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### A graphic journey: *The Arrival* home for Shaun Tan's immigrant

#### Abstract:

Through Shaun Tan's award-winning graphic novel *The Arrival* (2006), the journey and arrival into the imagined home are examined in terms of the narrative characteristics within the immigrant genre. In 'the traditional immigrant journey', states academic Madelaine Hron, 'it is assumed the immigrants will eventually 'arrive' and successfully integrate or assimilate into their new host society' (2009: 16). Although Tan's work depicts the immigrant journey and success story solely via images, it 'is far from a facile narrative about [the] immigrant experience' (Boatright 2010: 470). In fact, the visual re-presentation *is* the narrative, embodying many metaphoric and silenced fears, and trauma associated with immigration. This paper examines how Tan reinterprets silenced trauma in *The Arrival*, and how in his wordless novel, the narrative is able to be read by first- and post-generations as a re-presentation of their own personal, familial, and cultural journeys. The paper also addresses how the immigrant's new home has been re-presented in a 'time and place ... impregnated with a sense of unreality' (Bachelard 1994: 58). Set in a dreamlike, imaginary 'utopian city' (Tan 2010: 20), the postmemorial home I argue, is one based on 'imaginative investment, projection and creation' (Hirsch 2008: 107). While Tan's 'new-world metropolis' is shown 'through the bewildered eyes of a newly arrived immigrant' (Tan 2010: 20) suffering the pain of arrival, it is also a postmemorial reinterpretation of the new home that can exist for future immigrants.

#### Biographical note:

Suzanne Hermanocski is a writer and teacher of fiction and creative non-fiction. She recently completed her PhD in Creative Writing at The University of Melbourne, which examined multicultural and immigrant texts while exploring the themes of death and photography, memory and the familial traumascapes, home and the immigrant journey. Winner of the 2014 Affirm Press Creative Writing prize for her novel-in-progress *Our Fathers*, her work has been published in *Writing from Below*, *Cha: An Asian Literary Journal*, *SWAMP* and *The Hong Kong U Anthology*.

#### Keywords:

Shaun Tan – graphic novel – immigrant journey – postmemory – silent narrative

## *The Arrival*

The wordless graphic novel *The Arrival* (2006), by award-winning Australian artist-writer Shaun Tan, is comprised solely of illustrated panels without written text, dialogue, or speech bubbles<sup>1</sup>. Through photograph-like illustrations, the ‘silent graphic narrative’ (2012a: 252), as described by scholar Christophe Dony, retells the journey of an unnamed immigrant man and his arrival into a new country, a fantastical, nameless ‘utopian new world’ (Dony 2012b: 97). Tan’s ‘purely pictorial’ narrative (Gravett 2013: 36) of the immigrant journey, is a novel that is organised sequentially, commencing with the character’s departure from his homeland, his arrival into the new country, and final reunion with his family.

In *The Arrival* the immigrant narrative is retold ‘exclusively in pictures’ (36), composed of scenes and ‘communicate[d] succinctly and universally’ (Gravett 2013 36) through a series of chronological chapters depicting different stages of the protagonist’s journey – commencing with the immigrant man’s departure from his homeland and separation with his family (I), the voyage by ship and arrival into the new city (II), the settling into his apartment and the new place (III), finding employment and making friends with other immigrants (IV), the waiting period (saving money to bring his family over), and his family’s eventual arrival and reunion.<sup>2</sup> The final chapter (VI) is also a visual depiction of the ‘immigrant success’ (Hron 2009: 19) as described by academic Madeline Hron, as the novel ends with the protagonist’s child helping another new ‘arrival’. It is through this work, Tan is able to transcend beyond ‘textual language barriers’ (Gravett 2013: 36), using silence to suggest to his readers an entirely new home – ‘a utopian location where ... change is the norm rather than exception’ (Dony 2012b: 97), prompting further critical reflection of the future of immigration, immigrants, and their narrative representation.

