Cartoon representations of the migrant crisis in Greek new media

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Abstract

The increasing and irregular flow of migrants in Europe had led to an unprecedented crisis which European and International stakeholders have been struggling to manage in a challenging context of financial insecurity, political instability, fragile foreign relations and controversial steps and policies. This current context questions Europe’s image as a powerful global key-player and a civilized privileged space/entity and also shutters migrants’ dreams and illusions of a promise-land.

Inevitably, the migrant crisis has emerged as top news in most old and new media around Europe and extensive coverage of the topic has been informing the audience almost on a daily basis. Of course, cartoonists have been affected and inspired by the situation, as well. In a time period of twelve months, from April 2015 to March 2016, in Greek new media alone, three hundred and seven cartoons were published on the topic.

This project set out to examine the cartoons published in new media over the allocated time period in order to find out what were the main foci of the artists’ attention in relation to the migration crisis and how they related to domestic and international political affairs and further international interests by major stakeholders. It also explored the way immigrants have been depicted, the way Europe is depicted as a promise-land, how all involved stakeholders have handled the crisis and the artists’ degree of active judgment or influence.

A mixed research method, combining content analysis, which falls into the realm of quantitative research methods, with elements of psychoanalysis and social semiotics, which observe matters, analyse the visual and critically interpret it was employed.

Results showed that the migrant crisis was a favorable topic for Greek cartoonists publishing in Greek new media. They explored the topic from various aspects, including politics, values, everyday life, religion, war and art, shifting from mockery and heavy criticism to sympathy, guilt and a sense of worry about the fellow human depending on their personal political orientation and the aspect of the topic they were commenting on. Evidently, the migrant crisis is a strong humanitarian crisis placing a bomb to fundamental and consolidated values, policies and relations among all stakeholders.
Abbreviations

EU European Union
FYROM Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO Non-Governmental Organization
SPSS Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UN United Nations

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“And if I laugh at any mortal thing
it is that I may not weep”

Lord Byron, Don Juan (1837)

1. Introduction

Since 2015, an ongoing unprecedented flow of migrants in Europe has been taking place. People, mainly from Asia and Africa, are going through rough and dangerous journeys towards a European “promise land”. News on migrants are all over old and new media across Europe every day, included in most news agendas, making lots of headlines and providing ample material for political and social debates on public spaces. The hot topic of migration has become the object of representation in caricatures and cartoons, as well. Editorial cartoonists, freelance sketchers and individual artists around the world publish their work in newspapers, upload them on on-line portals and personal websites and participate in exhibitions, such as “The Suspended Step”, a cartoon exhibition on the refugee crisis currently touring major cities around Europe.

1.1. Background and context

In order to have a better understanding of the current situation, in relation to the migration crisis, there is a need to take a step back and examine the background context. Specifically, at the dawn of the new millennium, the United Nations (UN) Organization, following some of its longstanding objectives of ensuring international peace, promoting human rights and fostering development, committed to supporting The Millennium Development Goals (2000) which by 2015 aimed at establishing world peace and a healthy global economy. Similarly, on a regional level, the European Union’s (EU) ten-year growth strategy, Europa 2020, set out on 2010 to achieve smart, sustainable and inclusive development. Still, in the global interdependent context we all live in everything is unstable and fluid and people are on the move, because their lives might be at risk due to war, committed crimes and political persecution or simply because they seek a better future for themselves and their families. To give an example of this mobility, Eurostat’s newsletter (2015) recorded 185,000 asylum applications in the EU in one trimester, with about a third of applicants coming from Syria and
Afghanistan and most of the rest coming from other African and Asian countries. Similarly, Frontex (2016) stated that in 2015 there were 1,83 million migrant border crossings in the EU whereas in 2014 there were only 283,500. This unprecedented flow of migrants evidently brought about a European migration crisis, which can be described as “a sudden and violent aggravation of a chronic situation” or “the climax of a crucial development process during which all the negative phenomena have worsened but need to be resolved so as to achieve the return to normal” (Institute of Modern Greek Studies, 1998).

One could wonder “Why migrate in Europe?”. Among other reasons, such as vicinity to Africa and Asia, it could be claimed that from the colonial era and onwards, the developed West world, and especially Europe, has managed to construct a development discourse in which “European superiority and priority in everything explains its present prosperity” (Blaut, 2000, p.3). Europe projects a stylized image of a powerful political and economic giant who controls many pieces on the global chessboard but in the same time is modern, elegant, classy, humane and civilized. This image is quite appealing to the others, who not only wish to reach the same level of modernity and development but also wish to experience it first-hand in its physical location. Thus, for them Europe becomes a “promise-land”.

However, all stakeholders have not been well prepared to deal with this increased mobility. The EU and International Organizations have been too slow in responding to the situation, partially because they had not foreseen the immense migration waves or perhaps because they had already been heavily engaged with many other hot issues that needed urgent attention, as well. In addition, European countries (both belonging or not to the EU) have their own national agendas, diverse policies and political frameworks which are often in conflict with neighbor countries or among EU-member countries. Evidently, struggling to maintain unity inside a country whilst trying to commit to European humanitarian values, keeping up with EU policies and unanimously taking mutually beneficial decisions leading to coordinated action have all proven quite a challenge and have brought about dispute among the stakeholders. Thus, we have reached the crisis. After the abrupt shut down of the Balkan route to migrants and their accumulation in Greece, a controversial deal was signed on March 18th 2016 between
the EU and Turkey to take coordinated action which potentially could slow down migration to Europe.

Of course, the role of the media in covering the migration crisis has been central. Every day on all media there is on-going news; hundreds of headlines, video footages, live coverage of EU summits, international meetings, migrant life, hot spots, etc. Evidently, such a serious matter could not leave artists unaffected, since cartoons are powerful means of representation, which are highly popular in new media due to the availability of easily-read material that can be accessed and shared fast, especially via social media, and due to the rise of the connection generation, which uses its connection profile to rapidly share anything interesting in large audiences (Pintado, 2009). As caricatures and cartoons are the main focus of this project, it would be a good idea to clarify what they are, what is their function and purpose. It is not always easy to tell the boundaries between a caricature and a cartoon. It could be argued that caricatures are a subset of cartoons. According to Encyclopedia Britannica (2016), caricatures are distorted images of real people or real situations, either over-simplified or exaggerated, aiming towards satire. As Gombrich (1938) asserts, caricatures rest on comic comparison and wish to express, instead of imitate, life. Cartoons, according to McCloud (1993), are images focusing on specific details, often followed by captions. They are mostly focused on the social reality, which they try to represent and comment on via verbal and visual prompts (Tsakona, 2009). In this project the term cartoons will be used, taking into account that caricatures are a subset of cartoons. So, this form of artistic expression is more than mere doodling or drawing; it is a way of seeing (McCloud, 1993). The target of a cartoon is not only an object of satire that might bring about humour; it gets mocked, it gets revealed, it gets exposed to its audience. Thus in a way, its artist is a revealer who not only sees things naked but also exposes his/her inner thoughts, fears and desires by oversimplifying or exaggerating the focal point that has caught his/her attention. These functions of cartoons, in relation to the migration crisis, are highly related to the investigation in this project and will be further discussed in the upcoming chapters.

1.2. Aims and objectives, Research questions

The choice of the topic of this project reflects my immediate surroundings and the general context I live in but is also inspired by my own personal skill in sketching along
with my deep long-lasting interest in exploring the 9th art, graphic arts and comics. In particular, as I currently live in Greece, I am overwhelmed by the news on the migrant crisis being on all media. Every day newspapers, on-line portals, radios, television broadcasts have extensive coverage of news, political, social, international, related to the migrants. Of course, what is on the news all day reflects our everyday context in which thousands of migrants are being washed ashore daily, thousands seek placement in hot spots around the country, hundreds are protesting every day out of despair for the shuttered elusive dream of reaching a “promise-land” Europe. This bombarding is also represented on cartoons. Cartoonists publish almost daily on all sorts of media, reflecting all sorts of political and social views on the issue.

Inspired by the aforementioned context, in this project I set a broader aim to examine cartoons published in Greek media over the last year (April 2015-March 2016) in order to find out what were the main foci of the artists’ attention in relation to the migration crisis and how they relate to domestic and international political affairs and further international interests by major stakeholders. One of my main interests is also to examine how the artists depicted the elusive “promise-land” and the migrants’ shuttered dream of reaching a superior continent, especially as soon as they started realizing over the last two months examined in this project that the borders are gradually closing until the decided shut down of the Balkan migration route on March 1st. For this purpose, the research will try to answer the following questions:

1. How have the artists depicted the migrant crisis in their cartoons, what has been the main focus of their attention from April 2015 to March 2016?
2. How are the cartoons related to national and international political affairs/agendas and the development discourse?

