

Dehumanizations in Political Cartoons: A Case Study on the Jews in Türkiye Between 1930-1945¹

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the use of dehumanization techniques in political cartoons published in Türkiye between 1930-1945. For this purpose, different types of dehumanization were examined primarily in the conceptual and theoretical framework. Then, five cartoons selected by the purposive sampling method were subjected to semiotics and critical discourse analysis. At the end of the study, it is seen that different types of dehumanization are found in cartoons. However, while dehumanization with a message of genocide was used for the Japanese in the cartoons in America or for the Jews in the cartoons in Germany in this period, it is understood that the dehumanization in these cartoons in Türkiye emerged mostly in the form of scapegoats for the economic and other problems experienced.

keywords: political cartoons, dehumanization, scapegoating.

¹ This study has been developed and prepared within the framework of the concept of dehumanization, based on the archives and interpretations in Çağla Pınar Tunçer's doctoral thesis (2023), which includes a comprehensive analysis of "The Other". Bu makale, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde hazırlanan "1930-1945 arası siyasal karikatürlerde "öteki"nin analizi" başlıklı doktora tezinden yararlanılarak kaleme alınmıştır.

Résumé

Déshumanisations dans les caricatures politiques : une étude de cas sur les Juifs de Turquie entre 1930 et 1945

Cette étude vise à examiner l'utilisation des techniques de déshumanisation dans les caricatures politiques publiées en Turquie entre 1930 et 1945. À cette fin, différents types de déshumanisation ont été examinés principalement dans le cadre conceptuel et théorique. Ensuite, cinq caricatures sélectionnées par la méthode d'échantillonnage raisonné ont été soumises à une analyse sémiotique et critique du discours. Au terme de l'étude, on constate que différents types de déshumanisation se retrouvent dans les caricatures. Cependant, alors que la déshumanisation a été utilisée pour les Japonais dans les caricatures en Amérique ou pour les Juifs dans les caricatures en Allemagne de cette époque avec un message de génocide, celle dans ces caricatures en Turquie a émergé plutôt sous forme de boucs émissaires pour les problèmes économiques et autres rencontrés.

mots-clés: caricatures politiques, déshumanisation, bouc émissaire.

Öz

Siyasal Karikatürlerde Dehümanizasyon: 1930-1945 Yılları Arasındaki Karikatürlerde Yahudiler Üzerine Bir Çalışma

Bu çalışma, 1930-1945 yılları arasında Türkiye'de yayınlanan siyasi karikatürlerde dehümanizasyon tekniklerinin kullanımını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla öncelikle kavramsal ve kuramsal çerçevede farklı dehümanizasyon türleri incelenmiştir. Daha sonra amaçlı örnekleme yöntemiyle seçilen beş karikatür göstergebilim ve eleştirel söylem analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Çalışmanın sonunda karikatürlerde farklı dehümanizasyon biçimlerine rastlandığı görülmüştür. Ancak bu dönemde Amerika'daki karikatürlerde Japonlar veya Almanya'daki karikatürlerde Yahudiler için soykırım mesajı içeren insanlıktan çıkarma kullanılırken, Türkiye'de bu karikatürlerde dehümanizasyon dönemin ekonomik ve diğer sorunlar için daha çok günah keçisi olarak ortaya çıktığı anlaşılmaktadır.

anahtar kelimeler: siyasi karikatürler, dehümanizasyon, günah keçisi.

Introduction

This study examines the political strategies of the nation-state between 1930-1945, in which Jews are positioned as the Other of Turkish identity through their representations in the cartoon magazines *Akbaba* and *Karikatür*, and thereby dehumanized. This study asserts that the Us/Other identities produced by the state are reproduced through magazine cartoons, and that the press is a dispositif that is articulated to power from a Foucaultian point of view. In other words, these cartoon magazines legitimize national identity in a manner that both produces truths about Us/Others, and uses symbolic violence in terms of the discourses they reproduce.

Foucault characterizes subjects as discursive formations² within which the subject can express himself not of his own free will but within a certain meaning imposed in a field of expression that operates within certain rules. This phenomenon, which Foucault calls "formations", is a part of a whole, that is, a discursive formation, whose boundaries are drawn in relation to Other expressions. The discursive formation, consisting of non-stationary groups of statements, decides which statements to include and exclude (Foucault M. , 2005, pp. 118-130). As a part of the "discursive formation", the "formations" of the media - in terms of the scope of this study, and the cartoon magazines -cannot be neutral or independent. The limits of expression of the media are determined by the discursive formation in which it is included, it cannot go beyond it.

In this context, while the representations of the Jewish-Other in the cartoons of the period and the information produced in line with the interests of the state are presented to the public, these representations and the information produced also put pressure on the Jewish-Other. Because, in this process, cartoons activate collective memory and prejudices, they reproduce a "truth regime" by recirculating a discourse that establishes the subject and legitimacy (Foucault M. , 2005, p. 85). Reconstructing the Jewish Other with visual codes using the stereotypes existing in the collective memory, the cartoons define the Jews and fix them in a certain identity according to cyclical needs. Thus, the Other can also be kept under control.

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

The presence of an enemy is important in terms of forming the group's sense of identity through comparison and gaining self-respect. The Other/enemy is an element that enables us to put aside the conflicts between Us and unite in the face of common danger. According to Volkan (1985, pp. 219-247), individuals need to define Others as friends/foes in order to protect their self-perceptions, with the influence of factors such as the conditions brought by the current con-

2 According to Foucault (2002, p. 129), discursive formations are "strictly speaking, groups of statements".

text and the sense of ethnic belonging. The presence of both friends and foes is an individual and collective necessity. Each culture defines itself as the “most different” from the Other, in other words, as the most special and unique, and thus tries to preserve this difference (Girard, 2005, p. 29). Thus, being different from “us” is a violation of order, a violation of taboo. It is disrespectful and disrespectful to the sacred of the society, it is openly hostile. That is why the Other’s being different is indicative of his possible hostility; for even its very existence is a sign that it is against Us. One of the most useful techniques for making a difference between the Other and Us is dehumanization.