For Shaun Tan, a bi-racial second-generation immigrant, of mixed Malaysian-Chinese (father) and Irish descent (mother), *The Arrival* reflects a familial connection and a personal re-search into his own identity; which adheres to the key components of the immigrant narrative genre.<sup>3</sup> Madelaine Hron in *Translating Pain: Immigrant Suffering in Literature and Culture* (2009) describes how the immigrant novel contains ‘a hero, a journey, and a series of trials’ (15); the purpose of each element is to inform our ‘understanding of the immigrant experience’, and highlight ‘the hardships of immigration’ (15). The unnamed man prescribes to the genre’s definition of ‘the immigrant hero’, however although he is the main protagonist, the story is not solely his individual or personal narrative; rather he is a representative everyman and a symbol of the ‘foreign ethnic collective’ (Hron 2009: 15) and *their* stories.

This paper will also briefly discuss the hero’s or immigrant man’s ‘success’ (19) shown through the utopian new home. This is based on the ‘myth of success’ (19) which Hron states is a notion closely tied to ‘the American Dream’ where immigrants believe they can succeed ‘if only they try hard enough’ (19). I argue that the dream-like home in fact is a re-presentation Tan adopts in juxtaposition to reality; in order to communicate the greater theme central to the immigrant narrative, that of the unspoken ‘suppressed suffering’ and the ‘silenced’ (Hron 2009: 198) pain of immigration, reinforced through the novel’s ‘wordlessness’ (Gravett 2013: 34).

### The Immigrant: shock of arrival

Annette Corkhill in *The Immigrant Experience in Australian Literature* defines an immigrant to be ‘a person who migrates to a country for the purpose of settlement’ and as a result of this move may become ‘bicultural’, possibly taking on ‘two cultures’ including ‘the culture and language of their new society’ (sic Corkhill 1995: 1). Her definition is positive as it is hopeful and inclusive, but it is unlike Hron’s who includes pain, trauma, and the difficulties immigrants experience as a result of migration, settlement, and acculturation, as well as the strained relationship towards the new country (Hron 2009: 9-11). ‘Shortly after’ entering the new country she explains, that ‘immigrants experience the ‘shock of arrival’’, an experience which can be communicated through ‘feelings of disorientation, frustration, and panic’ (29). In *The Arrival*, the shock of arrival, suppressed trauma, and silenced pain are duly expressed in the work’s illustrations with the most telling encapsulations exemplified in Chapter II, which coincides with the main character’s arrival.

Chapter II depicts a journey and a long sea voyage, with a full splash page marking the ship’s arrival at port, where the man is shown disembarking, and later processed. As viewers/readers, we note this aspect of ‘shock’ as the immigrants are herded off the ship by a uniformed official who directs the disembarking crowd to the arrivals hall. Following the panel directions as visual cues, and ‘our Western reading habits – [moving] from top to bottom and from left to right’, (Meyer 2012: 55), an interesting transformation occurs with the protagonist/immigrants in that with each new panel their faces become more blurred, smaller, and less defined. In the final panel of this sequence, the immigrant man becomes what Ania Walwicz describes in her poem *So Little* – a ‘[s]hrinking man’ who ‘grow[s] smaller every day’ (1982) until he is almost indistinguishable from the crowd of immigrants all lined up with their suitcases. Adding to the immigrants’ collective anonymity and the scene’s sombreness is the shading of their faces which darkens the atmosphere and reflects the situation and fate of the newly arrived. After disembarking, the man is processed in a large hall where he is prodded, physically examined, and ‘symbolically’ labelled. Of these particular panels, Tan references actual historical events where:

‘On Ellis Island, doctors examine[d] ... every immigrant ... [I]diots, lunatics, mad men, deaf ... dumb, blind, infectious, [the] overly weak ... [and] people over sixty were prohibited by American law to disembark’ (*Hunky Blues* 2009).

It is at the man’s subsequent interview that the ‘*Shock of Arrival*’ (which I have titled) is visually exemplified [see Figure 1]. Reading the twelve square panels from left to right, top to bottom, the range of facial expressions can be read to reveal engagement to disengagement (in the final tier): (a) confusion, (b) incomprehension, (c) bewilderment, (d) an attempt to speak, (e) explanation and gesture, (f) frowning and shrugging, (g) gesturing to mouth/inability to be understood, (h) motioning to a family photograph, (i) holding up palms in a gesture of pleading, (j) frowning/scratching head in frustration, (k) grabbing forehead, (l) looking off into the distance or ‘homeward’ with an expression of defeat. Of this event Tan himself remarks ‘the immigrant experience compromises every emotional, intellectual and spiritual

challenge likely to be faced by a human being' (2010: 6), and in interpreting the panels and the narrative that it evokes, we are encouraged 'to [add] layers of meaning to one's reading of [the] given comic' (Mitchell 2012: 200).