In relation to these two key-questions, further aspects will be also explored including the way immigrants have been depicted (e.g. as others, as victims, as intruders etc.), the way Europe is depicted as a promise-land, how all involved stakeholders have handled the crisis and the artists’ degree of active judgment or influence. Also, some popular symbols, such as the Flag of Europe, and popular slogans, such as Live your myth in Greece, will be explored in connection to the key-questions.
1.3. Research design

1.3.1. Core theories

As aforementioned, this project explores, among others, the migrant’s elusive dream of a “promise-land” Europe, as represented in cartoons. In order to explain these representations, it draws on the *Occidentalism* discourse, the counterpart of Said’s (1997) *Orientalism*, which discussed the image of the Western world, in our case Europe, in the eyes of the *others*. It also touches upon Huntington’s (1993) view on the *clash of civilizations* involved in a game of power along with Nederveen Pieterse’s (2009) discussion of culture as an arena of struggle. Evidently the reasons for migration also need to be explored, as they are depicted in the cartoons, so there is also a discussion on some migration theories that have been developed throughout the years, looking at people’s mobility from a micro, meso and macro perspective (Kurekova, 2011).

As cartoons published in new media are the main object of investigation, they will be further discussed both as an artistic form, drawing on Gombrich (1938; 1960), McCloud (1993), Carrier (2000) and other theorists as well as from a psychoanalytical perspective, drawing on Freud’s *Interpretation of dreams* and his beliefs on humor, jokes and their relation to the subconscious (1990) but also from perspectives on satire, drawing on Karzis (2005), LeBoeuf (2007) and Tsakona (2009). The methods of analysis selected are inspired by Hall’s (1997) stance that in order to produce meaning we need to have a concrete relation between things, concepts and signs and are based on Rose’s (2001) critical visual analysis which adds that the discourse, a particular knowledge about the world, also plays a vital part in sharing a mutual understanding of language or images, as well as on social semiotics.

1.3.2. Research outline

As aforementioned, this study investigates depictions of the migrant crisis on cartoons published in new media from April 2015 to March 2016, focusing on the gradual closing of borders from February 2016 onwards and how this event shifted the target of cartoons on migration according to the respective national and international agenda. As
the cartoons are hundreds, a selection process had to be determined based on the relevance of the target in cartoons, a broad representation of new media from the entire political spectrum and the inclusion of individual independent non-editorial artists. Evidently, the findings of the critical visual analysis should not be generalizable, as they apply only to a specific topic, the migration crisis, in a specific context, in Greece, and as not all artists publish them on new media or provide licence for their free reproduction.

In the following parts of the project, in chapter 2 there will be a review of previous researches on the topic of cartoons in relation to migration, religion, multiculturalism, politics and development. Then, in chapter 3 the theoretical framework of the research will be discussed, which includes development and migration theories along with critical visual analysis which is used as a method of data analysis. In chapter 4, there will be a critical presentation of the methodology; how the data sample was selected and collected, which research tools were used, what data analysis methods were employed and what problems occurred during the research along with its limitations. On chapter 5, the research questions will be thoroughly investigated and cartoons will be deeply analysed, whereas in chapter 6, all findings will be summed up in a conclusion.
2. Literature review

In general, a lot of research papers have been written on the function and meaning of cartoons, especially in politics, culture, current affairs and education (Tsakona & Popa, 2011). Most of them tend to explore cartoons either as a means of criticism or as a form of art and relate cartoons to their makers’ intentions or their audience’s reaction. Lately some works research the shifting function and role of cartoons from traditional to new media, as well.

The current migrant crisis in Europe is not the only favourite subject among cartoonists, though for economy of space only a few research papers on cartoons related to intercultural affairs, Orientalism/Occidentalism debate and freedom of speech will be presented here. Earlier, in 2005, a cartoon crisis broke out, in Denmark, which provided material for many years of discussions, debates and academic publications on the topic. In brief, the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published twelve cartoons, most of which depicted Muhammad or were somehow related with the Muslim religion and manner of conduct. These cartoons brought about a series of reactions from diplomatic challenges and crisis to riots and other acts of violence, boycotts and international protests. Many researchers analysed the events, from various perspectives. Among them, Berkowitz and Eko (2007) discussed the relation of the core values of a culture, including beliefs about national identity, immigration and multiculturalism, to the freedom of speech and satire and concluded that what was taken as offensive could not be justified but even understood as such in a free, all-rights country such as Denmark. In their collective work, Eide, Kunelius and Philips (2008) explored the transnational media context and discussed issues of image flow, interpretive frames and discursive practices, concluding that a *clash of civilizations* is in fact inevitable and is perpetuated by the Western media, even in the form of cartoons, under the disguise of freedom of speech. Hansen (2007) also affirmed that cartoons can be involved in higher politics, often discussing foreign policy discourses, domestic life and culture discourses and an on-going debate between a besieged West and a threatening Islam.

Similarly, in 2006, the French newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* reprinted these Danish cartoons and added a few more, which set off a serious of political and social reactions even from French politicians, such as Jacques Chirac. The newspaper kept on provoking
the Muslim communities by publishing what were taken by them as offensive cartoons in 2007, 2011 and 2012. In 2015, Muslim terrorists raided the newspaper’s offices, killing many of the cartoonists and other employees. This action caused a global debate on the limit of political cartoons and satire as well as on respect for ethnic and religious minorities, whilst the slogan *Je suis Charlie* entered History, as a motto for freedom of speech. Some researchers, such as Grove (2015), justified Charlie Hedbo’s cartoons claiming that such satire has always been part of French history and culture and people ought to be more tolerant and understanding of the French context, especially if they live in it, regardless of their ethnic background. For others, such as Sanadjiian (2015) satirical inversions of images/religious icons bring about justifiable wrath and reactions as they allow space for multiple and diverse readings, either fixed or more open-minded. Similarly, Karodia (2015) argued that freedom of speech, liberal ideas, intercultural tolerance etc. are noble concepts uttered by Westerners and applied only by them but when it comes to being really open-minded and tolerant to the different Westerners have a narrow stereotypical, top-of-hierarchy, approach and mind-set. Still, Rose (2015), who worked on *Jyllands-Posten* at the time of the Danish cartoon crisis, sceptically wondered after the *Charlie Hedbo* shootings “what kind of civilization are we if we renounce our right to publish opinions and cartoons that some people might deem offensive?” (p. 43).

Of course, many other hot topics in Europe have been depicted in cartoons and thoroughly discussed in academic papers and monographs, including the EU construction, the Greek financial crisis, Brexit, or other issues of social concern etc. Just to mention a few, Pham (2004) explored political cartoon representations of the EU enlargement in 2004 and the 2009-2012 Eurozone debt crisis and investigated the ways in which cartoons interact with the socio-political order in Europe. The researcher’s findings highlighted a dissenting voice against the EU but also pinpointed the fact that all interactions are subject to multiple interpretations, depending on the media and the target-audience. Talalay (2013) related the political cartoons depicting the Greek economic crisis with the Greek antiquity and history and explored ways in which the cartoons depicted the crisis by reproducing Greek stereotypes and Classical period Greek clichés. Among others, she concluded that cartoons are a powerful means of deconstructing or reconstructing not only current affairs but also entire contexts, including a nation’s past, present and future, as well as a means of reproducing
stereotypes or demystifying long-standing beliefs. From another perspective, Pereiro Rosa (2012) explored the ways in which cartoons in European media depicted the H1N1 pandemic of 2009 and how this depiction related to political agendas and social strategies employed by the EU, the World Health Organization and other international Institutions. Still, all these works add up to highlight the value of humour and freedom of speech as well as the seriousness in cartoons.
3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the essential theories that support this project are discussed. Since the project examines the migrants’, and to a degree the Europeans’, view of Europe and how this image is gradually deconstructed, there is a need to discuss key issues of development and also look at migration theories in order to examine what motivates migration and why Europe seems so appealing. As this examination is conducted via cartoons, there will be a discussion on the function of cartoons from an artistic and psychoanalytic perspective, too. Also, the methods of analysis chosen are content analysis, supplemented by elements of psychoanalysis and social semiotics.

3.1. Development and migration

From colonial times, the powerful countries of the West dominated the East and attempted to develop their colonies and civilize their habitants. Gradually a myth has been created leading to the Orientalism discourse, which according to Said (1977) promoted the vast differences between the familiar, civilized, developed West and the strange, uncivilized, underdeveloped East. As a response, the Occidentalism discourse was created, which promoted stylized images of the West but kept the binary East-West opposition, seen from another perspective. Buruma and Margalit (2004, p.5) define Occidentalism as “the dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies” whilst Wang (1997, p.7) notes that Occidentalism is the “formed challenge to those Western hegemonists who have always had a bias against the Orient”. Evidently, both discourses created a somehow distorted image of the West and the Other. On the one hand, Europeans have always thought of themselves as superior, in terms of culture, civilization, development, progress and, till today, manage to project this image to the rest of the world. On the other hand, the others appear as inferior and primitive, in indistinguishable homogeneity, as if there are no differences among people, cultures and countries in the non-Western world. What is interesting is that there is a binary opposition in the way Europe is viewed, since though the others have digested the European image projected in Orientalism, they also appear to consider Europe decayed, amoral and too rational, at least in the Occidentalism discourse. What we need to have in mind though is that, as it happens in binary oppositions, the one cannot exist and
define itself without the other, as Hall (2003) also asserts. Thus, there can be no Western image without the *others* and vice versa.

