

**The Construction of “the Turk” and
Entextualization of Historical Stereotypes
Political Cartoons in French**

**by
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Abstract

This thesis explores the metaphorical/stereotypical construction of “the Turk” depicted in the discourse of the political cartoons relating to the accession of Turkey to the European Union. Through a multimodal semiotic analysis of selected cartoons disseminated on the web between 2001-2013, this thesis aims to unfold how “re-contextualizing” a vast repertoire of historical metaphors and stereotypes represents the Turks and Turkey. From a theoretical perspective, this thesis also aims to reflect on the role of caricature in the construction of the Turkish image and the part it plays in the formation of an anti-Turkish discourse.

Keywords: Turkish image in the political cartoons; entextualization; historical stereotypes; Turkey’s EU membership; multimodal semantic analysis; anti-Turkish discourse

Dedication

To my mom Ülku Işın, whose encouragement and constant unconditional love have sustained me throughout my life and gave me inspiration to “reach for the stars.”

To Dr. Cécile B. Vigouroux, who introduced me to the wonderful world of Sociolinguistics and taught me how to spread my wings.

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1. Introduction

The aim of the present study is to analyze European nations' institutional opposition discourse regarding Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU) as constructed in the political cartoons written in French. Turkey's long-standing efforts to become a fully-fledged member, is the most contentious and intricate story in the EU's history. Turkey was the "second" country to seek membership in the newly created European Economic Community (EEC).¹ Its membership application (1959) was a starting point of the Turkish government's permanent hope, which then turned into a cycle of disappointments and refusals ranging from smooth and friendly to sometimes a hostile relationship, between EU member countries and Turkey. We can compare Turkey's relationship with the EU to a stormy marriage in which both parties have managed to stay together for more than 50 years,² despite many ups and downs. In fact, Turkey has been patiently knocking on the doors of the European Union for half a century, only to be told explicitly to keep waiting. As argued in the next sections, Europeans were afraid that Turkey's possible accession would be a "threat" to the integrity of Europe and it would demolish European ideals and values.

This stormy relationship has been discursively articulated in many forms: newspaper articles, personal blogs, academic books, etc. The discourse I analyse in this study is that of political cartoons (PCs) depicting Turkey's EU accession process. I argue that political cartoons are "contextualized activities" (Scollon, 2001 as cited in Blommaert, 2005, p. 4) and that they reflect "the actual and densely contextualised

¹ The EEC was an international organization created by the Treaty of Rome of 1957 in the aftermath of the World War II. Its aim was to bring about economic integration, including a common market, among its six founding members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. Upon the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 the group changed its name from the EEC to the European Union (EU).

² In 1963, Turkey signed an Association Agreement (Ankara Agreement) with the EU. This association agreement aimed to harmonize Turkey's economy with the EEC and it was the first step on the path to full membership.

forms in which language occurs in society” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 15). They contribute to public discourse and help readers to understand and make judgments about the extremely complex interactions at work in political systems and society. In this respect, political cartoons offer important tools for disseminating information and framing debates on social issues (Harrison, 1981; Marley & Mello, 1995; Press, 1981). Although it is difficult to determine their effect on the formation of public opinion, they are still a significant source of information about the societal discussions that stir a nation or group of nations because they “reflect cultural attitudes and values, and record and perpetuate many commonly held beliefs” (Mazid, 2008, p. 434). By engaging humor, satire, exaggeration, and illusion combined with commonly understood metaphors, symbols, and stereotypes, political cartoons reify meanings within a wider socio-political context and they reflect the “repertoire” of a society conditioned by their sociolinguistic background. As Blommaert argues: “People ... are not entirely free when they communicate, they are constrained by the range and structure of their repertoires” (2005, p. 15). Political cartoons by exploiting those repertoires, position their readers within a political context of meaning and they situate problems and conflicts within the discourse of everyday life (Burke, 1962). They sometimes comment on an issue or particular person in the news, or they offer a reference to a particular event, institution, or idea, and reflect the cartoonist’s own values, opinions, or observations in society on that issue. Cartoons may appear simple and almost naive at times, nevertheless they might affect the perception of their reader and therefore their behaviour: the reader, by accepting or refusing what is offered in the cartoon, might form his/her own opinion. Political cartoons are accordingly a rich terrain for the analysis of visual and visual/verbal evaluation since they reveal features of society that are not usually observable through other sources; they provide access to “everyday” reactions to politics and events that are not reflected in the news, discussions, and opinion polls. As Medhurst and De Sousa underscore (1982), political cartoons provide a vast archive and a valuable source for discourse analysis because they exhibit openly “the interrelationships of people, events, and power” (p. 84). The most common form of political cartoons in journalism appear in the editorial pages, where they supplement and/or reinforce what is being said in the editorial article and they can make the argument more convincing. Due to their satiric form political cartoons offer “an aggression reduction function which derives from the fact that they provide a symbolic avenue for the public to vent its frustrations against political

figures and authorities” (Medhurst & DeSousa, as cited in Abraham, 2009, p. 119). The laughter they provoke can deflate pretentiousness, distinguish heroes from villains, and expose the contradictions in the statements and actions of the mighty political figures.

The power of political cartoons lies in the fact that they do not have to be objective or true. In fact, cartoonists by implementing a range of, “technical evasions” (Goldstein, 1998, p. 798) are able to disguise political criticism under visual puns and other forms. In their *re-construction* of reality, cartoonists have the freedom to amplify or de-emphasize the dominant characteristics of their subjects needed for their readers to get the intended message. In other words, in this creative process, the artists have the power to re-contextualize and re-activate stereotypes and clichés and they are free to choose sides or to be subjective. Newspapers and editorial articles on the other hand may not reflect shared national perspectives on particular issues and widely held beliefs and prejudices about other people, cultures, and countries as “openheartedly” as political cartoons do. Therefore they do not “mark their readers” consciousness as strongly as political cartoons. In fact, the accepted principles of journalism today do not allow journalists and editors to satirize the subjects of news articles and urges them to be more “objective.”³

As shown by the political cartoons of my corpus, Turkey is generally portrayed as distant from Europe by the reactivation of historical images through verbal as well as visual means, generating an anti-Turkish discourse that began between 2001-2005. During this period the EU member states, after many years of negotiation came to realize finally, that Turkey might actually become a member of the EU in a foreseeable future.⁴ This realization stirred up deep controversies within Europe regarding European identity, Europe’s symbolic borders, and the politics of religion within the EU itself. In fact relations between EU member states and Turkey formally entered a new stage when the EU launched formal accession talks with Turkey, in 2005. This is the period

³ This required objectivity is often debatable, as journalists work for media corporations and the level of freedom they exercise depends on the society they live in. For example, in Turkey the media (TV, Radio, newspapers, news websites) is controlled and censored by the ruling AKP government and Turkey is unfortunately the world’s leading jailer of journalists, followed closely by Iran and China.

⁴ After 46 years of negotiations, the European Council decided to open accession talks with Turkey at the end of 2005. However, the talks have not made much progress since then.

during which EU member states started debating Turkey's Europeanness and its place in Europe. I argue here that the repeated questioning of the nature of Turkey's membership and the on-going anti-Turkish discourse based on cultural and political grounds, reinforced the recycling of centuries-old stereotypes and prejudices about the Turks and conditioned the Europeans to view the Turkish people as *backward, despotic, unlettered, authoritarian, and corrupt* people. The long and controversial Turkish EU membership process is reflected and shaped in the political cartoons of the era as a part of this anti-Turkish discourse.

The political cartoons about Turkey's EU accession that I will analyze (Chapter 3), document the time in which they were created and address an array of social issues and arguments. They also recontextualize the well-known historical and cultural symbols and stereotypical images of the Turk in a humorous way. I question how these political cartoons propagate stereotypical constructions of Turks as "non-European," "Muslim," and Turkey as a nation that is "foreign and distant to civilized Europe." I argue that they mobilize long-standing dualities — *barbaric vs. civilized, dogmatic vs. rational, backward vs. modern, and so on* —. Political cartoons display judgmental ideas or even sensitive topics and criticism about Turkish people without being overtly discriminative due to their simplistic pictorial form and condensed meanings accompanied with humor, irony, absurdity, or unacceptability of a situation.

Before turning to my analysis (Chapter 3), I present my theoretical framework and the methodology used to construct my corpus of political cartoons (Chapter 2). In the conclusions (Chapter 4) I sum up my arguments by explaining why historical and stereotypical representations of the Turk have been recycled in political cartoons' modern discourse on Turkey's accession to the EU.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical toolbox used in this study belongs to different linguistic traditions as shown by the literature quoted in this section. Combining different approaches helps me analyse the cartoons in both their macro- and micro-contexts, i.e., their socio-cultural context and the small-scale web page in which they appear.

2.1. Political Cartoons and Multilayered Semiosis

By deploying both graphic (visual mode) and discursive (verbal mode) resources, political cartoons function like complex, multimodal riddles; they construct images and trigger cognitive mechanisms in the minds of their readers through the mixing of current events with analogies. When things do not match or when an incongruity is perceived, then readers often gain a new perspective. To this end, cartoonists typically create an imaginary scene-situation, with make-believe characters to refer to real life events or characters and to provide a social, political, or cultural commentary. This deliberate cross-domain mapping of features from the fictional scene onto the actual people and events in contemporary politics helps the cartoonists to “condense complex meanings into a single striking image” (Bostdorff, 1987, p. 44). It enables cartoonists to structure a complex statement or a concept with something succinct and easily understood. In other words, a metaphorical similarity is “created” through a transformative process. The message and the frame that a political cartoon offers depend on the *multimodal* interaction between two different semiotic modes (visual and verbal), which combine their strength to compensate their limitations. “Sometimes words simply anchor visual meaning, but in many cases they add further information or create a sense of incongruity and irony that could not be conveyed through the image alone” (El Refaie, 2009a, p. 199). Thus, political cartoons, being political commentary drawings, challenge the traditional ways of literacy and meaning making, and affect how the reader interprets reality. “Furthermore, the visual code and its interaction with the verbal one result in the

non-linearity of cartoon messages, affecting thus the cognitive processing of cartoons” (Samson & Hempelmann, 2006 as cited in Tsakona, 2009, p. 1171). Political cartoons offer “complex, continuous and *multilayered* narratives of the social and political reality we live in” (Chalániová, 2013, p. 10, *emphasis added*). In other words, as Harris (1995) defines “political cartoon creation is a process of symbolization *or semiosis* that constructs some social reality for the discursive and rhetorical purpose of presenting to an audience material that evokes amusement [...]” (p. 188, *emphasis added*). This process requires the manipulation of linguistic, visual, and communicational components in a rule or construct-breaking manner — over and above the more commonly expected rhetorical uses of visuals and text — transforming them into symbolic representations which the cartoonists then relates to culture, society, ethos, ritual, common places, and the like.

The multimodal interaction between the text and the visual, and the metaphorical constructions of the political cartoons requires a certain level of multiliteracy from the reader. In order to decode the polysemous and mostly symbolic meaning and understand the humor transmitted by a cartoon, the reader must actively participate in the comprehension process and draw on a whole range of different literacies (El Refaie, 2009b). The reader must first determine the referents of the cartoon to understand the mapping between the fictional setting/situation/persons as created by the cartoonist with the personalities or events in the real world. Analytical and critical thinking of social functions and effects of images allows the viewer of political cartoons to grasp the meaning with more understanding. Thus, interpreting the message of a political cartoon necessitates that readers understand the current events portrayed, common cultural symbols, and rhetorical figures (such as metonymy, metaphor, etc.) that are employed, references made, and symbols utilized. In short, the reader must be able to see how multiple semiotic resources are used to generate meaning (Kress, 2004) and understand *intratextual* (within text) and *intertextual* (between texts) links established (Lemke, 1998, Lemke 2007). Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) remind us “to decode the cartoon, one must be somewhat familiar with the literary or cultural source to which it refers” (p. 201). In fact, different readers will have different levels of multimodal literacy and perceive very different — even contrasting — meaning of the same cartoon. As Kress et al. explains (2001), “each mode [...] requires different ‘cognitive work’ in order to be understood”

(p. 26). The Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons controversy in 2005, is a good example of how multiple meanings based on different cultural contexts, may generate contrastive readings (see Kuipers, 2008 & 2010; Kublitz, 2010; Olesen, 2006) and also to the continuing importance and potential power of cartoons as a medium of political communication .

In order to investigate the metaphorical/stereotypical construction of the Turk in political cartoons, I will use a *multimodal semiotic analysis* (Iedema, 2003). I believe that “a semiotic” analysis develops a better understanding of how cartoonists construct social reality by intentionally and systematically breaking the linguistic codes, playing with different modes, and creating incongruity to achieve more persuasive messaging to the reader. Furthermore, semiotic analysis provides theoretical and methodological frameworks for deconstructing and explaining different levels of meaning — language as text and the image as visual text. I use the term *multimodal* in the sense of Kress & van Leeuwen (2001), which they define as: “the use of several semiotic modes [i.e., written text, images, layout, colors] in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which the modes are combined” (p. 20). “Multimodal analysis,” is an analysis of communication in all of its forms, which reveals how the images and verbal text relate to each other, to identify any new meanings that might arise from this interaction or integration of these two semiotic resources. Beside the interaction of the image and text within the cartoons frame, a multimodal analysis also considers the interaction between text, image, page, layout, and context. In Jewitt’s (2004) terms: “[m]ultimodality describes approaches that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attend to the full range of communicational forms people use — *image, gesture, gaze, posture, and so on* — and the relationships between them” (p. 14, *italics added*).

2.2. Toward a “Taxonomy of Graphic Discourse”

The criteria for the analysis of my data are shaped by the semiotic notion of *intertextuality* (Kristeva, 1980) to which I return below and by the rhetorical elements provided by Morris (1993) and Medhurst and DeSousa (1981). Morris (1993) identifies four rhetorical tools in order to understand the political cartoon:

1. *Condensation* — compressing disconnected, complex issues into a single metaphor by artificially juxtaposing different elements or ideas from different places with multiple and diverse meanings (i.e., showing inflation as a monster).
2. *Combination* — blending various elements/ideas from different domains such as combining politics with sports.
3. *Domestication* — depicting a complex or unknown area of experience or an abstract idea or unfamiliar people in terms of a more familiar one such as describing the EU as a house.
4. *Opposition* — reducing events and problems to a binary opposition such as East vs. West. (Morris, 1993, pp. 199-202).

To enhance Morris's rhetoric tools, I combined them with some of the stylistic elements defined in Medhurst and DeSousa's (1981) taxonomy. Medhurst and DeSousa expanded the scope of rhetorical studies to non-oratorical discourse and developed a "taxonomy of graphic discourse" to explain the rhetorical analysis of political cartoons. In their seminal paper (1981) they identified four "major inventional topoi" (pp. 200-205) and established a scheme for recognizing and analyzing the elements of graphic persuasion embodied in the political cartoons:

1. *Political commonplaces* — economy, foreign affairs, elections, terror, war, etc.
2. *Literary/Cultural allusions* — references that draw from mythology, popular culture, literature or folklore, and fictive characters.
3. *Personal character traits* — morals, age, and ability to lead, etc.
4. *Situational themes* — transient episodes that occur during a campaign — which serve both as an "inventional storehouse" (p. 204) of rhetorical material for artists to create drawings and "a toolbox" (p. 205) for the audience in interpreting cartoons.

Another rhetorical strategy taken into consideration is Kenneth Burke's notion of "*perspective by incongruity*" (1984), which reveals problems in common assumptions by

locating them, in a seemingly incongruent context. The idea is that we laugh at things that surprise us because they seem out of place or contradictory to our commonsensical expectations. We also laugh about misfortunes of others because they assert the person's superiority on the shortcomings of others. For instance we sometimes can't help but laugh when people fall unexpectedly. Children laugh at clowns because they look and act different, out of place. In the same way, cartoons are "funny" or "ironic" because they involve ideas and imagery that run against our expectations causing a diversion from the cognitive model of references.

For Burke (1984) among others, language is a form of symbolic action allowing us to communicate, and also to control what we do. He states that how we perceive the world is shaped by our "*orientations*" (p. 31) as they form an archive of judgments on how things were and how they are, and how they may be in the future. In fact, Burke argues that it is difficult to persuade people to question their deeply held cultural assumptions which he calls "*pieties*" (p. 74), forming stable frames of reference and judgements about what is proper in a given context. Political cartoons, offer an incongruous perspective or "orientation" to our long-held "pieties." Burke further defends that in order to argue against a commonly held belief, one should use all available modes and invent creative ways by "merging categories once felt mutually exclusive" (p. 69). Political cartoons alter the reader's "orientation" by creating an incongruity: they displace words and images from their constitutional settings (de-contextualize) and combine them with unexpected concepts and ideas (re-contextualize).

Within that perspective I will take into consideration the four major tropes that Burke defines "as organizing principles that help readers grasp the concept of specific persuasive arguments within political cartoons" (Bostdorff, 1987, p. 57). The first trope is *metaphor* — the foundational trope of Burke, which consists of the (partial) mapping on to each other of two concepts that belong to different knowledge domains. The actual referent of a metaphor is thus likely to be quite an abstract concept and the figurative term is often drawn from the domain of basic human experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). According to Bostdorff (1987) "By labeling something that which it is not, metaphor makes use of perspective by incongruity; our perception of the object or

person is altered by its incongruous pairing with some other name⁵ in this way, metaphor provides insight” (p. 48). As a result, in this mapping process a complex concept (the target) can be structured (understood) in terms of the other (the source). Similarly, political cartoons use metaphors — especially “visual metaphors” — and sometimes stereotypical reference-point structures to alter the traditional patterns of association in the minds of the reader. A visual metaphor makes an analogical comparison between two terms by stating that one term is figuratively like the other term. For example juxtaposing a picture of a sports car with the image of a panther is a visual metaphor and it suggests that the product has comparable qualities of speed, power, and endurance similar to a panther. The incongruity in a visual metaphor is therefore created by the lack of structural and semantic correspondence between the source and target elements in the presented context and the pre-existing knowledge structures associated with it. For Lakoff and Johnson (1980) a metaphor is a fundamental mechanism of the mind or an integral part of our thought processes because we use metaphorical frames when we think, when we speak. They propose that people are able to better comprehend their experiences in terms of a metaphor and thus, in time the metaphor itself would become “a deeper reality when they start acting in terms of it” (p. 131). Therefore, by understanding the mechanisms at work for the metaphoric conceptualizations in political cartoons we might, in fact, understand how those pre-existing knowledge structures (stereotypes, prejudices, imagery) influence the way people frame and perceive the Turk. In the analysis section I will include an historical section with images of the Turks and also incorporate background information about the Ottoman Empire to better understand why Turks are represented in their historical image even today. I believe the historical image of the Turk *entextualized* (extracted from its original context and then re-inserted into a new context) in these cartoons has an important role in the construction of the contemporary Turkish image and Turkish identity in the eyes of the Europeans.

The second trope this study considers is *metonymy*, which is an organizational principle that fulfills the function of reduction. This means that a large concept, or idea, can be effectively conveyed through a reduced single image (e.g., we can refer to Islam by invoking “crescent”). In other words, we can define anything as a conceptual

⁵ For example, the abstract subject of LOVE (target) might be understood in terms of the very concrete subject matter of WAR (source): LOVE IS WAR (to conquer someone’s heart).

projection that involves using one signified to stand for another which is directly related to it or closely associated with it. Burke argues that, the basic strategy of metonymy is to convey an “incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible” (ibid., p. 506).

The third trope *synecdoche* is a conceptual projection and is closely related to metonymy as they both involve the substitution of an attribute or a phenomenon to represent the attribute or phenomenon itself (e.g., the container for the contained). Synecdoche achieves its purpose by incorporating “signs drawn from the everyday actions and objects that surround public figures” (Bostdorff, 1987, 52). In synecdoche the word used to represent the phenomenon is classified into the same language category with it. Burke notes that all theories of political representation are a matter of synecdoche (Burke, 1984, p. 510). The way we perceive things involves synecdoche, because the mind uses sensory data to represent the things observed.

The fourth trope is *irony* and it is based on binary oppositions and usually reflects the opposite of the thoughts or feelings of the cartoon character, or the cartoonist, or the opposite of the truth about external reality (as in “There's a crowd here” when it's deserted). “What gives irony its subversive potential is the fact that, while an ironic comment may also be closely related to dominant forms of speaking about an event, it simultaneously goes beyond and subverts the very attitudes and opinions it quotes. Irony can thus, encourage readers or viewers to become conscious of and to evaluate what would otherwise be accepted without question” (El Refaie, 2005, p. 285). Like a metaphor, irony entails mapping across two domains based on the “juxtaposition of opposites” (Brown, 1977, p. 174).

2.3. Travelling Cartoons through Time, Space and Contexts

The general idea of texts “speaking” to and through each other existed long before Kristeva's notion of *intertextuality* immersed in her seminal work *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (1980). Influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's theories of *semiology* (1906) and Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas of *dialogism* (1975), Kristeva's notion of intertextuality proposes that all signifying systems are a

product of previous signifying systems and that a text cannot exist alone as a self-contained, enclosed whole, because the author of any text (visual or verbal) is also the reader of other texts before s/he creates his own. According to Kristeva (1980), authors do not create their texts from their own mind, but rather compile them from pre-existent texts they have read. Thus, the text that any author creates is “a permutation of texts, intertextuality in the space of a given text,” in which “several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another” (p. 36).

Similarly political cartoons mediate a constant interaction of different images, ideas, texts, and modes. Even though the cartoon may be simple in design and contain few elements, relationships among the parts (text, image, design) can evoke interest and rich meanings as intertextuality may operate within the frame of a single image. Political cartoons also uses symbols, imagery, stereotypes, and visuals often borrowed from diverse times and places, and patched together in ever changing ways. Political cartoons can capture both context and relationships into a single visual “snapshot,” which can “re-contextualize events and evoke reference points in ways that a photograph or even a film cannot” (Gombrich as cited in Bigi et al., 2011, p. 153). Thus, cartoons can offer condensed and simplified portrayals of complex situations in order to transfer their intended message to their audiences. Intertextuality may occur whenever a cartoon is read in terms of — or through, against, alongside — another image or a surrounding set of images and texts (article, headline, page design, and other images). “Analysis of the meanings of pictures cannot be confined to what is within a frame because the “inside” is always contaminated by the “outside” (Walker & Chaplin, 1994, p. 140). The contents of the editorial page, its layout and how the political cartoon is embedded into the page affects the way the political cartoon is interpreted. Once detached from the editorial page — from the social situation that originally produced them — political cartoons lose an essential part of their message and meaning. As Bernstein argued (1990), semantic shifts take place “according to recontextualizing principles which selectively appropriate, relocate, refocus and relate to other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings” (p. 184). To be able to “read” any given political cartoon the reader needs to look to the interrelationship — similarities and connections — with other texts/events/visuals through discourses and representations. El Refaie (2003, pp. 76–77) notes that metaphors must be explored in their own specific

“socio-political contexts” if they are to be useful in gauging political attitudes and responses to ongoing news events. This is why political cartoons should be studied with an understanding of the culture including: history, religion, political affairs, and power relations within a society. In other words, the reading of political cartoons and their interpretation requires the reader to fill in and interpret not only the images and text within the frame of the cartoon, but also within the frame of the page and the context based on other relevant texts or images, encountered in prior experience or knowledge.

In my analysis of cartoons I study intertextuality at three different levels:

- *within* the frame of the political cartoons binary oppositions or visual quoting;
- *across* images on the editorial page, (pairing, sequencing, and clustering);
and
- *between* the cartoon and the surrounding texts (anchoring, framing).

2.4. The Data

2.4.1. *The Internet as a Research Medium*

The Internet, with the potential research modalities it provides, has become an important form of communication⁶ in modern society. I chose the Internet as my research medium for several reasons. First of all, the advent of the Internet brought with it a new concept of *social interaction*, changing and even revolutionizing the way we live and communicate with others while establishing new kinds of relations of power between participants (see: McKenna & Bargh, 1999; Baumann, 2010). By eliminating geographical barriers, the Internet altered the way in which we gather information and construct knowledge (see Best & Krueger, 2004; Lusoli & Gibson, 2006). Access to news and information is no longer the privilege of powerful institutions such as newspapers and television channels that possessed the authority, or wealth, to acted as

⁶ According to Internet World Stats data updated in February 2012, there were an estimated 2,459,646,518 internet users worldwide, which represents approximately 30.2% of the world's population (<http://www.howmanyarethere.org>).

the “gatekeepers” of information, deciding and controlling what the public should know or perceive. The extraordinary growth of the Internet and World Wide Web (Web) as the operative medium empowered the users with easy-to-use Web publishing tools, and increasingly powerful mobile devices that helped with the creation of *online information communities* actively participating in the creation and dissemination of news and information (see Garg & Telang, 2011). Nowadays, a multitude of amateur online journalists, activists, artists, cyber citizens, political interest groups, and so on, by means of independent websites and countless weblogs (blogs), add a *grassroots dimension* to the online media. On the other hand, people who have been targeted by news articles are now able to respond online and also, post supplementary data providing context and counterpoints. In societies undergoing a political transition such Turkey, where freedom of speech is oppressed, online access to alternative media becomes important as they offer information not available through mainstream media and provide a multimodal alternative medium to “voice” opposition to the authorities. As a result “an increasing number of researchers are relying on the Internet to facilitate studies of human attitudes, preferences, and behavior” (Best & Krueger, 2004, p. 2).

Secondly, the Web offers interactive mechanisms such as forums, messaging, e-mails, hyperlinks, banners, and so on, enabling a continuous exchange of data through text, images, and videos directly uploaded to the Internet. Hypertexts offer authors of any text, endless series of imagined connections, verbal associations, extending the reach of the author and the reader. In the age of digital media, “the reader” is armed with easy-to-use Web publishing tools, always-on connections and increasingly powerful mobile devices. Therefore, one becomes an active participant in the creation and dissemination of news and information by means of *hypertexts* (Smulyan, 1999). The reader of a hypertext can immediately be transported to another web page with new or different information, by just a simple click of the mouse or a simple touch on the screen. This non-linearity — ability to interact with what you want, when you want — is one of the most dramatic aspects of the Internet as a medium. “Hypertexts provide a means to express ourselves in ways that reflect more directly the complexity of our thinking and the interrelatedness of ideas” (Reinking, 1994, p. 24).

In the virtual world there is a high level of *intertextuality* (Kristeva, 1980) and *interdiscursivity*⁷ (Bauman, 2005) including various interactions and negotiations: between texts and authors; within and between genres; and between different systems of representation and narrative. This dynamic structure of the Internet enables a constant decontextualization and recontextualization of information: (visual and verbal) texts become appropriated and creatively and/or ideologically modified. Bloggers, website administrators, cyber citizens, in other words *any web user* can collect “artwork” — videos, images, symbols, stereotypes, designs, and texts — out of their original context and insert them into a new set of contexts allowing *unlimited and unregulated* networking possibilities. In this digital age, political cartoons are disseminated easily due to these aspects of the Internet.

2.4.2. The Corpus of Analysis

I purposely retrieved all the cartoons of my corpus via Internet as it provides a major source of free, unfiltered expression for *the cartooning industry*.⁸ Alongside the freedom of the cartoonist, Internet users have the freedom to entextualize these cartoons in any way they want. Some of the online cartoons had been previously published in newspapers and later on taken out of their editorial context and entextualized (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Silverstein & Urban, 1996) by being inserted into new semiotic contexts (e.g., blogs and websites) and by being recontextualized (i.e., giving it a new meaning as visual articles in their own right, as debate starters, as propaganda material such online petitions, or political party advertisements.) Entextualization refers to the ways in which discursive practice forms discrete “texts” that can be lifted out of moments of production and recontextualized in new interactional

⁷ *Interdiscursivity* refers to how a text is constituted by a combination of other language conventions (genres, discourses, and styles). Thus the difference between these two concepts is that *intertextuality* refers to actual surface forms in a text, “borrowed” from other texts; whereas *interdiscursivity* involves the whole language system referred to in a text” (WU, 2010, p.97)

⁸ I am mainly interested in the cartoonists’ *freedom* to publish their work online without going through the censor mechanisms of the press. Although the Internet is enabling people to deeply engage with the world and communities around them, I am aware of the inequalities in the digital word: many people can’t afford a home computer or the monthly payments that accompany broadband service and many others do not have the skills for ‘social networking’ therefore they don’t have access to the Internet.

settings (see Agha, 2005, 2007; Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Briggs & Bauman, 1992; Silverstein & Urban, 1996). As I have mentioned before, a political cartoon on an editorial page has strong connections with the articles, texts, images surrounding it. In fact, political cartoons that are detached from their original context lose their essence and gain new semiotic and interpretative potential. For that reason, in my analysis I paid special attention not only to the context in which cartoons were created but also to the new context in which they were reinserted. (See Appendix for different contexts and forms where political cartoons are reinserted.)

When the medium of distribution of political cartoons shifts from newspapers to the Internet, this affects interpretation of the language/image relation. The Internet is a very resourceful medium and is inherently customized to perform with *pull technologies*: Internet users have to type keywords related to the information they seek on search engines and nothing reaches the user unless specifically requested. While collecting the cartoons for my corpus, my aim was to search for the immediate imagery (cartoons) that any Internet user could reach by a simple click. With this in mind, I did not systematically control cartoon selection per *artist*, per *time period*, or per *news websites* but rather I carried a *random search* on the Google Images search engine and searched for the following key words:

- “*les caricatures politiques Turquie*” (political cartoons, Turkey);
- “*Turquie Union Européenne caricatures*” (Turkey European Union, cartoons);
- “*Non à la Turquie en Europe*” (No to Turkey in Europe);
- “*caricatures turcophobie*” (cartoonsTurcophobia);
- “*caricatures politiques islamophobie*” (political cartoons islamophobia);
- “*la menace turque caricatures*” (Turkish threat cartoons);
- “*la Turquie et la France caricatures*” (Turkey and France caricatures);
- “*les Turcs caricatures*” (Turks, cartoons); and
- “*la Turquie caricatures*” (Turkey cartoons).

The selected key words retrieved generally images (posters, PDF files for petitions and referendums) and political cartoons about Turkish accession to the EU. In order to see whether there were “supportive” or “positive” imagery dispersed by the Web, I also carried out another “counter search” with keywords:

- “*Oui a la Turquie en Europe/UE, caricatures*” (Yes for Turkey in Europe/EU);
- “*Pour une Turquie en Europe, caricatures*” (For Turkey in Europe, caricatures); and
- “*On veut Turquie dans l’UE, caricatures*” (We want Turkey in Europe, cartoons).

The results were surprising, as the positive change of keywords did not affect the results. Most of the cartoons retrieved with “Non a la Turquie en Europe” search were also retrieved by the “Oui à la Turquie en Europe” key words and I was not able to find “supportive” cartoons with these searches.

At a third research level, I used only “*Turquie en Europe*” (Turkey in Europe) and omitted the word “caricatures” and also “oui” and “non” from the keywords, in order to see whether this new search also would give as many caricatures as the two previous ones. The new results were surprisingly similar. Most of the cartoons that appeared in the first group were also retrieved during the second search. This time not only more cartoons appeared in my search results, but also lots of maps of Europe and propaganda posters against Turkish membership appeared; there were also fewer photos of politicians. The search results implied that cartoons were widely used on different blogs and websites and they were an important part of the discourse on Turkey’s EU accession.

