. Some meanings are very deeply entrenched in culture and therefore socialized into individual understandings from very early on and it is difficult to discard them totally.

We cannot say that Turkish cartoonists are entirely untouched by racial or national prejudice. It is true that they have a critical eye in some situations. But it is too difficult for them to distance themselves from the prevalent stereotypes. The central question of the thesis was whether Turkish cartoonists use the stereotypical images regarding foreigners. After the research the answer to this question is yes. They use many commonly-held stereotypes and even sometimes they create new ones. Therefore, they seem nationalist in their spirit in some cartoons as they sometimes hyperritualized symbols regarding Turkish identity. For instance, moon and crescent are very important as they represent our flag.

I believe that false impressions of countries towards each other can be triggered by media – therefore also by political cartoons. On the other hand, I argue that by representing the ‘others’ cartoonists also represent who the Turks are. Mainly, it can be said that they use symbols which the Turkish interpretive community identifies

with to set the mood of each cartoon. Cartoonists generally draw the countries in the perspective of friend and foe. This study suggests that cartoons are important sites for the construction of the identity of both the self and other. Therefore, their utilization in this process was examined.

The most indicative place of banal nationalism is mass media. The most important role that mass media has in the process of the reproduction of national identity is to use many symbols and images related to national identity without making them being noticed. ‘Flaggings’ of nationhood is evident in Turkish political cartoons. We see both reminders of ‘ourselves’ and reminders of ‘foreigners’. “The constant flaggings ensure that, whatever else is forgotten in a world of information overload, we do not forget our homelands. The plebiscite, whether through habitual deixis or sporting cheers, reproduces the nation-state. [...] It is a form of reading and watching, of understanding and of taking for granted.” (Billig 2002: 127)

According to findings of the content analysis, I would suggest that almost every cartoon is in color. Only a small number of cartoons are in shades of black and white. Generally, they rely heavily on elaborate captions to get their messages across. Traces of the modernist ideal can still be found in the Turkish cartoons although to a lesser extent. Even though most of them include words, it is clear that there is prestige inherent in conveying the idea with as few words as possible. Cartoons of Doğan and Sarkis Paçacı are universalistic in the way that they keep to a minimum of text and often use graphic symbols easily recognizable to any reader. But mostly Turkish cartoons are much more detailed, culture specific and use more text. In general, the harshest criticisms and labeling are in *Uykusuz* whereas the least one is in *Penguen*.

Turkish cartoonists use deformations very much. They use a sharp satirical perspective and eye for absurdity all the time. The ears of Bush are the most common physical trait emphasized. The physical distinction made most often between Bush and Obama is height, with Obama often appearing considerably taller than Bush. In more than one image, Bush’s face resembles the one in the painting of Edward

Munch's *The Scream*. Turkish cartoonists do not use metaphors from nature in order to show the level of threat of a specific person or event. But they employ animal metaphors extensively. Donkeys and dogs are recurring animals in Turkish political humor. Calling someone a dog is a great insult in Turkey, whereas donkey perhaps is the milder of the two. Cartoonists depict a politician –most often Bush– as a crazed or rabid dog doing something despicable or mean spirited. Other animals used are sharks, weasels, worms, rats, or snakes. Other metaphors referred to religion, heaven, death, food, literature, aliens and outer space, clothing, the military. Historical allusions were also prominent in these messages. Popular characters (*South Park*, the *Spice Girls*, and *Angelina Jolie*) and even toys were used as metaphors in these depictions of 'others'. The artists project the mood through their choice of imagery, setting, characters, costumes, and the situation portrayed. They also communicate the mood their characters project. This is called 'cartoon code' by cartoonists.

Turkish cartoons are mean and to the point whereas being funny does not seem to be top priority. After reading Turkish political cartoons we can discern some recurring themes in Turkish political cartoons regarding 'others': stupidity/foolishness, bad morality/good morality. Too often our adversaries get portrayed as weak and feminized. And "they" often view "our" women as out of control. The continual use of clichés and stereotypes, and the overt sexism in the images and symbols are used when depicting a Western woman. The women of a nation are seen not simply a measure of the degree of its progress but a proof of the degree of its moral purity. Western women are generally used to denote loose morals. They are portrayed as prostitutes; seductive temptresses who are going to be tamed by Turkish men. Mostly Turkish men spend time with Moldavians, Russians and Ukrainians. On the other hand generally Turkish women are shown as ideal mother figures – asexual, not an object for watching.

We can say that nationalist discourse appeared in many cartoons. Especially we encounter cartoons that see Turks as isolated and having no real friends which is the main tenet of the Turkish nationalist discourse. Turks have always some fears such as being divided and fragmented by the Western powers. This causes an obsession of

seeing Turkey as standing against ‘others’ on its own. Europe always uses democracy and human rights in order to interfere with Turkey’s internal affairs. The fear of fragmentation is always reproduced in Turkish media. In order to be freed from this ‘grand loneliness’ they always want to be accepted by Europe. In Turkish discourse the idea of being a part of European culture is always apparent. That is why, Turkey insists on joining the European Union – in order to shift the negative images in the minds of Western people. The founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, is still an important figure of freedom and modernity in Turkish cartooning art. In general, cartoonists define the meaningless situation in Turkey metaphorically as: “We form a community which is trying to reach West within a ship that goes to East”. Trying to be a part of the West, Turkey forgets its own national identity and where it originally belongs to. We do not see admiration of the West in cartoons. There is almost no cartoon that appreciates the West. For instance, Westerners are depicted as stupid and blockhead due to the ban on minaret in Switzerland. The feelings of belonging to the West are belittled in political cartoons. The West in general were shown as hypocritical, liar, inconsistent, evil, exploitative, foxy, and amoral. It is portrayed as without having moral values and as being too rational and therefore opportunist. In some cartoons there is emphasis on the idea that “we took the immorality of the West”. This shows us that the West is being defined as the ‘other’ although it is a place where Turkey must belong to in line with the Kemalist vision.

