

The limits of the graphic narrative of migration in the public media discourse and the human rights approach

Los límites de la narrativa gráfica de la migración ante el discurso público mediático y el enfoque de derechos humanos

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Abstract

The intensification of violence and the violation of human rights in migratory crises is currently a main topic in the experimentation of graphic narratives, which have given rise to the hybrid and critical genre represented by the graphic chronicle and the graphic novel of migration. The verbo-visual treatment is analyzed in the series of twelve graphic chronicles of migration "My life as an immigrant in Chile" (2018) of Sábado Magazine, in the newspaper El Mercurio, an agent of public discourse that has consolidated stereotypes and prejudices about migrants. Through qualitative content analysis of the image-text articulation, the verb-visual strategies of the graphic chronicle of journalistic and literary tone are examined. The elements that confer authenticity, reliability and veracity to the chronicle were established according to the use of testimony, portraits of the protagonists and contextual data. Likewise, literary elements were determined such as the staging of vulnerability, enhancement of the cultural fabric, multiple narrative voices and the recreation of resilient resistance, which allude to the human rights perspective. The graphic chronicle intensifies the use of the testimonial voice and omits the author (witness), but the latter appears in the verb-visual articulation in biases and introduction of the ambiguity of migration experiences, and in the relationship with the "distant near". The graphic chronicle of migration can be significantly modulated by the mediatized public discourse, weakening its critical reading of reality.

Keywords

Human mobility, graphic chronicle of migration, verbo-visual strategies, public discourse of migration, human rights, intermediality, memorialization, Chile.

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Resumen

La intensificación de la violencia y la violación a los derechos humanos en las crisis migratorias es en la actualidad una temática central en la experimentación de las narrativas gráficas, las que han originado el género híbrido y crítico representado por la crónica gráfica y la novela gráfica de migración. Se analiza el tratamiento verbo-visual en la serie de doce crónicas gráficas de migración “Mi vida como inmigrante en Chile” (2018) de la Revista Sábado, inserta en el periódico El Mercurio, agente del discurso público que ha consolidado estereotipos y prejuicios sobre la población migrante. A través de análisis de contenido cualitativo de la articulación imagen-texto se examinan las estrategias verbo-visuales de la crónica gráfica de tono periodístico y literario. Los elementos que confieren autenticidad, fiabilidad y veracidad a la crónica se establecieron de acuerdo con el del testimonio, retratos de los protagonistas y datos de contexto. Asimismo, se determinaron los elementos literarios como la puesta en escena de la vulnerabilidad, realce de la trama cultural, de las voces narrativas múltiples y la recreación de la resistencia resiliente, que en conjunto aluden a la perspectiva de derechos humanos. La crónica gráfica intensifica el uso de la voz testimonial y omite la del autor (testigo), pero este último aparece en la articulación verbo-visual en sesgos e introducción de la ambigüedad de las experiencias de la migración, y en la relación con el “lejano próximo”. La crónica gráfica de migración puede ser modulada significativamente por el discurso público mediatizado debilitando su lectura crítica de la realidad.

Palabras clave

Movilidad humana, crónica gráfica de migración, estrategias verbo-visuales, discurso público de migración, derechos humanos, intermedialidad, memorialización, Chile.

Introduction

Migration is one of the themes considered in the exploration of new contemporary narratives immersed in the search to give meaning to the human mobility narratives that have been mediatized and framed in ways that weaken their historical, political and ethical thickness, both in the construction of the problem and its characterization, and in the proposal of solutions (Bettaglio, 2021).

This situation also occurs with other social phenomena that lead marginalized populations, events that have found their place of enunciation in the journalistic chronicle, essays and attempts that date back to the 1960s with the New Anglo-Saxon Journalism and the Latin American Chronicle (Sierra

and López, 2017). Since then, the chronicle has been conceived as the formula that opens up to new ways of listening and expressive forms that violate the modern classifying order that established the border of discourses between journalism and literature, fiction and reality, the author/authorized subject and the subject represented, oral and written culture, image and word, oral and written. The chronicle tolerates transits and displacements to fulfill the visibility of social phenomena from a perspective differentiated from the mainstream of global media. Rosana Reguillo (2000) warned more than twenty years ago that the great challenge of the future would be in “the transversal discourse”, understood as that which crosses all other forms of discourse, as it constitutes the “center” of public space.