In order to see whether accession processes of other EU candidates had the same pattern or not, I carried out another search with the keywords “*Greece en Europe.*” The results of this search were websites and images showing different maps of Europe. “*Grèce en UE*” on the other hand retrieved only photos of politicians, meetings, and few political cartoons. I also conducted similar searches for Romania and Croatia with similar results; political cartoons were scarcely retrieved unless I have added the keyword “caricatures” to my search.

It is difficult to interpret these search results objectively because the Google Image searches (as well as other search engines) retrieve images and links of different webpages, but these links change in time because new websites are created every day and added to the list. Furthermore, “search engine optimization” of Google allows websites and blogs to get to the top of the search engine results based on the fees they

pay. Due to this, the search results that appear on the screen linking us to different websites where those images are published changes in time. But in general when I compare the results with that of Greece and Cyprus I have observed that there were more cartoons in the search for Turkey. Political cartoons retrieved in this search were mostly published (recontextualized) on personal propaganda blogs, as statements, social and satirical criticism.

Another striking result was that the *Oui* and *Non* key words did not have a striking impact on the cartoons retrieved: there were not many supportive cartoons retrieved with the “*Oui à la Turquie en Europe*”; and most of the cartoons that I retrieved with the keywords “*Non à la Turquie en Europe*” also appeared when I used the keyword *Oui*. This might be due to the fact that whether for or against, news articles, blogs, and websites preferred to use political cartoons depicting the situation.

An important aspect of this re-use (recontextualization of imagery and text) is that political cartoons posted on the Internet may have no clear “authorship” (crediting the artist). The political cartoons collected from news websites or official comic sites, were all signed by the artist, whereas political cartoons published on propaganda websites and personal activist blogs did not “always” claim authorship and they were offered as “rights free” by the cartoonists to public use. As discussed further in our analysis these “no name, rights free cartoons” use a lot of historic stereotypes, reactivating the long lost imagery of the “Terrible Turk.” When the website administrators or bloggers take these cartoons out of their original context without reference to its origin, some *erasure*⁹ (Gal & Irvine, 1995, p. 974) happens and I argue that the *erasure* of authorship construct these cartoons as *uncontested truth*.

Although I paid special attention to the ways in which the cartoon interacted with other parts of the webpage — title, design, surrounding articles and images — I purposely did not consider the readers’ *feedback sections/message boards*, commenting on the article or on the political cartoons’ message. Among the reasons for this omission was my concern for *authenticity and authorship* in virtual communication. People surfing

⁹ Erasure: the process that the field of linguistic practices renders some persons, activities, or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible.

on the net can actually browse an unlimited number of websites and reach vast amounts of data while remaining *anonymous*. Through their avatars, internet users can enter limitless new social spaces — chat rooms, discussion forums, message boards, e-mail, twitter, and so on — where they can (re)negotiate their identity and claim multiple new identities and perform different roles as they carefully construct how they represent themselves to others. Considering Erving Goffman's (1959) differentiation between a person's "front stage" and "back stage" performances. I posit that people perform an online identity based on an optimal image of themselves and this performed identity changes according to the context/content of the web page and also to the audience users seek to reach. Several cartoons of my corpus were retrieved from political propaganda websites or anti-Turkish blogs. It is safe to argue that the participants of these kinds of politically or ideologically engaged online communication websites are likely to seek to interact with like-minded others, hearing the perspectives they wish to hear, and avoiding exposure to alternatives (unless they are conducting research like me!). The now growing body of literature on Internet communication demonstrates that Internet users fragment into like-minded discussion groups (see Davis & Owens, 1998; Selnow, 1998). Besides offering my subjective interpretation, I had no substantial tool to evaluate whether these online participants were simply mirroring commonly held values or whether they were putting forward biased or misleading facts. In addition, unlike in Lee and Barton (2011), I could not engage in ethnography of reading cartoons since no clear authorship of readers/commentators can be identified for reasons already mentioned. Finally, a whole section devoted to an analysis of readers' comment would have exceeded the scope of my thesis. I am fully aware of the obvious limitations of my methodological and theoretical choice to disregard e-comments.

Only cartoons published between 2001 and 2013 were selected as it corresponds to two major "earthquakes" that affected the relationships between the EU and Turkey. The first earthquake was provoked by the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) that destabilized the post-World War II political order. After 1989, the tone of the negotiations shifted as the EU was gradually transforming itself from an economic partnership (EEC) to a cultural and political community (EU). At that time, Turkey's Europeanness came to be questioned; *geographic and demographic* arguments and *human right issues* were commonly raised against Turkish membership. This is the period during which EU

authorities started to re-assess and downgrade the relative strategic and geo-political “value” of Turkey for Europe, relegating Turkey to the margins of the “new” “united” Europe.

The second earthquake came in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (September 11, 2001) that led the EU to reconsider its position in the new global security environment. After 9/11, fear of Islam and Islamic terrorism grew among the citizens of the EU. Islam became gradually associated with fundamentalism and terrorism which in turn negatively impacted Turkey’s relations with the EU. Indeed, members of the EU began to reconsider their partnership with Turkey within this new frame of understanding. As stated by Öner (2009): “Being a Turk was perceived as being synonymous with being Muslim and being a Muslim was perceived as the opposite of being European” (p. 248). (See also Rabasa, 2004, p. 181; EUMC Report, 2006; Timothy & Katzenstein, 2006, p. 211; Nachmani, 2009, p. 88.) During this era Europe questioned its own borders and identity; *cultural and religious* arguments were widely used against Turkish membership. In addition, the political turmoil of 2011 — including the crises in Iran, the Middle East, Syria, the Euro Zone and North Africa — increased the politically constructed dichotomy between Islam and the West. Turkey was then further perceived to be Eastern, and the *cultural dichotomy* between the EU and Turkey became a major argument against inclusion.

Based on the criteria mentioned above, I selected 28 political cartoons “written” in French and posted on the Internet as shown in the appendix. I then analyzed them chronologically according to their first date of publication, keeping in mind the different arguments used against Turkey’s accession to the EU. This temporal ordering enabled me to observe the evolution of the arguments used against Turkey’s accession to the EU, and the transformation of the relationships between these two geo-political and economic entities.

Before turning to the analysis of my corpus, I would like to briefly discuss my position as researcher. An important aspect of this research has to do with my own identity as Turk and therefore, my subjectivity as a data collector and analyst. The role of the researcher’s subjectivity has been theorized and deconstructed at length in anthropological work. The insiderness of the researcher as a member of the community

s/he studies has proven to be both an advantage and an impediment. In the case of this present work, my position as a researcher and a Turk has proven to be sometimes unsettling. For instance, at the beginning of my investigations, I, as a Turk, had a hard time to put in perspective the hate speech and highly derogatory representations of *my people* and therefore, *me* that I found on the Internet. Rather than being crippled by my discomfort, I used the latter as a productive stance to understand the roots and the various expressions of such derogatory discourse. The theoretical toolkit I use to analyze cartoons has helped me deconstruct such discourse and in a way has empowered me as a member of the stigmatized community under scrutiny in these pages. Yet, rather than suppressing my subjectivity, I have worked toward making it productive, that is, as a part of the analysis.

3. Analysis

My analysis of political cartoons below show that arguments against Turkey's accession to the EU cover a wide range of themes, from economics to demographics, to domestic political problems with democratization and human rights, to cultural incompetency, and so on. The 2005 Standard Euro-barometer survey shows that one out of two respondents is opposed to Turkey joining the EU; 54% think that the cultural differences between the EU and Turkey are too many to allow for accession, although 55% also agree that Turkey "partly belongs to Europe by its geography" (Eurobarometer, 2005 as cited in Kylstad, 2010, p. 7). In other words, European citizen perceive Turkey as being "too big, too poor and too different" (Verney, 2007; Redmond, 2007). Major EU political actors bureaucrats and also the European media, regularly voice their principled opposition against Turkey's EU accession by means of four major arguments based on geographical, demographic, cultural, and religious underpinnings (see Risse, 2012; Kylstad, 2010; Kirişçi, 2008; Verney, 2007; Redmond, 2007).

I examine these arguments around two common metaphors found in political cartoons: the road and container metaphors. My analysis complements that of Schäffner, 1996; Drulák, 2006; Hülse, 2004; and Tekin, 2010.

3.1. Road Metaphors: Turkey's Long Journey to the EU

In our everyday life we usually talk about many things in terms of movements such as *time*, *life*, *change*, our *ideals*, and so on (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1993). Road-metaphors depict the enlargement and accession processes of the EU as a journey. In these political cartoons, the source domain of the journey — starting point, direction, destinations, obstacles, turns, and an end — is used creatively to depict the target domain of the EU accession process. Metaphors conceptualizing European integration project as a politically, economically, and socially challenging historic

“journey,” use source domains of *destinations*, *stops*, and *obstacles* to define and to conceptualize the goals, achievements, and problems of the member states. The *traveller* of this metaphorical journey on the other hand represents the candidate state (which is Turkey in my corpus). In this metaphorical construction, the traveller’s efforts attest to the difficulty in accomplishing the goal of full membership. Furthermore, they attest “the need for patience since it will take time and effort to reach a destination” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 93).

In fact, the road/journey metaphors are commonly used in political discourse (Schäffner, 1996). The Turkish accession process to the EU proves no exception to this rule and it is often symbolized by road/journey metaphors describing the action of moving (process of membership) towards a destination (the EU) with a special emphasis on the speed (temporality) of the move and the means of transport (train, boat, or donkey). Of the political cartoons analyzed in this section, several cartoons use the road/journey metaphor to comment on the Turkey’s conditional accession process to the EU; emphasizing its political (*Turkey needs to fulfill Copenhagen criteria*) and geographic (*Turkey is not in Europe*) differences from Europe. Between 2001 and 2005 “Turkey’s long and difficult journey towards an EU membership” was a common argument seen in many news articles, while the road/journey metaphors penetrated many political debates about Turkey’s accession. (See Smith, 2005; Kervasdoué, 2005; & Oakeshott, 2005.) For example, EU enlargement commissioner Olli Rehn’s comment about Turkey’s possible membership (5/05/2008) is a good example: “Turkey’s accession to the EU will *be a long and sometimes difficult journey*” during which Turkey will have to transform itself to make fundamental freedoms prevail in all corners of the country and in all walks of life.



Figure 3.1. Izel Rosental, 2005

© Izel Rosental; used with permission.

Figure 3.1 is a cartoon by Izel Rosental, created for the invitation of the “Cartooning for Peace” cartoon exhibition, which is a travelling exhibition of editorial cartoons about relations between Turkey and the EU, which took place in Istanbul, Brussels, and Paris in 2012.¹⁰ This cartoon uses the metaphor of the *long road ahead* of Turkey in order to describe the long and difficult accession process of Turkey into the EU. Turkey personified here by a *train*, is on a long curvy railroad, moving towards the EU. The “road/journey,” metaphor supplies a conceptual network for understanding Turkey’s desire to join but also positions Turkey as an *outsider*, trying to come near. By being on the road, Turkey is depicted as willing to reach the EU symbolized by a big building at the end on the upper left corner of the frame: the huge EU flag (almost as big as the building) positions the EU as powerful, superior, and as an ideal place. There are many obstacles ahead: a river, a bridge, different tunnels, a hilly road with lots of curves and sharp turns. This imagery is used to depict the political and bureaucratic conditions that Turkey has to fulfill in order to become a full member and to emphasize the amount of work, which still needs to be done before Turkey can be accepted as a full member.

¹⁰ Initiated by the French cartoonist Plantu, *Cartooning for Peace*, is an initiative born on 16 October 2006 at the UN headquarters in New York. A two-day conference organized by Kofi Annan, the then Secretary General of the United Nations brought together the twelve best-known political cartoonists in the world for “unlearning intolerance.”

Regardless, “if and when” Turkey has completed the necessary actions and fulfilled the requirements, the EU members will decide whether or not Turkey fulfills the criteria for membership. The road metaphor, which implies a *movement ahead*, also indexes “*temporality and speed*,” therefore, the cartoon not only depicts Turkey’s accession as a difficult process, but also as a faraway possibility. The title of the poster, anchors the visual imagery and sets the conceptual background by underscoring verbally the duration and the difficulty of the road ahead: “Une route *longue et sinueuse*: Les relations entre la Turquie et l’UE à travers les dessins de presse” (A long winding road: Turkey EU relations through cartoons). Hardships and obstacles on the road to the EU are also emphasized by the metaphorical expressions of *crossroads* and traffic light as illustrated by the following cartoon.

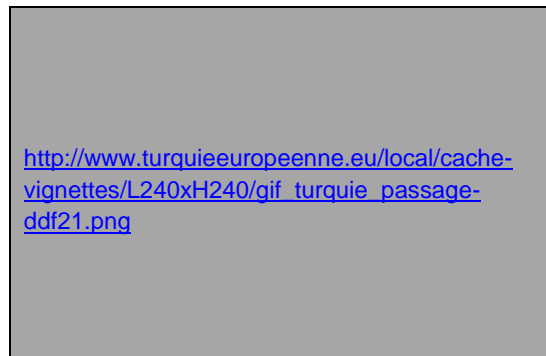


Figure 3.2. Janusz Majewski (MAYK), 2008

Removed for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.2 is another cartoon by Janusz Majewski using the road-metaphor, but this time rather than depicting a whole journey the cartoon describes a crucial moment during this process. Here Turkish citizens (we will discuss their depiction later) a husband and a wife, are waiting to cross at a crosswalk. The metaphor of crosswalk might be interpreted as indexing Turkey’s position at *the crossroads of international politics* where Eastern and Western ways of life overlap. Crossroads is a powerful rhetorical device which seems to offer two lines of reasoning: on the one hand, it points out that Turkey has travelled a part of the path which implies taking active stance towards attaining a set goal; on the other hand, it suggests that a decision should be made as to which direction to take forward or backward, left or right. The red traffic light

at the end of the road is a metonymic representation of the EU as it iconizes its institutional authority (Turks need permission to cross). It also indexes a physical and symbolic boundary to an unknown “other” side.

The Turkish couple depicted here are not ordinary passengers as they have their baggage with them, which might be interpreted as they *are planning to stay* at their destination. The red Turkish flag on the baggage iconized the Turkish identity of the two pedestrians. The woman’s *burka* (a strong symbol used by religious fundamentalists) and the man’s *fez* (a traditional Ottoman hat) orient to the characters’ Muslim identity. Their contrasting body postures with the woman standing with a heavy burden on her shoulder and the man sitting by his luggage are meant to index genders’ inequalities in the Islamic tradition and by extension in Turkey. Indeed, concerns about gender equality and the rights of women in Turkey have been central to Turkey’s EU accession process. Many Europeans consider that women in Turkey are deprived of their democratic rights.¹¹ Turkey was asked to end any kind of discrimination based on color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, sexual orientation, or religion by the European council (Council 2001, p. 19; 2003, p. 43; 2006, pp. 37-38; 2008, p. 8).

The caption under the cartoon provides the reader necessary contextual information: “*La candidature de la Turquie à l’entrée [sic] dans l’Union*” (Turkey’s candidacy to the European Union for admission). Without it, the cartoon’s intended message may be lost, as the EU is not directly represented (no EU flag, no EU sign, nor any other symbolism indicating the presence of the EU such as blue background or twelve yellow stars, the signs or labels commonly used in cartoons).

¹¹ Turkish women were granted the right to divorce in 1923 and to vote in 1934, exactly 10 years earlier than their French counterparts. The right to an abortion dates back to 1983. Although Turkish women emancipated much earlier than European women, a large discrepancy between formal rights and the social position of women in Turkish society remains, especially under the Islamist Justice and Development Party’s (AKP) “reign” (2002-2013).



Figure 3.3. Slavomir Svitalsky, 2009

© Cartoon Movement/Svitalsky Bros; used with permission

Figure 3.3, a cartoon by the Czech cartoonist Slavomir Svitalsky is another example of the road metaphor. This time Turkey's road ahead is a *running track* and its attempts to become an EU member are described as an unfair *hurdle race* between candidate states. Turkey is embodied by an athlete, (see the flag on his chest) racing against an unidentified opponent. The European Union representatives, (with their ties and blue suits and the EU signs on their backs) are portrayed as twisting the rules of the race by placing hurdles in front of the Turkish athlete and therefore enabling the other athlete to run freely and win the competition.

The cartoon is a social criticism of the way in which member states “move goal posts” in a concerted effort to impede Turkey's accession to the EU. In fact the latter has established a number of common and legitimate values and specific conditions upon which stands the membership of each candidate country. This conditionality is the Union's core strategy to induce non-member states to comply with its principles and values. The early 2000s were the “golden age” of Turkish-EU relations with the EU using conditionality — holding out the prospect of eventual membership — to encourage domestic political reforms. Turkey was expected to fulfill the “Copenhagen criteria,” which enshrined the values of human rights, democracy, the rule of law, and a functioning market economy with institutional protection of democracy, minorities, monetary union, and capacity to implement the EU laws and policies (Christiansen, 2009). At the time of the writing of this thesis (December 2013), no prospect of Turkey's

EU accession is in sight despite the significant institutional changes made by the successive Turkish governments in the last 13 years.

Another group of cartoons I would like to mention under the road-metaphors are those depicting Turkish accession as *a difficult and almost impossible journey*.



Figure 3.4. Plantu, 2005

© Plantu; used with permission

Plantu's cartoon (Figure 3.4) published in 2005 in *Le Vif/Express* identifies two major obstacles that derail Turkey's accession talks: the Armenian genocide claims and the Cyprus issue. The latter finds its origin in 1960 when a partnership between Turkish Cypriots and their Greek counterparts was set up in accordance with the international agreements that both partners signed as did the Turkish, Greek, and British governments. However, just three years later (1963), Greek Cypriots violated the founding agreements and the Constitution by ousting their Turkish counterparts from all the organs of the new Republic. In 1974, Greece tried to annex the Island with a coup attempt. Cypriot president, Archbishop Makarios III, was deposed and replaced by Nikos Sampsona who was in favour of Enosis, the union of Cyprus with Greece. In retaliation, the Turkish army invaded Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots set up their own Republic. The Turkish-Greek relations and the Cyprus problem following the Turkish intervention of 1974 have had an important place throughout the evolution of the relations between Turkey and the EU. The EU's acceptance of the Republic of Cyprus as a member prior

to a settlement of the Cyprus question effectively killed the chances for any future inter-communal settlement. Greek Cypriots' rejection of the Annan Plan initiated by the UN in order to foster the reunification of Cyprus in 2004 didn't come as a surprise. Turkey found itself in a predicament as it was asking to become a member of the EU while also technically occupying some of its territory (Northern Cyprus). Before being granted membership to the EU, Turkey was expected to give up its position on the Cyprus issue (Kösebalaban, 2007, p. 118).

The second obstacle pointed by Plantu is that of the Armenian genocide claims for the Ottoman army's killing of 1.5 million Armenians during World War I, and their deportation between 1915 and 1917. Turkey has kept rejecting these claims on the basis that the deaths of Armenians were not orchestrated by the government but were a military response to those who cooperated with Turkey's wartime enemy, Russia, and plotted against the Turkish army. Opponents of Turkey's EU accession, especially France, have advocated for Turkey's recognition of genocide as an accession criterion.

To these two obstacles one could add that of the Kurdish insurrection and of the PKK's separatist movement. Quite noticeably, cartoonists have rarely taken up these issues for reasons that remain unclear.

In the cartoon above, Turkey and Turkish people are metonymically personified as a man trying to cross the border (asking permission to enter) to visit EUROPE. The figure of the Turkish traveller is quite ambivalent: his backpack indexing tourism and leisure does not fit with his corporate suits and the files and briefcase he is holding. One can hypothesize that the man here epitomizes the figure of the Turk be it tourist, businessman, student, and so on. The European on the other hand is metonymically personified as an immigration officer. He is portrayed as the sole authority that can allow the Turkish man in. At the gate he informs the Turkish applicant that if he recognizes Cyprus he will be granted entry: "*Bon maintenant vous reconnaissez Chypre et vous passez*" (OK now you recognize Cyprus and you enter). To the man asking if it is the only condition for entry, the officer responds yes: "*Après c'est tout? — Oui c'est tout*" (Is that all? — Yes that's all). Plantu's framing of the scene offers the reader an overview of the situation that highlights the immigration officer's dishonesty. The labyrinth lying ahead of the Turkish man is full of impasses and tricks. Even if he reaches the statue of

Genocide (another condition) before the exit, he will be sent back to the point of departure as if this is a game with the sign: “*Vous retournez à la case de depart*” (Return to the departure point). Additionally, a brick wall covers the exit to Europe making the harsh journey worthless.



Figure 3.5. Nicolas Vadot, 2004

Dessin de Vadot publié dans le Vif/L'Express (Belgique) du 17 décembre 2004 ©
www.nicolasvadot.com; used with permission.

The road/journey metaphor in Nicolas Vadot's cartoon (Figure 3.5) is represented as a *maze or, visual illusion*. The man wearing a red raincoat with a Turkish flag on his back and carrying luggage is portrayed in his attempt to reach his loved one, Europe, personified by the mythological Phoenician princess *Europa*. According to the myth she was seduced by Zeus in the form of a Bull, and later on, gave her name to the whole continent of Europe (www.cogwriter.com/europa.htm). The cartoon depicts her as standing on a blue surface on top of a summit surrounded by stairs. She looks happy and welcoming to the Turk with her arms wide open. But this is just an illusion. Although the Turkish traveller looks very close to his destination there is no real passage or path that leads him to Europa. Therefore the whole scene is an optical illusion.

The cartoon reflects on the sincerity of the EU members in their willingness to welcome Turkey. Although the negotiations are not officially over after 50 years, Turkey's membership to the EU does not even look like a remote possibility. In fact, when the original six western European states who had been devastated by World War II founded the *European Community for Coal and Steel* in 1952, they wanted to defend and protect themselves and lay the foundations of a strong *economic and political union* among the peoples of Europe. Some members believed that this cooperation should be

no more than a fully developed common market with a few political social and cultural decorations (Arnold, 2007, p. 107). The basic and legal principle to become a member was “to be a European State” as it was determined in the Article 237. At the time, there was a consensus about the general borders of Europe in the western minds. Therefore, there was no need for a geographical definition of Europe by then, because the borders of Europe were also considered as the borders of the EU. At these initial stages of the European integration, the European Economic Community (EEC) was an economic organization functioning as a free trade zone. Therefore, Turkish membership was not considered controversial and member states were less concerned about granting Turkey full membership, as it did not imply *any political or cultural union*. However, during the long process of Turkey’s accession, the EU has gone through an unpreventable transformation and has become a *political community* rather than a simple economic union.

As stated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) “a journey defines a path” (p. 91); cartoons using road/journey metaphors implicitly construct the EU as the ideal final destination candidate states thrive to reach by waiting for an authorization to enter (Figures 2 and 4) or by acting upon admission (Figures 1 and 3). On this *road*, member states gradually make necessary adjustments to be accepted. As stressed by Hülse (2006): “a path allows for gradual differences; it constructs a frontier zone rather than clear border” (p. 412). The road/journey metaphors define the EU as an ideal and a distant place to reach and also construct it as an *exclusive* space of privilege. As illustrated in the next section, cartoonists index this exclusiveness by representing the EU as a house and fortress, or metonymically as a door and waiting room, among others.

3.2. Container Metaphors: Turkey’s Knocking on the Door

Container-metaphors help demarcate the conceptual borders of Europe and to define the EU as a state-like entity clearly differentiated from the outside world. The “common house of Europe,” an expression coined by Gorbatshev and which featured very prominently in European discourses (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993) is a very commonly used metaphor to describe the EU. The EU is frequently presented as a space to enter and

Turkey is often depicted as *entering, arriving, being admitted, or taken in*. In fact, *house* is one of the key container-metaphors in the European integration discourse (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Schaffner, 1996; Musolff, 2004). Through this metaphor, the EU is constructed as an *exclusive container* to which access could be restricted or denied in order to protect the in-group members. Depicting the EU behind closed doors and Turkey as a visitor knocking on its door asking permission to enter or as patiently waiting in the antechamber of the EU are common themes in the political cartoons of my corpus.

Container-metaphors conceptualize the member states as *in-group* members and define candidate states as *out-group* members, portraying the EU as an entity closed to outsiders, inward-oriented, and protectively separated from the rest of the world. In fact, the *symbolism of the door* plays a key role in legitimizing the EU member states' refusal of Turkish accession. The depiction of the European Union as protected behind closed doors, helps define Europe as an exclusive space and justifies its restrictive policies towards out-group members such as Turkey.



Figure 3.6. Niels Bobojesen, 2005

© Niels Bobojesen; used with permission

Figure 3.6 is a widely entextualized political cartoon on different European websites. Google image search engine results indicate that it was used 63 times in various blogs and websites. (See Appendix) In this cartoon, the Turk is standing in front of a door, which metonymically represents the EU (circle of yellow stars and blue door). By walking through this door the Turkish man (synecdoche for all Turks) would enter into the EU. Although there is a big doormat with the *Welcome* sign on it, the door is locked and has several keyholes on it. The Turkish representative is in a state of confusion, not knowing what to do. The symbolism of the key can imply the difference between

freedom and incarceration. Keys symbolize opening and closing powers: a key can be used to lock someone in, depriving that person of his or her freedom or it can be used to unlock the door and free whomever is inside. Keys also represent metaphysical powers, knowledge, mystery, initiation, and curiosity.

The Turkish representative depicted in this cartoon holds a key in his hand and is hoping to open the door in front of him. At first sight he looks as if he has some agency in this process of membership. Although he seems to have a solution to his problem (opening the door that leads to the EU) he has in fact no agency: he does not have all the keys necessary to unlock this metaphorical door.

The keyholes on the other hand could be interpreted as indexing the different conditions and expectations of each member country. The overall picture underscores the conditionality of Turkey's accession and, on an ideological level we might even say the impossibility of it. Although the cartoonist does not overtly use dehumanizing elements to depict the Turk as inferior in this process of accession, he creates this effect by using an incongruous perspective. The size of the door and the height of the Turkish representative are incongruous. The Turk is depicted as a small man especially when compared to the doormat and the keyholes; he can't even reach the door handle. The cartoon is also a good example of domestication, by which something complex, the EU is shown in terms of something more immediate, a house. Again, we have a whole chain of visual signs representing the concept of "Europe as a house": The door represents the EU member states' resistance to Turkish accession and the imaginary borders of the EU; the keyholes might be interpreted as the conditions that the Turkish side has to fulfill, and the key represents the agency of the Turks in this process of never ending accession.



Figure 3.7. Ali Dilem, 2007

© Ali Dilem; used with permission

Ali Dilem created this cartoon (Figure 3.7) for the 50th anniversary of the Rome Treaty. The idea of a door (or windows, for that matter) is inextricably linked to the idea of a house. The cartoon depicts two doors side-by-side probably in an apartment building. On the left, the EU door is marked by musical notes and vector lines indicating action and loud music on the EU side, while Turkey on the right (see Turkish flag) is represented by a silent door. A Turkish man holding a grocery bag is about to open his door and looks annoyed by the noise coming from his partying next-door neighbors. In the middle, the big black sign on the wall reads as follows: “Nous fêtons une anniversaire *entre amis*, veuillez nous excuser pour la gêne occasionnée” (We are celebrating a birthday *among friends*, we apologize for the inconvenience). This excluding sign toward the next-door neighbor, foregrounds the otherness of the Turkish and gives clues on how the country is perceived by the EU neighbors. The negative representation of the Turks and Turkey (the Turkish Other) often comes in the form of binary oppositions. A common theme in political cartoons depicting the Turkish accession is to compare and contrast the positive traits attributed to the European self with the negative traits of the Turk, to further accentuate the cultural clash and underlying differences perceived by the EU members. As Tekin (2010) argues:

Turkey is often contrasted with Europe in order to be found undemocratic (as opposed to the “democratic Europe”), intolerant and extremist (as opposed to the “tolerant and moderate Europe”), backward and poor (as opposed to the

“developed and prosperous Europe”), or irrational and aggressive (as opposed to the “rational and peaceful Europe”). (p. 165)

In this cartoon the EU defined as a party “*entre amis*” emotionalizes the Turkish membership at a more intimate level and underscores the Otherness of Turkey by depicting him as the “unwanted” out-group member further accentuating the underlying differences. Constructing the EU as a close circle of friends projects Turkey’s membership demand into a request to become a part of that intimate circle.



Figure 3.8. Janusz Majewski, 2010

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The door metaphor in Majewski’s cartoon (Figure 3.8) is combined with the notion of *waiting*. It depicts a Turkish man sleeping on a bench in front of the EU door. Besides wearing a *red fez* with a *crescent* and a *star* (Turkish Flag) he is portrayed sporting a thick black moustache, which is a typical stereotype of the Turk. The cartoon uses negative predication by connecting Turks and Turkey to the historical image of the Ottoman Empire. This rhetorical strategy assumes that the reader will transfer the negative imagery of the Ottomans into the actual Turkish image.

In the waiting room, the sleeping Turkish representative indexes the passage of time, ironically criticising the 50-year-long membership negotiations and the patience of the Turkish side. This emphasis on *time passing* can be interpreted in two different ways: 1) Turkey is not making the necessary moves and changes to convince the members and therefore passively waits; and 2) Turkey is tired of knocking on the doors of the EU and is waiting to be accepted.

The entextualization of this cartoon in different websites is worthy to note here because it really shows how the meaning of a cartoon can change according to the discursive context in which it is embedded. The cartoon and editorial article accompanying it are recontextualized with different titles. The entextualization process starts when the Turkish author/journalist Ahmet Altan publishes an editorial on 05.10.2010 in the Turkish daily *Taraf* under the title *Avrupa* (Europe). In this article he criticizes Turkish politicians for their unsuccessful and inefficient efforts to become an EU member. The original editorial article has no visual (<http://www.taraf.com.tr/ahmet-altan/makale-avrupa.htm>). Altan's article is later translated and published alongside Mayk's cartoon by the international news website <http://www.presseurop.eu>. The latter publishes online news in nine different languages (French, Italian, German, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Polish, Czech, and Dutch). What is striking in this entextualization process is that each translated version is published under a different title:

French: "*TURQUIE: A Ankara aussi, on traîne des pieds*" (In Ankara too they drag their feet);

English: "*EU ACCESSION: Turkey's elite is napping*";

Italian: "*TURCHIA-UE: Ankara non ha fretta*" (Turkey-EU: Ankara is in no hurry);

Czech: "*Ankaře se do EU moc nechce*" (Ankara wants the EU too);

German: "*Wo kein Wille ist, ist auch kein Weg*" (Where there's no will, there's also no way);

Spanish: "*Ankara también arrastra los pies*" (Ankara also training his feet);

Dutch: "*Politieke elite werkt toetreding tegen*" (Political elite works against membership);

Polish: "*Między Scyllą a Charybdą*" (Between Scylla and Charybdis); and

Portuguese: "*Ancara arrasta os pés*" (Ankara train his feet).