The basic problem arises when the migrants import their otherness in the West, in our case in Europe. As Joffé (2007, p.162) points out “migrants and refugees have been both welcomed and rejected” and he goes on that “migrants bring with them complex patterns of awareness of their cultural and political environments, themselves today in part the products of longstanding interactions between the developed and developing worlds. Still, Huntington (1993) spoke of clash of civilizations as he firmly believed that such meetings of culture and civilization can only be problematic since civilization spheres resemble tectonic plates which collide or one steps over or below the other, in a game of power. Nederveen Pieterse (2009) also sees culture as an arena of struggle, since he considers human unity a utopian vision, as globalization brings about polarizing effects; it is uneven and promotes inequality. The reality and facts of the current migrant crisis in Europe and how European countries have chosen to shut down the routes towards their lands seem to affirm both Huntington’s and Nederveen Pieterse’s beliefs. Nederveen Pieterse (2010) goes a step even further, which can be somehow used as a justification of the current status of the migrant crisis, by stating that development is always a contextual cultural practice; thus, if culture is a device of nation building, then it must leave out the *aliens* by protecting its borders and boundaries.

Still, these *others* or *aliens* who go through dangerous journeys to reach Europe only to find closed borders have some very good reasons for doing so, their migration is not just an unwanted by-product of development (de Haas, 2007). Many theories of migration have been developed in the 20th century, among which the neoclassical theory, the human capital theory, the world system theory and the dual labor market theory examine the determinants of migration and locate it either in the nature of the various labor markets, the conditions families live in in their home countries, the function of globalization or the changes in economy (Kurekova, 2011). Other theories, more modern, such as the network theory, the migration systems theory and the transnational migration, examine the phenomenon in relation to its perpetuation and its directionality of flows and conclude that *diaspora* and networks actually perpetuate migration and contribute towards a restructuring of a societal developmental context by mixing
receivers and senders (de Hass, 2008). Thus, a new reality in the way people migrate and integrate in new societies is described, which creates transnational migrants (Bretell & Hollifield, 2008). Interestingly enough, current research tries to combine elements from the aforementioned theories in order to emphasize the interconnection between migration and development and focuses on issues of social transformation and economic integration along with its reception and the adaptability of both the migrants and the hosts (Castles, 2008). In general the conceptual framework of migration in relation to development ought to include an investigation of the forces that promote migration from a non-Western country, a description of the characteristics of the forces that attract migrants to Europe, an awareness of the motivations and goals of the migrants and an understanding of the connectors between the out and the in (Massey, 1999). As we will explore further in this project, some of the reasons for migration might in fact be depicted by the cartoonists along with what is currently happening with the migrants’ hopes and expectations of the journey to Europe.

3.2. Cartoons

A cartoon is a joke told in picture, argued Samson and Huber (2004). Of course, cartoons often contain captions (or commentaries) and it is the interaction between image and text that brings about the humorous effect (Tsakona, 2007). Overall, cartoons can have four modes; portraits, satire, comedy and the grotesque (Sherry, 1987). Regardless of their mode, they refer to their contemporary era and take a stance on current affairs, covertly or overtly. Most of the times, they point out what shouldn’t be done rather than what ought to be done (Karzis, 2005) by depicted bipolarities; us-others, good-bad, comic-sad. Their depicted topic is usually controversial and is approached via the biased look of a subjective creator, who can be talented, enraged, daring and visionary, but also a fighter, a denier or simply an artist (Karzis, 2005). A cartoonist portrays an ideology, which is usually shared by people in the same society who can understand the coding in the cartoon and decipher its signs. But, as Carrier (2000) notes, it is also necessary to look at what preceded and what followed the situation depicted in a cartoon.

Still, the meaning and effect of cartoons has always been highly controversial; some people love cartoons, others ignore them as childish scribbles whilst others even tend to
get offended by them. As Gombrich (1960) once said, unless we try art out we can never know if something seemingly unlike will appeal to us as similar, or the other way round. For him, cartoons are artistic expressions “that enable us to see reality in terms of an image and an image in terms of reality” (p. 276). Interestingly enough, these images portray a distorted reality which somehow unleashes the comic or the monstrous of real situations or people. McCloud (1993) also believes that cartoons are icons which in some aspect resemble actual objects. In fact, they alter established discourses, challenge common practices and dogmas (LeBoeuf, 2007). Of course, one could wonder then “why do we need cartoons to show us a hilarious or a horrible side of us? Do we need to put these sides of ours in the public sphere?”. Well, though Carrier believes that cartoons show that nothing changes in the real world (2000, p.21), it could be argued that cartoons aim at offering serious insights, food for thought and a space for self-development, by showing us the true unrevealed nature of mankind and its works.

3.3. Critical visual analysis

As aforementioned, this project sets out to investigate the sub-topics and targets cartoonists chose in their representation of the migrant crisis and relate them to development discourse, political agendas and the fantasy of a promise-land. Insights to this investigation are offered via cartoons, black-white or colored sketches that we see with our vision; however, what we visualize might be different, from dead serious to funny or ironic, from highly interesting and relevant to boring or indifferent, from absolutely rational to total gibberish. For Rose (2001) there is always a scopic regime, “a specific vision of social difference” (p. 9), through which we visualize everything. In fact, “we can never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves” (Berger, 1972: 9). Hall (1997) also states that in order to make meaning of anything we need to have a concrete relation between things, concepts and signs. These ideas support a critical approach to interpreting the visual, in which images are always serious and they cannot be looked at naturally or innocently, as they carry history, geography, politics, and culture and have the power not only to represent cultural practices but also to produce social inclusions and exclusions.

Rose (2001) suggested a critical visual methodology in analyzing images. In a critical approach one considers issues of agency, sociocultural practices, and viewing effects,
among others. As seen in Figure 1 below, she distinguished three sites of meaning production and three modalities or aspects. In detail, there is 1. the site of production of an image (how was it made, in which genre, by whom, when, who for and why), 2. the site of the image itself (visual effects, composition, meaning) and 3. the site of audiencing (who transmitted it and circulated it, viewing position, how is it interpreted and by whom). Furthermore, she defined three aspects or modalities to each of the three sites; 1. the technological, 2. the compositional and 3. the social.

Figure 1. Sites, modalities and methods for interpreting visual materials. Rose (2001).

As critical visual analysis, in its entirety, is highly complex and requires extensive knowledge and skills, Rose suggested aspiring researchers chose from a variety of methods applied in this methodology. Accordingly, this project will engage with key-elements from content analysis, psychoanalysis and social semiotics, moving in the realm of the image itself and partially in the site of the audience. A mixed research method has been selected, as I agree with Bryman’s (2006) viewpoint that qualitative
and quantitative research methods are compatible as long as they both contribute towards answering best the research questions posed.

3.3.1. Content analysis

This research technique is quantitative, systematic and objective, usually assisted by computer software. It actually looks at the quantity of written, oral or iconic texts; in our case cartoons. What it seeks to identify is the properties of the data under investigation, their key-features or elements and perhaps patterns that might be brought into light. Still, “it does not look solely for the significance of repetition but also for the repetitions of significance” (Summer, 1979, p.69). In order to achieve its goals it follows specific, pre-determined steps, which will be further analysed in the Methodology chapter. Though there are limitations and criticism to this method, as Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newborn (1988) also mention, it is highly popular, comprehensive and leaves less space for subjective selectiveness.

3.3.2. Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis theorists have thoroughly discussed the relationship between the visual and the subject, as well as the connection between the comic and the unconscious. Evidently, for them, there is always pleasure in looking, which is called scopophilia. For earlier theorists in the field, jokes and cartoons were nothing more than playful judgements (Fischer, 1889) which conveyed the concealed ugliness of the world of thoughts and help the audience “see” this. Freud (1990) suggested that there is an intimate relation between all mental happenings and explored why, among all linguistic and non-linguistic forms a thought could be expressed by, art always induced pleasure to its audience. For him (1990), art reconciled the pleasure-ego and the reality-ego of the subject, which roughly entailed that as we move from the childish pleasure to the adult reality, art helps us sustain the balance between the ego and the subconscious and avoid neurosis, by expressing our drives and instincts which are well hidden in our dark subconscious. In general, psychoanalysis highly relates the image to its audiencing, explores issues of subjectivity and the unconscious and supports the idea that the subject is formed subjectively through what and how it sees something (Rose, 2001).
3.3.3. Social semiotics

Visual analysis methodologies, as discussed in Hall’s and Rose’s works, can adequately support what is being researched in this project. Still, Hall (1997) mentions that members of a society or group constantly give and take meanings, they both produce it and exchange it; and that is a process that constitutes culture. In this light, it would be interesting to supplement the analysis in this project with a few elements that fall into the realm of social semiotics. Social semiotics combines the process of meaning-making with the specific social and cultural circumstances in which it occurs and presents semiosis, the process that interprets signs as referring to their objects (Bains, 2006), as a social practice that shapes people and societies. Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) state that every visual sign of communication is coded and societies choose to speak of or pay attention to these coded signs that they either appreciate and value or that carry a specific significance in their everyday lives, culture and manner of conduct. Via social semiotics they look in texts and images not only for representation but also for social interaction. In particular, the intended contribution to this research is based on the fact that social semiotics collects and documents semiotic resources, which then places them in specific historical, cultural and institutional contexts and examines how people comprehend, justify or critique them (Van Leeuwen, 2005). Cartoonists, via their work, take serious signs and present them as humorous, by distorting, exaggerating or oversimplifying the reality around them; thus, by focusing on specific coded signs they often make a social or political statement and they pass judgement or justify current situations, such as the migrant crisis investigated in this project.
4. Methodology

This chapter discusses the plan of inquiry employed in this project, so as to investigate the research questions set forth. Since the main focus of attention is on cartoons, this is a desktop study that does not involve any field work. This project employs a mixed research method, combining content analysis, which falls into the realm of quantitative research methods, and elements of psychoanalysis and social semiotics, which observe matters, analyse the visual and critically interpret it. Towards this end, Rose’s (2001) critical visual methodology in analysing images along with Hall’s (1997) perception that in order to produce meaning we need to have a concrete relation between things, concepts and signs will be the inspirational guide to investigating the research questions, always by looking at them though a development theory lens.