The Mexican experience of transit to the United States is the paradigmatic case to examine the narrative about migration in Latin America. It is a country with a long tradition of “expelling” migrants, and human mobility is part of the public and private agenda. From this condition arises a varied and rich narrative production created by Mexicans, and that reaches its peak in the second half of the 20th century (Reyes, 2019). The Mexican migratory experience and its representation (journalistic and literary) has revealed that there is a correlation between the history of Mexican migration to the United States and the development of the migration chronicle, characterized by focusing on individual experiences of marginalized people, stories not available to the reading public (Brown, 2012). Thus, the variations that the documentation and narration of the migratory phenomenon has experienced are due to the events that affect the social fact itself, among them the changes of security and control measures, the intensification of new/old routes and border crossing points, the incorporation of new populations into the mobility flows from other places as a result of the war, economic crises, etc. Following this approach, it should be noted that at the European level the graphic narratives increased with the increase of migratory flows since 2015 as instruments of social mobilization to generate empathy and encourage commitment to marginalized biographies (Boum, 2021) and counteract the inconsistencies of the Eurocentric vision on transnational journalism migration (Sperb and Boff, 2021). The social impact of the Spanish economic crisis of 2008 had motivated several essays of graphic narratives that allowed the coining of the notion of “social comic”.

Thus, the chronicle of migration opposes the public discourse (of the media and other public forms) that focuses “the problem of migration” on the

border and the undocumented as an anonymous and negative collective experience, that omits the socio-economic processes that drive the individual experiences of migration, and also relegates the processes that emerge from it, among other aspects that are unrecognizable in the dominant narratives of the media and other forms of public discourse.

As a consequence of the intensification of violence and the violation of human rights in migration processes, this is a thematic focus of attention in the experimentation of graphic narratives, which have originated the hybrid gender represented by the graphic chronicle and the graphic novel of migration. Thus, the graphic narrative on migration constitutes the crossing of a double border since it addresses human mobility from the transit between disciplines.

Unlike the graphic novel which since the 1980s has been the subject of study in its artistic-communicational aspect (Dapena, 2015) and in its educational uses for the promotion of reading (Alarcón and Paladines, 2023) and as a literary field that has motivated the emergence of specialized publishers, a reading market (Conde Aldana, 2019; Gómez, 2020; Baya and Ruiz 2021) has encouraged the development of literary criticism in the subject. The graphic chronicle has not received the same attention. Studies on the graphic narrative of fiction in Chile, which encompasses both comic and graphic novels, gained momentum in the 2000s, focused on the relationship between graphic novel, historical memory and fictionality that questions the dominant historical narrative about the Pacific War and the Dictatorship, and the visibility in the comic of excluded social actors and their problems (Hinojosa, 2018). It can be considered that in Chile the graphic chronicle has had a less dynamic process in production and in its study, contrasting with the situation of the graphic novel.

However, various social organizations have adopted the graphic chronicle in their awareness campaigns on different current issues and as a form of participation in public debate despite the difficulty of achieving wide circulation because it is outside the commercial circuit. “My life as an immigrant in Chile” (2018) is one of the few graphic chronicles developed by the Chilean press, under one of the two journalistic consortia that controls the sector (El Mercurio), a characteristic that enhances its particular condition and justifies its study. The conditions of production and circulation of these chronicles place them in a “conflict zone” between the vocation of critical interpretation of the reality inherent in gender, and the institutional framework given

by the public discourse on the migratory phenomenon that the journalistic consortium maintains and that has been questioned by media studies in Chile.

The questions that arise are the following: what are the narrative implications of the combination of journalistic resources and literary resources in “comic journalism” to relate migration in Chile? What happens to the processes of memorialization or memory production about the phenomenon of human mobility that the graphic chronicle develops under an editorial line characterized by the construction of stereotypes and prejudices about the migrant population? How do verb-visual resources oppose and harmonize in the graphic narrative that allude to the public discourse on migration in Chile and the perspective of human rights as polar opposites?

