

DEHUMANIZATION IN CARTOONS: A CASE STUDY OF THE IMAGE OF THE TURK IN ASBAREZ NEWSPAPER*

(KARİKATÜRLERDE DEHÜMANİZASYON:
ASBAREZ GAZETESİ ÖRNEĞİNDE TÜRK İMGESİ)

Dr. Bahar Senem ÇEVİK-ERSAYDI

Expert in political psychology and political communication,
Ankara University Center for the Study and Research of
Political Psychology (POLPAUM)

Abstract: *The most primitive method of “othering” is dehumanization which is a psychological mechanism that transforms the enemy into an object that is to be hated. During this process the enemy is stripped from any human attributions, devalued and humiliated which eventually helps group cohesion. Most well known forms of dehumanization can be seen in WWII era which can also be categorized as a psychological warfare strategy. Media assists as a tool in spreading the perception of dehumanization, construction and sustainability of national identities. In this regard, the image of the “Turk” is widely represented in Asbarez newspaper cartoons which also demonstrate traces of dehumanization.*

Keywords: *dehumanization, cartoons, image, political psychology, Asbarez*

Öz: *Ötekileştirmenin en ilkel şekli olan dehümanizasyon (gayri-insanileştirme), sosyalleşme sonucu düşmanı nefret edilecek bir nesneye dönüştüren psikolojik bir mekanizmadır. İnsani özelliklerinden sıyrılan düşman bu süreçte değersizleştirilip, aşağılanarak büyük grubun bir arada varlığını sürdürmeye yardımcı olur. Tarihte özellikle İkinci Dünya Savaşı döneminde uygulanan dehümanizasyonu bir çeşit psikolojik savaş yöntemi olarak da tanımlamak mümkündür. Medya dehümanizasyon algısının yaygınlaşmasında, milli kimliğin inşasında ve sürekliliğinde etkin bir araç olarak kullanılabilir. Bu doğrultuda Asbarez Gazetesi'nin incelenen tematik karikatürlerinde Türk imgesi önemli bir yer tutmakta ve gayri-insanileştirmenin izlerini taşımaktadır.*

Anahtar Kelimeler: *dehümanizasyon, karikatürler, imge, politik psikoloji, Asbarez*

Every individual has a different story generated by memories. Similar to that of individuals, large groups also have stories generated by the stories of the individuals belonging to the group. These can be defined as the manifestations of a collective mind and consciousness bringing together history, traumas, perceptions, customs, traditions and literature. This collective consciousness that shapes the identity is partly acquired from past generations through inter-generational transmission or learned through the long process of individual socialization. Crenshaw notes that identity is found collectively and cannot be separated from historical circumstances.¹ Socialization, one of the main functions of media, can be defined as

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individuals’ process of adjusting to the society and the social structure they live in. In the course of this process, the individual learns the norms and values embraced by the society through his/her environment. While socializing, the individual reaches various judgments concerning his/her own identity by identifying with the values of his/her family and society and internalizing the history of the community.² This process takes place at an earlier stage in life. Adolescents tend to develop their identity during these tough

years.³ Through socialization children and adolescents first learn about their own group then about enemies and allies. This is a time when individuals learn and distinguish the familiar from the unfamiliar, incorporating specific elements of national identity.⁴

The process of identity building and socialization enables individuals to define the concept of enemies and allies can with sharp distinctions. Most importantly, individuals identify with certain groups mainly ethnic, national or religious during the identity building process. As a result of the social and political circumstances the members of one group can apply the most primitive method of othering which is defined as “dehumanization”. The ritual of dehumanization or dehumanizing the enemy or “other” could be explained as transforming it into a demon and an object that is to be hated.

1 Martha Crenshaw (2004) “The Psychology of Political Terrorism”, *Political Psychology: Key Readings*, John J. Jost, Jim Sidanius /Eds.), New York, Psychology Press, p.419.

2 Richard M. Merelman (1972) “The Adolescence of Political Socialization”, *Sociology of Education*, Vol 45, s.135.

3 Erikson describes the stages of identity and crises. For further details please see Erik H. Erikson (1980) *Identity and the Life Cycle*, New York, W.W. Norton and Erik H. Erikson, (1968) *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York, W.W. Norton

4 Robert S. Robins, Jerrold M. Post (1997) *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*, New Haven, Yale University Pres, p.90.