Throughout history, with the phenomenon of dehumanization and the phenomenon of Scapegoating is frequently encountered as a form of defense that enables the elimination of hostile groups by leaving aside ethical concerns and feelings of conscientious responsibility and ensuring unity against them with ruthlessness.

Dehumanization

Dehumanization is a way of seeing that abolishes the rights and responsibilities of the Other as human beings, thus justifying and even necessitating the “destruction” of the Other by reifying it. “Dehumanization is a psychological process by which individuals deny Other individuals’ or groups’ human qualities or believe them to be less than human” (Tipler & Ruscher, 2014, p. 214). On the other hand, the anthropocentric perspective puts humans above animals and prioritizes their interests. Costello and Hodson (2009, p. 17) seek the answer to the question of when and how beliefs about human superiority or animal inferiority develop in the process of socialization. “Socialization practices likely lead children to affirm the cultural ‘legitimacy’ of dominating, victimizing, or ignoring non-human animals.” In line with this hierarchy shared by most cultures, when the Other is fully dehumanized, they are not portrayed as any animal. In such a case, the depiction of dehumanization is determined from among the threatening animals. In this way, dehumanization and, if necessary, killing are justified, since a threat is posed to the primary interests of “Us”. Savage (2006, pp. 17-27) has developed the concept of ‘Elective animalization’ to describe the type of dehumanization used to both justify killing in the eyes of the perpetrators and the genocidal community.

Scapegoating

The Scapegoat (Hebrew sa’ir la-’Aza’zel; “goat for Azazel”) on the other hand, is based on the Yom Kippur ritual belief originally described in the Torah (Leviticus 16:8–10). According to this belief, the sins of the congregation are attributed to the goat, and the congregation will be cleansed of its sins by expelling the goat from the settlement. The “scapegoat theory” that Allport (1954, pp. 216, 244) considers within the Frustration-Aggression Theory assumes that anger, once un-

leashed, can be shifted to a (logically irrelevant) victim. Thus, the Others innocently suffer aggression as a result of the frustrations of the "Us" members.

Burton (2012) argues that dehumanization makes scapegoating both stronger and more acceptable. According to Waytz and Epley (2012, p. 76), people may be willing to harm Others who have been dehumanized not only because of emotional hatred, but also – perhaps primarily – because of a cognitive indifference towards them. Indeed, "men are accomplices to that which leaves them indifferent" (Steiner, 1967, p. 77).

Apocalyptic Dualism

The successor to the process of dehumanization and scapegoating is apocalyptic dualism³ which produces a way of defending the privilege of 'Us' by demonizing or scapegoating a secondary 'Other'. Since the definition of Us is made through the Other, the need to create an enemy is a necessity for group identity. (Berlet, 2003, p. 22). Therefore, an emphasis is placed on "what it is not" while defining the self. When dualism and demonization are used to portray the "Other" as all bad and the "Us" as all good, a bully's aggressive action is justified in the guise of "greater good, Manifest Destiny, or God's will" (Berlet, 2020, p. 117). Unlimited power and hatred attributed to the Other are associated with conspiracy theories, inspiring social vigilance. Jones (2010, p. 218) states that the sense of humiliation and victimization that contributes to the search for an outgroup to blame and punish motivates the most violent apocalyptic movements. Similarly, a dual view of the world, in which the righteous are seen at war - spiritually and/or physically - against evil, personified in an outgroup dehumanized as "evil, miserable, inhuman, and worthy of elimination," also motivates apocalyptic movements. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, for example, can be considered an apocalyptic text that scapegoating and demonizes Jews by awakening this desire.

Types of Dehumanization

According to Bernard et al. (1965), there are two types of dehumanization: partial (subtle, implicit) and complete (blatant). "Partially exclusionary and dehumanizing is often referred to as subtle dehumanization and occurs when a group is indirectly deprived of some aspect of its humanity, for example, by calling it immoral, irrational, or unrefined." (Hellström, 2018, p. 22). According to Kteily et al. (2015, p. 902) "the proliferation of research on subtle dehumanization originated from the introduction of *infracumanization*", and in partial/subtle dehumanization, outgroups are perceived as sub-humans, bad people, or superhumans, immoral, irrational, or unrefined. In complete dehumanization, however, there is a situation where outgroups are seen as statistics or commodities.

3 Dualism "is a scholarly term used to characterize a number of philosophical and religious thought systems shaped by a fundamental physical or metaphysical duality" (Frey, 2014, p. 271).

Leyens et al. (2003) suggest *infrahumanization*⁴ as a subtle form of dehumanization that occurs even in the absence of intergroup conflict and where uniquely human feelings are not given to outgroups versus ingroups. Thus, dehumanization occurs because of people's tendency to perceive their ingroup Us as more human than their outgroup Other.⁵ In developing their theories of *infrahumanization*, Levens et al. examine Primary and Secondary emotions⁶ and whether these emotions are attributable to Us and the Other, rather than cognitive processes. "Secondary emotions are typically human and, therefore, part of the human essence" (Leyens, et al., 2000, p. 195). Thus the Others are dehumanized by the claim that they are incapable of feeling secondary emotions.