Fig 1. 'Shock of Arrival', (N.p) *The Arrival* by Shaun Tan, Lothian Children's Books, an imprint of Hachette Australia, 2006.

Critic and journalist Paul Gravett states that the reading of narrative takes on a particular role with 'silent comics' (34) like *The Arrival*, as 'they require more ... attention, concentration and interpretation from the reader' (2013: 36). In this scene, a

reliance solely on visuals emphasises the immigrant's difficulties in communication (or lack thereof). As a result, *we* the readers are forced to become involved in *his* 'unspoken narrative' making process (Mitchell 2012: 200). As witnesses to his arrival, the 'panels, pages, and image series' (200), without speech to serve as narrative cues which according to academic Adrielle Anna Mitchell explains when reading graphic narratives '[slow] down the reading process' (2012: 200) the wordlessness in fact creates a space in which to enter the text, where *we* as readers, can generate our own verbal self-imaginings, thoughts and narration, to critically reflect on his shock of arrival.

### **Silence: reading the pictures**

According to Hron, immigrant pain may be associated with the process of immigration, culture shock and adaptation to the new culture. This pain or trauma may also have resulted prior to arrival, and experienced through violence, persecution, or war in the home country (2009: 25).<sup>4</sup> Cathy Caruth whose memory work involves trauma and psychoanalytic theory explains, '[t]o be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event' (1995: 4-5). Throughout *The Arrival*, for many of the immigrant characters, evidence of prior trauma is made visually explicit. Their traumatic 'events' (Caruth 1995: 4) are recalled via and to the protagonist, or triggered by his interactions with other immigrants. Sometimes spoken, other times through 'silent cultural representation' (Hron 2009: 206) (via flashbacks), the immigrants' pain filled pasts are what psychiatric examiner on Holocaust survivor behaviour Henry Krystal explains as 'essential for th[eir] narrative' to communicate situations that '*could not be articulated to be told ... transmitted [and] heard*' (sic 1995: 69). Tan communicates the immigrants' pain via transformed and reimagined visuals/silent narratives, which often times 'escape such specific interpretation', yet prove 'truthful' to the trauma presented 'beyond any explanation' (Tan 2010: 16).



Fig. 2. 'Remembering the Giants', (N.p) *The Arrival* by Shaun Tan, Lothian Children's Books, an imprint of Hachette Australia, 2006.

A particular instance of this 'silenced pain' is shown in an encounter with the new man which the protagonist meets at the market, titled, 'The Story of the Giants' (Chapter III), and evidences his traumatic past. As the new man begins to recount his

tale [Figure 2], he looks up at the sky with flames in his eyes as if ‘recall[ing] and remember[ing]’ the ‘frightening and stressful ... memories’ (Krystal 1995: 82).

His ‘Story of The Giants’ unlike the other stories, is set on a contrasting black background, which dramatically opens out to a two-page spread of uniformed ‘towering giants destroying [the] city’ (Tan 2010, p. 40). The giants are drawn sucking people up off the streets ‘with vacuum cleaners’, in a literal suggestion of ‘ethnic cleansing’ (Tan 2010, p. 40). People are shown running in fear for their lives at the prospect of being ‘sucked away’ (Tan 2010, p. 40) or incinerated by the giants. This scene of extreme violence, is followed by five pages of different sized panels, used effectively to highlight the difference between the humans’ situation (small boxes) and the giants’ (almost double in size) oppressive presence. What the dark panels recount is a postmemorial Holocaust-like story of ‘victims and survivors’ with ‘an opaque and haunting past’ (354), whose lives have been ‘marked’ by ‘persecution and extermination’ (Hirsch and Spitzer 2006, p. 356), with narratives of genocide and displacement; citizens forced into hiding underground, the prospect of freedom through people smuggling, the willingness to be helped in exchange for money, diaspora, boat people and refugees. The last panel of the series shows the man and his wife alone in a little rowboat sailing off into the unknown; this final image is juxtaposed against a full splash sepia-toned panel of the present and the quiet safety of the harbour, in the ‘utopian new world’ (Dony 2012b: 97).