In other words it forges hatred.⁵ Dehumanizing the individual or group is the result of their perception being shaped in the human mind. The enemy can sometimes be devalued by being depicted as a bird which represents weakness, or a snake which represents betrayal. In this context, the process of dehumanization can be described as a type of a psychological operation with the purpose of discouraging and weakening the targeted group by devaluing them. Attempts of dehumanization directed towards the target group necessarily glorify those groups that are applying this process by describing them as clean, pure, and humane and obtain superiority. In conveying this message to the society the depictions which dehumanize a group and the press, as an instrument of socialization, play a great role. Sometimes cartoons are much more striking in a way that they can guide and shape social perceptions more than columns, articles or news. Due to the visual characteristic, sometimes cartoons are much more effective than columns. Similarly, Massis Araradian's cartoon column in Asbarez appeals to the Armenian Diaspora in the US and seems to construct and reflect the Diaspora's judgments regarding the Turks. This article will examine the image of the Turk and the depiction of Turkey in the cartoons published in Asbarez Newspaper from 2007-2008.

Asbarez Newspaper and Massis Araradian's Cartoons

Asbarez Newspaper could be regarded as an tool of socialization raising awareness within the Armenian-American Diaspora and instilling the norms and values foreseen by the Armenian Diaspora. Furthermore, Asbarez Newspaper is the official publication of a specific political movement, the ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation). As the publication of the ARF (Dashnaktsutyun), Asbarez criticizes contradictory political views and channels its readers towards the official ARF political view.

Asbarez Newspaper, which means "Arena" was first published in Western Armenian in August 1908 in Fresno, California. During its first years, Asbarez continued its publication as a weekly newspaper. Since 1970, the newspaper is published bilingually –English and Armenian-. The renovation to publish in English has been a necessity arising from the complexities regarding language and identity faced by the Diapora youth. Various authors have mentioned that the younger-generation Armenian-Americans are not willing or able to learn sufficient Armenian.⁶ Considering the developments

5 David Patrick Houghton (2008) *Political Psychology: Situations, Individuals and Cases*, New York, Routledge, p.173.

6 Alice Kassabian, (1987) "Armenian Ethnic Identity Within the Context of Traumatic Loss", unpublished dissertation, The Catholic University of America

in advanced communication technology and the changes within the Armenian Diaspora, Asbarez started publishing its online edition in 1997 and currently has evolved into an interactive news portal using social media besides the print edition⁷.

Perhaps the most important point is that the publication policy of Asbarez Newspaper is closely related to the ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) or the Dashnaksutyun which has an official link with the newspaper.⁸ A great majority of the Armenian media in the US and Canada are overseen by Hunchak and Dashnak organizations. Asbarez, which publishes within the context of the Dashnak ideology, is the third oldest newspaper among 17 Armenian newspapers published in the US⁹. The aim of the Armenian organizations in the US and Asbarez Newspaper is maintaining the Armenian identity, culture, history and ethnic attributes against the adopted US identity and globalization, along with creating and sustaining a public opinion on 1915 events as genocide. The news covered by Asbarez indicates that it aims to mobilize the Armenian community against the denialist Turkish stance.¹⁰ The ARF, having official links to Asbarez describes itself as an advocate of Armenian nationalism and is active in 200 countries in which the Diaspora exists. According to the organization, its primary official goals declared as official are to determine the borders and establish an independent and united Armenia based on the Treaty of Sevres, to obtain international recognition and condemnation of the Armenia “genocide” and request the returning of occupied lands¹¹. Moreover, the official primary goals of the AYF (Armenian Youth Federation), the youth branch of the ARF, are to prepare the Armenian youth for future membership in the ARF, to call on them for active involvement in the Armenian community and to work towards the establishment of a united, free, and independent Armenia¹². An examination of Asbarez indicates that news is created by the influence of these goals.

The cartoon column constitutes another important part of the newspaper. The cartoons drawn by Massis Araradian should not be considered any different

7 About Asbarez Armenian News, <http://asbarez.com/about/>, retrieved: 15 May 2011.

8 For Asbarez’s centenary history and its connection with the ARF see: Paul Chaderjian, “Looking Back 100 Years”, http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=21676204594&ref=mf, ARF-D Brief, http://www.arfd.info/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/ARF_Brief-14-March-2011-A5.pdf, retrieved: 15 May 2011.

9 Şenol Kantarcı (2007) *Ermeni Lobisi*, Ankara: Lalezar Bookhouse, pp. 128-129.