This type of entextualization I believe supplements different layers of meaning to the message of the cartoon and the text accompanying it. It also underscores the

assumption that the target audience (*viz.* Europeans from different parts of Europe) perceives the Turk in its historical and stereotypical image.



Figure 3.9. Plantu, 2005

© Plantu; used with permission

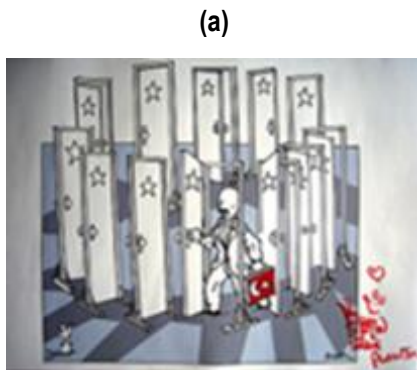
Plantu's cartoon here (Figure 3.9) published in *Le Monde* (13.10.2005) is about the Turkish accession and illustrates an editorial article titled "*La Turquie veut forger avec l'UE une alliance des civilisations*" (Turkey wants to create an alliance of civilisations with the EU). Plantu is commenting here on *the tardiness* of the Turkish accession process by using the door metaphor. The Turkish delegate, an ordinary bureaucrat in a grey suite with a tie is waiting for the permission to enter and to be accepted into the EU. The Turkish flag over his briefcase iconizes his nationality. He is depicted with a moustache,¹² a common stereotype used to depict Arabs, Muslims, and Turks in the political cartoons. The Europeans on the other hand are depicted wearing black suits, or tuxedos, and bowties. The room's door does not have any labeling.

Plantu uses the perspective to position the readers with a higher angle looking over the shoulders of the EU bureaucrats. So the reader's gaze is directed towards the Turkish man. There is strong symbolism and metonymic depictions (big spider web in the form of the EU flag) emphasizing the *passing of time* and by extension the long lasting character of the negotiations. The cat sitting next to the Turkish delegate also

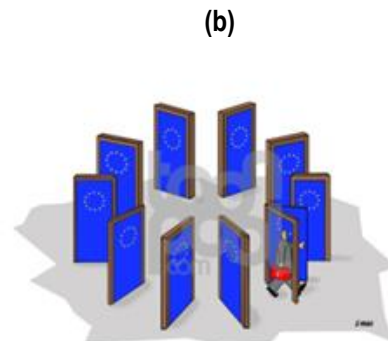
¹² Growing a beard and a moustache is a well-established tradition in many Muslim societies. The tradition of keeping a beard can often be traced back to the prophet Muhammad, as he did not completely shave his beard, and so many of his followers also choose to grow facial hair out of respect.

indexes temporality: the delegate has spent enough time to befriend the cat. The speech balloon of the EU bureaucrat complements the idea of *waiting* with additional information of *43 years*: “*Heu! Il y a ce monsieur ... Il dit qu’il attend depuis 43 ans*” (eh! There is this man ... he said that he’s been waiting for 43 years). The use of the generic category *monsieur* indexes that despite he’s been in the waiting room for 43 years nobody knows who the person is. He is depicted as a visitor, or even an unknown guest with no determined status. The speech balloon over him implies that he is singing or murmuring a song to pass time. The musical notes might index optimism and positive mood. He does not seem to be annoyed by his waiting; this suggests Turkey’s “optimistic approach” or maybe naivety regarding its membership application, despite being against all the odds.

In Figures 3.10a and 3.10b below, the door-maze metaphor is used to index the illusory prospect of Turkish accession.



Plantu, 2009
© Plantu; used with permission



Emrah Arıkan, 2013
© Emrah Arıkan; used with permission

Figure 3.10. Door-maze metaphors by Plantu and Arıkan

Plantu’s carton (Figure 3.10) sports the caption “*Aujourd’hui la Turquie*” (Turkey today). The cartoon portrays a Turkish bureaucrat hopelessly trying to find his way into the EU-maze in which doors do not lead anywhere. These 12 doors representing the EU members are there to divert the Turkish representative from finding the correct path. In fact there is no correct path. The maze symbolizes indecision, confusion, missteps, feeling lost, or being misled. The cartoon positions the reader in a position of *accomplice* to his illusion. Unlike the Turkish representative, the reader is aware that these doors

don't lead anywhere. The metaphorical combination of the real and the imaginary shared with the reader helps the cartoonist to create a sort of "inside joke" between himself and his readers (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1982, p. 49). By positioning the reader as an accomplice the cartoonist assumes that his message is intuitively obvious or that readers already have the tools for interpreting and judging the intended meaning of the cartoon. On the other hand this same effect of illusion can also be interpreted as the cartoonist holding a mirror to the actual situation, in which Turkey looks as a "naïve applicant" who does not accept "no" as an answer and keeps coming back knocking on the EU's doors.

The same door-maze metaphor used in Figure 3.10b by Turkish cartoonist Emrah Arıkan (2013) illustrates the intertextual character of the representations of Turkey's accession to the EU. As the cartoons above demonstrate, the door metaphor usually evokes an "entrance" or an "exit," a new "challenge" or "opportunity" but it also symbolizes protection for those who are behind it. In fact, after the creation of a common single market and abolition of the internal borders of the EU with the enlargement moves, member states grew concerns about the security and the safety of the union (Maastricht treaty, 1991).

It has been claimed that the EU was evolving towards a *fortress* since the fall of the Berlin Wall (Albrecht, 2002) and the metaphor of *fortress of Europe* became a useful tool to describe the EU's restrictive immigration policies and the policing of its imagined external borders (Kofman & Sales, 1992). Fortress of Europe was initially used to describe the EC's protectionist economic policy whose aim was to keep out competing foreign goods and services (Islam, 1994, p. 37).

Before analyzing a few examples of political cartoons using the *fortress of Europe* metaphor I would like to summarize the political context of this concept. When EU member states started to reconstruct Europe from its ashes after World War I and II, they needed a labor force to realize their industrial revolution. Countries like Germany and France started to "import" temporary guest workers to work in the coal mines, steel mills, and factories of Western Europe in order to satisfy labor shortages created by the booming post-war European economy and related industrialization. "Temporary Guest Workers" including thousands of Turkish immigrants took the jobs that no European

citizen would want and European workers didn't feel threatened by these new comers for about two decades. When European markets became to stagnate and the boom was about to fade, problems emerged. Up until the 1970s' oil crisis that damaged economies of the world and created a recession period, Europeans believed that the migrant workers they had imported decades earlier would go back to their own countries. Importing countries such as the UK, France, and Germany perceived the immigration process they initiated as something they could turn on and off when needed. Policy makers didn't expect this migration of workers to be permanent. When Europe emerged as a multicultural continent, the EU member states started developing reactive policies and restrictions in order to deal with what they have termed the "immigration problem." These new immigration policies led to serious unintended problems such as the increasing costs of recruitment and administration, the new settlers' socioeconomic marginalization and the social distress caused by xenophobia (Dumbrava, 2008).

At the end of the Cold War, the notion of security underwent a transformation in Europe and the discourse of immigration shifted towards an emphasis on security (Ibrahim, 2005, p. 168). Parallel to this shift, French people witnessed the establishment and settlement of a large Muslim population in France coming from former colonies such as Algeria and from Turkey. These new immigrants became more and more visible in France's social fabric. Muslim and non-European immigrants became imagined as a threat to the French "way of life" and as endangering France's national unity just by bringing in their differences and their own traditions (Freedman, 2004; Ibrahim, 2005). The opposition of the French governments and public against Turkish accession to the EU has been marred with unfortunate events, inappropriate diplomatic moves and gestures, and strong accusations from both sides. One can point to three major factors that fostered French people's negative perception towards Turks: immigration, multiculturalism, and fear of Islam (Islamophobia).

Indeed, Turkey's membership became a focal point both in terms of the formation of European identity and with respect to the role of Europe in today's global relations. Soon arguments based on *cultural incompetency of the Turk* with European culture and identity began to emerge. Although not openly debated, there seems to be a consensus among member states that European and Turkish cultures and values are fundamentally different, and that the gap between the two is so great that they are incompatible. Such

arguments incorporate explicit references to the European history and Christian heritage. As Renaud Girard wrote, “Europe was built on the dual heritage of Christianity and Enlightenment. But Turkey was not” (LF, 27 Nov. 2002, p. 13). In this context, the social construction of a European identity require the inclusion of the in-group members (European-self) such as Central and Eastern European countries and exclusion of the out-group members (non-European-others) such as Turkey. As the latter did not share the European heritage stretching from Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire through Christianity up to the Enlightenment, “questions of its geographic frontiers, past memories, civilizational belongings, traditions and cultural, and religious differences emerged as new themes in an old debate and set a new agenda for the redefinition of European identity” (Tekin, 2008, p. 728). Such belief was fervently expressed by former president Jacques Chirac who argued that in order to become a member of the EU Turkey needed a “major cultural revolution” (*Turkish Daily News*, October 8, 2005a; *The Daily Telegraph*, October 5, 2005).

The Turkish case becomes a tension point both in cultural and religious terms because it rekindles the long dormant question for Europe about the ways in which religion and politics should relate to each other. Turkey’s membership also exacerbates another deep-seated fear, that Turkey’s Muslim population will bring a major Islamic presence in Europe, which will dilute European cultural and religious distinctiveness (Ayoob, 2004, para. 3). French historian and journalist Alexandre Adler best express the concerns of Europeans about Turks’ Muslim identity: “If Turks would like to enter Europe as a Muslim nation or with their Muslim identity, this would never take place” (as cited in Çandar, 2006). Europeans have long feared the potential impact of a Muslim country on the unification project as illustrated by former French president Valery Giscard d’Estaing when he argued that Turkey’s accession would change the nature of the European project (D’Estaing, 2004). French president Sarkozy was also among the first EU leaders that openheartedly acknowledged this fact: “We have a problem of integration of Muslims that raises the question of Islam in Europe” (Sarkozy, cited in Kylstad, 2010).

Thus, French people became anxious about how to preserve their national identity in the face of such a multicultural society. Therefore, they constantly tried to define the place of Islam and Muslims in France (Silverstein, 2004). Jean Marie Le Pen, former leader of Front National claimed the possibility of “true Islamic invasion of

Europe” which will lead eventually to Turkey’s membership to the EU (cited in Zuquete, 2008, p. 331). The discourse on immigration in light of this fear of invasion and the society’s reserved attitude towards diversity, reinforced the framing of Muslim immigrants (Turks and others) as threats to French national identity — as the dangerous enemy Other. The French government in order to justify their repressive and exclusionary policies towards immigrants/Muslims framed the immigration as a threat for their society: traditions, laws, and ways of life, were presumed to be under this threat. The riots of an underclass youth shook France’s *banlieues* (inner cities) in 2005. The outburst of violence registered throughout November 2005 and the measures taken after these riots bear witness of the continuous crisis of French national identity and multiculturalism. As Taguieff (1990) explains, there has been a transformation from biological racism to a racism based on cultural differences in France (p. 117).

In this context of anxiety towards its post-colonial immigrants and in light of its inability to address issues of multiculturalism, France came to question what French identity really is within the context of European Union (Silverman, 1992). French have been afraid to lose their national identity, their global political power: so Turkey’s prospect membership fuelled their fears of losing their culture vis-à-vis immigrants and especially Muslim immigrants in France.

Some of the cartoons reflect this perceived risks to the safety, to the economic and social stability of the EU citizens by depicting the EU as a *heavily guarded fortress*, an unreachable building with high walls and towers, which does not welcome people from other countries (non-Europeans) seeking political asylum or simply looking for a better life. Intended to “manage” migration, EU’s exclusionary immigration policies that were presented as an antidote to racism, xenophobia, and a precondition for integration and “social cohesion,” are highly depicted and satirized in political cartoons. The cartoons below (Figures 3.11, 3.12, 3.13 and 3.14) use this metaphor of *fortress* and depict the EU as an unreachable place protected against the invaders by high walls, towers, and guarded gates.



Figure 3.11. Patrick Chappatte, 2009

© Chappatte/globecartoon.com; used with permission

Patrick Chappatte’s cartoon published in the Swiss Newspaper *NZZ am Sonntag* in 2006 (Figure 3.11) reflects the anxiety of the EU member states vis-à-vis Turkish immigrants/workers. The speech balloon of the EU official looking down at the Turkish family says: “*Je veux bien vous ouvrir la porte, si vous promettez de ne pas entrer*” (I don’t mind opening the door if you promise not to enter). This caption indexes the EU’s own contradicting policies regarding Turkish accession. On one hand the EU member states do not want to let Turkey in as a member. On the other hand they do not want to let it go as they want Turkey to become a “privileged partner” on the grounds that Turkey is not European and cannot meet the requirements of EU membership.

The *demande d’emploi* (job application) paper held by the standing Turkish man indexes French people’s and more broadly Europeans’ fear about the impact of Turkish immigrants on their national economies especially because of Turkey’s high rate of population growth.¹³ Europeans not only fear that Turks will *invade* Europe and take jobs away from its citizen but also work for lower wages and therefore lower the standard of living that they have secured through their advantageous position in the EU

¹³ The Turkish population expected to reach 75 million by 2015, and this would make Turkey the second largest member, representing twice the population of Germany and France combined. Europeans’ demography-based fear has to do with the fact that political representation and voting weight in the European Parliament are proportional to the population of each member state. If admitted Turkey would be entitled to exercise an inordinate amount of voting weight and therefore would be able to influence and in some cases control, or determine the decision making mechanisms of E.U.

(İdiz, 2010). Although free movement of labor is a defining characteristic of EU integration and a right and privilege for EU residents:

Some member states like France, Germany and the Netherlands where large numbers of Turkish immigrants reside, fear that the right of free movement for Turkish citizens could pose major additional problems for the national identity and social and cultural cohesion of the EU member states, something that is outright undesirable to both their governments and public opinion. (Anastasiadou, 2012, para. 5)

The frame and the perspective of Chapatte's cartoon position the reader's gaze at the same level as the Turkish family standing at the gate. The reader looks up to the EU representative. The height of the fortress walls indexes far-reaching immigration, border control, and enforcement policies, rather than establishing a superiority/inferiority axis.



Figure 3.12. Plantu, 2009

© Plantu; used with permission

At first sight, Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.12 look similar as they both depict immigrants at the gates of the fortress Europe. But Plantu's cartoon frame (Figure 3.12), positions the reader's gaze at a high level, which enables him/her to look down the impenetrable bastion. Plantu does not define the nationality of the immigrants waiting outside the fortress. This may explain why this cartoon has been widely used on the Internet, on various websites, and personal blogs discussing immigration issues. Worth noticing is that the same cartoon used to depict Turkish immigrants on one personal blog (see <http://comeniusonexile.blogspot.ca/2010/06/blog-post.html>) is used to describe the situation of African immigrants on a different blog (<http://carpediem-selim.blogspot.ca/2008/06/union-europenne-et-migration-africaine.html>). (See Appendix.)



Figure 3.13. NO AUTHOR

Retrieved from <http://alpesmaritimes.mpf-paca.fr/archives-2008.htm>

In Figure 3.13 the gates of the fortress synecdoche depict the EU. This cartoon was published together with an editorial article under the title “*M. Sarkozy ouvre deux nouveaux chapitres de négociation pour l’adhésion de la Turquie*” (Mr. Sarkozy opens two new negotiating chapters for Turkey’s accession). Although Nicolas Sarkozy was a fervent opponent of the Turkish accession to the EU, he is here criticized for helping Turkish negotiations. Any reader aware of Sarkozy’s immigration policies or his stance against Turkish EU membership will be surprised to see him pulling a Trojan horse full of Turks into the EU.

In fact, the close ties that Turkey and France had enjoyed for centuries — since Ottoman times — took a real downturn under former President Nicolas Sarkozy, who had voiced objections toward Turkey’s accession long before he was elected in May 2007. The question of the place of Turkey became a focal point of many political campaigns during the French Presidential election in 2007. Nicolas Sarkozy instrumentalized the *Turkish problem* in his presidential campaign and skilfully conflated the problems of immigration, unemployment, loss of sovereignty, and integration of Muslim minorities with Turkey’s prospect of EU membership. After his victory, Sarkozy’s marked insistence to grant a “privileged partnership,” rather than full membership, created tensions between France and Turkey, and also between Turkey and the EU. Immediately after his accession to the Presidency of the French Republic, Sarkozy openly expressed his policies and stance on Turkey’s accession in a televised debate:

Negotiations began in 1964. We are in 2007. The time has rather come to tell the Turks whether we want them or if we do not want them. For me

actually, it is not a question of democracy, it is not at all a question of Muslims, of Islam. It is to say that it's Asia, it is not Europe. One must tell clearly to this great people that they are meant to be the heart of the Union of the Mediterranean but not the heart of the European Union. (May 7, 2007, New York Times)

In another speech delivered in Nîmes, Sarkozy also argued that the EU should maintain its Christian values and consequently this will close the doors for Turkey's dream of becoming a part in the EU (Garcia, 2011, p. 59). In his book *Testimony*,¹⁴ partially echoing the former French President Giscard d'Estaing, Sarkozy openheartedly talked about his stance against Turkish accession once more and used geopolitical, demographic, and cultural arguments to defend his stance and he invited other member states to be honest about their political stance on the Turkish issue:

I oppose the views regarding the entry of Turkey to the EU. I fully understand the strategic expectations. However, these expectations can be fulfilled through a strategic partnership agreement. However, entry of a country, whose 98% land is outside European continent, who will be the most populous country of the Union in the coming 20 years, and moreover whose culture mainly carries several aspects of Islam into the EU, will create an overall transformation within the EU, thus will weaken the initial idea of founding fathers of the EU in terms of a political union eventually leading to a chaos ... However, if we are late to tell the Turks that they cannot be members; this will be a very impolite behavior. (Sarkozy, 2006, p. 192)

Sarkozy's comments reflect the first and most common argument against Turkey's accession to the EU reflected in the political cartoons related to Turkish accession: the *geographic argument*. After the last enlargement¹⁵ process with the participation of the Central and Eastern European countries, EU member states had to re-define the borders of Europe, which created new challenges. Europeans began to question the definition of Europe. They tried to answer questions such as "Where is Europe? Where does it start? Where does it end?" Borders are important defining features in the construction of collective identities because they define territories within which identities and power relations between in-group members and out-group members

¹⁴ English translation of his book *Témoignage*.

¹⁵ The EU had initially six core members, after two successive enlargements in 2004/2007 it expanded to a total of 28 members.

are formed. People need borders (even symbolic) because they need order, control, and protection in their daily lives. Borders also “determine sameness and difference and act as a marker between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (O’Dowd, 2002, pp. 14-15). When the borders of states change, they alter the balance of power and authority, they undermine habits and cultural patterns, and they threaten identities and create a sense of unease and insecurity (Anderson, 2006, pp. 189-191). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the European Union whose borders move back and forth according to the historical and political context.

I would like to discuss briefly the term *Europe* here because the definition and the borders of Europe oscillate wherever and whenever economic, political, or cultural differences manifest themselves and cause confrontations between different nations. The term “Europe” is like a kaleidoscope: when Europeans are looking at it, they all see something different. For example, according to the late Pope John Paul II, Europe included all Orthodox countries; according to political scientist Samuel P. Huntington (1996) the eastern borders of Europe were somewhere in western Belarus and Ukraine. For the ancient Persians, Europe was a territory separating them from Greece, for the people of the Middle Ages Europe was virtually synonymous with Christendom. These different “meanings of Europe are in fact, discourses of power on how to define and classify Europe and how to determine its borders based on similarities and differences” (Stråth, 2002 p. 388). In other words the fuzziness of these borders gave a great power to the member states to argue for or against the membership of any applicant country especially Turkey.

The most common present-day usage of the term “Europe” is shorthand for the “European Union” since the largest part of this so-called *continent* is under the EU jurisdiction. But I believe this association is faulty because Europe is neither solely a concrete geographical location, nor a fixed culture, but it is an ideal place, a concept that is discursively constructed. The EU-commissioner for enlargement, Olli Rehn, at the World Economic Forum in Davos, asserted that the EU has essentially flexible borders: “Europe has no borders to its East, and is therefore, not a geographical concept but a philosophical [one]” (Wrangel, 2004, para. 4).

If we try to conceptualize Europe geographically, we can describe it as a peninsula or a subcontinent, forming the most western part of Eurasia. If we look at its actual borders, we see that Europe is bounded to the north by the Arctic Ocean, to the west by the Atlantic Ocean, to the south by the Mediterranean Sea, and, it seems that geographically Europe has no defined “natural” Eastern border. The difficulty of defining Europe geographically, culturally or politically comes from the fact that Europe is an abstract social construct. Europe’s borders have been discursively shaped and reshaped through constant negotiation of who belongs and who does not. Indeed, the imagined geographical borders of Europe are constructed in order to protect the Union’s unity and the European identity, if such thing exists.

Europeans against Turkish membership, like Sarkozy above, argue that Turkey is not part of Europe: its capital is not in Europe and 95% of its population is living outside of Europe. The geographical arguments disregard the fact that Turkey has a territory of 24,000 square kilometers in Europe, which is much larger than other EU-members such as Cyprus, Malta, Luxemburg, and Slovenia and only marginally smaller than the Baltic States, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Another contradiction that the geographic arguments create is the fact that countries such as Cyprus and Malta in the Mediterranean, or the French départements d’outre-mer of French Guyana, Martinique, Reunion Island, and so on, are accepted as European and as part of the EU, although they have nothing geographically common with Europe (Tarifa & Adams, 2008, pp. 58-59).

Coming back to Figure 3.13, Sarkozy is portrayed as pulling the Trojan horse, helped by German Prime Minister Merkel who is holding the EU gate open. The cartoon deploys the domestication of the mythological story of Troy. The story is about a gigantic hollow wooden horse that the Greeks left at the gates of Troy as a feigned sacrifice. Once the horse enters within the city walls, soldiers emerging from it opened the gates of the city and allowed the Greek army to enter and to conquer the city. By constructing this parallelism with the deceitful Greeks, the cartoonist depicts the Turks as *dishonest* and *dangerous* people, who are trying to infiltrate the EU. In fact, the Turk holding a Turkish flag and hiding in the wooden horse metonymically represents the Turkish immigrants, trying to sneak in to the EU to find jobs and have a better life as the illustrated in Figure 3.14.

The image of the EU as an entity closed to outsiders, inward-oriented, and protectively separated was re-enforced by the repeated description EU as a “rich man's club” of “privileged, highly affluent countries.”



Figure 3.14. © Bastion n°67 de Janvier 2003

No author

Figure 3.14 published in the Belgium magazine *Bastion* (no: 67 January 2003) comes as a reaction to British Prime Minister David Cameron's supporting speech about Turkey's accession to the EU. Here Cameron is portrayed as using a strikingly forthright language to express his dismay at the French government's efforts to block Turkey's accession as he accused the detractors of Turkey's membership of playing on *fears of Islam* — as he pledged to “pave the *road* from Ankara to Brussels.” The irony in the cartoons is based on two contradictions. First, the British prime minister is depicted as a Muslim fundamentalist: metonymic elements enhance his image as a spokesman for the Turks by wearing a beard and a Turban (symbols of Islam — a typical stereotyping). This depiction is in itself a contradiction, satirising Cameron for defending Turks and Muslims at the expense of Europeans. Second, the cartoon uses domestication and condensation and recalls the tale of *Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves* to depict the Turks. While Cameroon speaks in front of the Cave of Ali Baba (the EU) a robbery occurs. Turks — depicted like thieves — are about to steal the riches. This depiction played on very strong negative representations of Turks concealing their true intention to exploit

the EU funds and thus abuse the goodwill of EU citizens. As Tekin (2010) underscores the image of the dishonest Turk appears to be a very persistent historical stereotype of the Turkish other in French imaginary (p. 163). The interdiscursive reference to Ali Baba helps shape the figure of the Turks as Muslim. In order to comprehend the argument of the figurative comparison and the humor of the metaphor, the reader must understand the structure of the cartoon, be familiar with the political context and the literary allusion the cartoonist establishes. What the reader may infer from the cartoon (Turks stealing the goods of the EU) is in contradiction with David Cameron's statement. The cartoon plays on this contradiction to construct its main argument: *Turks are greedy thieves* and although they have nothing in common with Europeans they still want to be in Europe, because they want to take advantage of its wealth. This general argument is supported by different metonymic elements reviving the historical image of the Turk: they are all dressed as bearded fundamentalists, wearing turbans and jubbahs.

The imagery of the *cave* (another container metaphor) used for Europe has many symbolical implications. The *magic cave of the thieves* requires a password ("open sesame"), and only those who know it can enter the cave. The big rocky door protecting the cave shows that the accession to the EU is conditional and controlled.

All the cartoons I have analyzed in this section (to the exception of Figure 3.13 which is published with no signature) were cartoons signed by famous European cartoonists that I define as "authored" cartoons as opposed to the "generic" cartoons I will analyze in the following section. I use the term *generic* because they have no authorship — the artists did not sign the cartoons — and they are offered as "Rights free" for public use.

3.3. Entextualization of "Generic" Cartoons

Another striking pattern in my corpus is the observable difference between the entextualization rates of authored and *Rights free* "generic" cartoons. These cartoons (Figures 3.24 to 3.29) have a higher frequency of re-usage as they are entextualized in many different ways such as: statements, identity pictures on personal blogs, answers in discussion forums, propaganda material in political propaganda campaigns, and so on.

In contrast, the authored cartoons are much more limited in their diffusion/distribution on the Internet. They are mostly re-used on posters, editorial pages in newspapers or websites, in special cartoon directories and search engines, or personal web pages of the cartoonists.

The generic cartoons of my corpus were retrieved from *Bergolix* (<http://bergolix.wordpress.com>), a website promoting royalty free anti-Islamist cartoons in different languages and versions to be used in different countries as propaganda material. All the cartoons belong to Steph Bergol, yet none of them carry his signature. Bergolix also provides special webpage addresses for different countries¹⁶ and also special sections such as *Barbu*¹⁷ or *Mahomet*.¹⁸

Bergolix' cartoons generally depict Muslims as a homogenous mass with no distinction of their ethnicity, nationality and also without taking into account the place of religion in their lives, totally disregarding secular Muslims. The same cartoon can easily be used to depict a Turk or an Arab interchangeably. The site defines itself as *Les dessins islamo-vigilants de Bergolix* (Muslim-vigilant cartoons of Bergolix). The conditions for the usage of the cartoons on the website are defined in the *A Propos* section informing the visitors about the purpose of the site: *Images libres de droits. Faites-les circuler pour éveiller les consciences aux dangers de l'islam pour nos démocraties.* (Royalty free images. Disseminate them to raise awareness about the dangers of Islam for our democracies.). But the little explanation added to this statement contradicts the content of the website and its motto: « *Seule restriction: pas d'utilisation par des organisations, mouvements, personnes... incitant à la haine raciale!* » (Only restriction: not to be used by organizations, movements, people ... to incite racial hatred!).

¹⁶ <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/category/france/>

¹⁷ <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/category/barbu/page/2/>

¹⁸ <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/category/mahomet/>

Bergolix also provides *mirror websites*¹⁹ that the visitor can connect to with a simple click.²⁰

Figure 3.15 and Figure 3.16 below are published under the “*Coup de pied au cul et retour au pays*” (Kick in the ass and return to the home country) section of the *Bergolix cartoon collection*.

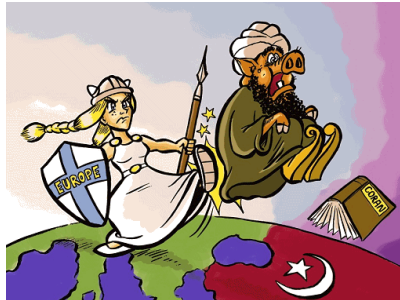


Figure 3.15. Bergolix (Steph Bergol)

© Images created as “Rights Free”

Figure 3.15 is one of the most entextualized cartoons, offered on *Bergolix*. Google image search shows that it was reused 620 times (29.06.2013) on different websites in different countries to depict Muslims of different nationalities, including Turks (see Appendix A for different entextualization processes). The cartoon is based on a *defender-aggressor* scenario that portrays a beautiful female warrior kicking a Mullah out of Europe, addressing the perceived dichotomy between Western and Eastern cultures, between Christian Europe and Muslim (Turks). By mobilizing religious metaphors, historical stereotypes, and dehumanizing depictions while using opposition, condensation, domestication, and dehumanization techniques, the cartoonist categorizes the Turk as the *morally devoid* non-European Other and the European-self as morally superior.

The cartoon’s message is based on the *binary opposition*: Turks vs. Europeans. As stated by Jakobsen (1998) binary oppositions are one of the main discourses to

¹⁹ A Web site that is a replica of an already existing site, used to reduce network or improve the availability of the original site. Mirror sites are useful when the original site generates too much traffic for a single server to support.

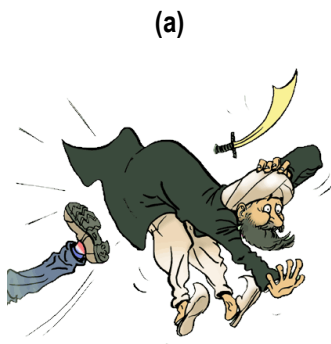
²⁰ stephbergol.ifrance.com; stephbergol.occidentalis.com; coranix.org/stephbergol; asticoter.free.fr/dessins, and islam-stop.skynetblogs.be

constitute social differentiation as hierarchy and domination. The framing, the colors used to depict each character, the cartographic metaphors, and stereotypical depictions and imagery are all supporting tools to create this dichotomy. A female warrior, dressed as a crusader carrying a shield with a blue cross on it and wearing a helmet, personifies Europe. These Judeo-Christian motives and symbolism are used to incite the resilience of old-age notions and stereotypes with respect to cultural diversity. Therefore, the cartoon argues that the resistance to the Turkish EU accession is justified, prompting the reader to think of this “kick” as the defense of Christian and European values against a putative Muslim invader.

When we look at the cartographic metaphors depicted by the map over which Princess Europa stands, we see that Europe is depicted as *union with no national borders* (i.e., green), whereas Turkey is represented by the red Turkish flag in order to emphasize where the borders of Europe end; implying the geographical otherness of Turkey. The ethnic and racial dichotomy is furthered by the way the two characters are described. Europe is personified as a *young, strong, beautiful, blond, blue-eyed* woman, dressed in white, indexing purity and innocence. In contrast, Turkey is personified as a *stupefied, ugly, powerless pig*,²¹ with dark complexion, and a dark beard. The action of kicking indexes the power and the authority of the EU in deciding who qualifies as European and who does not, and who is staying and who has to go. The pig-mullah is depicted wearing Islamic garments including a *jubbah, turban, and ottoman slippers* that are salient symbols of male Muslim identity and also closely associated with Islamic terrorists and terrorism. On the other hand the half-pig-half-human Turkish-mullah in the cartoon drops his Quran with the impact of the kick he receives. This *falling Quran* might imply that all Turks are perceived to live under the domination of Islam. Overall, this cartoon manipulates these visual cues and stereotypes denoting Muslim identity and portrays Islam as the primary identity of Turkey, therefore, generating the equation *Turk=Muslim=Fundamentalist* in Europeans’ consciousness. The cartoonist expects the reader to come to the conclusion that the European warrior is morally justified in her actions against the Turk after interpreting all these symbols and stereotypes.