In *Uykusuz*, there are cartoons on the history textbooks and on some sentences taken from those books such as “Turk is always ready to war. We are Turks and we are superior to all the other people. The religion that gives most importance to cleanliness is Islam”. All of those sentences that are used for increasing the feelings of national superiority are criticized very harsh. But sometimes we come across with well-known quotes expressing pride in the nation.

To define who is the ‘other’ has a crucial role in Turkish national identity. Therefore, media has important role along with many other institutions in reproduction of nationalism and formation of national identities. Think for instance the separation

between domestic news and international news. This is a good way for reinforcing the distinction of ‘us’ and ‘them’ which indicates banality of nationalism. In Turkish political cartoons the difference between ‘we’ and ‘others’ is strictly defined. ‘We’ is generally accepted as one and in unity whereas ‘others’ are various and many. The enemies are depicted as silly or incompetent in some cartoons and monstrous and evil in others. The rhetorical vision examined here was almost unreservedly critical. Only a handful of cartoons presented positive characterizations or commentary on foreign countries. Therefore we can conclude that Turkish political cartoons generally tend to be critical and humiliating of the foreigners. We see peculiarly negative images. They put ‘others’ to a lower cultural space. In other words, they allocate the ‘other’ to an inferior moral space by promoting themselves to the superior morality. ‘We’ often assume ‘ourselves’ as the standard, or normal, against which deviations of ‘others’ appear notable. That is, they ascribe more stereotypical aspects to ‘others’.

There are obvious similarities among the cartoonists of those three magazines. This tells us that, cartoonists generally use and reinterpret the convenient symbols and myths. But they differ in terms of their aesthetical interpretation. In most of the cartoons analyzed we came across with manly acts. Furthermore, in most cartoons characters are men. There are some exceptions to this: in some cartoons we see Hilary Clinton, Condoleezza Rice, Queen Elizabeth, and Angela Merkel. And in some cartoons, cartoonists only mention women as wives of political leaders and there is not visual representation. Carla Bruni is the mostly mentioned woman in this regard. Regarding the representation of women we can articulate three results. First, women are underrepresented which is a way of saying that they are unimportant and invisible. Secondly, women are presented in terms of sex-role stereotypes. And lastly, relational aspects between men and women emphasize traditionally divided roles, psychologically consigning women to limited nurturing and support roles.

Göçek’s view of the political cartoon as an important social force with the potential to generate change holds for some Turkish cartoons as they nurture the idea of pluralism and tolerance by depicting Turks, Kurds, Armenians, and Circassians

dancing together. They are likely to generate change domestically. For Turkey's historical other Greece, we see some texts which try to give meaning to how people come to kill each other's babies as they have lived happily under the Ottoman rule. They question whether to coexist with Greeks, Armenians, Kurds and all the other minorities of Turkey in peaceful terms is a dream. Do caricaturists help us to respect other nations? Metin Üstündağ puts it very well: If a statement such as "Turkey is a unity that cannot be divided" has not been placed in the constitution no one may imagine dividing our homeland. But generally Turkish cartoonists do not generate change in deep-rooted nationalist narratives such as "a Turk has no friend other than a Turk", "All the Western countries are hypocritical and they want some piece of our land". Still, they don't change their attitude towards some countries. Turkish cartoon magazines that I analyzed do not see satire just as a moment of escape, of relief. On the other in some cartoons we came across with highly politicized tones that provoke thought.

Turkish cartoonists use visual allusions when depicting foreign countries. Medhurst and DeSousa categorized allusions as "any fictive or mythical character, any narrative or form, whether drawn from legend, folklore, literature, or the electronic media" (1981: 201). Although these allusions may aid readers in comprehending the message of a cartoon, "to decode the cartoon, one must be somewhat familiar with the literary or cultural source to which it refers" (*ibid.*). Turkish cartoonists use very diverse symbols, metaphors and allusions. These are:

- Historical events and characters (from the Roman Empire to WWII such as Julius Ceaser and Brutus, Napoleon Bonaparte, Ottoman Janissaries, 1789 French Revolution etc.)
- World literature (writers and poets, themes, characters and quotation from novels, poetry – such as William Shakespeare, Friedrich Nietzsche, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gregor Samsa of Franz Kafka's novel The Metamorphosis (*Die Verwandlung*), Raskolnikov of Dostoyevsky's Crime and Punishment etc.)