10 For a recent news please see: Collapse of Turkey’s Genocide Denial Topic at ANCA-WR, <http://asbarez.com/100497/collapse-of-turkey%e2%80%99s-genocide-denial-topic-at-anca-wr-town-hall/>, Asbarez, retrieved: Jan 26, 2012.

11 About ARF, <http://arf1890.info/AboutARF/AboutARF.html>, ARF Program, <http://arf1890.info/AboutARF/PDF/ARFProgramEnglish.pdf>, retrieved: May 16, 2011.

12 AYF Goals, <http://www.ayf.org/AboutUs/Goals/tabid/54/Default.aspx>, retrieved: May 16, 2011.

than the policy of the newspaper. Araradian indicates that generally, his drawings are related to the Armenian “genocide”, the events regarding Armenia or the daily problems experienced by American Armenians. Araradian’s cartoons support his own statements. By stating that the guiding principle in his works is Armenianness, 80 year old Massis, who has been drawing cartoons for Asbarez since 1976, has said in an interview “soldiers fight Turks with their guns, I fight with my pencil”¹³. Upon studying Araradian’s cartoons for Asbarez, it could be inferred that he does in fact convey his views with his pencil and conducts political satire through his artwork.

Within this framework, the cartoons and news of Asbarez, reinforces the mutually dependent “Armenian Genocide” and “Turkish Hostility” theses as a glue to keep the group and identity together. Apart from the artistic style of the cartoons, it could be suggested that they function as a psychological mechanism. When studying the cartoons of Asbarez, a sense of devaluation and dehumanization can be found in cartoons pertaining the genocide theme.

Dehumanization: A Psychological Mechanism

First “us” and “other”; in other words, the concepts of enemies and allies must be discussed in order to describe the concept of dehumanization. Group identities sharing common attributes have naturally developed over time and have emerged as a result of historical processes, geographical features, mythological origins and common/shared features¹⁴. This identity creates the feeling of being “us” amongst the individuals belonging to the group. Ethnic identity, considered as the core identity, is also shaped under the influence of historical processes. In this context a major trauma which Volkan categorizes as a chosen trauma that is shared in the collective historical mind of the large group is an essential part of large group identity which can have a huge impact on the individual members of that group.¹⁵

The phenomenon of “us” could best be described in contrast to the concept of the “other”. The “other” is highly important for large groups or in other words, for nations. The notion of the other is subconsciously critical for the construction and sustainability of ethnic identities. The other enables the

13 Shahan Sanossian, “The pencil is mightier than the sword”, *The Armenian Reporter*, February 23, 2008, <http://www.reporter.am/index.cfm?objectid=20A1B3FC-5FD3-11DE-84170003FF3452C2>, retrieved: May 20, 2011.

14 Vamik Volkan (1997) *Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism*, New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, p.22.

15 Vamik Volkan (1997) *Bloodlines...*, p. 48; Vamik Volkan (2004) *Blind Trust*, Charlottesville, Pitchstone Publishing, p. 47.

individual and large group to define itself as well as to protect the identity against its enemy¹⁶. Each nation or large group struggles to stay alive and societies are formed by a binding purpose. A way to assure in-group cohesion is to create a purpose in relation to the “other”.¹⁷ Freud has made the following comparison about the perception of the other and large groups: “Every time two families become connected by marriage, each of them thinks itself superior to or of better birth than the other. Of two neighboring towns each is the other’s most jealous rival; every little canton looks down upon the others with contempt. Closely related races keep one another at arm’s length; the South German cannot endure the North German, the Spaniard despises the Portuguese. We are no longer astonished that greater differences should lead to an almost insuperable repugnance, such as the Gallic people feel for the German, the Aryan for the Semite, and the white races for the colored” .¹⁸ This resonates in the Arab-Israeli conflict. For instance it is very common in Anatolia where the residents of Tarsus feel superior to those of Mersin and residents of Develi feel different than those of Kayseri. For that reason even groups that seem almost the same from outside have the need to Express their difference.

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Alford¹⁹ states that externalizing, humiliating, ridiculing, overlooking or criticizing an outside group develops in-group cohesion and such a feeling serves as a glue that keeps groups as small as families to as large as nations together. The existence of the “other” improves in-group ties and cohesion because the created or real “enemy” eventually becomes a necessity to define the identity. Sometimes eliminating the “enemy” will not be desired by the large group in order to preserve the current conflict. The need for an “enemy” which could easily be influenced by especially narcissist leaders not only satisfies the needs of group identity, but also the psychological requirements of individuals.²⁰ If a member of a group is confronted with an individual or

16 Dominique Schnapper (2005) *Sosyoloji Düşüncesinin Özünde Öteki İle İlişki*, translator: Ayşegül Sömezay, İstanbul: Bilgi University Publications, p. 137.