²¹ In Christianity and many other traditions the pig is the symbol of all the sins of the flesh including sloth, selfishness, ignorance, lust, greed, and gluttony. It was also considered as a dirty animal as he wallows in the mud. Islamic and Mosaic laws forbid the consumption of pork (<http://ww2.netnitco.net/~legend01/pig.htm>).

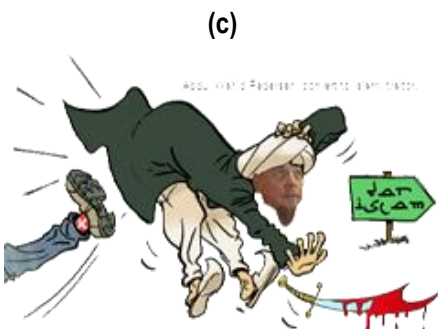
The symbolism of the cartoon is usually enhanced in blogs thanks to an explanatory text or statement posted along with the picture. For example on this personal blog <http://durotrigan.blogspot.ca/2010/06/german-jews-get-stoned.html> the cartoon is published with the following text criticizing fundamentalist Muslims who harassed a Jewish dance group in Germany: "We peoples in Europe have had enough of this barbarism. Here is a message in cartoon form, for all who continue to believe that the teachings of a seventh-century fanatic should determine or inform how people live." The blog owner's description of the Turk anchors the message of the cartoon: Turks are barbaric fundamentalists and Europeans ("we") are at the end of their tolerance and patience e.g. had enough towards Islam and Turks. Turkey is depicted as a backward nation, still living with the dogmas of the Middle Ages (*teachings of a seventh-century fanatic*), which refer to the prophet Mohammed. The text itself reflects the fears of Europeans about losing their European values or their ways of life, if Turkey joins the EU ("determines or inform *how people live*").



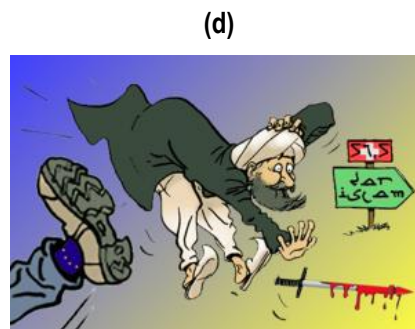
Bergolix, 2004



Bergolix, 2004
PDF version with three centering design choice



Bergolix, 2009



Bergolix, 2009

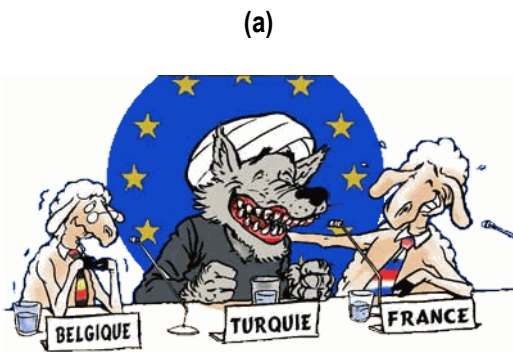
Figure 3.16. Bergolix (Steph Bergol)

© Images created as "Rights Free"

The above cartoon (Figure 3.16) and its versions a, b, c, d, have been entextualized about 1,100 times (Google Image Search, June 2013). They are offered as *ready to use* propaganda material on the Bergolix website with various ready-to-print PDF versions positioning the cartoon at different parts of the page (top, middle, or bottom). Different versions of the foot kicking (socks sporting different flags) are offered on the site, so that people from various parts of Europe can recontextualize the cartoon according to their propaganda needs. More over the webpage also provides different versions that show how the cartoon could be used by inserting real photos of Islamic figures. (See Figure 3.15c; for more examples visit <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2007/03/06/coup-de-pied-au-cul-et-retour-au-pays/>)

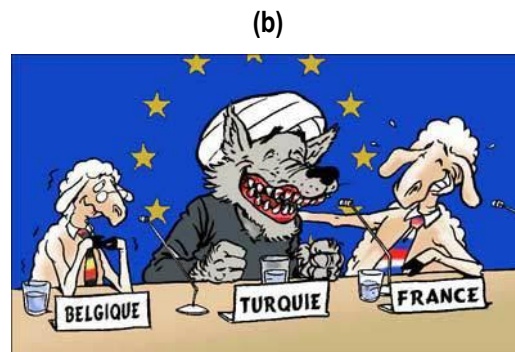
The cartoon depicts a mullah being kicked and almost flying in the air. The same imagery and tools are used here as in the previous cartoon. In addition to his Islamic garments, the mullah drops *his scimitar*, — an Islamic sword, that iconizes Islamic violence and terror—. This cartoon first published on Bergolix in 2004, was reused in 2009 with a promotional text related to the Swiss’ reaction to Islam.²² Figure 3.16d appears with the title “*Suisses et Européens disent NON aux minarets*” (Swiss and Europeans say NO to minarets). In this version, the sword has a different shape, and is covered with blood. The road sign with a Swiss flag over the green label reads “DAR [ul] ISLAM” (House of Islam). The foot that kicks the mullah has a sock with an EU flag. As it is, the cartoon depicts Muslims in general as a threat to Europe. But when it is recontextualized on different blogs *the mullah* depicted in the cartoon can represent different Muslim ethnicities. For example, next to a petition demand against Turkey’s accession to the EU, the mullah is perceived easily as a bloody handed and dangerous Turkish fundamentalist. (See Appendix A for different recontextualizations of the same cartoon.)

²² <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2009/12/07/suisses-et-europeens-disent-non-aux-minarets/>



Bergolix, 2004

La Turquie est la bienvenue en Europe !...



Bergolix, 2007

Turquie en Europe = le loup dans la bergerie.



Bergolix, 2011

NON à l'islam en Europe!



Front National, 2009

Figure 3.17. Bergolix (Steph Bergol)

© Images created as "Rights Free"

Figure 3.17 is an example of the dehumanization technique used in cartoons where humans are represented in animal forms (teriomorphic). This cartoon (Figure 3.17a) was first published on Bergolix in 2004 under the "Non a la Turquie en Europe" (No to Turkey in Europe) section with the caption "La Turquie est la bienvenue en Europe !..." (Turkey is welcome in Europe). In 2007, the same cartoon (Figure 3.17b) is reused with the following caption: "Turquie en Europe = le loup dans la bergerie" (Turkey in Europe = wolf in sheepfold).²³ Again in 2009, (Figure 3.17c) it becomes a propaganda

²³ <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2007/01/08/non-a-la-turquie-en-europe/>

poster²⁴ for le Front National (Figure 3.17c), and in 2011 it (Figure 3.17c) is republished on Bergolix under the *Non à l'Islam en Europe* (No to Islam en Europe) section.²⁵

The cartoon depicts a meeting in the EU: the representatives of Belgium, Turkey, and France are sitting at a desk.

- a. The *sheep* represent the Europeans (Belgians and French in this frame);
- b. The *Wolf* represents the Turkish people and Turkey's accession process; and
- c. The *sheepfold* represents the EU.

These are important and recurrent imagery used in Christian culture and Bible symbolism. Of all the domesticated animals, sheep are the most *defenseless* as they are utterly *hopeless against predators* such as wolves. The cartoonist uses this domestication method to depict the Self as innocent/naive and the Turk as the *evil aggressor*. This sheep and wolf imagery has been used in many tales and fables of Aesop (e.g., *Red Riding Hood*, *The Three Little Pigs*, among others). By mobilizing these cultural and religious codes and symbols, the cartoonist plays on cultural imagery and collective memory and portrays the Turk as a *dangerous, precarious, unethical, and dishonest* member candidate.

Besides this basic dehumanizing metaphor, the cartoonist also uses Islamic cues. With its *Turban* and Islamic dress (*Jubbah*), as in the previous cartoons, the wolf is depicted as a fundamentalist Muslim character. The clothes of the sheep (western tie, suit, and white shirt) create a contrast with the wolf's Islamic dress. The description of the Turkish representative in purely Islamic garments and accessories is an understatement; a conscious choice to equate the Islamic character of Turkey with fundamentalism, which sets it apart from the other EU members. The threat Turkey represents to Europe is depicted by the wolf's *smile* and its *sharp teeth covered with blood*. Contrasting with the smile on its face are the wolf's big and hairy paws on the negotiation table. The sheep on the other hand sport forced grins on their face indexing their tension in the presence of the wolf. Yet they are hiding their anxiety and pretend to

²⁴ <http://www.voxfnredekker.com/archives/2009/02/27/12739206.html>

²⁵ <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2011/09/05/non-a-lislam-en-europe/>

be happy in his presence. The movement vectors around the Belgian sheep show its anxiety. Turks, like the wolves in a sheepfold are depicted as *untrustworthy animal*, as they hide their real intentions: “eating Europe alive.”

Figure 3.17b was published in 2011 on Bergolix under the *Non-à l’Islam en Europe* section. The striking difference is the Arabic text in front of the Turkish representative. Worth mentioning here is that Turks use the Latin alphabet and cannot read Arabic letters. The sign in front of the Turkish representative wolf is an Arabic prayer called *Kelime-i Şehadet*²⁶ (the word of confession of [God's] One-ness as opposed to the Trinity concept of Christianity²⁷) which is the essence of the whole of Islamic belief system and is used as the initiation prayer for anybody to accept Islam. This way of identifying the Turkish representative shows a shift in the perception of the Turk as a Muslim fundamentalist who is willing to spread Islam. *Google image search* results indicate that this version has been recontextualized on 92 different websites (see Appendix).

Figure 3.17c is the propaganda poster used during the *Non à la Turquie en Europe* campaign by the National Front Party in France. The poster that was re-used 75 different times (Google Image Search, 30.06.2013) positions the cartoon (Figure 3.16) as the main visual. The paragraph below the visual offers two contradictory statements, one from Jacques Chirac — a strong supporter of Turkey’s adhesion — and the other from Turkey’s Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Chirac’s statement is a defense of unity in diversity embracing different religions as a cultural richness: “*Les racines de l’Europe sont autant musulmanes que chrétiennes*” (The roots of Europe are as Muslim as they are Christian). Erdogan’s statement is an excerpt of a political speech he made when he was the mayor of Istanbul. Erdogan at the beginning of his political career was quoting a poem by Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924),²⁸ in order to motivate his audience to take

²⁶ The prayers translation: “*I bear witness that* there is no deity [god, ilāh in Arabic] but the One and Only God [Allāh in Arabic]; no-one is to be worshipped but God [Allāh] alone *and I bear witness that* Muhammad is God’s servant and messenger [to mankind]. (<http://www.ismailmohr.de/shahada.html>)

²⁷ Doctrine of Trinity defines God as three divine entities: the Father, the Son (Jesus), and the Holy Spirit; “one God in three persons.”

²⁸ Ziya Gökalp was a Kurdish sociologist, writer, poet, and political activist. As a sociologist, he was influential in the overhaul of religious perceptions and evolving of Turkish nationalism.

action against seculars and to vote for his party to make Turkey an Islamic country.²⁹ "*Nos mosquées sont nos casernes, nos dômes nos casques, les minarets sont nos baïonnettes et les croyants sont nos soldats*" (The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets, and the faithful our soldiers). By putting conflicting ideas together (unity in diversity and Turks as fundamentalist Muslims) the text anchors the cultural/religious dichotomy and the perceived threat that is reflected in the cartoon. The final paragraphe reads as a warning to take action: "*Demain, la Turquie, [sera] la première puissance politique de 'notre' Europe, contre la volonté des peuples!*" (Tomorrow, Turkey [will be] the leading force of 'our' Europe, against the will of the people).

The sheep and wolf image is entextualized as a visual statement, almost as the headline or the slogan of the poster: *Turkey is the wolf in the Sheepfold!* The recontextualization process of the cartoon does not end here. On the blog of Yann Redekker, a member of the National Front Party, the propaganda poster itself goes through another recontextualization process and appears as the visual of an article published in 2009, which discusses the costs of Turkey's membership for the EU. Moreover, in 2010 on a Palestinian forum page the same cartoon was used to depict ISLAM in general. The way in which this cartoon has been entextualized in different forms and on various webpages, shows how the image of the Turk has evolved from the representation of a non-European threat, to the representation of a fundamentalist one underscoring the Muslim traits rather than Turkish ethnicity.

3.4. Islamophobic Cartoons

Another important group under the generic cartoons I would like to discuss are cartoons reflecting Europeans' anxiety about the presence of a Muslim country in the EU. This anxiety was fed by a series of events such as: the rise of Islamic terror —

²⁹ Erdogan was given a ten-month prison sentence (from 24 March 1999 to 27 July 1999) for reciting this poem in Siirt in December 1997, which, under article 312/2 of the Turkish penal code was regarded as an "incitement to commit an offense and incitement to religious or racial hatred." (*Zaman Daily*, 22 April 1998). After his conviction, Erdogan was forced to give up his mayoral position. The conviction also stipulated a political ban, which prevented him from participating in parliamentary elections. He completed his sentence on 24 July 1999.

Iranian hostage situation, the World Trade Center bombings (9/11), the rise of Al Qaida and the Muslim Brothers, and by the spread of fundamentalist Islam in formerly more secular Islamic countries (European Monitoring on Racism and Xenophobia, 2002). This fear of Islam or *Islamophobia* denotes acts of intolerance, unfounded fear, discrimination and racism against Islam and Muslims in general and mobilizes different presumptions such as “*Islam is incompatible with Western values and modernity*” and also widely accepted stereotypes “*Islam is an inferior and violent political ideology.*” Studies on the topic show the increased and wide spread acts of discrimination against Muslims, how Islamophobia has been “normalized” in the EU (European Monitoring on Racism and Xenophobia, 2006).

Opponents of Turkey’s accession believe that once a member of the EU, Turkey “would act as a conduit for Islamic extremists to enter Europe” (Tarifa & Adams, 2007, p. 67). The strongest opposing EU member countries to Turkey’s accession all have substantial Turkish and Muslim immigrants (e.g., Germany, France, and Austria). Saz (2011) argues that the ways in which Europeans perceive Turks and Turkey are closely related to the negative social images associated with working class Turkish immigrants. I show below that stereotypes about Turks have been in circulation long before the 20th century.

(Erensu & Adanali, pp. 62-63, parenthesis and italics added). As illustrated by the cartoons above, the *condensation* of Islamic symbols and imagery are used to represent the Islamic way of life as the core of Turkish society and to underscore its despotism and backwardness. Turks are assumed to be under the domination of a fundamentalist Islam. “This mis-recognition is developed by *stereotyping* (Turkey equals Islam), *homogenization* (Islam is monolithic), polarizing through *binary oppositions* (Islamic Turkey is despotic [vs. modern Europe])”

3.4.1. Flag Metaphors

The spreading fear of an Islamist threat influences the way Turks are perceived in general: Turks are simply defined in terms of their religion as a group in a Muslim mass. As already mentioned, Turkey’s EU accession has been perceived as Muslims’ *invasion of Europe*. This fear of Islam and Islamic violence taking over the European

way of life is reflected in some of the political cartoons through *flag metaphors* (Figure 3.17-3.19), creatively combining the Turkish (Muslim) and EU flags. These cartoons depict Turkey as a religiously fanatical or extremist country and Turks as people inclined to intolerance and to violence.

The crescent-star, ancient celestial symbol in the worship of sun, moon, and the stars, has become an internationally recognized symbol of the Islamic faith. It is used on a variety of Muslim countries' flags such as Pakistan, Algeria, and Turkey. Historians trace the origin of the crescent on flags back to 1453 when the Turks took Constantinople and adopted the city's flag, which featured a crescent moon. (See more at www.islam.about.com) Therefore, the Turkish flag is an important and highly entextualized visual in political cartoons as it provides great symbolism to depict the Turks as part of a Muslim mass.



Figure 3.18. Cox & Forkum, 2007

Images created as "Rights Free"

Figure 3.18 is a cartoon from Cox and Forkum's royalty free political cartoons collection (2007). It has been re-published 565 times on different websites (Google Image Search, 01.07.2013). It is based on a visual metaphor, which provides "a fusion of elements from two separate areas into one bounded entity" (Carroll, 1996, p. 810). The graphic animation of the crescent with sharp teeth is a *metaphor of personification* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The cartoon's central visual, the animated Turkish flag symbolically depicts the Turkish state as the dangerous enemy other, underscoring the perceived cultural-religious threat posed by the Turkish accession.

The crescent-like monster with sharp teeth is about to devour the little star-like Turkey. Such fusion between the written text "Islamism" and the graphic animation of

the crescent is called “homospaciality” (Lim, 2004), that is, two different semiotic modes co-occurring in one spatially bonded homogenous entity. The symbolism of the labels on the crescent *ISLAMISM* and on the star *TURKEY* and the relative size and positioning of the latter within the frame, emphasize the “perceived” fundamentalist Muslim identity of Turkish people: they are first Muslims then Turks.

(a)



Bergolix, 2007
Flag of French Islamic Republic: Francistan.

(b)



Bergolix, 2008
Flag of Belgian Islamic Republic: Belgistan

(c)



Bergolix, 2008
Flag of Italian Islamic Republic: Italistan

(d)



Bergolix, 2008
Flag of Eurabia

Figure 3.19. Bergolix (Steph Bergol)

Images created as “Rights Free”

This (2004) Bergolix cartoon (Figure 3.19) has been entextualized about 560 times on different websites (Google Images Search, 03.07.2013). It represents a snapshot of what seems to be a protest by Muslims as shown by the woman wearing a headscarf and carrying a flag. The latter is a graphic fusion of the French flag and the

crescent and star (which might represent several different Muslim countries that have these symbols on their flags, including Turkey).

In 2007, the cartoon was published under the title "*Drapeau de la République Islamique Française*" (Flag of French Islamic Republic): **Francistan** (Figure 3.19a). In 2008, it was re-used to depict the rise of Islam) in Belgium under the title "*Drapeau de la République Islamique Belge*" (Flag of Belgian Islamic Republic): **Belgistan** (Figure 3.19b). The same year an Italian version came out: "*Drapeau de la République Islamique Italienne*" (Flag of Italian Islamic Republic): **Italistan** (Figure 3.19c). The fourth version of the flag incorporates the general fear about the presence of Muslims in the EU and uses the concept of *EURABIA* (Carr, 2006) in its title: "*Drapeau de l'Union Islamique Européenne*" (Flag of Islamic European Union): **Eurabia** (Figure 3.19d). This version uses the blue and yellow colors of the EU flag but instead of 12 stars, we only see the crescent and the star implying that once in the EU, Turkey will take over. This cartoon functions as a strong discriminative tool as it projects Muslims as homogenous out-group and does not differentiate between different Muslim nationalities. Generic cartoons such as that of Bergolix are created to describe any Muslim group and ethnicity; they are easily transformed for different target audiences. This underscores the role of the context for political cartoons. The interpretation of the cartoon does not rely only on what the reader sees in the single frame, but also, the context and content of the page in which they are recontextualized contribute to it.

Another trend in the political cartoons depicting Turkey's EU accession is the symbolism of the *fusing flags*. In fact such fusion has been officially used by the Turkish government as illustrated below by the Turkish Ministry of EU's flag/logo that creatively combines the Turkish Flag with the EU flag.

(a)



Logo of Turkish Ministry for EU Affairs

(b)



Figure 3.20. Hasan Bleibel, 2010

© Hasan Bleibel; Used with permission

Such fusion that, in this context, has positive connotations for Turkish people has been entextualized to depict Europeans' anxieties about a possible Turkish accession. Many have claimed such as in Hasan Bleibel's (2010) (Figure 3.20b) that the accession of Turkey will increase Muslim influence in the EU especially under the Islamist Justice and Development Party's (AKP) rule.

Figure 3.21 is a double frame cartoon from Bergolix.

(a)



Moderated Eurabia

(b)



Fundamentalist Eurabia

Figure 3.21. Bergolix (Steph Bergol)

Images created as "Rights Free"

The first frame portrays the *moderate Eurabia* with the Turkish flag's crescent and star in the middle of the 12 stars; the second frame is the *fundamentalist Eurabia* version and depicts the crescent as encompassing the circle of twelve stars. The original EU flag consists of 12 golden stars in a circle on a reflex blue background that

symbolizes the West (<http://www.crwflags.com>). The size and the position of the crescent on these two versions reflect the way in which the Europeans perceive the Islamic threat. Similar cartoons and visuals using the flag symbolism of the EU are also widely available on the web (see Google Image Search with tag words: Turkey's EU accession, flags).

Now in the light of the analyzed cartoons, I would like to discuss the construction of the image of the Turk as opposed to that of the European in the political cartoons of my corpus.

3.5. Turks vs. Europeans

My analysis of cartoons has shown that until 2001 the problems regarding the Copenhagen criteria, the anti-democratic and militarist past of Turkey, and its abusive human rights record were the main problematic issues in EU-Turkey relations. Neither Turkey's nor Europe's identities were even remotely at stake during the debates over Turkey's association to the EEC. After this date however, Europe's attention "shifted towards the Islamic character of Turkey" (Erensu & Adanalı, 2004), mostly highlighting the dichotomy between Turkey and Europe based on questions of identity, borders, and religious-cultural differences. Before going any further, I would like to introduce the historical and political background of this era in order to better understand this shift.

As already alluded to, the rise of Islamophobia in Europe had a major impact on the way Turks were perceived. In the post-9/11 era, there was an environment of fear and angst in Europe. The continuous combats against terrorism in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen, and Lebanon contributed to the rise of Islamophobia.

The nuclear threat of Iran, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the 2003 Istanbul bombings, 2004 Madrid train bombings, the 2005 London bombings and the European contention about headscarves, the construction of mosques and the radical reactions on the Mohammed caricature conflict, further enhanced the Islamophobic stance in Europe and helped the rise of Turcophobia. (Saz, 2011, p. 481)

These negative images of Islam have spilled over to Turks and in consequence also over to the discourse of Turkey's EU accession.

Turkish EU membership was discursively articulated as a security concern. With Turkey inside Europe, its member states would neighbor the Middle East and its political problems, such as the current situation in Iraq, Syria, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The fear of extending Europe's borders is reflected in Germany's Prime Minister Angela Merkel's comments in which she reminds her EU partners that Turkey's admission would bring further Islamists and Al-Qaeda members into the EU, conveniently forgetting thereby that Islamist cells from which many of September 11 hijackers originated were already housed in Hamburg and other European cities (Benhabib & Isiksel, 2006, p. 221).

Making their way into Europe and being part of Europe have been Turkish people's constant objective throughout their history. During the 19th century, Turkish intellectuals' dominant belief was that Westernization and de-orientalization was the only way for Turkish people to be part of the West and to protect their national sovereignty (Kösebalaban, 2008). When the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire was transformed into the nation state of the modern Turkish Republic, Turkish national identity underwent big changes. "Elites were reshuffled both within and across identity divides, and the contact with Europeans increased and changed over time" (Kylstad, 2010, p. 31). The Turkish elites forced a movement of modernization. They believed that in order to be accepted by the West/Europe, Turks had to depart from their traditional oriental past and Islamic identity. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) the founder of the Turkish Republic, Turks tried to establish Western values and diminish the Ottoman Empire's Islamic socio-politico cultural legacy. Modern Turkish state-builders of the time believed that if they could create a secular and modern state out of the patrimonial Ottoman heritage, Turkey would become an "equal" member of the European international society.

Unfortunately, this ideal of westernization was a process imposed from above: a top-down reform movement and not a popular movement supported by the masses. Therefore Turkish people failed to completely internalize these reforms as an integral part of their identity. For instance, some Turks still favoured closer links with the Muslim

world preserving their Islamic identity. The reform movements divided the country between two political forces: those who believed that Turkey was a part of Europe and European tradition and those who have more traditional views about Turkey's identity (Burak, 2010). This dichotomy between seculars and Islamists increased even more after the electoral victory of The Justice and Development Party (AKP) that seized power in 2002.³⁰

Turks' dual Muslim/Secular identity is reflected and satirized in most of the cartoons of my corpus, with a special emphasis on their Muslim characteristics. I observed that Turkish men and women are almost always portrayed as fundamentally different from Europeans through binary oppositions. Turkey's inferiority, ignorance, and greediness are indexed through physical deformations and perceptual incongruities: as already mentioned, Turkish characters are usually portrayed as small and extremely naïve people. These binary oppositions establish power relations between the two peoples, connoting one side positively and the other negatively (Derrida, 1972).

In fact, the prospect of Turkish accession forces the EU members to define what it means to be secular and how religion relates to European identity. The Turkish case is therefore, controversial in cultural and religious terms because it requires the potential accession of a Muslim-majority country to an arguably, at least historically, Christian Europe. Although the religious difference is an important factor and forces the member states to review and renegotiate their own approaches to religion and to religious minorities it is not the only factor that has caused the rejection of the Turkish membership. As Hurd (2010) underscores, the real problem the member states are trying to overcome here is whether the member states should "define their European identity, and therefore, its external and internal boundaries by the common heritage of Christianity and Western civilization or by its modern secular values of liberalism, universal human rights, political democracy and tolerant and inclusive multiculturalism" (Hurd, 2010, p. 186).

European governments assumed that the characteristics of strong national ideals could easily be transferred to the cultural identity of Europe without taking into consider-

³⁰ AKP is a market-oriented fundamentalist party with ideological roots in the Turkish Islamist movement and a strong political following in Turkey's religiously conservative/fundamentalist and newly affluent middle class.

ation the overlap between national and European identity. The EU representatives and leaders believed that a European identity can be constructed as the sum of specific norms, characteristics, values, and narratives to which people relate in one way or another (Delanty, 1995; Stråth, 2002; Delanty & Rumford, 2005). Europe's history is the combination of its national histories and interactions between diverse nations. As Weiler (1999) argues, there is no sign that the European Union has made any head-way in creating an historical identity among the people of its member states (p. 581). Habermas refers to the global societies that can no longer afford to solve their problems on a nation-by-nation basis as the "post-national constellation" (1998). The EU is a great example of it. Thomas Darnstädt (2011) in the German newspaper *Der Spiegel* explains the EU's post-national status as follows:

There is a common belief that the world's societies of the 21st century will be completely mixed up, and while traditional identities will remain in place, they will lose their influence and a shared European identity will develop in tandem with national identities of the member states. (2011 February, 12, para 10)

In fact within the interplay of ever-changing social and political contents European identity is socially and discursively constructed (Stråth & Wodak, 2009, pp. 15–16). As Stråth (2002) explains, European identity is a concept used to construct an imagined community and feelings of cohesion and holism while giving the impression that all individuals are equal in this imagined community. I would like to underline the fact that the “European” identity I am seeking to define and understand here is that of the European Union. I use the word identity here as the political and civic identity of the EU members. As already mentioned above, the terms European Union and Europe have become not just metonyms, but synonyms for each other. When speaking of “European identity” we need to determine what exactly our perceptions are, as each of these words “Europe” and “identity” taken individually may be ambiguous and confusing. Checkel and Katzenstein (2009) define this imagined common European identity as: “shared representations of a collective self as reflected in public debate, political symbols, collective memories, and elite competition for power” (p. 4).

The European search for a new collective identity of a “united Europe in diversity” emerged as an increasingly influential factor in the enlargement decisions of the EU

towards Central and Eastern European Countries, Balkans and specifically Turkey, since the early 1990s. Europeans had fervent debates about how to define what “European” means and whether, or not, and how a European identity should be constructed (see Neumann & Welsh, 1991; Neumann, 1999; Sjursen, 2002; Sedelmeier, 2003). As Risse (2010) explains; “[O]nce citizens start feeling loyal to their group and their collective identity, this loyalty becomes the source for social mobilization, collective action, and support for institutions such as the European Union” (p. 22). However, for this loyalty to work positively for the integration of the EU, the collective European identity should be positively constructed based on feelings of belonging, shared values, and memories. Yet EU citizens did not have strong emotional ties with the institutions and representatives of the EU. It was impossible to found this European identity upon the cultural and linguistic homogenization of its citizens. In a similar manner European identity cannot claim to be based upon common past and clear-cut geographical or cultural boundaries. In addition, in order to act in unity Europe has to “invent ‘a common political culture’, deriving from a European ‘constitutional patriotism’ based on the idea that citizenship does not originate in national background but in rights” (Habermas as cited in *Der Spiegel* online International 12/02/2011).

Although they have their internal identity conflicts European men and women are generally portrayed positively as a modern and homogenous group. Men tend to be depicted as *bureaucrats* in black suits and ties carrying a briefcase and wearing glasses or are personified by political leaders such as Nicolas Sarkozy or James Cameron (see above). This imagery contrasts with the representations of the Turk to which I now turn.

3.5.1. Turkish Men

Historical images, myths, and stereotypes about the terrible Turk are revived with Turkish character sporting historical headdresses and Ottoman costumes in order to index the Turkish danger to the EU. *Fez* (an Ottoman hat made of red felt, with a tassel attached to the top), *turban* (the Islamic head wrap used by the Sultan and the nobility was the main indicator of rank in Ottoman society), and *jubbah* (an ankle length over garment) are the most entextualized Turkish identity markers I have observed in my corpus.

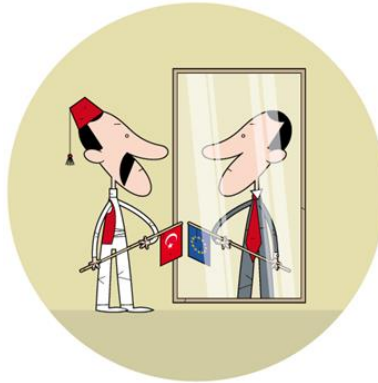


Figure 3.22. Cristina Sampaio, 2006

© Christina Sampaio; used with permission

Cristina Sampaio's cartoon (Figure 3.22) is based on the *binary opposition* of the backward Turk vs. the modern European can also be interpreted as depicting the dual Turkish identity mentioned above. Turkey's aspirations to become an EU member are iconized by the reflection in the mirror of a *white-collar man* wearing a blue *suit* with a red *tie* and holding an EU flag. The mirror represents the cultural divide between the EU and Turkey, underscoring mostly the cultural contrast between the Turkish man and his European reflection. Described as aspiring to be a European, the Turk is also portrayed as being too naïve to see his own reality: he is different and culturally incompatible with the European way of life.



Figure 3.23. Helder Oliveira, 2011

© Helder Oliveira; used with permission

Portuguese cartoonist Helder Oliveira in depicts the Turk with Ottoman/Islamic symbols and stereotypes (Figure 3.23). The *mosque* and the *minarets* in the background

index Turkey's Muslim character. The cartoon emphasizes the conditionality of the Turkish membership by the metaphor of "the stones in the shoe" which indicates that while trying to join the European Union, Turkey must solve some internal and external problems. If they are not solved, they will impede Turkey's accession process as "stones in a shoe" would impede someone's walk. The inscriptions on the stones Armenia, Cyprus, and Kurds, represent the problems (as discussed in previous sections) Turkey has to resolve and their exaggerated size underscores the importance of these issues in the accession talks.