The aim is to analyze the verb-visual treatment of migration in the graphic chronicles “My life as an immigrant in Chile”, carried out by *El Mercurio*, a medium characterized by installing segregation discourses on the migrant population and consolidating stereotypes and prejudices that prevent the recognition of the other from the difference and the development of intercultural communication (Browne and Castillo, 2010:3). This case reveals the internal tensions of the graphic chronicle when it is a significant practice modulated by the dominant discourse to which it is attached, but at the same time it questions.

Production and memory of graphical migration narratives

Heirs to the chronicle of migration that takes as its object the invisible suffering of human mobility, the graphic novel and the graphic chronicle both agree in being considered “multimodal literature” (Kuechenmeister, 2009) as a verb-visual sequential art that links juxtaposed pictures or vignettes (Parodi and Julio, 2017).

The graphic chronicles and graphic novels of migration can be seen as the ways of expressing criticism about the theories of the liberal subject and the liberal democratic state that underlie the modern international human rights system (McClennen and Slaughter, 2009), and that since the concern about the exacerbation of anti-immigrant rhetoric and the proliferation of complaints of injustice, brutality, cruelty towards migrants and the violation of their rights, have ventured into the exploration of narratives that try to oppose polarized public discourse. Thus, a hybrid narrative production on migration emerges,

based on the multimodal language that links image and text, and unites and superimposes historical stories, images, various pictorial techniques (painting, drawing, engraving, digital art), extending to the field of intermediality, in which works and artistic tasks are transited.

Along with this hybrid production, the literary criticism emerges in parallel (Dawes, 2016), which highlights violence as the hinge that links life and narrative and exposes not only the deep structures of violation of rights but also the representation of such structures, since these are contexts in which the victims are not able to produce their narratives, formulate criticisms, share their precarious lives and their deaths are not regrettable (Butler, 2012).

In particular, the graphic chronicle is placed on the border of emerging news genres and literature, while the journalistic tone is maintained by the testimony, and the literary tone by the author's observations and personal opinions that warn of the economic and social factors of the tragedy, such as the physical challenges of the migrant in his/her displacement. The text and the drawing are articulated in the graphic chronicle and cease to be independent bodies, and they put in play a repertoire of authenticity and reliability resources to ensure the distance with the fiction and the identity of the novel (Weber and Rall, 2017). The graphic novel, for its part, often uses the cinematographic language to produce the visual narrative, and creates a symbolic apparatus based on the chaining of meanings, such as the suitcase-memory (Durante, 2016) or the wall-scar (Castilleja, 2023). However, both narrative genres agree in multiple resources to document the invisible and memorialize shattered stories and lost voices that stress the triangulation between the official public discourse, the word and expressions of migrants, and the substitute or vicarious experience experienced by the reader, the contemporary reader or subsequent generations (Castilleja, 2023). Finally, it is a mediated process of memory production that in turn feeds on memories.

Materials and method

The book of graphic chronicles "My life as an immigrant in Chile" is made up of 12 four-page chronicles of vignettes, published by the newspaper *El Mercurio de Santiago* through its *Sábado* magazine. The chronicles appeared biweekly from November 2017 and throughout 2018. In parallel, fragments of the chronicles were disseminated through the Twitter account

of the *Sábado* magazine and in late 2018 they were compiled in book format to commemorate the twenty years of the magazine. We observe the strategy of combining media in which each contributes with its own materiality and give rise to a new product resulting from an integration of the different media of the journalistic company.