17 Howard F. Stein, “The Indispensable Enemy and American-Soviet Relations” in Vamık D. Volkan, Demetrios Julius, Joseph V. Montville, (1990) *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships* (Eds.) Vol I, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, p. 71; Rafael Moses, “The Perception of the Enemy: A Psychoanalytic View”, *Mind and Human Interaction*, Vol 7, No 1, p. 39.

18 Sigmund Freud (1949) *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 5th ed., Translated by: James Starchey, Lonfon, Hogarth Press, p.55.

19 Fred Alford (1994) *Group Psychology and Political Theory*, New Haven Yale: University Press, p. 29.

20 Jerrold M. Post (2004) *Leaders and Their Followers in a Dangerous World*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p. 106.

group perceived as an enemy/threat, that member could attribute all evil and detested traits to that “enemy”. For instance individuals as well as large groups tend to blame others for their own mistakes and failures. It is also common for large groups such as nations to forget their own mistakes and blame others for making the same mistake. With such a method of projection, the individual may feel purified and perceived as “good”, while the enemy is perceived as “bad” and scapegoated. As a result of this, the enemy could be devalued, attributed with monstrous traits and dehumanized.²¹

According to Moses, opposite groups in a conflict (for instance war, a conflict or hostility) enter a phase of denial where they reflect the negative sides of themselves to each other, sometimes adorned with imaginary and sometimes with real attributes. One of these psychological mechanisms is dehumanization or in other words humiliating, devaluing and stripping the individual from human attributes. Moses explains dehumanization as an individual or group acting inhumanly to another group or person who they perceive as the other in order to strip them of self-respect and humanity. In a situation like this, the person or group carrying out the dehumanization process has already lost their humane and emotional attributes, because otherwise it is not possible to act in such a cruel manner to another. Moses states that in order for a group to dehumanize another, first a psychological projection of negativity towards the other has to take place²². More importantly dehumanization does not occur all of a sudden but rather is the last and dangerous stage psychological regression.²³ At this stage, ideologies are also a factor leading a group to dehumanization or war crimes. The ideology mentioned here could sometimes be a “national cause”.

According to Haslam, dehumanization is denying human attributes to others. Haslam indicates that this process is seen mostly in ethnic and racial conflicts.²⁴ According to another definition, dehumanization is the most extreme dimension of prejudice and occurs in everyday life. For instance, individuals or groups perceived as the “other” are equated to animals or machines and are attributed with non-human characteristics like greedy, thief, murderer, and rapist²⁵.

21 Ervin Staub (2009) *The Roots of Evil*, 20th ed., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 48.

22 Rafael Moses, “On Dehumanizing the Enemy” in Vamik D. Volkan, Demetrios A. Julius, Joseph V. Montville (1990) *The Psychodynamics of International Relations* Vol I, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, pp. 112-113.

23 Vamik D. Volkan, *Blind Trust*, p. 72.

24 Nick Haslam, (2006) “Dehumanization: An Integrative View”, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, Vol 10, No 3, p. 252.

25 Nick Haslam, Stephen Loughnan, Catherine Reynolds, Samuel Wilson (2007) “Dehumanization: A New Perspective”, *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, Vol 1, No 1, p. 410.

Hart and Hassencahl²⁶ refer to 12 different categories of dehumanization. These are:

1. Enemy as animal: Cartoons display the perceived enemy in loathsome animal images. For example, a mouse, insect etc.
2. Enemy as harasser of women and children: Images like oppressed women are used. For example, cartoons of Taliban and Afghan women.
3. Enemy as torturer of prisoners: Displaying civilians or soldiers as being tortured by the enemy.
4. Enemy as barbarian: In this situation, the cartoon displays the enemy as primitive, violent and uncivilized.
5. Enemy as criminal: In these types of cartoons, the enemy is illustrated as a criminal. For example, in a prison or on wanted posters.
6. Enemy as greedy: In these cartoons, the enemy is displayed when seizing the properties owned by others like money and land.
7. Enemy as enemy of God: In these types of cartoons, the enemy is depicted as insulting Godly and specifically Christian religious symbols.
8. Enemy as death: In this situation, cartoons display the enemy as being equal to death through for example skeletons and Azrael.
9. Enemy as faceless: In this situation, cartoons do not completely show the enemy's face and some of the facial features are either missing or indistinct.
10. Enemy as aggressor: In this situation, cartoons display the enemy as carrying swords, weapons and similar equipment or in military uniforms.
11. Enemy as an abstract image: Here, cartoons show the enemy as partially abstract or as unrealistic objects. For example, a robot, smoke etc.