3.5.2. Turkish Women

Turkish women are also depicted with special emphasis on their Muslim identity and their assumed ignorance. I observed that these cartoons often offer a liberal-feminist critique of Muslim society in general by mobilizing the prevailing stereotypes of Turkish (Muslim) women. In most of the cartoons Turkish people are depicted by male figures. Turkish women on the other hand are rarely depicted as having agency and they rarely utter anything intelligent. Indeed, they are mainly represented standing behind their men as passive, uneducated, and secondary characters oppressed by their husbands and families. They also tend to be portrayed as hyper-religious (wearing Islamic garments that cover their bodies completely and their faces such as "*burqa*", "*niqab*," or "*veil*," etc.) which makes them the object of jokes in political cartoons (see Figure 3.2, Figure 3.11, and Figure 3.19).

Although Islam is predominant in Turkey, the Islamic way of dressing, as depicted in the cartoons of my corpus, has long been abandoned in favour of Western attire thanks to a series of laws. The 1925 *Hat Law* replaced *fez* and *turban* by western style hats. *The Law Relating to Prohibited Garments* of 1934 replaced religion-based clothing such as the *veil*, *niqab*, *chador*, or *jubbah*, and so on, by western style suits, neckties, hats, and dresses (www.mideastweb.org). Up until the rule of the Justice and Development Party (AKP, 2002–2013), Turkish women wearing the headscarf were forbidden from attending schools and universities, from working in government offices, and from getting a passport with their heads covered. Under the Islamization process of the AKP there has been a transformation in the dress code and since in 2011 the ancient laws were abolished in favour of Islamic dress code, and women (in schools and

public services) are now allowed to wear the hijab. This transformation is reflected in the political cartoons.



Figure 3.24. Plantu, 2005

© Plantu; used with permission

In Figure 3.24 Plantu depicts French society's perception of Muslim women by constructing a *binary opposition* where each party is defined against the other. Synecdochically, the woman on the left indexes modernity whereas the woman wearing a *niqab* and standing in a cage is implicitly pictured as backward, dogmatic, and oppressed. The French woman's question: ("C'est nouveau!? C'est quoi ce truc?" — Is this new? What is this *thing*?), indicates the distance between the two cultures. The use of the indefinite linguistic form "c'est" and its semantic corollary "ce truc" (this thing) tend to deprive the Muslim woman from her agency. The Muslim woman's answer "C'est ma religion!" (It is my religion!) uttered within the cage indexes the repressive character of Islam. Plantu's bearded mouse³¹ on the right side could be interpreted as indexing the Islam's rooting in France.

Another widely used construction in political cartoons is the *Superiority-Inferiority axis* along which Turkish identity is represented. As Elias (1994) explains, members of groups often think of themselves in human terms as *better* than the Others' and seem to

³¹ The mouse is Plantu's trademark as it appears in all his cartoons.

establish boundaries between groups by stigmatizing outsiders (p. xv). The cartoon below is an example of this superiority-inferiority axis construction.



Figure 3.25. Plantu, 2005

© Plantu; used with permission

Plantu's editorial cartoon (Figure 3.25) illustrated the editorial titled: "*Europe pour ou contre la Turquie*" (Europe: for or against Turkey) (*Le Monde* editorial page, 9 November 2002). In an interview two days earlier, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, one of the first French presidents to take a strong political stance against Turkey's EU bid, had commented on Turkey's adhesion to the EU by reviving the old controversy about its Europeaness. His remarks fuelled the then debates on the EU's constitutional treaty, the European identity, and the geographic borders of Europe.

The political common place evoked in this cartoon is the process of Turkey's membership and the cultural arguments against it. The cartoon is based on a binary opposition: *Turkish people* (on the right side of the frame) vs. *France's and the EU's institutions*. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, dressed as a nobleman, almost like a king, portrays France, metonymically. This *temporal displacement* is a condensation method and creates an historical allusion to the glorious days of the French Empire (*la reine des nations*). D'Estaing's features such as his head are disproportionate compared to the rest of his body and to the other characters depicted in the cartoon. The great divide

between (European) bureaucrats and (Turkish) people is made obvious here with the latter waiting anxiously for the former's decision. D'Estaing's relative size and positioning within the frame indexes the leadership role France wants to hold in the EU enlargement process.

Turks and Turkey on the other hand are portrayed not as full-fledged individuals but as a "mass." As for the *displacement*, there is a distortion of the perspective as well: French/Europeans are standing at a higher position imposing their authority on the Turks who are standing at a lower position, implicating the unequal socio-political dynamics between the two entities. The disproportionality between the former French President and the Turkish people, and the positioning of the two groups create an incongruity by perspective and could be interpreted as indexing French people's *feeling of superiority* toward Turks summed up by the caption: "*Ils ne nous ressemblent pas*" (They don't look like us). Tekin (2010, p. 165) sums up this unequal dynamics as follows: "The negativity attached to Turkey coupled with positive European-self representation further generates hierarchical power relations which construct the superiority of the European Self and the inferiority of the Turkish Other." Unlike in the other cartoons of our corpus this one does not equate Turk with Muslim. Plantu's mouse depicts *Nasreddin Hodja*, Turkey's (and perhaps all of Islam's) best-known humorist-trickster and philosopher. The character's turban and his way of riding his donkey backwards iconize Turkey's historical ties with its Ottoman precedent.



Figure 3.26. Avin Nono, 2010

© Nono; Used with permission

Among the many features I have observed in my analysis, the *red fez* is the most commonly used icon to index Turkish people as illustrated in Figure 3.2; Figure 3.7; Figure 3.8; Figure 3.22; Figure 3.23, and Figure 3.26. In light of these observations I wish to address now the question of why Turks have been insistently represented by their historical Ottoman image. To what extent such historical imagery hasn't been purposely chosen to undermine the similarities between Europeans and Turks?

3.6. Entextualization of the Historical Stereotypes and Symbolism of the *Red Fez*

The understanding of the image of “the Turk” in political cartoons is impossible without the knowledge of the circumstances or conditions that were shaping European visions at the time when this stereotypical image was constructed or invented. During this half-century long accession process, there were strong opposition against the Turkish membership. As mentioned earlier, the opposition in France was even stronger since the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy who instrumentalized the Turkish problem in his presidential campaign by skilfully conflating the problems of immigration, unemployment, loss of sovereignty, and integration of Muslim minorities with the Turkey's prospect of EU membership. Turkey's accession talks and its future membership was strongly politicized and transformed into a European problem during the heated debates preceding the referendum on the European Constitution in 2005 (Visier, 2009; Insel,

2012). The negative image of the Turks was used “as an argument and as a propaganda tool to convince the electorate to vote against its membership as with nationalist political parties such as De Villiers’ Mouvement pour la France (MPF); Le Pen’s Front National (FN); and Megret’s Mouvement National Républicain (MNR). Voting against the constitution became for some French *nonistes* (i.e., those who voted no to the EU) a means of expressing their opposition to Turkey’s membership. The “Turkish case” enabled French politicians to kill two birds with one stone: French people said no to Turkey and no to the ratification.

When the three nationalist parties launched an anti-Turkish propaganda campaign “*Non a la Turquie en France*” they disseminated anti-Turkish propaganda brochures, posters, and petitions exploiting immigration issues together with Turkish prospect membership. The imagery, the stereotypes, and the slogans used in this propaganda discourse remained active even after the campaign ended. This imagery was mobilized whenever there was a new discussion about Turkey’s accession or its Europeanness. After the EU’s Eastern enlargement, EU members’ Euroscepticism and the *malaise Français* kept escalating.³² Political cartoons along with the propaganda materials of that time reflect these tendencies. They draw upon long-standing dualities by which the West defines the East and the Turkish-other as alien to its culture and way of life. I show below that such misrepresentations of Turkey are informed by historical prejudices and disappointments still pervasive in contemporary political discourse against the Turks.

³² French declinism: the sentiment of politically, culturally, and economically decaying France (see LeGoff, 2005).



Figure 3.27. Posters by Nissarebela.com

© Nissarbela.com

Figure 3.27a and Figure 3.27b are posters retrieved from the *Nissa Rebela* webpage (an identitarian extreme-right political movement based in Nice since 2005). These posters were distributed and published as part of the “Non à la Turquie en Europe” campaign. Our analysis focuses here on the three dates that accompany the campaign’s slogan: “1543, 1571, 2009... No to Turkey in Europe.”

The dates, 1543 (Siege of Nice) and 1571 (Battle of Lepanto) represent two victories that stopped Ottoman expansion in Europe and in the Mediterranean Sea base. The year 2009 is the date when the European commission blocked the opening of the negotiating chapters with Turkey. These three dates put together constructs the year 2009 as an important landmark in Europe’s battle against Turkish invaders. The three dots after 2009 indicate that this war is not over yet.

With the inscription of these dates and the “call to action against the enemy” message, readers are prompted to activate their collective memory. The poster evokes old prejudices and also plays on Europeans’ contemporary fears about Turkey already discussed. These posters show how the imagery and stereotypes emphasizing the otherness of the Turk are fundamental for the rejection of Turkish membership because they create the preconditions necessary to political action. This conscious intertwining of the past and the present and the reiteration of the *barbaric and backward* Ottoman

image to portray the Turk makes me question the influence of history in the formation of the stereotypical representations of Turkey in French imagery.

3.7. Topos of Turkish Fear: The Image of “The Terrible Turk”

The long history of encounters between Western civilizations and the Ottoman Empire has produced an archive of imagery full of stereotypes and metaphors, which have consistently portrayed the Turk in largely negative ways. The image of Turks “as barbaric warriors” began to form in Europeans’ minds during the 4th century when, under their leader Attila, they attacked European states, terrorised Central Europe and populations in some parts of Western Europe, including France (Aksu, 2012). Later on Turks converted to Islam during the first half of the 10th century and an ongoing competition and conflict between Christian Europe and Muslim Ottomans begun.

During the Ottoman Empire’s rule (1299–1923), the relations between Europe and Turks became highly politicized. In the 16th century, the Ottoman Turks were spreading the *Turkish fear* as they advanced in the Balkans and invaded Hungary, Romania, Moldavia, and Crimea. Turks were not only invading Christian lands, but were also spreading their religion and converting “Christians,” leading to the hatred between the two religions and a form of Turcophobia from the 15th century to the end of the 17th century. The unstoppable Ottoman expansion towards the West³³ fuelled distrust and fear among Christians and contributed to the construction of “the terrible Turk” that has since then prevailed in the discourse of Europe (Meserve, 2008). The expanding Ottoman Empire was a major threat to the hegemony of Christian Europe. For instance, Pope Nicholas V issued an edict calling for a crusade and condemning the Ottoman sultan as “a son of Satan” (Freely, *the Grand Turk*, 2009). The conqueror of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmet II, was demonized as “a venomous dragon whose bloodthirsty hordes threatened Christendom” (ibid., p. 3). Europeans feared that the ongoing Ottoman victories would collapse the political and social infrastructure of the

³³ The fall of Christian territories such as Constantinople (1453), Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), Buda (1541), and Cyprus (1571) into the hands of Muslim-Ottomans; and the Siege of Vienna (1529) and Malta (1565).

West and would cause the downfall of Christendom. Christopher Marlowe's observation in *Tamburlaine* (1587) depicts this fear of the mighty Ottoman Army:

As Now shalt thou feel the force of Turkish arms,
Which lately made all Europe quake for fear.

This fear of the terrible Turk was depicted largely in the gravures of the propaganda pamphlets of the period. Cartoons with an editorial nature emerged as part of the Protestant Reformation under Martin Luther (1483–1546) in order to mobilize the support of both the working class and the peasantry to ensure his reform's success. With the help of the "printing press" the topic of the "Turkish menace" founded its way into the political discourse of the 16th century, via political propaganda tracts and leaflets that illustrated *cruel Turks* as the imminent and dangerous enemies of Europe's social, political, and religious order. These pamphlets using a combination of pictures and text were published and disseminated all over Europe to unite European kingdoms and mobilize masses against Ottomans (Konrad, 2010). The woodcut gravures from the 16th century below are good examples of the historical prejudices of the era by depicting the Turkish soldier as a torturer: he takes good people of Christian faith captive and he impales their babies. Ottomans were considered as members of this "mass of invading Muslim-Arab tribes." The concepts of "Turk" and "Muslim" became to mean the "opposite of Christian. As Norman Fairclough observes, the media texts and images have a cumulative effect, working through "particular ways of handling causality and agency" and "particular ways of positioning the reader" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 54).

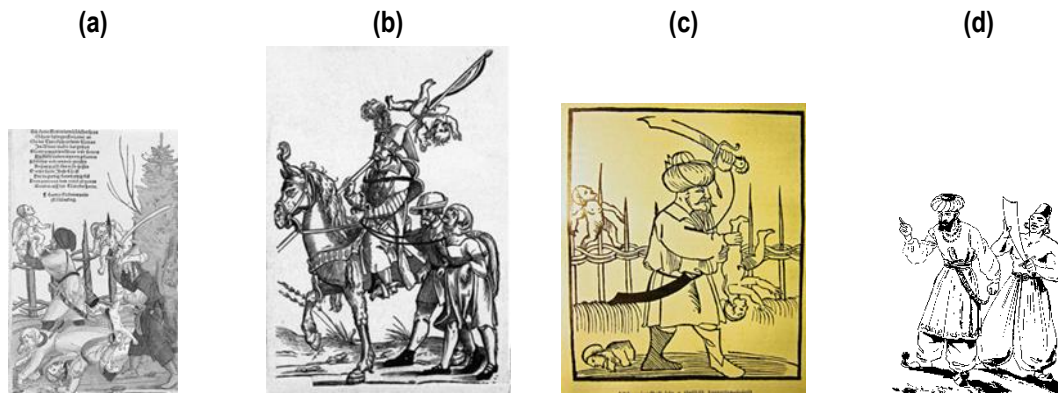


Figure 3.28. Depictions of the Ottomans in History (16-18 Centuries)

The terrifying mounted Turkish warrior with an elaborate turban and enormous moustache and waving the crescent flag, or wielding a pike, was a standard way of describing the Turk. When comparing representations of Ottoman Turks in these historical propoganda material with that of today’s Turks, I observe that codes and symbols are widely shared. The very first pamphlet printed in Europe was indeed a piece of anti-Turkish propoganda produced nineteen months after Turks took over Constantinople. Scenes of murder, rape, destruction, arson, plunder, and desecration of churches were used to index Turkish cruelty and the Turks as *monstrous, ferocious, evil looking bearded men*.

3.8. Topos of European Superiority: Ottomans as the “Sick Man of Europe”³⁴

While Europeans admired the Ottoman Empire’s magnificent court, wealth, power, and its imperial majesty they feared its military prowess and its unstoppable expansion. The defeat of the “invincible” Ottoman army at the gates of Vienna (1683) marked the inevitable decline of the Ottoman Empire and turned Europeans’ admiration to that of contempt: *the Terrible Turk* was transformed into a *sick, non-European Muslim* man with no culture. As Leitsch explains (1983), “no longer were the Christians terrified

³⁴ The *sick man* label is attributed to Russian Czar Nicholas I in his description of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century.

by real or imagined attacks by the huge and efficient war machinery of the Ottoman Empire” (p. 38). During this decline, Balkan nations asked for greater freedom and representation within the Empire and violent insurrections against the Ottoman army and authority started. As a result, the Ottomans were drawn into bloody and inconclusive battles and became demonized again by Europeans as "bloodthirsty Turks" invoking old stereotypes formed during the crusades. In this nationalistic mosaic of 19th century Europe, the Ottomans struggled to maintain their multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-national Empire. The burden of keeping a large standing army and modernizing it in the face of perpetual foreign threats required continued borrowing, and soon the bankrupt Ottoman state was nicknamed the “[S]ick man of Europe” (Baram & Carrol, 2002, p. 5).

In this era of decline, the construction of the Turk in European minds shifted. The omnipresent topos of fear was replaced by that of superiority.

Christian elites in Europe came to regard their own faith as their main link to Europe. They believed that being a Christian made them a partner in the European civilization and conferred automatically upon them a “superior” status compared to that of their “underdeveloped” Muslim others. (Karpát, 2001, p 12)

Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842–1918) who governed the Empire with an iron fist for 33 years kept everyone — both his advocates and opponents — in fear to the extent that he got the reputation of being one of the most tyrannical Sultans of the Empire. He was nicknamed *The Red Sultan/Le Sultan Rouge* because of his policies against minority groups such as Armenians. The Red Sultan was highly criticized in the political cartoons of the era that depicted him as a bloodthirsty criminal or as a butcher with bloody hands. His reign went down in the history of the Ottoman Empire as years of *zulüm* — horror and autocratic dictatorship — (Georgeon, 2003).



Figure 3.29. Different depictions of the Red Sultan

Abdul Hamid posters and cartoons also used the Sultan's character and physiognomy to depict Turks and the Empire itself as *desperate*, *powerless* and *incompetent*. The cover of the French magazine *Le Petit Journal* (May 2nd, 1909, Paris) depicts Sultan Abdul Hamid II in a state of despair as parts of the Ottoman Empire were snatched from beneath his feet by Bulgaria and Austria. Such representations were never homologous as they were subject to a range of changes across time. In other words, the image of the Turk in history fluctuated with the changes in historical context and according to the interests of the Western world. This historical imagery might have contributed to the construction of a cultural borderline between the European-self and the Ottoman-other, between West and East, and between Christians and Muslims. Ottomans' conquest of Istanbul in 1453 developed not only a geographical but also cultural dichotomy between the enlightened Christian West and the backward Ottomans.

Finally at the end of a bloody revolution against the Sultan, Ottoman Turks founded the Turkish Republic, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1923). After this date, the *fearful image of the Turk* faded gradually, but negative representations remained alive in Europeans' collective memory, as this thesis has demonstrated.

4. Conclusions

Although they occupy only a small portion of editorial page some scholars see cartoons as an important medium for the formation of public opinion on salient social issues and as an integral part of the media discourse on salient social issues (Everette, 1974; Vinson, 1967). Cartoons may be positioned as journalism, artistic expression, entertaining satire, and political and historical record. They are seen as "both opinion-molding and opinion-reflecting" (Caswell, 2004, p. 14), and they provide subtle frameworks within which to examine the life and political processes of a nation (DeSousa & Medhurst, 1982). Political cartoons offer sensitively exaggerated portions of reality in order to transform complex issues and events into quickly understandable visual commentary or criticism. Regardless of their spatial limitations they *entertain* while *framing* social issues and political events and topics. They also *reduce aggression* by offering a "vent mechanism" to the public to manifest their frustrations and deceptions about social and political issues.

When we examine the visual representations of Turkey and Turkish people within the context of EU membership process in the European media, especially in political cartoons, we observe that Turkey is constructed as *distant* and *different* from the EU (cultural and geographical distance and difference) by the recontextualization of negative historical images and topoi. Regardless of their stance — whether they oppose or support Turkish accession to the EU — political cartoonists tend to construct the figure of the Turk by *collapsing* time and *decontextualizing* identity: they frame the Turks as the direct descendants of the Ottomans. Present-day Turks are portrayed as having the same basic characteristics as their ancestors' and are consistently depicted through the recontextualization of historical stereotypes of the Ottomans. These decontextualized stereotypes position the Turk into a larger framework of the world history full of battles, conquests and stories of fear and terror. Europeans' contemporary fears are rooted in a long history of representations of Turks as bloody warriors and invaders. I concur that such images provide an efficient rhetoric tool to construct Turks as essentially

incompatible with European identity and culture. By inscribing Turkey's EU membership within Ottomans' history, political cartoons not only reify Turkish identity as non-European and Muslim but also frame modern Turkey as a static nation unable to change and adapt to its time. The homogenization process that constructs Turkish people as a homogenous Muslim mass — in metaphoric terms without being discriminatory or racist — gradually contributes to the formation of a greater political anti-Turkish discourse.

Little effort has been made to present a nuanced understanding of the diversity of Turkish culture, not mentioning Turks' varied political and religious orientations. Metonymic tools and imagery such as the *red fez* considered as a folkloric costume in Turkey, draws readers' attention to the differences between Turks and Europeans. This iconic image is used as a *sensory icon* that transfers covertly all the negative imagery and prejudices about the Turk into the actual situation, consciously constructing the Turk as the Other of Europe.

I showed how the Internet makes the dissemination of political cartoons very different from other media of communication. The medium's interactivity is tailored to the convenience of viewers who have the flexibility to join or leave any forum, chat group, or newsgroup at will and to copy and paste whatever verbal and visual text they want and like on their personal space. Due to this easy process, after their publication and dissemination on Internet news web sites, political cartoons are recontextualized on different blogs by their readers reaching different levels of society in totally different contexts. Sometimes they are simply copied and pasted to add humour to a blog or to provide visual support to a comment or text. Other times, they appear as personal statements (i.e., answer to a question on a forum, as a reaction to an online statement), or as identity icons (i.e., published as the identity picture of a forum participant or identity picture of a personal blog). They can also be translated and adapted to different contexts. This "unusual" recontextualization, these images and stereotypes emphasizing the non-Europeanness of the Turk, are fundamental for the rejection of Turkish EU membership because they create the preconditions necessary to political action.

To my knowledge the impact of cartoons on public opinion has not been studied extensively and as Coupe (1969) argues cartoons cannot change attitudes or beliefs because their impact and understanding can differ from one individual to another. As

Therborn (1995) suggests, “identity is operative only dialectically, i.e., in connection with its opposite, otherness” and “that there is a primacy of otherness over sameness in the making of identity” (p. 229). I showed how cartoons, depicting racial and ethnic characteristics or using stereotypes to base their arguments on assumed physical characteristics or alleged religious practices, become particularly effective and difficult to combat as they tend to be considered as reflecting *reality shared by society*. I believe that the subjective reconceptualization of reality offered to us by powerful social groups is likely to be perceived as “objective” or as “true” when they achieve collective consent. As Katz and Braly (1933) explain “Stereotyped pictures of racial and national groups can arise only so long as individuals accept consciously or unconsciously the group fallacy attitude toward place of birth and skin color” (pp. 288-289). This system includes beliefs and perceptions about out-group members concerning those properties of human beings that may vary across nations, such as appearance, language, clothing, habits, psychological traits, attitudes, values, and so on. I hope to have shown that considering intertextuality as an integral part of the semiotic analysis of cartoons provides better ways to trace and understand why certain stereotypical images based on historical evidence or popular myth, *resurface, circulate*, and are recontextualized repeatedly. The ethnic stereotypes that people retrieve from their collective memories are important clues to explain a group’s socio-historical existence and its relations with others.

I do not defend that political cartoons directly contribute to the construction of this alterity or to the formation of public opinion. Rather they have a normalizing and legitimizing effect: they enable stereotypical ways of thinking to become systematized and form a repertoire of imagery. So often repeated and recontextualized, stereotypical even discriminatory depictions begin to be perceived as “objective” or “commonsensical” knowledge (Morey & Yaqin, 2011). As Norman Fairclough observes, the media texts and images have a cumulative effect, working through “particular ways of handling causality and agency and particular ways of positioning the reader” (1989, p. 54). What people see or hear in the media shape the production and maintenance of public discourses that affects our daily lives and influences how we perceive things happening around us by establishing what are considered as “positive” or “negative,” “good” or “bad” and by establishing who belong with us and who does not. I hope to have shown that political cartoons deserve far more attention than they have had until now.

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“France and the EU: A severe crise d'identité.” (2005, May 26). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/4008583>

Appendix: Entextualization of the cartoons

* Translations (except French texts) are carried out with Google Translate web tool.

Figure 3.1 IZEL ROSENTAL (2005)

Stable URL

- http://rodrik.typepad.com/dani_rodriks_weblog/WindowsLiveWriter/image_4.png
- http://www.cartooningforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/TV_mailing-FR.jpg

See also:

- http://rodrik.typepad.com/dani_rodriks_weblog/2007/06/sunday-cartoons.html

Figure 3.2 JANUSZ KAJEWSKI (MAYK 2008)

Stable URL

- http://www.turquieeuropeenne.eu/local/cache-vignettes/L240xH240/gif_turquie_passage-ddf21.png

See also

- <http://www.turquieeuropeenne.eu/turquie-ue-a-gros-traits.html>
- <http://www.vivamafarka.com/forum/index.php?topic=14476.0>
Italian forum website.
- <http://www.larbi.org/post/2008/11/Stereotypes-dans-les-manuels-scolaires>
Article analysing stereotypes used in school materials.
- <http://www.piklive.com/?q=site:www.larbi.org>
- <http://www.dardania.biz/vb/upload/showthread.php?t=24100&page=5&ckattempt=1>
Albanian discussion forum.

Figure 3.3 SLAVOMIR SVITALSKY (2010) Just one more hurdle!

CARTOON MOVEMENT. Richard & Slavomir Svitalsky (Czech Republic).

Stable URL

- http://www.cartoonmovement.com/depot/cartoons/2010/12/IJiR3YtoTFKJfsrhk_2DEw.jpg

See also

- <http://akademikperspektif.com/2011/05/06/karikaturlerle-avrupa-birligi-ve-turkiye/>
A website for EU cartoons about Turkey.
- <http://gruphaber.blogspot.ca/2012/03/slayt-izle-hafta-sonu-karikaturler.html>
Personal blog in Turkish the cartoon is posted among other cartoons about Turkey's EU accession.
- <http://www.flickr.com/photos/vjmovement/3983561122/in/pool-vjmovement/>
The VJ Movement is an online international news organization where video journalists, cartoonists and members cooperate to provide you with international news coverage. The cartoon is posted among other political cartoons.

Figure 3.4 PLANTU (7 Octobre 2005)

Stable URL

- http://www.cvce.eu/obj/cartoon_by_plantu_on_the_issue_of_turkey_s_accession_to_the_eu_7_october_2005-en-fa3acf9f-ce61-4c96-ae96-c9c99b58f960.html
The website of CVCE/The AAEC is a center for interdisciplinary research and documentation on the process of European integration. Plantu's cartoon is posted on 7 October 2005 under the title: cartoon by Plantu on the issue of Turkey's accession to the EU.

Figure 3.5 NICOLAS VADOT (2005)

Stable URL

- <http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-THCUfh71EuY/ULExKJHjCOI/AAAAAAAAASF4/rz9qrLV9KBs/s320/nicolas.+vadot.+belgium.jpg>

See also

- <http://cartooncolors.blogspot.ca/2012/12/karikaturlerle-turkiye-ab-iliskileri.html>
A special blog for cartoons. The cartoon is posted with an article explaining Cartooning for Peace exhibition which is designed by the French cartoonist Plantu. Cartooning for Peace is an initiative born on 16 October 2006 at UN headquarters in New York. Organized by Kofi Annan, then Secretary General of the UN, a two-day conference brings together 12 designers release the most renowned in the world for "unlearning intolerance."

Figure 3.6 NIELS BOBOJESEN (2005)

Stable URL

- <http://bojesen.eu/filer/Hovedside-02-10-05-RGB.jpg>

See also

- <http://www.yildizagd.com/dosya/enson.pdf>
Turkish website. The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *Reality of the EU*.
- <http://forum.arabictrader.com/t114256.html>
Arabic web forum. The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *Europe and the inevitable pruning*.
- <http://arirusila.wordpress.com/2010/04/>
Personal blog about Middle East and Balkans. The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *Turkey's EU hopes-is there any?*
- http://noticiasdesdeturquia.blogspot.ca/2008_12_01_archive.html
Personal blog in Spanish. The article titled: *True age of Turkey*.
- <http://kemaltopalomer.blogspot.ca/>
Personal blog (2011). The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *Turkey EU relations on the foreign policy alternatives paradigm*.
- http://www.gazzettadisanta.eu/articoli/ri_130524.html
(2012) Italian internet magazine. The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *European citizenship. 2013 is the European Year of Citizens*.
- <http://editorial-cartoon.eu/theeu/politics/>
Website for Niels Bobojesen cartoons.
- <http://www.qdrmagazine.it/interna.aspx?autore=1212>
(26/06/2012) Italian news website. The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *Dear Europe, it's time to grow by Thomas Nannicini*.
- <http://eurologus.444.hu/2013/02/25/fogunk-torokot/>
Hungarian news website. The cartoon is published with an editorial article titled: *We are going to Turks? by Gunther Oettinger*.

- <http://www.qdrmagazine.it/chi-siamo.aspx>
(2012) Website for Italian reformists. The cartoon accompanies an editorial article titled: *Another Europe is possible* by Marco Esposito.
- <http://maeglika.blog.is/blog/maeglika/image/860841/>
Personal Icelandic blog. The article is published on the Welcome Page. No article.
- <http://www.oureuropeancultures.com/1/previous/2.html>
(29/01/2013) Personal blog about EU. The cartoon is published with the title: *In need for clarity no article*.
- <http://turkiye-ab.blogspot.ca/2009/05/avrupa-birligi-turkiye-karikaturleri.html>
Website for EU cartoons.

Figure 3.7 ALI DILEM (2007)

Stable URL

- <http://www.lequichote.info/IMG/jpg/TRAITEROME-25-03-07a.jpg>
- <http://www.lequichote.info/local/cache-vignettes/L300xH278/TRAITEROME-25-03-07amin-7ba68.jpg>

See also

- <http://www.lequichote.info/?IMAGINAIRES-D-EUROPE> (2008)
The cartoon accompanies an editorial article titled: *Imaginary of Europe*.
- http://www.tv5.org/cms/chaine-francophone/Informations/Les_diaporamas/p-1918-L_Europe_vue_par_les_autres.htm
TV5 webpage titled: *Europe in drawings*.

Figure 3.8 JANUSZ KAJEWSKI (MAYK 2010)

Stable URL

- This cartoon is used in <http://www.presseurop.eu/>
- http://www.presseurop.eu/files/images/article/MAYK_Turquie.jpg?1286796737
News website in 10 different languages accompanying the translation of an article by the Turkish journalist Ahmet Altan published in Turkish *Daily Taraf* in 2010.
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/fr/content/article/357421-ankara-aussi-traine-des-pieds>
French version. Title of the article: “*A Ankara aussi, on traîne des pieds*” [Ankara also is dragging its feet].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/cs/content/article/357801-ankare-se-do-eu-moc-nechce>
2010. Check version. Title of the article: “*Ankař se do EU moc nechce*” [Ankara too wants the EU].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/de/content/article/358071-wo-kein-wille-ist-ist-auch-kein-weg>
German version. Title of the article: “*Wo kein Wille ist, ist auch kein Weg*” [Where there is no will, there's no way].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/article/357821-turkeys-elite-napping>
English version. Title of the article: *Turkey's elite is napping*.
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/es/content/article/358171-ankara-tambien-arrastra-los-pies>
Spanish version. Title of the article: “*Ankara también arrastra los pies*” [Ankara also shuffling].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/it/content/article/357951-ankara-non-ha-fretta>
Italian version. Title of the article: “*Ankara non ha fretta*” [Ankara is in no hurry].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/nl/content/article/357931-politieke-elite-werkt-toetreding-tegen>
Dutch version. The title of the article: “*Politieke elite werkt toetreding tegen*” [Political elite works against the membership].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/pl/content/article/358161-miedzy-scylla-charybda>
Polish version. The title of the article: “*Między Scyllą a Charybdą*” [Between Scylla and Charybdis].