4.1. Sample

The sample used in this project consists of cartoons, some providing only visual content, others including verbal as well. When choosing the sample some criteria were quite straight-forward. In detail, all cartoons had to depict the migration crisis, had to be created by Greek artists and published in Greek new media from April 2015 to March 2016. The time frame was defined based on two major events that took place in April 2015 and March 2016 respectively. In detail, on April 19th 2015 the UN announced that at least eight hundred migrants coming from the African shores died at sea, during their attempt to reach Italy (Edwards, 2015). This news received huge response, from heavy criticism towards international political stance to cries for humanism and remains, until now, the largest migrant shipwreck in the Mediterranean Sea (List of migrant vessel incidents on the Mediterranean Sea, n.d.). March 2016 is another significant month since on this month NATO troops started surveilling the Aegean Sea for illegal migrants and on March 18th, the EU struck a deal with Turkey. This consilium, among others, called Turkey to take back all illegal migrants entering Europe, announced a relocation scheme for Syrians only, requested Turkey to detain illegal migration flows and promised a Voluntary Humanitarian Admission Scheme as soon as migration flows had been reduced (European Council, 2016). Following Rose’s (2001) suggestion that we need to accept the diversity of scopic regimes creators and viewers have; specific visions of social difference (p. 9), another, secondary yet crucial, criterion was the
political orientation of the new media where each cartoon was uploaded. This criterion, though challenging, was modestly met given the fact that not all media, supporting overtly or covertly political parties and groups, are officially represented on the internet or employ cartoons as a means of communication. Also, in order to give voice to independent artists too, works by well-known and digitally active artists were included. This overall sample profile for the quantitative content analysis was met by three hundred and seven (307) cartoons, created by twenty-six (26) artists, presented in more detail later in the project, in the content analysis coding manual.

Still, this project does not solely examine how many cartoons were published over the twelve months period defined, on what new media, of which political orientation and on what sub-topic. It sets out to examine how the cartoons’ topics and sub-topics relate to national and international agendas, political decisions and factual actions taken by stakeholders; among the most important decisions and actions, that affected cartoonists, were the gradual difficulty in crossing the European borders and the final closing of the Balkan route for migrants, as located in the borders of Greece and the Former Yugoslavic Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.O.M.). When these events took place from January 2016 to March 2016 not only the amount of cartoons on migration published exploded but also there has been a shift to the sub-topics of these cartoons published in Greek new media. So, what this project sets out to do is to explore these shifts, try to interpret them and connect them to the development discourse. For this purpose, a qualitative analysis of some sets of cartoons will also take place, mostly based on elements of psychoanalysis and social semiotics. The sample selected for the qualitative analysis was convenient; it includes cartoons from the entire political spectrum, rich in visuals and/or texts that have either been thoroughly discussed on new media or were selected for the touring exhibition “The suspended step”, mentioned in the introduction. The main focus of the two sets of cartoons employed in the quantitative analysis is a Greek tourist campaign slogan, Live your myth in Greece, and the Flag of Europe.

4.2. Data collection

All cartoons were retrieved from the internet in March 2016. The entire collection has been included in a portable document format (Pdf) file and is made available on the link https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B_3ORc_R_BCRQ2ZJVEdCRTYtN1U/view?usp=shar
As some of the texts included in the cartoons were in Greek, I have translated them into English, based on my knowledge as a Bachelor degree holder in English language and literature. As aforementioned, all cartoons were published in new media over a period of twelve months, from April 2015 to March 2016. Some of the new media have printed versions as well, on a daily, weekly or monthly basis but not all of them include the same material on both versions, digital and printed. The new media employed as well as their political orientation are seen in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. New media and their political orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Newspaper “Avgi”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Newspaper “Efimerida ton syntakton”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. News portal “Enikos”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Newspaper “Ethnos”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Newspaper “E-typos”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Newspaper “Kathimerini”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Newspaper “Pontiki”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Newspaper “Real news”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Cultural portal “Atexnos”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Online sources (e.g. cartoon portals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Magazine “Sxedia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. News portal “Tvxs”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Facebook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Twitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Personal website/blog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, at this point it must be noted, as a limitation, that one could always wonder how we know for sure the cartoonists’ intentions and true political orientation. Indeed, unless we interview each artist and receive honest responses we can never be sure of his/her intentions and orientation. Still, as Hall (1997) asserts there is only the preferred meaning, no right or wrong one. So, what we can do is try to take the cartoonists’ public stance on politics for granted, combine it with the orientation of the media he/she publishes in, and then explore us (Europeans) and the others (non-European, migrants)
and through this constructed dialogue spot the differences that actually create a preferred meaning.

### 4.3. Data analysis methods

As previously mentioned, this project employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. For each method, data analysis had to be approached differently, following suggestions by well-known experts in the field of research methodologies, including Bryman (2012), Hansen et al. (1998) and Rudestam & Newton (2015).

#### 4.3.1. Quantitative: Content analysis

Content analysis falls into the realm of quantitative research methods and seeks to find answers in a measurable, systematic and objective way. As Bryman (2012) mentions, in content analysis we use predetermined categories in order to quantify data in a systematic and replicable manner. Of course, there has been a huge debate over the objectivity of the method, given the fact that, as in most research methods, the researcher usually decides everything; from the sample to the data collection process and the data analysis method. Similarly, many argue that there is no real meaning-making into exploring the frequency of occurrence of an item and doing counting after counting. Though these questionings of the method could be considered justified, content analysis is “well suited for analysis and mapping key characteristics of large bodies of data” (Hansen et al., 1998, p.123) and can re-assemble the constituent parts it initially breaks down towards the exploration of context, purpose and implications (Hansen et al., 1998).

Following Hansen et al. (1998) and Bryman (2012), a coding schedule was designed. Initially the number and types of sources were chosen; 307 cartoons. The source context included twenty-six artists publishing their work in fifteen types of new media. Also, six key political orientations were defined, as represented in new media by the artists. Another area of coverage could be the position the cartoon was placed in on the new media. However, I chose not to examine this since in some on-line newspapers there is a clearly defined stable column for cartoons, on Facebook or Twitter data are mainly
presented according to their date of publication and in most personal websites they are
presented in albums or slideshows. Thus, interpretation according to the position of the
cartoon would probably be too compromised. Date (day-month-year) was also included
in the coding scheme, as it was important, in order to keep an organized track of the
cartoons published. Of course, the key-objective was to classify the cartoons into
categories or/and sub-categories related to the main topic of this project: the migration
crisis. After exhaustive examination and note-taking on the cartoons’ subjects, six main
War and 6. Art. In all of these categories, a thorough examination showed that further
analysis could be made in relation to the actor or the sub-topic, as follows: 1. Politics:
NGOs, EU, NATO, UN, International, by country, 2. Values: by country, by institution,
soon as the coding schedule was ready, the coding manual presented on Table 2 was
drafted. The codes were then transferred to a computer data file for further descriptive
analysis via the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 21 (SPSS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Content analysis coding manual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cartoons on migration published in Greek new media</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day/Month/Year: <strong><strong>/</strong></strong>/______</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Right</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

25
In order to proceed with the content analysis after the statistical analysis of data, another investigation had to be conducted. For every month, from April 2015 to March 2016, I had to look at major socio-political domestic, European or international events related to the migration crisis that could have influenced the artists’ choice of subject. Thus, another catalogue, an Event Calendar, had to be constructed including these events. A sample of the Event Calendar, presented in Table 3, is as follows:

**Table 3: Event calendar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2015 April</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christodouloupoulou’s comment “Foreign people are sunbathing; they are not homeless refugees or illegal immigrants”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2015 April</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The European Commission proposes a 10-point plan (20/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EU summit on Operation triton (23/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finnish parliamentary elections-Right leaning coalition (19/4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2015 April</th>
<th>International</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migrant shipwreck outside Lampedusa (19/4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As soon as the statistical analysis and the Event Calendar were ready, I could proceed
addressing my research questions.