It should be noted that *El Mercurio* is the oldest newspaper in Chile and the one with the largest circulation nationwide, with a conservative editorial line as the property of the country's economic and political elite. The company *El Mercurio* presents the *Sábado* Magazine as "the most read in Chile" and defines it as "a current magazine focused on those who like to inform themselves in an entertaining way about Chile and the world. Its main content focuses on social and political contingency issues, but also contains more playful sections related to humor, fashion, ^{gastronomy and culture.}"¹ The current treatment is framed by this declaration of identity that leads the work of the team of the project of graphic chronicles on migrants in Chile. Journalists from the newspaper *El Mercurio* carried out the investigations and scripts,² while the award-winning Chilean cartoonist Francisco Javier Olea —winner of the 2012 Altazor prize for the National Arts— elaborated the verb-visual discourse of these graphic chronicles. Olea has been drawing for *El Mercurio* since 1999, and has an extensive published work that encompasses portraits of public figures, graphic humor comics, children's literature and graphic novel, as well as works for companies.³

"My life as an immigrant in Chile" raises questions about the relationship of graphic narrative with the memorialization of migration when this narrative responds to media logics, i.e., the influence of the media on the way the material is organized, the style in which it is presented, the focus or emphasis on particular characteristics of behavior and the grammar of media communication (Altheide, 2004). Finally, these logics that permeate the narratives correspond to conventional procedures that characterize the media, such as the criteria of newsworthiness (Thornton *et al.*, 2012).

This research had specific objectives to differentiate in the graphic chronicles the elements or resources of the journalistic treatment and the relationship that they establish with the public discourse on migration in Chile.

1 See <https://bit.ly/3w6UwMP>

2 Carla Mandiola, Muriel Alarcón, Gazi Jalil and Jorge Rojas.

3 See <https://bit.ly/3wisgqg>

Likewise, the characteristic elements of the graphic novel that are articulated with the features of the graphic chronicle with the purpose of making visible that invisible in the migrant experience were identified.

The methodology of the study consisted in the application of qualitative content analysis on the verb-visual strategies of the journalistic and literary graphic chronicle. Thus, an analysis matrix was elaborated to apply to each chronicle, formed by the categories that confer authenticity, reliability and veracity to the chronicle and that come from the conception of the journalistic narrative: presence of the author/journalist's voice, physical resemblance of the portraits with the protagonists, stylistic resources, documentary evidence and meta-narrative (Weber and Rall, 2017). To establish the literary elements of the graphic novel active in the graphic chronicle, a matrix that relieves the perspective of human rights is applied, formed by the categories staged of vulnerability, enhancement of the cultural plot, testimony and recreation of resilient resistance (Mickwitz, 2020).

The following is the treatment of the Chilean press on the migrant issue between 1990 and 2020, which constitutes the matrix of the public discourse on which the graphic chronicle "My life as an immigrant in Chile" would emerge as a counterpoint or critical discourse. The results that emerged from the application of the analysis matrices that expose the nuances of public discourse in the graphic chronicles and the human rights perspective are then systematized.

Results

The Public Discourse on Migration in Chile and the Critical Choice of the Graphic Chronicle

The graphical chronicles of *Revista Sábado* were published in the context in which the migration issue occupied a main place in the public agenda (at the end of 2017), crossed by the electoral environment of the administration of Michelle Bachelet and the ascension of Sebastián Piñera in the presidency of the country, which meant a displacement in the leadership of Chile from the center-left to the center-right and changes in the treatment of migration. The enactment of a "New Migration Law" was part of Piñera's electoral discourse arguing the need for a "new deal" towards the migrant population,

and already elected in March 2018 prompted the modification of the current rule by increasing visa requirements. Likewise, in 2017, Venezuelans became the largest foreign population in the country, ahead of Peruvians who have been the majority since 1990 (Stefoni and Brito, 2019).

Among the trends in the treatment of migration by the Chilean press between 2017 and 2018, there is no significant association between immigrants and crime, violence, illegality, as had been observed in the 1990s when the press openly offered anti-immigrant representations (Doña, 2022). However, in the 2000s, studies on media and migration coincided in the strengthening of negative stereotypes, and the affirmation of national/foreign opposition, as well as the deepening of the repertoire that encompasses the paternalistic but also the criminalizing gaze (Browne and Castillo, 2013; Póo, 2009). In the second decade of the 2000s, the equivalence between migration and illegality, poverty, crime persists in the media, in addition to the racist discourses (Stefoni and Brito, 2019) derived from the intense Haitian migration flow since 2010.