Yet, the most significant traumatic re-presentation belongs to the protagonist. In Chapter I, he is shown walking down an empty street accompanied by his daughter and wife (see figure 3). He is illustrated carrying a suitcase while on the building wall behind him looms a dark shadow of an ‘ambiguous black [serpent]’ (Tan 2010: 16). Opening out to a two-page spread (on the following page), the man and his family are dwarfed against the dark ‘[s]hadowy dragon’s tails haunt[ing] the Old Country’ (Yang 2007). Though the multiple ‘shadowy creatures’ are never fully realised, their enormity and ominous presence is felt in the way they hover over the people and skies, filling the streets between every row of the tenement buildings, like ‘many unspoken fears’ (Tan 2010: 16).

Though the man never quite articulates what the dragons are, what they represent is ‘not a simple memory’, rather as Caruth explains a ‘communicat[ion]’ of an ‘historical experience’ (Caruth 1995: 151) of people living under the constant threat of violence. On describing the man’s homeland, Tan wrote that it was a literal representation ‘partly inspired by descriptions of troubled countries’ (2010: 16) in which an immigrant referred ‘to the oppressive regime of his home as ‘a fearful dragon’ (2010: 16). While some immigrants are able to share their story, like the new man, others cannot. However, what the ‘unstated premise’ (29) of each of these flashback panels reveal is that ‘everyone in the city is actually an immigrant, each with their own stories of suffering as resilience’ (Tan 2010: 29) and embedded within these visuals are re-interpreted narratives, of ‘traumatic recollection’ (Caruth 2010: 151) that *can* be shared with readers.