- Renaissance art (i.e. famous images such as Michelangelo's Creation and Leonardo da Vinci's paintings)
- Painters and their famous paintings (most depicted one is 'The Scream' of Edward Munch, 'Mona Lisa' and 'The Last Supper' of Leonardo da Vinci, Pablo Picasso, Salvador Dali etc.)
- Scientists and their theories (Charles Darwin, Albert Einstein, Newton, Stephan Hawking, Archimedes etc.)
- Philosophers (Socrates, Heraclites, Confucius etc.)
- Actors and Actresses (the mostly represented were Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie)
- Singers
- Movies (titles, characters, events, quotations such as Superman, King Kong, Batman, Titanic, Avatar, Back to the Future etc.)
- Animated Films (titles and characters such as Smurfs, SpongeBob, Simpsons, Casper, Lucky Luke etc.)
- Fairytales (e.g., Aesop's and Grimm's fables) and children's stories and rhymes
- Proverbs and clichéd sayings (such as "You can't step in the same river twice", "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime" etc.)
- Symbol characters (such as Grim Reaper, Cupid, Justice, Liberty)
- Jewish, Buddhist and Christian scriptures (events, characters, quotations).
- Sports or game references appear also in Turkish cartoons - boxing references are the most popular. In a cartoon we see Uncle Sam and an Israeli who attacks UN with an oversized glove.

Those are popular sources of imagery among Turkish cartoonists. We see cartoons portraying Bush as Pinocchio with a growing nose, Erdoğan as the Father Smurf, and Olmert as King Kong or as Frankenstein's monster. Film references include King Kong, Wizard of Oz and Star Wars (with images of Cheney as Darth Vader). References to popular culture are numerous in Turkish cartoons. "The use of popular culture references provides what Morris called domestication, the "process by which

abstract ideas and distance, unfamiliar persons or events are converted into something close, familiar, and concrete” (1993: 201)

In Turkish humor, all countries are portrayed with their most symbolic images. They use some standard narrative symbols that symbolize a country. America is represented by Uncle Sam and flag, England by John Bull, Buckingham Palace, wig of the lawyers, Greece by Greek flag, Plato Academia, China by the Great Wall of China, Tiananmen Square. Lastly, for Israel Star of David, Western Wall (Wailing Wall), kippah and knitted hair. Generally, all countries that are threatening to Turkey are portrayed as male figures. In addition to that blondness evokes foreignness whereas brownness is seen as the sign of Turkishness. For instance, Mexico is situated in cartoons with the huge Mexican hats and their siesta time of the day which is a traditional daytime sleep. In cartoons Mexicans are portrayed as they cannot sleep at night because of this midday rest. Brazil is always represented in terms of Samba and football. Netherlands is criticized for its extensive freedoms. There is even a cartoon with a title ‘foundation of Amsterdam’. A group of people are planning to establish a new country which offers full freedom. Cartoonist takes our attention to the drug abuse, the freedom for the marriage of gays and lesbians. Maldives, Fiji Islands and Bahamas are portrayed as good places for holidays and honeymoon. Prostitutes are generally Moldavian, Russian and Ukrainian. Switzerland is portrayed with the Cern Experiment and jack-knives. Egypt’s well-known images are pyramids, poverty, pharaohs, and desert. For Africa, cartoonists use safari, poverty, exploitation whereas for India, an Indian poor with his snake, third eye, sacred cows and Taj Mahal and also crowdedness. We see Japan with its scary movies, honored robots and technology. Russia is famous with its wish to go to hot seas and Crazy Petro. Netherlands and Germany are portrayed as places to get employment.

Political cartoons enable us to understand some of the ways in which a foreign country is figured in the Turkish imagination. As a result historical misperceptions are influential. All those stereotypes are ingrained in the mind of ordinary people and reinforce the misperceptions surrounding various countries. England is a colonizer,

Greece is irredentist... All of them are historical stereotypes. For instance, the main theme that runs throughout Turkish history is the question of Turkey's subordination to various countries such as the United States. From within a country at the centre of a dissolving Empire, we can find thoughts and feelings expressed in graphic form as America became a world power. This perception of dominance and subordination in Turco-American relations has clearly retained its relevance, and many cartoonists practicing at the present time reflect this in their work, as a glance at Turkish humor magazines in the course of any week will show. Turkey's relative weakness took the tangible form of economic dependency on the United States. Therefore, Turkish cartoonists feed the hostility towards America which is an enemy, or the 'other'. Generally, USA and Israel are murderers. Those two countries are portrayed as animals most of the time and they are the most dehumanized countries in Turkish political cartoons. Mostly, dog, snake, shark and dragon are used in order to visualize America. The most common image is Uncle Sam for America. But Turkish cartoonists create female equivalent of this symbol: Aunt Samantha. We see overt and latent hostility toward America in almost every cartoon.

The most represented political figures are George Bush, Barrack Obama, Dick Cheney and Condoleezza Rice, who is also the most represented woman in Turkish cartoons. But she is portrayed manly. Cartoonists generally use big ears, big mouth, big nose, big teeth, long nails, blood, and cowboy boots when depicting George Bush. A world without Bush is depicted as happier. In the cartoons of those political figures we always see blood in order to direct our attention to their evilness and bloodiness. There is no positive image of America. The USA is always shown as a monster. It turned the world into a place which becomes highly difficult to live due to America's exploitative and imperialist character. "It sees itself as the only dominant power of the world and it has the right to direct and control the entire world" is an idea that is always reproduced in Turkish political cartoons. The most interesting thing is that there are almost no cartoons that frame the scientific, artistic or technologic developments in America. They are always presented in the context of politics and economy. The representation of Hollywood stars is used in order to belittle America by belittling them. For instance, Orlando Bloom is not handsome

and their names are badly pronounced such as the name of Rene Zelweeger. Those characters along with Disney characters are used to denote America.