When the Other is clearly defined in the form of an animal such as an ape or an insect, then complete, blatant, and explicit dehumanization ensues, which clearly affirms the relationship between target and animal representations (Savage R., 2007, p. 425). Thus, they openly convey the view that the outgroup (Other) is inherently inferior to the ingroup (Us) and "contextual factors such as low outgroup status, intergroup competition, or perceived threat may generate overt and uninhibited expressions of blatant dehumanization" (Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterill, 2015, pp. 903-904). From this perspective, complete dehumanization involves a closer appeal to the elimination of the Other than partial/subtle dehumanization. Compared to blatant dehumanization, subtle dehumanization may be relatively less sensitive to factors such as intergroup conflict/perceived threat and therefore more widely applicable. Indeed, subtle dehumanization is an "everyday" phenomenon that can operate outside of conscious awareness and manifest indirectly. In America, for example, it has been revealed that blatant dehumanization is directed at Arabs, while subtle dehumanization is directed at Swiss targets. Therefore, blatant dehumanization should be viewed as a way to complement existing structures of dehumanization rather than replace them. (Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterill, 2015, p. 92)

Another conceptualization of dehumanization is Haslam's (2006, pp. 256-258) dual (mechanistic/animalistic) model of dehumanization, in which he presents two different types of dehumanization that stem from two different senses of humanity. According to him, UH and HN are two different human senses, and when the characteristics that make up each emotion are denied to humans, different forms of dehumanization emerge. Unique human (UH) characteristics define the boundary separating humans from the corresponding animal category.⁷ When these features are denied in the Other, a form of Mechanistic Dehumanization occurs. In this dehumanization, the Other lacks emotion, warmth, cognitive openness, individual agency, and is an object or automaton-like. The

4 Leyens et al. (2000, p. 194), state that what exactly they mean by *infrahumanization* is "less perceived humanity".

5 For the conditions under which *infrahumanization* occurs, see: (Leyens, et al., 2000, p. 194)

6 For detailed information, see. (Leyens, et al., 2000, p. 189).

7 Haslam uses this form in a sense close to the *infrahumanization* phenomenon of Leyens et al. (2003), but in a broader context. For details of this model, see: (Haslam, 2006)

dual model of dehumanization demands an assessment from individuals of the Us as to whether the Other has each of a set of characteristics associated with "human nature" and "human uniqueness".

Dehumanization During World War Two

In his extensive study, Savage (2006) revealed that Jews were represented by the Nazis as Vermin, Rats, Insects, Cuckoos, Pigs, Packs of Wolves, and Monkeys. Tipler and Ruscher (2014, p. 217) claim that metaphors of dehumanization such as epidemics, insects, and vermin reflect genocide rather than less extreme or retaliatory aggression. Because "cautious alliances may be struck with predators, vermin can only be exterminated." Moreover, the representations of the Jews for dehumanization have reached an extremely advanced level in the form of demons or monsters as supernatural creatures, with the occasional use of horns, cloven hooves, beards, and tails.⁸

As the Second World War progressed, mosquitoes carrying malaria in the Pacific made them a major hazard for armies, as they caused more casualties than enemy soldiers. Defining insects as national enemies has elevated them from the nuisance category to the national threat category. In this process, it is seen that the metaphorical expression of the Japanese in the form of insects is often used. However, the fact that humans were included in the category of animals led to much more dire results, and it became normal to "get rid of" these people with a chemical bomb such as "pesticide". The animal metaphors used during the Second World War⁹ dehumanized the enemies and reduced the sense of guilt about killing people in war. For example, in a chemical industry magazine published in 1944, a cartoon ad promoting perfumes to remove pesticide odours showed three creatures with a stereotypical head and insect body, each representing a national enemy, in front of the barrel of a chemical drug-firing gun (Russell, 1996, p. 1505; Dower, 1986). In this period, it can be argued that, leaving Hitler aside, the Jews came even after the Germans in the ranking of the Other in American cartoons. Besides, it is stated that anti-Semitism in the United States and Britain prevented both countries from launching a serious rescue campaign with popular support by reporting the genocide policies towards Jews in the newspapers, fearing that it would leave tens of thousands of Jews in their hands (Wyman, 1984). However, the biggest reason for this concentrated dehumanization on the Japanese instead of the Germans lies in the military humiliation symbolized by Pearl Harbor. As our discussion of Foucault would prime us to expect, discourses of dehumanization are articulated with and driven by cultural and political interests.

8 See for a detailed study describing the representation of Jews in cartoons in the 20th century: (Kirschen, 2015, pp. 436-446)

9 For a detailed study of the representation of the Japanese, see (Dower, 1986).

Towards the end of the war, in Japan, the Jews appeared to be represented more disproportionately, sometimes as jesters, but not directly as objects of dehumanization or. As a matter of fact, the negative representation of the Jews is more related to the belief that the "evil and ugly plutocracy" of the Jews is behind the government of America by the rich and for the rich. (Dower, 1986)

Method

This study aims to reveal various dehumanization techniques used for the otherization of Jews as a part of the policies implemented by the young nation-state in Türkiye between 1930-1945. For this purpose, among the cartoons with Jewish representations in the Akbaba and Karikatür Magazines published in Türkiye between 1930-1945, examples of dehumanization techniques were used. These cartoons are examples in which the dispositif of the press, as one of the mechanisms of power and domination, is produced by symbolic violence and Us/Other identities. A unified framework was designed for the study. In this framework, Barthes' semiotic analysis model and the critical discourse analysis (CDA) proposed by Van Dijk were combined.

Semiotics tries to reveal the perception/meaning created in the mind by associations based on collective memory. In this respect, it also considers metaphors and literal tropes (Güneş, 2014, p. 63). Barthes (2012, p. 86) draws attention to literal meaning and connotation in implicit and abstract form, which appear in concrete form as the first meaning. While denotations in the sign include social meanings, connotations include ideological meanings. Therefore, connotations vary depending on the context. After the semiotic analysis, which will be carried out with the determination and interpretation of the signs, denotation and connotations used in the cartoons with what the Jewish Other is associated with, critical discourse analysis will be started.