4.3.2. Qualitative: Psychoanalysis and Social semiotics

This project studies the depiction of the migrant crisis in cartoons published in Greek
new media. This depiction is created by an artist, who uses his/her pen in order to create
an image of the reality around him/her; an image that can be perceived as realistic,
distorted, exaggerated, oversimplified or humorous, ironic, etc. These cartoonists use
artistic signs that refer to specific objects in order to express their views of the world
and the audience interprets these signs via semiosis according to its shared social and
cultural background and context. Cartoons can be playful judgments that liberate the
child inside the cartoonist and his/her audience but can also express harsh truths about
life, expose its ugliness and even bring about feelings of guilt, remorse or anger to the
audience. Still, if art, as Freud mentioned (1990), is meant to reconcile the pleasure ego
and the reality ego of the audience, then these cartoons actually serve a greater purpose.
Since the sample used in this project consists of 307 cartoons, it would be highly
challenging to work with all of them from a social semiotics and psychoanalytical point
of view. Therefore, two sets of cartoons have been purposively selected, which closely
relate to social semiotics, with Greece as a referent, and the psychoanalytical effect of
symbols. In the first case, a very popular slogan, Live your myth in Greece, formerly
used in Greek tourist campaigns, has been employed in order to show how this verbal
sign along with its accompanying visual signs has been distorted by cartoonists, in order
to fit in the current migrant crisis situation and make a strong, yet domestic, point. In the
second case, a symbol, the Flag of Europe, has been employed so as to show how
representations change over time and context and acquire new meanings that shift from
positive to negative, from hope to despair and from unity to discordance.
5. Results

This chapter of the project includes an analysis of the findings and discussion. Though a mixed methodology, both quantitative and qualitative, has been selected for this project, there will not be two different chapters separating data analysis from data findings. Instead, a content analysis of the material along with its discussion is presented in sub-chapter 5.1 whereas a semiotics analysis of some sets of the cartoons, supplemented by elements of psychoanalysis, is presented in sub-chapter 5.2.

5.1. Content analysis

In the content analysis of the cartoons, the number of cartoons per month, per topic and per political orientation of the new media that published them was examined. Due to economy of space, detailed numerical tables of the descriptive analysis are available in the appendix of this project. Still, as previously mentioned, the cartoons examined in this project have been published between April 2015 and March 2016. The selected months signify the beginning of a migrant crisis in Europe, marked by a deadly shipwreck, and the seemingly successful management of the crisis as agreed upon by the EU and Turkey in March 2016. As it can be seen in Figure 2 below during the time period under examination some months had been more productive in cartoon publication in relation to others.

Figure 2: Amount of cartoons published in new media per month.
April included nineteen (6.2%) cartoons, which were inspired by the tragic incident on April 18\textsuperscript{th} when more than eight hundred migrants drowned off the African-Italian shores, near Lampedusa, Italy (Edwards, 2015). As seen in the cartoons 1 and 2 below, migrants are depicted crucified on the mast of a shipwreck in the bottom of the sea between Africa and Europe, as modern martyrs, and as souls placed in a coffin-ship whilst Europe, as another Marie Antoinette living in debauchery, throws a wreath in the sea in memory of the drowned migrants. Following the graveness of the situation and the reactions fueled after this tragedy, the EU proposed a 10-point plan to address the migrant crisis and went on with Operation Triton, a border security operation, within the next five days.

![Cartoon 1](image1.png)  ![Cartoon 2](image2.png)


September 2015 was also a fruitful month, including twenty-one cartoons (6.8%), which were mostly inspired by the tragic event of Alan Kurdi’s death, a 3 year-old Syrian boy of Kurdish background which washed ashore the island of Lesvos, Greece on September 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2015. The death of the child gave the opportunity to cartoonists to expose the humane and civilized image of Europe as hypocritical. To give some examples, in cartoon 3 below the child is left by the stork in the doorsteps of Europe, who though chooses to keep the door closed to vulnerable people in need. More shockingly, cartoon 4 heavily criticizes the classy and elegant style of the Europeans as lavish and insensitive, since they prefer drinking and smoking on the beach whilst next to them young children drown.

![Cartoon 3 and 4](image3.png)
This tragedy had an immense impact and spurred a global sentiment of compassion, which led the EU Interior Ministers to decide on September 22\textsuperscript{nd} to relocate 120,000 asylum seekers from Italy, Greece and Hungary, with France and the UK being publicly open to accepting thousands of them whereas Finland abstained from the meeting. In the meantime, many countries, including the Visegrad group, Austria, Croatia, Serbia and Germany either closed their borders or intensified their border controls. As September was a rich month in relation to the migrant crisis, one would expect that there would be more cartoons, which was not the case since in September 20\textsuperscript{th}, Greece went through its second General Elections within 2015. This event followed by a first-time Left government, a disputable referendum over Greece’s bailout agreement with its creditors and a longstanding thriller over an official default, monopolized media across the country and placed the migrant crisis in the background, though the amount of cartoons produced in September on the topic was still fair. December 2015 was also a productive month, including twenty-five cartoons (8,1\%). What is interesting about the cartoons published in this month is that many of them were entirely devoted to religion and Christmas, though a fair amount of migrants coming to Europe from Africa and Asia are not even Christians. Still, the sentiment of love, peace and hope, that is the message traditionally sent with the birth of Jesus Christ, inspired cartoonists to reflect on God’s willingness (or, in this case, unwillingness) to help those poor souls cross the Mediterranean Sea, to stop war and offer a warm family environment to child-migrants etc. As it seems, depicted in cartoons 5, 6 and 7 below as well, especially in December, the other was still reflected as an obtrusive alien seen through the eyes of an uncompassionate white Christian European who has the chance to be a savior and a philanthropist, especially in light of the Christmas season, but chooses not to be so. For example, in cartoon 5 Frontex is depicted as another Herod, who slays young children
coming from Africa and Asia because they are not registered in the European (or Roman at Herod’s times) registry of citizens. In cartoon 6, the star that led the three Biblical Magi to baby Jesus is now shedding its light to another child, a dead migrant who is not worshipped though it has become the object of attention and global outcry. Finally, in cartoon 7 the EU orders Joseph and Virgin Mary to go in a hotspot so as to give birth to baby Jesus, because they are not Europeans so they are not allowed to migrate to Europe or are entitled to social services, etc.


EU: Crib? What crib? You need to go to a hot spot...

During 2016, in February and March, published cartoons on the migrant crisis skyrocketed, following the international events of the time period. In detail, in February, after many shifts, turns and changes of opinion, many countries, including the Visegrad group, Croatia, Austria, Serbia and FYROM decided to close their borders completely, put up fences or built walls whereas, on a diplomatic level, many expressed disagreement with EU suggested policy plans, broke up diplomatic relations with Greece or went into a grey area of fruitless dialogue among EU member-countries. This
situation led to an even greater humanitarian crisis, as even more people kept drowning in the Mediterranean Sea during winter and thousands were found in limbo in hotspots or improvised settlements in the mud across the Greek-FUROM borders. As it appears, cartoonists were deeply affected by what was happening; seventy-seven (25.1%) cartoons were actually published on the topic in February. Cartoonists, as depicted in the cartoon 8, managed to portray the ideology of the Greek people at that time, who shared the belief that Greece was gradually becoming a soul warehouse and were heavily disappointed with the stance of other EU-members that closed their borders. This specific cartoon made a great impression and was received quite enthusiastically by its audience as it captured the essence of what Greeks felt was going on. In a more humoristic but also highly judgmental tone, cartoon 9 criticized the EU for wanting to gain money and benefit, via exploitation, from the migrants whilst remaining indifferent to the migrants’ needs and human rights. What is interesting about this cartoon is that cartoonists often tend to do for their own people the same thing orientalists accuse the West of doing, presenting people or countries in indistinguishable homogeneity. Here, the cartoonist overgeneralizes and claims that all EU are in for the profit, whereas the main target of criticism in this cartoon ought to be Denmark, that in plain words proposed a law to confiscate money and valuables of the migrants up to a certain amount. Still, most of the times cartoons do not point out what ought to be done but what should not be done in general (Karzis, 2005).


Following this humanitarian crisis, in March 2016 a series of bombings shocked Brussels and EU headquarters only a few days after the EU and Turkey reached an agreement on migrant crisis management on March 18th, which provided for relocation
of migrants to the EU, straight from Turkey, migrant return to Turkey for those attempting to cross the Aegean Sea without having applied for asylum first, etc. The decision for closed borders, the EU-Turkey deal and failed Greek diplomacy all inspired cartoonists to publish a hundred and twenty-three (40.1%) cartoons in this month alone. Most of them focused on politics, with the EU-Turkey agreement being the main focus of attention. Most cartoonists, agreeing with the public opinion, perceived this agreement as non-feasible. In a humorous tone, the following cartoon portrays the impossible challenge of managing the migrant crisis. Two life rescuers discuss on the migrant crisis and concur that its management is impossible because it presupposes the unlikely; that the EU member-countries will reach an agreement on Dublin II, Schengen, migrant distribution etc., Greece will finally become an organized country and Turkey will show extremely good will to honestly help. As hilarious as this cartoon might be for its audience, it also highlights a harsh reality, in which people and countries cannot and do not change their attitudes and policies over a night.