- <http://www.presseurop.eu/pt/content/article/357861-ancara-arrasta-os-pes>
Portuguese version. The title of the article: “*Ancara arrasta os pés*” [Ankara shuffles].
- <http://www.presseurop.eu/ro/content/article/358011-si-ankara-trage-de-timp>
Romanian version. The title of the article: “*Și Ankara trage de timp. . .*” [Ankara stalling ...].
- <http://sabernews.com/shownews.php?idnews=12612>
2013 Persian website. The title reads as: *Turkey is keeping pace with the West in order to change the rules of Islamic law in the West, is still seen as "slaves" can be seen.*
- http://www.haberskop.com/haber_detay.asp?haberID=1597
2013 Turkish news website. The title of the article: “*AB krizinin Türkiye'ye açtığı kapı*” [The door that The EU Crisis has opened]. The article discusses the Gezi Park Protests in Turkey and the effects of the brutal police intervention on the TR–EU relations.
- <http://cartonespoliticosinternacionales.blogspot.ca/2013/02/diez-anos-del-cierre-euskaldunon.html>
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is published among other visuals.

Figure 3.9 PLANTU (2005)

Stable URL

- http://lelivrescolaire.fr/upload/emilie_bret/p16k4s5nnut241cn9unjs0dkct1.jpg

Stable URL: *Le Monde*

- http://static.canalblog.com/storagev1/adamkeshher.canalblog.com/images/Monde_fusions1.jpg

See also

- <http://agenda.turquievision.com/2012/09/14/663/plantu-turquie-bd-site-13-10-2005/>
The cartoon is published together with the excerpt from *Le Monde* page where it was actually published.
- <http://agenda.turquiavisao.com/2012/10/22/as-relacoes-entre-a-turquia-e-a-ue-em-desenhos-animados/plantu-turquie-bd-site-13-10-2005/>
(2012) Portuguese website advertising Cartooning for Peace cartoon exhibition.
- http://lelivrescolaire.fr/4310/2_La_construction_europeenne_des_annees_1950_auxannees_2000.html#Document=16804
An educational website about European Union. The article is used as a visual accompanying a text with the title: European integration (1950-2000).
- http://www.ataturquie.asso.fr/static.php?op=olusum_2005&npds=1
The cartoon is used as the cover picture of the magazine Olusum-Genese No 96-97.

Figure 3.10 PLANTU (2009)

Stable URL

- http://a401.idata.over-blog.com/500x376/3/46/43/71/Frederick/2010-06/Dessins-humoristiques-Europe-26-06-2010/plantu_aujourd'hui_la_turquie.jpg

See also

- <http://motione.over-blog.com/article-union-europeenne-quelques-dessins-humoristiques-52999976.html>

Figure 3.10a EMRAH ARIKAN (2013)

Stable URL

- http://www.toonpool.com/user/7048/files/turkey_and_eu_1926575.jpg

Figure 3.11 PATRICK CHAPATTE (2006)

Stable URL

- <http://cap2002fhg.unblog.fr/files/2009/01/entreturquieue.jpg>
- <http://cap2002fhg.unblog.fr/2009/01/15/turquie-union-europeenne/>

See also

- <http://disciplines.ac-bordeaux.fr/histoire-geo/uploads/pages/304/file/Une%20candidature%20d%E2%80%99adh%C3%A9sion%20%C3%A0%20l%E2%80%99Union%20Europ%C3%A9enne%20RFauthoux%20NBordatto.pdf>
The cartoon is used as a visual in a presentation discussing EU enlargement.
- <http://espacehgfauthoux.e-monsite.com/medias/files/lecon-n-9-realites-et-limites-de-la-puissance-de-l-ue.pdf>
The cartoon is used as a visual in a presentation discussing the limits and power of the EU.
- <http://www.rojbas.org/2013/05/27/union-europeenne-le-processus-dadhesion-de-la-turquie-dans-limpasse/>
Kurdish website. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article written in French with the title: “*Union européenne : le processus d’adhésion de la Turquie dans l’impasse*” [European Union: The process of Turkey’s accession stalled].
- http://www.armenews.com/article.php3?id_article=89988
Armenian news website, 2013. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a short article titled: *European Union the process of Turkey’s accession is stalled*.
- <http://cap2002fhg.unblog.fr/2009/01/15/turquie-union-europeenne/>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted with the caption: *The entry of Turkey into the European Union*.

Figure 3.12 PLANTU (2009)

- 193 different websites.

Stable URL

- <http://marielcaelestia.unblog.fr/files/2009/05/europeimmigration71698eed3d.gif>
- <http://africamix.blog.lemonde.fr/files/2008/10/forteresse.1224701021.thumbnail.JPG>

See also

- <http://africamix.blog.lemonde.fr/page/23/>
(2008) Personal news blog. The cartoon is used to depict the African immigrants dilemma in France as the visual of an article titled: “*Une Europe de plus en plus forteresse*” [A Europe becoming more and more like a fortress].
- <http://www.annabaa.org/nbanews/2010/12/082.htm>
Arabic website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an Editorial article discussing EU’s immigration policies with the title: *Europe closes its doors in front of immigrants*.
- <http://ouvalacgt.over-blog.com/article-23635742.html>
2008 Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article discussing immigration and the problems of the asylum seekers with the title: *The case against the host service for asylum seekers*.
- <http://www.theprisma.co.uk/2011/05/15/%E2%80%99Canti-frontex-days%E2%80%99D-conscience-and-immigration/>
Online newspaper. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article discussing Polish Immigrants’ problems with the title: *Anti-Frontex Days: Conscience and immigration*.
- <http://florlecam.com/ULB/>
Belgian news website created by the final year students of Journalism at the Free University of Brussels. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: “*Europe Ouvre-toi*” [Europe open your doors].

- http://argumentosptapias.blogspot.ca/2012_04_01_archive.html
Spanish website. An article about EU integration with the title: *Difficult relocation of a misplaced Europe (II): Fear rages.*
- <http://www.paperblog.fr/2033316/164-dick-annegarn-patera/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of a blog entry discussing illegal immigration under the title: *Dick Annegarn 'Patera'* which is a song composed by Dick Annegarn depicting the desperation of men to escape poverty.
- <http://histgeobox.blogspot.ca/2009/06/164-dick-annegarn-patera.html>
Another blog posting the same article above.
- <http://agirlsbusiness.wordpress.com/page/3/>
2011 Personal blog entry. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Should they stay or should they go?*
- <http://rusf49.over-blog.com/>
Personal blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article discussing illegal immigration: *Mory Camara to continue the fight!*
- <http://icidansmesmontagnes.blog50.com/archive/2009/11/index.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry with the title: *Schengen: thousands of deaths at the gates of Europe.*
- <http://www.blogapares.com/tag/parti-nazi-grece-dettes-publiques/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry discussing Greece's immigration policies with the title: *"La Grèce bafoue les droits des migrants, avec l'accord de l'Europe"* [Greece violates the rights of migrants, with the agreement of Europe].
- <http://carnouxprogres.wordpress.com/category/societe/page/6/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry with the title: *"Sécurité, immigration et précarité"* [Security, immigration and insecurity].
- http://carnetnoirs.canalblog.com/albums/caricatures/photos/46170780-europe_immigration_71698.html
2009 Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted with caption *Black books of closed centers.*
- <http://longrunnerseconomics.wordpress.com/2011/06/30/il-sistema-di-immigrazione-a-punti-come-incentivo-all%E2%80%99integrazione-sociale/>
Italian website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article discussing Italian Immigration policies. The title of the article is: *The immigration system in the points as an incentive to the social.*
- <http://redinvestigadoresmigracion.blogspot.ca/>
Spanish personal blog about immigration. The cartoon is used as the identity picture of the blogger.
- <http://www.afsp.info/congres2011/sectionsthematiques/st47/st47.html>
Website for the AFSP congress page. The cartoon is used as the visual of a presentation.
- <http://comeniusonexile.blogspot.ca/2010/06/blog-post.html>
Personal blog. The article is posted as the visual of a presentation about the causes of migration. The caption over the cartoon reads as: *The causes of the migrations in France.*
- <http://endirect2babylone.wordpress.com/> personal blog
The cartoon is posted as a part of book review article with the title: *"TOMORROW EMPIRE": DAVID ENGELS ON THE FATE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION.*
- <http://www.citizen-nantes.com/article-28149542.html>
2009 news blog in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *The right to asylum in danger.*

Figure 3.13 No author

Stable URL

- <http://alpesmaritimes.mpf-paca.fr/images/chevalbis.jpg>
The cartoon is used on the political website of *Mouvement Pour la France* Party.
- <http://absurdus.joueb.com/news/negociations-d-adhesion-entre-la-turquie-et-l-europe>
- <http://ann.over-blog.com/blog-contact.php?ref=1194741>

Figure 3.14 © Bastion n°67 de Janvier 2003

Stable URL

- <http://www.fnb.to/images/turquie.jpg>
- http://www.fnb.to/FNB/Article/Bastion_67/Turquie.htm
The official website of the Le Bastion journal. The cartoon is published as the visual of an article titled: *No to the membership of Turkey to the EU*.
- <http://www.contre-info.com/category/mondialisme/page/2>
News website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *“Le gouvernement français veut accélérer le processus d’entrée de la Turquie dans l’Union européenne”* [French government wants to accelerate Turkey’s accession to the EU].
- <http://ndpiledefrance.hautetfort.com/archive/2013/02/13/le-gouvernement-francais-veut-acceler-le-processus-d-entre.html>
Propaganda website for Nouvelle Droite Populaire political movement. The same article above is posted with the same cartoon as its visual.
- <http://france.libre1.overblog.com/l-islam-prend-racine>
(2013) Personal blog. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals for a blog entry titled: *Islam takes root*.
- http://www.fnb.to/FNB/Article/Bastion_66/Dossier%20Turquie.htm
Belgian political website for Le Front Nouveau de Belgique. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a section titled: Turkish File.
- <http://generationbethune.wordpress.com/2013/02/20/la-france-leve-son-veto-pour-ladhesion-de-la-turquie-les-europeens-vont-mettre-la-main-a-la-poche/>
Personal news blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: Article title *France lifts its veto on Turkey’s “PRE-ACCESSION”: Europeans to put their hands into their pockets*.
- <http://bb-boy61.skyrock.com/405948483-ah-turki-turki-mon-bo-pays.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is used as a text.
- <http://hikoum.wordpress.com/2009/12/28/la-Turquie-une-affaire-qui-avance/>
Personal blog. The cartoon accompanies an article titled: *“La Turquie, une affaire qui avance!”* [Turkey, a growing business!].
- <http://hayworld.skyrock.com/7.html>
Anti-Turkish Armenian site, defending so called Armenian genocide. The cartoon is used as a visual accompanying an article with the title *“6 bonnes raison de dire NON”* [6 good reasons to say NO].
- http://infognomonpolitics.blogspot.ca/2012_01_01_archive.html#.UlnsrFBtjkc
Greek news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an editorial by Jean Marcou.
- http://www.altermedia.info/france-belgique/communiquelarrogance-turque-na-pas-sa-place-en-europe-barrons-la-route-a-la-colonisation-islamo-turque_28901.html
The cartoon accompany a press release from Carl Lang, the President of *Parti de la France*.
- <http://www.turquieeuropeenne.eu/pitie-arretez-de-nous-parler-de-la-turquie.html>
- <http://jeanluchau.blogspot.ca/2012/04/le-financement-de-lelargissement-de-lue.html>
personal blog of Jean-Luc Hau. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of a blog entry titled: *The financing of the enlargement of the EU - The new instrument of pre-accession assistance*.

Figure 3.15 Bergolix 2004

Stable URL

- <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2007/03/06/coup-de-pied-au-cul-et-retour-au-pays/>
- http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_i2ew_zny5x4/tcg9mnab-ji/aaaaaaaahi/i1npsxq4hys1600/mohamed41.jpg
- <http://ss30.livejournal.com/141041.html>
(7 /10/2013) Russian blog. The cartoon is used to depict Muslims in Norway. It is published with the title: *Norwegians anonymous threatening to burn all the mosques in the country.*
- http://plancksconstant.org/blog1/2013/05/suspend_muslim_immigration_muslim_military_service.html
(2013) Personal blog. The carton is published with an article titled: *Suspend Muslim Immigration, Muslim Military service, and Building of Mosques.*
- <http://www.skelbiu.ie/puikus-vaistai-nuo-smegenu-plovimo/>
Lithuanian personal blog. The cartoon is published as a visual.
- <http://murtadinkafirun.forumotion.net/t15939-seruan-ramadan-bg-norwegia-kami-ingin-negara-terpisah>
(2010) Indonesian anti-Islamist forum. The cartoon is published as a blog entry with a subtitle: *Jesus raised the dead. Turn off the life of Muhammad.*
- <http://www.burbuja.info/inmobiliaria/temas-calientes/477536-israel-seis-dias-de-ejemplo-a-seguir-leccion-al-mundo-3.html>
Spanish anti-islamist blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry which reads as: *If a country as small as Israel could crush the Muslim enemy like an ant bitch in less than six days, we joined - Spain, France, UK, Ireland, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Australia - we could do it again. Let us stop laughing!*
- <http://politruk.pl/iskra/>
(2012) Polish personal blog. The cartoon is published with a caption that reads: *No to the Islamization of Europe.*
- <http://dontyoubelievethethehype.com/2012/12/wo-liegt-mittelerde/>
(2012) German, personal blog. The cartoon is used as a blog entry under the title: *Where is Middle Earth!*
- <http://vk.com/club24806788>
(2013) Russian forum. The cartoon is used as a statement by a participant with a nickname *Black circle rus!*
- <http://svyatorus.com/politika/page/5/>
Russian forum. The cartoon used as the visual of a bloggers comment: *ANONYMOUS Norwegians thunderstorm burn all mosques there.*
- http://vk.com/wall-33006328_369297
(2013) Russian forum. The cartoon used as the visual of a bloggers comment with a caption that reads: *Two steps from hell: Norwegian pirate.*
- <http://keyboard09.livejournal.com/745682.html>
(2012) Russian personal blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry with the title: *European intellectuals against Europe.*
- <http://www.francepresseinfos.com/2012/12/leurope-sislamise-linsu-de-son-plein-gre.html>
French news website. The cartoon is used at the end of an article titled: *Europe being Islamized without the knowledge of his own volition.* The cartoon has a caption: *The only choice.*
- <http://ozziesaffa.blogspot.ca/2011/03/germany-hits-back-after-turkish-pm.html>
(2011) The cartoon is used as the visual of an blog entry with the title: *Germany hits back after Turkish PM tells immigrants to resist assimilation.*
- <http://www.funnyjunk.com/NSFW/funny-pictures/4944512/>
(2013) Website to share funny pictures and videos. The cartoon is used as a part of a statement "*It is not racist to hate your **** religion and the nut jobs who follow it. Muslims will be removed if they keep playing race cards. Yea, and the whole Muslim gangs raping our kids will get you castrated. Enjoy your stay in Europe, it won't last.*"

- <http://www.funnyjunk.com/Remove+kebab/funny-pictures/4925171/>
is another entry from the same website above it is used under the caption: *Remove the kebab.*
- <http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/mosque-inside-pentagon-sharia-slowly-creeps-into-us/question-3189701/?link=ibaf&q=&esrc=s>
(2012) American Anti-Islamist web forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://www.igrzyskasmiercitylogia.fora.pl/zycie,68/multikulturalizm,1612-60.html>
Polish blog.
- <http://www.wykop.pl/ludzie/LionK/>
Polish web forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/WTaJxcnLltplatlgRL1IDw/>
Discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ydVuUO7AR48&list=LLdz40hjoSWpkND7nd3mO8Lg&index=13>
The cartoon is used as the identity picture of a video uploader. The title of the video is: *Leaving Radical Libertarianism.*
- http://www.news-myanmar.com/2012/08/blog-post_8735.html
Burmese news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article.
- <http://www.informacje.kolobrzeg.pl/kultura/item/2553-ka%C5%BCdy-inny-wszyscy-r%C3%B3wni>
Polish website. The cartoon is used as the visual of a comment made in a discussion.
- <http://www.usmessageboard.com/religion-and-ethics/239681-islam-is-a-horrible-ideology-for-human-rights-4.html>
Anti-Islamist website. The cartoon is used as the visual of a commentary.
- <http://tomsok.fm/watch/237958>
(2013) Russian discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://www.barenakedislam.com/2012/03/12/eu-give-me-your-tired-your-poor-your-huddled-masses-yearning-to-breathe-free/>
Anti-islamist website. The cartoon is one of the visuals used with an article titled: *Just don't give me your huddled masses of Muslim parasites yearning to suck on the government teat.*
- <http://www.forocoche.com/foro/showthread.php?t=2923366&page=2>
(2012) An anti-Islamist web forum. The cartoon is used as a statement in a discussion by four different participants.
- <http://budha2.blog.bg/drugi/2013/11/20/isliamyt-e-koz-v-rycete-na-iudeite-sreshtu-hristiianite-i-ci.1208958>
Bulgarian blog. The cartoon is used at the end of a blog entry.
- <http://www.pittsreport.com/2011/05/world-dutch-court-refuses-to-dismiss-hate-speech-trial-tens-of-thousands-of-muslims-invading-europe/>
(2011) Anti-Islamist website. The cartoon accompanies an article titled: *FRENCH BAGHEAD doesn't feel safe in France, but does in the UK.*
- <http://www.spr.ru/novosti/2013-05/evropeytsi-boyatsya-rasprostraneniya-idey-islama.html>
(2013) Russian news site. The cartoon is used as the visual to a commentary responding to an article titled: *Europeans fear the spread of ideas of Islam.*
- <http://imhoclub.lv/ru/material/islamofobija-v-evrope?act=expand>
Russian news site. The cartoon is the main visual of an editorial article titled: *Islam(ophobia) in Europe Myths and Realities.*
- <http://www.de-stek.info/forum2/index.php?topic=7510.0>
Dutch web forum. The cartoon is used as a commentary statement to an article titled: *Islam collaborates in Europe.*
- http://fireheadsblog.blogspot.ca/2012_03_01_archive.html
(2012) Portuguese blog. The cartoon is published following a discussion about Islam legalizing pedophilia.

- <http://1389blog.com/2013/04/22/letter-writers-comment-on-boston-marathon-bombing-city-lockdown-and-terrorist-blowback/>
(2013) An anti-jihad webpage. Discussing Boston Marathon bombings. The cartoon is used as a commentary of the blogger.
- <http://anticain.blogspot.ca/>
American blog. The cartoon is used as a visual on its own.
- <http://www.rusimperia.info/news/id16687.html>
Russian news site. The article is used with an article titled: *Europeans Islamists expelled from their countries.*
- <http://chan4chan.com/archive/tags/muslim>
Chan4Chan is an image hosting site. It automatically mirrors pictures from various specific sites, and lets visitors submit images from the web. The cartoon is published under Europa Quran section.
- <https://sites.google.com/site/seourpicz/1/arts-and-entertainment/gb/10/pig-cartoon-page-16>
Another image hosting site. The cartoon is listed under pig cartoon section. Image caption: *stubble jumping redneck: Europa Kicks Butt!*
- <http://twicsy.com/i/XmGEVc>
Website for Twitter pictures.
- <https://plus.google.com/103507808574566952462/posts>
Personal Gmail page. The picture is used as a posting.
- <http://www.stvarnost.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=6&t=8530>
(2013) Discussion forum. The cartoon is published as a personal comment under the caption: *How to deal with the Turks and other nimoids.*
- [http://nr-info.blogspot.ca/2011_08_01_archive.html\(2013\)](http://nr-info.blogspot.ca/2011_08_01_archive.html(2013))
Russian blog. The cartoon is published with a caption: *Problem of Islamization.*
- <http://bajurtov.wordpress.com/tag/yihadismo/>
Spanish website with the: Jewish Homeland. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *ATTACK IN SWEDEN, OTHER "NOTICE" OF "RELIGION OF PEACE" published in 2010.*
- <https://bajurtov.wordpress.com/2011/10/22/>
Same website as above. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *VIDEO OF A COUPLE THAT WAS ATTACKED BY MUSLIMS IN FRANCE 4.*
- <http://bajurtov.wordpress.com/2012/11/18/>
Same website as above. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *THE EUROPEAN UNION RESPONDS TO HAMAS.*
- <http://bajurtov.wordpress.com/2013/04/09/mondo-musulmano-vinetas/>
Same Spanish website. The cartoon is used in used among other anti-islamist cartoons and images in 2013.
- <http://bajurtov.wordpress.com/category/humor/page/2/>
Same Spanish website. The cartoon is used in used among other anti-islamist cartoons and images in 2013.
- http://draco703.blogspot.ca/2011_09_01_archive.html
(2011) Spanish anti-islamist blog. The cartoon is used with a short text titled: *Swiss Muslims demand that cross national flag is removed.*
- <http://nnm.me/blogs/shamba/page43/>
Russian website. The cartoon is used to illustrate an article titled: *Discussing the presence of Muslims in Austria.*
- <http://m.forocoches.com/foro/showthread.php?t=2879018&page=13>
Spanish discussion forum. Discussion topic is the rape of a local woman by a Nigerian immigrant. The cartoon is used as a posting by a commentator.
- <http://glamrap.pl/component/content/article/15359-teledysk-ymcyk-noworoczny-kac>
Polish website for rap culture and Nazi supporters in Poland. The cartoon is as a comment.

- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/2010/10/03/>
French blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a news article about a criminal Algerian in France.
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/tag/histoire/>
16/10/2011. French blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *"Islamisation: pauvres enfants Irlandais..."* [Islamization; poor Irish kids].
- <http://mitrokhin.blogspot.ca/2012/09/ogni-giorno-migliaia-di-cristiani.html>
Italian personal blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a text explaining how Muslims slaughter innocent Christians in Pakistan.
- <http://partyflock.nl/topic/1093359/page/4>
Dutch forum page. The cartoon is used as an entry for the discussion topic: *Draw Mohammed Day*.
- <http://net4game.com/topic/194330-islam-najwi%C4%99ksza-zaraza-nowego-%C5%9Bwiata/>
(2011) Polish forum. The cartoon is published as a commentary under the discussion topic: *Islam is the greatest plague of the new world*.
- <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t844305-35/>
(2012) The webmasters define their site as *A website for White Nationalists who support values and heritage the new, embattled White minority!* And the cartoon is used as a posting by a visitor.
- <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t791050-3/>
(2011) The same site. The cartoon is used as a posting by a visitor.
- <http://narodowerogozno.wordpress.com/category/uncategorized/page/2/>
(2013) Polish forum by Catholics supporting Nazi ideals.
- <http://france.eternelle.over-blog.com/article-comment-asservir-un-peuple-sur-la-terre-de-ses-ancetres-en-le-culpabilisant-121370694.html>
French blog. The cartoon is published with the caption: *"degage!"* [get lost].
- <http://cmex.km.ua/prikolnye-karikatury-17-01-2013.html>
Russian cartoon website.
- <http://crusadeofthe21stcentury.blogspot.ca/2010/09/obama-new-neonaziislam-alliance.html>
(2010) Spanish anti-Islamist blog. The cartoon is published under the title: *Obama's new Neo-Nazi/Islam Alliance together with other images satirizing Obama*.
- <http://ibelieveinsyria-sanningenomislam.blogspot.ca/2010/07/what-does-world-islam-mean.html>
Anti-Islamist blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry debating the dangers of Islam.
- <http://archive.foolz.us/a/thread/69667479/>
Discussion forum page. The cartoon is used as the visual of a commentary.
- <http://www.sadistic.pl/szwecja-w-ogniu-vt200649,45.htm>
Polish website.
- http://vikingkitties.blogspot.ca/2010/07/saturday-pix_10.html
(2010) Personal blog. Cartoon is used among other visuals as a posting.
- <http://forum.hegnar.no/thread.asp?id=2126065>
Norwegian forum. A participant uses the cartoon with a commentary that reads as follows: *My hopes, my dreams and greatest desires are described very well by the following illustration*.
- http://stalowemiesto.pl/forum/forum.php?str=1&mode=pokaz_posty&m=&id=729712
Polish forum. One participant posts the cartoon as a comment.
- <http://radekblazek.blog.idnes.cz/c/342589/Muslimove-rezou-lidem-hlavy-A-Evropska-unie-reguluje-bazeny.html>
(2013) blog of Radek Blazek. The cartoon is the visual of an article with the title: *Muslims cut people's heads*.
- <http://malabashir1.blogspot.ca/>
Persian blog. The cartoon is used among many other anti-Islamist cartoons. The Mullah head is replaced by a public figure's picture unknown to me.
- http://hardcorowo.pl/11680_Stop_islamizacji_Europy.html
Polish blog. The cartoon is used as a commentary post under the caption: *Stop Islamization of Europe*.

- http://www.chamsko.pl/39589/Stop_islamizacji_europy!
Polish blog. The cartoon is used as a commentary post under the caption: *Stop Islamization of Europe.*
- <http://webdiscover.ru/171412.html>
Russian blog. The blogger uses the caption for the cartoon: *Instead of a thousand words.*
- <http://lukaszmojsiejczuk.soup.io/>
Polish blog. The cartoon is used with a comment: *"I'm busy. And you're ugly. Have a nice day!"*
- <http://gladio.blogspot.ca/2012/10/fora-da-europa-o-que-nao-e-da-europa.html>
(2012) Portuguese blog. The cartoon is published under the title: *OUT OF EUROPE WHAT IS NOT EUROPE.*
- <http://www.yaplakal.com/forum1/st/50/topic641602.html>
Russian discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a commentary statement.
- <http://xnovo.wordpress.com/>
Spanish blog. The cartoon is used as a visual on its own.
- <http://209.157.64.201/focus/f-news/2628152/posts>
(2010) Discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a commentary.
- <http://krisak-site.ucoz.ru/news/2011-03-03>
(2011) Russian news site. The cartoon accompanies an article with the title: *Norway expels Chechen "writers."*
- <http://www.photoblog.pl/antikorper/152784279/islamizacja-europy.html>
(2012) Russian blog. The cartoon accompanies an article titled: *The Islamization of Europe.*
- <http://parseundparse.wordpress.com/category/turkentum/>
A website in German by exiled Iranians. The cartoon used under the title: *Turkish Cultural Associations: Crime and forced prostitution instead of international culture.*
- <http://www.dutch.faithfreedom.org/forum/viewtopic.php?f=30&t=12336&start=225>
A Dutch webpage describing itself as *Movement of ex-Muslims, their sympathizers and humanists.* The cartoon is published with a sub text: *Let our Dutch values retained and not squander the immigrant occupation.*
- <http://vk.com/public33068921>; <http://vk.com/wall-42839401?offset=20>; <http://vk.com/ostgoth>;
<http://vk.com/id183172731>; <http://vk.com/id131766831>; <http://vk.com/club35627395>;
<http://vk.com/id205034604>; <http://vk.com/id126264047>
Polish social networking site has several entries of different participants. The cartoon is used in personal pages of different participants as a statement against the Islamization of Europe.
- http://russkiy-kot.blogspot.ca/2013/06/blog-post_5.html
(2013) Russian blog. The cartoon is published under the title: *Lessons of Tolerance: A compilation of good news from abroad.*
- http://www.chamsko.eu/5925/STOP_ISLAMIZACJI_EUROPY.html
blog. The cartoon is published under the title: *Strop Islamization of Europe.*
- <http://eticha.dk/news/kvinder-soges/>
Danish news blog. The cartoon is published with an article defending the rights of Muslim women by Danish feminists.
- https://twitter.com/no_correcto/status/339670867812429825
Spanish Twitter message using the cartoon.
- <http://www.obrazki.jeja.pl/tag,religia,2>
Polish humour site. The cartoon is published under the title: *Meanwhile in Europe.*
- <http://vierte-reich.livejournal.com/16872.html>
Ukrainian news site. The cartoon is used next to an article debating the construction of Ar-Rahma mosque in Kiev.
- <http://demotivation.me/ehvvgdou1mlzpic.html#.Ur4fWvRDvoE>
Russian discussion website. The cartoon is used as a commentary.
- <http://red-whitefun.livejournal.com/20137.html>
Russian news site. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article.

- http://megashara.com/blogs/post/1517/polozhenie_russkih_v_dagestane_uhod_rossii_s_kavkaza.html
Russian discussion forum. The cartoon used as a statement.
- <http://capcourageux.skyrock.com/tags/a5FrneosCDF-juifs.html>
(2012) Personal blog in French.
- <https://plus.google.com/116457332452469661057/about>
Google plus personal page Hubert Maulhofer. The cartoon is used as his Identity Picture on his page.
- <https://soundcloud.com/stefani-krontoft>
(2013) Social networking site. Stefani Krontoft uses the cartoon as his Identity Picture.
- <http://forum.nie.com.pl/showthread.php?t=1646&page=187>
(2012) Polish discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- http://zapytaj.onet.pl/Category/014,004/2,24660716,Co_zrobic_z_muzulmanami_w_Europie.html
Polish social networking site. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://www.azbestus.cz/co-mi-vadi/nabozenstvi/islamizace-sveta/negativa/?more=511>
(2013) Anti-Islamist website. The cartoon is published among other visuals.
- <http://www.nordisk.nu/gallery/index.php?n=12989>
Swedish website. The cartoon is published with the subtitle: *kick out the jam! Europe kicks Muhammad.*
- <http://txt.drevle.com/mirrors/drevlepravoslavie-2012.10.23/data/t00500000405.html>
Russian discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://ramrock.wordpress.com/2010/11/09/la-colonizacion-de-europa/>
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is published as a visual of an article titled: *Colonization of Europe.*
- <http://www.politikforen.net/showthread.php?107533-Der-T%C3%BCrke-und-Moslem-Kenan-Kolat-sucht-Streit/page4>
Discussion forum in German. The cartoon is published as an answer to an article titled: *The Turk and Muslim Kenan Kolat searches dispute.*
- <http://lilithdoll.blogspot.ca/2010/11/niqabitch.html>
(2010) Personal blog. The cartoon is used as a statement on the page.
- <http://actionsita.wordpress.com/page/15/>
(2010) Cartoon is used as an answer to David Cameron's supporting statements for Turkey's EU accession.
- <http://www.lesfrontaliers.lu/thread/224620/vote-fn-why>
French social networking and discussion webpage. The cartoon is used as an answer to a discussion about Front National Party's immigration policies.
- <http://blog.i.ua/user/3070396/566560/>
Russian blog. Cartoon is posted as a propaganda material.
- <http://mesgrainsdesel.canalblog.com/archives/p140-10.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as a visual on the page discussing the place of Islam in la place des in France.
- <http://www.alteundneuezeiten.de/39994.html>
Personal blog in German. The cartoon is published with the caption: *The passage of Europe a text discussing why they don't want Turks in Germany.*
- <http://dneprovskej.livejournal.com/262568.html>
Russian news blog. The article is used as a part of a commentary of one reader.
- <http://www.pi-news.net/2010/05/werke-zum-wir-zeichnen-mohammed-tag/>
German news blog, the cartoon is used as one of the visuals with an article discussing the problem of integration of Islam in Europe.
- http://4freedom.com/group/sweden?commentId=3766518%3AComment%3A117254&xg_source=activity
Swedish discussion forum webpage. The cartoon is used as a commentary statement.