The US is portrayed as not only an enemy of Turkey but an enemy of the world. The cartoons related to America are generally about these themes: Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan Wars, American and Russian relationships with the occupation of Georgia by Russia, American and Israeli Alliance, America and UN, the Independence of Kosovo with the support of America, America's greediness of oil and its economic exploitation, economic crisis and the collapse of New York Stock, Global warming and climate summits, American Presidency elections and the comparison of Bush and Obama, Turkish dependency on America and nuclear guns in Incirlik... By using Disney characters and Hollywood characters Erdoğan's dependency on America is emphasized. Green giant Erdoğan and King Kong Erdoğan are examples of such cartoons. Moreover we see a cartoon says that "Tom and Jerry give support to the talks of Turkish government with Kurds".

England is generally not portrayed as a military power that can damage in Turkish political cartoons. There is only one cartoon that criticizes the British attacks on some Middle Eastern countries. Unlike America and Israel we do not come across English soldiers in cartoons. The most represented political figure is Queen Elizabeth. Common themes are: the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Turkey and the clothing of Turkish president Abdullah Gül, the cloudy weather of England, the double-deckers that come on time, the title of 'Sir', British mythical characters and English language. The use of the language as a means to exploit people is criticized. On the other hand to have a universal language that everybody wants to learn helps English people to feel superior. Turkish cartoonists do not accept this superiority and they articulate a kind of linguistic nationalism.

The representation of Greece was highly surprising. Contrary to my initial expectations there are also cartoons depicting Greeks as our neighbors. In addition to this, there are not many cartoons on Greece, especially on modern Greece. The reason for this can be the feelings of superiority of Turkish cartoonists. At least they

do not feel themselves as inferior. So they see no point in portraying Greece. By doing this they also render Greeks unimportant to the point that there is no need to mention them in cartoons. That is, to belittle the 'other' means also to understand it, not necessarily to reject or exclude it totally. They seem like united in the idea that it is better not draw an image of Greece in order not to provide a statute to that country. But we cannot say that the antagonism between the two nations is eliminated totally as both nations want to be influential within the same geographical area. Both want to have the key position between the West and the East and to be a dominant power in the region. For Greece the main recurring themes are their mythological characters and the belief of them stealing everything from us. Thus it is always the Greeks who betray faith, act dishonestly and start aggressive spirals: 'our' actions are always justified. The protests after the murder of a young boy are seen as an indicator of democracy by Turkish cartoonists. It is clearly understood from the cartoons of the period that Greece's democracy is respected and to respect is to appreciate which is better than just showing tolerance. Moreover, respect leads to self-criticism with Turkish cartoonists providing a critique of Turkish democracy.

Israel is depicted with negative images. The common frames are: Israeli-Turkish relations, the guns that Israel sold to Turkey (Israelis are offering to try before buying on Palestine), the Davos Summit and the attitude of Erdoğan, Israel-Gaza War and its blockage of humanitarian aid convoys, Israel and American alliance, the power of Israeli lobby in America, the absurdity of having a Wailing wall in Israel which is declared as war criminal. The most portrayed political figures are: Ehud Olmert, Shimon Peres and Tzipni Livni. Often we see Israeli soldier in Turkish cartoons as they are killing children and civilians. The cartoons frequently drew particular attention to the physical characteristics of the depicted Israelis in order to emphasize their ridiculousness or their loathsomeness. And it is accepted as a composite photograph of all Israelis. Israel is defined as a "timeless enemy" and "a cancer in the heart of the Arab and Muslim world". We see the Star of David as attached to their hat known as kippah, fedora or their clothing.

The only countries that Turkish cartoonists depicted as friends are Turkic Republics. Azerbaijan and Armenia are depicted as brother countries. In almost every cartoon an emphasis on the brotherhood of Turks and Armenians is provided and they are portrayed as having dinner together in a restaurant, chatting with each other. On the other hand, there are popular misperceptions about the Arabs in general. The most popular one is Arab's stabbing Ottoman-Turkish soldiers in alliance with the British forces during World War I. That is why Arabs are shown as ignorant, brutish and immoral. In addition to this the jewelry that Arab King gave to Hayrūnisa Gül, the wife of Turkish president, during their visit are highly criticized. Also, the economic partnerships with Arab businessmen are targeted by Turkish cartoonists.

There is more coverage when the relations with those countries increased at certain peak times or a kind of conflictual relationship occurred – for instance, in the periods when America asked Turkey to send its soldiers to Iraq or when the nuclear guns in İncirlik were discussed. Also, internal conflicts of countries are mirrored in Turkish political cartoons which in turn increase the representation of countries. For instance, the death of a boy in Greece by the police increased the cartoons on Greece in Turkey. To further exemplify, Israel's attack on Gaza in December 2008 increased the number of cartoons on Israel.

Today nations are still fighting with each other although the camps are formed accidentally as no one chooses his nation. Indeed, membership to a nation is a matter of birth. According to some scholars, if we understand that we are not just Turks, that is if we become aware of our other identities such as being a student, being a woman we can communicate with 'others' – this reduces the barriers between the people of different countries. This is the basis of harmony, esteem, respect, sympathy, mutual understanding and opening the past to negotiation and communication. Only in this way we can make people who are separated with artificial lines such as language, religion and culture to come together. All the 'invented' stories that we tell about ourselves inhibit cultural interaction, experience and transformation.