Emphasizing that the provision of social control is through mental control, van Dijk (2005, pp. 317-325) points out that the government, therefore, wants to control information. Ideological discourses that work implicitly in media texts reach society and mental control is established (van Dijk, 2015, pp. 19-36). Breaking the discursive domination is only possible with awareness: knowledge about us/the Other is biased; It can be revealed by CDA that media representations that reproduce prejudices cannot be independent of the dominant ideology (Ülkü, 2004, p. 375). Van Dijk (2000, pp. 36-38, 48), (van Dijk, 2015, pp. 44; 49-51) emphasizes the role of media discourse in the construction of We/Other identities in particular, states that the media encode the Others as problems through negative, wrong and incomplete representations. But CDA evaluates the constructions of reality through language and discourse in the context of historical processes, socio-cultural structures, and political developments (Çelik & Ekşi, 2008, pp. 105-109). Because it is possible to analyse the power relations and the Jewish Other identity that is reflected in the cartoons through visual and written texts with the CDA,

which evaluates written, spoken, and visual texts, deciphers the hidden relations of domination (Arkonaç, 2014, pp. 169-171). In order to apply the van Dijk's CDA method, Macro structures (thematic and schematic) and Microstructures (word choices, sentence structures, causal relations between sentences, rhetoric) are examined within the framework of critical discourse analysis.

Dehumanization in Türkiye During the Second World War: CDA Analysis of the Cartoons

In their work, Waytz and Epley (2002, p. 75) revealed that the social connection to be established with another close to the "Us" makes it possible to dehumanize the distant Other. Increased social connection with the closer-Other reduces motivation to connect with the minds of Others and increases social distance between the self and Others more distant. Although Türkiye was not directly involved in the Second World War, it had a lingering affinity with Germany from the First World War partnership. In this process, it can be argued that Germany was closer to Türkiye as the near Other than the Jews, and social interactions with Germany facilitated dehumanization while positioning the Jews as the distant Other. However, it is understood that this dehumanization is not on the scale of genocide as in Germany.

In their comparative study, which looked at the relationship between genocide and dehumanization, Haagensen and Croes (2012) developed the hypothesis that the smaller the social distance between the perpetrator group and the victim group before the genocide, the more severe the dehumanization behaviour of the perpetrators during the genocide. Thus, at least in some cases, dehumanization appears to be a consequence of genocide rather than an antecedent, or at least a means of facilitating the process after it has begun. There is no absolute link between dehumanization and genocide. For genocide to occur, not only willing perpetrators are needed, but also tacit approval or malicious eyewitnesses. (Savage R. , 2006, p. 19) In other words, dehumanization alone is not a sufficient condition or premise for genocide, and the presence of dehumanization will not automatically invoke genocide.

In this part of the study, the dehumanization techniques used by the cartoonists will be revealed with the help of the analysis of the selected cartoons. In this framework, the political cartoon analysis of each cartoon is presented with a summary table. Then, an analysis was developed focusing on dehumanization techniques used with the help of semiotics and CDA.

Picture 1. Cartoon-1 by C. Nadir, Akbaba, 5 İki. Kanun 1939, No. 261.



Table 1 . The Analysis of the Cartoon-1

TECHNIQUES	Subtitle/speech bubble	Governor- Hay shrewd hay... Did you enter here too ?
	Words used to tag	Canny - Jewish traders
	The cartoon title	Cumhuriyet Newspaper: Some Jewish merchants added machine oil to olive oil.
	Stereotypes and prejudices	Jews are shrewd; Jews have big noses; Jews are cheaters; Jews are thief (rat)
	Dehumanization technique	Blatant dehumanisation: Rat
	Analogy (between)	Thief rat: Thief Jew
	Exaggeration	Big nosed-rat; The Governour's hands are also big (strong)
	special emphasis	Jewish are thief and cheaters
IMAGES	objects in the cartoon	Oil barrell (Our oil) and the rat (Other)
	people in the cartoon	Governor (Us)
	symbols in the cartoon	Istanbul silhouette (Our place)
ACTIONS	Happening actions in the cartoon	While the governor is pulling the big-headed mouse out by holding its tail, the Other (rat-looking) Jew is looking at the catching governor with anger and frowning.
	face / body expressions	The governor is angry with the mouse; the mouse is also angry because it was caught
MEANINGS	The event referred to	News about the claim that Jewish traders mixed machine oil into olive oil
	Cartoonist' opinion/message	Jews are cheaters and they are everywhere
	Whose opinion is not included	Jewish merchants'

When Cartoon-1 is examined in terms of semiotics, it will be seen that the use of the stereotypical features of the Jews on the face of the rat is Denotative Signifier. In addition, the drops dripping from the rat and the writings on the barrel are Other Denotative Signifiers. The connotative sign that emerges from the use of these signifiers together is that the “thief” Jews are involved in everything, including cooking oil. The Jewish merchant is depicted as a rat that can get into any hole, and it is drawn in a form that creates a feeling of disgust. The drawing of the rat as larger than the human head—assuming it grows larger as it steals and eats—can be thought to indicate the extent of its theft. In the cartoon, the citizen is informed about the identity of the Jews: the Jews are tricksters and thieves. Using the claim that Jews are shrewd and Jewish merchants are thieves and deceivers, this cartoon, which connotes that the country is being robbed by “Others”, reflects the spirit of the period. In these years, when the Turkification policies in the economy gained momentum, the news in the press was that Jewish tradesmen and traders defrauded Turks by selling fraudulent goods and became rich.

When examined in the context of CDA, it will be seen that the summary of the macro structure of the cartoon is given in the table above. The main theme presented in this structure is based on the claim that Jews are active everywhere with their deceitful characteristics. When the microstructure is examined, it is seen that the discourse is conveyed in short and direct sentences. The allusion rhetorical strategy appears to have been resorted to, quoting “Cumhuriyet Newspaper” to reference the allegation of selling fraudulent goods by Jewish merchants. The word “too” (“da”) in the expression “Did you get in here too” (“Buraya da mı girdin?” expressed by the Governor who caught the rat emphasizes that the Jews are everywhere.

Hassam et al. (2011, p. 321), who conducted two separate studies on 40 animal metaphors, found that the aggression of an animal metaphor is not only intrinsic to the metaphor itself but also depends on the context in which it is expressed. These animal metaphors can be derogatory when used through dehumanization and can be seen as a sign of aggression. In this cartoon, blatant dehumanization was preferred, and the Jews were represented with a disgusting rat to humiliate them. Allport (1954, p. 350) argues that within the framework of frustration-aggression theory, scapegoating can arise from frustration-induced aggression as well as abuse-induced aggression. In this cartoon, it is understood that the disappointments that emerged due to the economic difficulties brought by the war-economy resulted in the “displacement” of the Jews.