On the other hand, there were some months during which scarce or no cartoons were published, which would make anyone wonder what happened to the cartoonists; the migrant crisis was obviously not resolved. In detail, on May and June 2015 Greek cartoonists did not publish any cartoons related to the migrant crisis on Greek new media whilst in July and August cartoons were just a few. During this period, Greek negotiations with its creditors had hit dead-end and the country did not manage to pay
the installments to its international creditors; thus a series of events leading to a potential default took place will lasted throughout the summer. A controversial referendum took place in early July and in August the second General Elections in 2015 was announced, so there was little or no room on media for any other topics but Greek politics and the fiscal situation in Greece. In specific only one cartoon (0.3%) was published in July and six (2%) in August. The only cartoon published during the referendum and negotiation period hits straight to the point, for Greeks. Evidently, at that period, it was a shared belief that Germany was (and still is) the key-responsible for the humanitarian crisis, in relation to the Greek fiscal situation and the migrant crisis management. Thus, in the following cartoon 11, a Greek appears to be stranded and gagged in a World War II German Nazi vehicle driven by German politicians amidst mud and fire, whilst the European ideals, solidarity and human rights are being burned to the ground. Evidently, satire and mockery were not the objectives of the artist who sketched this cartoon; rather, he aimed at depicting an elusive promise-land of culture and values, stepped over by ambitious nationalists.

Similarly, cartoonists were not too eager to work with the migrant crisis in October 2015 (N=12, 3.9%) and November 2015 (N=14, 4.6%) either, since, though the Left party won again, there was a new Parliament formed and many changes took place throughout all public services, ministries etc. It could be argued that the domestic affairs during the summer and then again after the elections at fall were partially responsible not only for the lack of the migrant crisis representation in mass media but also for the
mismanagement of the migration crisis on behalf of the Greek government and society. As to January 2016, where the number of cartoons are also few (N=9, 2.9%), it could be partially justified due to a number of Bank Holidays included in this month along with the fact that Greece was struggling again to convince its creditors that it can be reliable and pass a series of grave laws and reforms in order to receive an installment.

Besides the amount of cartoons published per month and how this is affected by domestic and international affairs, another interesting issue of examination is the topics that were most commonly selected by the artists. As aforementioned, six umbrella-topics were met more frequently than others: politics, values, everyday life, religion, war and art. Though politics supersede all other topics (N=146, 47.6%), values were also touched upon a lot (N=89, 29%). In Figure 3 below one can examine how topics were represented per month and how they shifted as months went by.

![Figure 3: Amount of cartoons published in new media per month and per topic.](image)

As mentioned in the theoretical framework chapter, development theories and migration theories examine, among other topics, the reasons behind the choice of an immigrant or a refugee to relocate into a developed country. These theories usually explore issues of war and life risk, defaulted economies and famine, role-modeling and the quest for a
modern civilized lifestyle. However, what is noticeable in this project is that Greek cartoonists paid little, if no, attention to issues of war, taking place in Syria, or other armed conflicts in Asia and Africa. Some samples are the following cartoons 12 and 13.

In cartoon 12, the symbol of peace, a pigeon, is depicted as a great airplane who throws American, British, French, etc. bombs over Syria, in an attempt to show that, though Europeans avoid managing the migrant crisis, as not being their fault or responsibility, in reality they are the ones who provoked the massive flow of migrants. In cartoon 13 migrants are seen as aliens, thus perpetuating a global stereotype of the others. No place on Earth has been saved for them, so as aliens they need to leave their land in search of another home somewhere in the universe. As it seems, the artist reproduces a widely held Western belief that some people just do not belong in the West and, in order to satirize this belief, he sends his targets to outer space.


Still, in most of the cartoons, it appears as if all those movers do not relate to war and try to flee from areas that are putting their live at risk but they have just decided to leave their homes for a better life. Thus, only eleven cartoons (3.6%) actually relate to war. This indifference to war and the status of a great proportion of the movers, who happen to be refugees, can be partially justified due to a series of misunderstandings taking place in Greece. Evidently, over the past year, the government, other political parties as well as the media and the Greek population have failed to recognize the status and graveness of what is happening. Just to give a few examples, in April 2015 a member of the Left government, Tasia Christodouloupolou, stated several times that the foreign people remaining and sleeping in central squares and parks all over Greece are not refugees or migrants but just foreign people who already live in Greece and they are simply “sunbathing”. As expected, the word sunbathe along with other statements about
spending leisure time outdoors not only caused a public outcry but is also indicative of
the perception of the crisis in the Greek eyes. This incident along with the multiple
verbal mistakes of the government’s spokesperson and ministers who kept
interchanging the word *refugee* with the words *illegal immigrant* caused great confusion
and took the migration crisis out of its real proportion and context.

Politics have been the central focus of cartoonists ($N=146$, 47,6%). Among the sub
topics depicted in cartoons, most related to EU politics, focused on the summits and
heavily criticized the indecisiveness and lack of understanding and compassion among
EU leaders as well as the rise of fascism and nationalism around Europe, as seen in the
following cartoons 14 and 15. In cartoon 14 a homeless child is caught in a sinking
paper boat between a Nazi Europe and a militant Asia while the life buoy drifts further
and further away from him. In cartoon 15 the migrant crisis is metaphorically presented
as an injection, in which overcrowded migrants give their own blood under the pressure
of the EU. Evidently, both cartoons, as most in this time period, do not “attack” a
specific target- EU country but choose to overgeneralize, in an attempt to show that the
*promise-land* in general suffers from indifference and lack of solidarity; it is a problem
of an entire continent.

A great number of cartoons also focused on the political stance adopted by specific
countries; mostly Greece but also Germany, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary,
FYROM, Denmark, Slovakia, Croatia and Austria. Among the sub-topics that attracted
cartoonists’ attention was Denmark’s migrant asset bill in January 2016, which included
confiscation of some of the migrant’s possessions, and the Balkan refugee conference
held in Austria in February 2016, during which some countries formed a coalition against illegal trespassing of their borders, thus framing thousands of migrants in Greece. Also, wider topics such as the Germans taking over the situation as sole decision-makers, the rise of fascism in many countries, the communication breakdown among countries were also heavily criticized by cartoonists. Only a couple of cartoons commented on the way the UN, International NGOs and NATO have handled the migrant crisis, mainly passively and theoretically, whereas about twenty-eight cartoons focused solely in Turkey. Turkish politicians received great criticism and were depicted as opportunists, who try to extort the EU in order to gain exaggerated amounts of funds, visa benefits, and beneficial trade relations with the EU. As seen in cartoon 16 below, Turkey is a huge garbage truck which discharges trashed migrants in the Aegean Sea. Though the cartoon might portray Greek public opinion about Turkey’s role in the migrant crisis, it still remains quite cruel and inhumane, as it resembles migrants to trash and strikes a chord in the audience’s humanitarian values.


Still, of course, the heaviest political criticism burdened the Greek government. Cartoonists have commented on the lack of coordination among government officials and among political parties, the indifference and lightness, in which the migrant crisis has been approached so far, the lack of experience of the newly elected Left government and its confusing rhetoric pro human rights and against the EU, the way the Left government has mislead Greek voters, its incapacitated foreign policy and diplomacy and, certainly, its grave attempt to control the media and the news broadcasted. What is evident is that, during many occasions, the Greek government had shown indifference
to the migration crisis or chose to place it in the background giving high priority to the other hot issues for Greece or to internal political affairs, as it is successfully depicted in the following cartoon 17, where the Greek Prime Minister chooses to sweep under the Greek carpet the migrant crisis.


In theory, migrants admire the Western way of living; among the reasons for their decision to migrate to Europe is their understanding that Europe is a civilized place, with a long-standing tradition of respect for human rights and religious tolerance and, of course, the age of enlightenment, with its culture and scientific advances. However, as it is evident in the cartoons examined, all these attractions are under dispute. Cartoonists heavily criticize Europeans’ the lack of humanism, their indifference to human suffering and the rise of egotism and self-gain, as seen in cartoon 18.

In a total of eighty-nine cartoons, the lack of moral values and humanism is depicted in many forms; from the British tourists in Greek islands who complained about the migrants ruining their vacations and their swimming in the sea, to passive viewing of the migrant crisis on television and the rise of racist violence incidents in many countries. This lack of values, as depicted in the cartoons, somehow affirms Occidentalism’s point of view that Europe has a dark side; it is morally decayed, build on materialism and egoism instead of humanism and strong ethical codes. In addition to this, cartoonists address the issue of prejudice that has ironically infiltrated a modern cultured Europe as well as the fact that Europeans, perhaps mislead by politicians and the media, have been approaching the migrant crisis hysterically, in a state of panic attack, fear and lack of reasoning. Still, what is highly interesting among the sampled cartoons is that many artists chose to comment on the fact that Europeans cannot really stand or prefer to turn a blind eye to the fact that their values and humanitarianism are under criticism, as also depicted in cartoon 19 below.


-It is difficult to explain to a refugee that the Europe he dreamt of does not exist...
-...it is even harder to explain to a European that the Europe he dreamt of living in does not exist...

Though values have been a favorite subjects among cartoonists, issues of everyday life of the migrants in their journey towards a better life in Europe have been left in the
background \((N=35, 11.4\%)\). As seen in the following cartoon 20, the everyday life of a migrant in a hotspot somewhere in Europe is just his/her own problem to reflect upon.