26 William B. Hart, Fran Hassencahl, "Dehumanizing the Enemy in Editorial Cartoons", Bradley S. Greenberg (2002) *Communication and Terrorism*, Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, p. 143-144.

12. Enemy as human: In this situation, cartoons display the enemy but are only viable if not shown in one of the above-mentioned categories. In other words, these are cartoons in which the enemy has not been dehumanized.

The categories mentioned above could be classified as the psychological, moral and physical distances developed between humans. Various studies have shown that dehumanization first takes place when individuals develop these distances with the “other”. For instance, according to Haslam, a psychological distance emerges with nicknaming and classifying the opposite group and this situation creates a social distance among the opposite groups²⁷. Naming the Japanese in the US during World War II “Japs” or calling Muslims and Middle Asians “terrorists” during the Second Gulf Crisis and after September 11 are examples of psychological distance. When another group is excluded, a distinct line between two groups is drawn. This line protects the group identity from external threats. On the other hand, moral distance signifies conditions in which religious elements are influential. Based on this classification, a group regards another group which it perceives as the “enemy” as evil and considers every misdeed done to that group as moral and just. On a moral distance, the group dehumanizing the enemy considers itself as the chosen, having higher moral values and better. For instance, the Holocaust in Nazi Germany lies in the moral distance category. In such a case, it is easier for rival religious groups to perceive themselves in a higher status than the other and even legitimize any terrorist activity against the other group as just. Third of all, the physical distance represents the physical proximity and distance between groups. A person inflicting violence or murdering another individual perceived as the enemy is much easier when there is greater physical distance between them. In fact, bombing people who are seen like ants looking below from war planes is psychologically easier to do than shooting a person from a shorter distance, because humans cannot easily commit violence on other humans who are perceived similar to themselves.

These three different categories have been proved in Milgram’s experiment. In his lab experiment, Milgram gave instructions to the experimental subjects to apply electric shocks to a person without seeing them. Milgram’s experiment demonstrates the psychology and motivations for inflicting violence of those followers not being able to resist authority. The subjects have continued inflicting violence as the instructions of those administering the experiment continued and as long as they did not see, nor hear the voices of those they gave electric shocks to. This example, demonstrates that it is

27 Nick Haslam, “Dehumanization ...”, p. 262.

easy to dehumanize another person who maintain a psychological and physical distance.²⁸

Since dehumanization applies methods of humiliating and devaluing by stripping an individual or group from human attributes, this mechanism could also be categorized as a method of psychological warfare. A psychological operation or in other words, a psychological war “is not only a method of winning the war, but also of achieving peace after war”²⁹. Since the First World War, besides an armed conflict, psychological operation/warfare as an unarmed method has also been applied to change the attitude and behavior of hostile or friendly countries/nations. In the present day developments in mass communication and social media provide an opportunity to broadcast wars live which is becoming more popular in contrast to a costly war conducted with tanks, rifles and artillery. Therefore, the developments in mass communication technologies result in a wider influence in the community. This also indicates of a new world order and a bloodless new war strategy. With its new name, psychological operations are planned operations conducted by conveying selected messages to influence the emotions, motives and objective reasoning of target groups along with the attitudes of foreign governments, organizations, groups and individuals. The aim of psychological

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operations is to change the attitude and behavior of others in such a way that is favorable to the interests of the person conducting the operation. Psychological operations are a significant part of American diplomatic, communication, military and economic activities. They are used during times of conflict or peace time, to inform and influence.³⁰ Whether civil or military, psychological operations are conducted in both cases by widely utilizing instruments of communication. Just as printed, oral and visual media, psychological operations are applied in various other fields including branches of art (music, cinema, theater, art, and sculpture), academics, sports,

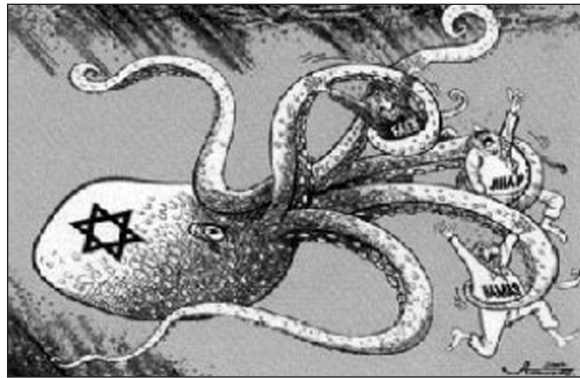
28 Stanley Milgram, (1973) “The Perils of Obedience”, *Harper’s Magazine*, p.6, <http://iniland.com/AP%20Psych%20Documents/Ch%2013%20-%20Milgram%20Study.pdf>, retrieved: May 20, 2011.