Picture 2. Cartoon-2 by R. Gökçe, Karikatür, 1940, No. 217.



Table 2. The Analysis of the Cartoon-2

TECHNIQUES	Subtitle/speech bubble	Police- Come on let's see, walk to the police station ... Salamon - Slow down, my dear, I was terrified that you would take me to the hamam! (His Turkish is distorted for Jewish imitation)
	Words used to tag	Bit Police station Bath
	The cartoon title	Flea Fight in Istanbul
	Stereotypes and prejudices	Jews are dirty; Jews have big noses, mouths and ears
	Dehumanization	Subtle and Infrhumanization
	Irony	He's not afraid of the police, but he's extremely afraid of the hammam
	Style and design; the emotions conveyed by the lines (thick-thin--blurry etc.)	Salomon's character is drawn extremely shakily to give the impression of being overly scared.
	Exaggeration	Extreme Fear of the Bathroom
	Special emphasis is on	Salomon's broken Turkish (ironically, Salomon's name was probably unconsciously misspelled by the cartoonist)
IMAGES	Objects in the cartoon	Although the Turkish Police uniforms (EGM, 2022, pp. 58-75) of the period was very different, it was drawn similar to the Nazi uniform in the cartoon.
	People in the cartoon	Salamon And Turkish police
	Symbols in the cartoon	Turkish police's uniform and Salomon's hat
ACTIONS	Actions in the cartoon	Police caught Salomon by the arm and says they will take him to the police station. However, Salomon was startled by the possibility of going to the bathroom, not the police station.
	Face/body expressions	Salomon was startled with extreme fright. The police are extremely angry.
MEANINGS	The event referred to	Measures to combat typhus epidemic in 1940s
	Cartoonist' opinion/message	Jews are both dirty and criminal
	Whose opinion is not included	The Jews'

From a semiotic perspective, the drawing of Salamon, in which Jewish stereotypical features are exaggerated, act as a Denotative Signifier. This signifier appears to work with another Denotative Sign, extremely frightened Jewish

image when he thinks he's been caught by the frowning and imposing Turkish Police. The connotative sign created by the two denonative signs implies that the Jews are not as afraid of the police as they are of the bathhouse, and that they are a people who live quite comfortably in lice and pollution. In other words, it is seen that the claim that the Jews are responsible for the typhus problem in Istanbul is given by the Jewish "Signifier", which is extremely frightened by the idea of going to the hammam.

Drawing again upon CDA, the summary of the macro structure of the cartoon is given in the table above. The main theme that emerges in this structure is the claim that Jews are not hygienic and, more importantly, they do not have a problem with it, and therefore they are responsible for the lice and typhus epidemic in Istanbul. When examined in terms of microstructure, it is seen that the cartoon primarily contains simple and active sentences. The claim is supported by expressing the main theme presented in the macrostructure in the words of Salomon. In this way, it is understood that ethos is applied.

It has become part of the collective memory that the police and the constables carried out raids and lice scans, gathered people they believed to be "dirty and with lice", people living on the street, and beggars in certain centers, took them to the Turkish bath forcibly, and had their hair and beard shaved. On the other hand, the public showed resistance to harsh practices (Metinsoy, 2017, pp. 429-444). In such a period, people taken from the street to the bathhouse belong neither to a particular nation nor to a group.

The socio-economic conditions experienced by the groups that are the target of dehumanization and marginalization both "naturalize" and "justify" policing and repression. For example, the destruction of the Jewish economy during the Second World War was crucial to the dehumanization process. Conditions of economic deprivation, such as the confiscation of their assets, led the Germans to accuse the Jews of being "carriers of disease", pointing to their poverty. In fact, the lack of hygienic conditions to carry disease is not a reason for dehumanization, but a consequence of it. Thus, dehumanization becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, as Savage (2006, p. 19) puts it. But for this persecution to be acceptable, the victims must first be described as "the Other", even if they appear to be the same as "us" (Bielefeld, 2009, p. 100). However, the economic conditions that were bad for the general population during the war-economy are similarly difficult for minorities. For example, Typhus, which spread rapidly through lice and turned into an epidemic under poor hygiene conditions such as war in Türkiye in the past, also showed its effect in the period of the Turkish National Movement (1919-1923). It is stated that there is no military unit in Istanbul without lice. Typhus, which was seen spreading again during the years of World War II, became a threat to the country by 1943. The place where the impact of this disease is felt the most is Istanbul, with its crowded population. Within the framework of this struggle, the number of baths increased. Even within the

framework of this measure, “bathing days” every fortnight were introduced. (Özer, 2015) However, the cartoon’s implication that the lice and typhus problem originates from and is limited to the Jews points to an invidious denial of humanizing cleanliness. Although this type of dehumanization is not directly represented by an animal figure, a reference is made to a kind of sub-human form that can live quite comfortably with an unwanted parasitic species such as lice. Allport (1954, pp. 245-246) emphasizes that scapegoats do not have to be lily-white in their innocence, but that they always attract more blame, more hostility, and more stereotypes than they can be rationally justified. In the example here, it is understood that the Jews were seen as scapegoats for this problem, despite the possibility that they were involved in the fight against the typhus epidemic and lice due to their socioeconomic and hygienic conditions. However, it should be noted that dehumanization and scapegoating here did not reach the extremes witnessed in Germany. As a matter of fact, in Germany of the period, Jews were directly portrayed as lice, and (Savage R. , 2006, p. 34) their extermination through genocide was tried to be justified (Bauman, 2003, p. 59). There has also been a correlation between nations, which often cause mass deaths, such as the plague, because diseases have always been assumed to come from outside, across borders, and there is a relationship between disease and strangers (Savage R. , 2007, pp. 407-408). In this context, the modern state has declared its own scapegoats, although it is secular (Kearney, 2012, pp. 42-49). It is seen that a similar relationship has been established in this cartoon. However, this relationship, unlike in Germany, is not so severe as to imply the destruction of the Other.