Still, some cartoonists have touched upon the issue of welfare and how children-migrants are missing out on education, health and a happy playful childhood. Also, there are a few comments on how much money those migrants have been left with, whether they can buy food and other commodities and how is life like in a muddy tent in the middle of nowhere, waiting in uncertainty for asylum grants. However, there are no mentions to the welfare of unaccompanied children-migrants and issues of human-trafficking, the identification of drowned people and their transportation for burial in their homeland, when possible, and to issues of human rights in hot spots, including rape, mobbing and gang raids. Similarly, though religion is a part of everyday life, scarcely this matter is touched upon by cartoonists \((N=13, 4.2\%)\). As previously mentioned, religious affairs are only depicted under the light of Christianity and how God has forsaken poor migrants, though most of them are not Christians. Cartoonists, perhaps due to political correctness, avoid mentioning religious affairs. If one considers the outcry and hate-speech that followed the publication of twelve Muslim-related cartoons in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005 and the terrorist raid in the French newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* in 2015, it is safe to claim that Greek cartoonists have chosen not to provoke and engage in debates thus endangering their own safety and reputation. Finally, the sixth cartoon topic was art \((N=13, 4.2\%)\). Some cartoonists chose to depict the migrant crisis via varying imitations of famous paintings, such as Picasso’s *Guernica*, Michelangelo’s *The creation of Adam*, both depicted below in cartoons 21 and 22, or other art performances, such as Marina Abramovic’s *Silent Sitting*. 
Another popular sub-topic was celebrity activism, with the main focus on actresses and activists Angelina Jolie and Susan Sarandon who visited the Greek Prime Minister and the island of Lesvos, thus attempting to promote the migrant crisis issue and bring it into a global spotlight. Still, all cartoonists have been highly critical of the celebrities’ attempts to help and have questioned not only their motives but also the effectiveness of their efforts. Cartoon 23 also satirizes the Greek Prime Minister, as a populist who cares more about the spotlights and socializing than for the real people and their problems.

Good, Angelina! You and Susan Sarandon can solve the refugee crisis. Now, I need you to put in a good word to Colin Farrell, who played Alexander the Great, to help us solve the Macedonian issue with FYROM.
Last but not least, we will have a look at the political orientation of the new media publishing all the cartoons included in the sample and how politics interacts with the topics of the cartoons, as is also seen in Figure 4 below.

![Figure 4: Amount of cartoons published in new media per political orientation and per topic.](image)

It is quite clear that new media supporting center-right and right political parties prefer publishing cartoons on politics, everyday life issues and war whereas new media supporting center-left and left political parties chose to publish cartoons on values and religion. Data show that the right new media expressing the views of right political parties, who are constituted by more rational thinkers, worried about the political tackling of the crisis and practical issues such as what happens with war, how do we prevent it and how do we make life more bearable for the migrants entrapped somewhere along their journey. On the other hand, left new media reflect left political parties that are more engaged into examining human rights practices, supporting causes, and promoting mutual understanding and respect of religious freedom. They were heavily criticizing the lack of morality and values on behalf of civilized stakeholders.
who hold the solution to the migrant crisis in their hands, whereas the right new media criticized the Left Greek government for not taking realistic, pragmatist steps towards the migrant crisis management but passively and romantically protesting for equality, rights and global peace, but not taking any real action.

5.2. Social semiotics and psychoanalysis

In this part of the project, two sets of cartoons, from the ones used in the research, will be discussed from a social semiotics and psychoanalysis perspective. In specific, the first set of cartoons will examine a favorite Greek punch line, deriving from the very famous Greek tourist slogan “Live your myth in Greece”, and how this has been currently used in several cartoons related to the migrant crisis. The second set of cartoons will examine the Flag of Europe, consisting of twelve golden stars and how this sign/symbol has been redefined in the migration crisis context.

*Live your myth in Greece*

In detail, in 2004-2005 the Greek National Tourism Organization launched an international tourist campaign, using as main slogan the phrase “Live your myth in Greece”. As one can see in the posters below, the campaign was promising a myth of crystal waters, beautiful scenery, love and opulence in the Greek islands.

However, since the 2004-2005 campaign a lot have changed for the worst in Greece. A series of grave political, fiscal, social and international events have led the country to its current almost default state, in which the migration crisis is just another hot issue, among many. The word *myth* as well as the entire slogan *Live your myth in Greece* has acquired a totally new meaning for people sharing the same Greek context and its social practices. A serious and promising sign, *myth*, extracted from the campaign, relapsed into a sign of decay, illusion and deceit, though now it is much closer to its original definition as a widely held but false belief or as an exaggerated or idealized conception of a person or thing. Currently, in everyday life, when people in Greece use this slogan, it is for the sole purpose of mockery or irony on the multiple meaning or interpretations of the word *myth*. Evidently, this tourist campaign slogan and its gleam future did not leave cartoonists unaffected. So, a series of cartoons on the migrant crisis took on board the slogan, as can be seen below.


*Live your hotspot in Greece*
Cartoonists chose to distort the signs, both visual and verbal, depicted in the original tourist campaign so as to make a strong point about the current situation of the migrants. In cartoons 24 and 25, the slogan is kept but, instead of sandy beaches, cruises on crystal waters and relaxation in 5-star hotels, the audience views a sad reality of boats sinking in the Aegean Sea and starved families living in muddy tents. In cartoon 26, the slogan has been turned into a word-play where the word *myth* has been replaced by the word *hotspot* so as to depict a cruel reality instead of a fantasy. The original signs acquired a totally new different meaning when a single word or the background image changed, thus completely changing the signified meaning of the pictures. It is impossible to say whether this distortion of the original signs was intended as hilarious or judgmental, on behalf of the cartoonists. Still, from a psychoanalytical point of view, it could be argued that these are *playful judgments* (Fischer, 1889) that wish to convey the ugliness of the world and help the audience see this. On the other hand, based on Freud (1990), these cartoons in fact bring to light an ugly comparison between the Greek summer holidays and Greek beauty, of which most Greeks are fond and proud of, and the tormented migrant everyday life. In a way, the Greek audience, which actually understands the semiotics in these cartoons might be feeling relieved that their Greece is the one depicted in the campaign and not the Greece migrants are experiencing, as depicted in the cartoons; thus reconciling their pleasant-ego with their reality-ego.

*The Flag of Europe*

Another sign that reoccurred frequently in the cartoons selected for this project was the Flag of Europe. According to the Official Website of the European Union (2016), the flag, which was originally designed in 1955 and officially adapted broadly in 1985, symbolizes both the European Union and Europe as a continent, featuring 12 gold stars which stand for unity, solidarity and harmony among the people of Europe. The ideals that the Flag of Europe symbolizes have passed on in the development discourse and in migration theories, thus convincing the rest of world that Europe is a solid entity/ground where people prosper in unity and solidarity. According to migration theories, in the eyes of any migrant such a powerful image of Europe is highly attractive and is the main cause of such populous flows of migrants towards the continent. Still, the Flag and its stars appear to have lost their glow and original symbolism due to the management of the migration crisis. As seen in cartoons 27 and 28 below, for migrants the Flag
represented a life buoy, to rescue them from war, political persecution, famine and other life mishaps, as well as a kite, to fly away from misery and follow their dreams. Still, the European stance towards the migration crisis somehow appears to have confirmed the Occidentalists’ point of view, that Europeans lack sensitivity, solidarity, humanism and morals. Thus, the life buoy is offered only after the migrants have drown in the Aegean Sea, as a way to fish the dead bodies out of the waters, whereas the dream-kite has been caught in a barbwire fence, ripped and fallen down to earth, in the mud.


Besides what the Flag used to symbolize for the migrants and how this symbolism has shifted for them, the Flag is also depicted in relation to how its stars, that is the countries, are seen by cartoonists. In the cartoons below the stars have lost their original symbolism, as brightly glowing parts of the universe which most people love to stare out and dream, fall in love, feel optimistic and good.

In cartoon 29, cartoonists depict the stars as open palms of people drowning in the sea and begging for help, without receiving an appropriate response by the Europeans before it is too late. This cartoon is highly emotional and heavily criticizes the fact that the stars are supposed to stand for solidarity in Europe, whose lack has been evident throughout the migration crisis management. So, the stars, as signs, lose their meaning or reverse it according to the audience they address; for Europeans, they are signs of our culture and humanism, for migrants they become exactly the opposite, signs of our lack of culture and humanism. Similarly, in cartoons 30 and 31, cartoonists criticize the Europeans directly by comparing them to animals. In detail, for cartoonists Europeans either act like ducks, which entails hanging around, unbothered, and doing nothing about a situation while it lasts, or act like monkeys with closed eyes, which entails acting totally inappropriate to a given situation. In these works of art, the artists are again attempting to make a playful judgment of the migrant crisis and try to make their audience see their own wrong-doings as European citizens, who allow their politicians to stand aside indifferently and indecisively. Still, it could be argued that the audience, the everyday people next door might not receive these cartoons as playful judgments against themselves but as criticism towards the others, the EU officials in suits, remaining locked somewhere in Brussels. The reason behind this duality perhaps lays in the fact that for most common people, the stars represent EU countries, whereas the official version of the Flag is that the stars symbolize all the people living in the continent of Europe. So, in the case of the Flag’s stars not only multiple meanings are assigned to the stars but also the audience absolutely subjectively perceives multiple targets of the cartoons’ content. The same subjectivity occurs when discussing racism or fascism in Europe. In cartoon 32 the stars are replaced by the swastika. The obvious
interpretation of this cartoon is that the artist wishes to highlight the rise of nationalism or fascism, radical-right wing parties and hate-speech and hate-acts against migrants across Europe. Still, on another interpretation, as in the 20th century and onwards the swastika has been mostly identified with Nazi Germany and its allied countries, parts of the audience could perceive this cartoon as a direct criticism towards the way Germany have taken the migrant crisis management into its own hands, putting aside other EU member-countries, and the way some former allied countries, from World War II, have been adopting strong nationalistic policies. After all, for any audience, it is safer to see a critical work of art as criticizing some else, the other, instead of criticizing the viewer itself. The way the Flag of Europe is currently used as a signifier with many signified can be summed up in the following cartoons 33 and 34.