In the end, the job of cartoonists is only holding the mirror up to society. They always test the limits of tolerance. To bring to light, to see through, to reveal, to expose, to unmask, to uncover; these are the keywords for the committed satirist. They show us who the real villain is and try to be the voice of voiceless. And still, many think that this is a world worth drawing for, and worth fighting for. What is the point in apprehending the world through rigid stereotypes? Can we exit from the nationalism labyrinth? It seems this is not possible in the foreseeable future. It is true that we live in a world highly globalized but we are still surrounded with the discourse of nationalism.

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Appendix A

	LEMAN		PENGUEN		UYKUSUZ		TOTAL		TOTAL	PER.
	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009		
COUNTRIES										
Afghanistan	7	13	4	4	2	5	13	22	35	1,51
Africa	7	4	7	10	1	5	15	19	34	1,47
Albania	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	0,09
Algeria	0	1	1	0	2	0	3	1	4	0,17
Amman	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04
Andorra	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,04
Angola	0	0	1	5	0	0	1	5	6	0,26
Argentina	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0,09
Armenia	5	9	8	10	3	1	16	20	36	1,55
Australia	0	0	4	1	1	1	5	2	7	0,30
Austria	1	1	3	1	0	0	4	2	6	0,26
Azerbaijan	1	0	2	5	3	3	6	8	14	0,60
Bahamas	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04
Bangkok	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,04
Bangladesh	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	3	0,13
Belarus	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	3	0,13
Belgium	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	3	0,13
Bhutan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0,04
Bolivia	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	0,13
Bosnia Herzegovinia	0	1	1	2	1	0	2	3	5	0,22
Brasil	1	2	2	3	3	1	6	6	12	0,52
Bulgaria	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1	3	0,13
Canada	1	2	1	3	0	0	2	5	7	0,30
Caucasus	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0,09
Chad	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	0,09
China	26	20	34	23	13	10	73	53	126	5,44
Congo	2	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	4	0,17
Crimea	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04
Croatia	2	0	3	0	2	1	7	1	8	0,35
Cuba	6	3	2	0	0	1	8	4	12	0,52
Cyprus	2	2	2	3	0	0	4	5	9	0,39
Czech Republic	1	1	4	0	0	0	5	1	6	0,26
Denmark	0	1	1	3	0	1	1	5	6	0,26
Dominic Republic	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	2	0,09
Egypt	8	8	16	16	2	3	26	27	53	2,29
England	16	18	47	42	33	17	96	77	173	7,47

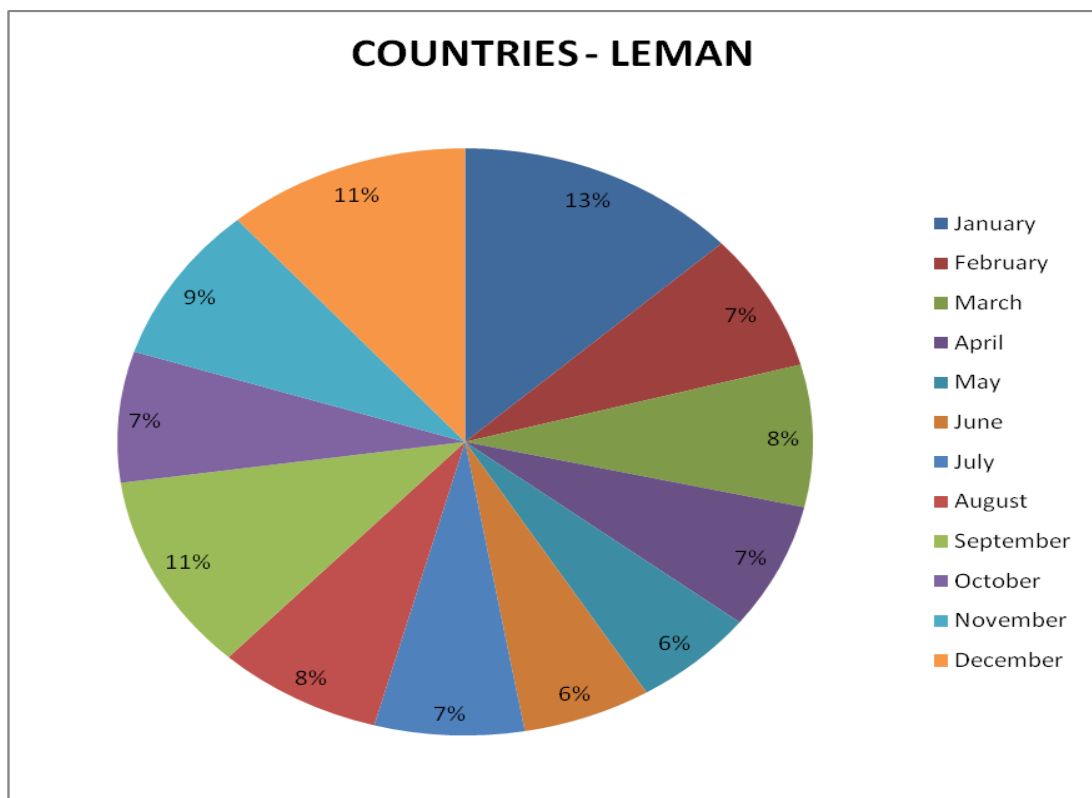
Equador	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04
Eskimos	5	11	19	23	2	2	26	36	62	2,68	
Estonia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Ethiopia	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Fas	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	0,13	
Fiji Islands	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Finland	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,04	
France	4	20	18	13	6	2	28	35	63	2,72	
Gaza	7	19	1	8	5	7	13	34	47	2,03	
Georgia	8	0	6	0	0	0	14	0	14	0,60	
Germany	8	18	36	16	12	12	56	46	102	4,40	
Greece	26	13	41	39	10	2	77	54	131	5,65	
Hong Kong	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Hungaria	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	3	0,13	
Iceland	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	4	0,17	
India	17	18	10	7	7	0	34	25	59	2,55	
Indonesia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,04	
Iran	6	15	7	9	6	0	19	24	43	1,86	
Iraq	19	15	15	4	15	5	49	24	73	3,15	
Ireland	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	2	4	0,17	
Israel	9	37	10	18	12	17	31	72	103	4,45	
Italy	5	11	11	15	4	7	20	33	53	2,29	
Ivory Coast	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,04	
Japan	8	11	30	18	6	7	44	36	80	3,45	
Jordan	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Kenya	2	2	2	1	3	1	7	4	11	0,47	
Kirghizistan	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0,09	
Korea	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	3	0,13	
Kosova	1	0	1	0	2	0	4	0	4	0,17	
Latin America	1	4	1	2	0	1	2	7	9	0,39	
Lebanon	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	1	3	0,13	
Letonia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Liberia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Libya	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	3	0,13	
Liechtenstein	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0,04	
Litvania	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0,04	
Maldivs	2	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	4	0,17	
Malesia	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0,09	
Mexico	3	3	2	4	2	1	7	8	15	0,65	
Moldovia	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	3	0,13	
Monte Carlo	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,04	
Myanmar	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	0,09	
Netherlands	2	4	0	0	1	1	3	5	8	0,35	