On the other hand, the poverty of the Other in this cartoon and the absence of hygienic conditions contradict the conspiracy theories in the cartoons published in the same period, that the Other is enriched by unjust gains and invades the world. In the following parts of this study, such cartoons and their analyses will be included.

Picture 3. Cartoon-3 by R. Gökçe, Akbaba, 22 İki. Kanun 1942, Number 17.



Table 3. The Analysis of the Cartoon-3

TECHNIQUES	Subtitle/speech bubble	Hanky-Panky - Alas, my tail stuck !..
	Words used to tag	Hanky-Panky (as in the rat's name) Non legitimate wealth/earnings (on the rat's bag)
	The cartoon title	"A law is being prepared on the punishment of those who make illegitimate wealth..."
	Stereotypes and prejudices	Big nose and big ears, Fur as a sign of wealth
	Dehumanization	Blatant dehumanization: Rat
	Style and design; the emotions conveyed by the lines (thick-thin--blurly etc.)	The rat's hands and feet are extremely finely drawn. It refers to the theft that is alleged to have been carried out unnoticed. However, its tail is thickly drawn, which means that it is caught by the "thick" trace it leaves behind. On the other hand, it is bolded to refer to the size and security of the state coffers.
	Analogy	Rat/human
	Exaggeration	The hand of "the law" (too big); The rat (too big); The rat's hands and feet (too small)
	Special emphasis is on	The law is powerful, and it will save the state.
	IMAGES	Objects in the cartoon
Symbols in the cartoon		The Star and Crescent on the safe (as a sign of Turkish State) Fur as a sign of wealth
ACTIONS	Actions in the cartoon	Law's hand grips the state safe and as she closes the door, the tail of the mouse running out of the safe gets stuck in the door
	Face/body expressions	The rat is sad and tearful
MEANINGS	The event referred to	Preparation process of the Wealth Tax Law.
	Cartoonist' opinion/ message	Thanks to the law to be enacted, thieves who rob the state can now be stopped.
	Whose opinion is not included	Non-Muslim Taxpayers'

When analysed in terms of Semiotics, the Star and Crescent stand out as Denotative Signifiers. The connotative sign that emerged with the use of this sign on the state safe is the state treasury of the Republic of Türkiye. The cartoon literally presents a human-looking, well-dressed rat signifier. With his hat, fur, and suit, this rat comes out of the "State Safe" with a sack written "illegal wealth" in his hand, but his tail is pinched, and he cries as the Law closes the safe. When read together with the emphasis in the title and subtitle, it means that the state is being robbed, but this situation will now be prevented by law. In addition, the strong hand figure with "law" on it, which is drawn quite large

compared to the mouse and the safe, is the Denotative Signifier. The connotative sign that emerges from here is the idea that the state coffers will become safe with the law that is planned to be enacted. Another Denotative Signifier is the rat's fur. Fur is a sign of wealth here. However, just as a rat cannot have a fur of its own, the claim that Jews have property that does not belong to them emerges as a connotative sign.

The summary of the macrostructure of the cartoon is given in the table above. The main theme presented in this structure is the idea that Jews are enriched by unjust gain and that the state will intervene in this situation by law. This idea is demonstrated in the microstructure by naming the mouse "Hanky-Panky". The allusion rhetorical strategy appears to have been resorted to, allegedly quoting "Newspapers" to reference the reality of unjust wealth and its interventional law-making. The rat's undersized hands and feet give the impression of being sneaky, which is a common stereotype about Others.

The cartoon, drawn in 1942, announces that the Wealth Tax to be applied will put an end to unjust gains and wealth. The rogue rat representation is a blatant, and animalistic dehumanization that rationalizes cruelty by justifying the unequal treatment of citizens.

Picture 4. Cartoon-4 by O. Ural, Akbaba, 1940, No. 34.



Table 4. The Analysis of the Cartoon-4

TECHNIQUES	Subtitle/speech bubble	-Your Yavuz Sultan used to say a great sentence, but something is wrong... - "How small the world is for a warrior!" he said, is that it? -Yes.. He would think of these wools and say: "For a Jew"!..
	Words used to tag	Small (for the world)
	Stereotypes and prejudices	The Jew's looking (beard, big nose and big ears)
	Dehumanization	Subtle humanization (mechanistic?)
	Style and design; the emotions conveyed by the lines (thick-thin-blurry etc.)	A soft fluidity is observed in the drawing of the Turkish character. This refers to his complacency and unawareness of the seriousness of the situation.
	Analogy	Warrior-Jewish people
	Exaggeration	All the features used in Jewish stereotyping have been used together and intensively.
	Special emphasis is on	The Turks were unaware of the great danger and the Jew had the audacity to say it openly. Thus created the distinction between Us and the Other. AnOther emphasis is on the Jew's broken Turkish
IMAGES	Objects in the cartoon	A tree nearby, a sea ahead, and a ship on the skyline as a reference to the perception of the "captured world"
	People in the cartoon	A Turk and a Jew
	Symbols in the cartoon	The kippa and the beard -as a sign of Jewishness, A cigarette in Turkish man's hand -as a sign of comfort
ACTIONS	Actions in the cartoon	Two men chatting
	Face/body expressions	The Turk is sitting comfortably, smiling while smoking a cigarette. The Jew speaks with a mischievous smile.
MEANINGS	The event referred to	Conspiracy theories
	Cartoonist' opinion/message	Jews are taking over the world
	Whose opinion is not included	The Jews'

When the Cartoon-4 is analysed in terms of Semiotics, it is seen that a Jew and a Turkish citizen are shown chatting under a tree, probably on Büyükada Island. The sea and the ship are indications that this is Büyükada. It is the signifier of a large and aggressively drawn Jewish image with an exaggerated use of stereotypical features, a sneaky smile with the index finger pointing while speaking. The literal meaning of this signifier is that the Jews are a threatening element. When this signifier is combined with another signifier, "the image of calmness

at the level of naiveness of the Turkish citizen", the connotation that emerges is the thought that the Jews took over the world while the Turks were unaware. Since the main factor in determining the Other is "difference", it creates a perception of a threat that is different from Us in any aspect (Eco, 2014, p. 18). In this cartoon, Jewish representations, which are clearly different in their physical characteristics and clothing styles, are seen.