In the period of 2017 and 2018, when “My life as an immigrant in Chile” was published, the migrant subject was defined in the press from the governmental and economic discourse, focused on the regularization of residence in the country and on its characterization as a labor force in certain productive sectors (Ivanova *et al.*, 2022). Along with the conception of the migrant subject as an economic and production body (Green and Zúñiga, 2023), the paternalistic discourse that exploits the epic of strangeness in an alien and unknown environment appears again to highlight the reception in Chile, a procedure that leaves no room for presenting the agency of the migrant population. In this way, they are only conceived as recipients of government actions and the idea of their dependence is reinforced (Galindo, 2019). It also established the nominal differentiation that the media makes between Haitian residents of the rest of the unified nationalities in the “migrants” category, which reveals the distinction about the “black migrant” (Tijoux and Palominos, 2015).

Revista Sábado is positioned within these significant practices focused on the discourse of authority of state agents with respect to migration in Chile and manifests itself as the bearer of a different discourse without specifying what its differentiation consists of. Revista Sábado, “the most read magazine in Chile” (El Mercurio, 2018) defines itself as a mirror of Chilean society as it ensures to reflect the social and cultural changes that the country has

experienced in the last twenty years (El Mercurio 2018, p. 9), one of them a result of the growing migratory wave that has gained importance. *Revista Sábado* maintains that its journalistic reports document the life, problem and odyssey of the various people who have arrived in Chile, however, they warn that all the stories are summarized in similar stories of triumph or defeat (El Mercurio 2018, 9). Thus, they conclude that the option for the graphic chronicle would allow them to differentiate the multiple experiences of immigrants in Chile. The criterion is recognized in the selection of diverse stories: three women (Filipina, Bolivian and Iraqi-Palestinian), eight men (two Haitians, one Venezuelan, Dominican, Chilean in Colombia, Bolivian, Nepali, Russian) and one Iraqi family. The variety of stories also reached other socio-cultural categories and situations of “success and failure”, portraying people who perform different trades and activities in the chronicles (seasonal worker, nanny, referee/football reporter, hairdresser, police, miner, footballer and mechanic), and also unemployed (such as the Iraqi family) and others who in the story cannot be determined if they have a job (Venezuelan referee). This central feature in the stories, which points to its place in the labor market, is a continuum of the migrant-body economic and production.

The graphic chronicle at the frontier of public discourse: humanization and anonymity

Each story in “My Life as an Immigrant in Chile” would illustrate extraordinary situations of identifiable people with names, surnames and portraits; only the Venezuelan referee Jorge Castañeda lacks an image of the story “The Caribbean Voice of Football.” The identification of subjects has been considered a resource for the re-humanization of anonymous cultural narratives imposed by the cultural norms of globalization that represent migration as a collective, quantifiable and anonymous experience, which hinders empathy and solidarity.

The homophobic persecution of sexual dissidents (Russian homosexual) is one of the particular experiences of graphic chronicles, along with those of childhoods traumatized by war and exile (an Iraqi-Palestinian girl who reaches adulthood in Chile) or by catastrophe (a Bolivian miner who survived the case “33 miners” buried in the San José mine), victims of femicide (a Bolivian woman killed by her partner who is only called Silvia) and repa-

triation of ashes as an ecumenical act (a dead Haitian evangelical transported by a Catholic priest). The variety of stories tries to express the wide range of migrant experiences and to question stereotypes and representations linked to violence and crime. “Monki’s Journey” is the only story that describes crossing the desert and illegally entering Chile with a coyote, but concludes with regularization of his residence while working in a textile factory. The figure of the undocumented migrant, together with the negative portrait that pluralizes the experience of human mobility, placing it also in the register of the foreign threat, appears here represented in a positive way and restored in history on a large scale when they are usually erased from all memory.