New Zealand	0	1	0	0	1	0		1	1		2	0,09
Nigeria	1	1	0	0	0	0		1	1		2	0,09
Norwegia	1	1	3	1	2	1		6	3		9	0,39
Pakistan	2	2	3	3	1	1		6	6		12	0,52
Paraguay	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	1		1	0,04
Phalestine	5	15	3	3	4	3		12	21		33	1,42
The Philipines	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Peru	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	1		1	0,04
Poland	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Portugal	1	2	1	0	1	0		3	2		5	0,22
Qatar	2	0	2	0	0	0		4	0		4	0,17
Romania	1	0	0	1	1	0		2	1		3	0,13
Russia	16	7	20	22	4	1		40	30		70	3,02
San Marino	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Saudi Arabia	11	13	31	17	5	6		47	36		83	3,58
Serbia	2	1	3	0	1	0		6	1		7	0,30
Scotland	0	1	0	1	1	0		1	2		3	0,13
Slovenia	0	1	1	0	0	0		1	1		2	0,09
Somali	3	2	1	1	1	1		5	4		9	0,39
Spain	5	11	9	6	4	2		18	19		37	1,60
Sri Lanka	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Sudan	1	2	2	2	0	1		3	5		8	0,35
Sweedden	0	3	1	1	0	0		1	4		5	0,22
Switzerland	5	5	5	5	1	2		11	12		23	0,99
Syria	2	3	1	4	0	1		3	8		11	0,47
Tahiti	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Taiwan	0	1	1	0	0	0		1	1		2	0,09
Tanzania	0	0	0	1	1	0		1	1		2	0,09
Thailand	0	3	0	0	0	0		0	3		3	0,13
Tibet	1	0	1	1	0	2		2	3		5	0,22
Tunusia	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Turkmenistan	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
Ukraine	0	0	1	0	0	1		1	1		2	0,09
Uruguay	0	0	1	0	0	1		1	1		2	0,09
U.S.A.	80	64	96	71	78	37		254	172		426	18,39
Uzbekistan	0	0	0	2	0	0		0	2		2	0,09
Vatican	0	0	0	0	2	0		2	0		2	0,09
Venezuela	1	0	0	0	0	0		1	0		1	0,04
Vietnam	0	1	2	2	0	0		2	3		5	0,22
Zaire	0	0	0	2	1	1		1	3		4	0,17
Zambia	0	1	0	1	0	0		0	2		2	0,09
Zimbabwe	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	1		1	0,04
TOTAL	373	446	567	469	276	186		1216	1101		2317	100