Again, from a CDA standpoint, the summary of the macrostructure of the cartoon is given in the table above. The main theme presented in this structure is the idea that while the Jews took over the world, the Turks did not realize the seriousness of the situation. When examined in terms of microstructure, Cartoon starts with the epigram rhetoric technique and quotes Yavuz Sultan Selim. While doing this, the word "Your" spoken by the Jewish character creates the We/You distinction in the first place. While the cartoonist represents Us in the cartoon, in which the cartoonist acts as a listener, the Other Jew is differentiated with its corrupt Turkish. In order to refer to the reality of the conspiracy theory, it is seen that ethos is applied by making a Jew speak himself.

In this cartoon, there are no emotional qualities attributed to the Other, thereby stressing the distinction between Us and this callous Other. In other words, the Other is subject to infra-dehumanization by being deprived of Secondary Emotions. However, the reader can easily understand that the Other Jew has undergone a subtle-humanization type of dehumanization by being represented by a being who has taken over the world. While the cartoon mentions an organized mind that has taken over the world within the framework of a conspiracy theory, it is seen that the Jews are partially referred to Mechanistic Dehumanization with a kind of robot-like depiction. The strongest of the "Other" conspiracy theories concerns Jewish world dominance. According to this theory, Jews rule the world behind the scenes thanks to their power and dark deeds. The outsiders in us are assumed to have hidden connections to outside powers, so conspiracy theories are bound to be associated with minorities. Minorities trigger conspiracy theories even with their mere existence, which is impossible to prove otherwise due to the nature of these theories. This is due to the basic nature of society, it's tendency to homogenize: minorities become targets because they stand against this tendency with their differences and because they challenge the social order with their existence. Especially in times of social turmoil, conspiracy theories come into play. Conspiracy theories, based on the belief in the existence of a secret society organized to overthrow the existing order, serve to placate the social reactions that occur, especially in times of crisis, by disorienting them. The blame is projected onto the Other, who is made a scapegoat, thus providing the opportunity to escape responsibility. At the same time, the purity of Us is proven, while the mistreatment of Others is justified. In this respect, conspiracy theories are also functional in that political power draws attention to the conspiracy of Others in order to get rid of responsibility (Moskoviç, 1996, p. 58). In this cartoon, too, the dangerous one is named with an Us/Other distinction created

through a conspiracy theory. Based on this conspiracy theory, the cartoon presents a so-called confession from the mouth of a Jewish citizen.

Picture 5. Cartoon-5 by R. Gökçe, Karikatür, 1942, No. 337.



Table 5. The Analysis of the Cartoon-5

TECHNIQUES	Subtitle/speech bubble	- Are they going to Palestine? - No, to Büyükada!
	Words used to tag	Moda, İstanbul
	Stereotypes and prejudices	Big noses
	Dehumanization	Infrahumanization
	Exaggeration	Number of people on the ferry
	Special emphasis is on	on the black smoke from the steamer comes out, and on the crowdedness.
IMAGES	Objects in the cartoon	Ferry
	People in the cartoon	Two persons on the deck, and too many Jewish people on the ferry
	Symbols in the cartoon	Black smoke -as an indicator of bad news
ACTIONS	Actions in the cartoon	On the shore of the pier, two people are staring at the packed ferry. The person who turns out to be Turkish is horrified when he learns that the Jews on the ferry are going to an island on the shores of Istanbul instead of Palestine.
	Face/body expressions	The Jews on the ferry were drawn, even happily, without worrying about crowds or being transported. The Turk on the pier, on the other hand, is extremely surprised.
MEANINGS	The event referred to	Intensive use of Büyükada as a summer resort by Jews
	Cartoonist' opinion/message	There are too many Jews in Istanbul and they have to go to Palestine.
	Whose opinion is not included	Jews'

A semiotic approach to Cartoon 5 shows us that a drawing of a mass of Jews in which stereotypes are overused is the Denotative Signifier. The Denotation is the overcrowded population of Jews. Another signifier is the Büyükada description written on the ferry. When these two signifiers are used together, Connotation emphasizes the excess of the Jewish population in Istanbul. In other words, it is seen that the emphasis on the overcrowding of Jews in Istanbul is given by a ferry full of Jewish "Signifiers". Yet, there is another signifier which is the dark and gloomy smoke coming out of the steamer. At first glance, this is only an indication of the ferry's journey, but in the cartoon, this smoke functions as a connotative sign and refers to "black news". In addition, the label "Moda/Istanbul" in the cartoon, as a Denotative Signifier, points to Moda, a district where Jews live intensely. So, a shipload of Jews from Moda treats it like bad news. In this way, the cartoon draws attention to the high Jewish population in various

districts, especially in Büyükkada, and presents the “natural” solution as a wish from the mouth of a Turkish citizen: Jews should go to Palestine.

When Critical Discourse Analysis of Cartoon-5 is undertaken, it will be seen that the summary of the macrostructure is given in the table above. The main theme presented in this structure is the multitude of Jews in Istanbul, like a herd of ants. Being in this crowd does not seem to bother the Jews at all. When examined in terms of microstructure, it is seen that the speeches of the two Turks in the cartoon contain simple and active sentences. In this speech, one of the Turk asks, “Are they going to Palestine?” instead of “Where are they going to?” for a shipload of Jews. This preference of the cartoonist gives the basic message that “this much Jew could/should be going to their own place” directly and clearly.