29 Ümit Özdağ (2010) *İstihbarat Teorisi*, 3rd ed., Ankara: Kripto, p. 238.

30 *Doctrine For Joint Psychological Operations*, Joint Publication 3-53, 5 September 2003, p. 10, <http://www.iwar.org.uk/psyops/resources/doctrine/psyop-jp-3-53.pdf>, retrieved: 17 November 2011.

technology, and literature. In this context, dehumanization, as a method which gives moral support by glorifying the group and demoralizing the individual or groups regarded as the enemy, is an important part of psychological war. Khan explains dehumanization as a psychological operation which transforms the enemy into an insignificant object by eliminating its human attributes and making it much lower/worthless than a human³¹.

Dehumanization, targeting groups belonging to a different race, nation, religion and culture³² is a mechanism commonly seen since the Middle Ages. An example of otherization and dehumanization of the group perceived as an enemy is the witch hunts during the Middle Age. Some sources classify the treatment of American Indians, the McCarthy period in the US, the Bosnian War and the tortures taking place in the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq as dehumanization. In fact, it is also possible to consider the videos of the former Libyan leader Qaddafi's murder within this framework. Although this mechanism has different stages, regarding its consequences, its most intense form has been seen in Nazi Germany. The Nazi propaganda has portrayed a dirty and bad image of the Jews by depicting them in animal images on various propaganda posters and newspaper cartoons.³³



Asbarez Cartoons

Based on the categories mentioned above, 50 different cartoons published in the Asbarez Newspaper in 2007 have been analyzed. Of the cartoons

31 L. Ali Khan (2006) *A Theory of International Terrorism: Understanding Islamic Militancy*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers Brill Academic: Leiden, p. 119.

32 Khan, *Ibid.*, p.119-120.

33 *German Propaganda Archives*, Calvin, <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/ww2era.htm>, Retrieved: Jan 04, 2012.

examined, 4 of them are related to religion, 11 of them to “genocide”, 12 of them to Armenian politics, and 8 of them to US politics. Although some of these cartoons are related to politics, they indirectly seem to be related to the idea of “genocide”. 15 of the cartoons entail symbols (like flags, leaders, elements of culture, nation and religion) which represent the Turks or Turkey. The topic of this article, the image of the Turk, will respectively be examined in these 15 cartoons.

The cartoon dated January 20 (Image-I) illustrates a genocide train with “1915” written on it and a person with a flag wearing a jacket carrying the star and crescent which signifies the Turk. It could be seen that this person, understood to be a Turk, drops the sword in his hand in surprise when he sees the genocide train. The underlying message of this cartoon might be that the “genocide” claims will continue until Turkey recognizes these claims and genocide claims will eventually hit the Turks like a train coming from nowhere. On the other hand, in the cartoon of January 27, the picture of Prime Minister Erdoğan is illustrated in front of a photo of the assassinated journalist Hrant Dink’s funeral service and it has been conveyed as if Erdoğan is shedding crocodile tears. However, it could be seen that these tears are actually bullets. This cartoon implies that Erdoğan and therefore Turkey is not upset with the assassination of Dink and is just putting a show for the world. The cartoon dated March 3rd (Image-II), illustrates a crowded group. Upon carefully studying this group, it is evident that the illustration is different than Massis’s other drawings. The people have been drawn in mustaches, beards and cloaks evoking the outfits of the Ottoman period. The crowd is illustrated carrying posters stating “We are all Talat, we have been learning this like this for 90 years” and there is an individual walking with a sword in his hand. This cartoon not only evokes the traditional image of the Turk but also implies that modern day Turks are no different than Ottomans. More importantly this cartoon represents the association between the image of Talat of the C.U.P and the image of Turks. The cartoon dated February 10th, President Abdullah Gül is portrayed with a jacket with a star and crescent on it and the 1915 events have been emphasized. This cartoon implies that current administration is responsible of the genocide claims. The cartoon of February 17 (Image-3) expresses that article 301 of the Turkish Constitution constitutes an obstacle for Turkey’s membership to the European Union. In this cartoon, the mustached Turk is standing in front of the European court wearing a caftan and carrying a sword. This cartoon implies that Turks and democracy have no connection; Turks are backwards Oriental and therefore have no part in the E.U. The cartoon of March 10th depicts the Lausanne court and politician Doğu Perinçek. In the cartoon, Perinçek has been portrayed with a star and crescent on his tongue and the cartoon conveys the idea that “no matter how much Perinçek blandishes, he will not be