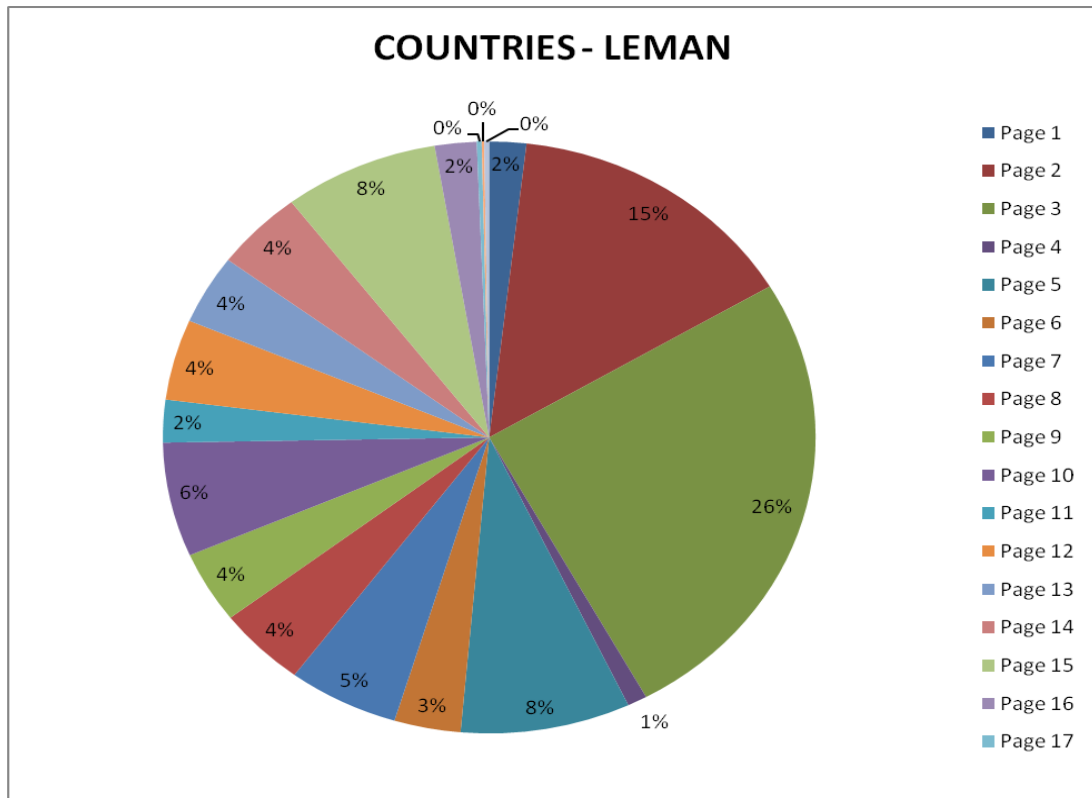
Appendix B

Below, there are two graphics for each magazine. The first one shows the percentage of appearance of all political cartoons of each magazine in terms of months. For instance, 13% of all political cartoons of *Leman* magazine were published on January. This means that mostly cartoons were published in January for the *Leman* magazine. For each magazine the graph can be read in the same manner. The second graph shows the percentage of pages that cartoons were appeared. For instance, for *Leman* magazine 26% of all cartoons of that magazine were published on page 3.