The crowd that is exaggeratedly presented in the cartoon, resembling an ant swarm, can also be read as a subtle dehumanization. As a matter of fact, individuals lose their individuality in this mass. This is a method to reinforce the perception of being invaded by the Other. From the perspective of Us in the perspective of the cartoonist, the fact that the homeless Other is going to Palestine or Büyükkada makes no difference to them. Thus, in the cartoon, it is seen that a shipload of Other Jews is deprived of secondary emotions. However, “for Us”, the situation should be perceived as frightening and threatening. In this way, secondary emotions are attributed to Us and the idea that the Other does not have the ability to feel these emotions is elaborated, while at the same time, the message that “We do not need to feel sorry for these people” is subtly conveyed. Indeed, in their study, Cameron et al. (2015) found that emotional exhaustion motivates dehumanization. “If people anticipate that helping a stigmatized target will be emotionally exhausting, they defensively dehumanize to avoid this cost.” Here, too, it is resorted to avoiding emotional exhaustion through dehumanization. As a result, the cartoon can be seen as an example of both subtle-dehumanization and infrahumanization. Indeed, according to Haslam (2006, p. 255), Infrahumanization “(...) is subtle, requiring no explicit likening of outgroup members to animals, and is not reducible to ingroup favouritism positive and negative secondary emotions are both denied to outgroups.” In this context, the cartoon meets all the criteria.

Table 5. The Comparative Semiotic Analysis of the Cartoons' Most Recognizable Signs

Cartoon	Sign	Denotation	Connotation	Myth
Cartoon-1 by C. Nadir, Akbaba, 5 İki. Kanun 1939, No. 261.	Rat.	Jews are thieves and tricksters.	The Other -not like one of us.	Jews are involved in everything, including cooking oil.
Cartoon-2 by R. Gökçe, Karikatür, 1940, No. 217	Extremely frightened Jewish image when he thinks he's been caught by Turkish police.	Jews are criminals.	the Jews are not as afraid of the police as they are of the bathhouse.	the Jews are responsible for the typhus problem in Istanbul.
Cartoon-3 by R. Gökçe, Akbaba, 22 İki. Kanun 1942, Number 17	A fur-clad rat caught exiting the government coffers.	Jews are thieves.	The wealth tax is necessary to protect the state from the thief Other.	The Jews are the Other who has become rich by unjust gain. So they are responsible of the economic problems.
Cartoon-4 by O. Ural, Akbaba, 1940, No. 348	The large and aggressively drawn Jewish image with the index finger pointing while speaking, in which stereotypical features are used exaggerated.	Jews are threatening.	Jews have taken over the world while the Turks are unaware.	Jews are involved in world takeover conspiracy theories.
Carton-5 by R. Gökçe, Karikatür, 1942, No. 337	A drawing of a mass of Jews in which stereotypes are overused and "Büyükada" description.	There are too many Jews.	The excess of the Jewish population in Istanbul.	Jews are like a flock.

As can be seen from the table above, excessive use of Jewish stereotyping and references to the Other, who is not one of us, have been the method frequently used in cartoons. At the same time, it is understood that this othering is extremely functional in the use of dehumanization technique. In this way, Jews are easily perceived by cartoon readers as criminals, tricksters, conspiracy theorists and people who should be sent to Palestine as non-human beings.

Discussion

The strategy of dehumanization trivializes and deviates from ethical principles by implying that potential discursive or physical violence will be applied to a non-human being. Dehumanization, when practiced as scapegoating, legitimizes

the oppression of the “Other” as a “virtuous” act.

Utych (2017, p. 1) argues that dehumanization can occur more subtly through minor changes in wording, rather than outright dehumanizing images like those during World War II. On the other hand, in Türkiye, which was not a direct party to the Second World War, it is understood that there is a dehumanization towards the Others of different ethnic origins, including Jews. However, dehumanization here takes an intermediate form, as it mediates the legitimation of discriminatory policies to be applied against them, rather than legitimizing an act of radical killing or physical violence, as in Germany or America.

The Second World War created the Other in every country within the framework of its own vanguard problem. Among these countries, Japan became the Other because of the military humiliation priority in America. Indeed, Jews are extremely underrepresented in cartoons published in both Japan and America. Meanwhile, in Germany, the Other is Jews in the context of ethnic cleansing. However, Türkiye, which was newly established in 1923 after the Ottoman Empire, which was a multinational country for six centuries, had just begun to gain its national unity, and Türkiye’s primary problem at that time was largely related to the economy. In this context, the Others of Türkiye during the Second World War were the non-Muslim minorities (Greeks, Armenians, and Jews) determined by the Treaty of Lausanne, and especially the economically wealthy ones.

As Tibi (2015, p. 458) points out “Türkiye is one of the few Islamic states to recognize Israel, and this recognition is supported by various security agreements.” In this context, it is understood that the problem of the period in Türkiye focused not on the extermination of the Jews, but on their going to a place that belonged to them. This attitude is also seen in the political cartoons of the period, even when blatant dehumanization is used.

As explained above, infrahumanization, one of the dehumanization techniques used in cartoons, emerged by attributing only primary emotions to the “Other” while secondary emotions were assigned to “Us”. In the cartoons, it is seen that the attitude of “They are sorry, but they get over it quickly” is shown for the tragedies experienced by the Other Jews. This attitude is exactly an example of infrahumanization.

In Türkiye, where the new alphabet reform took place on November 1, 1928, the literacy rate was around thirty percent in the 1930s. In such a period, the fact that there is no need to even be literate to perceive the dehumanization in the cartoon and to be a part of the public opinion that will develop in this direction is extremely important in amplifying the political power of the cartoon. As a matter of fact, the cartoons in the magazines were able to mobilize the masses, when necessary, by transforming the culturally negative image of the Jews into political discourse through dehumanization and facilitating the implementation of

Turkification policies. In the cartoons, it becomes apparent that Jewish citizens are scapegoated as responsible for the economic and social situation experienced both because of the 1929 economic crisis and the original situations arising from the Second World War.

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Ethics Committee Permission

Ethics committee permission is not required for this study.

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