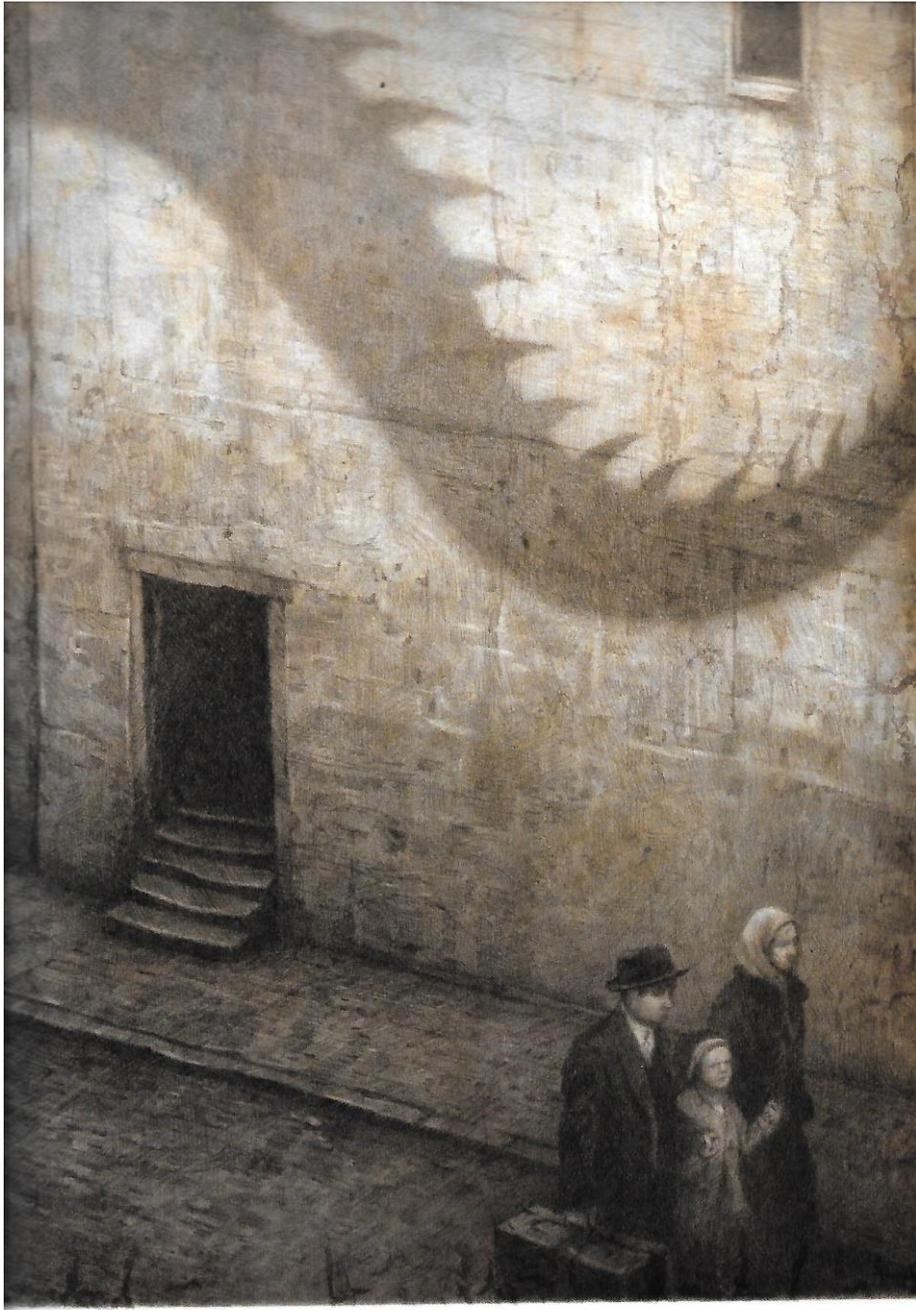


Fig. 3. 'Leaving the old country, (N.p) *The Arrival* by Shaun Tan, Lothian Children's Books, an imprint of Hachette Australia, 2006. (Tan 2006, N.p.)

### **Nameless narrative**

As previously stated, Tan's silent graphic novel is a re-imagined work of second-generation immigrant postmemory. For many postgenerations, that is, the children of immigrants like Tan and myself, Hirsch states that 'postmemories' are their 'connection' to the 'source' of trauma and the past, which is 'mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection, and creation' (Hirsch 2001: 9). The postgenerations' need for representation stems from a need to create 'based on

silence rather than speech' in order to deal with 'the invisible rather than the visible' familial narratives and testimony (Hirsch 2001: 9). Tan's novel in many ways highlights how this postmemorial silence is reclaimed through the imaginative 'representation, projection and creation' Hirsch is refers to. Without the use of 'speech or thought bubbles', the silence 'which governs the page' (Meyer 2012: 57) is given a 'space' (Tan cited in Gravett 2013: 54) and in turn *speaks to* and *about* immigrants who have not only 'supressed' their 'suffering' but have 'silenced their hardships' (Hron 2009: 198) either prior to or about immigration.

Tan admits that in *The Arrival* '[t]here is struggle to find meaning in the absence of written and spoken language' (2010: 6), and yet it is within silence that a space for 'silent internal narrative' (own term) is created. In Chapter II, for example, the man's loneliness and personal 'hardship' as result of immigration, though wordless, is made 'explicit and agonizingly visible' (Hron 2009: 198). Alone, in his new apartment, the man opens his suitcase (Tan 2006: 32) but instead of revealing its contents, for a moment it produces what Hirsch and Spitzer describe as '*piercing insights*' into a 'different temporalit[y] and interpretative [frame]' as an 'unexpected' (2006: 358) image of his wife and daughter emerges. In this silent internal narrative – 'a *space* in which the thoughts of another person can flourish' (Gravett 2013: 54), viewers are reminded of the family he has left behind and his feelings towards them. Through a framed family photograph which the man then hangs on the wall, the viewer assumes his point of view and with a change in perspective, is able to focus on what *he* is looking at – his wife's face (a), his daughter's smile (b). The last panel recalling a personal memory of all three holding hands (c), perhaps a reminder of their final day together prior to his departure.