Francisco Olea clarified in an interview (Díaz, 2019) that the order of the chronicles in the book was the same as those published in *Sábado Magazine*, which allows us to observe the evolution of his drawings and his understanding of the migrant theme. From this point of view, “My life as an immigrant in Chile” exposes Olea’s graphic search exercise to narrate migration, and shows how it transits from stories of helpless subjects who suffer from cultural uprooting and estrangement invoking compassionate paternalistic discourse, to finally narrations that privilege the public discourse of dependence. However, it remains attached to certain patterns of the chronicles. Male and female migrants are subject to the narrative pattern of the hero/heroine facing challenges, some overcome and others irremontable that remain as an absolute, sometimes deadly setback (illness, death from macho violence, survivor trauma, discrimination and homophobic violence, racism). It is worth mentioning that “The Caribbean Voice of Football” offers a list of verbal forms of xenophobic and racist aggression, regarding the performance of the referee functions of Venezuelan Jorge Castañeda, who lists them as an inherent challenge to his profession.

Olea also violates other conventions of the graphic chronicle. Despite the different emphasis on the outcomes of the stories and their milestones, Olea maintains in all the chronicles the colors blue-gray and black that determine a somber psychological atmosphere, permanently and transversely to all the stories without marking narrative rhythms.

In short, the graphical chronicles oscillate between the discourse of difference and that of authority. In most stories, the role of government is reduced until it vanishes in the face of the cultural fabric in which lives unfold. The exceptions are the last chronicle of the series, “The War and Peace of Nadda Hamlawi” in which even the figure of Michelle Bachelet appears

Literary strategies of visibility in the graphic chronicle: voices, places and portraits

Among the elements consigned for the graphic novel appropriate for the graphic chronicle, the use of testimony is central to meeting the challenge of personalizing the protagonists and restoring their voice in the narration of their own experience. The graphic chronicle boasts of restoring the voice of the excluded. However, it is a mediated testimony (Acedo, 2017). The linguistic gap required by a translator (in the case of Nepali and the Iraqi family) is one modality, but it is also considered in the double administration of the testimony made by the author of the script, and then the cartoonist when preparing the graphic chronicle.

The testimonial voice of the migrant also coexists with the witness voice of the journalist/author, who describes the protagonists and their environments, shares his thoughts on the experience of being a refugee and delivers information to contextualize the microstories within historical, political, economic structures. This particular feature of the graphic novel has been appropriate within the plurivocality strategies of the graphic chronicle.

In “My life as an immigrant in Chile” there are no indications of the presence of the authors, who usually appear contributing with the historical, socio-political and economic context that situates the experiences of mobility, conferring to the narrative part of the authenticity of the journalistic tone. There are also no elements to determine the physical resemblance between the portraits drawn and the protagonists of the stories, but it would not be necessary to assume that there are differences (except for the case of the Venezuelan referee in “The Caribbean Voice of Football” already noted).

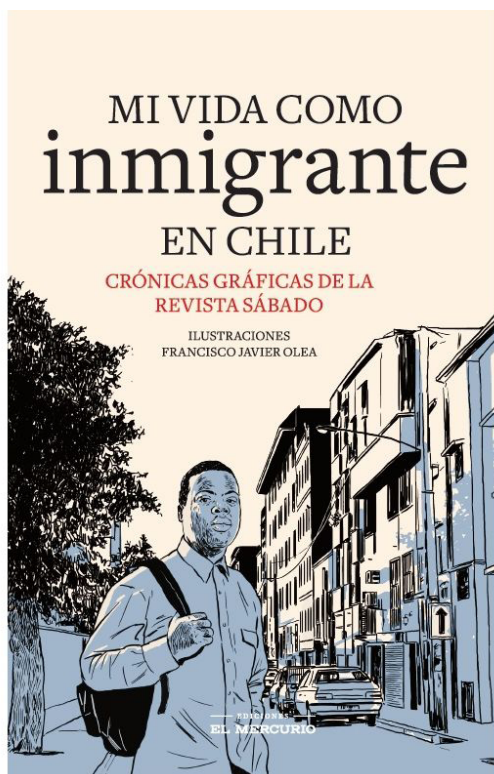
In most of the chronicles there are visual elements that allow the associations of the characters to recognizable geographical locations (view of Kathmandu, Riyadh, San Carlos sugar mill camp, the highland desert, San Borja bus terminal, Iquique, San José mine, Baghdad, refugee camp on the border of Iraq and Syria). However, it is striking that in the two stories about Haitians there is no mention of identifiable places like in the story of Silvia, the Bolivian woman killed in Melipilla by her partner who left two orphaned children in Chile. In the chronicle “The Nightmares of Mamani”, Bolivian miner survivor of the collapse of the San José mine, it is indicated that he is born in La Paz, but there are no visual guides to his life in Bolivia and only the image of Evo Morales is presented as part of his traumatic dreams. A bias

is observed for exotic places and local/national reference spaces. Haiti and Bolivia are two hazy, ghostly references in which the synecdoche works and mentally complete what is incomplete.