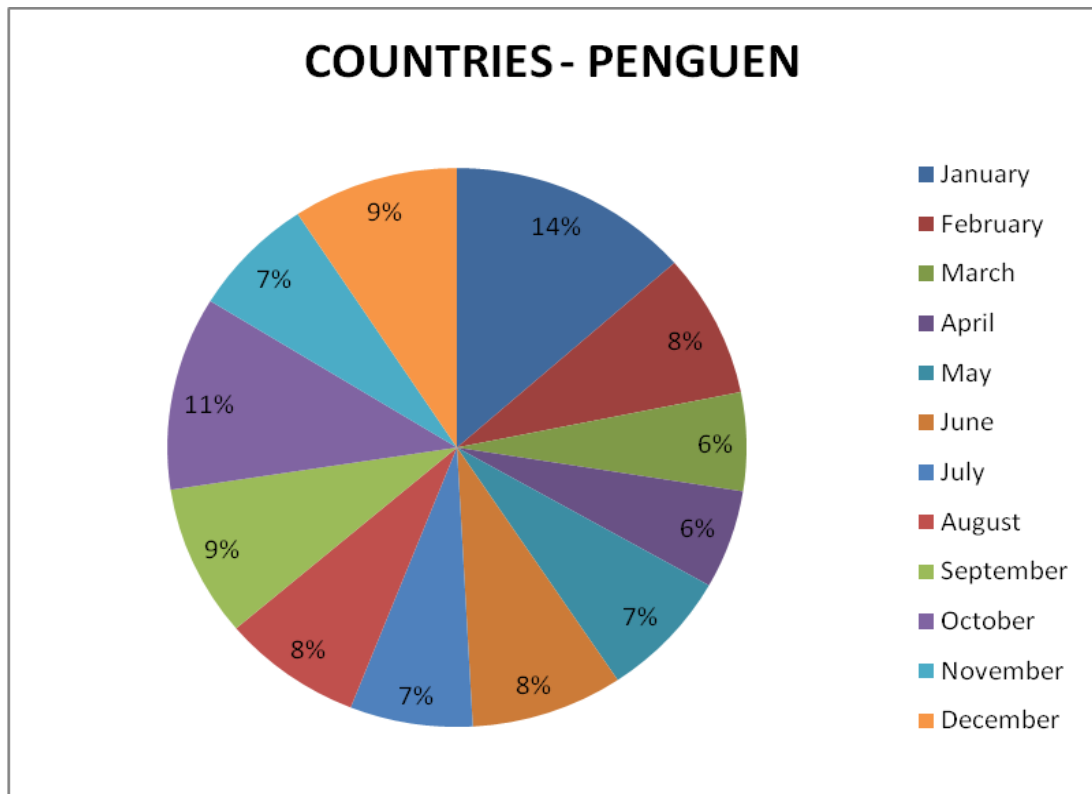
Graph 1 for *Leman*



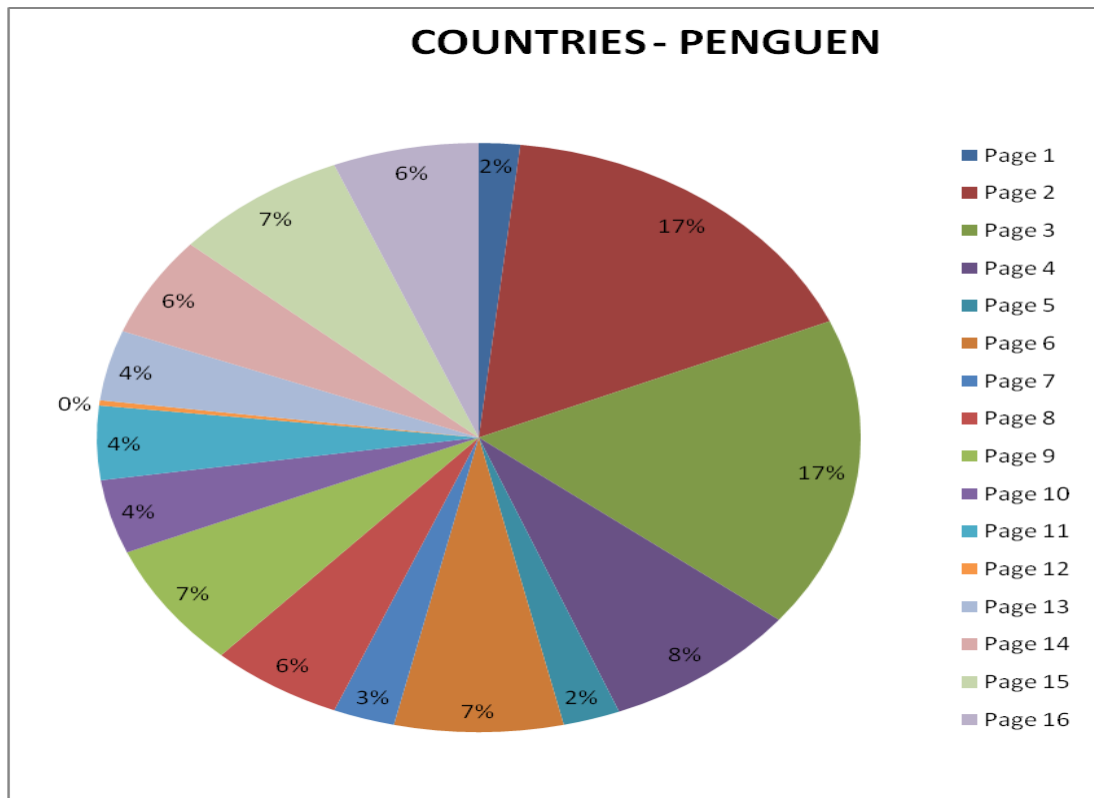
Graph 2 for *Leman*



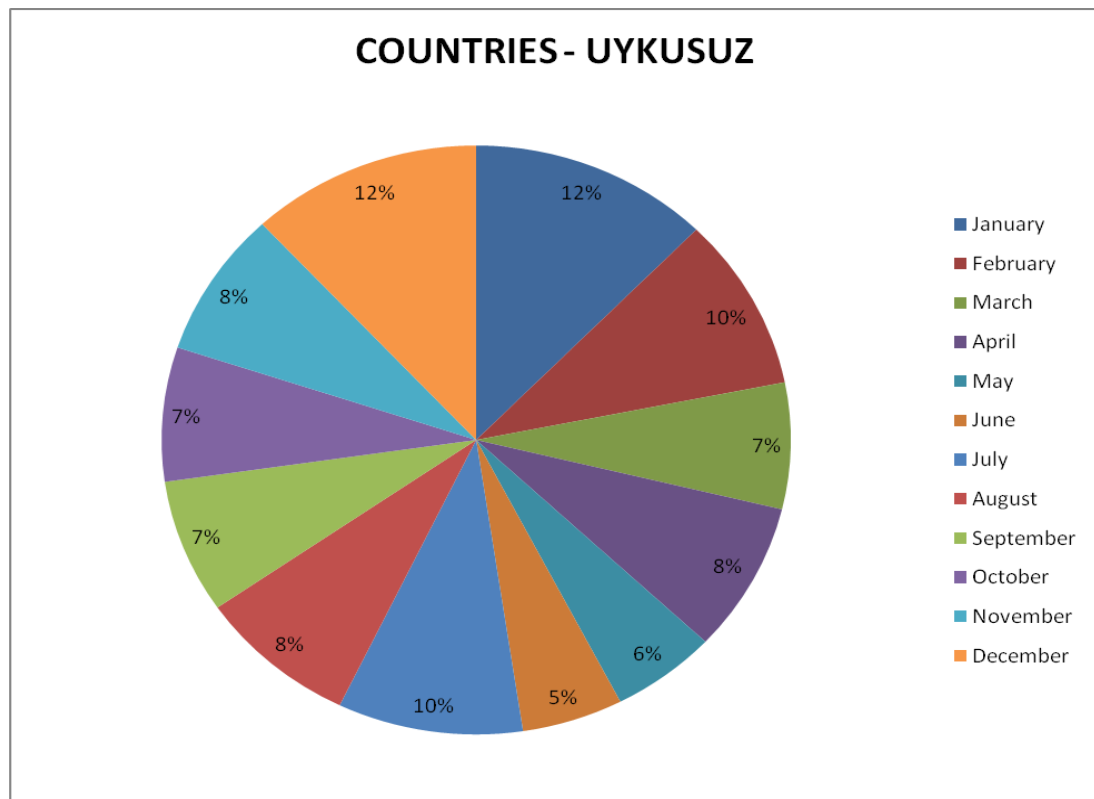
Graph 1 for *Penguen*



Graph 2 for *Penguen*



Graph 1 for *Uykusuz*



Graph 2 for *Uykusuz*