successful”. Furthermore, the cartoon of May 5th portrays the news coordinator of Los Angeles Times Douglas Frantz and Frantz’s supporting stance towards Turkey in regards to the Armenian question. Allegedly Frantz censored an article by Mark Arax, a commentator of Armenian origin. Frantz, who was pressured by the Diaspora to resign, is illustrated with a fez and jacket containing the star and crescent and the cartoon has implied that he is “a friend of Turkey” or “denier”. This cartoon implies that Turkey has close ties with some journalists and pressures them to express opinions in line with the Turkish stance, but the Diaspora is quick to respond. By addressing Turkey-EU relations, the cartoon of June 2nd (Image-4) depicts Turkey’s political maneuvers against the European Union’s term President Sarkozy. In the cartoon, a belly dancer with the star and crescent on her body is dancing in front of the door of the E.U and the caption states “what is this woman dancing for”. This cartoon is very significant in portraying the image of the Turk in Armenian perception. The cartoon implies that Turkey is not a trusting country with a low self pride and can do anything possible just to be included in the E.U. The cartoon dated June 23rd (Image-5), portrays President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliev carrying a sword and axe, whereas the cartoon of June 26th displays former President Ahmet Necdet Sezer wearing a jacket with the star and crescent on it and carrying a briefcase running away from the stones raining over him written “Sarkozy” written on them. The cartoon of June 23rd clearly reveals the unconscious connection between the image of the Turk and murderer, perpetrator and aggressor. The cartoon dated September 1st illustrates Ilham Aliev attacking Christian religious symbols with a sword and axe in his hand. The cartoon of September 8th depicts President Abdullah Gül as reading a newspaper article concerning the Armenian relocation in 1915. The cartoon of November 3rd, illustrates former US President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan in a discussion to reach an agreement. While Bush is carrying a bunch of flowers in his hand, Erdoğan is portrayed in a woman’s outfit dancing in front of President Bush. This cartoon implies devaluation against the Turks and suggests that Turkey cannot be trusted, can do anything possible to get assurance from the U.S. Last of all, the cartoon of November 10th (Image-6) refers to Prime Minister Erdoğan again referring to a connection to the National Press Club. In this cartoon, Erdoğan has been conveyed as Pinocchio. This cartoon infers that Turkey and Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan cannot be trusted and is a liar.

Apart from elements of dehumanization and devaluing of the Turk and Turkey in Massis’ cartoons published in Asbarez, it is also interesting that an orientalist viewpoint is dominant. In this context, the image of the Turk and Turkey in the cartoons published in Asbarez Newspaper is identified with the Ottoman image.

It is striking to see that there is a devaluing image of the Turk and Turkey in the cartoons examined. Apart from elements of dehumanization and devaluing of the Turk and Turkey in Massis' cartoons published in *Asbarez*, it is also interesting that an orientalist viewpoint is dominant. In this context, the image of the Turk and Turkey in the cartoons published in *Asbarez Newspaper* is identified with the Ottoman image. The emphasis that the Turks are murderers is reinforced through the images of swords and axes. The point that should be underlined here is that the Azerbaijanis and Azerbaijan are identified with the image of the "Ottoman"/Turkish as well; in other words, there is no difference between Azerbaijan and Turkey for the Armenian Diaspora. Therefore, Turks are devalued and dehumanized due to their national identities. A psychological distance is projected in Massis cartoons. The Turkish image is conveyed in the cartoons through the image of an "oriental" with mustaches and beards and most often illustrations of swords and blood have been added. Within this framework, a distinctive psychological distance is observed between the Armenians and Turks. By conveying Turks as "murderers" in the cartoons, the cartoonist implies the inferiority, inhumanity and immorality of this group. Images of swords and axes –which are both related to perceptions of Turkey and Azerbaijan- suggests that the Turks are barbaric. It could be said that images of swords, axes and massacres are conveyed in order to remind the Diaspora Armenians about the 1915 events. Hence the main motivation of the Diaspora is to "never forget". Eventually these cartoons manifest that Diaspora Armenians are not able to mourn their losses and in light of such reminders they might actually not be interested in doing so. Although only some of the cartoons are directly related to the Turk and Turkey, it seems that all of *Asbarez's* cartoons are somehow related to the "genocide" issue. From this aspect, cartoons are very significant for the continuity and re-construction of collective memory. In cartoons where the negative image of the Turk is identified with "murderer", "barbarian" "victimizer" and "liar", which is the complete opposite the image of the Armenian is represented as "innocent", "sacred", and "good". From this perspective, while the image of the Turk is presented as worthless and devalued, the Armenian image is conveyed as valuable and carrying human attributes.