The figure of an Afro-descendant man carrying a backpack, presumably Haitian, illustrates the cover of the book and does not correspond neatly to any history of the chronicles. His face is not recognizable in any chronicle. The backpack could be connected to the “Ashes of Esau”, the only story in which the protagonist wears a backpack. The ambiguity of the cover can be understood as a synecdoche or metonymic operation on the migrant population (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Cover “My life as an immigrant in Chile”



Note. Editorial El Mercurio (2018).

The aforementioned elements operate simultaneously as a stylistic verb-visual resource and documentary proof that it provides with verisimilitude, and that is diminished in its authenticity in the graphic chronicle. Similarly, there are no mechanisms to indicate the meta-narrative level of the comic.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the structure of migration narratives is commonly divided into the three main stages of displacement: origin, journey, and destination. Throughout “My Life as an Immigrant in Chile,” most stories feature this structure while only two omit origin and journey focusing solely on destiny (“Drops of Blood in Melipilla,” “The Ashes of Esau”). This hiatus again suggests the presence of a bias for these two experiences, one of gender and the other racialized (“black migration”).

It is worth asking for that invisible/visible dimension that the graphic chronicle tries to document and that differentiates it from the conventional migration journalistic report.

The Human Rights Approach in the Graphic Chronicle

One of the characteristic resources of the graphic novel of migration that addresses the phenomenon from the perspective of human rights is the staging of the vulnerability of migrants. In “My life as an immigrant in Chile” the stories of “defeats” present the fragility of the protagonists, reaching the apex with “The ashes of Esau”, focused on the priest’s willingness to repatriate the remains of the young Haitian man killed in a bronchial painting, and “Drops of blood in Melipilla” that relates Silvia’s courage to face her abusive partner who kills her, but the story turns its attention to the figure of the neighbor on the first floor who witnessed for a long time this “announced death” and is reprimanded by the community for not denouncing the fact.

Silence is a repeated element in the migration narrative, associated with the migrant who is silent in the face of aggression (“The Caribbean Voice of Football”), who does not speak to avoid recognition as a foreigner, who does not communicate because he does not know the language (“A Nepali Lost in Paine”), who uses his “right to remain silent” in front of the police. Silence is always there, and can be channeled into positive or negative narratives about migration, so it also signals resilient resistance. “The War and Peace of Nadda Hamlawi” portrays an Iraqi-Palestinian refugee girl in Chile who lived through the trauma of exile and in her teens and youth has been a volunteer interpreter for Iraqi families who came to Villa Alemana while wor-

king preparing Arab cakes and sweets. Nadda Hamlawi's story was awarded in 2018 by the Communication and Poverty Alliance which seeks innovative ways to tell stories of overcoming and vulnerability.

"The Journey of a Filipino Nanny" is less a tale of resilience than of adaptability and accommodation of a woman who transits between trades and geographies. Elen Embold's life is spent between Manila-Saudi Arabia-Santiago, and from being a hairdresser she goes into domestic service, marries a Korean, and eventually becomes an entrepreneur with a Filipino migrant placement company. In this narrative, the cultural plot of the radical Islamic world predominates over women from the perspective of the Filipino migrant subject to the network of family care that is hired in Saudi Arabia, and who already in Chile does not manage to accept the liberal view of the West on the body of women, among other aspects of daily life in confrontation.