As it is depicted in cartoon 33, the stars (that is the European people and/or the countries) are left as a toy in the hands of another player, Turkey, which decides everyone’s fate. This cartoon might appear as a judgment towards the EU, which has reached a formal agreement with Turkey on the migrant crisis issue in March 2016, by providing too many benefits and receding too much. Still, by reproducing the stereotypical image of a Turkish person during the four-hundred year Turkish occupation in Greece, the cartoonist does not necessarily target his criticism towards the EU but towards Turkey, which in the Greek context is mostly seen in a negative light. Thus, he wants to invoke the sentiment of patriotism in his Greek audience and help them realize the fallacy in expecting a non-European, the Turkish other, to solve a hot issue in Europe. Last but not least, cartoon 34 goes straight to the point. The Flag and its stars are left as they always are, but in the center of it, in the heart of Europe, the crisis
is a fused bomb about to explode. Solidarity, humanism, unity are about to be shred to pieces by a bomb no one is interested or capable of diffusing because he/she feels that it is not on their own star, in their own country, but somewhere else, in the empty center. Still, when the center, the core of a united body explodes, everything falls apart.
6. Conclusion

This project set out to explore the migrant crisis in Europe and how this crisis is depicted in cartoons published in new media in Greece as well as how the content of these cartoons portrays national and international agendas and current affairs. In relation to the development discourse, it was also explored how Europe as an image of Western civilization, progress and culture was perceived as a promise-land by the migrants and what new meanings this symbolism of Europe as a promise-land has acquired after the mismanagement of the migrant crisis by European stakeholders.

As it seems, cartoonists have been immensely affected and inspired by the migrant crisis. Thus, in a time period of twelve months, in Greek new media alone, 307 cartoons were published, which is a fair amount of cartoons. Still, the publication flow was not even and it appeared that cartoonists did not consider the migrant crisis a first priority topic, though Greece is in the first firing line of the migrant flows; the artists worked with the migrant crisis only in the months when major national events were not taking place (such as the Greek referendum, Greek General elections, key-evaluation of the Greek reformation program, etc.). In the months that many cartoons were published, most of them related to politics, focused mostly on the EU, Greece and specific countries that have been key-actors, such as Germany, FYROM and Turkey, whilst occasionally mentioning other countries that come into the spotlight for a policy, a measure or a statement, such as the UK, Denmark, Poland, the Czech Republic and Austria. Especially towards politics and the migrant crisis, cartoonists have been quite harsh. Instead of humoring in a more relaxed manner, they in fact exposed the EU mismanagement and revealed the capitalistic neo-liberal ideology behind it which leaves no room for humanitarian values. In addition, the artists, though in just a few cartoons, heavily criticized Europe’s role in perpetuating conflict and totalitarian regimes in some parts of the world, from where most migrants to Europe originally come from. Still, though at times cartoonists focused on specific political events in a given country, such as the Danish migrant asset bill or FUROM’s acts of violence against the migrants overcrowding at its borders, usually they chose to depict the migrant crisis mismanagement in a European indistinguishable homogeneity; as if, cartoonists thought that there was a common responsibility and blame for all Europeans, from which no one can escape. So, what orientalism accuses the West of doing,
homogenizing the Orient without distinctions, was in fact done by the Westerners to themselves. Thus, in a way, the same negative model of representation employed by the West was used in all occasions, in depicting both the West and the Orient.

Besides exploring political agendas, cartoonists drew heavily from the concepts of European superiority, its stylized image of elegance, humanity and culture. When portraying politics and the migrant crisis cartoonists discussed what was not happening and what should not be happening. But when discussing values, everyday life and the migrant crisis, cartoonists chose a different approach; they preferred showing what ought to be happening, thus switching from a negative perspective (do not do this) of the depiction to a positive one (please, do this). So, in the first occasion they appeared to be in a mockery, expository mood and criticize the lack of initiative, decision-making, leadership, etc. whereas in the second case, in general, they appeared as mentors who tried to show the way things need to be done, for example education for children-migrants, social care for the vulnerable, better homes for everyone, etc. As perhaps anticipated when discussing values, the stereotypical image of the humanitarian Europe collapsed in front of the great indifference its people showed towards the migrants. The promise-land was indeed depicted as elusive in all the cartoons and its citizens were portrayed as rather inhumane, decayed consumers, egoists who only cared about preserving their status-quo and their prosperity. Thus, Occidentalists’ points of view about Europe as decayed and amoral were clear even by European cartoonists, who had the courage and clarity to depict the situation as it is and not as Europeans think it is. Interestingly enough, most cartoons on the subject did not focus on how the migrants’ perception of Europe was shuttered and revealed as a hoax. Cartoonists realized and inventfully depicted the discrepancy between how Europeans perceive themselves as cultured and humanitarians and how they in fact behave in real life circumstances. So, most of the cartoons on the topic depicted Europeans and aimed at revealed how difficult it is for them to see themselves as they truly are and not as they think or wish they are.

Cartoonists, as artists, were inevitably inspired by works of art in their own depictions. Thus, a few of the cartoons depicted alternative versions of famous paintings. Inspiration came mostly from religion, like Michelangelo’s Creation of Adam, which is often evoked in times of crisis and despair, and from war, like Picasso’s Guernica,
which is one of the main reasons the migrants flows to Europe increased. By presenting alternative versions of famous and well-acknowledged pieces of art, cartoonists tried to appeal to the audience through the familiar artistic image and give a distorted or even monstrous representation of reality, which brings about strong emotions of affection, compassion and understanding. Especially *Guernica*, crossing the Aegean Sea in a sinking boat, provides a strong image of the unrevealed nature of mankind and the extent of atrocity lying beneath. Still, it must be noted here that cartoonists are not easy on fellow artists-celebrities who are involved in philanthropy and activism, as they consider their interest as publicity stunt, performed for the sake of egotistic and self-interest. In a sense, the images created by the cartoonists are full of meaning and hit the bull’s eye, whereas celebrity activism, as appealing to the audience the stars might be, has not brought about so far any feasible results in relation to the migrant crisis.

Though audiences are attracted by celebrities and behave enthusiastically when a star visits a hotspot or a Greek island with thousands of migrants, they also get shaken up by cartoons. The cartoons presented in the quantitative analysis of this project portray aspects of the Greek ideology; what Greeks think of Turks, after four hundred years of Turkish occupation, their currently negative view about the effectiveness of the EU mechanism and its representatives, the differences, or even superiority, Greeks perceive they have in relation to Central and Northern Europeans in terms of values, morality, humanity and culture, how high tourism and the Greek beauties are values by its citizens, just to name a few. Slogans like *Live your myth in Greece*, myths like the *Abduction of Europe by Zeus*, symbols like the Flag of Europe, even Europe itself, as a concept, all carry old meanings shared by the people living in Greece. As these slogans, myths and symbols acquire new meanings for the same people, after the migrant crisis mismanagement, they need a new deciphering code, provided and shared only in a specific Greek context. This new deciphering causes different reactions and emotions; from one perspective, it allows the Greek people, who feel they have been suffering enough during their own Greek debt crisis, to identify with the tormented migrants against common indifferent stakeholders and externalize their frustration, anger and scorn. From another perspective, the same audience views some cartoons as hilarious exaggerated mockeries of victimizers and laughs at these cartoons, allowing their inner playful child to laugh and have a good time for a while, relieved to be leaving all worries behind.
To sum up, cartoonists have made a great effort to depict the migrant crisis and portray all stakeholders and their perspective. Though national politics always came first in priority, ample material was created on the topic, mainly focused on the pragmatic aspect of the migrant crisis and following international news day to day; politics, financial issues, international relations, war. Mockery and heavy criticism describe best the political cartoons on the migrant crisis, whereas sympathy, guilt and a sense of worry about the fellow human being describe best the cartoons targeted on values, everyday life, religion and art. Many of the cartoons convey visual and verbal signs that are too difficult to be perceived and interpreted by people not residing in Greece, as they draw heavily from the Greek context and are based on shared contextual meanings. Still, what can be easily perceived by any audience is that the migrant crisis is a strong humanitarian crisis, striking at the core of humanist values and, unfortunately, deconstructing the glorious and attractive image of Europe by placing a bomb to its fundamentals.
References
Based on the American Psychological Association Style (A.P.A., 2013)


### Appendix

#### Table 4: Number of cartoons per month

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#### Table 5: Number of cartoons per topic

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#### Table 6: Number of cartoons per political orientation

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Table 7: Number of cartoons per political orientation and per month

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Table 9: Number of cartoons per topic and per political orientation

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