One major point not to be missed is that these cartoons mentioned are published by the extreme nationalist Diaspora press where identity is much more vital and symbolic than the homeland. Diasporas try to identify with where they have migrated to, on the other, they live longing for the territories they abandoned by forced or voluntary migration. Therefore it is common for the Diaspora communities to have the feeling of having caught in the middle, not belonging to anywhere. It is also not surprising that there is a

high perception and obsession of realistic or perceived threats of the other³⁴. Therefore, rather than being directed at the targeted group, the above-mentioned cartoons are essentially directed inwards at Diaspora itself. In fact the image of the Turk entails psycho-social messages for the Armenian Diaspora. All of these messages could be considered a component of psy-ops and perception management techniques aimed inwards at the Diaspora.

Individuals are likely to use methods of projecting their unconscious through their artwork. In this sense it can be concluded that Massis trying to reprimand Turkey and Turks with his cartoons.

Conclusion

The ongoing disputes concerning the Turkish-Armenian conflict³⁵ are generally related to the criticisms of the Turk's propaganda against the Turks. Similarly, Asbarez Newspaper, with its publication policy, articles and cartoons, could also be regarded as the Armenian's propaganda against the Armenians. The importance of this propaganda will be better understood in light of the assimilation threat faced by most immigrants. The cartoons examined in this article devalues and dehumanizes the image of the "Turk" within the scope of the "Armenian genocide", while referring to the psychological and moral superiority of the Armenian. A great majority of the cartoons addressing this issue stands out as an attempt to sustain the Diaspora identity. Whether globalization or the Americanization of the Armenians; in other words, the inevitable course of assimilation, all constitutes a serious threat for the Armenian identity. This threat is mentioned frequently in publications of the ARF.³⁶ Surely the problem of globalization and loss of identity is not only applicable to the Armenian Diaspora, but also to many other emigrant nations. However, reviving and shaping the already traumatized Diaspora identity with hostile feelings towards another group will most likely result in an unresolved mass trauma. Since cartoons are an instrument of socialization and education, the opinion of the society is not only reflected by the cartoonist, but the perceptions of readers are also shaped by the cartoons. Cartoons are also significant in the creation of the society's

34 Please see Bahar Senem Çevik-Ersaydı, "Politik Psikoloji Bağlamında Ermeni Kimliğinin Siyasallaştırılması (Haytoug Dergisi Örneği)" –*The Politization of the Armenian Identity in the Context of Political Psychology –A Case Study on Haytoug-*, unpublished dissertation, Gazi University, 2011, Chapter 3, p.47 for Diaspora identity.

35 Hikmet Özdemir's statement of "Turkish-Armenian conflict" which explains the existing situation more clearly. Therefore the author prefers "Turkish-Armenian conflict" instead of "Armenian question".

36 It should be noted that Haytoug has official ties to the extreme nationalist ARF, and that not all diasporans are affiliated with this group. However despite its extreme nationalistic ideology ARF still is the most influential group and sponsors various media outlets to disperse the ideology.

political memory. As could be seen in the cartoons examined, the image of the Turk within Diaspora Armenians could be summarized as being worthless, inhuman, murderer, barbaric and savage. This image also corresponds with the traditional thought of orientalism. It is not surprising for the Diaspora, which establishes its own identity upon Turkish hostility, to resort to these definitions, because as long as the “other”; in other words, the Turk exists, the Diaspora Armenians will be able to secure the sustainability and cohesion of their group through national claims.



Cartoon -1



Cartoon -2



Cartoon -3



Cartoon -4



Cartoon -5



Cartoon -6

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