In the second tier, the man sits quietly on his bed, staring at the photograph on the wall. No words express his situation or thoughts, nevertheless the visual cues according to Meyer 'serve as cues that aid the reader in interpreting the text' (2012: 55). As each subsequent panel moves back and away, the images seem to reflect the protagonist's state of mind as he retreats further into his silence. According sociologist Jiřina Šiklová, the panel is an embodiment of 'supressed suffering', a term she used to describe Czech political exiles who fled the Communist regime (1948-1989) but chose *not* to speak and write about their experiences and instead silenced their pain.<sup>5</sup>

As viewers, we too are left contemplating the isolated figure in a wall of similarly anonymous framed people. However, by 'observ[ing] everything with great care and imagination' (Tan 2010, p. 6), *we* are able to enter the space too, and create our own silent internal narratives about them all. Here, the narrative wordlessly weaves the man's journey with his personal pain; the silence is not 'concealing one's hardships' (Hron 2009: 198) but in fact revealing it to us. A point Tan furthers by stating:

some things cannot be adequately expressed through words: an idea might be ... so familiar, an emotion so ambivalent, a concept so nameless that it's best represented wordlessly, through the visual subversion of words (2011: 8).

### The new home: a place of dreaming and re-imagining

The narrative of *The Arrival* ‘pivots on silences’ – of the silenced or suppressed trauma experienced by first-generation immigrants with the creation of a silent ‘site’ (Boatright 2010, p. 474), and a silent internal narrative space in which to interpret them. Tan’s panels are in a way, both the narrative and the ‘punctum’, to use Roland Barthes term from *Camera Lucida*, and as evocative images they are able to ‘[pierce]’ and ‘[wound]’ (Barthes 1981: 26) the viewer/reader by providing them with a ‘site’ in which to enter the text. Christophe Dony in his article ‘Towards a vocabulary of displacement and utopian possibilities: Reading Shaun Tan’s *The Arrival* as a crossover text’ states that Tan’s narrative ‘opens up a new space that not only questions the dogmatic national container, but retains utopian possibilities as well’ (2012b: 84). Dony acknowledges Tan’s graphic novel as a work of postmemory, adding that the ‘narrative signals ... [to] a journey that only takes place in the artist’s imagination’ (2012b: 89). With regards to trauma and writing from the wound, writer and scholar Lisa Jacobson explains that ‘[a]ll trauma is retrospective ... it is not the trauma itself but what takes place after the event that assists in organising trauma and gives meaning to it’ (Jacobson 2009: 204-205). Adding to both Dony’s and Jacobson’s arguments I state that by re-imagining the first-generation experiences of the old homelands, Tan also ‘re-works’ trauma and immigrant pain through ‘reinvention’ (Dony 2012b: 89) by re-presenting it as a dream-like narrative.

The immigrant’s journey in *The Arrival* to iterate Tan is, ‘an imaginary representation’ (Tan 2010: 5) of ‘a universal tale’ based on both ‘real’ accounts, stories and places as well as ‘abstract’ ideas (6). The immigrants’ old homelands are presented as dark, traumatic flashbacked stories, or depicted as ‘nightmares’ (Tan 2010: 19), yet work to exemplify the ‘real’ reasons people flee or are forced into leaving their countries. The immigrant man’s ‘new home’ in contrast to his ‘past’, is depicted as a dream land – a place, to reference Gaston Bachelard, is ‘impregnated with a sense of unreality’ (Bachelard 1994: 58), thus conveying Tan’s ‘utopian ... space’ (Tan 2010: 19) by reflecting qualities and images representative of cultural ‘diversity’ and tolerance, ‘spatial freedom ... liberty and opportunity’ (Tan 2010: 20). The new homeland as a projected place can therefore be free of trauma. It is a result of postmemory, re-constructed by ‘imaginative investment’ and ‘creation’ (Hirsch 2008: 107), complete with exotic ‘landscapes ... in full splash pages’ (Dony 2012b: 99) which are effective in ‘highlight[ing] the complexit[ies] of ...[the immigrant’s] new world’ (99).

In trying to understand how immigrants’ new homes are represented in literature, academic David Cowart in his work *Trailing Clouds: Immigrant Fiction in Contemporary America* asks this:

What do immigrants see when they look at their new country? Do they view it with more clarity ... or do they view it only through the lens of their own idealizing—or invidious—constructions? (2006: 69).