The ways of testimony that leave room for personal reflections and intimate thoughts of migrants is the resource used in "The Dirty Years of Professor Rueda", in which a former Chilean footballer recalls the time when he played in a local club in Colombia under the direction of coach Reinado Rueda in the penetration of narco-culture in football activity. The memory of each narrator offers a point of view, a particular style to collect the experience of the other to an identity erased from the story that is saved, that becomes memory and is also memorized mediatically.

Conclusions and discussion

"My life as an immigrant in Chile" moves between the folds of authorized discourse and discourse of difference on the phenomenon of human mobility, collecting the migratory media content and deepening less on the expressive possibilities of the hybrid and composite characteristics of graphic narratives. The double administration of the testimony is an attribute of these composite narratives that challenges the analysis of the chronicle of the final product, where the traces of the division of functions in the collective production are followed, in which the tasks of the cartoonist are separated from those of the journalist who carried out the investigation and elaborated the script. Having the journalistic chronicles prior to the graphic version would allow us to compare both narratives and observe the elements that remain and the points of flight or divergence.

From the perspective of memorialization, it is the visible dimension of human mobility that the graphic chronicle collects that remains and is supported by the media while the hidden part of the social phenomenon of migration remains invisible, in which it is seen how individual decisions are produced, how and what the intervening subjective factors are, the impact of structural conditions on the decisions and the direction they adopt, the individual differences in front of the same problems, and the force that it possesses in the definition of behaviors, imaginaries and mentalities. Migrants' stories form a contradictory social and personal memory, balancing aid, control, self-reliance, and mistrust. The memorialization of migration through graphical narratives and their verb-visual strategies could introduce the ambiguity and ambivalence of migration experiences, as well as the relationship with the "distant next". On this point, it is possible to return to Manuel Callejo when referring Luhman, remembering that "what we know we know it through the mass media, also what we remember or will remember. With this in mind, the media tells us what is meant by the future and what is past. Journalism itself is a time marker" (Callejo, 2015).

In the graphical chronicles of migration of *Sábado Magazine*, no fantastic elements are suggested that break the expectation of a realistic narrative, however, the resources of authenticity also become hesitant in the first stories, reaching consistency in the final chronicle ("The war and the peace of Nadda Hamlawi"). The absence of fantastic elements, and also of symbolic resources referred to the experience of human mobility reduces the possibility of identification of the reader and the appropriation of the migratory phenomenon from their own experience. In the graphic novel of migration, this resource bursts with force creating exemplary stories such as "Emigrants" by Australian Shaun Tan (2007), where migration confers power to history, based on repetition and taking charge of the stereotype, circulation, cyclicity and universalization of experience, this set is assumed as the expression of migration displacement and assimilation from the point of view of Western civilization (Ahumada, 2020). Shaun Tan has also explored the interspecies crossing in "Cigarra", with an allegory about the intersubjective play between people and non-human life in the framework of consciousness about the Anthropocene. Tan's off-center approach mentions all that is forgotten, stripped, abused, marginalized (Corbetta, 2021).

Likewise, the meta-narrative in the graphic chronicle is part of the "testing area" to superimpose modes of representation and expression of both

migrants and the author of the chronicle, exhibiting ways of interacting with others that reverse exclusion (Toffano and Smets, 2023), as observed in the graphic novel “The Odyssey of Hakim” by French Fabien Toulmé (2018) response to the Euro-Mediterranean migration crisis of 2015. The relationship between aesthetic devices and the formation of solidarity is tested in their graphic narratives (chronicle and novel), as they may be able to create a kind testimonial space for the experiences of migrants and refugees (Boum, 2021). Toulmé is also constantly questioned about the ethical dimension of such chained devices in transcription and then linguistic translation and the transition from text to image.

The graphical narratives of migration return to the topic of life stories where the introspective gaze, the subjective point of view and the exercise of memory and reflexive awareness about what has been lived are legitimate and fundamental for expanding the understanding of the problem as a support for the action on it. The graphic novel also acts as a support for new media functions that favor the participation of diverse social organizations that produce graphic narratives to participate in the public debate on the subject, opposing the public discourse on migration, narratives that have not yet been studied enough and that open a rich field of exploration on intermediality in the construction of representations, imaginary on human mobility and social innovation (Bettaglio, 2021).

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