- http://www.tradicaoemfococomroma.com/2011_03_01_archive.html
Portuguese catholic news page. The cartoon is used as a commentary posted by a reader commenting on an article with a caption: *Europe is the Church!*
- <http://ocruzadomissionario.blogspot.ca/2010/10/marx-e-maome-duas-porcarias-de-satanas.html>
Portuguese blog. The cartoon is used with an article titled: *Marx and Muhammad: Two filth of Satan.*
- <http://www.vigrind.net/eurabia.htm>
(2011) Norwegian news blog. The cartoon is published with a caption: *Vigrind's role in the fight against Eurabia.*
- <http://memebee.com/vancouver/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=42779&start=30>
(2013) Canadian discussion forum. The cartoon is used by a commentator as an answer to a comment published with the title: *Whites now minority in London England.*
- <http://www.nordisk.nu/archive/index.php/t-59777.html>
Swedish website. The cartoon is used as an answer to a news article with the title: *Muslim feast was celebrated on the Swedish preschool.*
- <http://kwejk.pl/obrazek/1843367>
Polish discussion forum. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://www.politikarena.net/showthread.php?t=19968&page=9>
(2009) Political discussion forum in German. The cartoon is used several times on different postings.
- <http://www.partisansmarine.com/t15635-aujourd-hui-meme-l-armee-pue>
Marine Le Pen's website. The cartoon is used as commentary statements in the discussion forum.
- <http://fareus.wordpress.com/tag/pi/>
German news website. The cartoon is used as a visual on the page.
- <http://skvernotvor4e.dreamwidth.org/tag/%D0%BC%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%BC>
Russian news blog. The cartoon is used as a visual of a blog entry with the title: *Access to the film "Innocence of Muslims" blocked in St. Petersburg.*
- <http://www.mmdiesein.de/MM/2011/03/die-debatte-ist-lahm/>
German News blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *The debate "is lame."*

Figure 3.15a Bergolix (2010)

Stable URL

- http://www.fairfaxunderground.com/forum/file.php?40,file=98430,filename=europa_page.jpg
- <http://www.loonwatch.com/2010/07/sioa-is-an-anti-muslim-hate-group/>

Figure 3.16 Bergolix (2004)

Figure 3.16a Bergolix (2004)

Figure 3.16b Bergolix (2007)

Figure 3.16c Bergolix (2009)

Stable URL

- http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2007/03/piedocul_print1.gif?w=415&h=358
This cartoon was first published in 2004 on Bergolix with supplements in order to show how it could be used at different parts of the page, and also with different stock versions in order to define the nationality of the Europeans kicking the Mullah. The same year Steph Bergol added this new version with a little change. In this version the scimitar (Islamic sword) has changed position and it is covered with blood. And there is a sign next to him that reads as Dar-ul Islam (door to Islam). The website also offered the same cartoon by placing different public figures faces as seen below. The cartoon depicts the despotic Turkish Prime Minister, leader of the ruling Islamist Political Party AKP.

Stable URL

- <http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2007/03/piedocul.gif?w=420&h=378>
In 2007 this version with a green background was added to Bergolix.wordpress.com page under the title: "*Coup de pied au cul et retour au pays*" [Kick in the ass and return to the country].

See also

- <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2007/03/06/coup-de-pied-au-cul-et-retour-au-pays/>

Stable URL

- http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/piedocul600suisse_europe.png?w=600&h=400
In 2009, this new version of the cartoon appeared on the website under the title: "*Suisses et Européens disent NON aux minarets*" [Swiss and Europeans say no to the minarets]. See <http://bergolix.wordpress.com/2009/12/07/suisses-et-europeens-disent-non-aux-minarets/>

See also these websites in which these versions are used

- http://www.liveleak.com/view?i=fa6_1231179139&comments=1
The cartoon is used as the identity picture of one of the readers in the comments section of the news webpage.
- <http://www.barenakedislam.com/2013/07/27/italy-moroccan-muslims-rob-a-church-then-defecate-and-urinate-on-its-altar/>
An anti-Islamist webpage using the motto It isn't Islamophobia, when they are actually killing you. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of an article titled: *ITALY: Moroccan Muslims rob a church, then defecate and urinate on its altar.*
- <http://www.barenakedislam.com/2012/08/page/8/>
The same website as above, the cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *GREEK PURGE! Thousands of illegal (mostly Muslim) aliens rounded up and readied for deportation.*
- <http://hagga.ru/forum/11-19-38>
Russian forum page. The cartoon is posted as a statement by one of the participants.
- <http://www.yaplakal.com/forum3/topic554942.html>
Russian forum webpage. The cartoon is posted as a statement by one of the participants.
- <http://www.forocoches.com/foro/showthread.php?t=2362787&page=2>
Spanish forum webpage. The cartoon is posted as a statement by one of the participants.
- <https://skvitts.wordpress.com/2012/10/01/>
Swedish blog with the motto: A show of justice. The cartoon is posted as one of the visuals of a blog article titled: *IKEA, Islam and reflections.*
- <http://www.the666.com/eng310.htm>
Anti-Islamist blog. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of the page warning its readers against the dangers of Islam.
- <http://gheyzhakekoli.blogspot.ca/>
Persian website. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *New Year's Prayer in front of the people not God!*
- <https://plus.google.com/108716434791237728129/photos>
Google Plus personal page. The cartoon is used as their identity picture.
- <http://tundratabloids.com/2013/09/turk-desire-for-eu-membership-loses-steam-new-direction-is-eastward-not-westward.html>
Finnish anti-Islamist page in English. The cartoon is posted with an article titled: *Turkey: Domestic goals shift away from EU accession.*
- <http://tundratabloids.com/2012/10/day-17-of-the-obligatory-publishing-of-a-picture-of-mohamed.html>
Finnish anti-Islamist page in English. The cartoon is posted with an article titled: *DAY 17 OF THE OBLIGATORY PUBLISHING OF A PICTURE OF MOHAMED.....*

- <http://tundratabloids.com/2010/10/evil-has-landed-turk-pm-erdogan-lands.html>
Another entry in 2010 from the same website above. This time the cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *THE EVIL HAS LANDED: TURK PM ERDOGAN LANDS ON FINNISH SOIL.....*
- <http://my.opera.com/antiislamwebsite/albums/showpic.dml?album=9563362&picture=130635472>
Anti-islamist webpage by Imran Firasat. Firasat is an actual Spanish citizen is the creator of the mock movie "The Innocent Prophet." He is facing charges of deportation to his native country Pakistan, where he faces the death penalty. The cartoon is posted with a caption that reads: *Muhammad will not be allowed to capture the western land, culture, tradition and values. Kick Muhammad out of western world.*
- <http://flickrhivemind.net/Tags/antiislamcartoons/Timeline>
Personal anti-Islam blog. The cartoon is posted under the 'World without Islam' section.
- <http://www.ronorp.net/zuerich/forum/forum-archiv/everything-under-the-sun.13/burka-verbot.60520?page=10&hash=7c20c7f4e51ce7312aa172fce515ea6a>
(2010) German discussion forum. The cartoon is posted as a part of a comment.
- <https://iranholland.wordpress.com/author/sashty/page/3/>
Persian blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Worst nightmare prophets and saints!*
- http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/tennessee-imam-jews-and-christians-filthy/question-3779842/?page=1&postId=111558278#post_111558278
An online community that features a combination of content creation and redistribution, providing an outlet for people to ask questions, post breaking news of the day, and share his/her opinions on issues. The cartoon is posted as comment to an article titled: *Tennessee Imam: Jews And Christians Filthy.*
- <http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/non-muslims-cant-use-the-word-allah-is-that-fair/question-4004259/?link=ibaf&q=&esrc=s>
Another posting on the same website mentioned above. The cartoon is posted as a comment to an article criticising the ban of the word Allah to be used by non-Muslim communities in Malaysia.
- <http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/fbi-spying-in-mosques-is-this-discrimination-or-a-logical-precaution/question-287243/?page=7&link=ibaf&q=&esrc=s>
Another posting on the same website, this time the cartoon is posted as a commentary to a question posted by the webmaster: *Is the FBI spying on Muslims in their Mosques a logical precaution or just discrimination of Muslims?*
- <http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/pakistan-is-deporting-400000-afghan-muslim-refugees-and-nobody-says-a-word/question-2782609/?link=ibaf&q=&esrc=s>
The same website. This time the cartoon is the visual of a posting that reads as: *Pakistan is deporting 400,000 Afghan Muslim refugees and nobody says a word?*
- <https://volksbetrugpunkt.net.wordpress.com/2012/10/page/27/>
German news blog. The cartoon is posted as a reaction to an article titled: *Muslim patients threaten hospital staff.*
- <https://vk.com/wall-35730816?own=1>; <http://vk.com/angola>; <http://vk.com/id177650161>; http://vk.com/wall-29369324_2520806?&offset=20; <http://vk.com/id187624942>; <http://vk.com/club49162065>;
<http://vk.com/club49162065>
Russian social networking site has several entries of different participants. The cartoon is used in personal pages of different participants as a statement or against the Islamization of Europe as their identity picture.
- <http://malaysia-tanpa-islam.blogspot.ca/2012/01/karikatur-malaysia-terbaru-nabi.html>
Malay blog. The cartoon is posted among other anti-Islam cartoons.
- <http://photos.sulekha.com/albums/members/bilingual/slideshow/194432.htm>
Indian internet and multi-utility website. The cartoon is posted in the photos section.
- http://creative.sulekha.com/long-term-re-structuring-needed-from-ground-up-illegal-racist-and-fascist-settlers-ruining-many-nations_370080_blog
The same site uses the cartoon as the visual of two news articles: *Long-Term Re-Structuring Needed From Ground Up - Illegal Racist And Fascist Settlers Ruining Many Nations! And An Open Challenge To All Terrorists and Wannabe Terrorists (no dates of publication is indicated).*

- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/2011/10/13/le-forcene-de-forsane-alizza-recidive/>
The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry discussing the 'Sharia' promoter group, Forsane Alizza seeking to establish [strict implementation of] Sharia in W. Europe titled: Le forcené de Forsane Alizza récidive! [The pounding of Forsane Alizza recidivism!].
- <http://www.erepublik.com/zh/article/propast-turske--2187487/1/20>
Bosnian news blog. The cartoon is posted with a caption that reads: "This picture says more than a thousand words" following a blog entry titled: *Collapse of Turkey?*
- [http://messageplanet.net/forum/showthread.php?70280-PLEASE-SPONSOR-ME-FOR-HUNTINGTONS-FUND-RASIER-\)/page4](http://messageplanet.net/forum/showthread.php?70280-PLEASE-SPONSOR-ME-FOR-HUNTINGTONS-FUND-RASIER-)/page4)
A discussing forum. The cartoon is posted as a commentary to the discussion title: *Please sponsor me for Huntington's fund Raiser*. The cartoon is posted with the caption: *Take a walk! And DON'T LET THE DOOR HIT YOU ON THE WAY OUT!* (Warning the website contains adult/sexual content.)
- <http://www.bloggen.be/tafelspringer/archief.php?ID=812789>
Personal blog in Dutch. The cartoon is posted as a blog entry as the visual of an article titled: *Islamization and Interests*.
- <http://forums.canadiancontent.net/international-politics/110029-chavez-defeats-wallstreet-again.html>
Canadian political discussion forum online. The cartoon is posted as an answer to other commentators.
- <http://situsantiislamindonesia.wordpress.com/kartun-nabi-muhammad/>
Indonesian anti-Islam website. The cartoon is posted among others under the Prophet Mohammad section.
- <http://saintespritdeverite.e-monsite.com/pages/dossier-islam/muhammad-vu-par-l-islam.html>
Anti-Islam website in French. The cartoon is posted at the end of a long article citing sins of the Prophet Muhammad.
- <http://www.myjulia.ru/post/414792/>
Personal blog in Russian. The cartoon is posted as a part of a blog entry.
- <http://www.godlikeproductions.com/forum1/message1106311/pg1>
A discussion website about religion and God. The cartoon is posted as a statement in a discussion.
- <http://stop-islam.ucoz.com/photo/karikatury/8>
Russian anti-Islam website. The cartoon is posted under the photo album section with the title: *European tolerance: the flip side*.
- http://jihadimalmo.blogspot.ca/2010_03_01_archive.html
Swedish blog that specializes in the areas of Islamism, terrorism, and anti-Semitism. Offering a vast archive of over 3,000 articles (search engine located at the top of the page). The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Saudi sponsors Islamist offensive in the Balkans*.
- <http://lecanarddechaineblog.wordpress.com/category/humour-et-parodie/page/5/>
French blog. The cartoon is posted among other Bergolix cartoons.
- <http://sheikyermami.com/islam-will-dominate-france-and-england-andy-the-zebiba-boyz-perform-outside-the-french-embassy-in-londonistan/>
(2013) An anti-jihadist news blog casting light on the nature of jihad as well as the various manifestations of Islam the dangers of Islam. The cartoon is used as a statement after a blog entry titled: *Islam Will Dominate France and England*.
- http://perigoislamico.blogspot.ca/2012_05_01_archive.html
Portuguese blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Muslim leader recorded to promote FGM (Female Genital Mutilation)*.
- <http://koptisch.wordpress.com/2010/10/>
German website. The cartoon is published as the visual of an article titled: *Muslim enrichment to mess*.
- <http://bruessel.net/?cat=1>
(2009) German news website with a slogan: Eurabia - Political chants - Political Expressions. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *You can shove your Koran up ... German publisher drops novel over fears of Muslim backlash*.

- <http://france-sacree.blogspot.ca/2009/04/humour-insolite.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted among other anti-Islam cartoons.
- http://www.siwel.info/Taddart-Oufella-Les-citoyens-reclament-le-depart-de-l-imam-en-poste-dans-leur-village_a5462.html
French online news site. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Citizens demand the departure of Imam stationed in their village.*
- http://dudleysdiary.blogspot.ca/2008_03_01_archive.html
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Looks Like Somebody Needs Cultural Diversity Training . . .*
- <http://www.chemin-de-memoire-parachutistes.org/t6984p15-defile-armee-algerienne-14-juillet-2011-2012>
French forum. The cartoon is posted by a participant with the caption: *Réveillez-vous les amis, ont continué lamentablement à se faire B;;;;R PAR LES BEDOUINS /////MB.[Wake up friends we are being, continued to be miserably F;;;;; by Bedouins]*
- <http://benillouche.blogspot.ca/2012/04/egypte-rien-ne-va-plus-par-zvi-mazel.html>
French news website Jacques BENILLOUCHE, a freelance journalist based in Israel. The site includes the analysis on Israel, Judaism, the Franco-Israeli politics and the Middle East. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals for an article titled: *EGYPT: Nothing works.*
- <http://www.yanndarc.com/50-categorie-416280.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a poem satirizing Muslims.
- <http://politic-vision.space-blogs.net/blog-note/178300/l-imam.html>
Personal news blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of the same poem above, satirizing Muslims, the title of the section is: *IMAM.*
- <http://www.tribunejuive.info/international/la-chute-de-morsi-trois-enseignements>
Personal blog in French by Jacques Benillouche. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry in 2013 with the title: *“La chute de Morsi: Trois enseignements”* [The fall of Morsi: Three lessons].
- <http://syriastartimes.com/417#.Ur9dLfRDvoE>
Syrian news website. The cartoon is published under the section title: *Main> Comics> to those who demand freedom.*
- <http://resistencialibia.info/?p=6283>
News website on Libya in Portuguese. The cartoon is published as the visual of an article titled: *Ten reasons why imperialism must defeat Syria.*
- <http://egyoffline.com/?m=201212&paged=8>
News website in Arabic. The cartoon is the visual of an article.
- <http://www.wykop.pl/link/1768706/uczestnicy-muzulmanskiego-patrolu-w-londynie-skazani-na-wiezienie/>
Polish website. The cartoon is posted as a commentary to an article titled: *Muslim Patrol' jailed for harassing couple holding hands and men drinking in a bid to enforce Sharia law in East London.*
- http://youngimmigrants.blogspot.ca/2012/02/blog-post_6195.html
Arabic website. The cartoon is used as a visual to an article.
- http://el-alimoche.blogspot.ca/2010_12_01_archive.html
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is posted at the end of a blog entry about Muslims.
- <http://biglicknews.blogspot.ca/2011/02/us-must-be-removed-from-islamic-world.html>
Personal blog (USA). The cartoon is used after a declaration by the blog owner which reads as: *Islam must be removed from Christian world: David C Beach.* And the caption below the cartoon reads as: *Screw you!*
- <https://plus.google.com/115836915908408847959/posts>
Personal page of Google Plus. The cartoon is used as a statement.
- <http://www.informarexistere.fr/2012/08/30/lesercito-siriano-libero-fsa-sponsorizzato-dalla-turchia-propende-ad-instaurare-un-califfato-islamico-e-non-la-democrazia-in-siria/>
Italian news website. The cartoon is the main visual of an article with the title: *The Free Syrian Army (FSA), sponsored by Turkey inclined to establish an Islamic Caliphate and Democracy in Syria.*

- <http://themuslimissue.wordpress.com/2013/07/23/muslims-in-second-largest-group-of-illegal-immigrants-in-new-york/>
American blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Muslims in "second largest group of illegal immigrants" in New York.*
- <http://parti-de-la-france.forumactif.org/t1100-la-france-ne-sera-jamais-terre-dislam>
Forum website of the *Partie de la France* de Normandie. The cartoon is used as an identity picture by one of the participants.
- <http://www.pvr-zone.ca/accommodements.htm>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon appears on a black background as the opening page of the blog with a caption: Reasonable accommodation and below the cartoon there is a link that reads as: *If you are not happy with this then click here.*
- <http://www.libertyvox.com/phpBB/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=5&p=165405>
French forum website. The discussion starts with a sentence: *"L'islam est une religion de paix, d'amour et de tolérance. Quiconque soutiendra le contraire, sera puni de mort!"* [Islam is a religion of peace, love and tolerance. Anyone supports the contrary, be put to death!] The cartoon is then posted as the visual of a text discussing the terror of Islam.
- <http://einarlunga.wordpress.com/2011/07/24/en-norsk-samfunnstragedie-en-gal-manns-verk-eller-begge-deler-tanker-omkring-bakgrunnen-for-og-arsakssammenhengene-til-bombeanslaget-i-oslo-sentrum-og-skytemassakeren-pa-utoya-22-juli-2011-under/>
Personal blog in Norwegian. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Wolves in Sheep's Clothing.*
- <http://heilgapormindthegap.blogspot.ca/2012/06/al-jazeera.html>
Personal news blog in Greek. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Miserable propaganda of Al-Jazeera and the representative of Egyptian immigrants in our country.*
- <http://bajurtov.wordpress.com/2013/02/19/>
Spanish website with the: Jewish Homeland. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *The 'Dhimmi' David Cameron is upset that "racist threats" stopped the construction of a mosque in Chipping Norton, his hometown.*
- <http://www.libertyvox.com/phpBB/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=548&start=690>
A discussion forum online in French. The cartoon is posted as a statement to a discussion on RACISME ANTIBLANC & ANTIFRANCE.
- http://traqueotomia.blogspot.ca/2011_07_01_archive.html
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is posted with a blog entry titled: *SAY MUSLIMS ARE RACIST?*
- <http://françaisdefrance.wordpress.com/tag/cavaliers-de-la-liberte/>
French website uses the cartoon as the visual of an article. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry discussing *Forsane Alizza ('Sharia' promoter group, seeking to establish [strict implementation of] Sharia in W. Europe)* with the title: *Goodbye, Forsane Alizza! The "riders of hate" are soon off!*
- http://saberpoint.blogspot.ca/2006_03_01_archive.html
Personal news blog in Spanish. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Cinnamon [a conservative San Francisco columnist] Gets Her First Death Threat.*
- <http://boltonbnp.blogspot.ca/2012/04/go-greece-rounding-up-and-deporting.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *GO GREECE! Rounding up and deporting illegal aliens, the majority: Muslims.*
- <http://www.theodoresworld.net/terrorists/>
Personal blog in English. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Iran Makes More Threats.*
- <http://francisf.canalblog.com/archives/2006/02/09/1345755.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as a visual to the main message of the blogger: *For my moslem readers in Europe. My Europe, you love her or you go away !!!*

- http://draco703.blogspot.ca/2006_02_01_archive.html
Personal blog in Spanish The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *The Islamic Board requests Zapatero the cathedral of Cordoba is open to Muslim worship.*
- http://atheistakan.blogspot.ca/2010_12_01_archive.html
Persian website of the Iranian Kurdish Atheist Society (IKAS or Atheistakan). The cartoon is used with the caption: *This is what we need to do with the Muslims!*
- http://vahidfathi77.blogspot.ca/2013/01/blog-post_1959.html
A personal blog in Persian supporting the Iranian and Syrian Coalition for Khomeini's Hague Trial. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry.
- <http://www.forumfr.com/sujet23725-pourquoi-l-islam-a-des-chances-de-triomphe.html>
A personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as a statement against Jihad in the comments section of a blog entry discussing the violence of Islam.
- <http://ripostelaique.com/valls-annonce-queil-va-exclure-plusieurs-imams-radicaux-les-islamistes-tremblent.html>
News website in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *[Manuel] Valls annonce qu'il va exclure plusieurs imams radicaux: les islamistes tremblent.* [Valls said he would exclude several radical imams: Islamists tremble.]
- <http://sinpelospuntocom.blogspot.ca/>
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *What Muslims do not understand.*
- <http://www.eco-chemins.ch/liens.html>
A personal blog on ecology and environmental issues. The blogger shares important web links with his readers. The cartoon appears as the visual of the weather forecast link http://www.landi.ch/fra/0804_niederschlagsradar.asp although it has nothing to do with the topic.
- <http://infos.fncv.com/tag/S%C3%A9curit%C3%A9/page/2>
Website for volunteers in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Security - Terrorism: A radical Islamist Tunisian advocating Jihad expelled from France.*
- <http://angelforIsrael.wordpress.com/2013/10/12/obama-administration-proposes-2300-page-new-constitution/>
A Jewish activist website with the motto: taking back America. The cartoon is used as one of the main visuals of the page.
- http://sandagira.blogspot.ca/2011_02_01_archive.html
A personal blog in Tamil or Sinhala. The cartoon is posted as a visual of a blog entry.
- <http://outroslusofonos.blogs.sapo.pt/2008/07/?page=2>
Personal blog in Portuguese. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry in 2008 with the title: *Finished well, Fatima returned in the arms of an Italian mother.* At the end of the article the cartoon is posted with a special caption in red that reads as: *Catch the camels and go home, Arab, Europe does not need you.*
- <http://laurentgbagbo.wordpress.com/page/6/>
A personal news blog about Ivory Coast in French. The cartoon is posted with the caption: *"Degage!" [Get lost]* at the end of a blog entry about Libya and Kaddafi.
- http://alwaie.com/News/Details.aspx?News_ID=1895
Personal news blog in Arabic. The cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *Yemeni writer reveals the interdependence of political tyranny and religious tyranny.*
- http://perigoislamico.blogspot.ca/2011_02_01_archive.html
Personal blog in Portuguese. The cartoon is posted as a solution to Islamophobia.
- <http://inbijbelsperspectief.weebly.com/de-islam-in-europa-godsdiens-van-terre-en-dood.html>
Dutch website (Biblical Perspective). The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry discussing the dangers of political Islam in Europe.

- <http://www.postedeveille.ca/2012/09/le-canada-ferme-son-ambassade-en-iran-et-expulse-les-diplomates-iraniens-du-canada.html>
Canadian blog. The cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *Canada closed its embassy in Iran and expelled Iranian diplomats from Canada.*
- <http://club.doctissimo.fr/nidhogg/ghgfhg-418583/photos.html>
A personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted in the Photos section.
- <http://tclehner.wordpress.com/tag/diversity/>
Personal blog (USA). The cartoon is posted at the conclusion section of a blog entry discussing the evils of Islam in the USA with a caption: *Kick Islam out!*
- <http://mufaker.org/?p=7813>
Personal blog in Arabic. The cartoon is used as the identity picture of a commentator.
- <http://www.iranglobal.info/node/2824>
Iran Global website is an electronic journal that covers news and publishes analytic articles for Iranian people. The cartoon is posted under the caption: *The dog owner knows the Islamic Republic.*
- <http://vapsid.weebly.com/votildeitlus-euroopa-eest.html#.UsCKavRDvoE>
Estonian website. The cartoon is posted as one of the main visuals of the page on the right side of the page.
- <http://friendfeed.com/bolbol1/likes>; <http://friendfeed.com/andisheh1/comments>
Persian social networking page. The cartoon is a post by several members of the site.
- <http://ejbron.wordpress.com/2013/04/15/emmet-scott-mohammedanisme-is-het-oergif-in-europas-aderen/>
Dutch website. The cartoon is posted next to a commentary responding to an article titled: *Islam is the poison in Europe's veins.*
- http://departmentoffreespeech.net/wordpress/?page_id=329
Australian blog *encouraging Australians to take control of their political environments*. The cartoon is posted on the Images section among other anti-Islam jokes and visuals.
- <https://www.facebook.com/pages/LEuropa-%C3%A8-cristiana-non-musulmana/142983399070459>
Facebook page in Italian with the motto: *Europe is Christian, not Muslim*. The cartoon is used as the Identity picture of this community.
- <https://www.facebook.com/serdar.eh2>
Another Facebook page. The cartoon is used as the Identity picture of the owner.
- <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Anti-Islamic-Jokes/149509355089532?sk=photos>
Largest collection of Anti-Islamic Jokes on Facebook. The cartoon is posted among other anti-Islam jokes.
- <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Anti-Islamic-Jokes/149509355089532?ref=share>
The same page as above. But in this version the cartoon is used as the identity Picture of the group supporting the page.
- <https://www.facebook.com/ommateljahl>
The cartoon is posted as the identity picture of a Facebook member.
- https://m.facebook.com/kcha.tarane?v=feed&filter=13&_rdr
Facebook page in Persian. The cartoon is posted as a Facebook entry in the Photos section.
- <http://uniscontreennadha.blogspot.ca/2012/09/qui-tue-le-commandant-massoud.html>
Tunisian personal blog in French created to oppose the Islamist Tunisian Political Party "Ennahdha." The cartoon is used as a message to the party's leader Rached Ghannouchi.
- http://muslim-murtad.blogspot.ca/2012_12_11_archive.html
Indonesian website against Islamic fundamentalism defending that "Muslims are the first victims of Islam ... and liberate them from his religion is the best thing we can do" (Ernest Renan). The cartoon is used by one of the members in a posting in which he explains how he became anti-Islamist.
- <http://diskusijos.patriotai.lt/viewtopic.php?f=32&t=2678>
Lithuanian website. The cartoon is posted. But it is not possible to see it unless one becomes a member of the group.

- <http://2ch-b.ru/2013/12/23/nu-tak-che-tam-s-kavkazom-iaschitaiu-etot-huj-voobsche-ohuel-net-on-59437850.html>
Russian discussion forum. The cartoon is posted as a commentary.
- <http://ipv6.elakiri.com/forum/member.php?tab=friends&u=30488&pp=10&page=3>
Sri Lankan online community. The cartoon is used as a vignette on a page.
- <http://awans-memoire-et-vigilance.skynetblogs.be/archive/2009/02/16/crise-bancaire.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as a part of a blog entry.
- <http://www.nordisk.nu/gallery/index.php?n=7306>
Swedish forum page. The cartoon is posted in the Photos section.
- <http://www.politikarena.net/showthread.php?t=15330>
German discussion forum. The cartoon is used as the Identity picture of a participant.
- <http://www.ankawa.com/forum/index.php?topic=278795.0>
A discussion forum in Arabic. The cartoon is used as a commentary by a participant.
- <http://ramrock.wordpress.com/2010/08/01/el-islam-como-religion-las-sectas/islamkk13/>
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is used as a visual on a page.
- http://peterpansparadijs.blogspot.ca/2012_01_01_archive.html
Personal blog in Dutch. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Disturbance*.
- <http://forum.magicmaman.com/votrevie/Maisonetquotidien/trouver-smeily-grand-sujet-3677614-1.htm>
Discussion forum in French. The cartoon is posted as a commentary by a participant.
- <http://junkererwin.wordpress.com/2010/05/08/atterrissage-d%E2%80%99urgence-a-cause-d%E2%80%99une-burqa/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted with a blog entry discussing the ban on burqa.
- <http://paloque.wordpress.com/2013/07/11/232/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry.
- <http://www.webnews.de/680707/letzte-chance-vertan>
German news website. The cartoon is used as an identity picture by a reader commenting.
- <http://nemesiscro.skyrock.com/2338168305-MESSAGE-DESTINER-AU-BOUKAKE-traduction-branleur-equipe-de-lacoste.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry.
- <http://tatyana-phoenix.livejournal.com/71255.html>
Personal blog in Russian. The cartoon is used as an Identity picture by a reader commenting on illegal immigration.

Figure 3.17 Bergolix (2007/01): La Turquie est la bienvenue en Europe !...

Stable URL

http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2007/01/loupturc3_print.gif?w=400&h=216

See also

- <http://twicsy.com/u/Lilounat/skip/10>

Figure 3.17a Bergolix (2007/01): Loup Turc

Turquie en Europe = le loup dans la bergerie.

Stable URL

- <http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2007/01/loupturc3.jpg?w=400&h=232>

- <http://www.dreuz.info/2013/12/droit-au-logement-les-immigres-clandestins-vont-pouvoir-lexiger-merci-cecile-duflot/>
News website in French. The cartoon is posted as a visual for an article titled: *Right of accommodation: illegal immigrants will be able to require one, thank you Cécile Duflot* –.
- <http://www.lesobservateurs.ch/2013/12/08/droit-au-logement-les-immigres-clandestins-vont-pouvoir-lexiger-merci-cecile-duflot/>
The same article posted on the previous website is published on this news website with the same imagery.
- <http://coranix.org/106/106n50.htm>
French website. The cartoon is posted as a visual.
- <http://maxpark.com/community/4391/content/1892014>
Personal blog in Russian. The cartoon is posted with a blog entry titled: *That's why Obama is coming*.
- <http://volnodum.livejournal.com/649884.html?thread=9332892&>
Personal blog in Russian. The cartoon is posted among other visuals under the title *Offending religious feelings*.
- http://vk.com/wall-15755094_2971042?&offset=80
Russian social networking site has several entries of different participants. The cartoon is used in personal pages of different participants as a statement or against the Islamization of Europe as their identity picture.
- <http://koptisch.wordpress.com/2012/10/20/>
News blog for the Copts [the native Christians of Egypt]. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Scratches On The Christian Image Of The Nation*.
- <http://iranpoliticsclub.net/cartoons/steph-bergol1/>
Iranian news and social networking website. The cartoons of Bergolix (Steph Bergol) are posted in English.
- <http://jean-marielebraud.hautetfort.com/archive/2013/week50/index.html>
The website of Jean Marie Lebraud. The cartoon is posted as one of the visuals for his blog entry.
- <http://legauloisdechaine.blog.lemonde.fr/2013/07/03/traite-avec-les-americains-puce-rfid-vaccinations-et-surveillance-mondiale-danger/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as a visual on the page discussing the side effects of a flu vaccination.
- <http://vk.com/club3767135>; <http://vk.com/club49162065>
Russian social networking site. The cartoon is used on the Armenian Hate page ANTI-TURKEY created by Armenians. The page is full of sexual images and hate messages.