The ‘new-world metropolis’ (Tan 2010: 20) in *The Arrival*, created and written by a second-generation immigrant writer-artist (Tan) is a re-telling but also a re-imagining of the ‘idealized’ place, one not simply witnessed ‘through the eyes of a newly arrived

immigrant' (Tan 2010: 20). Rather, it is an embodiment of what he states is a 'dream-like space', full of 'optimism' (20) and 'pluralism' where 'people from many different backgrounds' are 'living harmoniously in a multicultural society' (Tan 2010: 29). For readers, especially first-generation immigrants and postgenerations, Tan's message about a character in such an imagined city, which 'fosters utopian possibilities' (Dony 2012b: 97) but challenges the immigrant genre, is a powerful stance:

[T]he unstated premise is that everyone in the city is actually an immigrant, each with their own suffering and resilience. Collectively they have built a world inspired by idealism and the lessons of history; they are a community of people who know all too well what happens if tolerance, compassion and open-mindedness are allowed to fail ... (Tan 2010: 29).

Just as one's 'house protects the dreamer' writes Bachelard, 'the house allows one to dream in peace' (1994: 6). Likewise, Tan's postmemorial new home enables the protagonist to not just achieve a new life for his family, but by presenting the narrative through silence, he is able to 'evok[e a] dream-like [state]' (Gravett 2013: 50) which permits his character to '[overcome] all obstacles to [succeed] and become a self-made man by the graphic novel's end' (Boatright 2010: 471).

### **A chorus of migrants' memories**

'In the traditional immigrant journey ... it is assumed the immigrants will eventually 'arrive' and succeed by integrating or assimilate into their new host society' (2009: 16) states Hron, which is how the narrative in *The Arrival* concludes. The ending Tan depicts is 'a Bildungsroman of acculturation ... show[ing] successful integration into society' (18) portrayed not by the main protagonist but through his daughter, who in the final panel is shown helping another new arrival in a demonstration of 'the pluricultural ideals in contemporary society' (Hron 2009: 18). The immigrant man and his re-imagined story of the journey is one that speaks not only of those people who arrived 'immediate[ly] post-Second World War' and 'came to Australia carrying a shabby suitcase and with almost no money and no English' (Corkhill 1995: 6), it has extended to include 'a chorus of migrants' memories and experiences' (Dony 2012b: 84), comprising of people currently migrating and those who will be forced into leaving their homelands and be challenged on arrival by their new places and home.

In sum, *The Arrival* demonstrates how trauma is not 'eradicate[d]' but 'redeem[ed]' through 'transform[ation]' (Jacobson 2009: 210). The narrative of the immigrant man's journey shows 'a universal tale' even though it has been re-presented in a dream-like state, and in an 'unclear genre between fact and fiction' (Tan 2010: 6). By presenting the immigrant journey within a silent or wordless context, the narrative/novel invites not just a slower reading but a critical, creative, and internal one; one open to historical, social, and cultural contexts including personal, postgenerational and familial re-interpretations and re-imaginings.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Journalist, curator and writer Paul Gravett in his chapter 'More Than Words Can Say: Silent Comics' (2013), defines and exemplifies Tan's work within the genre of 'silent' or 'pantomime comics', explaining they are works 'which make no use of speech or thought balloons, captions or any text except perhaps ... its title' (34).

<sup>2</sup> *The Arrival* (2006) is unpaginated and most panels in the book are untitled, but for this paper, they have been sectioned according to narrative plot and certain panels (Figures 1-3) have been titled.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Boatright criticises the archaic and stereotypical use of 'a young white male' protagonist (2010: 471) in *The Arrival* stating, 'Tan distinctly draws the immigrant family at the center of his narrative with white skin, denoting their association with Western European immigrant experiences of 100 years ago ... [and] being of Nordic ancestry, were able to dispose of their ethnic heritage and blend in with white ... culture' (sic 2010: 470-471). What Boatright fails to acknowledge is that Tan 'modelled' (6) the protagonist on himself, literally basing the man on his own 'mixed-race' (ethnic Asian-European) background and even referencing his father's passport in one of the panels (Tan 2010: 10).

<sup>4</sup> '[P]ain' (25) or trauma may also be associated with the period before being processed, the 'limbo' period waiting to be accepted by the host country (28) and can continue many years after immigration as a result of alienation, racism, poverty and violence (Hron 2009: 27).

<sup>5</sup> Many Czech exiles who fled the political situation in 1968, lived in the hope of returning home when the situation improved and their 'suppressed suffering of emigration and immigration is perhaps the most crucial, and ... misunderstood' (Hron 2009: 198).

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