Figure 3.17b Bergolix (2011/9): France Belgique Europe tremblent devant Islam!

Stable URL

- http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/france_belgique_europe_tremblent_devant_islam.png?w=400&h=232
Russian anti-Turkish site.
- <http://vk.com/club3767135>
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/tag/etat-major-general-de-larmee-de-terre/>
(2011) Caption: *La "donne" va changer...*[The "we" will change]
- <http://france-sacree.blogspot.ca/2009/04/humour-insolite.html>
Another page where most of our Bergolix cartoons are exposed too.
- http://fr.altermedia.info/general/erdogan-a-paris-prone-lintegration-se-prononce-contre-lassimilation_28817.html
(2010) An article about erdogan.
- <http://www.brukselhaber.be/go.php?go=3170898&do=details&return=summary&pg=1>
Turkish website.
- <http://snesup.caen.free.fr/spip.php?rubrique32>
Université de Caen. The cartoon of the wolf is used without its turban.

Figure 3.17c Front National (2009)

Stable URL

http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/france_belgique_europe_tremblent_devant_islam.png?w=400&h=232

See also

- <http://www.voxfnredekker.com/archives/2013/10/21/28261023.html>
Political blog de Yann Redekker member of the National Front Party. The poster is used as the visual of an article titled: *EU will reopen accession negotiations with Turkey.*

Figure 3.17d Le partie de la France (2011)

Stable URL

- <http://idata.over-blog.com/2/94/47/61/turquie.jpg>
- <http://pdf95.over-blog.com/article-l-islam-et-l-occident-42513172.html>

Figure 3.18 COX & FORKUM (2010)

Stable URL

- <http://www.armenews.com/IMG/arton87307-441x336.gif>
- <http://img687.imageshack.us/img687/940/islamismeturquie.gif>
- <http://jssnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/islamismeturquie.gif>
This cartoon satirizes the Turkish flag and criticizes the Islamization of Turkey. Yet it is used to depict other Muslim countries and Muslims in general.

See also

- <http://mbrindleydesign.blogspot.ca/2010/11/headliners.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as an anti-Turkish propaganda visual.
- <http://www.theapricity.com/forum/showthread.php?46838-Anatolian-Turks-amp-Turkey/page9>
A discussion forum online. The cartoon posted as a response to a comment published by the webmaster.
- <http://www.antinews.gr/2011/09/13/121933/>
Greek news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Turkey loses in Aegean and Mediterranean?*
- <http://antinomica.blogspot.ca/2013/06/turkey-builds-super-mosque-in-maryland.html>
Personal blog from USA. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry depicting the dangers of the Islamist AKP party, and spread of Islamism in Turkey.
- <http://hakimiyetimilliyeye.org/2012/02/aydinlar-ocagindan-cemaate-turkiyede-duzenin-hegemonya-arayisi-fatih-yasli/>
Turkish news website. Uses the cartoon as the visual of an article discussing the Islamization of Turkey.
- http://www.picstopin.com/520/18-november-2011-the-dangers-of-allah/http:%7C%7Cactforamerica*files*wordpress*com%7C2011%7C11%7Cturkey_islamism*gif/
An image provider website posted this cartoon under the title: *18 November 2011 The Dangers Of Allah Picture.*
- <http://www.pi-news.net/2011/07/re-islamisierung-der-turkei-auf-vollen-touren/>
German news website. The cartoon is posted as the main visual of an article with the title: *Re-Islamization of Turkey in full swing.*
- <http://vk.com/event52539792>
Russian social networking site. The cartoon is used on the special page dedicated to the Society of Azerbaijani-Jewish friendship (OAED). The cartoon is posted as a response to a Turkish commentator defending Atatürk and his reforms.

- <http://www.euroislam.pl/index.php/2013/05/dlaczego-jestem-przeciwna-islamistom-w-europie/>
Polish news website. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Why I am against the Islamists in Europe*.
- <http://www.euroislam.pl/index.php/2011/08/turcja-wciaz-blizej-islamizmu/>
Polish news website. The cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *Turkey still closer to Islamism*.
- <http://www.euroislam.pl/index.php/2012/11/turcja-nie-jest-rozwiazaniem-problemow-europy/>
The same website as above uses the same cartoon for another article published one year later. The title is: *Turkey is not a solution to Europe's problems*.
- <http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/obama-preparing-for-islamists-sharia-in-middle-east/question-1564129/?link=ibaf&q=&esrc=s>
An online community that features a combination of content creation and redistribution, providing an outlet for people to ask questions, post breaking news of the day, and share his/her opinions on issues. The cartoon is posted as comment to an article titled: *Obama preparing for Islamists, sharia in Middle East*.
- <http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/why-did-the-veterans-today-become-a-nest-of-anti-semites-911-conspiracy-theorists-and-other-bigot/question-1706713/?link=ibaf&q=&esrc=s>
The same website as above. The cartoon is used as the identity picture of a participant in a discussion.
- <http://joshuapundit.blogspot.ca/2011/02/turkeys-erdogan-purges-military.html>
Personal blog against Islamist Jihad. The article is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Turkish PM Erdogan Consolidates His Islamist Regime By Purging The Military*.
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/2009/12/15/>
French website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article about the protest at the Embassy of France in Turkey following the publication of a portrait representing Nicolas Sarkozy, in the guise of Adolf Hitler. The article's title is: *Turkey: The Vatan newspaper lectured by France. And for good reason*.
- <http://townhall.com/political-cartoons/coxforkum/2007/07/23/18602>
Town hall Magazine is an online monthly conservative magazine. The cartoon is posted in the cartoons section.
- <http://fa.merc.ir/View/tabid/127/ArticleId/944.aspx>
Persian news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an editorial titled: *Turkish Islamist militants and government failure*.
- http://www.armenews.com/article.php?id_article=87307
Armenian news website in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of an editorial article titled: *Majority of the Germans opposed to the accession of Turkey into the EU (survey)*.
- <http://www.popblogger.blogspot.ca/2011/09/islamization-of-turkey-iii.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *The Islamization of Turkey III*.
- <http://www.diplomat.am/publ/region/8>
Armenian news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an editorial article titled: *RADICAL Islam's cloud boomerang*, criticising Turkish Islamists' dream of becoming a leader of the Arab and the Islamic world.
- <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=1657193>
Turkish discussion forum. The cartoon is posted with the caption: *Europe's perception of Turkey*.
- <http://thefederalist-gary.blogspot.ca/2012/07/islamists-keep-turkish-woman-off-bus.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as one of the visuals of a blog entry titled: *Islamists keep Turkish woman off a bus*.
- <http://mangoditreviso.blogspot.ca/2010/09/turchia-vincono-gli-islamisti-e-la.html>
Personal blog in Italian. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Turkey, the Islamists won and the press was wrong [in their forecast]*.
- <http://www.jewishpolicycenter.org/blog/2010/10/turkey-then-and-now>
The website of The Jewish Policy Center, a non-profit organization. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article debating the Islamization of Turkey by the Islamist ruling party. The title of the article is: *Turkey then and now*.

- <http://lukasshotan.blog.idnes.cz/c/228210/Bude-jednou-z-brnenskeho-Petrova-mesita.html>
Personal blog in Czech. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry discussing the Intolerance of the Turkish Islamist and the Muslim population in Czech Republic.
- <https://www.awsatnews.net/?m=201312&paged=4>
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *The ultra-Islam, like all extremes, democracy is eaten, as in the flag of Turkey.*
- <http://rksmb.org/archive.php?MyYear=2008&MyMonth=03>
Russian website. The webmasters define themselves as the semi-official newspaper for the Revolutionary Communist Youth League. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Communists Turkey - on the trial of the ruling party.*
- <http://beforeitsnews.com/eu/2013/10/islam-has-always-produced-islamists-wahhabis-2538386.html>
News website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Islam Has Always Produced Islamists & Wahhabis.*
- <http://beforeitsnews.com/opinion-conservative/2013/12/congress-to-ankara-no-china-interoperability-with-us-money-2770832.html>
The same website uses the cartoon two months later as the visual of another article about Turkey. The title of the article is: *Congress to Ankara: No China interoperability with US money.*
- <http://beforeitsnews.com/opinion-conservative/2013/05/the-islamization-of-turkey-rabia-kazan-2654532.html>
The same site uses the cartoon for another news visual titled: *The Islamization Of Turkey-Rabia Kazan.*
- http://xesemesa.blogspot.ca/2011_11_01_archive.html
News website in Greek. The cartoon is used as the visual of a news article titled: *Does Turkey really want to join the EU?*
- http://helleniclegion.blogspot.ca/2011_08_14_archive.html
Personal news blog in Greek. The cartoon posted as the visual of an article titled: *Turkey loses in Aegean and Mediterranean?*
- <http://sultanknish.blogspot.ca/2010/06/how-european-tolerance-islamized-turkey.html>
Personal blog by Daniel Greenfield. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of his article titled: *How European tolerance Islamized Turkey.*
- <http://www.womenagainsthariah.com/2010/02/government-sponsored-terror-squad.html>
An activist blog for Women Against Sariah group trying to prevent and outlaw the imposition of Sariah law in the United States. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Government sponsored terror Squad killing Assyrians, other minorities in Turkey.*
- http://ivan-2-google.blogspot.ca/2009_01_01_archive.html
Personal news blog in Greek. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Turkey-Terrorists and Deep State.*
- <http://docstalk.blogspot.ca/2011/12/education-jihad-comes-to-america-via.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *EDUCATION JIHAD Comes to America via Turkish Gulen Charter Schools Funded by YOU!*
- <http://www.barenakedislam.com/2013/11/01/kemal-aturk-founder-of-modern-secular-turkey-is-rolling-in-his-grave-at-news-that-the-ban-on-islamic-headgear-in-public-has-now-been-lifted/>
An anti-Islam blog using the motto *It isn't Islamophobia, when they are actually killing you.* The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of an article titled: *Kemal Ataturk, founder of modern, secular Turkey is rolling in his grave, at news that the ban on Islamic headgear in public has now been lifted.*
- <http://theboldcorsicanflame.wordpress.com/2010/11/20/>
Personal news blog. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of an article titled: *Letter of a Turkish girl afraid of Islam and the US support Islamist get in her country.*
- <http://marialeroux1.clicforum.fr/t109-PREPARER-LA-SOCIETE-DU-FUTUR-PARTIE-2-P-1.htm>
A discussion forum online. The cartoon is posted by a participant as the visual of his comment referring to an article we mentioned above with the title: *EDUCATION JIHAD COMES TO AMERICA VIA TURKISH GULEN CHARTER SCHOOLS FUNDED BY YOU!*

- http://rzymiski-katolik.blogspot.ca/2012_04_02_archive.html#
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as a visual of a blog entry titled: *The dialogue with Islam*.
- http://news.ge/ge/search/index?q=%E1%83%97%E1%83%A3%E1%83%A0%E1%83%A5%E1%83%94%E1%83%97%E1%83%98&c-search=&date-range-from=&date-range-to=&per_page=650
Georgian news website. The cartoon is used several times on different articles.
- <http://www.funnyjunk.com/Got+this+request+at+work+yesterday/funny-pictures/4835427/>
The cartoon is posted by a participant with the caption: *Someone might take this the wrong way*.
- http://lithosfotos.blogspot.ca/2012_10_03_archive.html
Personal news blog in Greek. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *Turkey to Iraq: "You cannot throw us out!"*
- <http://www.frie-ytringer.com/2011/01/19/den-islamske-tsunami/>
Norwegian news blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *The Islamic tsunami*.
- <http://elladanea.gr/%CE%BF%CE%B9-%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%CF%81%CE%BA%CE%BF%CE%BA%CF%8D%CF%80%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%BF%CE%B9-%CE%B1%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%81%CF%81%CE%AF%CF%80%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%BD-%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BD-%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84/>
Greek news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Turkish Cypriots reject the counterproposal Anastasiadis. There is a fair solution to the arrogance of the Ottoman Turks, take the decision*.
- http://ed-hleias.blogspot.ca/2013/06/blog-post_28.html
Greek news blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *OSO WANT OUR cursing the Turks*.
- <http://www.pittsreport.com/2013/10/politics-republicans-are-pulling-a-putin-and-spanking-obama/>
English news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Following the suicidal path taken by deposed Egyptian dictator, Mohamed Morsi, Turkish PM Recep Erdogan lifts the decades-old ban on hijab (head bags)*.
- <http://www.aljaml.com/>
Arabic news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Two myths about Turkish Secularism*.
- http://ivan-2-google.blogspot.ca/2008_12_22_archive.html
Personal news blog in Greek. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Balkans and Islamic Turkey*.
- <http://theenglishdefenceleagueextra.blogspot.ca/2010/09/trotskyist-islamophilia-madness-of-swps.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Trotskyist Islamophilia: The Madness of the SWP's Love of Islam*.
- <http://midnightwatcher.wordpress.com/2012/06/10/>
News blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Turkey: New Law Requires Islamic Prayer Rooms In All Shopping Malls, Movie Theaters, And Other Public Spaces*.
- <http://www.pdfcentre.fr/index-3.html>
Partie de La France (Party of France) website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article about Tunisia although the cartoon depicts the Turkish flag. The title of the article is: *In Tunisia, the priority is the proliferation of mosques*.
- <http://blogs.eliamep.gr/gkonstan/to-anadiomeno-islamiko-kefaleo-stin-tourkia-%E2%80%93-o-rolos-tou-kinimatos-tou-f-gkioulen/>
Personal news blog by George Constantinides. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled as: *The emerging Islamic capital in Turkey - the role of movement by F. Gulen*.
- <http://www.turquieuropeenne.eu/petite-histoire-de-la-reislamisation-de-la-turquie.html>
Turkish website supporting the EU accession of Turkey. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Little History of the re-Islamization of Turkey*.

- <https://plus.google.com/105915312808173035110/posts>
Google Plus personal page. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a news article the page owner linked in a posting.

Figure 3.19 Bergolix (2007/10): Drapeau de la république islamique Française (Francistan)
Bergolix (2013/03): 'Une deuxième mère de soldat français assassiné par Merah, impose son voile'
Bergolix (2013/03): La comédienne Sophie Guillemin s'est convertie à l'Islam... Depuis, elle galère!

Stable URL

- <http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2007/10/drapisla.jpg?w=450&h=405>
- http://winkabarkyaw2.blogspot.ca/2011/11/blog-post_17.html
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry discussing Islamization of France.
- <http://charles34.canalblog.com/> http://winkabarkyaw2.blogspot.ca/2011/11/blog-post_17.html
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as a statement alongside with other cartoons from www.bergolix.com.
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/tag/le-prefet-moutouh/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *The "Council of French Muslims Free" will see the light ...*
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/category/voile/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Green is green ... Christmas Ma mère favor of the burqa.*
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/2010/05/04/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *The true face of Latifa "scarf" Ibn Ziaten.*
- <http://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/tag/le-prefet-moutouh/>
The "Council of French Muslims Free" will see the light.
- <https://francaisdefrance.wordpress.com/2011/01/17/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Net, clear and free of burrs.*
- <http://therese-zrihen-dvir.over-blog.com/article-l-egorgement-des-chretiens-suite-107499157.html>
- <http://symbolic-mirage.blogspot.ca/2013/07/back-when-france-was-cool.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Back when France was Cool.*
- <http://www.hgsavinagiac.com/article-interdiction-du-voile-a-l-ecole-en-france-entre-1989-et-2004-retour-sur-images-voile-islamique-integral-et-burqa-debat-geopolitique-3eme-article-53752615.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *PROHIBITION OF THE VEIL IN SCHOOLS IN FRANCE BETWEEN 1989 AND 2004. BACK TO IMAGES: ISLAMIC VEIL AND INTEGRAL BURQA, DEBATE GEOPOLITIQUE (3rd article).*
- <http://www.fdesouche.com/tag/alain-gresh>
Personal blog of François Desouche or is a news review blog supporting French nationalism. The cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *The economic crisis is increasing Islamophobia.*
- <http://www.debriefing.org/28630.html>
News website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Egypt: Obama's impeachment, which defends the veil, the betrayal of Hillary Clinton, who wears it.*
- <http://national-communisme-brigade-13.hautetfort.com/archives/2009/05/index-2.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *"TOUT RACISME MIS A PART, C'EST D'UN COURANT RELIGIEUX DONT IL EST QUESTION"* [Besides all racism the question is of a the actual religious movement].

- <http://therese-zrihen-dvir.over-blog.com/article-l-egorgement-des-chretiens-suite-107499157.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: L'égorgement des chrétiens (suite)[The slaughter of Christians (continued)].
- <http://www.shalom-israel.info/?tag=2012&paged=5>
Jewish website in French publishes the same article (above) The slaughter of Christians (continued) with the same visuals.
- <http://www.barenakedislam.com/2012/page/135/>
An anti-Islam blog using the motto: It isn't Islamophobia, when they are actually killing you. The cartoon is used as one of the visuals of an article titled: *The French Jihad has begun. First they came for the Jews...*
- <http://www.frontpress.ro/2011/03/numarul-real-al-musulmanilor-din-franta-studiu.html>
Romanian news website. The article is used as the visual of an article titled: *The actual number of Muslims in France – study.*
- <http://laconnectrice.wordpress.com/tag/khimar/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Le Nouvel Observateur does not want Muslim women to emancipate the Islamic veil.*
- <http://incarnation.blogspot.com/archive/2009/12/index.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *After the parliamentary mission, after the Swiss vote, nothing will be as before.*
- <http://ripostelaique.com/La-loyaute-des-Francais-musulmans.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *The loyalty of French Muslims mythologized by an Islamic website oumma.com*
- <http://ripostelaique.com/Graulhet-le-fascisme-vert-est-a-l.html>
The same blog uses the same cartoon for a different article titled: "*Graulhet: le fascisme vert est à l'oeuvre dans votre commune, M. le maire*" [Graulhet: green fascism is at work in your town, the mayor].
- <http://alwtogether.com/always-together/ru/politic-ru/%D1%84%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%86%D0%B8%D1%8F-%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%BC%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B5-%D0%B1%D1%83%D0%B4%D1%83%D1%89%D0%B5%D0%B5-%D0%BD%D0%B5-%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%B3%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BC/>
Russian-American Community website, in Russian. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *France: Islamic future is not far off?*
- <http://zoonpolitikon2.blogspot.ca/2010/01/pourquoi-je-suis-francais-gen-maurice.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Why am I French?*
- <http://iranian.com/posts/view/post/23940>
An Iranian website in English bringing light to human right violations and Iranian civilians unjustly imprisoned by the Islamic Republic of Iran regime. The cartoon is used a statement with the caption: *Mad as heck.*
- <http://topwar.ru/24736-franciya-islamskoe-budushee-ne-za-gorami.html>
Russian news blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of an entry titled: *France: Islamic future is not far off?*
- <http://www.bloggen.be/nojihad/archief.php?ID=715106>
Belgian news website in Dutch. The cartoon is the visual of an article titled: *Pupil furious after criticizing Al Qaeda.*
- <http://renaissance44.hautetfort.com/archives/tag/justice/index-1.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *France: Terror in the bakery.*
- <https://vk.com/wall-53161342?own=1>
Social networking site, personal page. The cartoon is used as a part of a comment posted.
- <http://vk.com/wall-36576923?own=1>
Same website as above. The cartoon is used as a part of a comment posted.

- <http://thebodyoftruth.wordpress.com/2012/09/10/veil-wearing-muslim-woman-faces-penalty-for-biting-french-policeman/>
Georgian website in English. The Body of Truth is a on-line organization opposed to Islamic Conquest, Sharia law, The Islamization of countries and its encroachment on Western Values, Freedom of speech, Culture. The cartoon is used as the visual of a news article titled: *Veil Wearing Muslim Woman Faces Penalty for Biting French Policeman*.
- <http://thebodyoftruth.wordpress.com/2012/08/24/france-seeks-to-reclaim-islamic-no-go-zones-for-non-muslims/>
The same website uses the same cartoon for another article titled: *France Seeks to Reclaim Islamic 'No-Go' Zones For non-Muslims*.
- <http://www.pittsreport.com/2011/11/sequestered-cuts-will-decimate-the-department-of-defense/>
English news website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *WOO HOO! Yet ANOTHER anti-Muslim attack on a French mosque*.
- http://www.coranix.org/110/110_2.htm
Anti-Islam website uses the cartoon among other Bergolix flag cartoons as a visual while defending the dangers of Quran (Holy book of Muslim faith).
- <http://upplysningscentralen.wordpress.com/2013/04/page/2/>
Personal anti-Islam blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Why are French Jews leaving France?*
- <http://www.euroislam.pl/index.php/2011/04/przywodcy-religijni-przeciwko-debacie-o-swieckosci-panstwa/>
Polish news website. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *The religious leaders against a debate on secularism*.
- <http://necyklopedie.wikia.com/wiki/Francie>
Czech Wiki page. The cartoon is one of the main visuals posted on this site with a caption: *French pride and patriotism*.
- http://dorajaron.blogspot.ca/2012_10_21_archive.html
Personal blog in Spanish. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *USA: The Rise of Anti-Islam campaign*.
- http://www.jaffnamuslim.com/2012/02/blog-post_4649.html
Indonesian website in Tamil. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *France opens its first Muslim maiyawati*.
- <http://www.subito-invenio.org/wordpress/?p=1096>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Atmosphere of civil war*.
- <http://www.la-meilleure.com/nous-avouons-la-france-raciste-naime-pas-taubira-a-cause-de-nous/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as visual with no text.

Figure 3.19a Bergolix (2011/11): Drapeau de la République Islamique Belge (Belgistan)

Stable URL

- <http://www.frontpress.ro/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/belgia-islamista-FRONTPRESS-350x315.jpg>

See also

- <http://jssnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/republique-islamique-de-belgique.jpg>
- http://lesalonbeige.blogs.com/my_weblog/2011/11/liris-et-le-croissant-ou-bruxelles-la-musulmane.html
Belgian secular-Catholic website. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *"The Iris and The Crescent" or the Muslim Bruxelles*.
- <http://midnightwatcher.wordpress.com/2012/05/09/belgium-authorities-cope-to-struggle-with-muslim-crime-wave/>
Personal news blog against radical Islam. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Belgium: Authorities Cope To Struggle With Muslim Crime Wave*.

- <http://gilles-lussier.over-blog.com/article-isre-112255903.html>
Personal blog In French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Holland considers the foreign vote "for 2013" He should look in Belgium, he might change his mind?*
- <http://justice.skynetblogs.be/archives/2012/07/index-2.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *ISLAM AND DEMOGRAPHY IN EUROPE.*
- <http://extremecentre.org/2010/01/page/3/>
A website describing themselves as being against, fascism, communism, anti-Americanism, anti-Semitism, racism, bureaucracy, totalitarianism and Islamofascism. The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *Questions of Allah one: the lost territories of the Kingdom of Belgium.*
- <http://sitamnesty.wordpress.com/2013/01/13/invitation-a-la-conversion-a-lislam-au-roi-des-belges/>
The website for SITA (*Sensibilisation à l'Islam Tous Azimut*). The cartoon is posted as the visual of a letter to the King of Belgium. The article titled: *Invitation to conversion to Islam to the King of the Belgians.*
- <http://renaissance44.hautetfort.com/archive/2008/05/29/belgique-a-schaerbeek-un-exorcisme-islamique-vire-au-meurtre.html>
Personal blog. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry titled: *Belgium: At Schaerbeek an Islamic exorcism turns to murder.*
- <http://renaissance44.hautetfort.com/index-6.html>
The same blog as above. The same cartoon is used for another blog entry titled: *Belgium / Brussels: Rape in full train ... Nobody interfered.*
- <http://necyklopedie.wikia.com/wiki/Belgie>
Wikipage in Czech language describing Belgium. The cartoon is used as one of the main visual on the page. The caption under the cartoon reads as: *Belgian pride and patriotism.*

Figure 3.19b Bergolix (2008/02): Drapeau de la République Islamique Italienne (Italistan)

Stable URL

- http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/drapeau_italie_islam1.jpg?w=450&h=405

Figure 3.19c Bergolix (2008/09): Drapeau de l'Union Islamique Européenne (Eurabia)

Stable URL

- http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2008/09/drapeau_eurabia_europe_islamique.jpg?w=450&h=405

See also

- <http://jean-marielebraud.hautetfort.com/archive/2013/12/21/temp-fd7455454055f153e9b5c18668e74abe-5252564.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is used as the visual of a blog entry: *The Mokhtar Awards: "The invasion hidden from us."*
- <http://www.barenakedislam.com/2011/page/86/>
The cartoon is used as the visual of an article titled: *NORWAY: Oslo shooter predicted, "Europe soon will burn once again."*
- <http://www.citoyens-et-francais.fr/article-l-ambassadeur-de-france-a-alger-andre-parant-l-a-declare-200-000-visas-pour-l-annee-2012-108282233.html>
Personal news review blog. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *The Ambassador of France in Algiers, André Parant *, stated: "200,000 visas for the year 2012."*
- <http://3reglescitoyen.over-blog.com/article-principaute-islamique-en-europe-60210167.html>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of a blog entry: *Islamic principality in Europe.*

- <http://www.europe-israel.org/2012/01/la-marche-inexorable-de-leurope-soumise-vers-l%E2%80%99islamisation/>
Personal blog in French. The cartoon is posted as the visual of an article titled: *The inexorable march of Europe subjected to Islamization*.

Figure 3.20 HASAN BLEIBEL (2010): La Turquie, candidate à un fauteuil au premier rang

Stable URL : http://www.presseurop.eu/files/images/article/BLEIBEL_turkey_0.jpg?1285688043

- <http://www.presseurop.eu/fr/content/article/348361-la-turquie-candidate-un-fauteuil-au-premier-rang>

Figure 3.21 Bergolix (2008/09): Eurabia modérée ou Eurabia intégriste?

Stable URL

- <http://www.logoeeps.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/avrupa-birligi-bakanligi-logo.jpg>
- http://bergolix.files.wordpress.com/2008/09/drapeau_eurabia_moderee_europe_islam.gif?w=250&h=175

Figure 3.22 CRISTINA SAMPAIO (2006): The two Turkey

Stable URL

- http://www.cristinasampaio.com/eng/portfolio_eng/pf2006_eng/06d_turkey_eng.html
- http://www.cristinasampaio.com/ximages/img_portfolio/06_img_pf/06_turkey-eu.gif

Figure 3.23 HELDER OLIVIERA (2011/8): The relations with their neighbors Armenia and Cyprus and the internal issue with the Kurd population are the stones in the Turkish shoe.

Stable URL

- http://konstriktor.net/blog/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/oturko_1.jpg

See also

- <http://www.gamekult.com/blog/guephy/?page=3&blogcategoryid=18099>

Figure 3.24 PLANTU (2009) present Islam as a double prison for women, through the burqa event. Note the small bearded mouse.

Stable URL

- <http://extremecentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/plantu-burqa.jpg>
- http://www.tv5.org/cms/userdata/c_bloc/44/44811/44811_vignette_plantu-burqa-ok.jpg

See also

- <http://yahel.wordpress.com/2009/07/15/>
"Nueva moda? No ! Es mi Religión" [New fashion? No! It is my Religion.]
- http://laicite-moderne.blogspot.ca/2012_10_01_archive.html
"La voix de la République." [The voice of the republic]
- <http://laiciteetsociete.hautefort.com/archive/2012/10/22/la-voix-de-la-republique.html>
"La voix de la République"
- <http://www.islamla.com/topic2570-30.html>
"A propos du voile islamique".
- <http://www.defence.pk/forums/middle-east-africa/123873-civil-conflict-syria-news-discussions-445.html>
Civil Conflict in Syria: News & Discussion.

- <http://ripostelaique.com/Burqa-la-liberte-disqualifiee-Une.html>
"Burqa: la liberté disqualifiée".
- <http://extremecentre.org/2009/07/06/burqa-plantu-plante-le-decor/>
"Burqa: Plantu plante le décor".
- <http://mesgrainsdesel.canalblog.com/archives/2010/12/23/19951317.html>
"Et comme l'a montré Plantu dès le début, les Français n'aiment pas le changement...!"
- <http://argoul.com/2013/01/18/la-charia-a-bon-dos/burqa-par-plantu/>

Figure 3.25 PLANTU, le Monde, 09 November 2002. Plantu's cartoon of who had spoken against the accession of Turkey into the EU is represented against the Turkish people

Stable URL

- <http://idata.over-blog.com/0/40/66/71/premiere/plantuturquie.jpg>

See also

- <http://www.zamanfrance.fr/article/lislam-lobsession-plantu-5338.html>
"L'islam, l'obsession de Plantu (Plantu présente l'islam comme une double prison pour la femme, à travers la burqa, manifestation "naturelle" de cette religion. Notez la petite souris barbue.)."
- http://elblogdeireneflores.blogspot.ca/2010_04_01_archive.html
Spanish blog entry using Plantu's cartoon in French on a Spanish page.
- <http://tribouilloyterminales.over-blog.com/article-29722531.html>
"Jusqu'où ouvrir l'U.E. à de nouveaux entrants?"
- <http://actu-28.skyrock.com/>
"L'adhésion de la Turquie au sein de l'Union Européenne."
- <http://jacobhistgeo.over-blog.com/article-12859035.html>
Cartoon analysis.
- http://www.bleublancurc.com/News/Pourquoi_gifler_les_Turcs.htm
"Pourquoi gifler les Turcs ? - L'Express du 14/11/2002 par Bernard Guetta."
- <http://www.lyc-monnet-montpellier.ac-montpellier.fr/bcdiweb/doc/Lesenjeuxeurop%C3%A9ensdepuis89.pdf>
"question des limites de l'Europe et de l'identité européenne."

Figure 3.26 AVIN NONO 2010

Stable URL

- http://www.letelegramme.fr/ar/imgproxy.php/PhotoIntuitions/2010/11/10/1110574_8533943-nono1011-20101110-t103a.jpg?article=20101110-1001110574&aaaammjj=20101110

See also

- <http://www.letelegramme.fr/ig/generales/france-monde/monde/ue-les-negociations-d-adhesion-de-la-turquie-pietinent-10-11-2010-1110574.php>

Figure 3.27 CHARLIE HEBDO Luz/Biard (2005/05)

Stable URL

- http://www.bedetheque.com/cache/thb_couv/UnTurcEstEntreDansLeurope1_11052005.jpg

See also

- <http://www.auracan.com/RDP/2005/05/CharlieHebdo673.html>
- <http://www.bedetheque.com/serie-11593-BD-Un-turc-est-entre-dans-l-Europe.html>

- <http://melart.over-blog.com/article-festival-de-bd-a-gourette-113962553.html>

Figure 3.28 Depictions of the Ottomans in History (16-18 Centuries)

Figure 3.29a This poster for NISAAREBELA

Stable URL

- http://www.nissarebela.com/wp-content/uploads/images/actions/europe_turquie_fly.jpg

Figure 3.29b

Stable URL

- http://www.nissarebela.com/wp-content/uploads/images/actions/europe_turquie_pic2.jp 23/05/09